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UNIVERSITY OF SILESIA
INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH

**A HISTORY OF EMOTIVE INTERJECTIONS IN ENGLISH:
*WHAT, WHY AND HOW***

IZABELA MROCHEN

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR RAFAŁ MOLENCKI

This thesis is presented as part of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philology
of Univeristy of Silesia

KATOWICE 2009

UNIWERSYTET ŚLĄSKI
WYDZIAŁ FILOLOGICZNY
INSTYTUT JĘZYKA ANGIELSKIEGO

**ROZWÓJ WYKRZYKNIĘĆ WYRAŻAJĄCYCH EMOCJE W JĘZYKU
ANGIELSKIM: *WHAT, WHY I HOW***

IZABELA MROCHEN

Praca doktorska napisana pod kierunkiem
PROF. UŚ DR. HAB. RAFAŁA MOLENCKIEGO

KATOWICE 2009

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Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed directly or indirectly to this study. It would have to be a long list, but I have singled out only those who most prominently contributed to the completion of this study. My thanks must go first to Professor Rafał Molencki, my intellectual mentor, who introduced me to diachronic studies of English, for his constant and generous support, scholarly advice and unfailing patience.

My appreciation is also due to Professor Wiesław Banyś, Professor Krystyna Kleszczowa, Professor Andrzej Łyda, Professor Piotr Mamet, Doctor Jerzy Nykiel, Professor Magdalena Pastuch, Professor Hans Sauer and Professor Halina Widła for their kind interest in my work and constant words of encouragement.

To my colleagues on the staff I am indebted for specific comments, with whom I was able to discuss my work, were Doctor Rafał Borysławski, Doctor Marcin Mazurek, and Doctor Andrzej Porzuczek.

And finally my warmest thanks go to my Parents and Daughter, who allowed too many weekends and holidays to be organised around this study: thank you.

Abbreviations

(the abbreviated titles of sources are expanded in Bibliography)

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| * | an unattested or ungrammatical form |
| Δ | removed part |
| A | adverbial |
| Adv | adverb |
| AdvP | adverbial phrase |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| Adj | adjective |
| AdjP | adjective phrase |
| App. | Appendix |
| Art | article |
| BC | Before Christ |
| C _s | subject complement |
| CG | cognitive grammar |
| Du. | Dutch |
| Det | determiner |
| EME | Early Middle English |
| EModE | Early Modern English |
| K | Kentish dialect (of OE or ME) |
| LME | Late Middle English |
| LModE | Late Modern English |
| MDu. | Middle Dutch |
| ME | Middle English |
| Mod | modifier |
| ModE | Modern English |
| N | noun |
| NP | noun phrase |
| O _d | direct object |
| OE | Old English |
| OHG | Old High German |
| P | predicator |
| PDE | Present-day English |
| PG | Proto-Germanic |
| PIE | Proto-Indo-European |
| PrepP | prepositional phrase |
| S | subject |
| SOV | subject-object-verb word order |
| SVO | subject-verb-object word order |
| SW | Southwestern dialects (of ME) |
| SWM | Southwest midland dialect (of ME) |
| V | verb |
| VSO | verb-subject-object word order |

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Aims and preliminaries

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the development of exclamations initiated with the exclamatory words *what*, *why*, and *how*. I would like to examine in more detail the behaviour of these particular interrogative pronouns which demonstrate interesting coexisting functions, namely the interrogative and the exclamatory. Thus far, most attention has been devoted to *what*, *why*, and *how* in terms of their function as markers of interrogative clauses, whereas these interrogative pronouns functioning as exclamations or interjections have been treated marginally.

It will be argued that these interrogative pronouns have undergone grammaticalisation and transformation mechanisms in a diachronic context. Notwithstanding the fact that such functions of interrogative pronouns can be observed in interpersonal communication, this study is an attempt to explore and compare the exclamatory function of *wh*-words in the description of written discourse, i.e. in texts of English prose representing the written-to-be spoken register (Dekeyser 1986).

In general, there is a correlation between the syntactic and the semantic class of an utterance. However, some tension can be observed when the structure involving an interrogative pronoun takes on the interrogative form but semantically remains exclamatory. Here I adopt a functional approach, from a synchronic and diachronic perspective with primary attention being placed on the selected pronouns; *what*, *why*, and *how*, on the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic levels of analysis in order to follow and interpret the coexisting functions of each *wh*-word over the centuries.

These coexisting functions provide the necessary evidence that the borders between word classes are not strict in terms of the definition of pronouns. As a result, it is noticeable that *what*, *why*, and *how* are not only interrogative pronouns but, depending on the context, are also exclamations or interjections. Thus, we can move on to refine these classes of

interrogative pronouns and interjections in order to identify the problem of their decategorialisation. Here I find support in the cognitive approach (e.g. Traugott 1982, Langacker 1987, Molencki 1999, Radford 2004), with its underlying concept of ‘fuzzy’ categories. To illustrate the fuzziness of interrogative pronouns the distributional aspect, graphemic form, internal structure of the *wh*-phrases, as well as the context, and mechanisms affecting the mobility of *wh*-words/phrases/clauses in the syntactic organisation. I do not claim that these are separate aspects, but rather interrelated ones.

In the introductory chapter, I will provide a survey of diachronic approaches to emotive aspects of language inseparably linked with *wh*-exclamatory words. In order to shed some light on the understanding of the grammatical differences between interrogative pronouns functioning as interrogative and exclamatory words, special emphasis will be placed on the following issues:

- (i) distinguishing the diversity occurring today and in earlier periods to detect a continuity in the development, appearance of new functions (exclamatory) as well as their disappearance in the course of centuries (see Chapter Three). This is in accordance with the major ideas of diachronic studies;
- (ii) studying each period in synchronic perspective, but also the evolution of the *wh*-interrogative pronouns which in their form as a minimum unit (ellipted to single-word degree item) functioning either as interrogative pronouns or exclamations/interjections are marked by question marks or exclamation marks respectively. This is in accordance with Kryk-Kastovsky’s (2002) view of the problem of unidirectionality in diachronic studies, which has certainly been a crucial notion in grammaticalisation studies;
- (iii) inclusion of the concept of context as the functions of utterances, e.g. how the number of possible contexts has been influenced in the course of history by different variables, e.g. social position, power and solidarity relations between the speaker and the hearer;
- (iv) taking into account research which is based on the written medium, such elements will be taken into account, i.e. punctuation marks particularly exclamation marks and question marks, in order to foreground their role in emotive language instead of the prosodic features of the *wh*-items;
- (v) on the syntactic level the *wh*-phrase/clause will be discussed and treated as an utterance; attention will be paid to the length of the utterances, since these

phrases/clauses may be trimmed to single-word units which function as exclamations/interjections;

(vi) investigating the position and mobility of the *wh*-phrase/clauses within the syntactic organisation in the light of the distributional aspect;

(vii) examining individual patterns of the *wh*-phrase/clause will shed some light on the coexisting declarative and interrogative clauses (internal word-order variation) over the course of centuries;

1.2. *The Data*

The main body of this section will be devoted to the criteria which I adopt to determine and support the empirical evidence. In order to test the proposed problems (see 1.1). I will first discuss the reasons why the English novel should be the best textual material to detect the *wh*-words in the exclamatory function over the course of centuries. Following this, I will discuss the procedure and criteria of the selection of the 35 English novels (see Bibliography Electronic Corpora) so that the linguistic investigation and statistical examination can be conducted. In Section 1.2.2. I will look at the Corpus of Project Gutenberg and searching and concordancing programs that I used to analyse the electronic corpora, annotated for syntactic structure to allow detailed computerised searches.

1.2.1. *Textual material*

The novel is the major genre of literature making it possible for an analyst to identify the form and content of the use of linguistic devices to maintain realistic dialogue. More specifically as Crystal (2000) and Lightfoot (2002) observe:

- (i) the novel represents all language varieties, from the most colloquial to the most formal, from the most mundane to the most arcane (spontaneous speech referring to interjections and exclamations),
- (ii) it is a good study of the experiments in linguistic technique, especially in relation to the ways in which a character's (speaker's) consciousness¹ (emotions) might be portrayed,
- (iii) it is a source of the author's use of linguistic devices to maintain realistic dialogue,

¹ Taking into account the problem of emotive language, expressive function of the *wh*-words, fictional prose seems to be the best solution since "a novel often includes some sense of the psychological development of the central characters" (Drabble and Stringer 2003: 265). This is why I will describe the utterances made by the speakers in the selected novels since "the genre assumed to be a full and authentic report of human experience" (Sikorska 2002: 182-183).

(iv) the novel can be the detailed study of patterns of sentences, word-order variation, movement of constituents within the syntactic structure, morphology, lexis (vocatives, intensifying forms, emotional adjectives, adverbs of degree, honorifics, etc.),

(v) this genre illustrates the use of a distinctive style of speech, which emphasises features of regional or class background, or personal idiosyncrasies (social rank between speakers, a problem of politeness); this effect may be conveyed by the habitual use of a single word (e.g. *What!*, *Why!*, *How!*, *Oh*, *No*, etc.), or by a completely different orthographic system (exclamation mark, question mark, commas, pauses, etc.), specially devised to capture features of pronunciation (tone, pitch, speed, etc.);

We should be aware of the fact that the novel appeared suddenly as late as the turn of the seventeenth century² and of the case that hundreds prose tales³ written in English and published between 1500 and 1660 were almost all translations from French, Italian, and Spanish. Understandably, structurally seventeenth-century prose is primitive, a piling up of simple sentences⁴ (Allen 1976: 28). I have selected only language material which appeared originally in English. The text corpus I have chosen for this study comprises 35 selected English novels⁵ written between the 17th century and the beginning of World War II.

1.2.2. Procedure – searching and concordancing programs

After selecting the novels, I began to collect sentences which contained *what*, *why* and *how*. I chose and selected the syntactic structures in which *what*, *why* and *how* functioned as an exclamation in accordance with the definitions provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* and *Middle English Dictionary (MED)*. The language data come from numerous Early Modern English (EModE), Late Modern English (LModE) and Present-day English (PDE) texts – mostly huge electronically-readable corpora such as the Project Gutenberg, available

² Following Allen (1976: 21) “nothing that preceded the novel which appeared round about 1700 in the way of prose fiction can explain it.”

³ Unfortunately, the first prose fiction was mostly an autobiographical record of travel and adventure, which in the field of speech acts depicted in dialogues would not be marked enough to discuss the problem of the forms of everyday communication as early as in the early 17th century

⁴ The present discussion shows “on the relation between written and spoken language the corrupt nature of the written manifestations of the language spoken in the past. The question arising at this point concerns the adequacy of the sources used as compared to the language actually spoken at a particular period of the past. It has been agreed that some genres of written accounts reflect the spoken language of the past more faithfully than others” (Kryk-Kastovsky 2002: 164).

⁵ The selected novels published between the early 17th and the early 20th centuries. Historically, the language material comprises the novels that appeared in The Puritan Age, The Age of Reason, Pre-Romanticism, Romanticism, Victorian Prose, Late Victorian and Edwardian Literature, and Literature 1910-1945. Then, I have adopted the traditional division of the history of the language into EModE, LModE and PDE (Molencski 1999; Sauer 2008).

on-line and offered in the form of electronic books which are called e-books⁶. Additionally, I have made use of a great many random examples which I came across while reading modern English texts during the time I spent preparing this dissertation.

Thus, in order to carry out quantitative diachronic studies, I have utilized “the Searcher” – a searching and concordancing program provided by Mr Grzegorz Krzykała, the computer programmer who prepared the program. Taking into account the syntactic position of *wh*-phrases within the linear organisation (i.e. the fact that investigated pronouns can be placed sentence-initially as well as medially or finally since there is a noticeable tendency of *wh*-phrases to move rightwards), I have further subdivided the data in accordance with other linguistic features, such as specific punctuation, forms of negation, forms of address, etc.

1.2.3. *Periodisation*

As indicated in the previous section, the data presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six come primarily from the corpus of the Project Gutenberg. This corpus consists of hundreds of English texts written from 1621 to 1921. Furthermore, providing the time boundaries to each historical period appears to be somewhat problematic to some extent. Typically, studies of the development of English divide the language into four stages: Old English, Middle English, Modern English (Early Modern English and Late Modern English) and Present Day English. However, this is not a straightforward task, as “there are no hard and fast rules about when one period of English ends and another begins” (Fennell 2005: 1). Taking into account the development of English and the set of criteria for dating each period in a particular way, the dates for the periods of English vary considering the linguistic approach among modern grammarians. It is customary to recognise three main periods of English: Old English (OE), Middle English (ME), and Modern English (ModE) (Onions (1971), which is shared by e.g. Welna (2003) (who replaces ModE with New English from 1500 onwards). In the successive chapters (Chapters Four, Five, and Six) the detailed description of the development of the *wh*-

⁶ Suited to the users' needs, the Internet could be called the big electronic library service or an online library, containing full-text eBooks. Such net libraries help academic libraries by combining the time-honoured traditional library system with electronic publishing, they offer an easy-to-use information and retrieval systems for accessing full reference texts, scholarly, and professional books.

E-book program – an ebook is an electronic (or digital) version of a book. The form **E-book**, **eBook**, **E-Book**, **e-book** or **Ebook** can refer to either an individual work in a digital format, or a hardware device used to read books in digital format. The origins of the electronic book can be traced as far as 1946 when electronic numerical integrator and computer (ENIAC), the first computer, came online. By 1971 powerful new microprocessors were introduced that could do nearly all the basic computations of modern computers. Throughout the remainder of the 1970s, and into the 80s, the Internet grew steadily, incorporating an ever-increasing number of computers and networks.

words functioning as exclamations will begin with the linguistic situation at the period of ModE (1650-1950)⁷, which will be divided into EModE (1650-1700) and LModE (1700-1950)⁸.

In order to examine the selected English novels, I divided the texts by date into six periods: (1650-1700), (1700-1750), (1750-1800), (1800-1850), (1850-1900), and (1900-1950). Then, each 50-year period includes between four and nine novels.

1.3. *Layout of the study*

This dissertation consists of seven chapters, each of them having sections and subsections. Chapter One establishes the aims and objectives of the investigation and discusses the database. *Theoretical background* is comprised in Chapter Two. The approach which is made here is based on the sketch in 1.1. where the main characteristics of *wh*-phrases functioning as exclamations are presented. The discussion aims to describe how such phenomena might be accounted for in the framework of a consistent theory of grammar, and what kind of position *wh*-words/phrases/clauses can occupy within such a theory. In 2.4. the most important approaches towards the morphosyntactic patterns indicating the sentence-initial position (canonical construction) as well as the more peripheral sentence position (i.e. the rightward movement in the syntactic structure) of *wh*-words/phrases/clauses, and an assessment of their consequences and a comment on positions adopted will be described. Furthermore, stricter historical background, etymology and the exclamatory function of *what*, *why*, and *how* are examined in Chapter Three, which can be treated as *historical background*. This chapter examines each of the three types of the *wh*-words functioning as exclamations in detail, as well as their syntactic realisations, and examples found in the *OED* and *MED* are provided.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six investigate the results of the computerised analyses, which begin with corpus findings for the structures under discussion. In Chapters Four, Five, and Six general statements about the relative frequency and distribution of each individual

⁷ It is worth noticing that Fennell (2005) suggests different dates for the Early Modern English (i.e. 1500-1800) and Modern English (i.e. 1800-present). Then Onions (1971) treats Modern English (from about 1500 to the present day) as the third and final period of English.

⁸ It should be emphasised that for historical linguists, the object of study is how a language system can change over time (Brinton and Traugott 2005). As a result, some scholars posit transition periods between Early Modern English, Late Modern English and Present-Day English. For example, Fisiak (2000: 24-25) posits EModE (1500-1650), LateModE (1650-1800), and PDE (1800-present). Whereas, Fennell (2005: 1) has chosen the periods of English as follows: EModE (1500-1800), and ModE (1800-present).

wh-structure (*what* in Chapter Four, *how* in Chapter Five, *why* in Chapter Six) including information on syntactic forms, semantic roles, functional classes, and subclasses are discussed. What is more, clear explanations and examples of their use and function are provided. After a discussion of the corpus findings, the detailed analyses are further refined in each chapter respectively. In the sections and subsections included, the various syntactic forms are examined, and then the frequency distribution of those forms per million words, are charted. Analyses are followed by further discussion, examples from the corpus, and helpful tables. In each chapter, the discussion is continued on the positioning of *wh*-exclamatives (a canonical construction in the sentence-initial position and non-canonical structures which move righthwards). The level of analysis is extremely detailed and is consistently illustrated with references to corpus texts.

Chapter Seven provides a summary of the investigation, conclusions, and the possible consequences of this analysis in the discussion of emotive colouring and expressive functions of the exclamations and interjections *what*, *why* and *how*. Using this corpus, frequency distribution and computational analytical tools, I have tried to find the ways in which particular emotive features encapsulated in the *wh*-structures are distributed and used in relation to linguistic and situational factors.

Chapter Two

Theoretical background

2.0. Introduction

The present chapter is organised as follows. In Section 2.1., approaches to exclamations, interjections, the emotive features of language from a historical point of view are discussed. Section 2.2. contains some general observations concerning word-classes. In Section 2.3. and subsections 2.3.1. and 2.3.2., linguistic approaches to interjections are proposed. Section 2.4. illustrates the problem of defining *wh*-exclamations. In subsections 2.5.1. – 2.5.2., a systematic approach to ‘emotive language’ is conveyed. Following, a useful distinction between the spoken and written mediums of communication is examined in Section 2.6., which is treated as a preliminary introduction to Sections 2.6.1. - 2.6.4. in which other significant differences between speech and writing are raised (i.e. intonation, punctuation, context, emotive modifiers). Section 2.6.5. shows the horizontal dimension of *wh*-words that function as exclamations/interjections, accompanied with some general observations (in subsections 2.6.5.1. – 2.6.5.3.) concerning their position in the syntactic organisation as well as emotive colouring of interpersonal communication.

2.1. Approaches and interpretations

The purpose of this section is to introduce the phenomenon of exclamatory constructions and interjections. I will also attempt to review these constructions in the light of their evolution over the centuries from the Old English period to the present. It is my aim to show that the function of exclamations is an interrelation between grammar and pragmatics. By taking into account psychological and sociological aspects of communication, these structures may be compared and contrasted by means of the variety of emotions they express, e.g. surprise, anger, happiness, relief, etc., informing about a state of affairs (Beijer 1999, Sauer 2006). However, the speaker’s feelings and attitude may affect the entire interpersonal communication making the syntactic structure reduced to a single *wh*-phrase or *wh*-word (so

called the ‘talk unit’⁹), which displays ambiguity connected with the interpretation of emotive meaning¹⁰ (Wierzbicka 1992, Fabiszak 1999). In this sociolinguistic and pragmatic view, the realisation of social goals as well as the effectiveness of interpersonal communication may be limited. Crystal (1994), Quirk *et al.* (1985), Stubbs (2001) notice the fact that the common abbreviated style of exclamations may be decoded by means of the situational context. This view on the all-embracing nature of single-word exclamations is closely related to interjections which are, on the one hand, the most common lexical items in spontaneous social communication, but on the other, treated relatively marginally in linguistic investigation (Crystal 1991, Wierzbicka 1992, Kryk-Kastovsky 2002). Historically speaking, Wierzbicka (1992), Taavitsainen (1995), Polański (1999), Sauer (2006), discuss the concept of exclamations and interjections providing the basic features and division, but what is important here is the fact that such structures have been limited to the popular *oh, ah, wow*, etc.

However, in the context of research on *oral narrative*, it should be emphasised that the area of psycholinguistics is beyond the scope of the present investigation. This is why I propose to explore emotive language on a syntactic level, which is the most noticeable perspective of grammar (Molencki¹¹ (1991), Willis (1993: 84), Roberts (2007)). Diachronically speaking, the written data is full of devices (discourse markers, verbs of saying, linear organisation of constituents, etc) which “ground norms of archetypical speech and archetypical writing” (Crystal and Davy 1969: 70, Schiffrin 1987, McCarthy 1993). Thus, distributional variation, for example, may illustrate how the emphasis on emotions changed over time as an effect of the change in social values (Taylor 1995, Fabiszak 1999). In this context, Rosengren (1997: 152) states that “the exclamative is probably the most prominent candidate for recognition as a sentence type in grammar on par with the declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses.” However, Quirk *et al.* (1985) regard exclamatives as irregular sentences with some ‘fuzzy’ cases falling between the two categories, on the one

⁹ It is worth noticing Herlyn’s (1999: 318) theoretical framework on the linguistic features of oral communication. He discusses the basic unit of spoken English, which in Halford’s terms is the ‘talk unit’ roughly corresponding to the sentence in written English, but he claims that it allows for a greater variety of ways in which syntagms are tied together (1996). What is more, Halford points out that in spoken discourse there is “the relevance of presenting information in small steps in order to facilitate planning and decoding processes.”

¹⁰ Fabiszak (1999) provides an opinion on emotions and emotionology. She states that “emotions are a complex human experience that has aroused much interdisciplinary interest and [i]t has been studied by psychologists, historians and linguists.” Then, she observes that “emotionology is understood as a set of beliefs, scenarios or cognitive models for understanding and expressing emotions in socially transparent and acceptable ways, which is closely linked to values and is shared by a given community.”

¹¹ It is worth noticing that Molencki’s study has demonstrated a close relationship between functional characteristics of the *what*-word and the means of its realisation in OE and ME (1991), which is particularly significant in the light of the macrovariation of the *wh*-phrase in the syntactic organisation. The problem of the microvariation of the *wh*-phrase organisation and its word-order differentiation in diachronic perspective is discussed by Roberts (2007).

hand, interrogative pronouns, while on the other, interjections (Stankiewicz 1986, Wierzbicka 1992, Taavitsainen 1995, Kryk-Kastovsky 2002, Sauer 2006, Kardela 2008). What is important here is the fact that exclamatives may resemble declaratives, interrogatives, verbless clauses or fragment sentences (Herlyn 1999, Huddleston and Pullum 2002) The general picture is that they obtain their exclamatory function via a process of inference, which according to Rosengren (1997: 153), is “triggered by the sentence type, the propositional content and emphatic stress, resulting in a generalized implicature.”

Without going into details, it should be stated that exclamations are introduced by *wh*-phrases which may look just like declarative or interrogative clauses. Nevertheless, Lock (1996: 60) states that the representation of exclamatory clauses by a *wh*-word may necessitate other changes, for example, word-order rearrangement, particularly in the internal structure of the *wh*-phrase or *wh*-clause, or a shift to the initial position and medial position (see also Quirk *et al.* 1985, Stankiewicz 1986, Roberts 2007).

Central to the present dissertation and linguistic understanding is the assumption of a relationship between *wh*-exclamations and interjections and an attempt to show the view of semantic change, distribution, illocutionary force, etc. as a straightforward progression in time, which is discussed by, e.g. Stankiewicz (1986), Huddleston (2002), Sauer (2006). Historically, the idea of complexity of emphatic statements and emotive language emerges in the sporadic attempts to define exclamations and interjections as a word-class. From this we must conclude that there have been very few articles regarding the investigation of *wh*-interrogative pronouns functioning as exclamations or interjections in diachronic perspective.

For this reason I will not simply list what has already been attempted, but the present chapter will suggest further ways in which historical linguistic studies discuss the phenomenon of *wh*-exclamative structures and their development at present. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to providing more detailed examples of parameters, both in synchronic and diachronic domains as well as approaches and interpretations supported by linguistic literature.

2.2. *Word classes*

As has been stated above, the field of the *wh*-exclamative questions is relatively complicated. Frequently, these exclamative structures are spontaneous outcries, which is noticeable in the internal structure of the *wh*-patterns appearing to contain structural uniqueness. At the other

extreme, semantic complexity and ambiguity are particularly observable if the *wh*-word functions as a single-word phrase. Thus, a problem exists with drawing category boundaries particularly with one-word phrases. In spite of the fact that “within traditional grammar the syntax of a language is described in terms of a taxonomy¹² (i.e. classificatory list) of the range of different types of syntactic structures found in the language in which a specific constituent belongs to a specific grammatical category and serves a specific grammatical function” (Radford 2004: 1). On the other hand, there are opinions that it is not possible to treat the system of word classes as a ‘watertight system’ since the division into ‘open class’ and ‘closed class’ may be treated as an artificial and not real treatment particularly if we take into account the *wh*-phrase that is ellipted to a single-word unit. There are many difficulties with the classification of a word-class. In some cases “some individual words may be unique items so far as part-of-speech classification is concerned” (Wardhaugh 1995: 6). Below I would like to present a rough sketch of a diachronic analysis of views regarding the problem of word class.

Sauer (2008: 4) states that “the first Western grammar was the *Techne grammatike* by Dionysius Thrax (1st century B.C.), which established the pattern of word-classes that is the backbone of most grammars still today.” He adds that Dionysius distinguished eight parts of speech such as the noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, and conjunction. But he did not recognise interjections as a separate entity. Sauer (2008) points out that Quintilian (ca. 35 – 100 A.D.) was the first author to recognise the interjection as an independent word-class¹³. In the 3rd century B.C., the Stoics established more formally the basic grammatical notions and grouped words into parts of speech¹⁴ organising their variant forms into paradigms. Then, the adaptation of Greek grammar to Latin by Priscian, in the 6th century, became influential. Here, Priscian defined eight parts of speech: the noun, verb, participles, pronoun, preposition, adverb, interjection¹⁵, conjunction (Malmkjær 2004: 247-248). Following King (1993: 35), it should be noted that in Victorian times, books on

¹² It is important to emphasise that in the field of universal grammar “phrases and sentences are built up of a series of constituents (i.e. syntactic units), each of which belongs to a specific grammatical category and serves a specific grammatical function; [g]iven this assumption, the task of the linguist analyzing the syntactic structure of any given type of sentence is to identify each of the constituents in the sentence, and (for each constituent) to say what category it belongs to and what function it serves.” (Radford 2004: 1)

¹³ Huddleston (1984: 90) points out that “many modern grammars, while using the categories noun, verb, adjective, etc., refer to them as *word-classes* or *form-classes*, rather than *parts of speech*, partly in order to dissociate themselves from the traditional doctrine.”

¹⁴ Following Quirk *et al.* (1985: 67-75), it is worth noticing that “members of the Indo-European group of languages have been analysed in terms of the general word classes traditionally called *parts of speech* since classical antiquity.”

¹⁵ The interjection is not explicitly defined, but is distinguished from an adverb, with which the Greeks identified it, by reason of the *syntactic independence it show and because of its emotive meaning* (Malmkjær 2004)

grammar were simpler and nine parts of speech were established, namely determiners, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections. Following an approach which can be traced to Latin, traditional grammars of English agreed¹⁶ that there were **eight** parts of speech in English; the noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction, and **interjection** (Huddleston 1984; Richards and Platt 1992; Malmkjær 2004). Then King (1993: 36) proposes nine word classes, such as open classes (nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, interjections) and closed classes (determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliaries). As far as word classes are concerned, Leech and Svartvik (1994: 402) make a distinction between *major word-classes* (called *open class words*, i.e. main verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs) and *minor word-classes* (called *closed-class words*, with up to ten members, i.e. auxiliary verbs, determiners, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections). The same number of ‘sentence elements that realize the sentence structures’ is listed by Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 18). They also exemplify ten units which can be referred as parts of speech as follows: group (a) *noun, adjective, adverb, verb*, and group (b) *article, demonstrative, pronoun, preposition, conjunction, interjection*.

In terms of interjections the problem of establishing boundaries is later discussed by Blake and Moorhead (1993: 11), who point out that “even though interjections are regarded as a closed class the membership of the class changes historically.” What is important here is the fact that both interjections and exclamations are interrelated since “some exclamations sometimes are called *interjections*” (Leech 1989: 140). The treatment of exclamations and interjections in grammar and linguistic literature has been diverse over the centuries. I agree with Sauer (2008: 7) that “the interjections should probably be classed among the so-called open (lexical) word-classes, to which new members are frequently added (especially nouns, adjectives, etc.) and not with the closed word-classes, to which new members are rarely added (especially pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliary verbs).” Then Burton and Humphries (1992), as well as King (1993: 36), place interjections in open classes together with nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. More specifically, “some words move easily from one grammatical category to another and that some are even unique in how they are used in the language” (Wardhaugh 1995: 6).

This constant competition between these two functions (interrogative and exclamatory), on the one hand, and coexistence on the other, causes difficulty in placing “the

¹⁶ Crystal (1997: 196-213) points out that “in the 1940s and 1950s linguists encountered so many problems of identification and definition of the term *parts of speech*. Instead of the part of speech linguists introduced the term *word class* as equivalent.”

formal boundaries between clause-types” (Molencski 1999: 49). The problem of classification is presented by König (1986), who says that “there are many cases of overlap and neutralization so that a watertight system¹⁷ of classification and analysis does not seem to be possible.” The characteristics of the basic grammatical functions of *what*, *why*, and *how* in modern grammars gives a set of coexisting functions, such as interrogative pronouns used in indirect questions, direct questions, a one-word question standing alone, and exclamations (Quirk *et al.* 1985, Leech 1989).

Yet another view is held by Huddleston (1984: 120) for whom the correlation between syntactic form and meaning is crucial in the classification of parts of speech. Furthermore Rosengren (1997: 152) states that “variety in form and unity in function is a dilemma for every grammar categorizing form types; [t]his is why grammars tend to be inconsistent in their treatment of exclamatives.” In contrast to the taxonomic approach adopted in traditional grammar, Chomsky takes a cognitive approach to the study of grammar where the classes are not precisely coextensive with traditional ones since “traditional¹⁸ terms lack precise definition, are inconsistent in their application, and are generally inadequate” (Radford 2004: 96). Since “categorizing form types is not based on one-to-one relation between form and function (fuzzy relation between form and function), it should be emphasized that the exclamatory function cannot be directly derived from the semantics of the uttered clauses” (Rosengren 1997: 180).

In terms of interpersonal functions, the quick pace of turn-taking is somehow problematic as the length of constructions can be delimited to one item, e.g. *Christ!*, *wow*, *oops*, *What!*, etc., which makes them similar to so called *response cries* (Goffman 1981: 99). Frequently, even if the clause has a declarative or interrogative structure/form, it functions as an exclamation. A possible solution in examining the part-of-speech categorisation of such

¹⁷ With reference to the *watertight system* it would be useful to quote Aristotle’s theory of cauterisation. In accordance with this theory the categories are understood as (ten) *kinds of being*. What is important here is the four-point thesis: (1) there is a rule of binary opposition; each being belongs only to one category; which means that the same being belongs to one and the other category simultaneously (being is *ipso facto* category), (2) in terms of binary opposition, each being has one feature; it is not possible to have [+] or [-] at the same time, (3) each category divides the world into two groups of objects, those which belong to one category, and those which do not belong, (4) all objects belonging to one category are equal; each object has all defined features of this category; (Taylor 1995: 46-7; *Dictionary of Philosophy* 2000: 40-45, 69, 89). The same problem of binary opposition is adopted by Rosengren (1997) who assumes that the emotive system has two dimensions, EMint (int for intensity) and EM± (for positive and negative emotions). The model is presented in Fries (1991, 1994).

¹⁸ According to Malmkjær (2004: 481) “[l]inguists tend to criticize traditional grammar for being based largely on intuitions about grammatical meaning, for being atomistic and not backed by an overall theory or model of grammar, for overemphasizing detail at the expense of attention to larger patterns, and for being internally inconsistent yet prescriptive or normative in nature, ignoring or classing as ungrammatical actual linguistic usage in favour of prescriptive rules derived largely from Latin and Greek and the linguistic categories appropriate to these languages.”

words is to look at what kinds of diachronic changes occur as they are used in phrases, clauses, and sentences (see Chapters Four, Five, Six). This is why in this approach we first investigate words in isolation and then successively in phrases, clauses, and finally in sentences.

For reasons of space, in the present paper I will confine my attention to the *wh*-clauses that are syntactically interrogative or declarative, but perform the exclamatory function or appear as interjections.

2.3. Linguistic approaches to interjections

It is worth noting that the quasi-linguistic noises, e.g. *Ouch! Hush!*, very frequently have either an exclamatory or an imperative force. We must also acknowledge that statements and questions, too, can occur as interjections or in markedly reduced forms: *Uh-huh, Yes, No, Eh?, Right?, Ready?*, etc. According to *Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN* (1996: Volume 6 p.925):

Wykrzykniki, interiekcje, to nieodmienne wyrazy, pozbawione treści pojęciowej, tworzące wypowiedzi samodzielne lub wstawione między człony zdania; służą do wyrażania stanów uczuciowych, naśladowania odgłosów, np.: *och, oj, nuże, bęc*.

Interjections are words that do not undergo any declension, have no notion of essence; performing independent utterances or inserted between the other parts of sentence; interjections express speaker's emotions, imitate noises, e.g. *och, oj, nuże, bęc*; (my translation)

According to Linacre's translation of Diomedes, "interjections betoken *some passion of the mynde*" (Prynne 1988: 140). Centuries later, Jespersen "defines interjections as abrupt expressions of sudden sensations and emotions" (1968: 197). In more recent times, however, these have generally been held in rather low regard. For example, James (1972: 162) discusses the behaviour of both interjections and hesitations. She states that "the words that have been traditionally categorized as *interjections* have their own specialized and in some cases quite complex meanings, and moreover, they interrelate in various ways with other aspects of English grammar." She then adds that "interjections are used simply to express emotion, or simply to indicate hesitation", "they can be inserted more or less randomly into any sentence, and that they do not bear grammatical relationships to other phenomena in language." According to James (1972: 162) interjections include, for example, *oh, ah, uh, well, why* (as it occurs in, e.g. *Why, John left!*), and *say* (as it occurs in, e.g. *Say, I just found out a cheap way to get to California!*). Nevertheless, they are often entirely ignored, or at best, regarded as being extremely marginal, which is relatively noticeable in modern

grammars. For example, Quirk *et al.* (1985) devotes only two pages to interjections which are treated as a ‘marginal and anomalous class’ (1985: 67), ‘grammatically peripheral’, ‘peripheral to the language system itself’ (1985: 74), ‘purely emotive words which do not enter into syntactic relations’, and ‘some of them have phonological features which lie outside the regular system of the language’ (1985: 853). Then, the same marginal treatment is given by Leech (1989: 215) who merely says that ‘an interjection is the grammatical term for an *exclamation word* such as *oh*, *ah*, and *wow*’. According to Broughton (1990: 147), ‘a minor, and least important, word class is that of interjections, usually shown in writing by exclamation marks – *Ah! Ouch!*’ He adds that interjections have no linked grammatical relationship with other word classes and have only loose links with the sentences they appear in. In fact they are more often found in isolation, and should not be confused with exclamations, which have sentence form (Broughton 1990).

The classification into **primary** and **secondary** interjections (originally Bloomfield’s idea) is discussed by Polański (1999). Dividing interjections into two groups, i.e. *primary* interjections and *secondary* interjections, he notes that the former are etymologically not motivated (structurally, morphologically), and they are emotive elements or onomatopoeic forms, e.g. *ah!*, *sh!*, *shh!*, etc. The latter are derived from clusters of words or longer sentences, e.g. *psia krew!*, *rety!*, etc. (1999: 644-645). The same division is presented by Taavitsainen (1993: 574), who adds that “primary interjections consist of one word and they do not enter into syntactic constructions¹⁹; they form a fairly closed set of words.” Furthermore, she adds that “the scale extends from spontaneous onomatopoeic *ad hoc* formations to conventionalised lexical items of foreign origin.” Wierzbicka (1992) has proposed that one of the defining features of a primary interjection is that it is a linguistic sign “which is not homophonous with another lexical item that would be perceived as semantically related to it”, or perhaps “which is not homophoneous with other lexical items whose meaning would be included in its own meaning, that is, in the meaning of the interjection.” On the other hand, secondary interjections are more complicated since they are classified together with exclamatory phrases because “these expressions mix with swear words, oaths, pious wishes and greeting formulas, and there is a gliding scale to discourse particles” (Taavitsainen 1993: 574). Then, Wilkins (1992: 124) defines interjections using semantic criteria. He defines an interjection as:

¹⁹ Malmkjær (2004: 465) points out Prescian’s definition in accordance with which “the interjection is not explicitly defined, but is distinguished from an adverb, with which the Greeks identified it, by reason of the *syntactic independence it shows and because of its emotive meaning.*”

A conventional lexical form which (commonly and) conventionally constitutes an utterance on its own, (typically) does not enter into construction with other word classes, is (usually) monomorphemic, and (generally) does not host inflectional or derivational morphemes.

Wilkins (1992) provides several comments concerning this definition of an *interjection*:

- ‘conventional lexical form’ indicates that interjections have a fixed and largely arbitrary phonological/ phonetic/ visual shape known to the majority of members of the speech community within which the interjection is found, on perceiving this form, that group is able to interpret its sense;
- ‘conventionally constitute an utterance on their own’; in other words, to be an interjection is to be a sign which speakers conventionalise as an utterance;
- ‘does not enter into construction with other word classes’; this corresponds to Ameka’s and Wierzbicka’s notion of ‘primary interjection’;
- ‘the hedges in brackets, i.e. commonly, typically, usually, generally, cast a wider net and catch elements that would be called ‘secondary interjections’ by Bloomfield;

As far as the function of interjections is concerned, first of all they are said to “express a speaker’s mental state, action or attitude and communicative intentions” (Taavitsainen 1993: 574). In contrast to the immediate situation of spontaneous speech, interjections in writing may be produced in imitation of spoken language. Then, according to their purely emotive level, three functional categories are distinguished (Ameka 1992: 107, 113-4; Taavitsainen 1993: 574; 1995: 441):

1. Focus on the speaker’s mind: a) emotive b) cognitive (reflects the speaker’s mental processes.
2. Conative: directed at an auditor, demanding an action or response in return
3. Phatic, used for contact, or to keep the conversation going; in contrast to the previous group, they do not demand any action or response

In pragmatics, “interjections are defined as linguistic gestures which express a speaker’s mental state, action or attitude, or reaction to a situation” (Ameka 1992: 102-106). What is more, Ameka says that the primary functions of interjections may either be ‘speaker- or addressee-oriented’, and the emotive function is given as a ‘subcategory of the speaker-oriented function’ (1992: 113-4).

2.3.1. Interjections as lexemes and utterances

The unique formal feature of interjections is that they are simultaneously lexemes and utterances (Wilkins 1992). In order to illustrate further differences between the many

definitions of interjections, it would be useful to explore some of the conditions under which “a lexeme may constitute a whole utterance” (1992: 127). Diachronically speaking, in the course of the 20th century, Sapir (1921: 6-7) states that interjections are “the nearest of all language sounds to instinctive utterance.” Then Bloomfield (1933:176), classifies interjections amongst ‘minor sentences’, whereas Curme (1931: 30) labels interjections ‘the most primitive type of sentence.’ To sum up, interjections as utterances/sentences have been regarded as ‘primitive’, ‘instinctive’ or ‘minor’ primarily as they “do not consist of a favourite sentence-form” (Bloomfield 1933: 176). Wilkins (1992: 128) points out the fact that “they are highly reduced in form, being limited to a single lexeme, and the fact that they contain neither a verb (the canonical predicating element) nor a noun (the canonical referring element), means they are definitely ‘odd’ utterances/sentences.”

Wierzbicka (1992: 164) defines an interjection as a linguistic sign expressing the speaker’s current mental state (1) which can be used on its own, (2) which expresses a specifiable meaning, (3) which does not include other signs (with a specifiable meaning), (4) which is not homophonous with another lexical item that would be perceived as semantically related to it, and (5) which refers to the speaker’s current mental state or mental act (e.g. *I feel...*, *I want...*, *I think...*, *I know...*). Furthermore, referring to the speaker’s mental state, or mental act, Wierzbicka (1992: 164) establishes the following classes of interjections:

- (1) emotive ones (those which have in their meaning the component *I feel something*);
- (2) volitive ones (those which have in their meaning the component *I want something* and which do not have the component *I feel something*; e.g. the English *Sh!* or the Polish *Sza!* ‘be quiet’);
- (3) cognitive ones (those which have in their meaning the component *I think something* or *I know something* and which have neither the emotive component *I feel something* nor the volitive component *I want something*; e.g. the English *Aha!* ‘I understand’);

Another attempt at defining interjections is represented by Łyda (2003: 185-6) who agrees with the function-based theory of interjections of Orwińska-Ruziczka (1992) and the syntactic-semantic approach of Grochowski (1976, 1993). As such, interjections fall into four categories:

- (1) impulsive, expressing varying degrees and shades of emotions; subdivided into
 - (a) sensory, (b) emotive (primary emotives) or feelings (secondary emotives), e.g. Eng. *wow*,
 - (c) intellectual, e.g. Eng. *well*;
- (2) imperatives, in which the prime constituent is the speaker’s will; split into
 - (a) attention-attractors, e.g. Eng. *O*, (b) orders, (c) greetings, e.g. Eng. *hi*;
- (3) representatives, correspond roughly to the category of onomatopoeia and are a phonetic representation of auditory and visual impressions (an imitation of sounds, e.g. Eng. *flash*);

- (4) parenthetics, which are syntactically unrelated to the adjacent clauses, comprise (a) intensifiers, e.g. Eng. *bloody*, (b) exasperations expressing strong negative emotions, e.g. Eng. *for God's sake*, (c) swearwords, e.g. Eng. *Damn it*.

In modern discussions, interjections are defined in various ways by different linguists, however, it has been argued recently “that interjections should be added to other deictic elements, alongside pronouns and demonstratives” (Wilkins 1992: 131). All in all, their ambiguity poses an interpretative problem.

2.3.2. *Interjections as deictics*

The deictic nature of interjections “comes from recognizing that all interjections are indexical” (Wilkins 1992: 131). He claims that “evidence that deictic elements are part of the decomposition of interjections comes from a number of sources” (1992: 132):

- (1) deictic elements are frequently incorporated into interjections (in English, e.g. the forms *Thank you.*, *Gimme!*, *Welcome!*, and *Dammit!* – whose orthographic representations demonstrate that they are each single lexemes rather than phrases);
- (2) spatial prepositional elements frequently take on deictic directional senses in interjections and interjectional phrases (e.g. *Fuck off!*, *Buzz off!*, *Piss off!*, *Kiss off!*);
- (3) a number of deictic forms in English are repeated to give interjectional forms (e.g. *There, there*, which is used to calm someone down and/or give them consolation, *Now, now!*, which may be used to placate or reprove someone, and *Come, come!*, which may be used to hurry someone up or to get someone to behave in a sensible fashion).

Taking into account the above classification, it is important to consider the fact that they are likely to be interpreted differently by various receivers as interjections are strongly situational units.

To sum up, it can be stated that a close inspection of interjections and exclamations results in a somewhat confusing terminology. Nevertheless, defining these terms is even problematic in modern dictionaries. For example, in *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (1998: 688) (henceforth *LDEL*) we can find that “an interjection is a phrase, word, or set of sounds used as a sudden remark usually expressing a strong feeling such as shock, disapproval, or pleasure; *Good Heavens!* and *Ouch!* are examples of interjections.” Surprisingly, in the same dictionary we can find that ‘*Good Heavens!* is an exclamation (of surprise)’ (1998: 449). The same problem of defining is noticeable in Leech (1989: 140), who says that “some exclamations are special *emotion words* that are sometimes called *interjections*.” In such approaches we look at an interjection which is treated as an exclamation, while an exclamation is treated as an interjection. Thus, it could be said that any

attempts to define interjections can be treated as *idem per idem* causing chaos in terminology. It is therefore useful to “limit the term *interjection* to the word level category and call the sentence level category *exclamations*” (Taavitsainen 1995: 573).

To sum up, it can be said that both exclamatory statements and interjections express emotions. However, exclamations are usually marked either by a special introductory word (*what, how*) or by inversion of subject and verb and are accompanied by a mark of exclamation. Furthermore, exclamations can be in the form of a question, wish or command, while interjections are perceived as a class of words (e.g. *ha, ho, oh, etc.*) which express sudden emotions.

2.4. Exclamations – *wh-exclamative structures and function*

Apart from the classification of sentences on the basis of their syntactic structure, further distinction can be made in relation to their function in discourse (e.g. directions, exclamations). Saloni (1976: 137) claims that:

Eksklamacja (wykrzyknienie) to figura retoryczna (stylistyczna) mająca na celu spotęgowanie ekspresji. Może przybierać formę **zdania wykrzyknikowego**, np.: *Biada nam, zbiegi, żeśmy w czas morowy Lękliwie nieśli za granicę głowy!* (A. Mickiewicz)

Exclamation is a rhetorical figure (stylistic) which is used to make an emotive colouring stronger. It may have a form of an exclamative clause, e.g. *Biada nam, zbiegi, żeśmy w czas morowy Lękliwie nieśli za granicę głowy!* (A. Mickiewicz) (my translation)

The three English language dictionaries *LDEL* (used in this analysis), *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (henceforth *CIDE*) (1998: 742) and *Macmillan English Dictionary* (2002: 478) (henceforth *MaED*), provide the following descriptions of the exclamation:

- (i) ‘exclamation - the word(s) expressing a sudden strong feeling; *Good Heavens!* is an exclamation (of surprise)’ (*LDEL* 1998: 449)
- (ii) ‘*Ouch!, Not now!, Yes! and No!* are all exclamations’ (*CIDE* 1998: 477)
- (iii) ‘exclamation – something you say because you are surprised, impressed, angry etc.’
(*MaED* 2002: 478)

Thus, the three dictionaries do not seem to be consistent in describing an exclamation, in the first place, as a token of a strong feeling of surprise and something said when someone is surprised. It is important to notice that these three examples ascertain the condition of

surprise. Such a definition cannot be consistent as even a common way of expressing surprise may constitute ‘positive surprise’, ‘neutral surprise’, and ‘negative surprise’ (Kryk-Kastovsky 2002). Turning to the Polish data, Wierzbicka (1992) points out that the interjections *o*, *och*, *ocho*, as well as *oj/ojej* are typical exponents of surprise while Jodłowski (1976) enumerates *ach*, *och*, *ojej* among exclamations as the signs of emotive language. The similar chaotic mixture of definitions can be found in Stankiewicz (1964), who mentions *och*, *oj* as exclamations, yet used to express the feeling of fright. The same chaotic way of defining can be observed in Leech (1989: 140), who notes that “some exclamations are special *emotion words* that are sometimes called *interjections*²⁰ (e.g. *ah*, *Hey!*, *Oh*, *Ooh*, *Ow*, *Ugh*, etc.)”

A word of caution should be voiced at this point. Notice that in this case *circulus in definiendo* is clearly noticeable and it can be said that the distinction between interjections and exclamations is, on the one hand, a blur, on the other, very subtle, so as a result it is very difficult to recognise.

On the syntactic and functional level, Quirk *et al.* (1985) identify four types of simple sentences: declarative sentences, interrogatives, imperatives, and exclamatives. Exclamatives, as a formal category, resemble *wh*-questions in beginning with a *wh*-word (*what* or *how*), but differ from them in generally retaining the regular declarative order of subject and verb (Blake and Moorhead 1993: 19). Burt (1991: 13) adds that it is significant to distinguish between *exclamatory sentences* beginning with *how* and *what* and *questions* beginning with *how* and *what*, as in:

What is your name? What a name! or How clever is she? How clever!

Corresponding to these are four classes of discourse functions: statements, questions, directives, and exclamations. In terms of exclamations, Quirk *et al.* (1985) locate them at the pragmatic end of the scale since they may take many forms other than the canonical structures, and are often reducible to formulaic utterances which make a very limited use of grammatical structure. Here again, attention must be paid to the interaction between grammar and other factors in the totality of linguistic communication (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 2.58). Broughton (1990: 281) states :

Think of sentence types as people. Perhaps you are a tax inspector, but in several situations you play other roles: a parent to your children, a customer to a shopkeeper, a passenger to a taxi-driver. Yet you

²⁰ The observations in a section on interjections state that *Good Heavens!* is an interjection and in the same dictionary an exclamation is defined as ‘the word(s) expressing a sudden strong feeling: *Good Heavens!* is an exclamation (of surprise)’ (LDEL 1998). I will claim here that this way of defining is *circulus in definiendo* as the same notion defines two different phenomenon.

still look the same, you haven't changed your shape. In the same way, a declarative – without changing its form – can ask a question, give an order, show emotion, say hallo or goodbye and fulfill many other functions, according to the situation. Remember, also, that any sentence form can have a questioning or an exclamatory function if it is taken up by a second speaker.

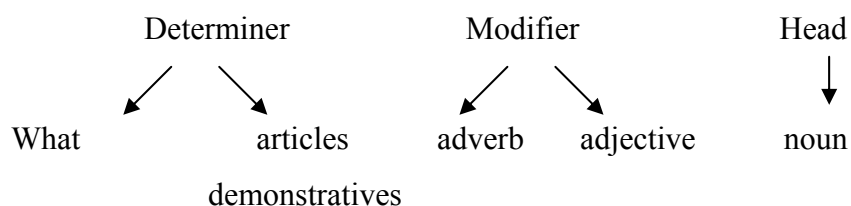
If the normally unstressed interrogative pronoun receives stress, the effect is often to add exclamatory emphasis to the whole sentence. In writing, the effect can often be conveyed only through the use of exclamation marks as the words require marked contrastive focus (Blake and Moorhead 1993). Burt (1991: 12) points out that exclamations need exclamation marks (see Section 2.6.3. for details), but not every command or heartfelt statement. The present discussion centres on providing a clear definition of an exclamation. However, as has been pointed out, both exclamations and interjections host almost the same properties, occupy the left-most position (see Section 2.6.5 for details), and are employed to express emotion. The only difference is that primary interjections do not enter into syntactic constructions, whereas exclamations may take on the form of a sentence.

2.4.1. Special questions - Wh-word; Wh-element; Wh-phrase

Speakers are able to accomplish a great many communicative tasks (e.g. start a conversation, order someone to do something, promise to do something at some future time, express surprise or dismay at what is going on about them, and so on) with the sentences which will have *specific syntactic constructions*, or even *specific forms* (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). Referring to clauses, Quirk *et al.* (1972) use the following adjectives corresponding to the four sentence types just described: declarative (clause), interrogative (clause), imperative (clause) and exclamatory (clause). Then they recognise four grammatical types of sentences or clauses: declarative (clauses/sentences), interrogative (clauses/sentences), imperatives, and exclamative (clauses/sentences) (Quirk *et al.* 1985). Turning to discourse functions associated with the four clause/sentence types, they go on to state that there are statements, questions, directives (commands) and exclamations. What is important here is the fact that other constructions exist which can be used when making exclamations, namely EXCLAMATORY QUESTIONS or WH-EXCLAMATORY QUESTIONS, like *How clever Christine is!* and *What a fool I was not to think of it before!* (Beijer 1999), and these constructions are frequently 'questions in form, but functionally like exclamations' (Quirk *et al.* 1972). Taking this into consideration, in this section I will show modern language data which is applicable to the analysis of historical language data (see Chapters Four-Six).

First of all, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 81) note that first the *wh*-element which is recognised as the *emphatic degree item* in *wh*-exclamations should be identified. The *wh*-element is a phrase containing or consisting of the *wh*-word. Furthermore, if the *wh*-element is the subject, no change is made in the statement order, but if the *wh*-element is some other element (e.g. O, C, A), it should be placed before the subject²¹, and the operator takes place between the *wh*-element and the subject. At this point I will elaborate on what has just been stated about a number of combinations from the three dependants to define the *wh*-exclamative clause in which the *wh*-element/phrase/word²² that is defined in a different way is the most important item.

In the diachronic analysis of the language data, the notions of word-order variations within the *wh*-phrases as well as the neighbouring areas would signal some syntactic, semantic and pragmatic problems. Several interesting linguistic phenomena can be signalled and the grounds for a discussion of the process of grammaticalisation which most clearly embodies the link between synchrony and diachrony. In view of this, it is important to distinguish different ways of defining the closest items that follow the exclamative *wh*-word (*what, why, how*).



(Huddleston 1984: 232)

What is at issue here is purely a matter of terminology as the situation is somewhat confusing when ‘word’, ‘phrase’, ‘element’, ‘structure’ with reference to *wh*-exclamative clauses is used. In order to avoid any misinterpretation of terms in this dissertation, the situation should be clarified at the beginning of this work. There are many contrasting definitions found in modern grammars:

Huddleston (1984: 373-374) states that “exclamative clauses are marked by one or other of the *wh*-words, such as *how* (e.g. *How well she sings!*) which is more characteristic of formal or careful style than *what* (e.g. *What a fine singer she is!*).” A similar notion to the

²¹ What interjections and exclamations share, apart from the phonological, morphological form and emotive function, is the position within the syntactic structure. As degree items they generally occupy the left-most position. (Kryk-Kastovsky 2002: 152).

²² It may be said that all (non-elliptical) NPs contain a head element, realised by a noun, and optionally one or more dependants, pre-head which precede the head and post-head which follow the head.

exclamations appears in Leech (1989: 141-142) who notes that *what* and *how* are defined as exclamations by means of the following structure

What + (a) + (adjective) + noun *How + adjective/adverb*

Then he adds that exclamations are sometimes whole sentences which contain one of these words *what*, *how*, *such*, or *so*²³. Exclamations with *what* and *how* have the *what-* or *how-*phrase at the front. After the *what-* or *how-*phrase the word order must be subject + verb.

What an awful example this is! *How lovely the garden looks today!*

For Broughton (1990: 305-306), the interrogative *what* is a chameleon word taking on the meaning/colour of its surrounding context. *What* as a pre-determiner intensifier stands before the indefinite article with singular count nouns, and with the zero article with plural countable nouns and non-countable nouns. It can open sentences of exclamation: *What a feeling of weariness. What traffic!* Then in Richards and Platt (1992: 131) “exclamation or exclamatory sentence is an utterance which shows the speaker’s or writer’s feelings.” Exclamations begin with a **phrase** using *what* or *how*, but they do not reverse the order of the subject and the auxiliary verb: *How clever she is!*, *What a good dog!*

According to CCEU (1992: 569-573), “there are several ways of expressing your reaction to something you have been told or something you see”; people often use an exclamation that may consist of a word, a group of words, or a clause. *How* and *what* are sometimes used to begin exclamations. The use of *how* to begin a clause in an exclamation, e.g. *How clever he is!*, is now regarded as old-fashioned

Swan’s (1996: 193-194) definition is similar that of Leech’s definition of exclamative structures with *what*:

What + a/an + (adjective) + singular countable noun

What + (adjective) + uncountable/ plural noun

and *how*: *how + adjective*

how + (adjective/adverb) + subject + verb

As far as modifiers are concerned, Swan (1996: 12) identifies another structure which is common in more formal styles, such as *how + adjective + a/an + noun*

How good a pianist is he?

As the aforementioned list of definitions includes a wide range of characteristics of *wh*-exclamative structures, it is still difficult to pinpoint a clear difference between an interrogative word and an interrogative phrase. In distinguishing the difference between a ‘word’, ‘phrase’, ‘element’, ‘structure’ in the field of emotional syntactic structures, it should

²³ It is worth mentioning here that *so* and *such* are recognised as intensifiers and determiners respectively in statements and questions: *We’ve had such a time* and *Why did you use to hate geography?* (Quirk *et al.* 1972).

be noted that Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 910-911) clarify terminology and concepts of *what* and *how*. They claim that it is important to recognise a category of interrogative phrase, not single words that are affected by the fronting rule (*wh*-fronting)²⁴. Following on from that idea, since an interrogative phrase is one, by virtue of containing the interrogative word. This observation indicates that the exclamative structures with fronted *wh*-forms provides a further syntactic/semantic level in distinguishing between an interrogative word and interrogative phrase. Huddleston and Pullum claim that such upward percolation may involve more than one step. So, taking into account *what* and *how*, they describe the NP in which *what* or *how* take the topmost fronted position. This is evidenced in the following trees:

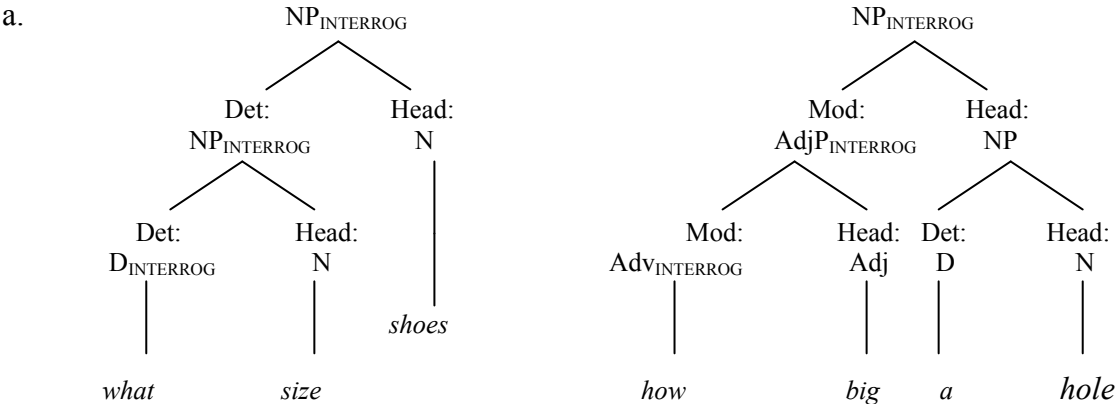


Figure 2.1

Both Figures involve two steps: “the interrogative feature first perlocates up from the word *what* to the NP *what size*, and then from this to the higher NP *what size shoes*. Similarly, from *how* to the AdjP *how big*, and thence to the NP *how big a hole*” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 911). Following Huddleston and Pullum, the examples presented by the trees share two properties:

- a. The maximal interrogative phrase is the highest phrase beginning with the interrogative word
- b. The maximal interrogative phrase is an element of clause structure

As a result, it is possible to say that *what size shoes* is higher in the tree than the other phrase beginning with *what*, namely *what size*; and *what size shoes* is a clause element, namely object, whereas *what size* is not (it is a determiner in NP structure).

²⁴ For example, in *Which car did she take?*, *which car* is fronted, but *which* cannot be fronted alone **Which did she take car?* According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 910) *which* is an interrogative word and *which car* an interrogative phrase. They state that “we can speak metaphorically of the interrogative feature as percolating upwards from the word *which* to the phrase *which car*” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 910).

Then Taavitsainen (1993: 185-266) says that:

The co-occurrence of patterns of features are important for overall effects of style and the individual features in such a matrix may be of varying importance (...), that is, interjections and short exclamations like *What!*, *How!* proved to be the most powerful individual feature.

Overall, exclamative sentences are used to express an emotionally tainted comment on a matter being discussed, which is achieved by the introduction of *what* preceding a noun or *how* before an adjective or adverb.

2.5. Mood and attitude – emphatic language

On examining the *wh*-phrase, it is possible to discuss the results of the interaction between speakers who express their feelings as their emotional involvement. Yet, it is particularly difficult to isolate precise usages of feelings. According to the *Dictionary of Psychology* (hereinafter *DOP*) (2001: 271) feeling means (1) experiencing, sensing or having a conscious process, (2) a sensory impression (such as warmth or pain), (3) an affective state (in a sense of well-being, depression, desire, etc.), (4) one of the dimensions of emotion (particularly in reference to the hypothesised elementary emotional continua, and (5) belief. These features show a great deal of variation as they relate to the subjective point of view in language as well as revealing the speakers' emotive loading in utterances. These *emotional/expressive utterances* (this term covers all utterances that are emotionally triggered, i.e. exclamatives, expressives, emotives, and interjections) refer to “any utterance in which the speaker is emotionally involved, and in which this involvement is linguistically expressed by means of intonation or by the use of performative expressions” (Beijer 1999: 9). Then he adds that “there are no particular syntactic features” that must be present in order to make an utterance acceptable as an expressive/emotional utterance.

What is important here is the fact that emotional utterances are to be distinguishable from exclamatives (Beijer 1999). Such a problem is discussed by Rosengren (1997) who shows that the exclamatory/emotive function of exclamatives is triggered by the **sentence mood**, the propositional properties, and the stress pattern.

First, in the case of the propositional properties, “a speaker is expected to produce a proposition of a certain value on some scale, i.e. a proposition in accordance with the norm” (Beijer 1999: 9). In terms of some norms, the expression of an emotion is distinct from the

subjectively experienced emotion. Thus, it would seem to be essential to add that “emotional states are often behaviourally disorganised” (*DOP* 2001), which causes that “when uttering an exclamative, the speaker has found a deviation from the norm” (Beijer 1999). Therefore the mixture of feelings affects speakers, which makes them use either a declarative mood or a negated interrogative forms. In general, the main function of these expressive/emotional utterances is to express emotions and attitudes. The emotional load of interjections and exclamations is so strong that their meanings can range from admiration to scorn, from joy to grief, or simply to attract attention.

2.5.1. *Emotion*

In this attempt to present an analysis of exclamatory function, particular attention should be paid to emotion which, in accordance with *Modern Guide to Synonyms and Related Words* (1987), “refers to subjective or affective states of mind rather than to objective or rational attitudes.” The term itself derives from the Latin²⁵ *emovere*, which translates as to *move*, to *excite*, to *stir up* or to *agitate* (*DOP* 2001: 236). *NEP* (1996: Volume 2: 244) places emotions (French *émotion*) “among three basic elements of the emotive process, the emotive sign is discussed as a positive or negative sign, with reference to positive or negative emotions²⁶”. Then, psychologists suggest that “if we view emotions as scenarios, these should consist of: the cause of the emotion, appreciation of the situation, categorisation and naming of the emotion, reaction to the original stimulus” (Fabiszak 1999: 141). She adds that “according to this paradigm, emotions have socio-psychological characteristics in that the reaction display must be performed in accordance with the schemata recognised by a given community (the social aspect), but the stimulus is experienced and decoded on the basis of the personal past.” In addition, the term generally carries a number of connotations:

First, *emotional states* are normally regarded as *acute*. These states are accompanied by relatively short-lived levels of arousal and desires to act; *fear*, *joy*, *disgust*, *pity*, *love*, etc. are regarded as relatively momentary conditions the experiencing of which motivates activity and then subsides.

Second, emotions are regarded intensely experienced states (it is important here to distinguish *feeling*

²⁵ Sauer (2006) notes that the word *emotion* is relatively new in the English language. It is a French loan-word (going back to a Latin *emotion-em*) that entered the English language only in the sixteenth century and was rare before the second half of the seventeenth century. Its original meaning was ‘moving out’, then ‘agitation, tumult’; the meaning concerns namely ‘agitation or affectation of the mind, feeling, passion only developed from the seventeenth century onward. Its use as a psychological term dates from the nineteenth century (*OED*).

²⁶ As far as the problem of negative [-] and positive [+] emotions is concerned, Kowalczyk (2007: 163-164) discusses the problem of emotionalism among adjectives. She introduces the term *enentiosemy* which is widely characterised by the contradiction of meanings of the same word. Then, she notes that “the problem refers to the context when a single word contains two contradictory meanings.”

from emotion).

Third, emotional states are often behaviourally disorganized. This is particularly the case with extreme states of *rage*, *terror*, *grief* and the like, in which an individual's behaviour may be erratic, chaotic and lacking in organization.

Fourth, emotions are, to a certain extent, evolutionarily determined and reflect species-specific survival strategies of considerable genetic antiquity

Fifth, emotional reactions tend to be nonhabitual and to result from particular constraints of the environment and how it is appraised. (*DOP* 2001: 237).

In the same dictionary it can be found that “emotional states are not cyclical or regular but are dependent on specific situations and how they are evaluated for their personal significance” (2001: 237). Sauer (2006) notes that “there are probably basic emotions and more marginal emotions.” What is more, he adds that “some of the basic emotions occur as contrasting pairs (antonyms) or groups of positive and negative members, e.g. love-hate, hope-fear; joy, happiness-sadness, sorrow, grief, melancholy”. The problem of two contrasting emotions²⁷ is also found in *Słownik wyrazów obcych PWN* (2004: 256), where a strong feeling, e.g. fear, happiness or anger, caused by a sudden and unexpected situation, is used to explain the word *emotion*. The emotional meaning or affective meaning of an utterance includes the expression of moods, attitudes, dispositions, and other feelings, which is encountered in the use of tones of voice and emotive vocabulary (Crystal 1991: 9). Wierzbicka (1992: 163) claims that it is possible to capture “the subtlest shades of meaning (e.g. *ah* – interjection used to express surprise, triumph, derision or amused discovery) encoded in interjections relying exclusively on universal or near-universal concepts such as ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘do’ and ‘happen’, ‘want’, ‘know’, ‘say’, or ‘think’.”

An analysis of the ways of defining emotions involves numerous problems. Among others, Kryk-Kastovsky (2002: 142) states that they are defined as ‘spontaneous human reactions to reality’ and feelings that occur as contrasting pairs (see Section 2.3.). In this approach emotions belong to “the most fundamental exponents of human affective experience (where ‘affect’ is a generic term for linguistically expressed feelings, attitudes and relational dispositions of all types)” (Kryk-Kastovsky 2002: 142). On the other hand, the understanding of the term *emotion* can be explained on a phonological level, a lexical level, a syntactic level,

²⁷ Szober (1969: 388) says that interjections, vocatives and lexical units express the speaker's thoughts connected with strong feelings; these thoughts are expressed not in a form of a clause or sentence, but in a form of elliptical sentences as they show speakers' thoughts in a direct way. Lexical items, as elements of a language, are elements of human thoughts, images or notions of individual features. Even words that linguistically express feelings such as love, anger, fear, etc., do not signal these feelings in a direct way, but only their images of thoughts show the speaker's emotions. Thus, it is not possible to express any feelings in a direct way. In terms of interjections, these images of thoughts are expressed so unclearly that a speaker cannot utter them as a full linguistic form.

and a semanto-pragmatic level (Kryk-Kastovsky 2002: 143). First, on the phonological level, a particular emotion results in an iconic representation (onomatopoeia or sound symbolism). Second, on the lexical level, emotions occur as particular lexical items that signal an instance of emotive language, e.g. endearments or expletives. Thirdly, on the syntactic level, certain structural devices, such as emphatic constructions (interjections, exclamations), topicalisation processes, etc. are chosen consciously to express emotions. Fourthly, on the semanto-pragmatic level, the analysts would take into consideration the meanings of utterances and the conditions of their occurrence. In what follows, e.g. Kryk-Kastovsky adds that a crucial suprasegmentals, such as stress, intonation, pitch, and loudness play crucial role in expressing emotions.

2.5.2. Expressive, emotive language, exclamatory function

It is possible to hypothesise that “emotive significance is associated mainly with features of discourse that strike interpreters as being in some sense ‘unusual’, ‘unexpected’, or ‘surprising’ in the situation” (Caffi and Janney 1994: 349). Selting (1994: 376) expresses a similar view in which she suggests that “signals of ‘emphasis’ are important and common emotive displays in which more than normal involvement is expressed linguistically by cues that suggest the appropriate interpretive frames.” Since the present dissertation is based on the analysis of written language, let us consider the visual ‘equivalents’ of spoken emotive language.

According to Dauer (1993: 2-3) “languages have different writing systems or orthographies that analyze the continuous flow of speech and break it down into a limited number of visual symbols.” Such visual symbols can be realised by means of different semantic/lexical items which add emotive emphasis not only in speech but also in written form. Leech and Svartvik (1994: 152-165) enumerate the following forms of English that function to express emotion:

- emotive emphasis in speech:

- a. interjections,
- b. exclamations,
- c. repetition,
- d. intensifying adverbs and modifiers,
- e. a *wh*-question by adding *eter*, *on earth*, etc.,
- f. emphatic negation,
- g. exclamatory and rhetorical questions,

- describing emotions:

- a. sentence adverbials expressing emotion,
- b. liking and disliking,
- c. preference,
- d. some other emotions (*hope, anticipation of pleasure, disappointment or regret, approval, disapproval, surprise, concern, worry, volition, willingness, wish, etc.*),
- e. permission and obligation,
- f. prohibition,
- g. influencing people (commands, requests, advice, suggestions, warnings, promises, threats),
- h. friendly communications (greetings, farewells, introductions, 'small talk', thanks, apologies, regrets, good wishes, congratulations, condolences, offers),
- i. vocatives.

Such features can co-occur (e.g. interjections and exclamations, pragmatic particles, private verbs that express subjective states of mind, evaluative adjectives and adverbs) to enforce personal affect features (Taavitsainen 1998: 196). The communication intention of the hearer is identified with *illocutionary act*, and the intended effect of an *illocutionary act* is its illocutionary force (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 804). Typically, illocutionary acts are associated with particular semantic classes of sentences²⁸ (e.g. inquiry with questions, request, commands, invitations with directives, etc.). Clearly, "sentences from one semantic class are very often used to express an *illocutionary act* typically associated with sentences from a different semantic class." Thus, it should be added that "the illocutionary force of an utterance is dependent on the context, and a particular utterance may have different a illocutionary force in different contexts" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 805).

Historically speaking, emotions have been proved to differ from individual to individual since 'emotional states are often behaviourally disorganized as this is particularly the case with extreme states of rage, terror, grief and the like, in which an individual's behaviour may be erratic, chaotic and lacking of organisation' (DOP 2001: 236-237). The examination of exclamations and interjections may illuminate a wide range of speaker's emotions that may be felt in the process of co-operation (CCEU 1993: 568-572). Consider the following:

²⁸ The problem of sentence types and sentence moods (declarative mood/interrogative mood/imperative mood) is also noticeable in Beijer (1999: 5) who notes that "[a]ll their functional meanings/illocutionary use potentials can be derived on the bases of the three syntactic sentence types/sentence moods plus the interpretively relevant properties of the additional (structural, lexical, prosodic, etc.) elements involved."

a. expressing surprise or interest

According to CCEU (1993), surprise or interest can be expressed by saying *Really?* or *What?*, or by using a short fixed expression such as *Good heavens* or *Good grief*.

On the face of it, *What a surprise!* or *What a surprise to hear you!* can be also implemented, e.g. 'Tim! Why, what a surprise!', or *What a strange coincidence. I'm reading that book too.* (LA 1994: 1314). What is more, *how* can describe e.g. a fact or a piece of information that is interesting and makes a speaker/hearer wants to find out more, e.g. *You used to live in Japan. How fascinating.* (LA 1994: 695) Furthermore, *That's* or *How* with an adjective such as 'strange' or 'interesting' can be used to express surprise or interest. For example: *He said he hated the place. – How strange! I wonder why.,* or *'They sound somehow familiar.- They do? How interesting.'*

b. expressing pleasure

Speakers can show that they are pleased about a situation or about what someone has said by saying something like *That's great* or *That's wonderful*, or just using the adjective. The same feelings can be expressed by using *how* with the adjectives like *How marvelous* or *How wonderful*. Consider the following examples:

'I'll be able to stay for a week.' – *'How marvelous!/How lovely!/How nice.'*

Wh-words may be accompanied by interjections. Taking into account the orthographic clues, an exclamation mark or a full stop can be found at the end of the whole statement. For example: *'Oh, Robert, how wonderful to see you.'* However, the speaker does not say *How great*. The same *wh*-words can be used to describe a beautiful object, picture, etc., but this thing is too small or unimportant to look at but is not really impressive, e.g. *What pretty curtains! Where did you get them?.* Similarly, the speaker is so pleased that they want to have an admired thing, as in: *Oh! What a gorgeous dress! Where did you get it?* (LA 1994: 107). In the case of the speaker's being pleased, the pattern *what + adjective* (esp. nice, lovely, fine, glorious) + *noun + !* may be applied to describe good weather, e.g. *What a fantastic day! Let's go to the coast.* (LA 1994: 566).

c. expressing relief

Expressions like *That's a relief* or *What a relief!* can be used by speakers to express relief, e.g. *'It's nothing like as bad as that.'* – *'What a relief!'*. The above structures may be implemented to express that the speaker is no longer worried about something that he or she

was worrying about before, as in: *What a relief, said Tanya. I don't have to go into hospital.* (LA 1994: 1573).

d. expressing annoyance

Speakers often use swear words like *blast, damn, hell* (which are mild swear words used in this way) to express annoyance. But speakers should not use these words when they are with people they do not know well. That is why, expressions such as *What a nuisance* or *That's a nuisance* may be used instead. For example: *'He'd just gone. What a nuisance!'* (LA 1994: 48). In terms of expressing annoyance in a sarcastic way, interjections such as *Oh*, or *Oh no!* are added to the statement. For describing someone who does not behave politely towards other people, and so annoys them or offends them, *what* or *how* may be used to express strong emotions, e.g. *What a rude man! He just ignored me when I said 'Good morning'.* (LA 1994: 1145), or *What a nerve!, What a cheek!* (treated as rude and impolite) (LA 1994: 1146). Another way of expressing the speaker's opinion is implementation of *how*, as in *How could you be so impolite! You didn't even answer his question.* (LA 1994: 1145)

e. expressing disappointment or distress

Expressions such as *That's a pity, That's a shame, What a pity, or What a shame.*, can be said to show disappointment or being upset at something. Consider the following examples:

'Perhaps we might meet tomorrow?' - 'I have to leave Copenhagen tomorrow, I'm afraid. What a pity!', or *'Why, Ginny! I haven't seen you in years.'* - *'I haven't been home much lately.'* - *'What a shame.'* (LA 1994: 1145)

f. expressing sympathy

It is possible to express sympathy in several ways, but *how* and *what* are frequently used. Expressions like *How awful, How dreadful, or How annoying*, are especially implemented into the process of communication. Such forms may be followed by an exclamation mark or a full stop, as in:

'He's ill.' - *'How awful. So you aren't coming home?'*, or *'We never did find the rest of it.'* - *'Oh, how dreadful!'* On the face of it, *What a pity* or *What a shame* may be said to express sympathy. These expressions are usually preceded by *Oh*. (LA 1994: 1145)

In summary, a detailed comparison of the examined emphatic structures above reveals that we can observe some general tendencies which show that an emotional colouring (e.g. relief, pleasure, happiness, etc.) may be illustrated by a wide range of exclamations. Wolniewicz (1980: 166) says that the language is “binary (or diachronic) itself and emotionalism may be characterized by binary code which defines the reality in two spheres.” The graphic presentation of emotionalism can be as follows:

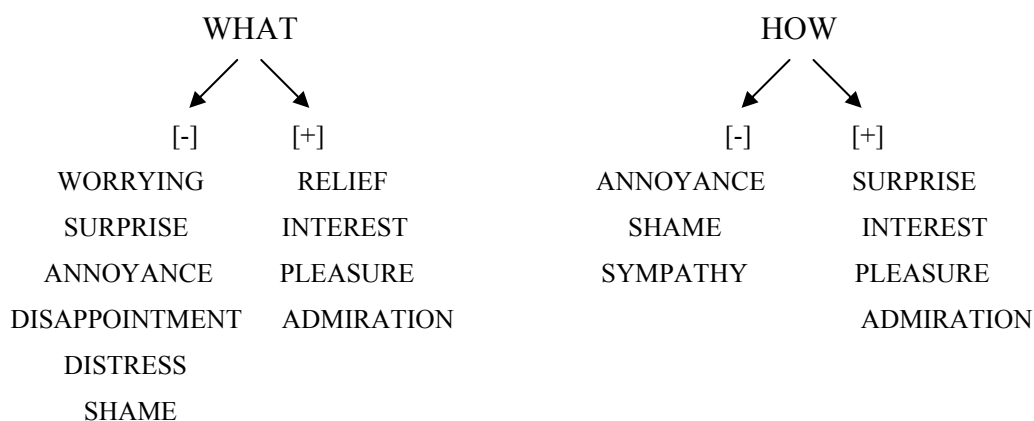


Figure 2.2

It is a puzzle, however, how to interpret cases which could be ‘pleasant’ or ‘unpleasant’. For example, Stubbs (2001: 163) claims that the interpretation depends on circumstances, *getting pregnant* could be a good thing or a bad thing. What can be immediately seen in the context of different emotions and expressive/emotional utterances is the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between sentence type and illocution. It should be emphasised that “the categorisation of illocutionary acts might suggest discrete distinctions that we often cannot make” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 805). Quirk *et al.* (1985: 806) then go on to note that “the hearer is given a choice of responses”, and “a particular utterance may have a different illocutionary force in different contexts.”

2.6. *Emphasis – medium of communication*

In the study of linguistics, speech is generally held to be the *primary medium* and writing the *secondary* or *derived medium* (Crystal 2003: 288). The analysis of the differences between these media in structural and functional terms is an important topic in linguistics. McCarthy and Carter (1994) prefer to talk of *modes* of communication (which might be more or less

speakerly or writerly), as distinguished from the *medium*²⁹ of communication (which is either spoken or written). A useful distinction between *medium* and *mode* is provided by McCarthy (1993), where “medium is concerned with how the message is transmitted to its receivers, and mode is concerned with how it is composed stylistically, that is, with reference to sociolinguistically grounded norms of archetypical speech and archetypical writing.” He notes that these norms are “norms of appropriacy, culturally conditioned on a cline of ‘writteness’ and ‘spokenness’” (1993: 172).

This is noticeable in modern assessments which have concentrated on spoken language, but “when interjections are considered from a historical perspective the dichotomy of spoken vs. written language becomes important” (Taavitsainen 1998: 440). She adds that “interjections in writing may have been produced in imitation of spoken language, but still under the constraints of the written medium.” This is why the meaning of such emotive items must be interpreted without the help of intonation as purely textual functions had been developed in written fiction.

The problem of interrelation between grammar, lexis, context and phonology was recognised by Halliday in 1961 (Crystal 2000: 83). His model clearly provides three primary levels (substance, form, context) which are taken into consideration when a language is discussed. Consider the following model in Figure 2.3:

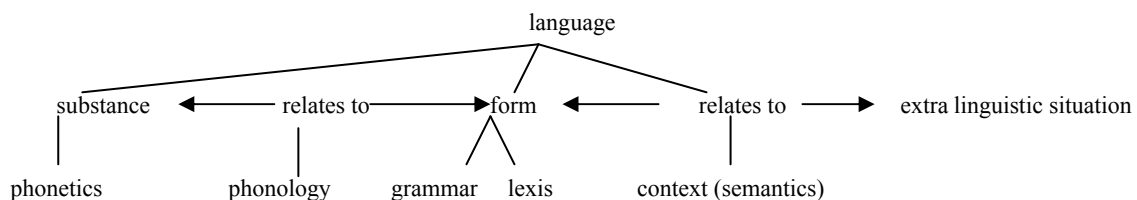


Figure 2.3

This structure of five levels of spoken language shows a ‘best’ direction for the study of a language. In view of the complexity of the analysis this structure of interrelated notions of language can simplify the investigation of spontaneous speech (phonetics, phonology – spoken mode) that is related to form (sounds distinguish words - grammar, lexis – written mode) and context. In any case, while studying grammatical patterns, such as sentence structure, word-order variations in clauses and phrases, it is important to be aware of both

²⁹ Taking into account the spoken discourse markers in written text, Crystal and Davy (1969) discuss *complex medium* which refers to “a press conference that might consist of spoken statements whose main motivation is to be transmitted as written text; equally, last wills and testaments are often received as spoken messages and never actually read by the beneficiaries.”

semantic factors and phonological factors (in terms of spontaneous speech the features of intonation help to identify sentence units in speech) (Crystal 2000: 83). This supports Bald's (1992) observation in accordance with which "the interdependence of lexical, situational and intonational units is an obvious phenomenon." However, the problem is that all *emotive meaning* of the investigated exclamations will be discussed on the basis of lexical meaning, situational factors and punctuation, which replaces the features of a typical utterance (which is spoken) with the orthography as well as the distribution of categories. The entire analysis is based on the written form of communication (i.e. in this analysis an utterance means a speaker's communication in written form as found in the selected English novels; see Chapter Two). In this case, an examination of the spoken medium is only possible in such genres which provide direct quotations, imitation of various levels of speech, as well as those which employ the dialogue form that, in according to Taavitsainen (1998), may be partly in imitation of speech. Furthermore, Taavitsainen (1998: 442) states that the range of these writings is "from spontaneous speech to semi-formal and formal oral presentation in the written form"³⁰ The occurrences in textual passages add a new dimension to the analysis provide the textual aspects, but the contexts were assessed as late as the 15th century when printing gave the possibility to detect, in detail, more specific meanings. It is for this reason that an analysis in pragmatic terms is not readily applicable in terms of historical material as direct-speech quotations can only be found in selected written genres (the first novels appeared about the 17th century). Prior to the 17th century the occurrences may be observed most commonly in narrative passages, e.g. in non-literary genres, "in religious contexts as a vocative in pleas and prayers to God, and in turn-taking in imaginative discussions with God" (Taavitsainen 1993: 577). Since the normal way of transmitting literature was oral delivery, and in the performance of a text, interjections and exclamations performed a practical function in making the turn-taking in speech quotations explicit, it would be beneficial to discuss intonation which is *unavailable* in the written material³¹ but there is a wide range of lexical as well as orthographic forms to imitate spoken discourse in the dialogue form.

³⁰ However, the formatting conventions and recording practices are not known in detail (Taavitsainen 1998).

³¹ An interesting proposal in reference to text grammar, is offered by Teun van Dijk (1992: 231-247) for whom "the whole text is a *macro-micro speech* act out of which one can isolate *micro-speech acts*, particular utterances. The macro-structure of a given work functions as a socially conditioned macro-speech act. The idea of a *macro-speech act* is closely connected with social context." What is important here is the fact that "micro-speech acts are heavily contextualized and they assert speaker's and listener's cultural knowledge."

2.6.1. Intonation

Intonation performs several important functions in language, but its most important function involves signalling grammatical structure, where it performs a role similar to punctuation in writing, and its second role is communicating personal attitude³² (Crystal 1991: 182). Regarding the propositional content of an utterance, the speaker's feelings may be conveyed via certain intonation patterns or the intonation system³³ (Bald 1992: 96). When uttering an exclamation, the speaker in question is *emotionally involved*, and "this involvement is linguistically expressed by means of intonation or by the use of performative expressions" (Beijer 1999: 9). Traditionally, an exclamation refers to any emotional utterance that lacks the grammatical structure of a full sentence and is marked by strong intonation (Crystal 2003: 169). The question is now exactly in which ways intonation contour is involved and how important is intonation in relation to the correct interpretation of exclamative utterances.

According to Bolinger (1989: 248), what characterises the intonation of exclamations is the fact that it 'reaches for the extreme', which means that an emphatic utterance may be created by a certain degree of stress, but this also often implements changes in the pitch pattern (which is extremely high in the light of exclamations) as well, e.g. the selection of high pitches, high falls, etc. Concerning *wh*-exclamations, it should be noted that they have an intonation contour in which the degree-word has the (exclamatory) accent and much higher pitch than the rest of the utterance (Quirk *et al.* 1985, Bolinger 1989). That is why the degree-word is considered to be the most important word in the proposition. In conclusion there are more or less typical contours associated with each of the exclamative types since "an exclamative is supposed to show the voice in some sense 'out of control'" (Beijer 1999: 11). This is why it can be said that there is no possibility to find an ideal description of an expressive/emotional or exclamative intonation contour in English.

In the light of the present discussion, it should be noted that the most obvious function of intonation is to accompany interjections or exclamations to express a wide range of

³² It would be interesting to discuss the relationship between intonation and grammar. Malmkjær (2004: 277) shows that "in some cases a sentence which is capable of two different interpretations, if presented simply as a written specimen, seems to lose its ambiguity when a particular intonation is supplied; [o]n this basis it is possible to argue that intonation has a *grammatical function*, as the only *perceptible differentiator* of distinct *grammatical structures*."

³³ It should be noted here that "normally a speaker can choose to make his voice go up or down at the end; but taking into account exclamations his voice is going down" (Hancock 2003: 116). But, according to Brown and Yule (1983: 10) "the problem is a very real one, because most speakers constantly simplify words phonetically in the stream of speech; so if the analyst normalizes to the conventional written form, the words take on a formality and specificity which necessarily misrepresent the spoken form."

attitudinal meanings³⁴, e.g. excitement, boredom, surprise, friendliness, reserve, sarcasm, puzzlement, anger, etc. For example, *mmm* (with long falling pitch) means *That smells good!*, *mm?* (with high rising pitch) means *Sorry, I didn't hear.*, and *mm...mm* (with falling pitch) means *Yes. (I agree).* (Leech 1989: 141). Taking into account *wh*-questions a falling tone is usually used, low fall (e.g. if the speaker is excited, indignant, or puzzled) or high fall/rise fall: *How 'stupid he is!* (Jones 1969: 288, Gimson 1975: 63, 1994: 245). However, taking into account attitudinal intonation the tone in *wh*-questions may be fall rise, e.g. *^How?* which is forceful in encouraging and prompting, or rising if the speaker seeks repetition or is surprised (Jones 1969: 311, Gimson and Cruttenden 1975: 65). Leech adds that an exclamation which begins with a negative has a falling pitch, e.g. *Isn't it a pity!* means *What a pity it is!* (1989: 142). Similarly individual words can be given exclamatory force by the use of a falling tone (Kreidler 1989: 188, Gimson 1994: 247). In the light of intonation, “interjections and exclamatory phrases take as a rule the intonation of the complete sentences to which they are equivalent”, e.g. *'Good!* (meaning *I'm glad of it.*), *'Oh!* (meaning *That is a surprising piece of news.*), *What an 'idea!* (meaning *That idea is extraordinary.*), or *What 'next!* (meaning *I wonder what impudent thing he'll be doing next.*) (Jones 1969: 317-8). All in all, Jones (1969: 275) claims that “the range of intonation is very extensive” and in each case the variations take place, which is connected with the speaker's mood.

2.6.2. *The notion of context – deletion and recoverability of information*

In the field of ellipted and abbreviated language material, which is common if we take into account spontaneous ‘out of control’ cries (see Section 2.6.1.), it is important to constantly refer to the ‘environment’, ‘circumstances’ or *context* in which language is used (Brown and Yule 1983: 25). The context-bound nature of interjections is discussed by Wierzbicka (1992: 153), who notes that “interjections are the most reduced form an utterance can take, and that motivation for such reduction is to be found in the functional principle which determines that the more information what is recoverable directly from context the more reduced an utterance will be.” The problem of recoverability from context is discussed in Quirk *et al.* (1985) who point out the most important type of recoverability which, from the grammatical point of view, is *textual recoverability*, that is, “the full form is recoverable from a neighbouring part

³⁴ According to Gimson (1975: 60) “some alternative attitudes are likely to be implied by the various intonation patterns”, and “it must be remembered that the precise attitudinal connotation of intonation patterns will always depend upon the contextual situation in which they occur.”

of the text” (1985: 861). Two lesser kinds of recoverability are *situational recoverability*³⁵ and *structural recoverability*.

In the course of oral communication the identification of such units as ellipted *wh*-clauses often depends on the ways in which pitch contours an utterance. Therefore, it is, for the interpretation of these words, necessary to have information from which it is possible to predict their intended referents. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 862) note that “this information is usually found in a preceding or following part of the text (anaphora, cataphora), but it may also be found in the situation”. Similarly Huddleston (1989: 352-353) says that “the utterance act would not be only uttering a sequence of words, articulating a chain of sounds” but “it is an illocutionary act in which the illocutionary force makes it meaningful” (Crystal 1994: 181). However, in the field of written material, it is impossible to clearly identify the speaker’s and hearer’s emotional state by means of their intonation. According to Crystal (2003) only contextualisation provides the correct meaning. Without knowing the context (note Figure 2.2.), the meaning of a *wh*-element that is ellipted to only one *wh*-word, e.g. *What!*, *Why!*, *How!*, is likely to be ambiguous³⁶. In this case cataphoric and anaphoric interpretation would be very helpful (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1463) as the abbreviated style (the deleted *wh*-phrases) is dependant on the situational context (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 849-853) from which “we must be able to infer, or recover, the missing information” (Akmajian 1997: 278).

In summary, the discourse analyst treats the data as “the record (text) of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker/writer to express meanings and achieve intentions” (Brown and Yule 1983: 26). So, working from my data, I have sought to describe regularities in the linguistic realisations (even by means of independent and ellipted *wh*-words) used by speakers to communicate those meanings and intentions. In terms of pre- and postmodification, Wierzbicka (1986: 516) observes that “*irrational* devices like particles, interjections, etc., pertain to the very essence of human communication.” Further, Diller (1992: 290) adds that “it is clear that certain interjective material, along with its pragmatic and semantic values, may be locally ensconced in *particular syntactic constructions*”. Thus, “understanding of *pragmatic constructions*, that is, local syntactic configurations, tied closely to highly *specific and determinate* pragmatic

³⁵ The confusion about the nature of context was presented from a very broad conceptions of the *context of situation* first proposed by Malinowski (1923) who discovered that “an utterance could not be separated from the situation in which it had occurred; he adds that these two notions are closely linked with each other so that one is not able to understand what is said without the knowledge of the context of situation.”

³⁶ Webster (1973) notes that many interjections encode a wide range of emotions, that is, an interjection can express any feeling whatsoever, depending on the context and intonation. For example, he describes the English *ah* as an exclamation expressive of pain, surprise, pity, compassion, complaint, contempt, dislike, joy, exultation, etc. according to the manner of utterance.

interpretations, may point to important features of universal grammar” (Diller 1992: 290). These broad approaches to context have been followed by a number of scholars, but in this present dissertation the notion of context can be understood narrowly as “the words and sentences before and after the particular sentence that one was looking at” (Halliday and Hasan 1989: 6). Yet, in terms of written language, graphic signs perform a similar function to intonation which used to recognize an utterance, is also useful in discussing the emotive function in language.

2.6.3. Punctuation – the exclamation mark

Apart from features of spoken English, there is “a system of conventions capable of expressing on paper for spoken English what the system of *punctuation marks*³⁷ does for written English” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1606). Punctuation needs more attention in English than it sometimes receives. It is a systematic aspect of the written language and essential to meaning, for it performs two vital functions. One is the *grammatical function* of making clear the relationship between parts of sentences and of paragraphs. The other is the *rhetorical function* of indicating tone, attitude, feeling and emphasis³⁸. In speech, both these functions are carried out by such means as pause, pitch, pace, intonation and volume, often accompanied by facial expression and gesture. In the written language, accurate punctuation is the necessary substitute for these resources (Quirk *et al.* 1985 App.III). There is a different organisation of most marks, but the simplest division is given by Crystal (1996: 282), who divides marks into those which separate constructions (point or full stop, semi-colon, colon, comma, brackets or parentheses, dash, inverted commas, hyphen, and space), and those which convey meaning (question mark, exclamation mark, and apostrophe).

As far as the emphatic structures are concerned, the most common realisation of the exclamatory function is the use of *exclamation mark* (Latin *punctus exclamativus* or *punctus admirativus*), also called an *exclamation point* in American English, which first appeared in the 14th century to show “an utterance needed to be read with some exclamatory force”

³⁷ Turning to *punctuation marks*, it is worth noting that early English manuscripts present an array of punctuation marks which look very different from those used today. According to Crystal (1996: 282) “some have now fallen out of use, whereas others have developed over the centuries into their modern counterparts; a few appear not to have changed at all – but it is always important to take care when considering the function of such marks in a text, as modern values often do not apply.”

³⁸ In the light of the emotive function of an exclamation mark, it should be noted that the exclamation mark is used after words which express strong feelings, e.g. *Ugh!* (=unpleasant), *Wow!* (=exciting, remarkable), *Good Heavens!* (=surprising), and after sentences which express surprise, anger, etc.: *What a funny place to put a cucumber!* (Allsop 1989: 107)

(Crystal 1996: 283). Following Crystal, the first graphic form was different as “in early manuscripts an exclamation mark appears with two points under a short line with whole slanting to the right.” Yet printers represented it as an upright. In modern usage, *punctus exclamativus* may be repeated to show increasing degrees of force (!!!) (Leech 1989, Crystal 1996). Yet, it is important not to overuse this orthographic clue, but only to mark emphasis or make special note of urgency. In terms of the speaker’s emotive attitude, an exclamation mark is also used ironically (*The car (!) was waiting*) and as a marker of silent surprise or enlightenment, as in the sequel to the Pooh quotation: ‘*We might go in your umbrella,*’ said Pooh. ‘*!!!!!!*’ For suddenly Christopher Robin saw that they might. (A.A.Milne, *Winnie-the-Pooh*, 1926). However, if they are served up in double, and even triple, doses, which should be implemented only if a very strong impression is made (which is not polite), these grammatical marks can be overused (Leech 1989:140, King 1993). Then Burt (1991: 11-13) introduces the same concept that exclamation marks should be used very sparingly indeed or they become tiresome to the reader and their effectiveness is lost. In accordance with the modern punctuation system, there are four cases in which exclamation marks must be used:

a. emphatic commands

e.g. *Be quiet at the back there!* yelled the irate teacher.

b. vehement wishes

e.g. *God bless you, ma’am!* breathed the starving woman.

c. all brief expressions of strong feeling

e.g. *Hear! Hear!* (agreement), *Help!* (panic), *Ugh!* (disgust), *Hooray!* (joy),
Good heavens! (astonishment).

d. exclamatory sentences

e.g. *What + a/an + ...!* For example, *What a lovely day!*

What + plural noun + ...! For example, *What big teeth you have!*

How + adjective/adverb + ...! For example, *How brave of you!*

It is noticeable that particularly sentences with exclamative form always end with an exclamation mark while imperative sentences as well as vocatives do not take exclamation marks (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1634). In the field of exclamations we usually use the exclamation mark (!) but this is not necessary. Considering exclamations and interjections together, there are sentences that are sufficiently emphatic without exclamation marks. If the brief expression is part of a longer sentence, then there are two ways of punctuating it, as in: *Good heavens! We didn’t recognize you!* or *Good heavens, we didn’t recognize you!* Both *Good.* and *Good!*

are correct, but the latter expresses a stronger feeling (Leech 1989). The problem of strong feelings is also emphasised by Trask (1997: 9-10), who claims that “the exclamation mark, known informally as a *bang* or a *shriek*, is used at the end of a sentence or a short phrase which expresses very strong feeling.” Surprisingly, it can be found that an exclamation mark is not needed at all as in speech an exclamation is said emphatically, i.e. is said with strong emotion, but in the case of a written exclamation, an exclamation mark is usually placed (CCEU 1992). The same is emphasised by Wierzbicka (1992: 166), who points out that even citing interjections without an exclamation mark does not mean that their expressive force is weaker since “many of them have an obligatory emotive intonation.”

In order to gain insight into the orthographic system, an exclamation mark is what we expect to be placed sentence-finally in exclamative constructions. It is relevant to note that “in particular contexts, writers can choose whether to use one of these punctuation marks rather than another” (for example a full stop or an exclamation mark, a full stop or a semicolon, a comma or a semicolon, a comma or dash) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1612).

Diachronically speaking, these orthographic symbols have coexisted over the course of centuries (see Chapter Three). Therefore, taking emotive colouring into consideration, for pragmatic reasons a lack of exclamation mark makes the interpretation of written material more difficult. As a result other linguistic modules, as well as context, are involved.

2.6.4. *Emotive modifiers and complements*

It is worthwhile to attempt to identify general mechanisms which contribute to the emotive colouring of *wh*-elements. In speech, this emotional element can be expressed “by varying the intonation or loudness of a sentence, e.g. anger, sarcasm” (Crystal 1991: 30). In this case the interpretation of *wh*-phrases can be facilitated by means of a limited range of modifiers, that is, *what the hell* (variants of *hell* are *heck*, *blazes*, *deuce*, *dickens*, *fuck*, etc.), *what on earth*, etc. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 916). He notes that “they do not contribute to the propositional meaning, and will refer to them as **emotive modifiers**” which may express e.g. surprise or bafflement, and suggest that the speaker does not know the answer to the question. These so called **emphasisers** “have a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the clause or part of the clause to which they apply” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 583). They then go on to say that the addition of the comment or assertion in no way alters but merely emphasises the truth of the communication since it is normally expected that a speaker intends his/her hearer to accept what he/she says as true. It is also important to add that “when these emphasisers are

positioned next to a part of the communication, without being separated intonationally or by punctuation, their effect is often to emphasise that part alone, though there may be ambivalence as to whether the emphasis is on the part or on the whole” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 451, 585). For example, consider the following rather angry exchange, which is very informal:

| | | |
|-------|---------------|---|
| Who | the hell | |
| What | the blazes | |
| Where | on earth | [+ question+] for goodness` sake/for pity`s sake? |
| Why | in heaven | |
| How | in (the) hell | |

To demonstrate the transition from ‘oral’ literature to ‘written’ styles, it is worth commenting on verbs of saying that signal the illocutionary force. Sinclair, Hoyer, and Fox (1993: 203) propose the illocutionary ‘glossing’ verbs such as *yell*, *shout*, *scream*, *whisper*, which are highly interpretative as they “label and categorise the contribution of a speaker.” What is more, Sinclair, Hoyer, and Fox state that glossing verbs “mark manner and attitude of speakers in relation to what is being said” (1993: 204). In this view, a wide variety of verbs of saying play an important role in marking the negative and positive image of the person they interpret.

Emphasis, intensification and focus which can be associated both with macrostructure (i.e. lexical items that premodify and postmodify the *wh*-phrase) and microstructure (i.e. adjectives and adverbs that function as intensifiers within the *wh*-phrase) give prominence to the whole interpersonal communication event. Adjectives and adverbs are “pragmatic categories which indicate how the different semantic classes of utterances are actually used and they lie at the heart of Speech Act Theory” (Hoyer 1997: 55). Quirk *et al.* (1985: 451) point out that a set of intensifiers (amplifiers, downtoners) is used for both adjectives and adverbs. As in the treatment of adjectives, particularly in exclamatory adjective clauses, adjectives “may be a comment on some object or activity in the situational context” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 428).

Extensive exploration of this most complex area of emotive function of some lexical items is beyond the scope of the present dissertation. However, such pragmatic categories are commonly used by speakers when uttering the clause in a particular context. Without knowing the wider context, it is impossible to argue the case of speaker involvement either way (Hoyer 1997: 103).

2.6.5. Horizontal dimension – position in the structure

In this section we will explore the phenomenon of *wh*-movement. On identifying the exclamatory function of *wh*-phrases, there is also a problem of identifying *what*, *why* and *how* on their functional position filled by the *wh*-word in the *wh*-phrase (see Section 2.4.1.), then the *wh*-phrase in the *wh*-clause, and the *wh*-clause in higher level constructions such as complex sentences.

Position is essentially defined as being a term that refers to the “functionally contrastive places within a linguistic unit, e.g. phonemes within the syllable or word, morphemes within the word, words within the sentence” (Crystal 2003: 361)³⁹. Karolak (in Polański 1999: 453) distinguishes a position and a linear order. He claims that there is an external syntactic position⁴⁰, which is called the linear order, and an internal syntactic position called the structural order. In the light of the positional realisation, it is worth noticing that there is a logical progression through the sections in the sense that the *wh*-words are placed at the beginning of the whole *wh*-phrase, yet the *wh*-phrase itself may be discussed in the field of positional mobility (the rightward movement) or positional variants (Crystal 2003: 361).

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1055) “as in independent exclamative clauses, the exclamative element is formed with *what* as predeterminer in a noun phrase and *how* as intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or clause; the exclamative element is positioned initially regardless of its normal position in a declarative clause.” Initial position in the clause is a general characteristic of *wh*-words whether their role is interrogative, relative, or subordinating. In this view, Hoyer (1997: 142) states that the *wh*-words enjoy considerable mobility within the sentence as they display predominant initial position (both in the *wh*-phrase and in special exclamative questions), relative degrees of centrality and peripherality at the end of the sentence. Following Radford (1989: 56-59) there appears *lexical* ambiguity (see categorical fuzziness in Section 2.2) and *structural* ambiguity. Through the use of *wh*-words one can ask for the identification of the subject, object, complement, or an adverbial of a sentence.

To appreciate the importance of the placement of *wh*-forms and *wh*-clauses within the sentence, Hopper and Traugott (1993) point out that this can be understood as an expression

³⁹ In the light of syntactic structure, the positional realisation is connected with the distribution of the elements that occur in initial, medial or final ‘positions’ within the higher-order unit (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 489).

⁴⁰ *CGEL* (490 f) distinguishes up to seven different possible positions for the adverbial, the main ones being initial (*I*), medial (*M*), and end (*E*): *I* (initial), *iM* (initial-medial), *M* (medial), *mM* (medial-medial), *eM* (end-medial), *iE* (initial-end), *E* (end). A similar classification is proposed by Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 208) who distinguish four positions of adverbials: initial (before *S*), *M* (medial), final position, and neutralised position.

of motion in the context. The mechanism of mobility is discussed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002), who state that there are exclamative content clauses (i.e. embedded in complex sentences) that can function as extraposed subject, extraposed object, internal complement of verb, complement of preposition, or a complement of an adjective. They add that the main issue here involves the treatment of the *wh*-words as syntactically marked (the *wh*-phrase is at the beginning), while the *wh*-phrase as unmarked since its positional mobility is not taken into account. As the mechanism of rightward movement of lexical items within the syntactic structure has already been noted, the discussion will be conveyed according to position of the *wh*-words/phrases, i.e. traditional sentence-initial position (canonical construction) as well as more peripheral positions within the syntactic structure (non-canonical constructions, i.e. content clauses, subordinate clauses), and other variables which may involve the whole or part of a *wh*-clause.

Given the limited scope and introductory nature of the present dissertation, I will be dealing with the *wh*-exclamative structures which are differentiated within syntactic constructions. To avoid needless confusion, I will discuss the distributional possibilities of *what*, *why* and *how* when they act as exclamations, which appear as the standard entries in modern grammar books or dictionaries.

2.6.5.1. Function in sentence-initial position

First I will provide a survey of the occurrences of the selected *wh*-words/phrases that function as exclamations. Traditional definitions place two exclamative words *what* and *how* in an initial exclamative phrase (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 857).

A. What – initial position

Fronting of an exclamative phrase is noticeable even if exclamatives are reduced to just the exclamative phrase (e.g. *What a disaster!*). Exclamatives, as a formal category, resemble *wh*-questions in beginning with a *wh*-word (*what* or *how*), but differ from them in generally retaining the regular declarative order of subject and verb, as in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 87):

What beautiful clothes she wears!

How well Philip plays the piano!

Exclamations with *what* are built in accordance with the following pattern:

WHAT (A/AN) + (ADJECTIVE) + NOUN (Leech 1989: 141)

The exclamatory force of *what* and *how* resides in their function as an intensifying determiner and adverb respectively: the element in which they occur must be overtly or implicitly subject

to modifications of degree. In exclamative sentences, the *what*-phrase, placed at the front, precedes the subject as in *What a good time* [O_d] *we* [S] had! (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 739), except in the rare instances where the *what*-phrase is identical with the subject. After the *what*-phrase the word order must be SUBJECT + VERB, as in:

What terrible weather we are having for the time of year!

What an awful example this is! (Leech 1989: 141)

Exclamatives with *what* put into a position of initial prominence functions as:

1. a. the *wh*-element as subject:

What an enormous crowd came! [S V – the rarest type]

b. the *wh*-element as object:

What a time we've had today! [O_d S V A]

c. the *wh*-element as adverbial:

What a long time we've been waiting! [A S V]

It should be noticed that *what* is used as predeterminer in a noun phrase in [a], [b], and [c]. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 833-834; CCEU 1993: 568)

d. the *wh*-element can also act as prepositional complement:

What a mess we're in!

This example illustrates the occasional inversion of subject and operator in literary English, particularly with a preposed direct object:

What magnificent characters does she present in her latest novel!

2. It is possible (but rare) for the prepositional phrase as a whole to occur initially as *wh*-element, e.g. *In what* poverty these people live!

3. Exclamatives with *what* are very frequently indeed reduced by ellipsis to the single *wh*-element: *What a terrible wind!* Furthermore, *a* or *an* should be put before a singular count noun. It is possible to put a *to*-infinitive such as *to say* or *to do* after a noun group, if it is appropriate. Consider the following examples:

If music dies, we'll die. – *What an awful thing to say!* (CCEU 1993: 568)

4. Tag questions, which invite the hearer's agreement, can be appended also to imperative sentences. For positive imperatives

What a beautiful painting it is, isn't it? (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 813)

The tag is appended only occasionally. It may also be added to abbreviated verbless exclamations:

What a beautiful painting, isn't it?

5. In terms of irregular *wh*-questions, there are also verbless exclamatory sentences such as *What a good idea!* or *What a terrible wind!* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 834-841), which are indeed reduced by ellipsis to the single *wh*-element.

B. Why – initial position

Considering initial prominence, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 819) point out that “*why* and *what* are used in informal speech as introductory words to express surprise, both with questions and with statements”, as in:

Why, what did she say?

Why, they won't object.

Huddleston (1984: 375) signals that “it is only in the *how/what* cases that the exclamatory component is grammaticalised in a distinct clause type, exclamative.” Traditionally in most modern grammar books, *why* is treated as a *wh*-word that introduces *wh*-questions in which it is put at the front, together with any words in the same phrases, i.e. *Why...?*, *Who...?*, *Which hat...?*, *What size...?*, *How fast...?*.. In other words, the most frequent function of *Why* is its adverbial function to know a reason or cause, e.g. ‘*Why did the plants die? Because they didn't get enough water.*’ (Leech 1989: 525). Then in Swan (1996: 621) *why* is perceived as a short form, *Why not?*, *Why?*, which is generally used in short replies:

a. ‘*They've decided to move to Devon,*’ ‘*Why?*’

‘*I can't manage tomorrow evening,*’ ‘*Why not?*’ (here *Why not?* is considered to be more natural than *Why?*)

b. *Why not?* can also be used to agree to a suggestion ‘*Let's eat out this evening.*’
‘*Yes, why not?*’

Then, in the field of prominent initial position, it can suggest anger or refusal to do something when it is followed by *should*, e.g. ‘*Give me a cigarette.*’ ‘*Why should I?*’

The question word *why* can be followed by an infinitive without *to* so as to suggest that an action is unnecessary or pointless:

a. *Why argue with him? He'll never change his mind.*

and it is used to make suggestions or give a piece of advice (Leech 1989: 542):

Why + Verb and *Why + not + Verb*

a. *Why don't you give her some flowers?* or *Why not give her some flowers?*

However, the structures above are still treated as special question patterns without a subject. What is more, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 819) say that *Why* is also used informally after conditional

clauses, i.e. *why* is a more emphatic conjunct than *then*. For example, *If he doesn't want to press charges, why you should.*

C. How – initial position

Taking into account the definition of exclamative structures, it should be noted again that “exclamative *how* syntactically occupies determiner position, i.e. *How well she sings!*” (Huddleston 1984: 373). Following Huddleston, *how* generally functions as degree modifier to an adjective, adverb or to *many, much, few, little*, but it can also occur as head of an AdvP on its own: *How we laughed!* Thus, *how*-exclamations have the following pattern:

HOW + ADJECTIVE/ADVERB

e.g. *How wonderful!, How strange!, How silly!, How unfortunate!*

Leech (1991: 141) adds that exclamations with *how* have the *how*-phrase at the front, while after the *how*- phrase the word order must be SUBJECT + VERB, as in:

How lovely the garden looks today!

The exclamatory force of *what* and *how* resides in their function as an intensifying determiner and adverb respectively: the element in which they occur must be overtly or implicitly subject to modifications of degree. In exclamative sentences, the *how*-phrase precedes the subject as in *How polite [C_s] they [S] are!* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 739). Nonetheless, in *CCEU* (1993: 568) it can be found that “the use of *how* to begin a clause in an exclamation, as in *How clever he is!*, is now regarded as old-fashioned.” Historically speaking, in the past, people used to say things like *How clever he is!* instead of saying *How he is clever!* (*CCEU* 1993: 301)

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 833-834) *how* put into a position of initial prominence functions as:

1. the *wh*-element as complement:

a. *how* acts as intensifier of an adjective

How delightful her manners are! [C_s S V]

b. *how* acts as an intensifier of an adverb

How I used to hate geography! [A S V O_d]

c. *how* acts as intensifier of a clause *How quickly* you eat! [A S V]

The following examples illustrate the occasional inversion of subject and operator in literary English, particularly with a preposed adverbial, subject complement, or direct object:

How often have I bitterly regretted that day!

How strange is his appearance!

Inversion is preferred with the negative *rarely*:

How rarely do I see you!

2. It can occur even as a pushdown element of an indirect statement (again like the interrogative *wh*-element) :

How foolish you must have thought I was!

3. It is possible (but rare) for the prepositional phrase as a whole to occur initially as *wh*-element:

For how many years did I live in that dream world of fantasies and false hopes!

4. Exclamatives with *how* are very frequently indeed reduced by ellipsis to the single *wh*-element: *How encouraging!*. The generalised exclamatory *and how* is used informally to refer to a previous statement or question by the same or another speaker:

He can argue, *and how!* [‘How he can argue!’]

A: We had a cold winter last year. B: *And how!* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 835)

5. Tag questions can be appended also to imperative sentences. For positive imperatives

How thin she is, isn’t she? (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 813)

The tag is appended only occasionally. It may also be added to abbreviated verbless exclamations:

How odd, isn’t it?

6. In terms of irregular *wh*-questions, there are also verbless exclamatory sentences such as *How very thoughtful!* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 841). They add (1985: 428) that adjectives (particularly those that can be complement when the subject is eventive, eg: *That’s excellent!*) can be exclamations, with or without an initial *wh*-element (*How*) *wonderful!* or (*How*) *good of you!*. The same can be found in CCEU (1993: 301), i.e. “people often use *how* with an adjective and nothing else, when they are commenting on what someone has just said.” For example:

She has a flat there as well. – How nice!

It should be added that such adjectival phrases need not be dependent on any previous linguistic context, but may be a comment on an object or activity in the situational context.

In modern English, sentences like *How clever he is!* are not usually used as speakers usually say *He is so clever*, *Isn’t he clever?*, or *What a clever man!* (CCEU 1993: 301). However, over the centuries the constituents in the syntactic structure perform the rightward movement, making the constructions asymmetrical and longish.

2.6.5.2. *The rightward movement of wh-phrases – non-initial position*

Wh-elements are mobile units in the syntactic structure and may take not only the traditional initial position both in the *wh*-phrases and clauses, but also the medial position in subordinate exclamative clauses. This system of clause type applies to *content clauses* which “usually function as complement within a larger construction” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 62).

A. *What-clauses – non-initial position in the syntactic organisation*

In the case of *what*-subordinate exclamative clauses generally function:

a. as direct object: I remember *what a good time I had at your party*.

[‘I remember that I had such a good time at your party.’]

b. as prepositional complement: I read an account of *what an impression you had made*.

[‘I read an account that you had made an excellent (or a terrible) impression.’]

It should be emphasised that in exclamative clauses *what* is a predeterminer (preceding the indefinite article, as in: *They didn’t know what a crime he had committed* or in Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 62) *I’ll tell them what a good player she is*. But Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1055-1056) point out that the subordinate clause may be ambiguous, particularly if the *wh*-word appears with a non-count or plural noun:

You can’t imagine *what difficulties I have with my children*..

Exclamatory interpretation: *You can’t imagine that the great difficulties I have with my children.*

Interrogative interpretation: *You can’t imagine the kinds of difficulty I have with my children.*

Considering indirect exclamations, it is worth noticing that there are several verbs that precede exclamative *wh*-clauses beginning with *what*, such as *realise, know, exclaim, express, marvel, reflect, think*; for example, *I realised what a fool I had been*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1185).

B. *Why – subordinate exclamative clauses*

Occasionally, discourse-initiating items seem to be significant as they can have a well-established conjunctive role in mid-discourse. Trask (1997: 14), Polański (1999: 43), Crystal (2003: 23), discuss the issue of *anacoluthon (anakolut)* (from Greek *anakólouthos* ‘illogical’); it refers to a syntactic break in the expected grammatical sequence within a sentence, as when

a sentence begins with one construction and remains unfinished, e.g. *The man came and – are you listening?*, while Trask adds that it means “breaking off a sentence before completing it, in order to say something else; for example *You know, I’d really like to – oh, look, there’s Julie.*” Compare the *why*-word that occurs between linguistic units:

You didn’t feel so good yesterday; *well*, how are you this morning?

I’ve been looking forward to this meeting for months; *why then*, how shall we spend the evening?

C. How – subordinate exclamative clauses

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1055) “as independent exclamative clauses, the exclamative element is formed with *what* as predeterminer in a noun phrase and *how* as intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or clause; the exclamative element is positioned initially regardless of its normal position in a declarative clause.” But *wh*-elements are mobile units in the syntactic structure and may take not only initial position, but also medial position in subordinate exclamative clauses. In the case of *how*, subordinate exclamative clauses generally function as extraposed subject, as in:

It’s incredible *how fast she can run*. [‘It’s incredible that she can run so fast.’]

However, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1055-1056) note that the subordinate clause may be ambiguous:

I told her *how late she was*.

Exclamatory interpretation: *I told her she was very late*.

Interrogative interpretation: *I told her the extent to which she was late*.

We all saw *how strange a look she gave him*.

Exclamatory interpretation: *We all saw that she gave him an extremely strange look*.

Interrogative interpretation: *We all saw the extent to which the look she gave him was strange*.

Considering indirect exclamations, it is worth noticing that there are several verbs that precede *wh*-exclamative clauses beginning with *how*, such as *realise*, *know*, *exclaim*, *express*, *marvel*, *reflect*, *think*; for example, *I know how busy you are*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1185).

2.6.5.3. Function as an ellipted wh-clause

There has been a certain stability in the preference for sentence-initial position (the interrogative phrase is said to remain *in situ*) in which initial-weight generally occurs. What is interesting for our purposes now is that the observations made for the *wh*-words can be extended to the sentence-final position. A different kind of prominence is considered in

sentence-final position, end-weight, which is generally discussed in terms of open interrogatives. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 856) state that the *wh*-word may appear sentence-finally as ‘non-fronted interrogative phrase’, e.g. *So you told him what, exactly?* Further, a closer examination of modern grammar books reveals that it is possible to distinguish the *wh*-phrase taking final position in so called echo-questions, as in: *He’s going to what?* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 867). In this view, it can be added that “the stimulus (the prototypical use of the echo question) is often modified by reduction – by omitting parts or replacing them by shorter expressions such as *pro-forms*” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 886). For example: *To try and persuade him to buy a microwave/ a what?* Huddleston continues the discussion on grammatical differences between variable echoes and open interrogatives. He illustrates that there are places where it is possible to find an overlap between echoes and ordinary questions, e.g.: *And the purpose of that was what?* [post-verbal non-subject] (2002: 888).

The problem of reduction of a clause by ellipsis is discussed by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 908), who state that reduction “involves ellipsis of the whole clause, or the whole clause except for an introductory word; one such clause is a *wh*-clause which is reduced, by ellipsis, to the *wh*-word alone.” There is also a reduced negative *wh*-question, but this occurs only with *why* and with *wh*-infinitive clauses, e.g. *Why not?* I don’t know *why not*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 908).

After these theoretical preliminaries, the language-specific properties of English *wh*-words that function as exclamations or interjections can be summed up as:

- (i) words that cannot be treated as a ‘watertight system’ of word classes,
- (ii) the specific syntactic constructions which can be perceived as exclamatory questions or *wh*-exclamatory questions, i.e. that they are questions in form, but function like exclamations,
- (iii) exclamative *wh*-clauses with the emotional load which can be only decoded on the basis of the situational context since it is very difficult to define speaker’s specific emotions as they are ‘spontaneous human reactions to reality’,
- (iv) a wide range of lexical (emotive modifiers) as well as orthographic forms (exclamation mark, question mark) are used in *secondary medium of communication*,
- (v) *wh*-words/phrases that have undergone a mechanism of rightward movement (from the prominent sentence-initial position to the more peripheral), and *wh*-clauses that can be reduced to a single-word phrase (e.g. *What!*, *Why!*, *How!*)

which function as interjections, or elliptical structures, such as *What a task!* Or *How foolish of you!*

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3. 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the transition between interrogative and exclamatory function of *what*, *why* and *how* was not abrupt, in this chapter we present the framework for diachronic analysis of historical language data from the *OED* and *MED*. The goal of the successive sections is to illustrate some of the problems arising within the realm of synchronic and diachronic studies and present the mechanisms and development of the *wh*-exclamatives. This chapter will be mainly empirical while the following Chapters (Four, Five, and Six) will cover various synchronic and diachronic issues pertaining to the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic analysis of exclamative *what*, *why* and *how* in the English prose from 1650 to 1950.

3.1.1. General remarks

The importance of this chapter to the general linguist lies in its fundamental contribution to the understanding of the nature of emotive language on the basis of the *wh*-words that act as exclamations. The selected examples illustrate the importance of observing the change of the *wh*-questions on all levels of linguistic analysis. In broad terms, in the light of language function, the *wh*-words seem to follow a course of development, from interrogative pronouns in direct questions through complements in indirect questions to pragmatic markers (Brinton 1996). The intent is to offer descriptive generalisations that capture the patterns of *wh*-exclamative sentences and the *wh*-phrase distribution within the syntactic structure, investigated in a large number of examples from the *OED/MED*.

This type of research may help bridge the gap between the past written form of the *wh*-word in exclamatory function and modern consequences appearing as a result of the gradualness of categorical change, evolution of changes, grammaticalisation and stabilisation.

Then one may also wonder in what direction the syntactic organisation has developed, what other parallel functions the selected *wh*-words took over the course of centuries. Unfortunately, the course and timing of the developments are difficult to establish (Brinton 1996).

The surveyed *wh*-sentence-types are interpreted in terms of what has happened over time, what emotions are activated by means of exclamatory functions of *what*, *why* and *how*, how the position of these interrogative pronouns in a sequence influences an utterance, how an utterance acquires its force from their position and punctuation (an exclamation mark, a question mark, a semi-colon, a comma, etc.), and finally how the social context⁴¹ is responsive to the information status of linguistic elements (particularly the presence of other primary and secondary interjections, kinship terms, nicknames, terms of endearment, honorifics, and other emotionally charged words). Due to the fact that the present chapter provides a detailed and extensive investigation into the *wh*-exclamations in the course of centuries, the representative examples are drawn from the *OED* and *MED* since my search program did not find any graphemic forms typical of OE, and ME in the data which is based on the Project Gutenberg Corpus.

3.1.2. Organisation of the data

In considering the relationships between linguistic forms and communicative functions, discourse analysts must choose a system of classification to best describe both the forms and the functions (Aijmer 1996, Kryk-Kastovsky 2002). However, in order to understand why the selected interrogative pronouns specifically involve their switching of functions and begin to be associated with their new purely emotive function, it is necessary to examine and discuss the spelling and structural transformations which these elements have undergone (Stankiewicz 1964: 259). In this view, Stankiewicz stresses that expressive possibilities of a message can be recognised and described by means of “emotive devices inherent in linguistic systems” (1964: 247). Unfortunately, such cases of expressive intensity are presently unavailable (i.e. prosodic features; see Section 2.6.1.) and due to the inaccessibility of empirical data the investigation remains somehow delimited.

⁴¹ In Nagucka’s opinion “an extra linguistic knowledge helps us make interpretive sense” of lexical items, yet observations of these lexical data in my cases can make the language cannot “convey the complete information but it is done only selectively” (2000: 5-31). What is more, she emphasises that “a syntactic analysis may prove insufficient to convey all aspects”, which may leave a message semantically incomplete (2000: 25-26).

As the conversational data reflecting OE, ME, EModE and LModE speech for the investigation is not available, the written data consist of the *wh*-phrases, *wh*-clauses, and sentences which illustrate the graphemic-phonemic relation. It can be said that there is some interrelation as “classifications attempt to be *phylogenetic*, that is, to trace the evolutionary sequences that relate the present-day linguistic data” (Reber 2001: 537). In this view, the identification of the emotive function of the *wh*-interrogative pronouns in the history of English is conveyed in separate sections. First of all, it seems necessary to be aware of a graphemic manifestation of language in OE and ME since “writing, as a system of signs, provides the basis for assumptions about the structure of the spoken system when that system is no longer available for direct observation” (McLaughlin 1963: 13). This is why the diachronic analysis of the *wh*-graphemes deserves more space to a brief description of some sound shifts that affected the graphemic sequences of the *wh*-words will be discussed in the successive sections.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF *what*

In this section, the central issue is *what* functioning as an exclamation, I will attempt to provide a functional-stratificational analysis first, of *what*-phrases and *what*-clauses. According to Traugott and Dasher (2005: 156) Old English exclamative *hwæt* appears to have originated from the interrogative pronoun of the same form. However, only when the distributional organisation and relation between categories is examined, it is noticeable that the emotive function is realised by means of *what* taking a range of grammar functions, such as an interrogative pronoun, relative pronoun, an adjective, conjunctive, and an exclamation (to call attention, to call, to summon, as an adverbial, etc.). On syntactic grounds, *hwæt* is placed sentence-initially, which invokes “a favourable reception for the information which follows” and in this respect *hwæt* precedes those clauses that “contain explanatory material necessary for understanding the following discourse” (Brinton 1996: 189). She adds that “it occurs with material which is normally backgrounded, it brings this material forward and calls attention to its relevance in the text”, which is already illustrated as early as in the *Beowulf*⁴² text:

⁴² Apart from *Beowulf* several Old English poems begin with the word *hwæt*: *Andreas*, *The dream of the rood*, *Exodus*, *Fates of the apostles*, *Judgment day II*, *Juliana*, *Solomon and Saturn*, and *Vainglory* (Brinton 1996: 181), translated as *lo!*, *ah!*, *listen!*, etc.

- (1) *Hwæt we gardena. in gear-dagum Deod-cyninga brym gefrunon hu ða æþelingas ellen fremedon.*
 What! We Spear-Danes` in yore-days, tribe-kings` glory heard, how the leaders courage accomplished.

(*Beowulf* 1-2 Trans. J.Porter, 1991)

Pyles (1971: 138) shows that pronouns are one of the changing forms in English that have undergone not only phonological or morphological alterations, but they also acquired new functions, resulting in the entire class of the *wh*-words becoming multifunctional categories. The reasons of categorical and functional shifts will be discussed at different levels of language structure (i.e. phonology, syntax and semantics as well as pragmatics with reference to discourse analysis and communication). In the light of orthography, it must be stated that in ME and EModE there was no standard spelling (spellings varied from scribe to scribe, and even from work to work of one writer). This problem is discussed by Fisiak (1968: 89), who illustrates a wide range of the forms of the interrogative pronouns in ME; consider Table 3.1.:

| Case | Non-Neuter (function as signals of interrogative constructions) | Neuter |
|------------|---|--|
| Subjective | <i>whō, wō, huō</i> | <i>what, wat, hwat, hwet, quat</i> |
| Objective | <i>whōm, whām, wōm, whaym</i> | <i>whōm, whām, wōm, whaym, what, wat, hwat, hwet, quat</i> |
| Possessive | <i>whōs</i> | <i>whōs</i> |

Table 3.1

The graphemic evolution of the selected *wh*-pronouns (after Fisiak 1968: 89)

Barber (1999: 200) points out that “a powerful force for standardisation was the introduction of printing, and by the middle of the 16th century, although there was still no standard system, there were quite a number of widely accepted conventions.” What is more, various eighteenth century grammarians and correctors did not, however, always agree with one another, as remains noticeable in many written works. This is why before discussing the coexisting functions of *what* in the course of centuries (see Figure 3.2), it is worth looking at important phonological as well as graphemic relations that concern *what*.

3.2.1. WHAT – etymology; graphemic and phonemic relation

In the *Oxford Concise Dictionary of English Etymology (OCDEE)* ‘*what*’ is defined as an interrogative pronoun attested in the Old English⁴³ period, and as an interrogative adjective first recorded in the 12th century. According to Barber (1999: 95), “in Proto-Indo-European (hereinafter PIE) there was a series of stops with labialization (lip-rounding), namely g^wh , g^w , and k^w . PIE k^w became Proto-Germanic (PG) /hw/: corresponding to Latin *quod*, we find Old Saxon *hwat* and Old English *hwæt*.” In *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (AASD)* *hwā* is said to be a neuter form of *hwæt*; used as an adverb or interjection:

- (2) Hwæt iudas het da settan dæt lic
ah! Judas bade them put down the body.

(H.R. 13, 26)

Moreover, the first recorded definition of *what* as a relative pronoun dates back to the 12th century, whereas the indefinite pronoun was coined in the 13th century. However, there is no information on the functioning of *what* as an interjection (Davis 1957; Pyles 1993). Room (2002) in *Cassell’s Dictionary of Wordhistories (CDW)* also defines *what* as being a pronoun coined prior to 1200, coming from the Germanic *hwæt* as a base form of *who*. Similarly, *what* is described by Klein (1971: 825) in *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (ACEDEL)* as being a word that is used as a pronoun, adjective, noun and adverb. Such a pronoun was coined as *hwæt* meaning ‘what’ relating to Old Saxon *hwat* and Old Norse *hvat*, Danish *hvad*, Swedish *vad*, Old Frisian *hwet*, Dutch *wat*, Old High German *hwaz*, *waz*, Middle High German *waz*, German *was*, Gothic *ha*. According to the *Dictionary of Word Origins (DWO)* [*w*]hat traces its history right back to Indo-European **qwod*, which also produced Latin *quod* ‘what’. The Germanic descendant of this was **khwat*, which evolved into the German *was*, Dutch *wat*, Swedish *vad*, Danish *hvad*, and English *what* (1990: 571).

Then, in Middle English, further morphological changes took place and slowly the ligatures disappeared and initial h^{44} in **hw**⁴⁵ was pronounced χw like the **wh** in many modern

⁴³ In this view, it would be worth noting that “the OE masculine-feminine interrogative pronoun *hwā* became in ME *whō*, and the neuter form *hwæt* became *what*. (...) *Hwæt* had the same dative form as *hwā* in OE, but, as with other neuters, this was given up. The genitive of both *hwā* and *hwæt* was *hwæs*; in ME this took by analogy the vowel of *whō* and *whōm*: thus *whōs*” (Pyles 1971: 173).

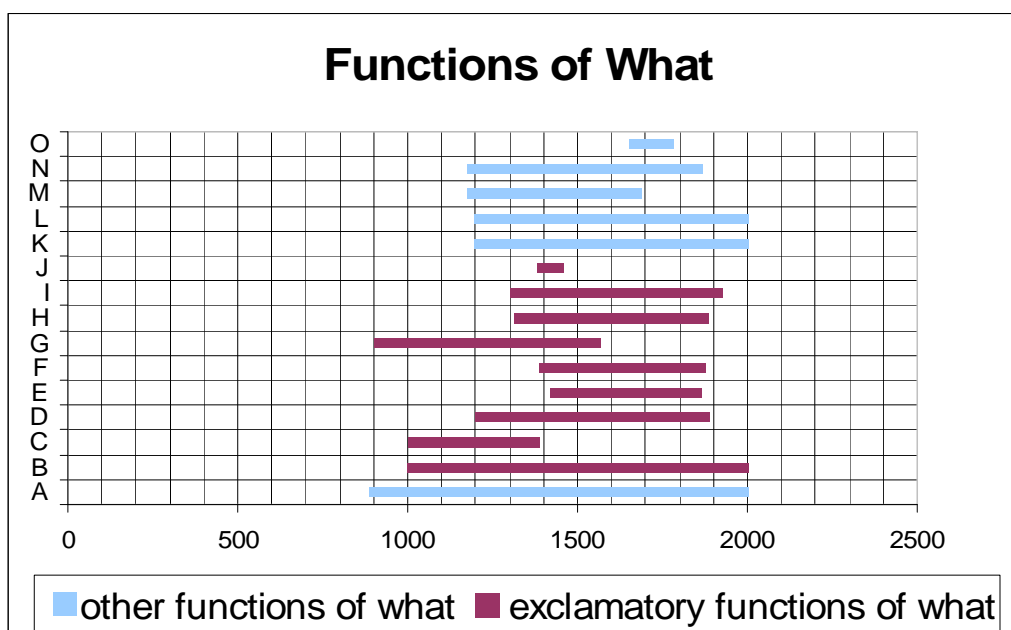
⁴⁴ What is worth noting here is the beginning of [h], which plays an important role in spelling and pronunciation of *what*, *why*, and *how*. Barber (1999: 112) observes that “the letter *h* often represented a more strongly articulated consonant in OE than it does today.” He adds that “[a]t the beginning of a syllable it was probably the glottal fricative [h], much as today; but in other positions it was either [x] (like the *ch* of German *ach*) or [ç] (like the *ch* of German *ich*), according to the preceding vowel. So OE *hætt* ‘hat’ was [hætt], but *niht* ‘night’ was [niçt], and *dohtor* ‘daughter’ was [ˈdoxtor]. The three sounds were allophones of a single phoneme, which we can call /h/.”

Scotch dialects (Wright 1925: 1-9). What is more, the problem of *h* that is very generally omitted in Middle English is discussed by Stratmann (1881: 1-10), who claims that morphological and semantic change of “a Middle-English word was glossed by a Modern-English one, the latter was commonly the etymological equivalent, even though the word might have undergone a complete change of meaning” (Stratmann 1881: vi). As the position of the *wh*-words is discussed, it appears that “the distribution of the phonemes, limited to the word-initial position exclusively, made their functional yield rather slight and in consequence led to the elimination by the end of the 12th century, or by the 14th in Kent” (Vachek 1957, 1954). A process of grammatical regulation in the 15th and 16th centuries led to the modern situation. During Late Middle English (LME) “there is very little in morphology, syntax, or vocabulary that would not be acceptable in Present-day English” (Fisiak 1968: 200). The standardisation of spelling was just one aspect of a more general attempt to regulate the language, an attempt which was particularly prominent in the second half of the 18th century.

3.2.2. *WHAT - functioning as an exclamation*

The classification of discourse functions can be further refined by reference to how actual utterances are used in practice. The entire range of functions confirms that *wh*-exclamative clauses are central to the language user over the course of centuries. Despite widespread recognition of *what* functioning as an interrogative pronoun, it is possible to recognise the other functions which involve reinforcement, emphasis or intensification of emotive meaning. This phenomenon of multifunctionality is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

⁴⁵ The picture of <hw,wh> is also discussed in Pyles (1971: 158-9) who says that “the OE sequences *hl*, *hn*, and *hr* (as in *hlēpan* ‘to leap’, *hnutu* ‘nut’, and *hraðor* ‘sooner’) were simplified to *l*, *n*, and *r* (as in *lēpen*, *nute*, and *rather*). To some extent *hw*, written *wh* in ME, was also frequently so reduced to *w*, at least in the Southern dialect. In the North, however, the *h* in this sequence was not lost. It survives to this day in those types of English derived from the Northern dialect, however indirectly.”



- A. AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN IN DIRECT QUESTIONS (c. 888 – present)
- B. EXCLAMATORY - AS AN INTERJECTION (c. 1000 – present)
- C. EXCLAMATORY – TO CALL ATTENTION (c.1000 – ca. 1386)
- D. EXCLAMATORY – AS AN EXCLAMATION (c.1200 – ca.1886)
- E. EXCLAMATORY – WITH INTENSIVE ADDITIONS (c. 1420 – ca. 1865)
- F. EXCLAMATORY – TO HAIL/SUMMON/CALL (c. 1386 – ca.1878)
- G. EXCLAMATORY – ADVERBIAL (c. 900 – ca. 1556)
- H. EXCLAMATORY – ADJECTIVAL (c. 1315 – ca. 1888)
- I. EXCLAMATORY – IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES (c. 1300 – ca. 1926)
- J. EXCLAMATORY – AS A PRONOUN IN EXCLAMATIVES (c. 1382 – ca. 1460)
- K. RELATIVE (c. 1200 – present)
- L. ADJECTIVE (c. 1200 – present)
- M. CONJUNCTIVE (c. 1175 – ca. 1690)
- N. INDEFINITE (NON-RELATIVE) USE (c. 1175 – ca. 1870)
- O. SUBSTANCIAL NONE-USES (c. 1654 – ca. 1785)

Figure 3.1

The functions of the *what*-pronoun in the course of centuries in accordance with the *OED/MED*

The selected functions illustrated in Figure 3.1 are marked in accordance with the length of use over time (the column on the right indicates the example that was recorded for the first time in the *OED* is dated on the left and the last one which is found in the dictionary is marked on the right; examples that are still found in modern grammars are marked ‘present’). Thus, there are nine grammar functions (B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J – purple colour in Figure 3.1) that, in accordance with examples provided in the *OED/MED* as well as *WD, 1913* (which I have been able to find), are performed by the *wh*-word taking the exclamatory function. Emphasis on the broader interpretation of the pragmatic, semantic, or syntactic level should be explored to convey a detailed investigation in Chapter Four. The following

subsections offer a composite picture of the selected material in which *what* functions as an exclamation, arranged chronologically.

3.2.2.1. Old English & Middle English

In terms of exclamatory and allied uses of *what*, the *OED* presents the various possible arrangements of the uses of this word as an exclamation providing instances used in OE and ME, as follows:

- (3) *Hwæt ða gelyfdon for wel menige, and on Godes naman gefullode wurdon.*
 ‘What! a great many believed and were baptized in God’s name.’
 (ÆCHom II, 9 78.212)

According to the *MED*, *what* began to function as an exclamation associated with a question usually followed by a question in the Old English/Middle English period. For instance:

- (4) *Hwæt la! Hwý ett eower larðeaw mid byssen manfullen mannen & synfullen?.*
 ‘Alas! What, why is your teacher eating with the evil and sinful men?’
 (a1150(OE) *Vsp.D.Hom.*(Vsp D.14) 59/15)
- (5) *What! nis heo noȝht icome?*
 ‘What! Has she not arrived?’
 (a1300(c1250) *Floris* (Vit D.3) 361)

What is more, the same dictionary includes examples referring to surprise, distress, or indignation, for example:

- (6) *Hwet, weneð þas ruperes ...þet crist heom wulle milcien?*
 ‘What! The robbers think... that Christ will have mercy on them?’
 (a1225(?OE) *Lamb.Hom.*(Lamb 487))
- (7) *Hwat, heo seyde, hule, artu wod?*
 ‘What!’ she said, ‘Owl, are you mad?’
 (c1275(?a1216) *Owl & N.*(Clg A.9)1298)

It is noticeable that *what* performing its exclamatory function was followed by a question mark, which means that an ellipted variant of a question began to be more common, e.g.:

- (8) *Quat? Wenis þu i be a fole?*
 ‘What? Dost thou think I am a fool?’
 (a1400 *Cursor* (Trin-C R.3.8) 10456)

At the same time *what* still functioned as an exclamation and a question, e.g.:

- (9) *What! shal she fyghte with an hardy knyght?*
 ‘What! Shall she fight with a fearless knight?’
 (c1430(c1386) Chaucer LGW (Benson-Robinson) 1800)
- (10) *What?...ys youre harte up now?*
 ‘what! ... Is your heart up now?’
 ((a1470) Malory Wks.(Win-C) 750/7)

Brinton (1996: 187-8) proposes that *hwæt* in OE (similar to *you know* in ModE⁴⁶) establishes either intimacy or distance between speaker and hearer, is an attention-getting device, provides evaluation of the narrative point, or it makes explanatory material more salient. What is more, this establishes a good relationship between speaker and hearer with deference and respect. In the course of 10th and 11th centuries the adverbial use of *what* was adopted, thus more possible arrangements in the light of the uses of *what* were available. For instance:

(11) *Juliana! hwæt þu glæm hafast.*
 ‘Juliana, ah! what thou hast radiant beauty’ (900) (Jul 167)

(12) *Ei, ei, what this nicht is long!*
 ‘Hey, how long this night is!’ (c1225 *Mirie it is* (Rwl G.22) 5)

The interrogative pronoun *what* in the adverbial sense is almost equivalent to *how* and would mean *To what an extent! In what a way!* (*WD, 1913*). According to *WD, 1913*, *what* was sometimes attached to adjectives in an adverbial sense and functioned almost the equivalent of *how*, as *What partial judges are our and hate!*. The same function is discussed in the *OED*, and may be illustrated in the following way:

(13) *A god huet we hedde guod wyn yesteneuen and guode metes.*
 ‘Oh God, what good wine and good food we had yesterday evening.’
 ((1340) *Ayenb.*(Arun 57) 51/8)

(14) *A! lorde, what the wedir is colde!*
 ‘Oh lord, how cold the water is!’ (a1450 *Yk.Pl.*(Add 35290) 114/72)

What-forms can also function in other miscellaneous rhetorical ways:

a. they emphatically introduce a statement in a narrative (lo, ~ tho), for instance:

(15) *Hwæt þa se Ælmihtige Scyppend forgeaf þan seofen halgen.*
 ‘What the Almighty Creator excused the seven saints’
 (a1150(OE) *Vsp.D.Hom.*(Vsp D.14) 25/29)

b. they emphatically introduce a factual statement, a pronouncement, an explanation, etc. (now, truly), which are followed by an exclamation mark; for example:

(16) *Hwat! His eagene twa æðele synden swa clæne cristal.*
 ‘What! his two eyes are brilliant, as clear as crystal’
 (a1150(OE) *Vsp.D.Hom.*(Vsp D.14) 147/10-11)

⁴⁶ Brinton (1996: 187-8) provides several functions of *hwæt* in OE (which is similar to *you know* in ModE):

(i) functions to call the attention of the hearer to the following discourse,
 (ii) to suggest that the information to follow is common, shared, or familiar, and
 (iii) to bring that information to consciousness, renew interest in it, make it salient or ‘newly relevant’, or focus attention on its importance to the following discourse, that is, to foreground it.

- (17) *Hwæt! We witen þat monnes lichame sceal bi mete libban.*
 ‘What, we know that the man has to eat in order to live’
 (c1175(?OE) *Bod.Hom.*(Bod 343) 100/17,18)

The above instances of *what* functioning in rhetorical uses are good examples of exclamative colouring as well as exclamative marked clauses. Furthermore, it is noticeable that a graphemic form in the 14th century changed, though the prominent initial position of *what* did not change. *What* still functioned as an exclamation associated with a question but it began to be followed by lexical forms (nouns, intensive additions, etc.) and an exclamation mark, e.g.:

- (18) *What fy! Schold I a fundeling for his fairenesse tak?*
 ‘What! should I take a foundling for his fairness?’
 (a1375 *Wpal.*(KC 13) 48)
- (19) *What deuyll! Why haþ þe prest swych hy?*
 ‘What the Devil, why is the priest in such a hurry?’
 (a1400(c1303) Mannyng *HS* (Hrl 1701) 4284)

At the end of Middle English, however, there were more examples of *what*-forms preceded by nouns (20), ellipted questions (21), or exclamative clauses (22), e.g.

- (20) *Fy what! a lord breke his byheste or bond?*
 ‘What, a lord breaks his promise or commitment?’
 (a1450(1412) Hoccl. *RP* (Hrl 4866) 2243)
- (21) *Kyng? What the dewyll, other then I?’*
 (a1500(a1460) *Towneley Pl.*(Hnt HM 1) 150/307)
- (22) *Ys hit thus!... what in the deuyllys date!*
 ‘Is is so! ... what in the name of the Devil!’
 (c1500(?a1475) *Ass.Gods* (Trin-C R.3.19) 425)

Also, the statements would appear with sentence-final special marking, i.e. an exclamation mark or a question mark. The initial position of *what* did not change significantly but was preceded by other interjections such as *A!* or *O* to give the whole structure more emphatic meaning and exclamatory force. For example:

- (23) *O swete leuedy, wat þe was wo, þo ihesus deyde on rode!*
 ‘Oh sweet lady, what a pity it was that Jesus died on the cross!’
 (Shoreham 119 (1315))
- (24) *What a fawte it was, The seruaunte, alas, His master to forsake!*
 ‘What a fault it was, the servant, alas, forsakes his master!’
 (Digby Mist 1157 (1485))

Furthermore, *what* used adjectivally to express a surprising or striking nature appeared for the first time. The inverted construction as in a direct question, e.g. *What a place is this!* was distinguished with or without the presence of the indefinite article e.g. *What place is this?* (*OED*). However, according to the *OED* the inverted construction could be replaced by the construction as in the declarative form.

Then, in LME, *what* acquired another function and began to be associated with an exclamation emphasising the speaker's emotional response to a situation. Moreover, it was an exclamation calling for the hearer's attention or demanding the hearer's response or action since *what* was accompanied by other expressions, such as *why, here now, now listen to this*; so, with reference to these forms of demanding the hearer's response or action it can be noticed that they appeared in Late Middle English. For instance:

- (25) *Ther gan oure hoost for to iape and pleye, And seyde, 'Sires, what! Don is in the myre!'*
 'There did our host begin to jape and play, And he said: "Sirs, what! Dun is in the mire!"

(c1390) Chaucer *CT.Mcp.*(Manly-Rickert) H5)

- (26) *Say, felowes, what! fynde yhe any feest, Me falles for tu haue parte, parde!*
 'Say fellows what – have you found any feast? It fits I should have my part, indeed!'

(a1450 Yk.Pl.(Add 35290) 119/44)

The early 14th century signalled the beginning of an allied use of *what*, which varied in which exclamatory force was gained by the special position of *what* in dependent clauses, particularly after verbs of thinking or perceiving. For example:

- (27) *Quat was his reut [=ruth] þan all mai see.*
 'What was his sorrow that all may see'

(a1400(a1325) *Cursor* (Vsp A.3) 1610)

Interestingly, this method of emotional expression was developed and used from the 17th century onwards. Some miscellaneous forms of rhetorical uses of *what* functioning interjectionally appeared at the beginning of the 15th century, e.g.:

- (28) *What! þay brayen & bleden, bi bonkkez þay degen.*
 'What, they, roaring and bleeding, fell dying on the banks.'

(c1400(?c1390) *Gawain* (Nero A.10) 1163)

- (29) *Quat! Hit clattered in þe cliff...What! hit wharred & whette as water at a mulle; What! hit rusched & ronge, rawþe to here.*
 'What! it rang in the cliff ... What! it whirred and whetted like water on a mill-wheel; what! it rushed and rang, terrible to hear.'

(c1400(?c1390) *Gawain* (Nero A.10) 2201,2203-4)

According to the *MED*, *what* was used as an exclamation in adversative phrases such as *but~*, *but*; *but what of that*, *but no matter*, *but lo*. Those expressions were sentence-initial, medial or final. For instance:

- (30) *Sorwefully he siketh, **But what!** he may nat doon al as hym liketh.*
 'and sorrowfully he sighed; But what! He could not do as pleased his pride.'

(c1395) Chaucer *CT.WB.*(Manly-Rickert) D.914)

- (31) *Criseyde is now agon; **But what,** she shal come hastiliche ayeyn!*
 'Criseyde is gone now; but what, she shall soon come again.'

(a1425(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 4.1318)

- (32) *Hit greuyth me, but what! hit more, parde, Me hurt.*
 ‘It angers me, but what, it indeed hurt me more.’ (c1450 ?C.d’Orl. *Poems* (Hrl 682) 14/409)

It is worth noticing that in modern editions those expressions are implemented into the syntactic structure between commas or after semi-colons while the whole complex sentence is followed by an exclamation mark.

3.2.2.2. Modern English

At the beginning of the 16th century, according to the *OED*, *what*-forms functioned as exclamations of surprise or astonishment frequently repeated in the initial position, e.g.:

- (33) *What, what, latine in the mouth of a plaine fellow?* (1589) R.Harvey *Pl.Perc.* (1590) 5)

In the 17th and 18th centuries *what* continued to function as an exclamation of surprise which was preceded by other *wh*-words that performed the function of an interjection, e.g.:

- (34) ‘*O, Mr.Jones, I have lost my Lady for ever.*’ – ‘**How! what!** for Heaven’s Sake tell me.
 (1749) (Fielding *Tom Jones* xv.vii)

In the context of expressing excitement, *what* was used for incitement, or as an expression of excitement or exultation, e.g.:

- (35) *What Tibet, what Annot, what Margerie. Ye sleepe, but we doe not.*
 (1589) Udall *Royster D.* i.iii (Arb) 22)

- (36) *What? courage sirs my felowes al.* (1581) (A.Hall *Illiad* ii.29)

Then, to hail, summon, or call the attention of a person *what* functioned as an exclamation/interjection taking still the prominent initial position, as in:

- (37) *Chamberlain, call in the music, What! we`ll make a night of it.*
 (1607) (Dekker & Webster *Northir. Hoe* v.i.)

- (38) *What Ariell; my industrious seruant Ariell. What would my potent master? Here I am.*
 (1610) (Shakes.*Temp.*iv.i.33)

In terms of marking, *what*-forms were followed by an exclamation mark, a question mark and a semi-colon. Furthermore, *what* functioning interjectionally could follow an exclamative clause, e.g.:

- (39) *Here they are both! What Sirs, desputin.* (1633) (B.Jonson *Tale Tub* i.iii.)

The exclamatory function of *what* was sometimes attached to adjectives in an adverbial sense, as nearly equivalent to *how*, as in:

- (40) *What shocking times we live in!* (1798) (G.Hay *Ushaw Mag.*(1913) Dec.288)

- (41) *What rebellious they were. Mod.Sc. What bonny!* (1556) (*Chon. Grey Friars* (Camden) 60)

In terms of *wh*-questions, *what* was used adjectively meaning *how remarkable*, *how great*, with inverted construction (42) as in a direct question. In this view, the *what*-word was followed by *a* or *an* (*WD*, 1913). For instance:

- (42) *What a strain `d unnatural Similitude must this seem to a Modern Reader?*
(1705) (Addison *Italy* 307)
- (43) *What a house! What people! What manners!*
(1776)(Earl Carlisle in Jesse *Selwyn & Contemp.*(1844)III.160)

The exclamatory force of *what* used in dependent clauses varies as the interrogative force does in the corresponding interrogative use but, according to the *OED*, *what* moved to the sentence-medial position (as a non-canonical construction) appearing after verbs of thinking or perceiving. For example:

- (44) *When I **consydere** ever what servants of God they were and so dyed.*
(1554) (*Engl.Hist.Rev.*(1913) July 528)
- (45) *Me **thought** what paine it was to drowne.*
(1594) (Shakes. *Rich. III*, i.iii. 21)
- (46) *Do `st thou **forget** From what a torment I did free thee?*
(1610) (*I Temp.* i.iii. 251)

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries *what* still functioned as an exclamation in the following construction, as in:

- (47) *O what a Cyte, and what a se royall Hath had first name of pore men and rurall.*
(1509) (Barclay *Shyp of Folys* (1874)II.105)
- (48) *What a coile is there Dromio? Who are those at the gate?*
(1590) (Shakesp.*Com.Err.* ii.i.48)
- (49) *Cassius, what Night is this?*
(1601) (*I Jul.C.* i.iii.42)
- (50) *What a piece of worke is a man!*
(1602) (*I Ham.*ii.ii.315)

The examples (see (51)) illustrate the present special inverted structures *WHAT + NOUN + INVERTED STRUCTURE (auxiliary verb + object)*. Furthermore, in terms of stronger exclamatory force, *what*-forms can be preceded by other interjections, e.g. *O* (see (47)), and the whole statement can be followed by an exclamation mark, a question mark or a full stop. However, according to the *OED* the inverted construction can be used in archaic style (as in a direct question) *What a place is this!*, *What place is this?*, or in LModE may be changed into *What a place this is!*.

The special exclamatory force was introduced by intensive additions (*what the deuce*, *devil*, *dickens*, *etc.*, *what in the name of...*, *what in the world*, *what on earth*, *etc.*), the use of which might be in the form of an elliptical variant. At the turn of 17th/18th centuries still some intensive additions *What the deuce!*, *Thinking what in the universe*, or *I wonder **what in blue thunder*** were used to make *what*-forms more emphatic. For example:

(51) *What the deuyll! Can ye agre no better?* (1520) (Skelton *Magnyf.* 795)

(52) *What a duce, must a man be always writing!* (1754) (Richardson in J.Duncombe *Lett.* (1773) III.13)

It is worth noticing that only one example of *what* exists in rhetorical questions, implying a contrary assertion, which is delimited with an exclamation mark.

(53) *With what becoming Thanks can I reply!* (1697) (Dryden *Aeneis* xi. 770)

In LModE, *what* was still used in dependent clauses, after verbs of thinking or perceiving. For instance:

(54) *You cannot imagine what a parcel of cheating brutes the work people here are.* (1708) (*Caldwell Papers* (Maitland Club) I.26)

(55) *We may see after what a different manner Strada proceeds.* (1713) (Addison *Guardian* No.119 31)

In the late 19th century *what* was used to hail, summon, or call the attention of a person/hearer, e.g. *What ho* (*Webster`s 1828 Dictionary*). To express the surprising or striking nature of the thing(s) or person(s) denoted to be the noun, with *what* functioning as an exclamation acting in an adjectival sense, e.g.:

(56) *‘What a consternation of soul was mine that dreary afternoon! Yet in what darkness, what dense ignorance, was the mental battle fought!’* (1847) (C.Brontë *J.Eyre* ii)

(57) *‘Oh, what a dawn of day! How the March sun feels like May!’* (1855) (Browning *A Lovers` Quarrel* i)

(58) *‘What rubbish you talk.’* (1888) (Rider Haggard *Col. Quaritch* xli)

It was also frequently used in an ellipted form especially of the remainder of the question, for instance a short form for *‘What did you say?’* or *‘What is it?’*, e.g.:

(59) *‘Oh! oh!- I`m so frightened!’ ‘What at, dear?- what at?’ said the mother.* (1834) (Dickens *Sk. Boz, Steam Excurs.*)

(60) *‘What`s your name?’ ‘Cold punch’, murmured Mr.Pickwick, as he sunk to sleep again. ‘What?’ demanded Captain Boldwig. No reply.* (1837) (*I Pickw.*xix)

Even if it functions as an interrogative expletive (sometimes with *eh*), it is usually placed at the end of a sentence, which in turn is marked with an exclamation mark, particularly in recent trivial or affected colloquial use, as in:

(61) *But then, she`s so beastly chic, dontcherknow – eh, what!* (1891) (J.S.Winter *Lumley* xv)

In the *OED* there is only one example of the *what*-element being used in rhetorical questions implying a contrary assertion, after which an exclamation mark is placed, for example:

- (62) *What Whig but wails the good Sir James Dear to his country by the names, Friend, Patron, Benefactor!*
(1790) (Burns *Ball. Dumfries Elections* xx)

After 1900, *what* was, and continues to be, used as an exclamation/interjection expressing surprise or excitement and it has frequently been placed at the absolute beginning of a question, e.g.:

- (63) *What, no breakfast?* or *What, no salt?* (2004) (*A→Z Dictionary*)

Taking into account this function, *what* is sentence-initial, for instance:

- (64) *'The plane will be delayed by two hours. – What?'* (2004) (*MSN Encarta-Dictionary*)

In the early 20th century the exclamative *what* is used as a swear word to express anger or pain, as in:

- (65) *Good-bye, Miss Thornton, awfully jolly evening---what?* (1906) (*Mansfield Girl & Gods* xvi)
(66) *Can't say I've read it. It's a bit too literary for me. What? But they say it's jolly clever. You had it at school, I dare say. What?*
(1914) (A.M.N. Lyons *Simple Simon* i.i. 16)

In the light of emphasising or calling special attention to what is said (i.e. *let me tell you*) in making a proposal, *what* is used as an ellipted form meaning 'what it is', 'what is the truth of the matter', 'what is the thing to do', or the like, in *I ('ll) tell you what*, for example:

- (67) *'You know what, Chris?' 'What?' 'You know it stinks to heaven as well as I do.'*
(1982) (H.Engel *Murder on Location* xviii. 164)

In an adjectival sense *what*-forms are used to express 'how great' or 'how astonishing', e.g. *What a fool!* (2004) (*Dictionary.com*).

3.2.3. CONCLUSIONS

Utterances included in the data, collected from the *OED/MED*, were identified as performing exclamatory function. First of all, the variety of functions within the emotive meaning are illustrated in Figure 3.1, which in turn is discussed in detail in the successive subsections. Extensive exploration has been prepared on several levels, such as the semantic level, pragmatic level, whereas the syntactic level is not explicit in the above subsections. The

investigated structures of utterances do not always exhibit the *clause structure*⁴⁷, yet these forms are not uncommon in ordinary conversation and participants have no problem producing or interpreting them with reference to a prior utterance. On a pragmatic level, in response to statements, questions or exclamations, speakers construct their utterances in ways that are able to be recognised as responses understood in the context⁴⁸ of the situation as the utterances as exclamations or interjections may be ambiguous⁴⁹ if taken out of context.

As has been observed, syntactically, *what* predominantly appeared sentence-initially in interrogative or declarative forms and simultaneously performing exclamatory function. This initial position of *what* began to be independent⁵⁰ and it was followed by an exclamation mark or a question mark, e.g.: *What!* or *What?* Furthermore, following the complementation placed on the right to the *wh*-element, *what* was frequently followed by types of forms which do not exhibit clausal syntax and may be referred to as *non-clausal forms* (Hopper 1990: 29 in Weber 1993: 124). For instance (in chronological order from 1150):

- (i) *Hwæt la!* - *what* + *an interjection*
- (ii) *What, Nicholay!* – *what* + *NP (proper noun)*
- (iii) *What the deuyll!* – *what* + *NP (intensive addition)*
- (iv) *What happy boys!* – *what* + *AdjP*
- (v) *What bonny!* – *what* + *adverb/adjective*
- (vi) *What a house! What people! What manners!* – *what* + (*Det {Art}*) + *N (plural/singular)*

A detailed examination of categories (e.g. vocatives, honorifics, interjections, etc.) and the different semantic processes that are able to be associated with co-occurrence provides a set of forms that precede the sentence-initial *what*. For instance: *Juliana! hwæt (...)*, *Fy what!(...)*, *Sires, what! (...)*, *Say, felowes, what! (...)*, *A! quhat (...)*, *How! what! (...)*, etc.. These are explored in Chapter Four, with particular focus on politeness (e.g. hierarchy, distance and asymmetrical relationships) and the pragmatic function of semantic features of indirectness and tentativeness.

⁴⁷ In the field of discourse strategies utilised by speakers, clause structure is basic; yet, examining language-in-use reveals a preferred argument structure (fragmentary/elliptical utterances) which reflects the principles of information management (Weber 1993: 126-127).

⁴⁸ Weber (1993: 123) adds that “omission of grammatical elements is known as ellipsis” and such ellipited elements, such as single-word forms, may be recoverable from either the linguistic form of the utterance or from priori discourse. Then, Burton – Roberts (1997: 111-2) say that “*wh*-fronting leaves behind a gap of the appropriate category, which seems incomplete when considered out of context; yet, when a sentence is actually used by a speaker (i.e. when a speaker actually utters it), almost anything can be omitted, provided that the omitted elements can be understood from the context in which it is used.”

⁴⁹ In this respect, Brinton (1996: 191) discusses the mode of knowing or concept of meaning that is preserved by *hwæt/what*, which is “embodied in oral cultures generally, where knowing is ‘subjective’ and meaning results from a ‘sense of identification’ between participants and is ‘empathetic and participatory’ rather than objectively distanced.”

⁵⁰ These shortened forms represent a type of *sub-linguistic* communication, in which the ordinary meaning of the forms plays no part, which is why, not the central meaning but the marginal meaning should be taken into account in the field of speaker’s utterances and hearer’s responses (Bloomfield 1933: 149).

On an emotive/expressive level, *what* has been used to express surprise, distress, indignation, incitement, excitement, exultation, or in miscellaneous rhetorical uses it emphatically introduces a factual statement, a pronouncement, an explanation, etc. (*OED*). What is more, it has functioned as an exclamation/interjection calling, summoning, hailing the hearer's attention or demanding the hearer's response or action. In an adjectival sense the *what*-unit expresses 'how great' or 'how astonishing'. Intensification is conveyed with the special exclamatory force of the form *but what* which occurs in sentence-initial, medial and final position.

It is worth noticing that *what* gains a special medial position and force in dependent clauses, particularly with verbs of thinking or perceiving, such as *I consydere, imagine what, thought* and so on. All in all, it is observable that an emotive colouring is present in all these *wh*-forms functioning as an exclamation or interjection, but its intensity varies a great deal. The repertoire of such varieties of *what* having exclamatory function will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.3. ANALYSIS OF *why*

The account has thus far has focused on discussing *what* functioning as an exclamation. Traditionally, *what* and *how* fall into distinct categories that act as exclamations or interjections in dictionary definitions. Nevertheless, it is possible to find some form of interrelation between *what* and *why* particularly when referring to dictionary definitions of interrogative pronouns. According to Brinton (1996: 181), in defining *hwæt* we find that it functions "as an introductory particle of vague meaning, *why, well, so, indeed, certainly.*" Furthermore, OE *hwi, hwy* functioned as the instrumental case of *hwā, hwæt*, 'who, what' (*ACEDOE* 1971: 827). Then, in accordance with the *OED*, *why* functions traditionally in a direct question (i.e. for what reason? From what cause or motive? For what purpose?), which is shown by Davis (1995: 58), e.g.:

- (68) *Hwy stande gē ealne dæg idle?*
 'Why do you stand idle all day?'

In the light of traditional functions, *why* implies or suggests a negative assertion ('there is no reason why'), functions with ellipsis of the remainder of the sentence, in an indirect question or a dependent clause or similar meaning, with intensive additions (in direct or dependent

questions), as a relative pronoun, etc. It is also emphasised, e.g. in *WD, 1913*, that “*why* is used interrogatively to express cause, reason, or purpose”, as in:

(69) *‘Turn ye, turh ye from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O house of Israel?’* (Ezek.xxxiii. 11.)

Also, in the *OED*, definition IV (No. 7.a, b, c, d) provides a detailed investigation of *why* that is used interjectionally (for details see Section 3.3.2.). *Why* was recorded as an exclamation/interjection as late as in the 16th century (see Figure 3.2) for the first time in the *OED*, whereas in the *MED* the first recorded examples with exclamative *why* are dated in the 13th century. Emphasis on the broader interpretation of the syntactic level, the pragmatic level, and the wide range of categories strengthening emotive colouring will be discussed in the following subsections.

3.3.1. WHY – etymology; graphemic and phonemic relation

In *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (ODEE)* and *OCDEE* “it is emphasized that *why* is used to express *for what reason* or *purpose*, but it was used interjectionally as a note of surprise or calling attention in the 16th century; *why* comes from Old English *hwi*, *hwý*, it corresponds to Old Saxon *hwi*, Old Norse *hvi*.” Then, according to *DWO* (1990: 573) *[w]hy* goes back to Indo-European **qwei*, the locative case of the interrogative base **qwo-* (source of English *what* and *who*). This passed into prehistoric Germanic as **khwī*, which has since died out in all the Germanic languages apart from Danish (*hvi*) and English (*why*). The problem of spelling in the OE period is also discussed by Barber (1993: 119), who shows that the form of modern *why* was totally different in OE. According to *CDW* “*why* comes from Old English and was coined before 1200; it is a locative form of base of *who*, *what* that comes from Germanic, from Indo-European” (2002: 678). *ACEDEL* defines *why* as a “form that was used adverbially in Middle English and comes from Old English *hwi*, *hwý*, but interjectional function of *why* determines as derivative” (1967: 1743). Then the *MED* provides the first OE forms: *hwȳ*, *hwi* (*e*, *hwi*, instr. of *hwæt*). Following the graphemic form of the earliest recorded examples it must be stated that a wide range of various graphemes coexisted in the ME period. According to the *MED*, *whī* functioned as an adverb and conjunction and there were other dialectal forms represented by *whie*, *whighe*, *wi*, *qwhi*, *qwi*, *qui*, *qhi*, *hue* & *hwi*, *vi*, (SWM) *wæh*, (SW & SWM) *hwui*, (SW) *zwi*, (K) *wee* & *fwi*, *pi*. In terms of contractions: *whine*, *qwin*, *hwine* (= *whi ne*), *quithen* (= *whi thane ne*), *hwinis* (= *whi ne is*). In the same dictionary it is said that the origin of *w^f* as an interjection is uncertain;

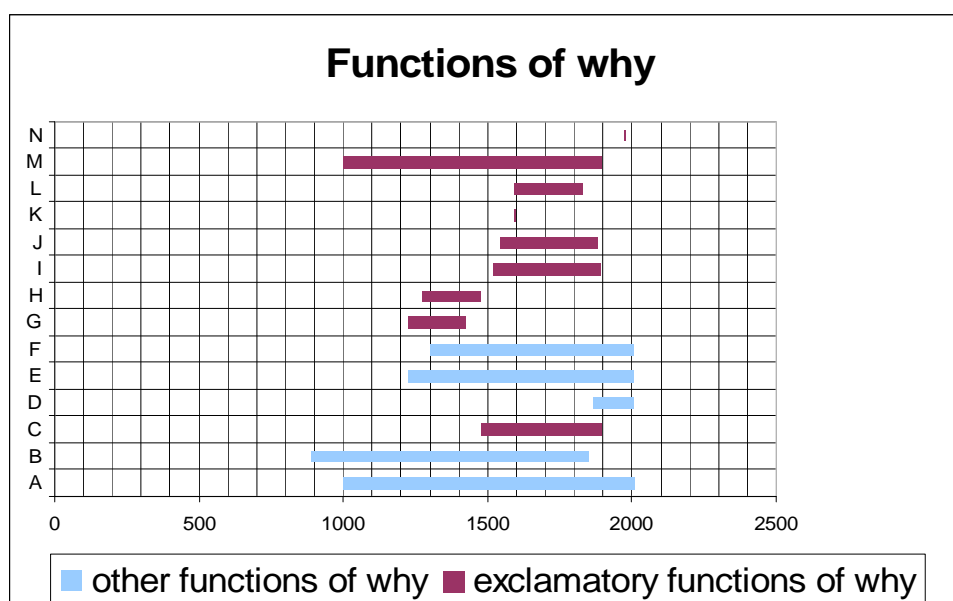
probably imitative, but also cp. OE $w^{\bar{i}}$ - (in $w^{\bar{i}}-l^{\bar{a}}-wei$, variety of $w^{\bar{a}}-l^{\bar{a}}-w^{\bar{a}}$); sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the ME $wh^{\bar{i}}$ interjection.

3.3.2. *WHY* - functioning as an exclamation

The material in this section illustrates the exclamatory function of *why* from the OE period onwards. The interjectional function of *wh*-forms has been the most important linguistic feature in marking styles of personal attitude. Also, in the *OED*, the definition IV (No. 7a, b, c, d) provides a detailed investigation of *why*, which used interjectionally is treated peripherally as it is placed before a sentence or clause. In emotive functions it is used:

- (i) as an expression of surprise (sometimes only momentary or slight; sometimes involving protest), either in reply to a remark or question, or on perceiving something unexpected,
- (ii) emphasizing or calling more or less abrupt attention to the statement following (as in the apodosis of a sentence), in opposition to a possible or vaguely apprehended doubt or objection,
- (iii) as an emphasized call or summons, expressing some degree of impatience,
- (iv) in a form *why, so!* as an expression of content, acquiescence, or relief;

According to Taavitsainen (1993: 573) such forms express “the ‘surge’ of personal affect in texts, and together with other linguistic features contributing to the same direction they form a matrix of involved and affected style.” It should be noted, however, that *why* seems to range from being a neutral marker of interrogation to a highly subjective marker of surprise, shock, indignation, hesitation, approval, disapproval, or impatience. In considering the entire range of these expressive functions, the ‘functional situation’ can be depicted in Figure 3.3, in which the column with dates present the first recorded example of *why* while the other on the right the last instance recorded in the *OED/MED*.



- A. AS INTERROGATIVE IN DIRECT QUESTIONS (c. 1000 – present)
- B. AS INTERROGATIVE IN INDIRECT QUESTIONS OR DEPENDENT CLAUSES (c. 888 – 1849)
- C. AS INTERROGATIVE WITH INTENSIVE ADDITIONS IN DIRECT OR DEPENDENT QUESTIONS (c. 1475 – 1895)
- D. AS AN EMPHATIC INTERROGATIVE (*WHY, OH WHY+?*) (c. 1865 – present)
- E. AS RELATIVE (c. 1225 – present)
- F. AS NOUN (c. 1303 – present)
- G. AS INTERJECTION PRECEDING ANXIOUS/INDIGNANT QUESTIONS (c. 1225 – 1425)
- H. INTERJECTIONALLY WITH STATEMENTS/DEMANDS (c. 1275 – 1475)
- I. INTERJECTIONALLY (AN EXPRESSION OF SURPRISE) (c. 1519 – 1893)
- J. INTERJECTIONALLY (CALLING MORE ATTENTION) (c. 1545 – 1882)
- K. INTERJECTIONALLY (DEGREE OF IMPATIENCE) (c. 1592 – 1597)
- L. INTERJECTIONALLY (EXPRESSION OF CONTENT) (c. 1593 – 1826)
- M. AS INTERROGATIVE ‘FOR *WHY*’ (c. 1000 – 1896)
- N. AS *WHY*-QUESTION (c. 1973 – 1978)

Figure 3.2

The functions of the *why*-pronoun in the course of centuries in accordance with the *OED/MED*

In Figure 3.2, most important is the fact that *why* changes its traditional characteristics as an interrogative pronoun/ noun/ relative as it undergoes ‘decategorialisation’ to another part of speech (an interjection). Generally, it is syntactically fixed in sentence-initial position, and the traditional functions of *why* in many contexts coexist with the noninterrogative uses in other contexts. This reflects “the synergetic relationship that exists between the two word classes and further points to the significance of co-occurrence” (Hoye 1997: 82).

My aim is to determine how linguistic features of involvement function, how they reflect the speakers’ point of view in the oral communication, and by what syntactic mechanism (*wh* movement) the reader is manipulated to take part in the textual process.

3.3.2.1. Middle English

Unlike *what* which began to act as an exclamation in OE, *why* was used as an exclamation/interjection in ME for the first time. According to the *MED* *why* functioned as an exclamation/interjection preceding questions; this function began in EME and was continued in LME; usually means *well, well then, why, ah*; emphasising the speaker's emotional attitude, and expressing surprise, anxiety, or indignation. For instance:

- (70) *He þurh-sicheþ uches monnes þonc; wi, hwat scal us to rede?*
'He sees through each man's mind, why, what shall we do?'
(a1225(?c1175) *PMor.*(Lamb 487) 90)
- (71) *Wi, qui þan make we vs sua kene?*
'Why! Why then do we make ourselves so keen?'
(a1400) *Cursor* (Göt Theol 107) 23845)
- (72) *Wy! Uncle myn...who tolde hym this?*
'Why! my uncle ... who told him this?'
(a1425)(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 3.842)

Apart from graphemic changes, syntactic mobility is significant and it could be said that *why* took the initial position gradually (as sentence-medial and initial positions coexisted). But, in terms of emotional function, emotive colouring was emphasised by an exclamation mark⁵¹ that followed *why*-forms. In the course of centuries, the *why*-word (meaning *well, well then, why, ah*) functioned as an exclamation/interjection which in turn was followed by statements, exhortations, demands, etc.; The sentence-initial position was the most frequent one, e.g.:

- (73) *What eyleth yow to grucche thus and grone? Is it for ye wolde haue my queynte alone? Wy, taak it al!*
lo, haue it euery del!
'What ails you that you grumble thus and groan? Is it because you'd have my cunt alone? Why take it all, lo, have it every bit;'
(c1395) Chaucer *CT.WB.*(Manly-Rickert) D.445)
- (74) *Thow wrecched mousse herte, Artow agast so that she wol the bite? Wy! Don this furred cloke upon thy sherte*
And folwe me, for I wol have the wite.
'Thou wretched mouse's heart, Art thou aghast so that she will thee bite? Why, don this furred cloak upon thy shirt, And follow me, for I will have the wite;'
(a1425)(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 3.738)
- (75) *Wyth 'wy, wyppe! Farwell,' quod I,*
'With "why, hurry! Farewell," I said,'
(c1475) *Wisd.*(Folg V.a.354) 517)

Historically speaking, at the beginning of the 13th century *why* as an exclamatory word was used independently and was still occurring in sentence-initial position, which was

⁵¹ Crystal (1995: 66-68) points out that "the basis of the modern punctuation system emerged during the Renaissance." He states that "[i]n common with classical models, the symbols were used rhetorically, showing readers where to breathe, how long to pause, and how to introduce emphasis and rhythmical balance into their speech; thus, there was a great deal of idiosyncrasy and arbitrariness between punctuation and prosody in EModE." In the 16th century grammarians and printers dealt with this area, and punctuation marks in books came to be more widely used as a result.

followed by an interrogative structure. In the light of interjectional function, *why* was used with statements, exhortations, demands, etc.; for example:

- (76) **Wi!** *Hit is þe more unriht þat he his luue spene on þare þat nis wurþ one of hire heare.*
 ‘Why! it’s all the more unfair that he gives his love to a woman who isn’t worth one of her hairs.’
 (c1275(?a1216) *Owl & N.*(Clg A.9) 1548)

According to the *MED* *why* functioned as an exclamation first preceding questions and later with statements after which an exclamation mark was placed.

The 14th and 15th centuries were more complex in the field of exclamatory function of *why*. The interrogative pronoun *why* functioned as an exclamation/interjection in the following way:

a. as an interjection meaning **well, so, why** preceding anxious or indignant questions, e.g.:

- (77) **Why,** *naþ nout vch mon his?*
 ‘Why! Isn’t each man his?’ (c1325 *Of a mon* (Hrl 2253) 38)
- (78) **Why!** *fadir, will God þat I be slayne?*
 ‘Why! Father, does God want me to be killed?’ (a1450 *Yk.Pl.*(Add 35290) 62/189)
- (79) *I must haue reuerence; why, who be ich?*
 ‘I must have reverence; why! Who would I be?’ (a1500(a1460) *Towneley Pl.*(Hnt HM 1) 122/207)

The entire range of examples depicts not only morphosyntactic changes but also marking forms preceding and following the *why*-word. In (84) it is noticeable that the *wh*-element is mobile as it moves rightwards and takes a sentence-medial position within the syntactic structure.

b. *why*, meaning **well, so, why**, was also used with statements, exhortations, demands, etc. to emphasise the speaker’s response and hearer’s attention to a situation. For instance:

- (80) *Knyht, y may yleue þe, why! ant þou trewe be.*
 ‘Knight, I can trust thee, why! Thou art honest.’ (c1325) *Horn* (Hrl 2253) 32/560 (MED)
- (81) *I wol nat kisse thee, by my fey; Why, lat be...lat be, Nicholas.*
 ‘I will not kiss you, by my fay! Why, let go,’ cried she, ‘let go, Nicholas!’
 (1405) Chaucer *CT.Mil.*(Elsm) A.3285)
- (82) **Whi,** *lord! I hate of the thi nyce fare!*
 ‘Why, Lord! I hate thy silly behavior!’ (a1425)(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 1.1025)

3.3.2.2. Modern English

According to the *OED* *why* was used interjectionally before a sentence or clause from the beginning of the 16th century:

a. as an expression of surprise (sometimes only momentary or slight; sometimes involving protest), either in reply to a remark or question, or on perceiving something unexpected. For instance:

- (83) *Bvij, Than I perceyue ye wyll make gode chere.*
 'Why, what shulde I els do?' (1519) (*Interl. Four Elem.*)
- (84) *Why this is flat periurie, to call a Princes brother villaine. Doo not you loue me?*
Why no, no more then reason. (1599) (Shakes. *Much Ado* iv.ii. 44)
- (85) *They all sayde vnto him, Let him be crucified. And the Gouvernour said, Why, what euil hath he done?*
 (1611) (*Bible* Matt. Xxvii. 23)

EModE instances display a graphemic form which is common in Modern English.

b. *why* in the exclamatory function emphasised or called more or less abrupt attention to the statement following (as in the apodosis of a sentence), in opposition to a possible or vaguely apprehended doubt or objection. For example:

- (86) *If hap'ly won, perhaps a haplesse gaine, If lost, why then a grieuous labour won.*
 (1591) (Shakes. *Two Gent.* i.i. 33)
- (87) *Take an honest woman from her husband! Why, it is intolerable.* (1596) (*Sir T. More* i.i. 122)
- (88) *If her chill heart I cannot move, Why, I'le enjoy the very Love.* (1647) (*Cowley Mistr., Request* iii)
- (89) *If you will have Caesar for your master, why have him.* (1769) (*Goldsm. Rom. Hist.* (1786) I. 439)

c. the exclamatory function of *why* was also used to make the following interrogative pronoun an emphasised call or summons, expressing some degree of impatience, such as:

- (90) *Mistris, what Mistris? Iuliet? Why Lambe, why Lady, fie you slugabed,*
Why Loue I say? why Bride? (1592) (Shakes. *Rom. & Jul.* iv.v. 2,3)
- (91) *What Iessica? Why Iessica I say.* (1596) (*I Merch. V.* ii.v. 6)

d. according to the *OED* the archaic use of *why* (*why, so!*) as an expression of content, acquiescence, or relief also functioned as an interjection to emphasise a situation; for instance:

- (92) *Ser. My Lord, your sonne was gone before I came.*
Yor. He was: why so: go all which way it will. (1593) (Shakes. *Rich. II.* ii.ii.87)

According to the *OED* *why* still appeared independently occurring sentence-initially; yet an exclamation mark was gradually more common at the end of the 19th century since in ME and EModE other symbols of punctuation were common, such as a comma, a full stop, or a semi-colon. Reinforcement of illocutionary force was conveyed with *why* acting as an

expression of surprise before a sentence or clause, or in reply to a remark or question as well as on perceiving something unexpected. For instance:

- (93) *'Goodness gracious!' said Mary, 'Why, it's that very house'.*
(1837) (Dickens *Pickw.* xxxix)
- (94) *Were there no such people as the Essenes? Why, no; not as Josephus described them.*
(1847) (De Quincey *Secret Soc.* Wks. 1890 VII. 217)
- (95) *And, as he spoke, he turned quite pale, and then quite white. 'Why, you're ill!' said Tom.*
(1863) (Kingsley *Water-Bob.* iii)
- (96) *Mary looked up suddenly and said, 'Why, I believe I've been asleep!'*
(1893) (M.Pemberton *Ivon Pirate* I)

The same dictionary quotes instances of *why*-forms emphasising or calling more or less abrupt attention to the statement following, in opposition to a possible or vaguely apprehended doubt or objection. For example:

- (97) *'A long way, wasn't it, Kit?' 'Why then, it was a goodish stretch, master,' returned Kit.*
(1840) (Dickens *Old C.Shep* i)
- (98) *'Not a doubt', addad the Professor. 'Why, it stands to reason.'*
(1882) (Besant *All Sorts* xxiii)

Turning to the early 20th century, it should be noted that in e-dictionaries *why* used as an interjection is treated marginally⁵².

3.3.3. CONCLUSIONS

In ME various graphemic forms of *why* functioned as both an adverb and conjunction. Detailed study shows that the *wh*-word used with statements, exhortations, demands, etc. meaning *well*, *well then*, *why*, *oh* had three different graphemic forms *wi*, *hwi*, *wy*⁵³; but *wi* and *wy* were used more frequently than *hwi* in the 13th/14th centuries.

⁵² According to *WD, 1913* “*why* is sometimes used as an interjection or an expletive in expression of surprise or content at a turn of affairs; used also in calling e.g. *Why, Jessica!*” Then *AllWords.com-Dictionary* displays a definition of *why* functioned interjectionally. In this dictionary it is defined as a word “expressing surprise, indignation, impatience or recognition”, etc. e.g. *Why, you little monster!* Furthermore, *A→Z Dictionary* states that “it is used as an expression of surprise, hesitation, etc., or sometimes a mere expletive such as *Why, it's all gone!*” The same definition can be found in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language: Fourth Edition*, whereas according to *Wordsmyth*, *why* functions as an interjection expressing astonishment or mild indignation such as *Why, I never knew you were once an actor!*. Another definition is quoted in *MSN Encarta-Dictionary* according to which *why* functions as an exclamation used to express surprise, shock, or indignation e.g. *Why, John, how could you!*. More emotional forms are provided by the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* where *why* functioning as an interjection is said to express mild surprise, hesitation, approval, disapproval, or impatience such as *Why, here's what I was looking for!*. Finally according to *Cambridge Dictionaries Online*, the interrogative pronoun *why* functions as an exclamation mainly in American English or as an old-fashioned form, used to express surprise or annoyance: *Why, if it isn't old Georgie Frazer!* Or *Why, I've never seen anything like it!*.

⁵³ It is worth mentioning that “in ME and EModE, there had been no standard spelling: spellings varied from writer to writer, and even within the work of one writer” (Barber 1999: 201). He adds that “the standard spelling-

On the functional level, *why* functioned as an interrogative pronoun in about 9th century, while in about 13th century it began to act as an interjection. With regard to the *why*-forms functioning interjectionally, the preference structure has been the sentence-initial position followed by a comma or an exclamation mark, e.g. *Wi!*, *Why,(...)*, *Wy!*. Emotive colouring was given by outbursts of emotional charge between the participants of the process of communication, the structure of which was preceded or followed by an emphatic device, that is:

- (i) as pre-expansion, e.g. an exclamation or interjection used to express surprise, or to emphasise or call attention,
- (ii) as post-expansions (next-to-right complementation), e.g. honorifics, vocatives, exclamations, etc.; for example: *Why! fadir, (...)*, *Whi, lord!*, *Wy! Uncle myn (...)*, *Wy, taak it all!*, or *Why, you `re ill!*

On the syntactic level, the process of transporting the *why*-element from the prominent sentence-initial position to a more peripheral one took place in the 14th century. All in all, there is more (etymological) interrelation between *what* and *why*, than between *why* and *how*.

3.4. ANALYSIS OF HOW

This section discusses the exclamatory function of *how* from the Old English period onwards. The internal structure of the *how*-phrase will be examined, as well as the ways in which it acts as a mobile unit in accordance with the *wh*-movement process. The analysis will involve the exploitation of the different syntactic patterns associated with the formation of an exclamation, most of which are accommodated by the basic frame: *how* + (*adjective/adverb*) + (*S + V*) + (*complements*) in which bracketed categories are optional. In order to establish a coherent framework within which to analyse and describe *how* acting as an exclamation, this investigation will rely heavily on the examples included in the *OED/MED*.

3.4.1. HOW – etymology; graphemic and phonemic relation

The interrogative pronoun *how* also underwent graphemic and phonemic changes and gradually began to act as an exclamation/interjection (Wright 1925: 248-249, Pyles 1971:

system which became established by the end of the seventeenth century was already an archaic one, and, broadly speaking, represents the pronunciation of English before the Great Vowel Shift.”

138). According to *DWO* [*h*]ow belongs to the large family of question-words which in Indo-European began with *qw-* (as in English *quantity*, *query*, etc.). The phonetic descendant of this in prehistoric Germanic was **khw-*, which in modern English is represented by *wh-*. *How* itself comes from a West Germanic adverb **khwō* formed from the base that also produced English *what* and *who*; like *who* it has lost its /w/ sound, but since *who* did not lose it until considerably later the spelling *wh* remains as a reminder of it (1990: 288).

According to *ODEE*, *how* underwent the same “morphological changes concerning initial *w* like the *wh*.” The first form meaning ‘in what way, by what means’ attested in Old English as *hū* that was coined in Old Frisian *hū*, *hō*, whereas in Old Scottish it was (*h*)*wō*, *hwuo*. In *AASD* (1898) *hū* is defined as a pronoun found in exclamations, e.g.:

(99) *Hū la! Ne gewarþ une tō ānum peninge,*
How now! was not our agreement for a penny? (Th.50,7; Gen.805.)

In *ACEDEL* (1966: 747, 1971: 355) it is said that *how* comes from OE *hū*, MDu *hū*, Du. *Hoe*, OHG. *hwio*, *wio*, Germanic *wie*, Gothic *haiwa* and in Middle English *hou*, *hu*; Following on from that, according to the *OCDEE* (1986: 221), in spite of the former examples, additional information is provided in that *how* like *who*, *what*, *why* was coined from the West Germanic *χwō*, adverbial formation on *χwa*.

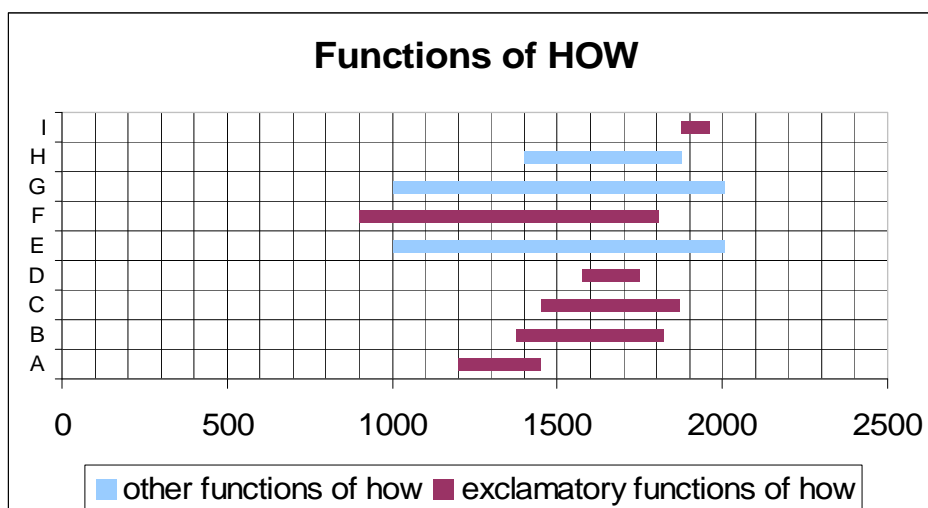
3.4.2. HOW - functioning as an exclamation

CDW (2000: 289) states that *how* was formed in OE from Germanic, from base of *who*, *what*. In *AASD* (1898: 564-565) *how* is defined as “an adverb that functions in direct questions”, yet the second function concerns exclamations, e.g.:

(100) *eala gæsta God, hu þu gleawlice mid noman ryhte nemned wære Emmanuhel,*
oh! God of spirits, how rightly wast thou named by the name of Emmanuel! (Christ A 130)

It began to be used in direct exclamations and in c900 for the first time with meaning ‘In what a way! To what an extent or degree!’ and in dependent questions and exclamations chiefly qualifying and adjective or adverb ‘To what extent; in what degree’.

Before exploring the entire range of functions of the *how*-forms in detail, the whole spectrum of functions is illustrated graphically in Figure 3.3:



- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|
| A. | AS AN EXCLAMATION EXPRESSING ASTONISHMENT | (c.1200 - 1450) |
| B. | AS AN EXCLAMATION TO ATTRACT ATTENTION | (c.1377 - 1825) |
| C. | AS AN EXCLAMATION TO EXPRESS A CRY OF SAILORS | (c.1450 - 1867) |
| D. | AS AN EXCLAMATION TO EXPRESS A CRY OF PAIN/GRIEF | (c.1575 - 1750) |
| E. | AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN | (c.1000 – present) |
| F. | IN DIRECT EXCLAMATIONS | (c.900 – 1808) |
| G. | IN DEPENDENT QUESTIONS AND EXCLAMATIONS | (c.1000 – present) |
| H. | INTRODUCING A RELATIVE CLAUSE | (c.1400 – 1879) |
| I. | AS INTERJECTION (ORIGINALLY USED BY INDIANS OF NE AMERICA) | (c.1877 - 1962) |

Figure 3.3

The functions of the *how*-pronoun in the course of centuries according to the *OED/MED*

Diachronically speaking, it is noticeable (Figure 3.3) that there has been a mixture of different functions, the beginning of which is depicted on the left side in the pairs of dates on the right, and the date on the right refers to the year of the last record of *how* in the *OED*. So, we can presume that some functions disappeared or have not been recorded. Molencki (1990: 28-9) notices that even the classification in OE causes many problems. These structures may be ambiguous with respect to the exclamatory vs. interrogative distinction. He claims that “the choice of moods and/or word order does not help, either, so the classification can only be based on semantics, which in the absence of native speakers is often difficult to determine.” Thus, after the discussion of several general issues, the consecutive subsections will cover various synchronic issues pertaining to the relations between pragmatics and the closely related areas, such as semantics, syntax, and orthography.

3.4.2.1. Old English & Middle English

According to the *OED*, *how* was defined as an element that functioned as an exclamation/interjection in c1000, and it was used as an equivalent being of ‘What?’ or ‘What!’, which was delimited in a frame of an exclamative phrase *how about...?*

For instance:

- (101) **Hu!** *haue ge wrong.*
'How, you are wrong.' (a1325(c1250) *Gen.& Ex.*(Corp-C 444) 3077)

In terms of direct exclamations *how* functioned with meaning *In what a way!, to what an extent or degree!*, e.g.:

- (102) **Hu** *god is ece God!*
How good is eternal God! (Ags.Ps (Th) Ixxii[i] (1000))

- (103) *Low, hu hali writ spekeð!*
'Lo, how the holy scripture speaks!' (c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.*(Corp-C 402) 31/18)

- (104) **Hu** *lutel wile we beð her, hu longe elles ware!*
'How little time we will be her, how long anywhere else!' (c1250 *PMor.*(Eg 613(1)) 327)

- (105) **O how** *woundirful and how worpi..a þing is ..god!*
'Oh, how wonderful and how worthy .. a thing is ..God!'
(c1475(c1445) *Pecock Donet* (Bod 916) 85/35)

Taking into account the above examples (130) – (132), on the syntactic grounds the *how*-word appeared in a frame *how* + *adjective/adverb*, e.g. *how long, how good and how pleasant, how well, how wonderful and how worthy*, which has survived up to PDE.

How was used as an exclamation expressing astonishment, indignation, distress, etc.; for instance:

- (106) **Hu dele!**...*Leuestu & luuest te þe reufulliche deide & reuliche on rode?*
How! Do you love the one who pitifully and miserably died on the cross?
(c1225(?c1200) *St.Marg.(1)* (Bod 34) 8/27)

- (107) '*Allas, sir, how? what may that be?*' '*She ys ded!*'
'Alas, sir, how? What may that be?' 'She is dead.'
(c1450(1369) *Chaucer BD* (Benson-Robinson) 1307)

The *MED* lists some examples of *how* functioning as an exclamation introducing a negative question, e.g.:

- (108) *La, hu, næs þæs þe blinde mon þe swa iboren wæs?*
'Lo, how, was it not the blind man who was born blind?' (c1175(?OE) *Bod.Hom.*(Bod 343) 60/2)

- (109) *La, hu, ne beað þa þet here specað galileisce?*
'Lo how, are not these who speak here Galileans?'
(a1225(OE) *Lamb.Hom.Pentec.*(Lamb487) 89)

According to Hoey (1997: 148) intensification and focus give prominence to the element that is placed sentence-initially. Occasionally, fronting of *La, Lo* occur with *hu, how*,

so the semantic effect is simply to emphasise since *lo*⁵⁴ is defined as an exclamation that in old use means ‘look, see’ and is added (humorously) to show that people are about to mention something interesting and surprising (*CIDE* 1995: 832). The same function of an exclamation/interjection but as a call to attract attention was displayed by *how* at the end of the 15th century; for example:

- (110) **How**, gyb, goode morne! wheder goys thou? Thou goys ouer the corne. Gyb, I say, **how!**
 ‘How, Gyb, good morning! Whither art thou going? Thou art going around the corner. I say, how!’
 (a1500(a1460) *Towneley Pl.* (Hnt HM 1) 102/81-2)

At the end of the 14th century *how* began to be used as an exclamation/interjection and elliptically for **how now?** for *How is it now?*; for example ‘**What how now?**’:

- (111) *What, how now..Hap Clarioun my cosyn aslawe þe man?*
 ‘What, how now .. has my cousin Clarion killed the man?’ (c1380 *Firumb.(1)* (Ashm 33) 3779)
- (112) **What how nowe**, manace ye me?
 ‘What how now, do ye threaten me?’ (Caxton *Chron.Eng* 129)

In the 14th and 15th centuries *how* was used as an element in various cries, such as in hunting cries borrowed from the French, e.g.:

- (113) *And they trowe wele to fynde hym, ye shul saye, ‘Here, how, here, douce, how, here....’*
 ‘And they truly hope to find him, so you should cry, “Here, how, here, dear, how, here, ...”’
 (c1425 *Twiti Venerly(1)* (Vsp B.12) 153)

and in sailors’ cries, when pulling a rope or moving in rhythm, e.g.:

- (114) *Y howe! trussa! Hale in the brayles!*
 ‘How! Truss! Pull the ropes!’ (c1500 *Men may leue* (Trin-C R.3.19) 33)

The same function is discussed in the *OED* where *how* indicated a cry of sailors in heaving up the anchor, etc., usually with *hale, heave, heave ho, hey ho*; for instance:

- (115) *The mastyr commaundeth..To hys shypmen.. With ‘howe! hissa!’ then they cry.*
 ‘The master gives orders... to his crewmen ...then they cry ‘how! hissa!’
 (c1500 *Men may leue* (Trin-C R.3.19) 13,19)

or indicated a call to attract attention or rouse a sleeper; a salutation or greeting, e.g.:

- (116) *Thanne wol I clepe, how Alison! how John! Be myrie for the flood wol passé anon.*
 ‘Then I will call, ‘Ho, Alison! Ho, John! Be cheery, for the flood will pass anon.’
 (c1390) Chaucer *CT.Mil.* (Manly-Rickert) A.3577)

- (117) **How, how!** a mynstrel! Know *ȝe* ony out?
 ‘How, how! A minstrel! Do ye know any?’
 (c1475 *Mankind* (Folg V.a.354) 444)

- (118) *Than..Judas..kist his mowth & seid, ‘How hey.*
 ‘Then ... Judas ... kissed his mouth and said, “how hey”’
 (a1500 *NPass.* (Cmb Ff.5.48) 54/546 fn)

⁵⁴ According to *CDW* (2002: 353) *lo* is defined as an interjection that means ‘see! behold! look!’, which started to be used pre-1200. Old English *lā* was a natural exclamation that was later associated with ‘look’.

The interrogative form of *how* was also used at the beginning of the 15th century in the refrain of a song, such as:

- (119) *panne..somme..songen atte nale And hulpen erie his half acre with 'how! trollilolli!'*
'then some sang at the ale and helped plough his half acre crying 'how! trolli-lolli!'
(c1400(c1378) PPL.B (LdMisc 581) 6.118)

At the end of the 15th century *how* represented the hooting of an owl, e.g.:

- (120) *Whatt byrdys ast thou? Non but the howlat, that kreye, 'How, how!'*
'What birds hast thou? None but the owl that sings 'how-how'
(a1475 *Holy berith beris* (Hrl 5396) p.94)

At that time, it also began to be used with intensive additions, as *the devil, a fire, in the world*, etc. to make emotive colouring stronger.

3.4.2.2. Modern English

How was still used as an exclamation to attract attention; for instance:

- (121) *Mak roume, sirs, hoaw! that I may rin!* (1535) (Lyndesay *Satyre* 602)
(122) *Howe, howe, who is heare? I Robin of Doncastere and Magaret my feare.*
(1579) (*Epit.* in Miller *Hist. Doncaster*)

The ellipted forms for *How is it?* or *How say you?* were the modern equivalent *What?* or *What!*. For example:

- (123) *Whow? I go about to disgrace thee?* (1589) (R. Harvey *Pl. Perc.* (1860) 11)
(124) *Elb. My wife Sir? whom I detest before heauen, and your honour. Esc. How? thy wife? Elb. I sir.*
(1603) (Shakes. *Meas. For M.* ii.i. 71)

Another ellipted form *how now?* for *How is it now?* was also used interjectionally, e.g.:

- (125) *How now? moodie?* (1610) (Shakes. *Temp.* i.ii. 244)

At the end of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century *how* was still used interjectionally and it was the ellipted form for *How is it?* or *How say you?*. According to the *OED* *how*-forms took the sentence-initial position and occurred independently followed by an exclamation mark or a question mark, e.g.:

- (126) *How! signior have you not authority?* (1722) (De Foe *Col. Jack* (1840) 306)
(127) *'How', cried I, 'relinquish the cause of truth?'* (1766) (Goldsm. *Vic. W.* xi)

In direct exclamations *how* functioned in the sentence-initial position for *In what a way! to what an extent or degree!*; for instance:

- (128) *O how sweet it smelleth.* (1583) (Hollyband *Campo di Fior* 307)
(129) *My God, how endless is thy love!* (1707) (Watts *Hymn*)

(130) *How pale his cheek, his eye how bright! How you do like to tease one!* (1808) (Scott *Marm.* iii.vi)

Throughout the period of EModE *how* was still an element functioning in sailors' cries, when pulling a rope or moving in rhythm, as a cry of pain or grief, e.g.:

(141) *Mony marynair Besy at thair werk+with mony heis and how.* (1513) (Douglas *Aeneis* iii.ii. 120)

(142) *Wyth, Hey, and wyth howe, Sit we down arow.* (a1529) (Skelton *E. Rummyng* 289)

Furthermore, according to the *MED*, *how* was an element in shepherds' cries, which emerged at the beginning of the 16th century, e.g.:

(131) *Howe! Haroye! how! how! dryve the sheepe to the low! thou may not heare but if I blowe.*
'How! Help! How! How! take the sheep to the valley! Thou may not hear me unless I blow'
(1607(?a1425) *Chester Pl.*(Hrl 2124) 134/45)

The forms *how*, *howe* were used to cry *how!* with pain or grief in some dialects, e.g.:

(132) *What need ye hech and how, ladies? What need ye how for me?*
(c1750) (*Mary Hamilton* xiii. in *Child Ballads* (1889) III. 392)

(132) displays relative degrees of centrality of *how* which differs considerably in the distribution as it moves rightwards taking the sentence-medial position within the syntactic structure. In LModE it began to be used as an ejaculation among Indians⁵⁵ of north-eastern North America. What is more the emphatic *And how!* was first recorded in 1865 and it is said to be a Germanic-American colloquialism. A form *and how!* was used as an exclamation to indicate that the effect of something was difficult to describe; for example:

(133) *I finished an article for the 'Atlantic' that day. As if I were not 'a tool of the elements!' 'And how?' as the Germans say (Americanicèl 'You'd better believe it!'*
(1865) (B. Taylor *Let.* 16 June in M.H. Taylor *Life & Lett. Bayard Taylor* (1884) II. xviii. 434)

(134) *'How's that for your orders from a typical American woman?' 'You mean it, Peggy?' 'And how!' 'Baby!'*
(1932) (J.W. Drawbell *Good Time!* xvii. §3)

(135) *'Alas,' wrote Harrington, 'all earthly things do fail to mortals in enjoyment.' And how.*
(1965) (*Listener* 25 Nov.874/1)

In (133)-(135) it is worth noticing that the phrase *and how* is followed by a question mark, an exclamation mark or a full stop.

⁵⁵ Yet the appearing and disappearing expressive/emotive functions coexisted with *how* that traditionally functioned as an interrogative pronoun or a relative pronoun. The *ASD* discusses the other functions of *how* and investigates the word as functioning in dependent clauses, with a comparative and qualifying or in combination with other words. *How* was also used as an exclamation/interjection, according to *DWO*, interrogative *how* is used in exclamations, such as *how!* which was known to be the way North American Indians supposedly used to greet each, was found to be a different word all together. It is an imitation of a Soix word, such as Dakota *háo*, Omaha *hau* (1990: 288). According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary* it was first recorded in 1817 in English, but noted early in the 17th century (in 1636) by French missionary Jean de Brebeuf among Hurons as an expression of approval.

In the 19th and 20th centuries four new functions of *how* began to be used:

a. the interrogative *how*-forms were used as ellipted ***how much*** for *What? eh?* and used in humorous colloquial requests for the repetition of something not heard or not understood. For instance:

(136) *'Then my answer must mainly depend on the exact height of the principles.'* *'On the **how much?**'*
inquired Frere, considerably mystified.

(1852) (F.E. Smedley *Lewis Arundel* xxxiv. 292)

(137) *'She is a Hedonist.'* *'A **how-much?**'* *'A Hedonist.'*

(1927) (E. Bowen *Hotel* ii.11)

After preliminary observations on the grammatical as well as pragmatic roles of the *how*-word, it is observable that its graphemic representation may be illustrated as a mixture of different graphemes, such as *howe*, *whow*, *hoaw*, and *how*.

3.4.3. CONCLUSIONS

Due to the activities of various eighteenth-century grammarians⁵⁶ and correctors, *how* began to be used widely in LModE. On syntactic grounds, in the present material *how* is used either independently (in the initial or final position) or with other complementation, which means that the same non-clausal forms are marked in a different way, making the whole utterance a good emphatic device of emotional colouring. Thus in the sphere of lexical or morphosyntactic marking, which exhibits exclamatory functions of *how*, there are various forms which can be categorised as, e.g. forms occurring sentence-initially as an independent element being an equivalent of *what!/what?*, cry of pain or grief (e.g. *Hu!*, *Howe!*, *How!* *How!*). Syntactically speaking, the *wh*-word was occasionally preceded by other intensive additions, like *La*, *hu*; or *Allas,sir*, *how?*. The exclamative *how* displayed relative degrees of centrality and peripherality and differed considerably in the scope of its modification, meaning, etc. In the view of predominant initial position, in the 15th century the mechanism of repeating *So howe!* *so hoowe!*, or *how*, *how*, *how* involved the emphasis, intensification, or focusing of attention. In terms of emphatic devices reinforcement was conveyed by

⁵⁶ This is reflected by the fact that “the seventeenth century saw the publication of the first grammars and dictionaries of English. The eighteenth century brought the first really comprehensive dictionaries of English, and an enormous number of English grammars, especially in the second half of the century” (Barber 1999: 203). He adds that “the dictionaries and grammars were seized on as authorities: they were commonly regarded, not as records of usage, but as prescriptions for correct usage (...) or of correct or ‘polite’ usage, which were entirely prescriptive in intent.”

implementing interjections *Hey*⁵⁷, *O*⁵⁸, *Och*, *Oh* at the absolute beginning of the linear order, which was delimited by a sentence-final exclamation mark. On the pragmatic level, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 583) notice that the term *intensifier* is somehow connected with *how* since there are two subsets of intensifiers:

(i) amplifiers that are subdivided into *maximizers* and *boosters*; the latter group form open classes in which exclamatory *how* acts as an element that affects the illocutionary force making it stronger, e.g. *How they suffered!* [*How much they suffered!*]; taking account the former group, it is worth noticing that *how* may act as premodification of the maximizer, introducing a question or exclamation, e.g. *How thoroughly do they disapprove of his methods?*
How utterly we deplore his tactics! (1985: 592-3)

(ii) downtoners that are subdivided into approximators, compromisers, diminishers, and minimizers;

Due to the fact of reinforcement and intensification, exclamative *how* functioned as an intensifier, booster, and maximiser over time. Edwards (1994) distinguishes three common patterns, in which *how* appears as an exclamative element, that is:

- (i) *how* + adjective + subject + verb, e.g. *How beautiful she is!*
- (ii) *how* + subject + verb, e.g. *How he worked!*
- (iii) *how* + adjective/adverb, e.g. *How wonderful!*, *How slowly!*

Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries there were still variations in pronunciation, however, spelling had become normalised in Standard English probably at the beginning of the 18th century. Furthermore, in terms of interrogative pronouns, in the Modern English period, several important and spectacular changes may be noted (Pyles 1971: 199). There were attempts to ‘regularise’ the English language, but there is no particular pattern of consistency in the construction. As a result, some sets of rules were based on an arbitrary appeal to logic and ‘reason’, with very little relevance to older usage (Pyles 1971: 204-205). In modern grammars, the *how*-element is defined as being a word that functions as an adverb (= in what way), in questions (= to what degree) in which *how* appears before an adjective/adverb + inverted verb, in indirect questions without inversion, and in exclamations (Edwards 1994: 74).

3.5. Closing remarks

After making some preliminary observations on the exclamatory function of *what*, *why* and *how* in OE, ME, and ModE in accordance with *OED/MED* as well as the other contemporary

⁵⁷ According to the *CIDE* (1995: 666) “*hey* functions as exclamation and is used as a way of attracting someone’s attention, sometimes in a way which is not very polite.”

⁵⁸ In the same dictionary (1995: 969) “*O* is defined as exclamation used when addressing someone or something, or when expressing strong emotion.” While *Och/Oh* “is used to express a variety of emotions, such as surprise, disappointment and pleasure, often as a reaction to something someone has said” (*CIDE* 1995: 978).

grammar books, it is significant to notice that the selected examples with *wh*-words have the same Germanic origin. However, in the case of the OE/ME period they had different functions, i.e. *what* acted as a pronoun, an adjective, a noun, and an adverb, *why* emerged as a locative form of base of *who*, and *how* formed the base for *what* and *who* acted as a West Germanic adverb. Taking into account their basic (prime) interrogative function, it should be said that *how* began to function in direct questions as an adverb in c.1000. In contrast to *how*, *what* and *why* began to be used as interrogative pronouns in questions in c.888. *What* appeared as an interrogative pronoun in direct questions while *why* in direct or dependent questions to express cause, reason, or purpose.

A detailed examination of their range of functions allowed me to show that *what*, *why* and *how* began to represent *wh*-clauses functioning as exclamations or interjections. In terms of exclamative clauses, *what* has performed a wide range of exclamatory functions. Chronologically, first it functioned as an adverbial, an interjection and then as an exclamation (in dependent clauses, and as a pronoun in exclamatives) as early as in the OE period. Furthermore, *how* appeared as an exclamation expressing astonishment, attracting attention, or expressing a cry in direct exclamations in c.900. In contrast to *what* and *how*, *why* was used as an interjection preceding anxious/indignant questions, with statements and demands in ME.

Despite widespread recognition that *what*, *why* and *how* realize the exclamatory function, it is impossible to provide the whole range of *feelings* which these *wh*-words convey to give the intensification or focusing of speaker's attitude. They display relative degrees of positive and negative emotions in the scope of the selected examples. For instance, *what* functions as an exclamation and interjection to call attention, to call or summon somebody, the exclamative *how* functions as an intensifier, booster, or maximiser, and *why*, which functioning as an interjection is used to call more attention, to express impatience, or as an expression of surprise.

Chapter Four

Analysis of WHAT

4.0. Aims and methods

Before demonstrating *what*, *why* and *how* (i.e. in Chapters Four, Five, and Six) that function as exclamations, I found it necessary to provide a short introduction concerning the procedures used in the syntactic analysis of these *wh*-words. There are many ways of describing the grammar of a language. Lock (1996:4) states that “one approach sees grammar as a set of *rules* which specify all the possible grammatical structures of the language (sometimes called *well-formed*).” Nevertheless, there is usually a clear distinction usually made between grammatical sentences and ungrammatical sentences. The primary concern in this dissertation is with the *forms* of grammatical structures and their relationship between one another as well as the *functions* of structures and their constituents. Using *sentence* and *structures* implies that we should start from what is regarded as the largest unit of syntactic description, which is called a ‘top to bottom’ analysis (Wekker and Haegeman 1993: 5). Clearly, I will start with units smaller than the sentence that will be referred to as *clauses*, *wh-phrases*, *what/why/how-phrases*, *wh-elements*, *what/why/how-elements*, *wh-words*, *what/why/how-words*, *wh-units*, *what/why/how-units*, defined in Chapter One. Thus, instead of saying that a sentence can be broken down into smaller and smaller constituents, I will look at the sentence the other way round, that is ‘from bottom to top’. Constituents (e.g. adjectives/adverbs) can combine to form increasingly larger units (e.g. *wh-phrases*, *wh-clauses*, *wh-exclamatives*), then in turn the largest unit being the sentence (e.g. *complex sentences* in which *wh-exclamatives*, performing a non-canonical form, may be embedded). Each phrase can be broken down into its component parts, for instance, *wh-phrase* can be patterned *what+(a/an)+(adjective)+noun+(S+V)*, or *how+adjective/adverb+(S+V)*, which means that each pattern represents the hierarchy of phrase constituents or the hierarchical scale of constituents (*wh-word*, *determiners*, *modifiers*, *nouns*). In what follows, some

constituents may be optional (the linear organisation of *wh*-phrases above), that is, a typical pattern may emerge in the following frames *what+a/an+noun*, *what+a/an+adjective+noun*, *what+a/an+adjective+noun+S+V*, *how+adjective+S+V*, *how+S+V*, etc. (see Chapters Four, Five, Six respectively). To simplify matters, this convention of bracketing: () will be used to mark off each constituent from phrase or clause level. The bracketing has been supplied on a purely intuitive basis. In the following chapters the formal arguments and quotations which justify those choices will be implemented.

The syntactic analysis of complex sentences usually goes below the level of the clauses, but particular emphasis is paid to *wh*-clauses, so called content clauses (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), which are mobile within the complex structures. As a result, the *wh*-phrase becomes a one-word phrase that is placed in the final position of the complex sentence.

Throughout this dissertation the convention of giving the title of the novel is omitted as the complete list is included in Chapter Two. Instead, the surnames of writers, written in italics, and the year of publishing are written to the right of the quoted excerpt, particularly next to the last line of the whole set (see an example below).

According to Wekker and Haegeman (1993: 14) “texts are structured, and are more than just a random collection of sentences. The sentences of a text follow each other in some ‘logical’ order, and reflect a certain sequence of thoughts or events”, or in the light of exclamative clauses, a sequence of questions and answers. In the following chapters we shall only be concerned with the description of the internal structure of *wh*-exclamative clauses. The analysis of longer stretches of discourse will not be considered. However, I will offer numerous illustrative sentences which go beyond the level of *wh*-phrases or *wh*-clauses, only if this is necessary for the clarification of a specific point, particularly the speakers’ attitude and the emotional colouring of their conversation. For example, the sentences which are boldfaced:

They have an only son -- who do you think is this only son? – O Letty! -- O gracious heaven!
how my heart palpitates, when I tell you that this only son of Mr Dennison's, is that very identical youth who, under the name of Wilson, has made such ravage in my heart! -- **Yes, my dear friend!**

Smollett 1771

The emphasis of this dissertation is on formal as well as informal structural properties of *wh*-exclamative clauses rather than on phonology, and pragmatics. It is an analysis of English syntax which has undergone different kinds of reorganisation since the Early Modern English period. In this research the correlations between syntactic and semantic-pragmatic changes will be sought, not only on the macro-level (items that are next-to-right/left to the

wh-phrases), but also on the micro-level phenomena within the internal syntactic organization of *wh*-exclamatives.

In the historical perspective, *wh*-elements have served certain grammatical functions or have developed new grammatical functions. For this reason these general problems must be discussed both synchronically and diachronically, and will be supported with the numerical results gathered in tables, illustrated by graphs and charts (see Chapters Four, Five, Six).

According to Brinton and Traugott (2005: 8-9) there are two conceptions of grammar: “one is a self-contained module guided by a set of language-specific and absolute universals operating independently of contextual factors, and the other is seen as a set of general cognitive tendencies strongly shaped by language-external influences.” This is one of the many useful conceptions which help us to cope with the complex phenomenon of language change. As for *wh*-exclamative clauses, the primary source of information for the whole language structures is the *written text* of the selected novels which will need to be interpreted to show residues of increases or decreases in type of frequency (e.g. typical *wh*-phrase occurs with a very large number of modifiers or complementisers) in earlier periods and contemporary English. We will see those items that are combined or ellipted which, following from Brinton and Traugott (2005), is the result of gradualness in the sense that language change occurs in very small steps. The analysis will establish a continuum from more to less fixed *wh*-words functioning as exclamations or interjections, from more to less fully conventionalised within the established stages of English development.

4.1. Introduction - analysis of WHAT

In the present chapter empirical support for the development of *what* which functions as an exclamation/interjection on the basis of the selected English novels published between 1650 – 1950 is provided. First of all, sentences which clearly and explicitly encapsulate the ways of expressing emotions are listed in accordance with the six exclamatory functions of *what* presented mainly in the *OED/MED*. It is in this respect that they count as typical cases in perceiving the *what*-word as an exclamation or interjection. The chapter is organised as follows. In Sections 4.1 and 4.2 I discuss the quantitative analysis and the range of exclamatory function of the interrogative pronoun. In successive subsections we consider the distribution of *what*, that is, the typical traditional/canonical patterns with respect to clause-initial or sentence-initial (see Chapter One), as well as non-canonical appearing sentence-

medial, or -final. Below, I will provide representative examples of the use of *what*, which typifies the major uses of this word as reflected in a diachronic perspective in Chapter Three. Then, we investigate the length of the exclamative structures that are initiated with *what* since it is possible to find an ellipsed and independent *what*-clause which, in turn, may be placed at the absolute beginning of the syntactic construction or move rightwards to be placed medially as a content/dependent clause or finally as an end-focus.

What is more, *what* may be preceded by a group of intensive additions (interjections, vocatives, prepositions, etc.) or it may be followed by a wide range of complementisers, such as clausal (*that*-clauses, *if*-clauses) or non-clausal (NPs, PrepPs, hypocoristic expressions, etc.) structures. We believe that such an approach will shed light upon the problem of prosodic features which, in the written medium, are explicitly depicted by punctuation⁵⁹. Section 4.3.1. contains some general observations concerning the exclamative functions (A-F) that *what* undertakes. In Section 4.3.1.1., the distributional organisation of independent *what* that functions as an exclamation/interjection will be discussed - Section 4.3.1.1.1. its traditional initial position, Section 4.3.1.1.2. its rightward movement in the complex sentence. In the same sections extra comments on pragmatic markers and punctuation will be made. Section 4.3.1.2. illustrates the differences and similarities between *what* functioning as a predeterminer of a NP and an adjective (in an adverbial sense). Finally, Section 4.3.1.3. addresses a range of intensive additions, expletives, etc. accompanying the exclamative *what* and Section 4.3.1.4. contains observations on the exclamative *what* functioning as a content clause in a complex sentence.

4.1.1. EModE / LModE 1650 – 1800

Before investigating a wide range of patterns (i.e. the *what*-phrases treated as *microstructure*), distributional variation, *wh*-movement mechanisms of the *what*-word that acts as an exclamation or interjection in EModE and LModE, we consider the situation on the basis of the quantitative analysis as well as functions that *what* performs when it acts as an exclamation/interjection. With respect to what appeared and disappeared within the syntactic organisation of constructions with *what* in the earlier periods of English (see Chapter 3), the

⁵⁹ According to Crystal (1995: 70) in early Renaissance prose “there was conscious experimentation with new grammatical patterns, supported by an increasingly standardized punctuation system.” It should be added that the new invention of printing gave impetus to the formation of a standard language; the availability of printing provided more opportunities for people to “observe such areas as grammar, vocabulary, writing system, and style.” (1995: 56)

present chapter will attempt to explore the consequences of a more general development affecting the movement properties of *what* (from the predominant canonical construction with *what* in initial position to the sporadic content clause shifted to sentence-medial or final position within the complex syntactic organization) as well as the crucial context for changes in Modern English.

First of all I will illustrate the occurrences of *what* after the investigation of the data and then present the number of clauses including the interrogative pronoun *what* that functions as exclamation/interjection between 1650 and 1800. The results of the investigation up to this point are provided in Table 4.1.

| Periodisation | The occurrences of <i>what</i> in the selected novels | The number of <i>what</i> functioning as an exclamation |
|---------------|---|---|
| 1650 – 1700 | 1753 | 181 (10%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 1739 | 211 (12%) |
| 1750 - 1800 | 1718 | 270 (15.7%) |
| Total | <u>5210</u> | <u>662</u> (12.7%) |

Table 4.1
The quantitative comparison of selected *what*-elements which occur in the selected novels and those which function as an exclamation

The purpose was to establish what environments could be used to identify occurrences of the *what*-forms that were likely to be exclamative. Of this total, 5210 instances, we have found only 662 examples (12.7%) of exclamative or interjectional *what*-structures. According to Table 4.1 there are only 181 examples (10%) out of 1753 in EModE, while from 1700 onwards there is a gradual growth from 211 (12%) before 1750 to 270 instances (15.7%) in LModE. This analysis reflects a general tendency⁶⁰ towards the phenomenon of multifunctional categories (see Section 1.2.), which have coexisted over the course of centuries. Taken from classically ‘written’ sources such as literary fiction, these patterns seem to have become engrained in English. By pointing out the exclamatory functions, I have tried to make these differences visible, showing the six main functions in which *what* appears in different contexts and is accompanied by a wide range of intensive additions (terms of endearment, honorifics, vocatives, interjections, etc.), which makes the illocutionary force stronger. To demonstrate this point, in accordance with the *OED/MED* I selected six functions and provided the quantitative analysis in Table 4.2:

⁶⁰ Brinton (1996: 200) claims that “most importantly, *hwæt* loses its characteristic as a pronoun/ adjective/ adverb, such as its inflectional morphology and syntactic position, and undergoes ‘decategorialization’ to a lesser part of speech (a particle or interjection).”

| <i>What</i> functioning as an exclamation | 1650 - 1700 | 1700 - 1750 | 1750 - 1800 | Total |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| A. as an ellipted and independent clause and special question | 64 (35%) | 97 (46%) | 120 (44%) | 281 (42%) |
| B. with intensive additions (as an elliptical variation) | 29 (16%) | 1 (0.5%) | 5 (1.9%) | 35 (5.3%) |
| C. used adjectively (as predeterminer in a NP) | 19 (10.5%) | 45 (21%) | 63 (23%) | 127 (19%) |
| D. before adjectives in an adverbial sense | 4 (2%) | 58 (27.5%) | 25 (9%) | 87 (13%) |
| E. in dependent clauses (as a content clause) | 37 (20%) | 8 (3.8%) | 28 (10%) | 73 (11%) |
| F. marked with selected intensive additions | 28 (15.5%) | 2 (0.9%) | 29 (11%) | 59 (9%) |
| Total | 181 (27%) | 211 (32%) | 270 (41%) | 662 |

Table 4.2
Frequency data of six exclamatory functions (A-F) of *what* in EModE/LModE

Anticipating the analysis of the facts given in Chapter Three, it must be noted that there are six Functions A-F which will be examined in this section. A basic distinction needs to be drawn between the two exclamatory functions, as there are as many as 281 instances (42%) in which *what* appears as an ellipted and independent element, and 127 occurrences (19%) in which it is used adjectively (i.e. as a predeterminer in a NP). The realisation as a single-word item, namely an exclamation/interjection, is illustrated as a growing tendency to perform a new function since in EModE there are only 64 instances (35%) whereas in the late 1750s there are as many as 120 (44%). A similar growth is observable when *what* is used adjectively as the number of ellipted forms increased from 19 (10.5%) to 63 instances (23%). On the contrary, the other exclamatory functions show a decreasing tendency.

It is worth mentioning here that “[i]n view of the complex relationship between sentence type and speech act, it is not surprising that utterances with the illocutionary directive force of a request are often formally declaratives rather than interrogatives and conveyed by statements instead of questions” (Hoye 1997: 125). The problem of ‘divergence’ or ‘split’ is observable not only in OE, but “*what* also develops grammaticalised throughout centuries, and functions as an interrogative in many contexts but noninterrogative in other contexts” (Brinton 1996: 200). In this respect, it is possible to find constructions that are framed as questions (a purely interrogative use of *what* exists) but perform an exclamative function. For instance:

- (1) Hor. “What does it signify whether I perish by disease or by the sword!”

Burton 1621

In broad terms, as early as in OE, *hwæt* seems to follow a course of development similar to that proposed by Traugott (1982: 254-5) “for *why* and *where*, from interrogative in direct questions to complementiser in indirect question to pragmatic marker though the course

and timing of the development are difficult to establish.” In order to establish the main features of our research, the results of the investigation will be discussed in accordance with the six functions of *wh*-phrases enumerated in Table 4.2 with reference to the syntactic position of *what* and emotive colouring of the utterance in the successive subsections.

4.1.1.1. *What – independent and ellipted*

There appears to be an increase in scope as *what* comes to relate to smaller stretches of discourse, i.e. single-word phrases which may be accompanied by several pragmatic markers to strengthen the illocutionary force. Brinton (1996: 200) notices that “*hwæt* came to relate to larger stretches of discourse rather than to individual clauses” in the OE period, unlike in Modern English. Further, she notices that “it becomes syntactically fixed in sentence-initial position” (1996: 200). From the earliest times, there is evidence that the *wh*-phrases/clauses have undergone syntactic changes moving rightwards in the complex sentences. The presence of the coexisting patterns from the oldest times, provides a background for the history of *what* in the exclamatory function. In the course of the present chapter the transition from the sentence-initial to more peripheral (background) position in the non-canonical construction will be discussed in detail in successive subsections.

4.1.1.1.1. *Initial position*

The ‘surprise’ use of *what* derives from the OE adverbial sense of ‘why’⁶¹ (Brinton 1996: 205, 356). This use of independent *what* is still current particularly in American English in informal speech “as introductory words to express surprise, both with questions and with statements” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 819). Additional support for this conjecture comes from the gloss of *what* in Onions (s.v. *what*, def. B 7) as ‘Why! Come!’. Then according to the *MED* (*what*, def. B 2) independent *what* is used emphatically introducing a factual statement, a pronouncement, an explanation, etc.: ‘now’, ‘truly’. A modification of the punctuation brings

⁶¹ According to Brinton (1996: 356) Shakespearian examples of the ‘surprise’ sense of *why* include the following:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (a) | IAGO: Why, <i>what is that to you?</i> | (Shakespeare, <i>Othello</i> III, iii, 320) |
| (b) | HORATIO: Why, <i>what a king is this!</i> | (Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i> V, ii, 63) |
| (c) | MACBETH: Why, <i>what care I?</i> | (Shakespeare, <i>Macbeth</i> III, iv, 69) |
| (d) | OSWALD: Why, <i>what a monstrous fellow art thou, thus to rail on one that is neither known of thee nor knows thee!</i> | (Shakespeare, <i>King Lear</i> II, ii, 23-25) |

this ‘surprise factor’ to the fore, as an exclamation mark explicitly follows the exclamative/interjectional *what*, as in (2) – (6):

- (2) Wise. **What!** Why I would say, I hope no Good man, no man of good conscience, no man that either feareth God, regardeth the credit of Religion, the peace of Gods people, or the salvation of his own soul, will do thus. *Bunyan 1670*
- (3) ‘**What!** said Obstinate, and leave our friends and our comforts behind us?’ *Bunyan 1678*
- (4) **What!** not sir, when his honour commands you to come to him!— Who knows but his goodness will forgive you? *Richardson 1740*
- (5) At sight of these articles he started, and changed colour, and casting his eye upon the inscriptions -- 'Ha! -- how! -- **what!** where (cried he) is the person here named?' Clinker, knocking his own breast, could hardly pronounce these words -- 'Here -- here -- here is *Smollett 1766*
- (6) Amazing confidence! **What!** shall St. Clare’s Convent become the retreat of Prostitutes? *Lewis 1798*

It is noticeable in the data that the new form with an exclamation mark stands in competition with the old form, i.e. delimited with a question mark, as in (7) – (9):

- (7) Wise. **What?** of a wicked man dying in Despair? *Bunyan 1670*
- (8) He asked, **What?** And she said, I was come. He raised himself up in his bed; Can it be? said he— What, already! *Richardson 1740*
- (9) ‘**What?**’ he cried, darting at him a look of fury: ‘Dare you still implore the Eternal’s mercy?’ *Lewis 1796*

On a pragmatic level, Hopper and Traugott (1993: 64-5) point out that “[i]n considering the speaker’s role, it has been customary to think of the tendency to reduce (c.f. ellipted forms in the examples (2) – (9)) the speech signal, e.g. via rapid speech, a process resulting in ‘signal simplicity’, which typically results from the routinization of expressions.” Thus, what was lost should be recognised by the hearer, which is possible by means of the relative frequency of exclamation marks which are used to reproduce conversational styles via the written medium. In this respect, the exclamation mark is much more frequently used (14>23>42 from 1650 to 1800 respectively) than a question mark (3>2>17) and a comma (5>26>30) in the diachronic respect. What is important here is the fact that the exclamative/interjectional *what* does not have evidential meaning as its ‘primary meaning’ (Brinton 1996: 190). She points out that it does not itself appear to be an evidential, but “it does frequently precede a clause containing an evidential or an evidential-like form that indicates how the hearer’s knowledge is acquired” (1996: 190).

In this view, in the numerous examples it can be seen that the independent *what* may be followed by declarative, interrogative, or imperative clauses. However, post-marking is more diversified as there appear to be not only the clause-size structures but also non-clausal structures (or as verbless exclamatives (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 921)), e.g. in Burton (1621) *What fertile fields! What a fine house! What pretty children!*, which can be encapsulated in a frame *What + an NP* (the exclamative phrase (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 921)). In addition to the above, the examples (10) – (12) reflect a general tendency for different next-to-right complements of *what*.

- (10) Atten. You make me wonder more and more. **What**, play the Thief too! **What** play the Thief so soon!
He could not but know, though, *Bunyan 1670*
- (11) **What, monsieur!** said I, are you to go with me?
--Part of the way, he said, to see you safe. At last my best beloved returned, and alighted there.
What, my Pamela! *Richardson 1740*
- (12) MRS. HARDCASTLE. (Aside.) **What, returned so soon!** I begin not to *Goldsmith 1773*

In terms of typical morphosyntactic forms that follow the *what*-elements in the late 17th century, the database is comprised of 14 *what*-words followed by an exclamation mark, 5 instances followed by a question mark and 6 followed by a comma. Table 4.3 quantifies the main patterns.

| | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| What + | an exclamation mark + | imperative clause + Prep P + declarative clause + | an exclamation mark |
| | | conjunction + negated interrogative clause + interrogative clause + inverted structure + that-clause rhetorical question+ Interrogative Pronoun+ complex sentence+ Verb + Agent + declarative clause + negative determiner + NP + | a question mark |

Table 4.3

The *what*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection and next-to-right structures

Returning to the data, I isolated two instances (13) – (14) to illustrate the examples of the next-to-right structures which follow *what*, e.g.:

- (13) Atten. **What!** for all he was so bad himself! This is like the Proverb, The Devil corrects Vice. *Bunyan 1670*
- (14) Atten. 'Tis a wonder, that in such a Family, amidst so many spiritual helps, nothing should take hold of his heart! **What!** not good Books, nor good Instructions, nor good Sermons, nor good Examples, nor good fellow-Servants, nor nothing do him good! *Bunyan 1670*

According to Enkvist (1986: 189) *what* which precedes clauses is called a ‘foregrounding dramatizer’ because it occurs with material which is normally backgrounded,

which is in turn brought forward to call attention. Describing the styles of emotional appeal, Crystal (2000: 70) points out that the rhetorical questions give ‘special effects of language production’. Consider (15):

(15) **What?** am I bit by that fierce Cerberus?

Burton 1621

A detailed analysis is conveyed in section 4.1.2. (see examples (39) – (41)). Looking at the behaviour of *what*, there are examples of the exclamative *what*-clauses that appear as the pattern *What if*, which is common in Sterne, Lock and Goldsmith.

4.1.1.1.2. *Rightward movement – wh-content clauses*

The syntactic mobility of *what* generates potentially significant shifts within the linear order. In this view, it has already been noted that *wh*-words enjoy considerable mobility in relation to clause structure and that this affects their grammatical and semantic status in relation to other elements (Hoye 1997: 148). Syntactically, *what* is usually the most prominent element in clause structure but the whole *wh*-clause can move rightwards to be sentence-medially placed (Hoye 1997: 131) and it is a *content clause* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). As regards the medial position, *what* is usually placed between commas, or is preceded by a semi-colon. The medial placement is illustrated in (16) - (17):

(16) SAVE-ALL. That is bad, but we read of some that are righteous overmuch; and such men's rigidity prevails with them to judge and condemn all but themselves. But, I pray, **what**, and how many, were the things wherein you differed?

Bunyan 1678

(17) Therefore, after as many of the fox's arguments as he could muster up for bringing Martin to reason, as he called it, or as he meant it, into his own ragged, bobtailed condition, and observing he said all to little purpose, **what alas!** was left for the forlorn Jack to do, but, after a million of scurrilities against his brother, to run mad with spleen, and spite, and contradiction.

Swift 1704

A detailed examination of the *what*-phrase placed medially in EModE/LModE recognises the selected forms that are enumerated in Table 4.4:

| Periodisation | The <i>what</i> - phrase moving rightwards in the complex sentence |
|---------------|--|
| 1650 – 1800 | , and what not!, , what! , what alas! |
| | , and what not?, ; and what, , for what: , I know not what; , as what, , what, , not regarding what, |

Table 4.4

The *what*-phrase in medial position in the complex sentence

After making some preliminary observations on the *wh*-patterns shifted to the medial position, let us characterise *What not*, which, according to *WD, 1913* (s.v. *what*, def. 5), is often used at the close of an enumeration of several particulars or articles. For example: *Men hunt, hawk, and what not.* (Becon), *Some dead puppy, or log, or what not.* (Kingsley). Hence, the words are often used in a general sense with the force of substantive, equivalent to *anything you please, a miscellany, a variety*, etc.

The overwhelming majority of the independent and ellipted *what*-phrases take the initial position, but only 10-11 instances appear to be placed finally (as a verbless clause) after 1620. In a representation like (18), *what* may be followed by negative adverb *not*. For example:

- (18) ‘Hear me, I am older than thou; thou art like to meet with, in the way which thou goest, wearisomeness, painfulness, hunger, perils, nakedness, sword, lions, dragons, darkness, and, in a word, death, **and what not!**’ *Bunyan 1678*

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 908) point out that, in terms of non-initial position in the complex sentence, a *wh*-clause is reduced, by ellipsis, to the *wh*-word alone as e.g. in (17) The ellipted clauses, e.g. *and what not* + a full stop, *what not?*, *knew what?*, and others, such as *not regarding what*, *know not what*, *what not*, appear with their function to emphasise something unknown vaguely apprehended or suggested, or undefined (*OED*). As for punctuation, there are as many as 12 instances delimited with a question mark and only 5 examples with a full stop placed at the end. The selected results of the examination up to this point are given in Table 4.5:

| Periodisation | The ellipted <i>what</i> - phrase moved to the peripheral position in the complex sentence |
|---------------|--|
| 1650 - 1800 | , and I know not what! , I can't tell what! But I know not what! |
| | , and what then? , and what for? How well – what? |
| | , I forget what. , for what. |

Table 4.5

The ellipted *what*- clause delimited with an exclamation mark, a question mark, or a full stop in EModE/LModE

In the case of independent *what* signalled with a question mark, there are fewer examples of such *what* appearing in non-canonical constructions in comparison to the data examined between 1750 and 1800, as the number of the *what*-phrases decreased significantly.

4.1.1.1.3. Punctuation

We now face the problem that appears between 1750 and 1800. (19) illustrates the existence of complex sentences that are divided into shorter items by means of commas or semi-colons and followed by an exclamation mark:

- (19) Andrew hid his face; "I cannot bear it!" said he; "**oh what a brute was I**, to abuse such a child as this!
I shall never forgive myself!" *Reeve 1778*

Apart from the *wh*-clause, there are other kinds of clauses, *to*-infinitive clauses, which are subordinate in form. As in (23), such irregular sentences have the illocutionary force of exclamations, though less formal (Quirk *et al.* (1985: 841)).

Then, in terms of punctuation and longish sentences⁶², there are several instances of utterances equipped with dashes used to parenthesise a statement:

- (20) Already had one dance finished; some were pacing up and down, leaning on the arms of their partners;
some were reposing from their the arms of their partners; some were reposing from their
exertions; when--O heavens! **what a shriek! what a gathering tumult!** *Sterne 1759*
- (21) "Really haunted,--**and by what?**--ghosts?" *Sterne 1759*

or double dashes are used to add emphasis, indicate hesitation, signal a surprise, or afterthought, as in (22) – (24):

⁶² *What*-phrases appear in non-canonical constructions in informal contexts, which is not remote from spontaneous speech. What is more, it is possible to find extremely long complex sentences, which is, on the one hand, satisfying to a reader, but on the other, incoherent in real informal speech. Both sets of *what*-forms included in clauses are preceded by commas or semi-colons (Collins 2004; Trask 1997).

- (22) Abellino.--**What?** Is there then no hope for me? Does no one feel compassion for the wretched Abellino? **What!** NO ONE?--(a pause) - -All are silent?--ALL! 'This enough. Then my fate is decided--call in your guards. Lewis 1796
- (23) "Monster--**what insolence!**" Lewis 1798
- (24) Camilla.--No--**what!** Not like Flodoardo? Lewis 1798

We have pointed out how the resources of language are exploited in novels. In my findings, I have been able to record the foregrounded choices (Verdonk 2002: 20) “which the writers made from the following elements of linguistic system”: typography (the use of a dash in a conspicuous place), grammar and structure (elliptical sentence) and vocabulary (nouns, adjectives). The relative frequency of intensive additions (pragmatic markers) is noticeable as discourse markers “signal to the receiver, independently of content, what is happening, where the discourse is, where it is going, whether it has finished, whether utterances follow smoothly from what has been uttered before or whether some kind of disjunction is occurring” (Shiffrin 1987: 41). She adds that “they are therefore a system of management of what is said or written.” In the next section a set of forms which accompany the *what*-phrase realise a range of interactive functions will be discussed.

4.1.1.2. Pragmatic markers - reinforcement

The transition from ‘oral’ literature to ‘written’ styles is an enormous subject, well beyond the scope of this section, but to demonstrate this point, I selected the most frequent ‘trace elements’ (Sinclair, Hoey, Fox 1993: 177) of orality in writing styles in the data. In the case of emotive colouring, interjections or intensive additions are sporadically located in the initial position, which means the emotive function of the whole utterance is realised by several expressive elements appearing before *what*-clauses. For instance, in Burton there are only *Oh* and *O*; while within the Age of Reason there are no examples of preceding amplifying or downtoning intensifiers. Then, unlike in the early 18th century, there are a few instances in Smollett (*Ha! what!, Ha!- - how!- - what!, ah! oh! hey!—what!*) and in Walpole e.g. *Lord!, But.,* However, in the light of expressive elements placed immediately after the *what*-clause, my findings show only three items such as *What Ho!*⁶³, *What; Ho!, What, ho!* in Lewis and

⁶³ *What ho* functions as an exclamation of calling (*WD, 1913*). Then according to the *OED* (s.v. *what*, def. B I 3) a third interpersonal use of *what* is one in which it is used to hail or call the attention of a person, as in *what ho*. This form is used especially when ‘the summoning is accompanied by some excitement or impatience or as a means of incitement to action’ (Brinton 1996: 205). She adds that ‘timing would suggest that this form is a direct development semantically from the ‘surprise’ sense’. The earliest example in the *OED* is from 1386. For instance:

Walpole, *in the name of goodness!* in Fielding, and *my Lord!* in Walpole in the late 18th century. Examples of the intensive additions are mentioned in Table 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8.

| Periodisation | Interjections or intensive additions preceding <i>wh</i> -phrases at the absolute beginning of the sentence | Punctuation marks that precede <i>what</i> |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1620 - 1700 | Ah / Hulloo/ Oh | an exclamation mark + what |
| | But alas/ Lord/ Oh/ Well/ Why | a comma + what |
| | O/ Oh/ O ye Gods | no punctuation + what |

Table 4.6

The pragmatic modifiers preceding the *what*-word functioning as exclamation/interjection

| Periodisation | Modifiers/ complements | Punctuation marks |
|---------------|---|----------------------------|
| 1700 - 1750 | Ah/ Alas/ And oh/ And, oh/ And how/ A lack-a-day/ Ana, alack/Bless me/ But O/ But, Oh/ Dear sirs/ Good sirs/ Hey day/ O/ Oh/ O, bless me/ O dear heart/ O dear sirs/ O my dear/ O sir | an exclamation mark + what |
| | And oh/ Bless me/ But what/ But yet/ O/ Why/ O sir/ O, sir | a comma + what |
| | And/ And how/ Lord bless/ But/ O/ See | no marking + what |

Table 4.7

The pragmatic modifiers preceding the *what*-word functioning as exclamation/interjection

In the light of the way how new information is shared by speaker and hearer, Brinton (1996: 189) notices that ‘it establishes either intimacy or distance between speaker and addressee’ (e.g. *O sir*, *O dear sirs*, *O my dear*, *Dear sirs*, *Good sirs* found in the data), ‘it solicits a favourable reception for the following information’, ‘it is an attention-getting device’ (e.g. *O*, *Oh*, *See* found in the data), ‘it provides evaluation of the narrative point’, and ‘it makes explanatory material salient’.

We also find sentences beginning with *what* expressing surprise, incitement, exultation, etc., in which, except from intensive additions, the emotional temperature is worked up by means of some forms in narration describing the speaker’s behaviour such as *could not help laughing*, *stood all in amaze*, or *and said, with sobs*.

What is important here is the fact that “for the interpretation of words, it is necessary to have information from which we can uniquely predict their intended referents; this

-
- (a) PROVOST: What ho, *Abhorson! Where’s Abhorson, there?* (Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* IV, ii, 18)
 (b) PRINCE: *Will they not hear? What ho, you men, you beasts...* (Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* I, i, 80)
 (c) ISABELA: What ho! *Peace here, grace and good company!* (Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* III, i, 44)

what on earth; What, in the name of goodness giving special exclamatory force like feeling of grief was rare at that time:

- (26) **What a d--I**, said he, ails our master of late! I never saw such an alteration in any man in my life!
Richardson 1740
- (27) O dear heart! **what a world** do we live in!--I am now come to take up my pen again:
But I am in a sad taking truly! Another puzzling trial, to be sure. *Richardson 1740*
- (28) "On our way back, I know not **what devil** prompted me to ask Agalma whether she had really been
in earnest in her former allusion to 'somebody.'
Sterne 1759
- (29) I am plunged again in sea of vexation, and the complaints in my stomach and bowels are returned; so
that I suppose I shall be disabled from prosecuting the excursion I had planned
-- **What the devil** had I to do, to come a plague hunting with a leash of females in my train?
Smollett 1766

In our view, this use of 'marked' linguistic forms seems to be connected with conventional rules for the conveyance of (special affect) *anger, intimacy* or *insult* (Brown and Levinson 2004: 230).

What is more, an emotive colouring is present in miscellaneous rhetorical questions which are put to the speaker's self to express surprise, astonishment or anger. In this representation (in the case of independent *what*-clauses or clauses with initial *what*) there are instances of rhetorical questions (30) - (32) (with inverted and non-inverted structure) functioning as the elements contributing to the more expressive conversations:

- (30) HOPE. **What!** why I could not tell what to do. *Bunyan 1678*
- (31) O dear sirs! **what shall I do!**⁶⁵ **What shall I do!** --Surely, I shall never be equal to all these things!⁶⁶
Richardson 1740
- (32) Good sirs! good sirs! **What will become of me!** Here is my master come in his fine chariot!
-- Indeed he is! **What shall I do? Where shall I hide myself?** -- O! **What shall I do?** Pray fro me!
But oh! you'll not see this!
-- Now, good God of heaven, preserve me; if it be thy blessed will! *Richardson 1740*

In brief, regarding the syntactic organization, the ellipted *what*-phrases, taking the central (see (16)) and final position (see (22)) in the complex sentence, will be analysed below. Spelling of the *wh*-form is different as it is not written only with capitals to flag the start or the end of the utterance. Regarding punctuation, it should be pointed out that an

⁶⁵ Crystal (1997: 218) observes that "the notion of *question* covers several different kinds of construction; some sentences resemble questions in their structure, but they are actually being used as exclamations. They are used as if they were emphatic statements."

⁶⁶ According to Cuddon (1991: 794) "an artful arrangement of words to achieve a particular emphasis and effect e.g. by means of echoing' is called a *rhetorical figure*."

exclamation mark, a question mark, a semi-colon, or a full stop are placed immediately after the *wh*-element (functioning as end-focus).

These ellipted *what*-forms are accompanied by nominal expressions such as *Obstinate, fool, brain-sick fellow, madness* emphasising the impressive function so as to convey the same force and emotional colouring (e.g. anger, disgust, irony, insults, etc.). However, taking into account the meaning of linguistic items dependent on cultural context and the emotive function of *what*, some special notes are enclosed in brackets (33) to pay attention to a speaker's intonation and pitch during the discourse e.g.

- (33) ‘ (...) and stepping to Christian, (for he walked all this while by himself), he said to him, (but softly), **what a brave companion have we got!** (...)’

Bunyan 1678

Now, let us see *what*-forms in structures with adversative phrase in which *but* does not function as a conjunction but as a type of intensifier that can be placed before *what*; the whole phrase *but what* also functions rhetorically as in (34)-(35):

- (34) "Hellebore will help, but not alway, not given by every physician," &c. but these men are too peremptory and self-conceited as I think. **But what do I do**, interposing in that which is beyond my reach?

Burton 1621

- (35) God hath given thee more skill, more knowledge and understanding in thy commodity than he hath given to him that would buy of thee. **But what!** canst thou think, that God has given thee this, that thou mightest thereby make a prey of thy neighbour?

Bunyan 1670

It is remarkable that there is only one example of *But what* functioning as an exclamation in Bunyan. This phrase is a departure from the ‘rule’ according to which such a construction should be placed after a negative expressed or implied (*OED*). In accordance with the definition in the *OED* “*But what* is used for *but that*, usually after a negative, and excludes everything contrary to the assertion in the following sentence.”

In the next section *what* used adjectively and in an adverbial sense as predeterminer in a NP will be discussed.

4.1.1.3. *WHAT* as ‘predeterminer in a NP’ and ‘intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or clause’

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 450-451) add that *what* may premodify noun phrases and as a result it has a similar function to *such*. In the field of adjectival use of *what*-forms, Swan (1996: 201) gives the patterns of the syntactic structure of exclamations with *what*:

what +(Art {a/an}) + singular countable noun + (subject + verb/verb+subject)

- (36) 'Doubtless thou hast said the truth; but **what a mercy is it**, will soon sell all, that he may buy this field.'
Bunyan 1678
- (37) Robin seemed to be sorry for me too, and said, with sobs, **What a scene is here!**
Don't you see she is all bloody in her head, and cannot stir?
Richardson 1740
- (38) "A little, do you call it?" says Miss Matthews: "Good Heavens! **what a husband are you!**"
--"How little worthy," answered he, "as you will say hereafter, of such a wife as my Amelia."
Fielding 1725
- (39) These and other lovely symbols of youth, of springtime, and of resurrection, caught my eye for the first moment; but in the next it fell upon her face. Mighty God! **what a change! what a transfiguration!**
Still, indeed, there was the same innocent
Sterne 1759

what + uncountable/plural noun + (subject + verb/verb+subject)

- (40) HOPE. My brother, said he, rememberest thou not how valiant thou hast been heretofore? Apollyon could not crush thee, nor could all that thou didst hear, or see, or feel, in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. **What hardship, terror, and amazement hast thou already gone through!** And art thou now nothing but fear!
Bunyan 1678
- (41) O how heartily I despise all my former pursuits, and headstrong appetites! **What joys, what true joys**, flow from virtuous love! joys which the narrow soul of the libertine cannot take in, nor his thoughts conceive!
Richardson 1740
- (42) 'This is too much!' cried Hippolita: '**What crimes does one crime suggest!** Rise, dear Isabella; I do not doubt your virtue. Oh!
Walpole 1764

We now turn to the *what*-forms used in an adverbial sense. The pattern of this structure can be given as (Swan 1996: 201):

what +Art {a/an}+ adjective+singular countable noun+(S+V/V+S)

- (43) Atten. Oh! Sirs! **What a wicked man was this?**
Bunyan 1670
- (44) Well, Jackey, said she, be silent; and, shaking her head, Poor girl!--said she--
what a sweet innocence is here destroyed!-- A thousand pities!
Richardson 1740
- (45) O, what caricature! -- O, for a Rosa a Rembrandt, a Schalken! -- Zooks, I'll give a hundred guineas to have it painted! -- **what a fine descent from the cross**, or ascent to the gallows! **what lights and shadows!** -- **what a groupe below!** what expression above! -- **what an aspect!** -- did you mind the aspect? ha, ha, ha! -- and the limbs, and the muscles every toe denoted terror! ha, ha, ha!
Smollett 1766
- (46) MARLOW. Ha! ha! ha! They're safe, however. **What an unaccountable set of beings have we got amongst!** This little bar-maid though runs in my
Goldsmith 1773

what + adjective + uncountable/plural noun + (S+V/V+S)

- (47) "Woe's me," saith another, 'what goodly manors shall I leave! **What fertile fields!** What a fine house!
what pretty children! How many servants!
Burton 1621
- (48) I read a considerable part of your speech before dinner, but after I had dined I finished it completely.
Oh **what arguments, what eloquence!**
Burton 1621
- (49) 'And in the name of God,' said I, 'How could you leave me so long in suspense?
Why did you not tell me of this Cottage sooner? **What excessive stupidity!**'
Lewis 1796
- (43) - (46) have the representation of statements resembling questions in their structure, but they are strongly stressed, which is marked by an exclamation point in the final position. What is more, the utterance with *what* used rhetorically is syntactically the same structure of constituents as the canonical pattern of exclamations with *what* (see examples (50) - (53)):
- (50) I am in a doubt what fury of Venus this should be: alas, how have I offended her so to vex me, **what Hippolitus am I!** '
Burton 1621
- (51) **What a happy creature am I!**--And then, may be, said he, they will excuse
You oblige and improve me at the same time.--What a happy lot is mine!
Richardson 1740
- (52) I know not what I shall do! For now he will see all my private thoughts of him, and all my secrets, as I may say. **What a careless creature I am!**
--To be sure I deserve to be punished.
Richardson 1740
- (53) I have heard them, turning about, fetch a deep sigh, and cry, '**What a dog am I!** Well, Betty, my dear, I'll drink thy health, though';
Defoe 1722

Taking into account the modifiers that precede the initially located *wh*-element, there is a group of interjections e.g. *O, Oh, Hulloo* that function as indicators of illocutionary force. With the clause-initial position, such intensive additions change the force of the entire utterance since they may function as emphasisers, amplifiers or downtoners. Despite the fact that the word order exhibits declarative or interrogative clauses in their structure, the whole sentence functions as an exclamation (that are followed by an exclamation mark or a question mark), as in (54) – (57):

- (54) 'Hulloo! **what is your opinion about a Jupiter?**'
Burton 1621
- (55) Oh, **by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed!**
Bunyan 1678
- (56) Good sirs! good sirs! **What will become of me!** Here is my master come in his fine chariot!
--Indeed he is! What shall I do? Where shall I hide myself?--O! **What shall I do?** Pray for me!
But oh! you'll not see this!
Richardson 1740

- (57) Sure, if there is nothing unsuitable in the match, they won't be so cruel as to thwart my inclinations --
O **what happiness would then be my portion!** I can't help indulging the thought, and pleasing my
fancy with such agreeable ideas; *Smollett 1766*

With this in mind, one can see the wide variation among interjections or intensive additions placed right to the *wh*-phrases, which gives the possibility to avoid ambiguity and determines the tenor of discourse. The search program provided me with a set of pre-complementisers that, in turn, are followed by different punctuation marks.

4.1.1.4. *Closing remarks*

At the end of the 17th century English used a great many different form types to express exclamations. The form-type with specific properties is the one with the *what*-phrase. It seems necessary to distinguish the declarative, interrogative and non-clausal structure initiated by *what* which occupies the left-most position. In order to outline the basics of our analysis, it should be said that *wh*-clauses function as exclamatives even if they are declaratives or interrogatives in structure. Also, the ellipted *what*-phrases may be independent and followed by an exclamation mark, a question mark or a comma. In the case of adjectival and adverbial use, the structures which follow *what* are frequently inverted ones (auxiliary-subject order is much more frequent), making this pattern similar to the previous forms appearing in OE/ME (see Chapter Three). I have shown that between 1700 and 1750 there were ellipted *what*-forms which were structurally independent as they were followed by an exclamation mark or a comma. According to this analysis, there are only 5 instances of the independent exclamative *what* which is followed by a question mark. A remarkable fact becomes obvious here: the intensive additions preceding and following these elements as well as other syntactic structures make the whole utterance more emotive and powerful. The wide range of interjections, exclamations, expletives and intensive additions facilitate the process of interpersonal communication, which is one of the main language functions.

4.2. *LModE 1800 – 1950*

The detailed diachronic analysis of the very rich language data in the preceding section 4.1. has shown the language economy, “which aims at preserving the balance between one tendency to eliminate redundant distinctions and the other tendency to preserve meaningful differences for the sake of successful communication” (Molencki 1999: 291). In the present

section mechanisms of grammaticalisation are evident since the old forms often coexist with new formations for many years or even centuries.

As in the preceding section 4.1., the *what*-phrase takes the traditional clause-initial position, and moves rightwards in the syntactic organisation in LModE, but the detailed quantitative analysis provides a range of varieties on all levels. So, on the one hand, analogy operates in LModE, but on the other, there are numerous instances of the *wh*-construction which reappear or disappear in selected novels of the Late Romanticism, Victorian and Edwardian periods. The results of careful and in-depth analysis can be seen in Table 4.6:

| Periodisation | The number of all <i>what</i> -phrases in the selected novels | The number of <i>what</i> which functions as an exclamation |
|---------------|---|---|
| 1800 – 1850 | 1723 | 169 (9.8%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 1750 | 235 (13%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 1770 | 210 (12%) |
| Total | <u>5243</u> | <u>614</u> (12%) |

Table 4.6.
Quantitative comparison of selected *what*-elements which function as an exclamation in LModE

According to the quantitative analysis shown in Table 4.6, the frequency of the exclamative *what*-structures before 1800 does not vary greatly from its counterparts in LModE. After inspecting 5243 instances of all the *what*-forms that occur in the data, *what* functioning as an exclamation/interjection occurs only 614 times (12%). What is more, speaking diachronically, the occurrences of *what* grow from 169 (9.8%) to 235 instances (13%), and then decrease to 210 examples (12%) between 1800 and 1950. As has been said in Chapter Three, the *what*-phrases that are selected in the data (investigated in accordance with the rule in which they function as an exclamation) are discussed in accordance with the six Functions A – F (the same are discussed in Table 4.2) which are given in Table 4.7.

| <i>What</i> functioning as an exclamation | 1800 - 1850 | 1850 - 1900 | 1900 - 1950 | Total |
|---|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|
| A. as an ellipted /independent and special question | 91 (54%) | 136 (58%) | 106 (50%) | 333 (54%) |
| B. independent with intensive additions | 9 (5%) | 6 (2.5%) | 3 (1%) | 18 (3%) |
| C. used adjectively (as predeterminer in a NP) | 28 (16.6%) | 52 (22%) | 62 (29.5%) | 142 (23%) |
| D. before adjectives in an adverbial sense | 27 (16%) | 28 (12%) | 30 (14%) | 85 (14%) |
| E. in dependent clauses | 7 (4%) | 3 (1.3%) | 2 (0.9%) | 12 (2%) |
| F. with selected intensive additions | 7 (4%) | 10 (4.2%) | 7 (3%) | 24 (4%) |
| Total | <u>169</u> (27.5%) | <u>235</u> (38%) | <u>210</u> (34%) | <u>614</u> |

Table 4.7
Frequency data of six exclamative functions of *what* in LModE

Counting instances of the *what*-phrases that appear as single-word phrases, it is noticeable that these structures are the most frequent constructions as there are 351 (that is, 333 (54%) plus 18 (3%)) instances, and *wh*-special questions (i.e. *wh*-patterns appear as *wh*-questions in form but they function as exclamatives). The number of such special questions fluctuates as there are 43>67>8 respectively after 1800. Whereas the number of independent sentence-initial *what*-phrases increases since there are 32>60>91 in LModE, the number of sentence-medially placed *what*-phrases (as content clause) grows slightly from 5 to 7 instances (3%) after 1900, and the *what*-words occurring sentence finally (as ellipted forms) decrease from 9 to 3. With regards to Table 4.7, it is noticeable that there are 142 instances (23%) (28>52>62 respectively) of *what*-elements that are used adjectivally (as a predeterminer in a NP) with an exclamatory function. Further, it should be noted that out of 614, only 12 examples (2%) occur in dependent clauses and 24 instances (4%) with selected intensive additions (e.g. *what on earth*, *what the devil*, *in the name of God*, etc.). Finally, in the light of *what* which appears before adjectives in an adverbial sense, there are as many as 85 instances (13.84%) out of a total of 614. Clearly, there is a broad band of variation possible in each structure in the selected A-F Functions. That is why the hypothesis regarding the development of the *what*-phrases functioning as an exclamation stands up fairly well to detailed examination as illustrated in the successive subsections.

4.2.1. What – independent and ellipted; special questions

Linguistic description at this point comes into contact with the structures that are the result of prescription, grammaticalisation as well as standardisation, which is signalled by more compressed stretches of constituents, i.e. more single-*what*-phrases that appear at the absolute beginning first with an exclamative mark, and in the early 20th century with a question mark. What is more, sentence-initially placed *wh*-words coexist with the *wh*-elements that take the medial and final position in the syntactic structure. My preference is for the syntactic interpretation because of the dichotomy that emerges if we discuss emotive colouring of the interpersonal communication (see Chapter One).

4.2.1.1. Canonical construction – WHAT in initial position

In comparison to EModE/LModE, the search program has provided me with parallel usages of the ellipted and independent *what*-clauses that, after 1800, are also followed by

exclamation marks, question marks, commas or dashes. Since the data is extensive the size of the dissertation does not allow me to present all examples in this subsection.

We start by considering the cases in which the ellipted *what*-clauses appear sentence – initially (as a canonical construction) and may be followed by other clausal or non-clausal structures. Consider the examples (58) – (62):

- (58) "**What!** so soon? But I hope not so far as Cornwall?" *Porter 1845*
- (59) '**What!** have you raised our only efficient body of cavalry, and got ye none of the louis d'or out of the DOUELLE, to help you?' *Scott 1814*
- (60) '**What, Bowles!** have you a mind to lose more of your guineas to Lady Dashfort, and to be jockied out of another horse by Lady Isabel?' *Galt 1820-21*
- (61) "I rather want to get this chapter done."
"What?"
 He closed his ears against her.
 "What's that?" *Forster 1910*
- (62) "Hullo, Len! **What ho, Len!**"
"What ho, Jacky! see you again later." She turned over and slept. *Forster 1910*

Similarly to the 17th/18th centuries, there is a mixture of declarative and interrogative clauses following the *what*-phrase, and a wide variety of interjections, imperative forms, honorifics, etc. which make the illocutionary force of the whole utterance stronger. From the early 19th century onwards (Romanticism) it is the beginning of the style of emphasizing involving the modification of some constituents within a structure i.e. pronouns or proper nouns are written in capital letters. This special stylistic technique in typography is mostly found in Austen and Forster:

- (63) "Well then, another day or two, perhaps; but I cannot stay here long, I cannot stay to endure the questions and remarks of all these people. The Middletons and Palmers--how am I to bear their pity? The pity of such a woman as Lady Middleton! **Oh, what would HE say to that!**" *Austen 1811*
- (64) They went in, and each minute their talk became more natural.
 "Oh, **WHAT a place for mother's chiffonier!**" cried Helen.
 "Look at the chairs, though." *Forster 1910*

It is worth noticing that there are no ellipted and independent *what*-clauses with intensive additions in Peacock, Wilde and Gaskell. Unlike in the period from 1650 to 1800, there are sporadic instances of the *what*-clauses used interjectionally that are followed by an exclamation mark (26 times) or a comma (3 times). Interestingly, the question mark is the most common symbol of punctuation that appears immediately after the ellipted *what*-clause in the early 20th century. Christie and Lawrence made a frequent use of *What?*, which turns out to be the most frequent use of the ellipted and independent *what*-clause as in:

- (65) 'God, what it is to be a man!' she cried.
 'What?' exclaimed Ursula in surprise.
 'The freedom, the liberty, the mobility!' cried Gudrun, strangely flushed and brilliant.
 'You're a man, you want to do a thing, you do' Lawrence 1920
- (66) "Yes," said the lawyer, "it is quite possible that there may be a later will than the one in my possession."
 "There IS a later will." It was Poirot who spoke.
 "What?" John and the lawyer looked at him startled.
 "Or, rather," pursued my friend imperturbably, "there *WAS one." Christie 1920

As can be seen in (67), the phrase *what if* used as an exclamation is mostly found in Reade. This phrase used in elliptical form means 'what is or would be the case if+? what will or would happen if+? what does it matter if+?'; often expressing a hypothesis or proposal:='suppose+', 'supposing+' (OED). Then, my data does not confirm Quirk *et al*'s (1985: 840-841) observation that *What if* only introduces questions used as inquiries, invitations or suggestions finished with a question mark.

- (67) **What if** her mind was poisoned too! **What if** she thought him mad! **What if** some misfortune had befallen her! **What if** she had believed him dead, and her heart had broken! Reade 1863

We also find sporadic rhetorical questions, particularly in Porter and Austen, which are initiated with *what* and finished with an exclamation mark such as *What have I done!*, *What can I do!*, but they should be treated as infrequent instances in the early 19th century.

4.2.1.2. *Rightward movement*

Extensive exploration of the area of syntactic organisation reveals that there are only sporadic constructions with the *what*-element placed sentence-medially as a content clause. In contrast to occurrences in the 17th/18th centuries, after 1800 there is only one instance of *I know not what*, in Scott.

- (68) As he entered the apartment, he unbuckled his broadsword, and throwing it down with such violence that the weapon rolled to the other end of the room, '**I know not what,**' he exclaimed, '**withholds me from taking a solemn oath that I will never more draw it in his cause.** Load my pistols, Callum, and bring them hither instantly;--instantly!' Scott 1814

Then there are only 3 instances in Galt, or 1 in Peacock, but there are none in Hogg. So, we can presume that in the early 19th-century texts, the medially placed *what*-phrases appear sporadically. In this respect, after 1800 there are only 11 instances, in the late 1850s only 4 examples occur, but after 1900 there are no occurrences in the medial position of the sentence.

The cases of non-canonical *what* are not uncommon, particularly in Romantic texts. In contrast to the clauses prior to 1800, the clauses vary after 1800. Given potential mobility of *what* within the sentence, a peripheral position (as end focus) is infrequent since out of a total

of 233 instances (that is, independent *what*-words) there are only 5>5>7 instances that appear (respectively) from the 19th century onwards. Consider examples (69) – (71):

- (69) "Will your task be too long, madam?" inquired Thaddeus; "will it give you any inconvenience to remember?"
"To remember what?" asked she, for in truth she had neither seen what he had been pointing at nor heard what he had been saying. *Porter 1845*
- (70) 'Then I've had a fine run--Miss Nugent, I believe you never saw me run; but I can run, I promise you, when it's to serve a friend. And, my lord (turning to Lord Clonbrony), what do you think I run for this morning--to buy a bargain--**and of what!**- - a bargain of a bad debt--a debt of yours, which I bargained for, and up just in time--and Mordicai's ready to hang himself this minute'
Galt 1820-21
- (71) "Your behaviour was certainly very wrong," said she; "because--to say nothing of my own conviction, our relations were all led away by it to fancy and **expect WHAT**, as you were THEN situated, could never be."
Austen 1811

Following these changes, we can presume that *what* placed sentence-initially became firmly established in the 19th century. After presenting synchronic and diachronic analyses of the development of the exclamative *what*-clauses, it can be said that the graduality of the standardisation of canonical constructions is asymmetrical as there is a 'gap' between *what* occurring sentence-initially (319 instances (52%) out of 614), sentence-medially (only 15 instances (2.4%)), and sentence-finally as end focus (17 instances (3%)).

4.2.1.4. Written medium - punctuation

At this stage of the analysis, I will shift to punctuation marks that are placed immediately after ellipted *what*-clauses. The quantitative analysis reflects that the number of exclamation and question marks changes, which is shown in Table 4.8:

| Punctuation mark | 1800 – 1850 | 1850 – 1900 | 1900 - 1950 | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| An exclamation mark | 38 | 16 | 26 | <u>80</u> |
| A question mark | 2 | 15 | 57 | <u>74</u> |

Table 4.8
Quantitative representation of punctuation marks after 1800

As illustrated above (Table 4.8) in the late 19th century the situation is balanced as there are nearly the same examples of ellipted *wh*-clauses (16 instances of exclamation marks and 15 ones of question marks). Further, in the early 20th century the situation is completely different. The number of question marks doubles as there are 57 examples of question marks and only 26 examples of exclamation marks.

4.2.2. Pragmatic markers - reinforcement

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 916) “[i]nterrogative phrases may contain a limited range of modifiers”, such as *what ever, what the hell, what else*, etc., so as to express surprise or bafflement, and “hence suggest that the speaker does not know the answer to the question.” Huddleston refers to them as *emotive modifiers* and gives other variants of *hell*, that is *heck, blazes, deuce, dickens, fuck*, etc.. The final exclamation mark is an acknowledgement that the emotive effect of a *wh*-question or *wh*-statements (because of the syntactic ordering SVO) is emphasised. In this view the 20th-century data provides various ways of intensifying the emotive effect such as *expletives* which are rare in the early 19th century (one in Peacock, Scott, and Austen), but not uncommon in the early 20th century (7 in Christie):

- (72) "Oh! beyond anything great! What brother **on earth** would do half so much for his sisters, even if REALLY his sisters! And as it is--only half blood!--But you have such a generous spirit!"
Austen 1811
- (73) Revolving his fate with sorrow and anxiety, the superstition of the Bodach Glas recurred to Edward's recollection, and he said to himself, with internal surprise, '**What, can the devil speak truth?**'
Scott 1814
- (74) "The body's memory!" said Mr. Osmond to himself: "**what on earth** does the quack mean?"
Reade 1863
- (75) When he got near he saw that all the people's eyes were bent on No. 66. He dashed into the crowd. "**What on earth** is the matter?" he cried. "The matter? Plenty's the matter, young man," cried one. "Murder's the matter," said another.
Reade 1863
- (76) "I daren't do it, Mr. Poirot. I'd take your word, but there's others over me who'll be asking **what the devil** I mean by it. Can't you give me a little more to go on?"
Christie 1920

In brief, expletives like *the devil's name, what on earth, what in the world, or what the devil* are used by the speaker who refers them to acts, objects, or relationships which are widely felt to be embarrassing, distasteful, or harmful (Crystal 1995: 381). Similarly, to indicate speaker's surprise or emphasis there are some initial exclamatory particles such as *Oh!, Eh!, Hilloa!, or Oh, ho!* that are used to soften exclamations (Brown and Levinson 1987: 151-156).

- (77) "**Hilloa!**" cried Blanchard, "**what is that for, you dog!**" and with that he came forward to look over the bush. I hesitated, as I said, and attempted to look behind me; but there was no time: the next step discovered two assassins lying in covert, waiting for blood.
Hogg 1824

Consider the following examples that have been classified as instances of *emotive modifiers* or exclamatory particles that are represented in the middle column of Tables 4.9, 4.10, and 4.11.

| Periodisation | Interjections or intensive additions preceding <i>wh</i> -phrases at the absolute beginning of the sentence | Punctuation marks that precede <i>what</i> |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1800 - 1850 | Oh, ho/ Oh/ Hilloa/ Well/ Lord/ Eh/ Oh, God/ Good heavens/ Good God/ My good/ Lord bless me/ Gracious Heaven/ | an exclamation mark + <i>what</i> |
| | Ah/ Oh/ Alas/ | a comma + <i>what</i> |
| | Lord bless me/ | no punctuation + <i>what</i> |

Table 4.9

Pragmatic markers preceding the *what*-word functioning as an exclamation

| Periodisation | Interjections or intensive additions preceding <i>wh</i> -phrases at the absolute beginning of the sentence | Punctuation marks |
|---------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1850 - 1900 | Oh/ God/ Good heavens/ Ay/ Pshaw/ Lord/ | an exclamation mark + <i>what</i> |
| | Oh/ Good God/ | a comma + <i>what</i> |
| | - | no marking + <i>what</i> |

Table 4.10

Pragmatic markers preceding the *what*-word functioning as an exclamation

It is worth noticing here that some expressions are relatively frequent, such as *Good heavens* which prefaces the exclamative *what* making the whole utterance more expressive as it is an expression of surprise or annoyance (LDELIC 1998: 615; CIDE 1995: 658).

| Periodisation | Interjections or intensive additions preceding <i>wh</i> -phrases at the absolute beginning of the sentence | Punctuation marks that precede <i>what</i> |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1900 - 1950 | Oh/ Oh, boo/ God/ | an exclamation mark + <i>what</i> |
| | God/ Oh/ But oh heavens/ Ah/ | a comma + <i>what</i> |
| | Oh/ | no punctuation + <i>what</i> |

Table 4.11

Pragmatic markers preceding the *what*-word functioning as an exclamation

Goldberg (2006: 105) points out that “there is always a period of *overlap* between older and newer forms and/or functions.” A new interjection appeared in the early 20th century, that is *boo*, used to express disapproval or strong disagreement, especially by shouting (LDELIC 1998: 135), or an exclamation that is used to surprise and frighten someone (CIDE 1995: 146).

Taking into account the sentences initiated with *what*, contrary to the earlier analysis (i.e. in the period 1650-1800), there are more intensive additions/emotive modifiers that precede or follow the exclamative *what*-phrase. For instance, in Porter, Austen, Galt, and Hogg there are usually *Oh, Good Heavens!, Lord!, Lord bless me, Heaven, Almighty God, or Oh,ho!*.

(78) She clasped her trembling hands together as the door closed on him.
 "O, gracious Providence!" cried she, "what am I to understand by this mystery, this joy of my cousin's?" Porter 1845

(79) "I keep on telling you--Howards End. Miss Schlegels got it."
 "Got what?" asked Charles, unclasping her. "What the dickens are you talking about?" Forster 1910

As can be seen above (79), *what* may be preceded by other lexical items such as *Got, If, Her, So, A, or Then*. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 908-909) say that "this type of ellipsis is restricted to *wh*-interrogative. Such clause is a *wh*-clause which is reduced, by ellipsis converting this clause into the elliptical *wh*-question"⁶⁷. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 855) says that there can be ambiguity since there "can be an open interrogative or an exclamative." He adds that such *clause fragments* are known as *echo questions* "which echo the stimulus, what has just been said, with a view to questioning some aspect of it."

Furthermore, dashes begin to function as special punctuation symbols that fall between the mobile *what* and the end or beginning of other syntactic structures. This type of broken sentences are found in representation of conversation in Craik's and Reade's novels in the late 19th century:

(80) "None, save that of an honest man, who sees a woman cruelly wronged, and desperate with her wrong; who would thankfully save her if he could."
 "Save me? **From what--or whom?**" Craik 1857

(81) 'There,' said Edward, 'you see it is you who lose by your governor's--**I won't say what--**if you marry my sister.' "Alfred took his hand, and said, 'God bless you for telling me this.' Reade 1863

This rhetoric device is characteristic of casual speech, but is often felt to be nonstandard in its written form (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 899). What is more, it should be noted that such constructions and intensifiers are particularly subject to renewal, presumably "because of their markedly emotional function" (Goldberg 2006: 121).

⁶⁷ According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 908-909) "the following are idiomatic of informal elliptical *wh*-interrogative clauses, in which the ellipsis is situational."

4.2.3. *WHAT* as ‘predeterminer in a NP’ and ‘intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or clause’

In the standard view of exclamatives, “the exclamative class has only two members, *how* and *what*, a dual role of which is to be markers of exclamative clause type, and as their core role is to show some differences from their interrogative counterparts in both grammar and meaning” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 918). However, in the present subsection the issue of order and the length of clauses/sentences will be discussed. First of all, the traditional exclamatives are marked by one of the exclamative words that enter into the structure of an exclamative phrase, which is fronted. When the exclamative phrase is subject, the order is the same as in declaratives, e.g. *What a disaster* it was!. Nevertheless, according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 920) “subject-auxiliary inversion is available as an option in exclamatives, though it is relatively infrequent and characteristic of fairly literary style.” After making some preliminary observations on the syntactic organisation of *what*-exclamatives, it would seem to be useful to examine the *what*-structures in which *what* functions as an intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or a NP. The results of the investigation are given in Table 4.12:

| <i>What</i> as an intensifier of a NP | | | <i>What</i> as an intensifier of an adjective in an adverbial sense | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Periodisation | Verbless exclamatives | Subject-auxiliary order | Auxiliary-subject order | Verbless exclamatives | Subject-auxiliary order | Auxiliary-subject order |
| 1800-1850 | 9/28 (32%) | 7/28 (25%) | 12/28 (43%) | 5/27 (18.5%) | 19/27 (70%) | 3/27 (11%) |
| 1850-1900 | 2/52 (3.8%) | 28/52 (54%) | 28/52 (54%) | 23/28 (82%) | 5/28 (18%) | 0/28 (0%) |
| 1900-1950 | 8/62 (13%) | 30/62 (5%) | 2/62 (3%) | 20/30 (67%) | 10/30 (33%) | 0/30 (0%) |
| Total | <u>18/142</u> (13%) | <u>65/142</u> (46%) | <u>42/142</u> (29.6%) | <u>48/85</u> (56%) | <u>33/85</u> (39%) | <u>3/85</u> (3.5%) |

Table 4.12
Frequency data of the exclamative *what* that functions as an intensifier of a NP and an adjective in an adverbial sense

The study shows that there are 18 verbless *what*-exclamatives (13%) (out of 142), 65 instances (46%) with declarative organisation, and 42 occurrences (29.6%) with inverted structure, while in the adverbial function, there are as many as 48 verbless instances (56%) (out of 85), 33 examples (39%) with subject-auxiliary order, and only 3 examples (3.5%) with auxiliary-subject order. Counting instances of these constructions reveal a tendency towards declarative organisation in the *what*-exclamatives.

Obviously, it could be the case that the process of standardisation affected the word order of the next-to-right structure to the *wh*-exclamative phrase. All these findings are supported by the examples (82) – (92):

What + Art {a/an} + singular countable noun

- (82) "Dear, worthy Butzou! **What a time is this** for you and I to meet! But, come, you must go home with me." *Porter 1845*
- (83) I placed myself close beside him to watch all his motions, listen to his words, and draw inferences from what I saw and heard. **In what a sink of sin was he wallowing!** I resolved to take him to task. *Hogg 1824*
- (84) "**Real! what an idea!**" ejaculated a fourth: "who puts on real pearls as big as peas with muslin at twenty pence the yard?" *Reade 1863*
- (85) "Have you got the house?"
Margaret shook her head.
"**Oh, what a nuisance!** So we're as we were?"
"Not exactly." *Forster 1910*

What + (adjective) + uncountable noun / plural noun

- (86) "**What pleasure it will give the proprietor** when he sees all you have done!" said Lord Colambre. *Galt 1820-21*
- (87) "**But what splendid pearls!**" said a third: "can they be real?" *Reade 1863*
- (88) "**What enjoyment there is in them!** Albert enjoys it so much; he is in ecstasies here." "Albert said," she noted next day, "that the chief beauty of mountain" *Strachey 1921*

What + Art {a/an} + adjective + singular countable noun

- (89) "**What a teasing man you are!**" cried her ladyship, angrily. "Well, let me have the money now, and I will send you the bracelets which belong to the necklace to-morrow." *Porter 1845*
- (90) "Heavens! **what a brute of a man you are!** There," cried she, taking a string of pearls from her neck, and throwing it on the table; "lend me some of your trumpery out of your shop, for I am going immediately from hence to take the Misses Dundas to the opera; so give me the hundred on that, and let me go."
"This is not worth a hundred."
"**What a teasing man you are!**" cried her ladyship, angrily. "Well, let me have the money now, and I will send you the bracelets which belong to the necklace to-morrow."
Porter 1845
- (91) "**What a wonderful boy he is!**" said my mother. *Hogg 1824*
- (92) "But after all," she continued with a smile, "there's never any great risk as long as you have money."
"Oh, shame! **What a shocking speech!**" *Forster 1910*

The number of verbless exclamatory *what*-clauses (e.g. see (84) or (85) and (92)), increases slowly from the late 18th to the early 19th century. The search program gave only three instances in Porter, two in Galt and one example in Austen. However, there is a great

deal of difference between 1850 and 1900 as in Reade there are 24 examples (14 for adjectival and 10 for adverbial sense), three in Wilde, and 7 in Craik. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 428) add that “such adjective phrases need not be dependent on any previous linguistic context, but may be a comment on some object or activity in the situational context.”

With this in mind, the nouns in these structures appear as singular countable nouns (e.g. *an apparition, a mighty trouble* in Hogg, or *an unexpected, a happy man* in Galt), uncountable nouns (for instance *distress, transporting sensation* in Austen), but in my findings there is only one plural noun in Austen such as *What feelings have they, (...)*! and in Hogg *Alas, what short-sighted improvident creatures we are, all of us, and how (...)*!

In such cases it is worth paying attention to adjectives that are restricted or occur predominantly in attributive position. These adjectives characterise the referent of the noun directly *What odd chaps you painters are!*, *What a pretty creature his partner is!*, *Oh, what a lovely face that lady had!*, or *What a strong fellow he was!* (Płóciennik & Podlawska 2005: 218). Furthermore, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 429) point out that several adjectives used appear with strongly emotive value. This is why some intensifying adjectives can be distinguished that have a heightening effect on the noun they modify, e.g. *strong, bright, pretty, lovely, jolly, capital*, or the reverse, a lowering effect e.g. *old, mad, poisoned, horrid*. Consider (93) – (94):

(93) "Oh, God!--what a hard-hearted rascal I was!" Austen 1811

(94) "Pshaw!"⁶⁸ interrupted he. "What nonsense you are talking! Impossible!" and setting his foot sharply upon a loose stone, Craik 1857

As can be seen above, the intensive additions still take the initial position enhancing the surprising, striking, delightful, or excited nature of the thing(s) or person(s). In an adjectival sense the *what*-phrases are used to express ‘how great’ or ‘how astonishing’, which is predominantly found with positive emotions (see footnote 66). Then, in an adverbial sense the majority of lexical items (e.g. *an unreasonable, ungrateful man, a nervous business, or horrible misconception*) are used in terms of negative force of the statements.

The problem of criticism is observable in the structures, which syntactically are rhetorical questions but semantically function as exclamations. The examples (95) – (96) show the most frequent patterns of the rhetorical questions with initial *what* :

⁶⁸ In my findings *Pshaw!* appears for the first time in Craik Di 1857. It is an interjection used to indicate impatience, irritation, disapproval, or disbelief (*AHDEL*) Then it can be an expression of annoyance, or the like.

(95) "My heroic son!" cried she, "my darling Thaddeus! **what a vast price do I pay for all this excellence!** I could not love you were you otherwise than what you are; and being what you are, oh, how soon may I lose you! Already has your noble grandfather paid the debt which he owed to his glory. He promised to fall with Poland; he has kept his word; and now, all that I love on earth is concentrated in you."

Porter 1845

(96) "I'll risk it," cried she impetuously. "If it but makes me as beloved as you are, I'll wear it, come weal come woe! And then I shall feel it over me at the altar like my guardian angel's wings, my own sweet, darling mamma. **Oh what an idiot, what a wretch I am,** to leave you at all."

Reade 1863

In the following subsection complex sentences will be discussed with reference to the subordinate clause which is exclamatory and is called a *dependent exclamation* (Onions 1971: 46), which is introduced by an exclamatory word.

4.2.4. *WHAT used in dependent clauses*

In dependent clauses, following verbs of thinking or perceiving, the exclamatory force varies as the interrogative force does in the corresponding interrogative use, with which this often almost coincides (*OED*). In the data there are only a few instances of the *what*-phrases used in dependent exclamations (non-canonical constructions) in the early 19th century (one in Reade and Wilde, two in Craik and no examples in Gaskell), but in the late 18th century it is possible to find more (7 in Porter, four in Austen, four in Hogg, two in Galt, and one in Scott). The linguistic forms of such utterances are shown in the examples (97) – (98):

(97) "I am sorry for that; I should have liked to have **heard what sort of a beauty she was.** But don't you think she behaved cruelly to Werter? Perhaps you knew him?"

Porter 1845

(98) "Ah, poor little thing! what will become of her when I die? I used to **think what a precious brother my darling boy would prove** to his sister when I should be no more!"

Porter 1845

In the light of a wide range of verbs of thinking or perceiving, there appear some stative verbs that denote 'private' states which can only be subjectively verified i.e. states of mind, volition, attitude, etc. (Quirk *et al.* (1985: 202-203)). In the texts under investigation stative verbs may be distinguished as *intellectual states* (know, believe, think, wonder, imagine, understand), *states of emotion or attitude* (pity), *states of perception* (see, hear, feel), and *states of bodily sensation* (feel).

4.2.5. *Closing remarks*

The analysis so far has focused on the demonstration of various syntactic constructions (both canonical and non-canonical) used conventionally to express the speaker's emotions. The

wide range of lexical and syntactic combinations of the exclamative *what* and the accompanying interjections, exclamations, expletives, selected intensive additions, etc., appears as realisation strategies of behavioural patterns as reflections of individual emotions. The clear style difference of exclamative *what* has been examined on syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels. Syntactically, the overwhelming majority of the independent and ellipted *what* occupies the most-initial position in accordance with the quantitative analysis. The rightward movement is not strong enough as it occurs sentence-medially (as a content clause) or sentence-finally (as end focus) only sporadically. It can be said that the *what*-phrase enjoys considerable mobility within the complex sentence, but we can also state that even if they are syntactically optional, in the phrase-size structure the exclamative *what* is always initial. It must be emphasised that without full understanding of the wider context, it is impossible to argue the case of speaker involvement either way (Hoye 1997: 103). This is why I have explored pragmatic modifiers, intensive additions, etc., which affect the emotional colouring. Thus the economy of communication seems to emerge much more frequently after 1800, as the verbless exclamatives appear in the frame *what* + (*Det*{*Art*})+(*Adv*)+(Adj)+*N* . These fragment clauses are more available if we discuss the rhetorical questions. In terms of content clauses, the effect of course is to make the structure more like an interrogative, though from a grammatical point of view there is often ambiguity. Overall, the most salient interpretation of this type of exclamation, may shed light on the development of the *what*-exclamative structures from a diachronic perspective.

4.3. Exclamative WHAT 1650 – 1950 – summary

It is maintained that “living languages change slowly but constantly and these changes affect all aspects of a language. Some have to do with pronunciation, others with syntax or vocabulary” (Salzmann 1998: 161-2). The extent of the changes that English has undergone since the Old English period can best be illustrated by visual aids such as graphs, bar graphs or pie charts. What is more, modern electronic search programs make the linguistic analysis easier, faster, more detailed. That is why, the resulting differentiation of the exclamative *what*-words/phrases/clauses/sentences from EModE onwards will be bridged not only by orthographic and grammatical comments referring to the material gathered on the basis of the electronic test corpora, but also by tables, graphs and charts to make the summary concise, clear and accurate.

4.3.1. Quantitative analysis 1650 – 1950

In presenting the results of this study I will discuss the form and exclamatory function of the *what*-clause, which is expressed as an absence of a one-to-one correlation between syntactic form and communicative function. The data is based on the patterns of the *what*-exclamatives occurring in the selected texts. It is a collection of material which is broadly homogenous, but which is gathered from a variety of novels published within 300 years (precisely between 1620/1650 and 1950). So, in the case of the exclamative *what* in the examined novels published in ModE⁶⁹, the following table reflects the size⁷⁰ and the organisation prepared with attention to statistical (quantitative) factors. Table 4.13 shows the results of the investigation.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>what</i> -phrases occurring in the novels | Occurrences of <i>what</i> that functions as an exclamation |
|---------------|--|---|
| 1650 – 1800 | 5210 | 662 (12.7%) |
| 1800 – 1950 | 5243 | 614 (11.7%) |
| Total | <u>10 453</u> | <u>1276 (12.2%)</u> |

Table 4.13

Quantitative comparison of all selected *what*-words and these *what*-words which function as an exclamation

Among the 10453 instances of all *what*-words occurring in the data, only 1276 (12.2 %) are associated with exclamative structures which are initiated with *what*. With regard to exclamatory function, the number of occurrences decreased marginally from 662 (12.7%) in EModE/LModE to 614 (12.2%) after 1800. The difference is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

⁶⁹ According to Welna (2003) “the major achievements in the field of culture, widespread elementary education, etc.” contributed to an unprecedented development of English; that is why Welna called English from 1500 onwards New English.

⁷⁰ Sinclair (1997: 18) points out that “a corpus should be as large as possible since we need to have available quite a large number of occurrences so as to come across as many syntactic and semantic instances as possible.”

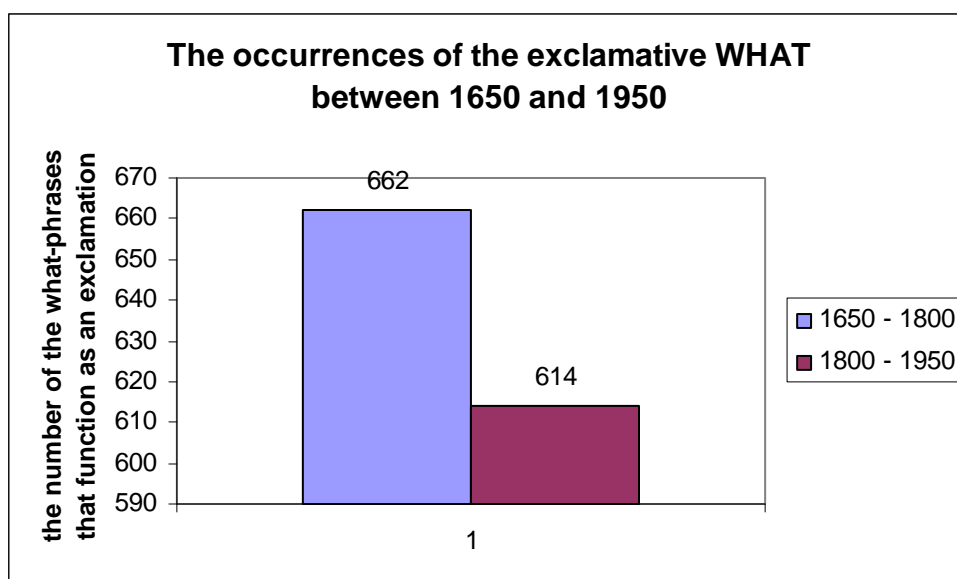


Figure 4.1
Quantitative comparison of all selected *what*-words and these *what*-words which function as an exclamation

Furthermore, we classify the occurrences of the *what*-word that exhibit the exclamatory function with relation to which *what* performs six exclamatory Functions A-F (see Chapter Four), the main patterns of which are quantified in Table 4.2:

| <i>What</i> functioning as an exclamation | 1650 - 1800 | 1800 - 1950 | Total |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| A. as an ellipited and independent clause and special question | 281 (42.4%) | 333 (50.3%) | 614 (48.1%) |
| B. with intensive additions (as an elliptical variation) | 35 (5.28%) | 18 (2.7%) | 53 (4.1%) |
| C. used adjectively (as predeterminer in a NP) | 127 (19.18%) | 142 (21.5%) | 269 (21.1%) |
| D. before adjectives in an adverbial sense | 87 (13.14%) | 85 (12.8%) | 172 (13.5%) |
| E. in dependent clauses (as a content clause) | 73 (11%) | 12 (1.8%) | 85 (6.7%) |
| F. marked with selected intensive additions | 59 (8.9%) | 24 (3.6%) | 83 (6.5%) |
| Total | <u>662</u> | <u>614</u> | <u>1276</u> |

Table 4.14
Quantitative comparison of the exclamative *what*-words that function as an exclamation in the data in EModE and LModE

These frequencies show that the situation in EModE/LModE (662 instances) is comparable to those found in LModE (614 instances). First, in EModE, the examples of *what*-clauses functioning as independent exclamations/interjections (Function A) are extremely rare (there are no instances in Burton, only one in Browne and 14 examples in Bunyan). Then,

observations regarding emotional features referring to intensive additions (Function B) (they appear 35 times (5.28%)) and Function F (28 instances (8.9%)) confirm that the preceding and following pragmatic markers, interjections, and other elements functioning expressively make the independent ellipted *what*-clause less ambiguous. As for early LModE (1700-1750), we find numerous examples of the *what*-forms which exhibit more next-to-right complements (e.g. honorifics, clausal and non-clausal structures) and the first occurrences of rhetorical questions followed by an exclamation point. An interesting difference between 1650-1800 and 1800-1950 is the fact that in terms of selected intensive additions (Function B and F) the number of these structures decreased, i.e. there are only 2 instances in Swift and no examples in Richardson, Fielding, Haywood or Defoe. From 1800 onwards the increasing usage of *what* occurring as an independent and ellipted interjectional clause continues (Function A -130 instances), which has substantially enriched the language and served stronger emotive colouring within the utterance.

Seeing the problem in a wider perspective, Płóciennik and Podlaska (2005: 262-263) note that “the quantification of stylistic patterns and expressive function started to emerge in the 19th century”, which confirms the substantial growth of exclamative and interjectional *what*. What is more, the post-complementisers become more diversified and longer – one may even say that they become excessively long. Interestingly, we find the independent *what* followed by a semi-colon only once (see Figure 4.3) in 300 years. Then, according to Płóciennik and Podlaska (2005), the in-depth research on the *wh*-forms in the 19th and 20th centuries reveals that this is the period in which prescriptivists attempted to “impose an unchanging standard of ‘correct’ usage in language, especially in grammar” (Baldick 2004: 204).

The quantification analysis in the early 1900s illustrates that a growing number of the ellipted *what*-clauses exist functioning as interjections (Function A-101 instances) in contrast to the other Functions B-F. However, the size does not reflect the important differentiation which emerges between 1800 and 1850. There are still more occurrences with *what* (38 examples) followed by an exclamation mark as well as question mark (20 examples) in comparison to instances finished with a comma (5 times). Turning to the late 19th century, the number of punctuation symbols continues to fluctuate, i.e. there are 17 instances with an exclamation mark at the end, 31 occurrences with a comma and 18 clauses followed by a question mark. Figure 4.2 quantifies the six emotive functions of the exclamative *what*, the functions of which are taken by the exclamative word from EModE to the beginning of the 20th century.

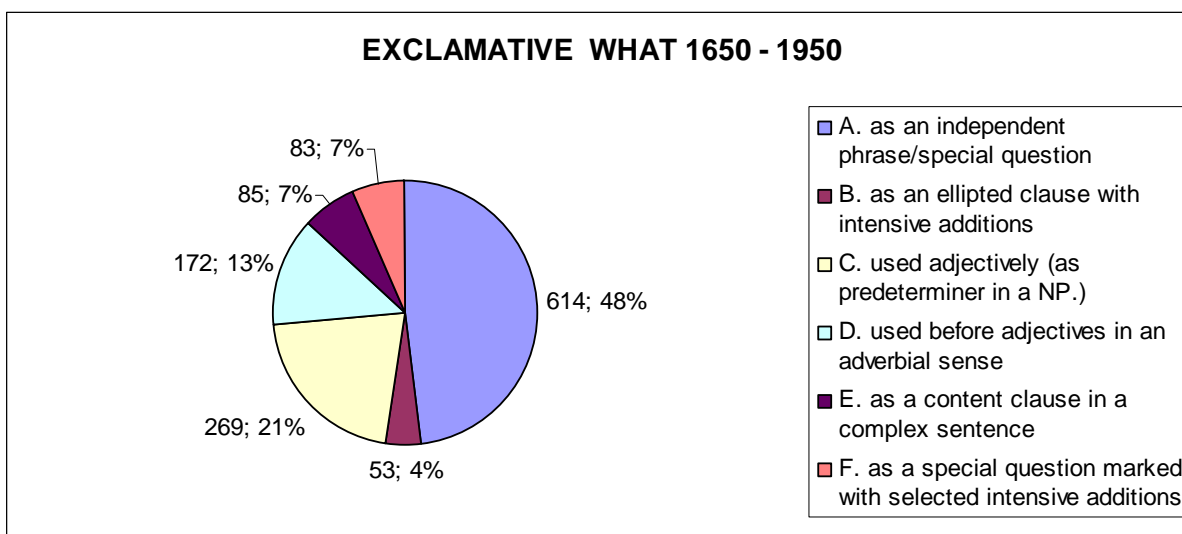


Figure 4.2
Exclamatory functions exhibited by *what* in Modern English

In terms of exclamatory function, the number of *whats* used adjectivally (13 instances) and adverbially (4 examples) increase significantly at the beginning of the 18th century. The occurrences of the *what* used adjectivally (Function C-45 instances) and adverbially (Function D-58 instances) increase enormously. In the case of initial pragmatic markers placed at the absolute beginning, i.e. emerging before *what* which is used adjectivally or adverbially, it appears that emotional colouring of selected utterances seems to be stronger and more interesting. However, the number of *what* functioning as an exclamation in dependent clauses is not explicit enough to be examined in detail (Function E- only 8 instances).

In the LModE period we still find an increase of instances in which *what* is used adjectivally (Function C-62 instances) and, contrary to the period between 1800 and 1850, the decreasing number of instances in which *what* is used in an adverbial function (Function D-27 examples). As for the number of *what* occurring in dependent clauses (Function E-12 instances), the structures under investigation grew substantially in comparison to the previous periods. Initially, a gradual drop of *what* used as a non-initial item is still observable. Finally, there are only 7 occurrences of *what* accompanied by intensive additions (3%) and two instances embedded in a dependent clause, in the early 20th century.

This section has summed up and discussed the quantification of the *what*-forms which function as exclamations in spite of the fact that an emerging pattern of declarative, interrogative form is observable, on the semantic and pragmatic level the structures initiated with the *what* function as exclamative constructions. In the following section I will present

the summary and conclusions of specific patterns (non-clausal and clausal) and the aspects of pragmatic as well as orthographic marking in terms of emotive function of the *what*-forms in interpersonal communication.

4.3.1.1. *Syntactic organisation*

Traditional classifications take into account four interrelated features:

(i) form and realisation, (ii) meaning and semantic role, (iii) grammatical function, according to the relationship between the word in question and other clause elements, and (iv) placement or position in relation to clause structure (Hoye 1997: 142). On the basis of the approach proposed in this chapter, the present section and the successive subsections display the realisation of exclamatory function of the *what*-elements that undergo the *wh*-movement mechanisms. At this level of functional analysis, the ellipted and independent *what*-exclamations will be discussed separately with respect to distributional organisation. Overall, this section addresses the issue of fronting *what*. It has already been noted that there are fewer ellipted and independent *what*-phrases marked with an exclamation mark, a question mark, a comma or even a semi-colon in non-initial position, than the same structures occurring in the prominent initial position.

4.3.1.1.1. *Independent what-phrases – sentence - initial position*

We have already seen (Figure 4.2 and Table 4.14) that nearly 50 per cent of the sentence-initially placed *what*-phrases function as an exclamation over the course of 300 years and in each selected 50-year period. This is why it is worth noticing how the syntactic distribution of other elements influences the emotive colouring of the entire interpersonal communication. The use of different prior and post-complementisers affects the environment particularly if it is a single-word *wh*-phrase.

As is stated in Section 4.1.1.1, the ellipted and independent *what*-forms occur mainly with post declarative and interrogative sentences. The inversion (auxiliary-subject order) is particularly common in terms of forms that express surprise, anger, distress, which predominantly refers to the problems connected with the speaker's faith, beliefs, deeds. etc.. There are only three instances of next-to-right sentences that are followed by an exclamation mark, but they are of different structures (interrogative and declarative). Further, in the light of the totally ellipted *what*, there are only two examples: one in Bunyan 1670 and one in

Bunyan 1678. What is more, there is only one *what* followed by a comma, and one followed by a question mark. The quantitative analysis is illustrated in Figure 4.3.

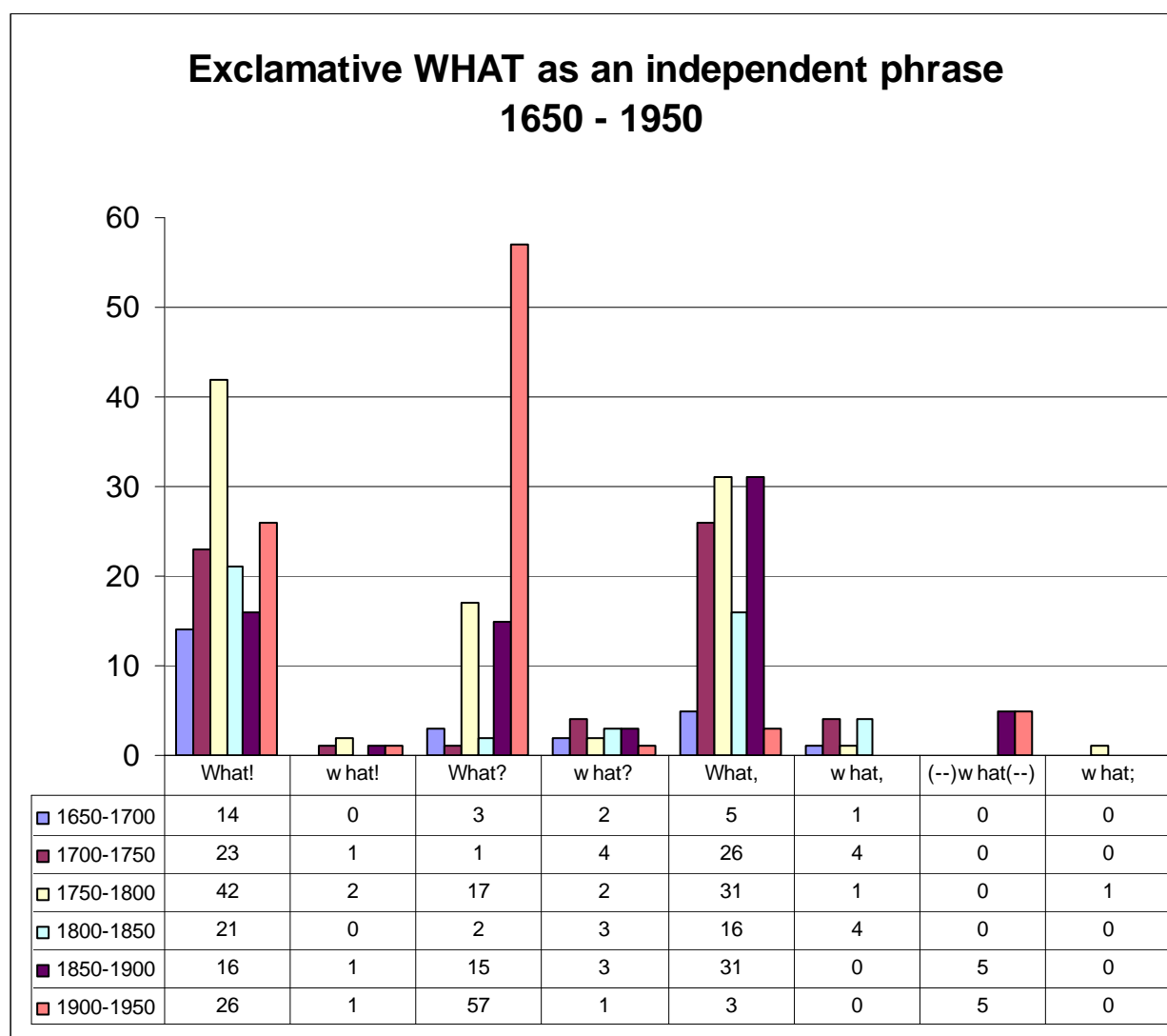


Figure 4.3
Quantitative analysis of independent *what*-phrases

According to Figure 4.3, it is possible to distinguish up to eight different ways of marking emphasis which is typically associated with a wide range of punctuation marks placed after *what* which is independent and being initial. What will be important for our purposes is the fact that *what* is not always marked with a capital letter. We can find 162 capitalised *what* before 1800, of which 79 instances (45.9%) are marked with an exclamation mark, 21 examples (12.2%) with a question mark, and 72 instances (41.8%) with a comma between 1650 and 1800. Looking at the behaviour of the independent *what*-word appearing after 1800, there are as many as 182 examples with capitalised *what*, of which 58 times

(31.8%) it is followed by an exclamation mark, 74 instances (40.6%) are marked with a question mark, and only 50 examples (27.5%) are followed by a comma. Turning to the data from word counts, it does seem likely that the *wh*-word initial position without a capital letter is still sporadic since this pattern occurs only 23 times after 1800.

The use of an exclamation mark and a comma increased substantially in comparison to the previous period. Considering the exclamation mark, the sentence that immediately follows *what* is usually has an interrogative form. In the second half of the 18th century, the findings show that the ellipted *what* frequency is higher but the number of elements with an exclamation mark is not substantial. There are only two or three instances in Lewis, Sterne, Walpole, Reeve and none in Goldsmith. However, it is not a rare form in Smollett where it is possible to find nine *what*'s that function as interjections. Therefore, in terms of the question mark, they are very low-frequency items. However, the interjectional *what* appears more frequently than before 1750. Furthermore, the *wh*-phrases obtain their specific meaning that mirrors the emotive involvement of the speaker (Rosengren 1997: 175-176). In late LME, when using an interjectional *wh*-form, the speaker expresses astonishment, amazement, disbelief, impatience, or anger.

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 586) point out that “most emphasisers normally precede the item they emphasise”, but a reinforcing effect is achieved by intensifying the *wh*-element with honorifics, expletives, endearment expressions, etc., placed just to the right of *what*. Between 1850 and 1900 the usage of ellipted *what*-forms is continued but there is often explicit indication that the speaker uses the emotionally-charged forms such as *sir*, *Mrs. Pamela*, *dear sirs*, *madam*, *monsieur* or *good sirs*. Barber (1999: 186) observes that addressing people by their title and surname or using other addressative forms could be used by the lower-class speaker. He adds that, because of a listener's rank, it seems to be more polite. In the case of addressative forms with a final exclamation mark, they are common immediately after ellipted *what*, which in turn is followed by a comma.

In contrast to the period before 1750, some forms such as *but*, *and*, *about* and *of* occur at the absolute beginning of the structure, before *what*, giving the ellipted phrases a more intensive illocutionary force. For example, *But what?*, *About what?*, *And what*, and *Of what?* are particularly found in Richardson. In such cases the conjunctions *but/and* and prepositions *about/of* add the extra exclamatory force to the whole utterance (see Section 3.2.8.).

In the description of written utterances the findings show that when using an interjectional ellipted *what*-item initiating the clause, the speaker utters negative emotions⁷¹. On the other hand, punctuation marks that are more or less frequent between 1650 and 1800 seem to “convey to a greater or lesser degree the intensity with which the speaker’s attitude is expressed” (Hoye 1997: 151). In Standard English the constructions initiated with *what* separated by means of commas, semi-colons, exclamation marks or question marks express the speaker’s regret, dissatisfaction, impatience, irritation, and so on. The data also confirm this observation in the case of the *what*-phrase moving rightwards within a longer sentence (see Chapter Four). We find the gapping comma⁷², bracketing commas⁷³ (also called isolating commas) and a dash are used.

4.3.1.1.2. Mobile *what*-phrases – rightward movement

We turn now to a discussion of mechanisms from the point of view of ‘syntactic change’ (Hopper and Traugott 1993) in the area of *what* that functions as an exclamation which may be shifted from the prominent initial position to non-initial within the complex sentence. Specifically, considering Table 4.15 in the light of the *wh*-movement, a distinction needs to be made between positions which may be taken by *what*. The detailed quantitative analysis shows that it has not been an abrupt shift from initial, via sentence-medial to -final (end-focus) position. An examination of Functions A, B, and F is illustrated in both Table 4.15 and Figure 4.4.

| Periodisation | The exclamative <i>what</i> placed sentence-initially | The exclamative <i>what</i> placed sentence-medially | The exclamative <i>what</i> placed sentence-finally |
|---------------|---|--|---|
| 1650 – 1700 | 88 (75%) | 12 (10%) | 17 (14.5%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 100 (86%) | 8 (6.9%) | 8 (6.9%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 145 (92%) | 2 (1.3%) | 11 (7%) |
| Total | <u>333</u> (85%) | <u>22</u> (5.6%) | <u>36</u> (9%) |

Table 4.15

Frequency data of the exclamative *what* placed sentence-initially, medially, and finally

In EModE/LModE a shift from one parametric setting to another appears to be sporadic. The number of occurrences in initial position (333 items, 85%) can be called

⁷¹ Fries (after Rosengren 1997: 177) recognises the emotive system that has only two dimensions, EMint (for intensity) and EM± (for positive and negative emotions).

⁷² The gapping comma is used to show that “one or more words have been left out when the missing words would simply repeat the words already used earlier in the same sentence” (Trask 1997: 19-20)

⁷³ In case of bracketing commas the rule is different. These are used (i.e. a pair of bracketing commas) “to mark off a weak interruption of the sentence – that is, an interruption which does not disturb the smooth flow of the sentence” (Trask 1997: 21-25)

homogenous as it fluctuates on almost the same level, i.e. 88>100>145>84>133>102 instances. Whereas medial (22 instances, 5.6%) and final (36 examples, 9%) positions are comparatively rare. That is, there are 12>8>2>11>4>0 sentence-medial examples while there are 17>8>11>5>5>7 *whats* appearing sentence-finally respectively between 1800 and 1950, as in Figure 4.4.

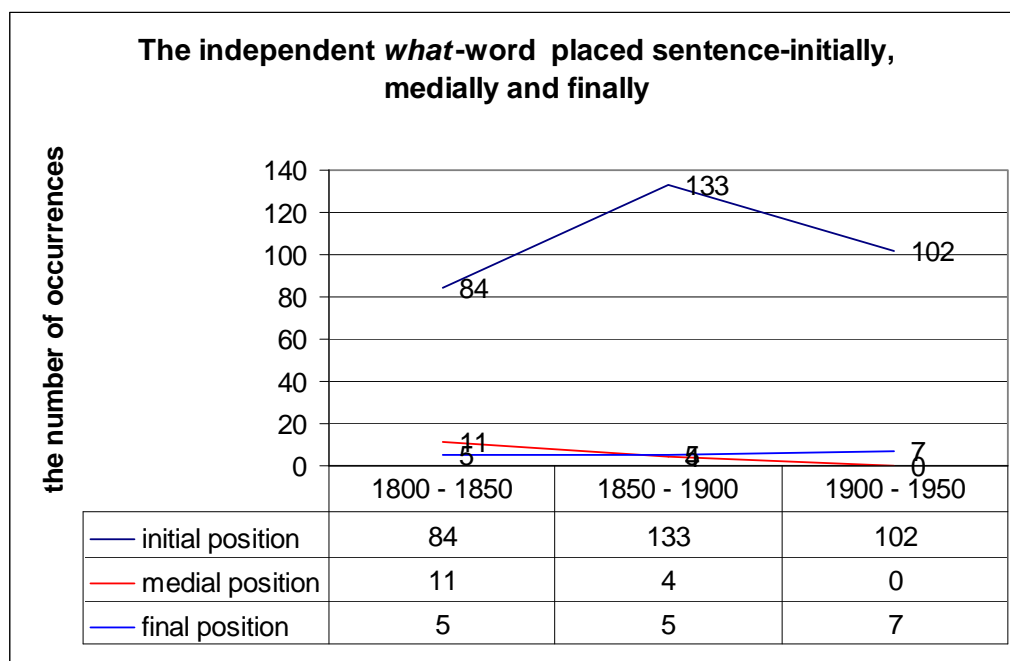


Figure 4.4

Frequency data of the exclamative *what* placed sentence-initially, medially and finally after 1800

As indicated above, within sentences *what*-words may have considerable freedom of movement but the resulting sentence rarely has exactly the same shade of meaning (Wardhaugh 1995). There is also perhaps some preference for sentence-initial position because of the deliberate effect of illocutionary force, as initially placed categories are the most highlighted constituents within the syntactic organisation. After 1750, the *what*-element placed sentence-initially appears in a prepositional phrase headed by *for*, *into*, *with*, or *but*. What is more, there is a solitary instance in the whole LModE corpus of a *what*-clause that begins a cleft sentence, which in turn is followed by an exclamation mark, e.g. *What you relate is incredible!* in Lewis.

4.3.1.2. *What as an intensifier*

As for the instances beginning with *what* which is used adjectivally or adverbially, we will need to examine the distribution of words in the *what*-exclamatory patterns and their

regularity in the language. Such constructions “do allow more precise interpretations” to be made as adjectives placed before nouns cause that it is possible to achieve sentence-emphasis (Barber 1999: 189). A basic assumption here is that in many recurring patterns appear in a frame of subject-auxiliary order. However, it is possible to encounter not only subject-auxiliary order but also auxiliary-subject order and verbless (fragment) clauses. It is impossible to illustrate all the possible comparisons I have found in the novels here but only their quantitative realisation (in accordance with the quantitative analysis of Functions C and D; Table 4.2 and 4.7 Chapter Four) is mentioned in Table 4.16:

| Periodisation | <i>What</i> as an intensifier of a NP | <i>What</i> as an intensifier of an adjective in an adverbial sense |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1650 – 1800 | 127/662 (19%) | 87/662 (13%) |
| 1800 - 1950 | 142/614 (23%) | 85/614 (13.8%) |
| Total | <u>269/1276</u> (21%) | <u>172/1276</u> (13.5%) |

Table 4.16

Frequency data of exclamative *what* that functions as an intensifier of a NP, and an intensifier of an adjective

It should be noted that *what* is always followed by the indefinite article when it is combined with a singular count noun (*What a/an*) (Wardhaugh 1995). In the case of the other constituents, only attributive adjectives can occur immediately before a noun. Furthermore, syntactically the word order may be depicted in the following way:

What + (Art {*a/an*}) + (Adv/Adj) + N/Nplural+(S+V/V+S) (see Chapter 4)

In this respect, the detailed examination of *what* functioning as intensifier (i.e. predeterminer in a NP’ and ‘intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or clause’) can be summarised by means of example (101) which reflects the synergetic relationship and the significance of co-occurrence of the *what*-exclamatory phrases and clauses in one case of interpersonal communication (*what* is baldfaced), as in:

- (101) '-- ha, ha, ha! -- Such a camisciata, scagliata, beffata! O, che roba! O, what a subject! -- O, **what** caricatura! -- O, for a Rosa, a Rembrandt, a Schalken! -- Zooks, I'll give a hundred guineas to have it painted! -- **what** a fine descent from the cross, or ascent to the gallows! what lights and shadows! -- **what** a groupe below! **what** expression above! -- **what** an aspect! -- did you mind the aspect? ha, ha, ha! -- and the limbs, and the muscles every toe denoted terror! ha, ha, ha! -- then the blanket! O, **what** costume! St Andrew! St Lazarus! St Barrabas! -- ha, ha, ha! "After all then (cried Mr Bramble very gravely), this was no more than a false alarm. -- We have been frightened out of our beds, and almost out of our senses, for the joke's sake.' 'Ay, and such a joke! (cried our landlord) such a farce! such a denouement! such a catastrophe!

Smollett 1766

The observation of syntactic and semantic change seems to be significant at the turn of centuries (the 18th/19th century) since this was the time of standardisation in English grammar (see Chapter One). McMahon (1994: 138) observes that “each individual change will therefore be part of a series, being prefigured by earlier developments which it continues, and providing an input for subsequent changes.” In this respect, the fixing of word order (i.e. subject-auxiliary order in post-complementisers as discussed with respect to Functions C and D, Chapter 4) similar to the one that is preferred in Standard English is best illustrated in Figure 4.6.

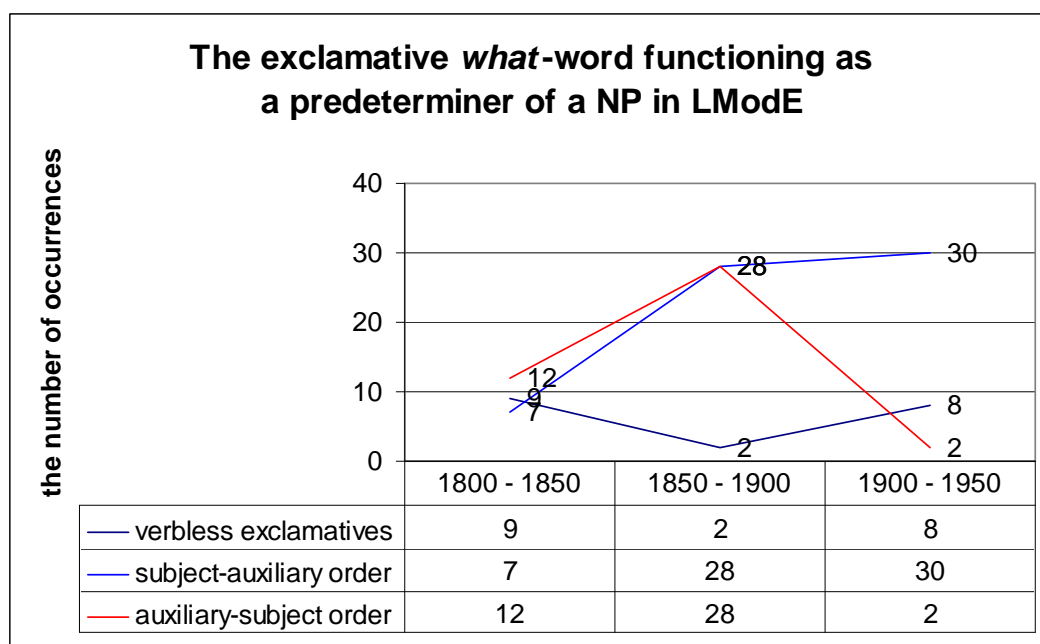


Figure 4.6

Frequency data of exclamative *what* functioning as a predeterminer of a NP in LModE

Figure 4.6 shows a general tendency to subject-auxiliary order (7>28>30 after 1800), which is “the normal position for the subject in exclamatives to be before the predicator” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 920). He adds that “fronting of an interrogative phrase is obligatorily accompanied by subject-auxiliary inversion, while fronting of an exclamative phrase is not” (2002: 920). Whereas analysis of verbless exclamatives (i.e. an exclamative clause that consists of only the exclamative phrase) shows that such constructions are sporadic (there are only 19 instances out of a total 126).

In order to gain further insight into what is occurring, I will widen the perspective and take a closer look at the relationship between grammar and pragmatics. Considering the above discussion, I will attempt to circumvent this issue by taking into account the *utterance*

*meaning*⁷⁴. For the interpretation of words, to have information from which we can uniquely predict the intended referents, we need the relevant context, which is often the linguistic context (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 861-2). Furthermore, the problem of recoverability is discussed by Crystal (1995: 223), who points out that “several of the meanings expressed by the phrase are extremely subtle, requiring a careful consideration of many examples before their function can be consciously appreciated.” Barber (1999: 230-231) adds that “the meaning is affected by the meanings (or supposed meanings) of its constituent parts.” Therefore, the utterance acquires a positive or negative meaning depending on the noun and the adjective’s attributive function. This is why, following the data since the late 17th century, it is noticeable that nouns and adjectives placed immediately after the initial *what* illustrate a common kind of change in emotive colouring.

The detailed diachronic analysis of the extremely rich language data in Chapter Four has shown that in the late 17th century there were NPs used for positive as well as negative emotions such as *a wicked man, a fool, a fine house, a cruel tyranny, or a lovely proper man*. Such phrases initiated with *what* express a wide range of emotions, e.g. excitement, exultation, happiness, etc. Furthermore, in the early 18th century, I have found more phrases with positive meaning in Richardson: *what an angel, what a deal, what blessed things, what grateful things, what a happy creature, what a sweet innocence*, etc. In contrast, in Defoe, Haywood, Swift and Fielding, there are only two or three instances of the *what*-phrase used adjectivally or adverbially. In terms of emotions, negative meaning appears particularly in rhetorical questions e.g. *What a dog am I!, O what trouble have I given you both!, Oh! what a weak silly thing I am!*, or *What an abominable creature am I!*. Taking the late 18th century into consideration, positive emotions are expressed, which is underlined by means of the situational context i.e. *he exclaimed in his romantic enthusiasm*. Another way of expressing happiness, exultation or satisfaction shown in the utilisation of adjectives such as *beautiful, lucky, glorius, fine youth*, etc.. On the other hand, negative emotions seem to appear in rhetorical questions as in: *What a wretch I am!, What an idiot am I, Oh what a brute was I*, and so on. The more common occurrence of nouns expressing grief, fear, or surprise is found in the modern texts between 1750 and 1800. For example, *what a shriek! What a gathering tumult!, what noise is that!, what dreadful blasphemy, what excessive stupidity!*, etc.

⁷⁴ Rosengren (1997: 175) says that “the *utterance meaning* is the meaning which the sentence has when uttered; which is due to inferential processes in context.”

4.3.1.3. Selected pragmatic markers

In terms of illocutionary force, it should be noticed that “exclamative utterances normally have the force of exclamatory statements” as “[t]he exclamatory component gives them a strongly subjective quality, so that they are not presented as statements of fact, rather, they express the speaker’s strong emotional reaction or attitude to some situation” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 922). Since it is generally expected that a speaker intends the hearer to accept what he/she says, the addition of emphasisers, modifiers, or post-modifiers merely highlights interpersonal communication (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 583-6). A detailed examination of the lexical items that precede the *what*-exclamative is illustrated in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 (for more details see Chapter Four).

| Pragmatic modifiers | 1650 – 1700 | 1700 – 1750 | 1750 – 1800 |
|---------------------|-------------|--|--|
| Intensive additions | O ye gods | Lord bless thee! Lord! O my dear girl! | O heavens! Bless me! Lord bless you, Holy Virgin! Holy ST.Barbara! O gracious! Goodness! |
| Interjections | Oh!, Oh, O, | O, O!, Oh!, | Ah, O, Oh, Oh!, Ha! |

Table 4.17

Selected intensifiers that function as pre-modifiers of the *what*-word in EModE/LModE

According to Table 4.17, the overwhelming majority of *O* and *Oh*, in this instance, contribute here as typical spoken markers to recreate a conversational styles or to ‘trace elements’ of orality in modern writing styles (Sinclair, Hoey, and Fox 1993: 178). What is more, Taavitsainen (1995: 440) treats *O!*, *Oh!*, *Ah!*, *Ha!*, *Pshaw!*, as ‘natural utterances’ that imitate sounds but in writing they may have been produced in imitation of spoken language. She adds that they “provide a clue to the interpretation in spontaneous speech, as they are used to create a funny, dramatic or ironic effect.” In the LModE texts (see Table 4.18) *Oh* may be preceded by *But*, to express sudden strong feeling.

| Pragmatic modifiers | 1800 - 1850 | 1850 - 1900 | 1900 - 1950 |
|---------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| Intensive additions | Lord! Heavens! Oh, God! Good Heavens! Gracious Heaven, | Lord! God! Good God, My God! Good Heavens! | But oh heavens! God, God! |
| Interjections | Oh, well! Alas, But, oh Ah | Oh, Oh! Pshaw! | Ah, Oh, Oh, boo! But oh, |

Table 4.18

Selected intensifiers that function as pre-modifiers of the *what*-word LModE/PDE

The emotional colourings shown in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 provide a starting point for the analysis. According to Taavitsainen (1995: 445) “[i]t is evident that interjections are mostly found in direct speech quotations.” Nevertheless, the exclamative *what* may be accompanied by other emotive modifiers that occur just after the *what*-word. Surprise, anger, grief, happiness, regret, or lamentation, may be encapsulated in *emotive modifiers* (see Function F, Chapter Four). The most frequent phrases such as *what the deuce*, *what in the world*, or *what on earth*; *What, in the name of goodness*; *what evil(s)*; *what the devil*; *what pity* giving special exclamatory force such as the feeling of grief were rare before 1800 (only 59 items out of a total 662 *what*-phrases). Then, taking into account the LModE/PDE period (after 1800) a set of expletives like *the devil’s name*, *what on earth*, *what in the world*, or *what the devil* are used much more sporadically by the speaker who refers them as “to acts, objects, or relationships which are widely felt to be embarrassing, distasteful, or harmful” (Crystal 1995: 381).

4.3.1.4. The exclamative WHAT-phrase as a content-clause

Exclamatory phrases marked by the exclamative word *what* can act as subordinate exclamatives, behaving like the main clause exclamatives (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 991). Huddleston and Pullum notice that “such clauses are identical in form with the main clause since subordination is not marked in the internal structure of the exclamative clause.” Extensive exploration of this complex area provides us with the quantitative analysis illustrated in Figure 4.7:

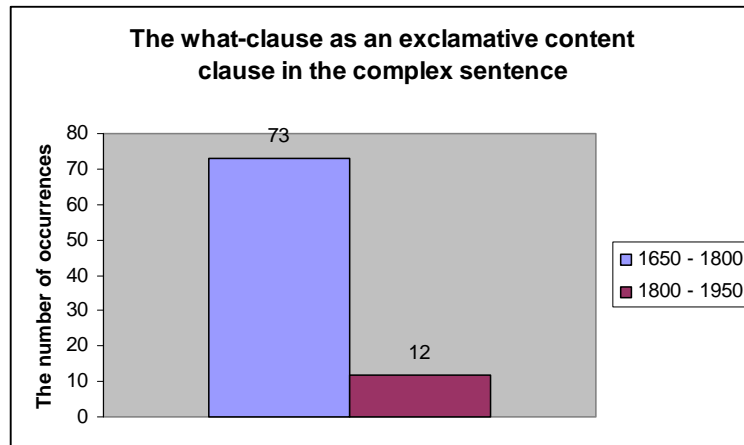


Figure 4.7

Frequency data of the *what*-exclamative clause embedded in the complex sentence

In general, there is a great asymmetry between Function E defining the exclamative word *what* as a content clause. Diachronically speaking, it is more accurate to show the quantitative differentiation between the structures. All in all, there are 73 content clauses out of 662 prior to 1800. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the number of occurrences decreases drastically to only 12 instances. What is important here, in the light of the size of structures, is the fact that there is a tendency to ‘economy’. The investigated constructions tend to shorten so as to resemble a traditional pattern of the exclamative clause initiated with *what*. The situation in EModE/LModE can be presented as follows, 37>8>28 (11%) instances before 1800, while after 1800 there is a drastic drop to 7>3>2 examples out of a total 614 (1.95%).

It should be noticed that exclamative content clauses are always prefaced with a verb of saying, which may act as an emotive indicator of the whole interpersonal event. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 992-3) stress that a verb of saying “may be an exclamatory component of meaning.” These governing expressions belong mainly in the semantic classes, such as knowing, guessing, telling, concerning, surprise. In most cases the frequency of verbs of thinking and perceiving may be presented by means of the following scale from the most frequent to the least: *know*>*see*>*think*>*imagine*>*hear*> *wonder*>*perceive*>*imagine*.

Chapter Five

Analysis of HOW

5.0. Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a syntactic overview of exclamative clauses with *how* taking the predominant sentence-initial position as well as undergoing the rightward movement. This chapter also serves to clarify the relation between lexical items, phrases, clauses and sentences, the distinction between *canonical* and *non-canonical* clauses of *how*-exclamations will be introduced in later sections. As there is a range of possible non-canonical constructions, I will provide a simple and ordered organized description of the selected structures in the data of EModE/LModE (Section 5.1. and subsections) and in the 19th/20th centuries (Section 5.2. and subsections).

It must be emphasised that a vast range of modifiers and complements (i.e. adjectives, adverbs, etc.) function as expressions that play an important role in the interpretation of exclamatives. Another important aspect deals with the various punctuation marks, such as the full stop, comma, colon, however, in terms of exclamative sentences the exclamation marks will be placed with declaratives or interrogatives changing the meaning of the sentences.

5.1. EModE/LModE 1650 – 1800

In this section, a number of expressive/emotional utterances of different forms with implemented *how* will be discussed. The search program has helped to simplify the selection of material. Table 5.1 shows the quantitative analysis of structures in which *how* appears and the number of *how*-forms selected that function as exclamations in EModE/LModE. In the material I have found only 390 (about 1.7%) out of all the constructions (2814 occurrences) with *how* perform exclamatory function. Table 6.1 illustrates the quantitative analysis of the selected material.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>how</i> -phrases in the novels | The number of <i>how</i> that functions as an exclamation/interjection |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1650 – 1700 | 1058 | 77 (7.3%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 1052 | 185 (17.6%) |
| 1750 - 1800 | 704 | 128 (18%) |
| Total | <u>2814</u> | <u>390</u> (14%) |

Table 5.1.
Quantitative comparison of the selected *how*-elements in EModE/LModE

Syntactically, the constructions that occurred are declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, reduced or ellipted structures, yet the end punctuation (particularly the exclamation mark) changes their function making the whole utterance emotional and expressive (Beijer 1999: 18). This is why, in order to provide illustrative examples of this linguistic phenomena, I have compiled a corpus consisting of utterances in which *how* acts as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb (Function A in Table 5.2), as an intensifier of a clause (Function B in Table 5.2), as an elliptical variation (Function C in Table 5.2), as an ellipted and totally independent clause functioning as an interjection (Function D in Table 5.2), as a subordinate exclamative clause (Function E in Table 5.2), and as a reduced form at the end of the syntactic structure (Function F in Table 5.3).

| <i>How</i> -exclamations | 1650 – 1700 | 1700 – 1750 | 1750 – 1800 |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| A. acts as intensifier of an adjective/adverb (<i>How</i> + <i>adj/adv</i> + <i>S+V/V+S</i>) | 11+11medial (43%) | 62+12medial (45%) | 28+5medial (27%) |
| B. acts as an intensifier of a clause (<i>How</i> + <i>clause /declarative or interrogative/</i>) as a pushdown element | 9 (17.6%) | 59 (36%) | 34 (27.9%) |
| C. with intensive additions (as an elliptical variation <i>How</i> + <i>intensifying addition</i>) | 6 (11.8%) | 9 (5.5%) | 14 (11.5%) |
| D. as an ellipted and independent clause functioning As an interjection (totally independent <i>How!</i>) + <i>reduced by ellipsis</i> | 3 (5.9%) | 12 (7.3%) | 20 (16.4%) |
| E. as a subordinate exclamative clause (content clause) | 9 (17.6%) | 8 (4.9%) | 15 (12.3%) |
| F. final position (end-focus) | 2 (3.9%) | 2 (1.2%) | 6 (4.9%) |

Table 5.2
Frequency data of six exclamatory functions of the *how*-word in EModE/LModE

In the case of the *how*-word, the mechanism of making *wh*-exclamations is, on the one hand, different from the *what*- and *why*-words, but, on the other, it can be discussed in a

similar way, particularly when taking into account the syntactic position of the *wh*-element. The position is the most important factor in the organization of the selected material.

In considering the scope of exclamative structures marked with the initial *how*-element, I identified such exclamations as belonging to six different syntactic *patterns*, which will be discussed in the separate sections according to the order of Functions A-F presented in Table 5.2. The *how*-phrase changes itself, that is, the order of subject and verb as well as lexical elements can be also rearranged. Thus each syntactic and lexical problem will be discussed and illustrated with tables in the following sections.

5.1.1. Initial position – as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb

An important point to notice here is that the pattern of the *how*-phrase in which the *how*-word is traditionally fronted, the linguistic structure has the following order *how+adjective/adverb+S+V*, as in (5), or *how+adjective/adverb+V+S*, as in (1)-(4) and (6). However, it has been observed that the *adjective/adverb components* may be optional. This will be discussed in 5.1.1.1., 5.1.2. and 5.1.3. Keeping this in mind, consider the following examples:

- (1) CHR. Then Christian wept, and said, **Oh, how willingly would I have done it!** but they were all of them utterly averse to my going on pilgrimage.
Bunyan 1678
- (2) **'O sir,'** cried he, **'how unworthy am I of your goodness!'**--but then recollecting as it were somewhat more;
Haywood 1748
- (3) **"How vain is human GREATNESS!** What avail superior abilities, and a noble defiance of those narrow rules and bounds which confine the vulgar, when his best-concerted schemes are liable to be defeated! **How unhappy is the state of PRIGGISM! How impossible for human prudence to foresee and guard against every circumvention!** It is
Fielding 1725
- (4) dropped from his lips was as sweet as the honey of Hybla to me.--**Oh! sir,** said I, **how inexpressibly kind and good is all this!** Your poor servant
Richardson 1740
- (5) **"My poor Bianca,"** said Matilda, **"how fast your thoughts amble!** I a great princess!
Walpole 1764
- (6) Abellino (with solemnity).--If you have once pledged your word, you ought to keep it, though given to the Prince of Darkness. **Oh, fie, fie! Abellino, how shamefully hast thou been deceived in thy reckoning.** I thought I had to do with men of honour. **Oh! how grossly have I been mistaken.** (In a terrible voice.)--
Lewis 1798

These differences are summarised in Table 5.3:

| Periodisation | <i>How+adj/adv+S+V</i> | <i>How+adj/adv+V+S</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1650 – 1700 | 3 (13.6%) | 8 (36%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 11 (14.9%) | 19 (26%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 4 (12%) | 13 (39%) |
| Total | <u>18</u> (13.9%) | <u>40</u> (31%) |

Table 5.3

Frequency data of the exclamative *how* functioning as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb

Given what has been said thus far, it would appear that in specifying the structure of the next-to-right constituents such as *adjective/adverb* and *S+V/V+S*, the pattern *V+S* seems to be highly stylised form of EModE/LModE in which an archaic flavour is preserved. However, such a linear order is ill-formed in terms of present-day English (Akmajian 1997: 144).

What sometimes occurs is that the nuclear focus is put upon two items in an information unit (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1372-1373). Taking into account emotive emphasis, (4) implies such divided focus which is realised by an adverb that precedes an adjective, e.g. *encouragingly kind*, *sweetly kind*, *much better*, *much easier*, in Richardson, or *very odd* in Sterne. With the focus on the adjectival phrase, emotive emphasis can be illustrated as coordinated participles (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973), for example, *how crooked and trembling*, or coordinated adjectives like *how poor and mean* in Richardson.

Frequently, in contrast to the pattern *How + adverb/adjective+S+V/V+S*, reduced structures such as *how+adverb/adjective* are placed twice or even three times in one complex sentence to mark focused items and give the whole utterance a more expressive colouring. For example: *O the dear word!—How kind, how moving, how affectionate is the word!*, or *O the dear charming man! how nobly, how encouragingly kind, was all this!* in Richardson. Freeborn (1993) states that this profusion of *parallelism* of such repeated emphatic constructions is commonly used to convey the impression of spoken discourse.

The repeated forms are also implemented in the exclamative structures, as in (7):

- (7) 'Yours can! Yours only can! Ah! Father, **how willingly** would I unveil to you my heart!
How willingly would I declare the secret which bows me down with its weight! But Oh! I fear! I fear!' *Lewis1796*

The essential element worth noticing here is that the predicator (P) may be followed by a *that*-clause, or an *if*-clause a *temporal*-clause, and an *infinitival*-clause,. A succession of simple one-clause structures are joined together by coordinating or subordinating

conjunctions. However, a long complex sentence is bound to be more difficult to follow by the hearer. (8) and (9) illustrate these phenomena:

- (8) Why, dear father and mother, to be sure he grows quite a rake! **How easy it is to go from bad to worse, when once people give way to vice!**

Richardson 1740

- (9) They have an only son -- who do you think is this only son? -- O Letty! -- O gracious heaven! **how my heart palpitates, when I tell you that this only son of Mr Dennison's, is that very identical youth who, under the name of Wilson, has made such ravage in my heart!** -- Yes, my dear friend!

Smollett 1771

The study has involved many sentence patterns which follow the *how*-element. In order to complete this analysis, it must be noted that the structures that immediately follow the *how*-element may occur as relative clauses, *to*-clauses, *if*-clauses, or *that*-clauses. However, such complex sentences are preceded by the interrogative mood, which has proved to be much more common (37 examples) than the declarative mood (only 14 instances).

The quantitative analysis is presented in Table 5.4:

| Periodisation | <i>How+adj/adv+S+V+clause</i> | <i>How+adj/adv+V+S+clause</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1650 – 1700 | 3 (13.6%) | 6 (27%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 8 (11%) | 25 (33.8%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 3 (9.1%) | 6 (18.2%) |
| Total | 14 (11%) | 37 (29%) |

Table 5.4

Frequency data of the exclamative *how* functioning as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb followed by the pattern *S+V/V+S + clause*

Table 5.4 clearly shows that linear mechanisms of inversion are particularly common between 1700 and 1750, whereas in the late 18th century, there is almost a quantitative balance between these patterns. A great deal of the written material that has been investigated is marked with an exclamation mark, meaning that 13 sentences have a linear order such as *How+adj/adv+S+V+clauses*, and only 15 constructions patterned *How+adj/adv+V+S+clause* marked with an exclamation. The canonical form of the exclamative *how* is still placed sentence-initially but can be followed by a wide range of clauses or subclauses that are coordinated by *and*, or function as time clauses (placed after *before*, *when*). Interestingly, *infinitivals* are located medially, particularly after 1750. When the complementing clauses occur as next-to-right forms after *How+adj/adv+S+V*, the number of clauses is limited to *that*-clauses, time clauses and *to*-clauses. Time clauses, *to*-clauses, *if*-clauses and coordinated clauses appear more frequently after *How+adj/adv+V+S*.

It can be surmised that the idea of “a grammar that is still on the rise” since 1650 onwards is implemented in the changing models of marking sentences boundaries with

capitals. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1757) state that “capitalization normally applies to the first letter of the first word of a sentence”; yet, the scenario of the clauses within the analysed dialogues between 1650 and 1800 is totally different as the *how*-element is not written with a capital letter when it is preceded by emerging interjections, e.g. *O, Oh!, But oh, But, Oh!*, which are placed at the absolute beginning of the sentence immediately prior to an exclamative clause (see examples (4) or (6)).

A great range of expressions are shifted to the predominant sentence-initial position preceding the exclamative *how*-clauses. This phenomenon should not be treated as marginal without prior discussion as it affects the content of the accompanying rightward syntactic organisation. Since 1700, a wide range of intensifying expressions have occupied the same beginning of exclamative clauses or whole sentences. Their function has, and continues to provide an elaboration, emphasis, respect, levels of politeness, or produce merely more emotional colouring (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Crystal 2003). Many are interjections *Oh*, or *O* which, in turn, may be followed by deities, e.g. *Oh God!* in Lewis, *O gracious heaven!* in Smollett; then honorifics or vocatives, for instance *O, madam*, in Richardson, *O sir*, in Haywood, or other intensifying expressions, such as *Oh, fie, fie!* in Lewis, or *O! the devil!* in Goldsmith.

In section 5.1.1.1. the same linear order *how+adjective/adverb +S+V/V+S* which may be embedded within complex sentences making the whole sentence fairly difficult to understand will be examined.

5.1.1.1. Rightward *wh*-movement in complex sentences

Akmajian (1997: 197) indicates that “it is not fully understood why centre embedding causes such perceptual complexity, i.e. not enough is known about the psychological mechanisms underlying a person’s perceptual abilities; nevertheless, the perceptual difficulties posed by centre embedding form an interesting of human language processing and comprehension.”

It must be noted that a tendency to include multiple embedded clauses in one complex sentence was also a regular feature found in the EModE/LModE data. These clauses were separated with commas, semi-colons, or dashes. In the case of *how*, not only adposition or *anacoluthon* are common between 1650 and 1800, but also a movement from the prominent initial part in the complex sentence to medial or even final in its syntactic structure.

As for *how+adjective/adverb +S+V/V+S*, the quantitative analysis shows that *wh*-exclamations have either a declarative or interrogative structure, but semantically their function

is primarily exclamatory since the method of expressing the speaker's feelings is marked with an exclamation mark. Examples (10) - (11) illustrate this phenomenon:

(10) "O what a blissful night would it be, **how soft, how sweet a bed!**" She will adventure all her estate for such a night, for a nectarean, a balsam kiss alone.

Burton 1621

(11) So here was a trap laid for your poor Pamela! I tremble to think of it! O what a scene of wickedness was here laid down for all my wretched life! Black-hearted wretch! **how I hate him!**--For, at first, as you'll see by

Richardson 1740

What is particularly interesting here is that there are more interrogative structures (13 examples (10.1%)) than declarative ones (only 9 instances (7%)). The brackets mean that such items are optional. Table 5.5 may be used to compare these differences:

| Periodisation | <i>how</i> +(adj/adv)+(S+V) | <i>how</i> +(adj/adv)+(V+S) |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1650 – 1700 | 4 (18.2%) | 4 (18.2%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 3 (4%) | 6 (8%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 2 (6.1%) | 3 (9.1%) |
| Total | <u>9</u> (7%) | <u>13</u> (10.1%) |

Table 5.5

Frequency data of the internal structure (adj/adv)+(S+V/V+S) of the *how*-exclamative clause

The emotional state which is often associated with a loud voice is reinforced by features of the language that are foregrounded in the speakers turn-taking (Freeborn 1993). Here just 16 out of 28 (57%) grammatical structures are marked with an exclamation mark which is used deliberately to identify the speakers' attitude.

Freeborn (1993) recognises some stylistic features that are typical or unusual in the idea of sequencing. In the LModE data there are 6 examples of coordinating conjunctions, e.g. ; *how*, *and how*, found only in Bunyan, Burton and Defoe. Gradually such reduced constructions disappeared after 1750. For example:

(12) 'I need not acquaint you with what has been my condition for some time past; **and how**, having been at the edge of the grave, I am, by the unexpected and undeserved mercy of Heaven, restored again.

Defoe 1722

The high frequency of adverbials is another marked feature of expressive function. The attitude of a speaker is marked by a set of amplifiers, e.g. *how soft*, *how blessed*, *how sweet*, *how much better*, and *how happy* and downtoners, for example *how sorry*, *how little*, *how desperately wicked*, or *how dreadful*. What is more, the use of other intensifying devices, e.g. terms of endearment, which are frequently transposed from initial to non-initial position, will be also discussed at a later stage. These *how*-elements are only preceded by two intensive additions, such as *Angelical souls!*, and *O*.

5.1.2. Initial position – as an intensifier of a clause

Particular attention is paid to a regular feature of an oral communication system, which can be treated as *idiosyncratic* (Polański 1999: 244, Crystal 2003: 4-5). In the selected examples, speakers converge towards the syntactic patterns such as declarative or interrogative organisation with *how* placed at initial position, with an exclamation mark at the end. Fitting the clauses into the SVOA pattern (Freeborn 1993: 132), it can be found that elements like adjectives/adverbs are frequently missing, yet the meaning is perfectly clear in spite of this. Table 6.6 shows that a syntactic organisation without inversion of subject and verb (37 items (36.3%)) was accepted practice in the use of language in EModE/LModE, as in:

| Periodisation | <i>How+S+V</i> | <i>How+V+S</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1650 – 1700 | 4 (44%) | 1 (11%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 20 (34%) | 11 (19%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 13 (38%) | 6 (18%) |
| Total | <u>37</u> (36.3%) | <u>18</u> (18%) |

Table 5.6

Frequency data of the *how*-phrase (*how+S+V/V+S*) in EModE/LModE

Consider the linear order *How + S + P* in (13) and (15):

(13) Wise. **How he carried it!** Why, he did as they. I intimated so much before, when I said, they made him an arch, a chief one in their ways.

Bunyan 1670

(14) ‘Not take it ill, sir!’ said I; **how can I take it well!** If you had

Defoe 1722

(15) ‘Oh! Christ Jesus!’ cried a shrill voice; **Holy Father, how you gripe me!** I protest that I meant no harm!’

Lewis 1796

(13) - (15) illustrate that interrogative or declarative moods can be turned into exclamations. Yet, for this phenomenon, it has become convention to make so called *catenative structures* of a series of simple declarative or interrogative clauses (Freeborn 1993: 126-127).

In fact, there is a relative frequency of syntactic structures (35 occurrences (34%)) with the subject (S) that comes before the predicator (P), while there are only 27 examples (26.5%) with the inverted structure (V+S) - as shown in Table 5.7:

| Periodisation | <i>How+S+V+clause</i> | <i>How+V+S+clause</i> |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1650 – 1700 | 2 (22%) | 2 (22%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 11 (19%) | 17 (29%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 12 (35%) | 8 (24%) |
| Total | <u>35</u> (34%) | <u>27</u> (26.5%) |

Table 5.7

Frequency data of the *how*-phrase (*how+S+V/V+S*) followed by clausal complements in EModE/LModE

Here are just three selected examples to serve as illustration:

- (16) **O how I want such an obliging honest-hearted man as John!** *Richardson 1740*
- (17) **O the wretch!** said she, **how he finds excuses to palliate his meanness!** *Richardson 1740*
- (18) "Holy Virgin! what is it you tell me? **How you rejoice me to hear, that what I have so long prayed for will come to pass!**" *Reeve 1778*

The syntactic organisation is a significant factor in sentence interpretation. However, there is more to language than simply form. In order for language to fulfill its communicative function, “utterances must also convey a message; they must have content” (O’Grady *et al.* 1996:234). What is interesting is the way in which speakers implement intensifying additions to construct their utterances to achieve emotive colouring. They prefer prefacing their turn with interjections such as *O, Oh, Oh!*, which can appear with suffixed items like *O eternity, eternity!* in Bunyan (P), *Oh, dear sir* in Richardson, or *O Letty! O gracious heaven!* in Smollett (*HL*), and so on.

In the next subsection my goal will be to consider units smaller than the sentence itself which appear as a result of deletion mechanisms within the syntactic structure. Thus the speaker’s and hearer’s responses are minimal as they are made up of one or two-word phrases.

5.1.3. Initial position – reduced structure/verbless clauses

In accordance with the rules of *acceptability*, certain forms of language are ‘correct’ and others are ‘wrong’ or ‘odd’ (Akmajian 1997). Despite discrepancies, speakers frequently use ellipted sentences which are very unequal in size and dissimilar in content to avoid gaps in the conversation (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973: 10, Crystal 2003: 2-4). Quirk *et al.* (1985: 893) reveal that if conditions of ellipsis are examined more carefully, “medial ellipsis can often be treated as a special case of either initial or final ellipsis.” Here, as in (15) and (16) it is

possible to distinguish examples of final ellipsis as the subject and predication are ellipped. The stylistic effect of this *deviant* method of omission or reduction is used “to convey the impression of spoken rather than written language” (Freeborn 1993: 221).

Table 5.8 shows that such reduced clauses are not a regular feature and are not often performed. Out of 390 there are only 29 examples of verbless clauses (19)-(20) and 8 instances that are accompanied by other lexical items.

| Periodisation | <i>How</i> +adj/adv | <i>How</i> +reduced structure (verbless clause; adj/adv+to; adj+NP) |
|---------------|---------------------|--|
| 1650 – 1700 | 9 | 5 |
| 1700 – 1750 | 9 | 0 |
| 1750 – 1800 | 11 | 3 |
| Total | <u>29</u> | <u>8</u> |

Table 5.8

Frequency data of the *how* verbless clauses and the *how*-word followed by non-clausal structures in EModE/LModE

These unfinished or non-standard forms are identified in (19) - (21):

- (19) **'How wild-brained!'** said Lorenzo; 'With so excellent an heart, what pity that He possesses so little solidity of judgment!' *Lewis 1796*
- (20) 'And has so little sense?' said Don Christoval with feigned astonishment; **'How very Extraordinary!'** *Lewis 1796*
- (21) **"How now?"** cried the stranger; "what does all this mean?"
"Oh, 'tis a mere jest, signor, which has only preserved your life."
"What? my life? **How so?"** *Lewis 1798*

Here both speaker and hearer contribute to the creation of coherent conversation through the use of repeated *how*-phrases frequently reduced to the independent *how*-word and adverbial postmodification like *how* +(adverb of degree)+ adjective as in (19) - (20). For example, there are successive *how*-exclamations to show some extent of relationship between in the lexical items: *O how unsafe, how unquiet his possessions!* in Fielding (1743), or *Among the rest, how vile, how gross, how absurd did every pleasant thing look!* in Defoe.

This distinctive style may be observable in the reduced clauses with the *how*-word and one lexical element attached, as in (21). Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) discuss such compactness and point out that *so* is the pro-form for the equivalent of the entire clause. But there are not only examples rendering final ellipsis but also medial ellipsis, thus turning the whole structure into a verbless clause, e.g. *How impossible for human prudence to foresee and guard against every circumvention!*, or *how unsafe, how unquiet his possessions!* in Fielding (1742), *How contrary now!* in Richardson.

Structurally, the selected *how*-exclamations are a form of declarative sentence, yet semantically the lexical items illustrate the speaker's emotional state, which appears after 1700 in Richardson's prose: *O how my heart throbbed!*, *O how my heart aches!*, *O then how my heart sunk!*, *O how my heart went pit-a-pat!*, *O how my heart flutters when he mentions this subject so freely!*, or *O how I trembled!*. In the aforementioned instances, the Q-element is always preceded by the interjection *O*, which adds a distinctive emphasis. What is more, the subject *my heart* and dynamic verbs *throbbed*, *aches*, *sunk* may be regarded as a positive or negative mark of the speaker's and addressee's attitude, to signal their anger, happiness, or being surprised (Jaworska 2002).

5.1.4. Initial position – independent HOW

Independent *how* which is followed by end punctuation such as an exclamation mark, a question mark, or a comma, can be followed by a wide range of vocatives, particularly names, standard appellatives, epithets, or general nouns (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 773-774; Quirk and Greenbaum 1973). The search program shows (in Table 5.9) that these focus markers are common after 1700, as in (22) – (24). In the early 18th century vocatives, placed immediately after *how*, were used sparingly. For example: *How, Fanny!*, *How, sirrah!*, in Fielding (1742), *How, madam!*, in Haywood, or *How, sister!*, *How, Mr. Blueskin!*, in Fielding (1743). Then, after 1750, only one appellative form is used. Contrary to these vocatives, only one interjection, such as *Oh* is used after 1750, e.g. *Oh, how?* in Walpole. Here are several examples to illustrate this phenomenon:

- (22) **"How, Mr. Blueskin!"** says Wild; "you will not deliver the watch?"
 "No, Mr. Wild," answered he; "I have taken it, and will keep it;
Fielding 1743
- (23) 'You may be sure I do,' replied she, 'in all that concerns the abbess; as to my farther sentiments on your staying or going, they can be of no consequence to you.'--**"How, madam!"** resumed he, by this time a little re-assured, 'of no consequence!
Haywood 1748
- (24) **"How, my Lord!"** said Isabella; "sure you do not suspect me of not feeling the concern I ought: my duty and affection would have always--"
Walpole 1764

What is interesting is the very minimal response, and because it is so minimal, "what is said must fit in with what has gone before, and its relevance must be apparent to each

speaker” (Freeborn 1993: 118). Furthermore, the speaker and hearer spontaneously construct what they have to say, so they are much more likely to display their anger, surprise, satisfaction, or enjoyment even if they feel equal or superior in status, as in (18) - (20) *How, madam!*, *How, Mr Blueskin!*, or *How, my Lord!*. Table 5.9 illustrates the growing tendency to use such reduced responses in EModE/LModE:

| Periodisation | <i>How+!</i> | <i>How+?</i> | <i>How+intensifying addition (name/title/etc.)</i> |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|--|
| 1650 – 1700 | 3 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 4 (33%) | 0 (0%) | 7 (58%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 6 (30%) | 7 (35%) | 9 (45%) |
| Total | <u>13</u> (37%) | <u>7</u> (20%) | <u>16</u> (46%) |

Table 5.9

Frequency data of *how* functioning as an exclamation/interjection with/without pragmatic modifiers in EModE/LModE

The idea of minimal sentences is unclear, however, incomplete clauses can be derived from complete clauses. Consider examples (25) - (28):

- (25) Wise. **How!** why, like to a Thief that is found. He would stand gloating, and hanging down his head in a sullen, pouching
Bunyan 1670
- (26) "What, I suppose you have read Galen and Hippocrates!"--"No, sir," said the gentleman.--"**How!** you understand surgery," answers the doctor, "and not read Galen and Hippocrates?"--
Fielding 1742
- (27) 'What is her name?' said I. 'Sixteen years ago (answered the vicar) I christened her by the names of Seraphina Melvilia.' 'Ha! what! **how!** (cried the count eagerly) sure, you said Seraphina Melvilia.' 'I did (said he);
Smollett 1771
- (28) Sir Harry is going to be married to Miss Walton."--"**How! Miss Walton married!**" said Harley.
Mackenzie 1771

Recognizing stylistic features that are typical in such minimal responses, it is worth noticing that the independent interjectional *how* can be preceded by coordinating conjunctions such as *But* or *And* after which a question mark is placed. These minor types of questions are called *abbreviated questions* which are very popular in colloquial speech (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973: 198).

When examining instances of *how*, the search program identified certain constructions in which the *how*-phrase is moved to the more distant position within the syntactic organisation. As a result, at the beginning of a complex sentence there is a *distancing clause* (i.e. a declarative, an imperative, or an interrogative sentence) which prefaces the *how*-word

with other lexical items that follow, i.e. adverbs, adjectives, nouns, verbs, etc. (Freeborn 1993). In the following subsection, I will consider several examples to illustrate this issue.

5.1.5. *Non-initial position – subordinate exclamative clauses*

Moving towards a more distant position within the syntactic structure, the distancing clause prefaces the *how*-exclamative which acts as a subordinate clause in which *how* plays the role of subordinator. Syntactically, *how* is transferred from the prominent sentence-initial position to mid-position in the syntactic structure.

First, the verb taking the final position in the main clause prefaces the *how*-phrase with the lexical items attached *a distancing clause + verb + how + (adj/adv) + (S + V)*.

This particular division of the sentence is very helpful in order to understand how subordinate exclamative clauses are formed. Certain types of emphasis are achieved by means of verbs that preface *how*, e.g. *see, consider, perceive, show, think*, which appear in the late 17th century, then *see, hear, judge, think, say*, after 1700, and *aware, know, show, hear, express, feel, see, discover*, emerging in the late 18th century. The medial placing of the verbs of perception affects unspoken mental activity (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973). As is seen from examples (29), (30), and (31), there are different combinations of suffixed lexical items in the *how*-exclamation. To capture the placement of the *how*-word and the specifiers attached, examples (29) - (31) illustrate this structure:

- (29) (...)I never had a wife; **consider how contentedly, quietly, neatly, plentifully, sweetly, and how merrily he lives!** He hath no man to care for but himself,(...)

Burton 1621

- (30) WITNESS: Here is my Pamela!—**My dear angel, my lovely creature, don't be afraid; look up, and see how frantically this woman of quality behaves.**

Richardson 1740

- (31) Could you know my feelings, when I beheld your agony! **Could you know, how much your sufferings have endeared you to me!** But the time will come, when you will be

Lewis 1796

The table below illustrates the patterns of combinations especially non-canonical clauses in which some items are optional. The results of the investigation are given in Table 5.10.

| Periodisation | The subordinate exclamative clauses with the <i>how</i> -word taking the initial position |
|---------------|---|
| 1650 – 1700 | <i>how+adj+S+V(passive/active); how+adj+participle+V+to; how+adj+N; how+S+V; how+adv+S+V; how+adj+and+adj+Art+N+S(it)+V</i> |
| 1700 – 1750 | <i>how+adv+S+V; how+adv+adj+S+V; how+adj+S+V;</i> |
| 1750 – 1800 | <i>how+Art+N+S(it)+V; how+adv+S+V; how+S+V; how+adj+V+S</i> |

Table 5.10

The most frequent patterns of the *how*-exclamative functioning as a content clause

Adjectives and adverbs functioning as *specifiers* become optional after 1700 and they disappear gradually; that is why, they are placed as optional elements in brackets in Table 5.10. However, this analysis assumes that the number of modifiers is relatively not high in before 1800. In order to illustrate their communicative function, the analysis should be focused not only on the architecture of a sentence's structure but also on the relationship between both speakers.

What is particularly interesting here is that there are more adjectives functioning as downtoners after 1750, e.g. *how wicked, how sorry, how unworthy, how dangerous, how difficult, how little*, whereas in terms of adjectives functioning as amplifiers there are only 14 instances overall. For example: *how easily and how quickly*, or a long series of adverbs such as *how contentedly, quietly, neatly, plentifully, sweetly*, in Burton, or *how great, how pretty, how well, how interesting*.

Surprisingly, there are only six instances in the data that function as an exclamation as they are finished with an exclamation mark. It is characteristic (though by no means always) that "certain syntactic ordering is particularly favoured in the careful style of written prose" (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973: 311). The search program selected three examples in which the items are ordered in a different way, as in (32)-(33):

- (32) "Behold **how comely and good a thing it is** for brethren to live together in union: it is like the precious ointment, &c. How odious to contend one with the other!" *Burton 1621*
- (33) "I know well," interrupted Andreas, "**how difficult a task I enjoin**, when I require the delivery of Abellino (...)" *Lewis 1798*

At this point, it is worth identifying some of the observable relations between conversational and linguistic structure. Faced with examples such as (29) - (31), there are generally two formal models *how+adv/adj+S+V* or *how+S+V*, which are illustrated by means of the quantitative analysis in Table 5.11.

| Periodisation | <i>how</i> +(adj/adv)+(S+V) | <i>how</i> +(adj/adv)+(V+S) |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1650 – 1700 | 10 | 0 |
| 1700 – 1750 | 8 | 0 |
| 1750 – 1800 | 31 | 1 |
| Total | <u>49</u> | <u>1</u> |

Table 5.11

Frequency data of the *how*-exclamative clause appearing in a frame *how*+(adj/adv)+(S+V/V+S) as a content clause in EModE/LModE

The ordering is obviously important, it could be claimed that subordinate clauses which follow should share the same conditions as those moved to the initial position. Here the use of the exclamation mark is limited to three instances, causing the illocutionary forces of *how*-exclamations to be correlated with lexical items that are implemented within the syntactic structures such as verbs, adverbs of degree, etc. According to Levinson (1985) subordination can be treated as an *indirect force* and such usages are *indirect speech acts* in which both speaker and hearer realise their requests, exclaim surprise (e.g. *how dangerous it is, how surprisingly he exerted*), anger (e.g. *how unworthy this wretched girl is, how apt she was to believe it so*), or enthusiasm (e.g. *how well they look, how slight that instrument was, how grateful is my heart*).

5.1.6. Final position – end-focus

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 892) “it is impossible to say exactly how and where ellipsis can take place” as conversational forms of talk involve a speaker and hearer whose interaction is “spontaneous rather than scripted or planned” (Freeborn 1993: 152). The point is that the *how*-phrase placed at the end of the syntactic organisation is an uncommon form. Broughton (1990: 109) adds that the rest of a *wh*-clause after *what, who, why, how*, etc. can be omitted even if ellipsis in subordination is uncommon. He adds that the most common items omitted are e.g. *wh*-clause after *know, ask* and *tell* in response structures, as in *I don't know*Δ.

Table 5.12 illustrates several selected examples.

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences of <i>how</i> placed in final position | Exemplified structures |
|---------------|--|--|
| 1650 – 1700 | 2 | <i>when I consider also how, I know not how,</i> |
| 1700 – 1750 | 2 | <i>if he had known how, ; I don` t know how;</i> |
| 1750 – 1800 | 6 | <i>I know not how, I know not how, enriched they know not how; But I don` t know how, ; yet I don` t know how; - - you know how.</i> |
| Total | <u>10</u> | |

Table 5.12

Frequency data of *how* appearing sentence-finally in EModE/LModE

As shown in Table 5.12 and in (34) - (36), a distributional property of the *how*-word is similar as it can appear just after elements such as *I know*, *I know not*, *I don` t know*, in the same linear order. Surprisingly, the search program has provided me only with 10 examples that appear between 1621 and 1800. Here its unmarked position is clause-final, that is, at the end of the sequence *I know not how* or *I don` t know how*, which in turn functioning as a content clause can be placed in the final, initial or medial place of the complex sentence, as in (34) - (36) respectively:

- (34) "In a frame of mahogany, neatly worked, was a board with a half circle in it, over which another board fitted. Above was a heavy ax, which fell--**you know how**. It was held up by a rope, and when this rope was untied, or cut, the steel fell. *Sterne 1759*
- (35) "Speak quickly," said Matilda; "the morning dawns apace: should the labourers come into the fields and perceive us--What wouldst thou ask?"
"I know not how, I know not if I dare," said the Young stranger, faltering; "yet the humanity with which you have spoken to me emboldens--Lady! dare I trust you?"
Walpole 1764
- (36) HARDCASTLE. O no, sir, none in the least; **yet I don't know how**; our Bridget, the cook-maid, is not very communicative upon these occasions. Should we send for her, she might scold us all out of the house.
Goldsmith 1773

These short ellipted clauses with *how* are placed between commas, semi-colons or before full stops. Nevertheless, even secondary boundary marks can signal the special meaning and illocutionary force of the embedded clauses much more directly. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) point out that commas, semicolons, and colons mark boundaries within a sentence, particularly matrix sentences, and hence can be regarded as secondary boundary marks.

In summary, Leech (1989: 417) states that “shortened sentences are useful because they save words; the omitted words are not needed because they repeat what has been said before.” This particular response (exemplified in Table 5.12) is used sparingly since only seven out of nineteen writers (between 1621 and 1800) were found to implement such ellipted constructions.

5.1.7. Closing remarks

It is significant to clarify the domain of punctuation with respect to the size of the unit to which the punctuation applies. In terms of the written material in which the successive clauses are joined together in the speakers’ statements, the ordinary full stop or exclamation mark may take over the function of the statement thus altering the style (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). With respect to the examples selected between 1621 and 1800 both light and heavy punctuation styles have been found. Exclamative clauses that are independent frequently have an exclamation mark at the end, while content clauses embedded in matrix sentences can be subdivided by commas, semicolons or hyphens, which is characteristic of heavy punctuation styles. It is important to note that “an orthographic sentence is a unit of writing that begins with a capital letter” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1728), but in the selected material *how* is preceded by interjections, such as *Oh*, *Oh!*, *O*, or *Ah*, after which a capital letter is not found even if the *how*-word begins the exclamation.

5.2. LModE 1800 – 1950

In this section I will discuss the mechanisms that continue to influence gradual language change with respect to *how*-exclamations. The detailed diachronic analysis of the extremely rich language data in the preceding sections has shown a wide range of changes in the English language. Another significant development is the extension, reduction, or omission of elements that accompany the *how*-word which, in turn, continues to function not only as an interrogative pronoun in *wh*-questions, but also as an item in initial position of the *how*-exclamations in present-day English.

Unlike in the preceding sections, the number of occurrences of *how* is not very high as there are only 2245 instances after 1800, in comparison to 2815 examples prior to 1800. The situation is entirely different when taking into consideration *how*-exclamations. There are as many as 566 examples of this phenomenon (25.2%), while there are only 390 instances prior

to 1800. It should be noted that according to the quantitative analysis the number of structures with the *how*-phrase having an exclamatory function decreases (208 examples (24.5%) after 1800 and only 162 instances (19.9%) after 1900). Table 5.13 illustrates the detailed quantitative analysis of the selected novels published between 1800 and 1950.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>how</i> -phrases in the novels | The number of <i>how</i> which functions as an exclamation |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1800 – 1850 | 848 | 208 (24.5%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 582 | 196 (33.7%) |
| 1900 – 1950 | 815 | 162 (19.9%) |
| Total | <u>2245</u> | <u>566</u> (25.2%) |

Table 5.13
Quantitative comparison of selected *how*-elements between 1800 and 1950

Similarly, the wide range of the *how*-exclamations is divided into six subgroups in which the linear order must be examined more precisely. Thus it may be claimed that the following sentences all share the same conditions both in the 19th and 20th centuries. The types of sentences thus employed are exemplified in Table 5.14.

| <i>How</i> -exclamations | 1800 - 1850 | 1850 - 1900 | 1900 - 1950 |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| A. acts as intensifier of an adjective/adverb (<i>How</i> + <i>adj/adv</i> + <i>S+V/V+S</i>) | 64+21medial (43%) | 70+13medial (45%) | 37+7medial (27.5%) |
| B. acts as intensifier of a clause (<i>How</i> + <i>clause /declarative or interrogative/</i>) as a pushdown element | 43 (22%) | 24 (13%) | 31 (19.4%) |
| C. with intensive additions (as an elliptical variation <i>How</i> + <i>intensifying addition</i>) | 30 (15.1%) | 33 (18%) | 64 (40%) |
| D. as an ellipted and independent clause functioning as interjection (totally independent <i>How!</i>) + <i>reduced by ellipsis</i> | 10 (5%) | 5 (2.7%) | 7 (4.4%) |
| E. as subordinate exclamative clause | 24 (12.1%) | 39 (21.2%) | 14 (8.75%) |
| F. final position (end-focus) | 7 (3.5%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |

Table 5.14
Frequency data of six exclamative functions of the *how*-word from 1800 to 1950

Taking into consideration the details of the construction of *how*-exclamations, it is worth noticing that it constitutes good *prima facie* evidence as the *how*-word occurs in direct exclamations in the prominent initial position as well as when it is moved to mid-position in the matrix sentence in the 19th and 20th centuries. At first glance, a similar division (Functions A-F in Table 5.14) can be made to discuss distributional patterns, i.e. canonical and non-

canonical, which are associated with exclamatory functions performed by *how* that acts as an ‘intensifier of an adjective, adverb, or clause’ (Rosengren 1997: 154).

It seems best in such cases to take into account the general pattern, canonical structure (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), of the *how*-exclamative sentence, i.e. *how+adv/adj+S+V*, as discussed in the following section.

5.2.1. Initial position – as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb

In the discussion of *how* functioning as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb, there are a fairly large number of examples in present-day English prose selected by the search program. There are 97 canonical clauses out of 212 instances (46%) with the *how*-phrase functioning as an exclamation involving which subject-verb organisation, as in (37) - (40), and 23 examples (11%) that involve subject-auxiliary inversion, as in (37). Table 5.15 illustrates the sudden drop of occurrences without subject-verb inversion after 1900 (97 examples), and the gradual decrease of clauses with subject-verb inversion after 1850 (from 17 instances (20%) to merely two examples (4.5%)).

| Periodisation | <i>How+adj/adv+S+V</i> | <i>How+adj/adv+V+S</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 23 (27.1%) | 17 (20%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 49 (59%) | 4 (4.8%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 25 (57%) | 2 (4.5%) |
| Total | <u>97</u> (46%) | <u>23</u> (11%) |

Table 5.15

Frequency data of exclamative *how* functioning as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb

The examples below provide a set of canonical, or basic, constructions found in the data:

- (37) "**How strange this is!** what can be the meaning of it! But the whole of their behaviour to each other has been unaccountable! **How cold, how composed were their last adieus! How languid their conversation the last evening of their being together!**

Austen 1811

- (38) 'Poor thing! I hope I covered her little NAIVETE properly? **How NEW she must be!**'

Galt 1820-1821

- (39) "**Ah! how little you know of him!** Would you argue that there is neither man nor spirit endowed with so much foresight as to deduce natural conclusions from previous actions and incidents but the devil?

Hogg 1824

- (40) "**How preposterously you talk, my dear friend!**" said he. "These people are your greatest enemies; they would rejoice to see you annihilated. "

Hogg 1824

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1734) “exclamation marks are often used with sentences whose form departs from the major main clause constructions.” With declaratives or interrogatives, as in (37) or (40), the exclamation mark indicates that the content is regarded as remarkable or sensational, and requires or merits special noting. For this reason, it is worth documenting that there are 84 declarative and only 18 interrogative clause types that have an exclamation mark at the end (total number 120).

It must be emphasised, however, that the plain form may be followed by the infinitival construction, as in (41):

- (41) "I long to present you to my father," cried he. "When I tell him who you are, of your kindness to me, how rejoiced will he be! **How happy, how proud to have you his guest; to show the grandson of the Palatine of Masovia the warm gratitude of a Briton's heart!**

Porter 1845

Moreover, exclamative *how*-clauses become structurally different, i.e. are longer, as they are followed by a range of constructions containing prepositional complements, or other coordinate clauses, time clauses, *if*-clauses, *to*-clauses, or *that*-clauses. Compare, for example:

- (42) ‘How fortunate I am,’ cried Lord Colambre, ‘**to have arrived just in time to tell you, my dear father, before you put your signature to these papers, before you conclude this bargain, all I know, all I have seen, of that man!**’

Galt 1820-1821

- (43) The worthy father observed me, and inquired the cause, when I answered as follows: “How dreadful the thought, **that I have been going daily in company and fellowship with one whose name is written on the red-letter side of the book of life; whose body and soul have been, from all eternity, consigned over to everlasting destruction, and to whom the blood of the atonement can never, never reach!** Father, this is an awful thing, and beyond my comprehension.”

Hogg 1824

- (44) “**Oh, how hard it is to understand a _man!_ they _are_ so impracticable with their justice and things.**

Reade 1863

Declarative clauses (see Table 5.14; 43 examples after 1800) are sporadically used at the beginning of the 20th century as there are only nine selected instances, while at the beginning of the 19th century there are relatively more - 17 examples. Conversely, the structure involving subject-auxiliary inversion with attached complements disappears gradually as there are only 8 examples in the data. Consider Table 5.16 for more details:

| Periodisation | <i>How+adj/adv+S+V+clause</i> | <i>How+adj/adv+V+S+clause</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 17 (20%) | 7 (8.2%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 17 (20.5%) | 0 (0%) |
| 1900 – 1950 | 9 (20%) | 1 (2.8%) |
| Total | <u>43</u> (20.3%) | <u>8</u> (3.8%) |

Table 5.16

Frequency data of exclamative *how* functioning as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb followed by the pattern *S+V/V+S + clause* after 1800

The complements that follow the canonical *how*-exclamative include a wide range of constructions containing NPs, PPs or different types of clauses which can be distinguished, as in (42) - (43). The illocutionary force is typically associated with exclamative clauses as the syntactic categories are marked with an exclamation mark (i.e. there are 12 instances after 1800, and only five instances after 1850 and 1900 respectively) at the end. Clearly, however, a sentence may be preceded by a wide range of intensifying additions, such as interjections, vocatives, titles, endearments, etc., which causes asymmetry at the left of the matrix sentence. In this respect, compare the following examples depicting rhetorical questions *Poor Saladin! how glad I shall be to see thee!*, or *Oh, how much have I to bless Heaven for in that holy place!* in Porter, are most illustrative. From 1850 onwards, there are more similar exclamative constructions in which *delimiting commas* are seen: *My God, Harry, how I worship her!*, or *My God! how mad I was to love you!*, in Wilde.

As for position, the canonical clause with *how* fronted may be embedded within the complex sentence. As a result, illocutionary force and the status of an exclamative clause are not marked directly. Such cases are discussed in the later sections.

5.2.1.1. *The rightward wh-movement in complex sentences*

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, *how*-exclamations could be embedded within a matrix sentence. With declaratives, as in (44), the matrix sentence is terminated by a full stop. Even without an exclamation mark, however, some adverbials (e.g. *amazing, strange*) convey that there is something remarkable about the situation. The tendency to have optional adjectives and/or adverbs is still observed after 1900, as in (45) and (46), as shown below.

(44) I have known a great deal of the trouble of annuities; for my mother was clogged with the payment of three to old superannuated servants by my father's will, and it is amazing **how disagreeable she found it**.
Austen 1811

(45) 'Isn't it an amazing thing,' cried Gudrun, '**how strong the temptation is, not to!**' They both laughed, looking at each other. In their hearts they were frightened.

Lawrence 1920

- (46) 'Isn't it strange,' she said, suddenly putting her hand on his arm, with a loving impulse, **'how we always talk like this!** I suppose we do love each other, in some way.'

Lawrence 1920

Nevertheless, the omission of certain lexical items from the structures following the canonical *how*-phrases does not affect the illocutionary force as there are a number of additional contextual parameters (Levinson 1985). So the omission is not defensible⁷⁵. The point here is that mechanisms of grammaticalisation are evident in most linguistic processes since there is still a tendency to face structures with rare deviations from SVO in Romantic, Victorian and Edwardian prose. Here it should be noted that the tendency to SVO order is relatively high after 1800⁷⁶. Consider Table 5.17:

| Periodisation | <i>how</i> +(adj/adv)+(S+V) | <i>how</i> +(adj/adv)+(V+S) |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 12 (14%) | 8 (9%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 11 (13%) | 2 (2.4%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 7 (16%) | 0 (0%) |
| Total | <u>30</u> (14%) | <u>10</u> (4.7%) |

Table 5.17

**Frequency data of the internal structure (adj/adv)+(S+V/V+S)
of the *how*-exclamative clause**

It is observable in the data that right-dislocated exclamations with fronted *how* appear to take the form of rhetorical questions, as in (47) and (48):

- (47) "And there will be all sorts of May-games, and there will be prizes for archery, and there will be the knight's ale, and the foresters' venison, and there will be Kit Scrapesqueak with his fiddle, and little Tom Whistlerap with his fife and tabor, and Sam Trumtwang with his harp, and Peter Muggledrone with his bagpipe, and **how I shall dance with Will Whitethorn!**"

Peacock 1822

- (48) 'It will not do much good, I am afraid,' said I, 'but I will own **how wrong I did**; I don't mean wrong in the way of sin, but in the way of judgment. Holdsworth told me just before he went that he loved Phillis, and hoped to make her his wife, and I told her.'

Gaskell 1865

Concentrating here on the syntactic components, there are sporadic strings such as the one in (49), which are specified by the following pattern *how+adj +a +NP+V+S*.

⁷⁵ This idea has also been reflected by Channell (1994) who suggests that oral communication involves the hearer's massive deletion of elements which are supplied by the speaker.

⁷⁶ Welna (2003) points out that the late 17th and 18th centuries dictionaries place a lot of emphasis on the standardisation of the English grammar. He adds that "a long period of social and political stability (since 1689 onwards) had also exerted its impact on the activities of the grammarians who made attempts at regularizing and purifying the language as well as establishing the spoken standard" (2003: 53).

- (49) "Our dear Willoughby is now some miles from Barton, Elinor," said she, as she sat down to work,
"and **with how heavy a heart does he travel?**"

Austen 1811

It must be stated here that the above structure is not a canonical form, yet Leech (1989: 141-436) introduces the principle that "exclamations are sometimes whole sentences which contain one of these words: *what, how, such, so*." He states that *how* can be replaced with *so* which with an adjective/adverb moves to the front of a clause expressing surprise in which the meaning is more emphatic. Moreover, Channell (1994) adds that the grammar of English allows speakers to tailor their own patterns which are in turn implemented into the utterances.

A further observation concerns the most frequently occurring intensifying expressions, - interjections, modifiers and suffixed complements. Similarly to EModE/LModE, the search program selected complex structures that can be preceded by *and* or *but*. Then, moving towards the end of the syntactic organisation, it should be emphasised that the analysed structures are marked by an exclamation mark, which reinforces both the speaker's and hearer's feelings. There are only eight syntactic strings finished with a full stop and one example terminated with a question mark, which, in the field of grammaticalisation, represents a *directional change* of declarative or interrogative moods towards the exclamative one (McMahon 1994: 161).

Finally, turning to the recurring components such as adjectives/adverbs that function as amplifiers, there are only five *how*-phrases that are accompanied by these markers, e.g. *how great, how delightful, how brightly, how proud, how strong, how thankful*; while the others that have been selected function as downtoners (i.e. to express non-positive emotional state such as surprise, criticism, anger, etc.): *how disagreeable, how heavy, how blindly, how stupid, how very silly, how wrong, how difficult*, etc. What is more, Traugott (1982: 248) suggests that expressive components keep the speaker's and hearer's interaction coherent. Having the speaker's and hearer's feelings about the situation or relationship in mind, the selected *how*-phrases are immediately accompanied by interjections like *Ah, O, Oh!, oh*; yet, after 1900, they totally disappear.

In later sections, I will discuss the speakers' attitudes that can be reflected more or less directly in the declarative or interrogative clauses that demonstrate the exclamatory function of *how*.

5.2.2. Initial position – as an intensifier of a clause

Lightfoot (1979: 120) proposes that “complexity, opacity or exceptionality may build up in a grammar across time, perhaps through such factors as foreign influence or speakers’ attempts to be expressive.” One of the syntactic phenomena is word order in Old English which was predominantly VO in main clauses and OV in subordinate clauses. However, in Modern English SVO is universal (McMahon 1994: 132, Roberts 2007: 175). By the 18th century the operator is normally an auxiliary in all discourse contexts (Berk 1999: 158). Yet, the presence of interrogative questions makes speakers think about movements in constructing a question (Berk 1999: 14). The data from 1800 to 1950 has provided a mixture of SVO and VSO structures right up to the early 20th century, which is depicted in Table 5.18.

| Periodisation | <i>How</i> +clause (S+V) | <i>How</i> +clause (V+S) |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 13 (30%) | 11 (25.6%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 12 (50%) | 8 (33%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 7 (22.6%) | 13 (42%) |
| Total | <u>32</u> (33%) | <u>32</u> (33%) |

Table 5.18

Frequency data of the *how*-word that functions as an intensifier of a clause with a word order is S+V/V+S from 1800 to 1950

The gradual shift of SOV to SVO structures is manifested in the linguistic organisations in examples (50) – (53):

- (50) Lascelles yawned. "**Lord bless me, ladies, how you quarrel!** You will disturb Monsieur?"
Porter 1845
- (51) "A curse!" reiterated Thaddeus. "**How is this!**--what have I done, to deserve such hatred from your father?"
Porter 1845
- (52) "How charming it will be," said Charlotte, "when he is in Parliament!--won't it? **How I shall laugh!**"
Austen 1811
- (53) '**How does your business prosper!** I hope as well as mine.'
Galt 1820-1821

The main issue is to illustrate how the emotional colouring arises in the structures in which *how* is not followed by any emotive adjectives or adverbs. Nevertheless, the illocutionary force is observable in simple clauses that appear to be next-to-right complements. Bringing together some of the interactions between syntax and pragmatics, (50) - (53) illustrate the syntactic units which, in fact, have only two formal models, i.e. declarative or interrogative mood, but function as exclamative sentence-types. Here, the distribution of

how is restricted to the prominent initial position; yet, as in (50) the *how*-phrase can be preceded by some socially deictic items or referent honorifics such as *ladies* as well as intensifying expressions like *Lord bless me*.

It is essential to distinguish that there is a logical progression through the selected material in the sense that SVO constructions gradually become more frequent between 1800 and 1950. The obsolescence of linguistic categories such as interrogative attached to *how* seems to be clear if the quantitative analysis (16 instances of SVO and 18 examples of VSO) in Table 5.19 is taken into account. Nevertheless, the search program found no examples with inverted structures in the selected novels published in the late 19th century.

| Periodisation | <i>How</i> +clause (S+V)+clause | <i>How</i> +clause (V+S)+clause |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 7 (16.3%) | 12 (28%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 4 (17%) | 0 (0%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 5 (16%) | 6 (19%) |
| Total | <u>16</u> (16%) | <u>18</u> (18.4%) |

Table 5.19

**Frequency data of the *how*-word that functions as an intensifier
of a clause with S+V/V+S word order from 1800 to 1950**

Even though the longish syntactic structures are not very common after 1800, it is essential to recognise the importance of complex sentences in which *how* is still in its prominent initial position, yet without any adverbial modifiers accompanying the *wh*-form, thus making the whole structure more emphatic. This type of distributional pattern associated with the exclamatory function of *how* is the type of complex sentences illustrated by the examples as in (54) and (56). It is worth noticing that there are no similar structures, particularly with SVO form, in the selected novels written by Porter, Scott, Peacock, Wilde, Gaskell, Richardson, Christie, and Starchey

By contrast, a closer examination of *how*-exclamative structures shows that there are only a limited number of intensifying additions. In the post-1800 novels, for example, the search program selected only expressions such as *Lord!* and *Poor Soul!*, after 1850 only a set of interjections, e.g. *Oh*, *Oh!*, and *Ah*, and no syntactic structures which are marked emphatically after 1900. For example:

- (54) “**Oh,**” cried Marianne, “with what transporting sensation have I formerly seen them fall! **How have I delighted, as I walked, to see them driven in showers about me by the wind!**”
Austen 1811
- (55) ‘**How, oh how, my dear Fergus, can you talk of such things at such a moment!**’
Scott 1814

- (56) --'And how it went, when sold!--but no matter,' said Finnucan; 'it's all alike.--It's the back way into the yard, I'll take you, I suppose. '

Galt 1820-1821

The above excerpts illustrate well the possible variations in the data. An important point to recall in this context is that not only simple clauses such as *How* +S+ *V* +O / *How* +*V*+*S*+*O*, but complex sentences are also sporadically marked with intensifying additions, such as interjections, vocatives, titles, endearments, etc. Upon examining my data, I found that only Mansfield and Forster inserted the expletive *on earth*, which is a very common form that accompanies *what*-phrases. Consider the examples (57) – (58):

- (57) "Come, let's be starting," repeated her host. "**How on earth** did you know that my chauffeur was called Crane?"
Forster 1910

- (58) "Now your mother--she's firm--she's capable. Does what she's told with a fund of sympathy. Look at these shops we're passing--they're festering sores. **How on earth** this government can tolerate--"
Mansfield 1911

Even if the *how*-element occurs without attached adjectives or adverbs, other linguistic categories convey the meaning. For example, verbs *How have I delighted* in Austen, *How romantic they were! And how Albert enjoyed them too!* in Strachey, *How I envy him!*, or *But - how I hate her somewhere!* in Lawrence, exclamatives such as in Christie *How he could be such a fool beats me!*, or in Forster *How can you say such dreadful things!* It has been possible to single out a group of six interjections, such as *Oh, Oh!, Ah, Ah!*, representing the syntactic strings with the inverted order of S and V, in which the emphatic forms preface the whole answer or response.

In the next section, it will be noted that the speaker's answers or responses may take the minimal form of *how+adjective/adverb* or *how+reduced structures*.

5.2.3. Initial position – reduced structure/verbless clauses

In focusing on these elliptical structural units, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1540) note that “a range of grammatical items, such as personal pronouns and auxiliaries, can be omitted from the beginning of a main clause in casual style”⁷⁷. In terms of the exclamative interrogative clause the subject and auxiliaries are omitted, but this type of anaphoric

⁷⁷ According to Downing and Locke (1992: 7) “the speaker organises the content of the clause in order to establish the point of departure of the clausal message and to highlight that constituent or a group of constituents which are presented as new information”; that is, in the above data AdjP or AdvP are employed to make the atmosphere more emotive.

reduction is common since the segment that is ellipted can be anaphorically retrievable as in (59) – (62):

- (59) "Oh! dear, how beautiful these are! Well! **how delightful!** Do but look, mama, **how sweet!** I declare they are quite charming; I could look at them for ever." Austen 1811
- (60) "**How very odd!**" said she, in a low and disappointed
"**How odd, indeed!**" repeated Elinor within herself, Austen 1811
- (61) 'Is this my mother?--**How altered!**' Galt 1820-1821
- (62) '**How pretty!--how elegant!** Now that quite suits my TEESTE!' Galt 1820-1821

Similarly to reduced constructions with exclamative *how*-clauses after 1800, special emotive colouring is gained as there are vocatives which are used only sporadically after 1800. These devices of emotive colouring, in their optionality and freedom of position, can take the initial position, left to the *wh*-element, e.g. *Bertha, how charged!* in Mansfield, *Oh, Evie, how too impossibly sweet!* in Forster, or the final position, right to the *wh*-element, e.g. *How wonderful, Basil!* in Wilde. Other modifiers prefixed to the *how*-phrase preceding the ellipted structure are iteratively used, such as interjections *Oh!*, *Well!*, *Ach*, *Na*, or *Huh!*.

Apart from the emphasis given by information focusing, the language provides means for giving a unit purely emotive emphasis (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1414). It should be noted that reinforcement for purposes of emphasis is merely implemented in verbless constructions. The search program gave only two examples of expletives, such as *But how on earth-* - in Forster (example (60)), and *Good heavens! how hard for her!* in Gaskell.

In responses, the illocutionary force in more complex structures in which the *how*-element reduced to a suffixed adjective, adverb, or adverb of degree preceding an adjective, can be gained by following *to*-clauses, *if*-clauses, or a noun phrase, as in (63) – (66):

- (63) "A mad girl, a mad girl," said the little friar.
"**How a mad girl!**" said brother Michael. "Has she not beauty, grace, wit, sense, discretion, dexterity, learning, and valour?" Peacock 1822
- (64) Already egotism had whispered Hardie, "**How lucky if he should die!**" Reade 1863
- (65) "Oh, hooray!" said Margaret, writing it. "**How very kind of you to start with me!**" Forster 1910
- (66) "But **how on earth--**"
"Don't begin how on earthing. 'I know what I know,' she kept repeating, not uncivilly, but with extreme gloom. Forster 1910

It is important to note some of the observable relations between conversational and linguistic structures. A thorough study of emotive expressions can involve a scope of adverbs that change the strength of adjectives, e.g. *How charmingly charitable, my dear friend!* in

Porter, *Oh! how infinitely superior!* in Austen, *How perfectly magnificent.* in Richardson, *How sweet, how unfortunate!*, *Oh, how shocking!*, *How sad!*, *Oh how cruel!* in Reade, *How extremely dangerous.* in Mansfield, or *How perfectly extraordinary!* in Forster.

The analysis has covered this in detail and Table 5.20 illustrates the number of short structures (96 examples of *how+adjective/adverb*) and *how*-phrases with a variety of reduced structures (only 29 instances).

| Periodisation | <i>How+adj/adv</i> | <i>How+reduced structure</i> (verbless clause; adj/adv+to; adj+NP) |
|------------------|--------------------|---|
| 1800 – 1850 (30) | 21 | 4 |
| 1850 – 1900 (33) | 23 | 10 |
| 1900 – 1950 (64) | 52 | 15 |
| Total | <u>96</u> | <u>29</u> |

Table 5.20

Frequency data of the *how* verbless clauses and the *how*-word followed by non-clausal structures between 1800 and 1950

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1541) point out that “open interrogative clauses can be reduced to the interrogative phrase, i.e. *how*, or this phrase + a stranded preposition.” Nevertheless, radical ellipsis can reduce the structure to the *how*-phrase + emotive modifiers, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

5.2.4. Initial position – independent HOW

Reduced radically, the sentence may be recast to the independent *how*-element which has the right boundary superseded by an exclamation mark or a question mark. Having determined some of the central aspects of the concept of radically reduced structures, it is worth noticing that there are as many as 14 instances of *how* followed by a question mark, then only 4 *wh*-phrases with an exclamation mark⁷⁸ as shown in Table 5.21.

⁷⁸ Here it is worth emphasising the importance of punctuation in the reduced structures which can be claimed to be *marked off*. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1747) add that “punctuation cannot be regarded as a means of representing the prosodic properties of utterances, but there is no doubt that there is some significant degree of correlation between the use of punctuation” and the ellipted clause detached from the rest.

| Periodisation | <i>How+!</i> | <i>How+?</i> | <i>How+intensifying addition</i> (vocative/title) |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1800 – 1850 | 4 (40%) | 3 (30%) | 3 (10%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 0 (0%) | 5 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 0 (0%) | 6 (86%) | 1 (1.6%) |
| Total | <u>4</u> (18.2%) | <u>14</u> (64%) | <u>4</u> (3%) |

Table 5.21

**Frequency data of *how* functioning as an exclamation/interjection
with/without pragmatic modifiers from 1800 to 1950**

Simple examples (67) - (70) show that the reduced structures belong to the *gapping constructions*, with the exclamation or question marks indicating the place where material is missing (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1744). The effect of presenting the content as a separate unit of information helps to illustrate that the independent *how* functions as an interjection. One or two short simple constituents are found only in Scott, Galt, Reade, Craik, Gaskell, Mansfield, Forster and Lawrence. Some simple examples are seen in:

- (67) '**How!** answered Edward,' can you advise me to desert the expedition in which we are all embarked?'
Scott 1814
- (68) 'Neither, sir, shall you have; and you quit this house directly.'
'**How! how!**--my lord, how's this?'
Galt 1820-1821
- (69) "It was over at once."
"**How, Helen?**"
"I was still happy while I dressed, but as I came downstairs I got nervous, and when I went into the dining-room I knew it was no good. (...)"
Forster 1910
- (70) Finally I ran, and rooted out the Herr Professor from his room. "Fraulein Sonia has fainted," I said crossly.
"Du lieber Gott! Where? **How?**"
"Outside the hairdresser's shop in the Station Road."
Mansfield 1911

In this usage, the meaning and emotive colouring can be recoverable from context, particularly from verbs of saying, such as *cry*. For instance: *How! cried Elinor* in Austen, or *How? cried the countess* in Porter. It is possible to find the range of emphatic elements that are commonly delimited, i.e. a vocative in (69) *How, Helen?*, or *How, my Lord?* in Porter, which illustrates the speaker's feelings - such as surprise, amazement, anger, or disappointment. Syntactically, the independent *how* is still placed in its prominent initial position and functions as a reduced question since there are 14 instances limited with a question mark, and only four that are followed by an exclamation mark.

5.2.5. Non-initial position – subordinate exclamative clauses

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) add that sentence elements can be realised by linguistic structures of very different form. In terms of *how*-exclamations moved to the mid-position, a noun phrase may be an indeterminately long and complex structure with premodifiers realised chiefly by adjectives which in turn may be preceded by adverbs. However, the parts which need to be stressed or which seem to convey the greatest information are provided in brackets as in the data there are syntactic structures such as *how+S+V*, *how+adjective+S+V*, *how+adverb+adjective+S+V*, or *how+adjective+Article+noun+S+V* which occur in different numbers. Table 5.22 handles quantitative analysis of the linear order more precisely:

| Periodisation | <i>how+(adj/adv)+(S+V)</i> | <i>how+(adj/adv)+(V+S)</i> |
|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 23 (96%) | 1 (4.2%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 39 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 14 (100%) | 0 (0%) |
| Total | <u>76</u> (99%) | <u>1</u> (1%) |

Table 5.22

Frequency data of the *how*-exclamative clause appearing in a frame *how+(adj/adv)+(S+V/V+S)* as a content clause

Considering when and how the typical pattern of the exclamative *how*-clause is used as a canonical phrase, i.e. *how+adj/adv+S+V*, it is worth noticing that despite the fact that adjectives or adverbs are next-to-right optional elements, there are only several instances in which the *how*-word is immediately followed by a clause, which is seen in Table 5.23:

| Periodisation | <i>how+adj/adv</i> | <i>how+ declarative clause (S+V)</i> |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1800 – 1850 | 15 | 8 |
| 1850 – 1900 | 33 | 6 |
| 1900 - 1950 | 11 | 3 |
| Total | <u>59</u> | <u>17</u> |

Table 5.23

Frequency data of the *how*-exclamative clause appearing as an intensifier of *adj/adv* or a clause with subject – verb order

The diversity of actual usage is illustrated in (71) - (74):

- (71) "Well! what a delightful room this is! I never saw anything so charming! Only think, Mamma, **how it is improved since I was here last!** *Austen 1811*

- (72) "Mr. Constantine," replied Euphemia, with a second sigh. "Did you remark, Mary, **how gracefully he supported that sick old gentleman?**" *Porter 1845*
- (73) "I am my daughter's friend, but not your enemy; it is you who are too inexperienced to know **how delicate, how difficult, my duties are.**" *Reade 1863*
- (74) 'Ah!' said cousin Holman, 'you'll be spending a different kind of time next week to what you have done this! **I can see how busy you'll make yourself!** But if you don't take care you'll be ill again, and have to come back to our quiet ways of going on.' *Gaskell 1865*

The repeated *how*-phrase in (73), functions as the delimited constituent which is central in this construction. Here the commas mark both left and right boundaries of a subclausal constituent that is somewhat more central to the message making the whole utterance more emotive. In addition to those above, it appears that the speaker's responses demonstrate rhetorical questions, which are relatively declarative in linear order but exclamative in mood as they are occasionally marked with an exclamation mark. For instance: *How impetuous I am (...), how good I will be (...), how calm I am (...)* in Reade, or *how wicked I am growing* in Craik, or *You know how sensitive I am to (...)*, in Mansfield, or *how distressed I am at this most (...)*, in Christie, or *I cannot say (...), how low, how sad I feel when I think (...), or you knew how happy, how blessed I feel (...)*, in Strachey. This is illustrated in examples (75) - (77):

- (75) "Oh, my dear Miss Dashwood, " said Mrs. Palmer soon afterwards, "I have got such a favour to ask of you and your sister. Will you come and spend some time at Cleveland this Christmas? Now, pray do, -- and come while the Westons are with us. You cannot think **how happy I shall be!** It will be quite delightful!--My love," applying to her husband, "don't you long to have the Miss Dashwoods come to Cleveland?" *Austen 1811*
- (76) "I was saying," he answered, taking both her hands and looking down into her bright, unshrinking eyes, "I was saying, **how dearly I loved your sister Muriel.**" *Craik 1857*
- (77) You can understand **how joyful I feel at saving their fortune from land-sharks and sea-sharks,** and landing it safe in an honest man's hands like you and your father before you." *Reade 1863*

A more detailed examination of this specific area of emphatic language use and embedded exclamative *how*-clauses appears to show an infrequent pattern of parallel structures, that is *how + adj + a + thing + S + V* or *how + conjoined adjs + a + thing + S + V*, which is depicted in (78):

- (78) "Your father was the soul of honour; your son loathed fraud and injustice from his cradle; you stand between two generations of Hardies, and belong to neither; do but reflect one moment **how bright a thing honour is, how short and uncertain a thing life is, how sure a thing retribution is,** in this world or the next: it is your guardian angel that kneels before you now, and not your son: oh, for Christ's sake, for my mother's sake, listen to my last appeal. You don't know me: I cannot compound with injustice. Pity me, pity her I love, pity yourself!" *Reade 1863*

The above delimited exclamative *how*-clauses may be compared to other exclamations with *so*-phrase (Leech 1989). Instead of *how bright a thing* the structure could be reorganised to represent a new type of exclamation *so bright a thing*. The only occurrence of such structures raises the possibility that these constructions could be to some extent grammatical. There is a significant correlation between exclamative and imperative clauses (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Huddleston and Pullum claim that an exclamatory meaning can be added to any of the categories of use (i.e. exclamative clauses as well as imperative clauses), the characteristics of which enforce conventional ways of expressing requests, directives, commands, etc. The results for late nineteenth-century prose reveal several constructions in which the first clause is imperative and the second is the *how*-exclamative, e.g. *Do take warning by me; see how impetuous I am* in Reade, or *Look at that one, by the willow-tree—how savagely it pours!* and *Take care, sir, take care how you insult my WIFE!* in Craik. The two illocutionary forces (expressed by quite different linguistic devices) are used sporadically as there are only 8 (out of 76 instances) examples after 1850. In the light of imperatives that are normally restricted to main clauses (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), it is possible to find infinitivals that are embedded, on the one hand, and function as complement of the *how*-element in situ⁷⁹ - as illustrated in (79):

(79) 'That's my sweet Grace!' cried Lady Clonbrony. 'Oh! she knows **how to manage these men--not one of them can resist her!**'

Galt 1820-1821

It is essential to distinguish another kind of usage of *how* which commonly functions as a degree modifier in exclamatives. That is, in terms of amplifiers, e.g. *how delighted, how clear, how beautifully, how goud, how glad, how happy, how gracefully*, their numbers increase after 1800, and decrease after 1850 and by the late 19th century there are more downtoners, such as *how sick, how short and uncertain, how hungry, how foolish, how strange*.

Finally, the pragmatic functions of honorifics encode a fine gradation between the relative ranks of speakers and hearers (Levinson 1985). Having reviewed the data it can be noted that there are sporadic instances of social deixis, e.g. *My dear sister, sir, mother, juntemen, dear brother, Guy*, etc. The general emphatic effect can be achieved by utilising

⁷⁹ According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 854-855) "infinitivals should not be treated as subordinate imperatives since they are of somewhat marginal grammaticality, and the internal structure remains like that of a main clause."

interjections that are next-to-left intensifiers of *how*; yet it appears that *Oh, Oh!, Ah!, Ah,* are the only marginal usage or even ignored after 1900.

5.2.6. Final position – end-focus

As a final issue, I will attempt to show that the prominent initial position of *how* may be changed and the exclamative *how*-clause can be reduced to the interrogative phrase (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). What is more, this constituent clause is occasionally moved to more distant position, i.e. mid or final position. Within the selected complex sentences in which the *how*-phrase is a content clause, *how* has an exclamatory function and takes the final position, as in (80) - (81):

(80) --Lud a mercy! Miss Nugent, I'm sure your motions is sudden enough; and your dress behind is all, I'm sure, **I can't tell how.**!--'Oh, never mind,' said the young lady, escaping from her; *Galt 1820-1821*

(81) I see you have heard it, then --but I am sure **I don't know how**; for it was only decided the day I left Buxton. *Galt 1820-1821*

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1542) points out that “this type of anaphoric reduction is also common in subordinate interrogatives which are sometimes referred to in formal grammar as ‘sluicing’.” Then taking into account the examples in Table 5.22, it can be said that utterances with fronted *how* render *preference organisation* (Levinson 1985: 307) since the search program found only 7 instances with finally placed *how* in present-day English prose after 1800. Consider Table 5.24:

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences of <i>how</i> placed in final position | Examples |
|---------------|--|---|
| 1800 – 1850 | 7 | <i>You know how?; I don't know how; ,did not know how, Lord knows how! ; God knows how; I can't tell how.</i> |
| 1850 – 1900 | 0 | - |
| 1900 – 1950 | 0 | - |
| Total | 7 | |

Table 5.24
Frequency data of *how* appearing sentence-finally after 1800

In this final section of the chapter we review the minor clause types which syntactically consist of *how* but placed in final position. Note that the *how*-phrase has more than one possible location and it can be said that it undergoes *right movement* in the sentence in which it occurs (Wardhaugh 1995).

5.2.7. Closing remarks

In sections 5.2. – 5.2.6. I have concentrated on the format for exclamative *how* and the various syntactic ways in which it performs its exclamatory function. The essential notion is that of the markedness convention in typical patterns of the *how*-phrases in which *how* is followed by adjectives or adverbs, and then in turn a declarative clause or clause fragments (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). The next-to-right and next-to-left constituents were observed within the complex sentences in which the exclamative *how* moves rightwards as a content exclamative clause. The observed gradualness of ‘ongoing changes’ provides an account of the various length of the *how*-exclamatives (i.e. *how+(adj/adv)+(S+V)+(O)*) which appear to illustrate a different set of constructions from the canonical pattern. It must be emphasised that the typical patterns, in which *how* is fronted, are employed more frequently as there are 333 instances, while the search program found merely 76 constructions with the embedded exclamative *how* and only 7 examples with the *how*-word in final position. As for syntactic organisation, there are only sporadic instances of totally independent *how*-elements that function as interjections (22 out of 566) after 1800.

Clearly, after a reanalysis of next-to-right modifiers, the *how*-phrase sporadically represents a structural simplification, i.e. *how+S+V/V+S*, with the absence of adjectives/adverbs. Taking into account the quantitative analysis, it must be observed that the next-to-right structures with subject-verb order or auxiliary verb-subject inversion are not favoured by speakers as in the corpus there are only 64 (11%) out of the 599 exclamative structures in question.

5.3. Exclamative HOW 1650 – 1950 - summary

In this section I focus on semanto-syntactic changes involving the marking of exclamatory and interjectional function of *how* in the history of English, particularly from 1650 to 1950. The most important observations are that “where there is synchronic variation in each 50-year period from 1650 to 1950 outlined in my dissertation, there is a diachronic change” (Roberts 2007: 152). It is now time to review the nature of syntagmatic relations not only between a string of constituents employed in the *how*-phrase (i.e. *How+adj/adv+S+V*), but also the whole exclamative *how*-clause that moves rightwards to function as an embedded content clause within a complex sentence. As a result, the *how*-phrase may be found at the absolute beginning of a sentence, but also may be shifted to the sentence-medial position or even

placed sentence-finally to function as an end-focus. Concerning this distributional variation, the observed gradualness over the time course reveals many *grammaticalisation cycles* (Roberts 2007: 143) in which “we can observe an interesting series of apparently related changes.” In order to understand the change that converted an interrogative pronoun into an exclamative item or an element that functions as an interjection, or, as a result, a *how*-question into a *how*-exclamation, we need to take a closer look at the internal structure of the canonical pattern, that is *how+adj/adv+S+V*, particularly appearing or disappearing adjectives and adverbs as well as the subject-verb organisation. Then the contextual environment is a crucial element of this change, so even verbs of speaking are, in a certain respect, interesting for our conception of emotive colouring. We see then that English emphatic forms such as honorifics, vocatives, endearments, interjections, etc. may affect the illocutionary force of speaker’s utterance.

5.3.1. Quantitative analysis

The central idea behind the following sections is that it is also useful to discuss quantitative analyses. The analysis provides supporting evidence to establish certain syntactic cycles that *wh*-phrases might have undergone over the course of time. For virtually all of these patterns which have been investigated in Chapter Six, I found 956 exclamative *hows* among the 5059 instances which occurred in the selected novels between 1650 and 1950. Indeed, over the centuries many of the conversions have become permanent; yet, as time passes, some forms wane in popularity. Viewed in detail, since the 19th century, the problem of *prescriptive* rules and *descriptive* rules is relatively visible in the material discussed, particularly with reference to the internal structure *How+adj/adv+S+V* in which the distinction between *S+V* and *V+S* was slowly eroding. The general issue of the gradualness has been discussed in more detail in the sections 5.2.1.-5.2.2.

Table 5.25 provides a summary of the occurrences of *how*.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>how</i> -words occurring in the novels | Occurrences of <i>how</i> that functions as an exclamation |
|---------------|---|--|
| 1650 - 1800 | 2814 | 390 (14%) |
| 1800 - 1950 | 2245 | 566 (25%) |
| Total | <u>5059</u> | <u>956</u> (19%) |

Table 5.25

Quantitative comparison of selected six exclamatory functions of the *how*-word

Table 5.25 shows a numerical representation of all the instances of *how* (in the left column) that were found in the selected novels between 1650 and 1950, and, in the right column, the number of occurrences of *how* functioning as an exclamation. From a comparison of the occurrence columns the results appear to be asymmetrical. There are as many as 956 items out of total 5059 (which is about 20%) throughout the entire 300-year period (see the results for *what* and *why*). The data of each 150-year period of investigation provides a further check on exclamative *how*. It is perhaps not surprising that some constituents are optional while others are obligatory as “in most cases every component of a language changes over time” (Pinker 1994: 402). Taking into account the exclamatory function of *how* it should be stated that from 1800 onwards the occurrences increased up to 566 contrary to the number of all *how*-elements found (i.e. there was a significant decrease from 2814 to 2245). In order to see the details, such as the canonical order within the *how*-phrase, the presence or absence of some describing words (i.e. adjectives/adverbs) as well as next-to-right structures that function as complements suffixed by means of different types of conjunctions the later sections will facilitate the data as well as closing remarks. As with the structures investigated in the previous chapters and sections, we may deduce some generalisations regarding the typical forms the *wh*-phrase may take according to the different types of emotional processes involved.

5.3.1.1. Syntactic analysis and exclamation marking strategies

The elaborated structures enable us to capture more accurately the distributional properties and an array of functional relationships between *how* and other pre- and post-modifiers. Thus, in the light of relationships, Lock (1996: 221) points out that “text can be explored by first considering what is the most usual word order, or more strictly, *order of constituents*, in

English and what are less usual word orders.” In section 5.3.1.2. I will distinguish between six importantly different types of functions that *how* has undergone to perform the exclamative mood. Table 5.26 summarises the most typical functions:

| The <i>how</i> -word – six exclamatory functions | 1650 – 1700 | 1700 – 1750 | 1750 – 1800 | 1800 – 1850 | 1850 – 1900 | 1900 – 1950 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| A. acts as intensifier of an adjective/adverb (<i>How+adj/adv+S+V/V+S</i>) | 11+11 (43%) | 62+12 (45%) | 28+5 (27%) | 64+21 (43%) | 70+13 (54%) | 37+7 (27.5%) |
| B. acts as intensifier of a clause (<i>How+clause /declarative or interrogative/</i>) as a pushdown element | 9 (18%) | 59 (36%) | 34 (28%) | 43 (22%) | 24 (16%) | 31 (19%) |
| C. with intensive additions (as an elliptical variation <i>How + intensifying addition</i>) | 6 (12%) | 9 (5.5%) | 14 (11.5%) | 30 (15%) | 33 (21%) | 64 (40%) |
| D. as an ellipted and independent clause functioning as interjection (totally independent <i>How!</i>) + <i>reduced by ellipsis</i> | 3 (6%) | 12 (7%) | 20 (16%) | 10 (5%) | 5 (3%) | 7 (4%) |
| E. as subordinate exclamative clause | 9 (18%) | 8 (5%) | 15 (12%) | 24 (12%) | 39 (25%) | 14 (9%) |
| F. final position (end-focus) | 2 (4%) | 2 (1%) | 6 (4.9%) | 7 (3.5%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |

Table 5.26
Frequency data of six exclamatory functions of the *how*-word

In order to capture the wide range of syntactic structures that can be frequently arranged in accordance with the *grammatical* rules established in Standard English (Pinker 1994: 370) it would be worth considering the spontaneous output, in which speakers can arrange a combination of words in a way that seems to be *ungrammatical* or *odd*. Diachronically speaking, the number of instances grow within first 50-year period in EModE, then in LModE they fluctuate, as depicted in Table 5.26 and in the charts below. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the numerical analysis in a graphic representation in which each function performed by *how* is labeled with Functions A-F respectively (see Table 5.26):

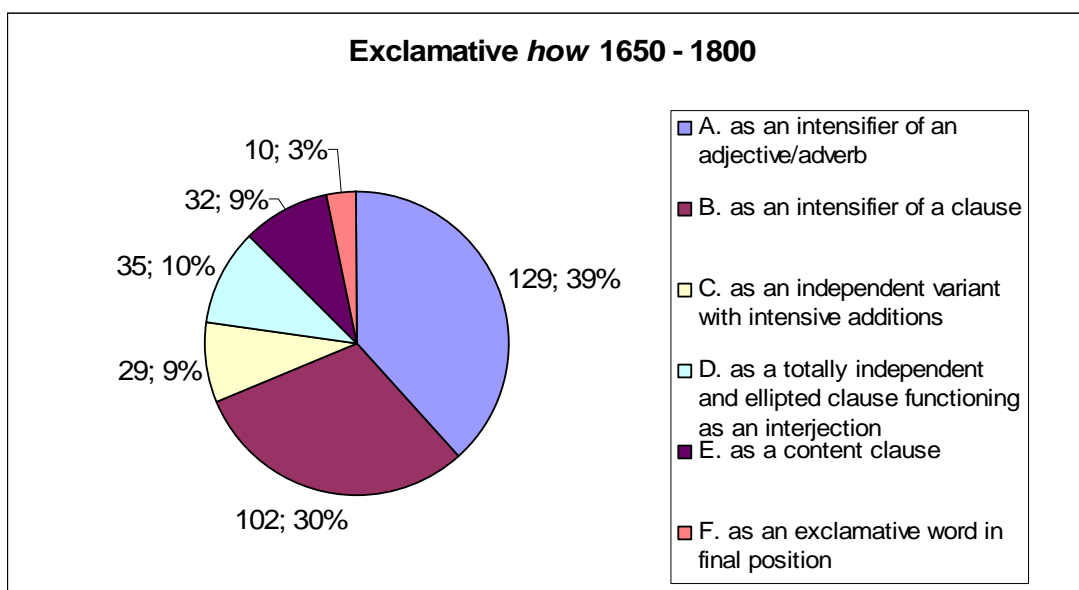


Figure 5.1

Frequency data of co-occurring six exclamatory functions of the *how*-word

According to Figure 5.1, in EModE and LModE, *how* acts (Function A) predominantly as an intensifier of an adjective/adverb (*How+adj/adv+S+V/V+S*) since there are 129 instances (39%) out of total 390. What is more, in the same Function A, the right-branching of complements and the right-movement of the *how*-phrase, its *canonical* pattern, cause that at the absolute beginning of the sentence there are 101 *how*-units, whereas the medial position is occupied by merely 28 phrases (see details in section 5.3.1.3.). There are other differences taking into account (Function A) and (Function B) (Table 6.26). Strictly speaking, *how* (Function B) acts as an intensifier of a clause (*How+S+V* or *How+V+S*), which means that there is a noticeable absence of adjectives and adverbs in the *how*-phrase. There are only 102 instances (B) out of a total 200 (51%). In terms of functions, Function C (29 instances), Function D (35 instances), Function E (32 instances), and Function F (only 10 examples) (Table 6.26), it is worth noticing that they play a less important role since they seem to cover 1/3 of all performed roles. Thus, each Function (A-F) undergoes some reduction, or some enhancing. Gradually, exclamative *how* is more or less adopted by every member of the linguistic community, which shows that virtually everything in language falls into systematic grammatical patterns, or odd and infrequent reduced forms. Historically speaking, some highlighted structures, in the 18th century, look very similar to those occurring in the 19th and 20th centuries as shown in Figure 5.2:

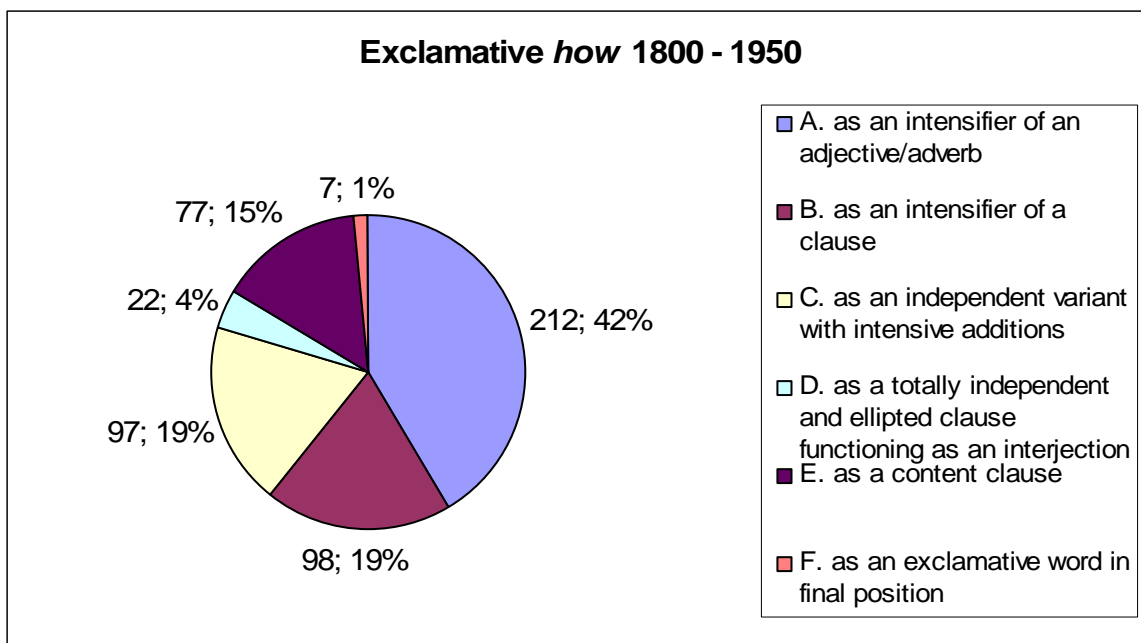


Figure 5.2

Frequency data of co-occurring six exclamatory functions of the *how*-word

Wekker and Haegeman (1993: 23) point out that “word order in English is fixed to a large extent, and if a given word order is disrupted the sentence may become less acceptable or even ungrammatical.” They add that the syntactic structures may be ordered “on a more-or-less descending scale of acceptability” (1993: 22), which is further specified in the next 150-period, that is from 1800 to 1950. Strictly mathematically, each of the strings, in accordance with A-F Functions, differs with respect to the number or types of words. If we precede in a similar way, the number of *hows* functioning as an intensifier of adjectives/adverbs (Function A) appear to double as there are 212 (42%) (see Figure 5.1). Contrary to Function A, considering Function B, it should be emphasised that this function is performed by nearly the same number of *hows*, as there are 98 instances (see 102 instances before 1800). However, a great asymmetry appears within reduced structures if Function C is considered. As for middle LModE there is significant growth. There are only 29 examples (9%) before 1800, while from the beginning of the 19th century the number grows to reach 97 (19%). An interesting difference between the 18th and 19th centuries is the fact that the number of totally independent *how* (Function D) decreases from 35 (10%) to 22 (4%). So there is a levelling between 1700 and 1800. My own corpus contains very few independent *how*-words, so called one-word phrases (Wekker and Haegeman 1993), which are fronted, and a scan of the

selected examples indicates that a half of the discussed exclamative *hows* are marked by an exclamation mark.

A detailed quantitative examination of the specific area of *how* use (Function E) reveals a great growth of sentences extending rightwards from the middle. This sideways extension doubles in the 19th century as 77 (15%) embedded exclamative *hows* are found, while in the 18th century there are only 32 (9%) instances. Finally, following the next-to-right horizontal segments, *how* may be shifted to final position. On grammatical grounds, Function F appears to be much less common than Functions A-E as there are only 10 (3%) instances in the first half of LModE, and it is an exceptional final-sentence movement in the second half of LModE, and after 1900, only 7 (1%) examples emerge.

This short quantitative summary shows that “virtually everything in language falls into more or less systematic patterns (Pinker 1996: 389), whereas some structures are relics of the English system”, abandoned centuries ago are still sporadically found today.

5.3.1.1.1. Initial position – as an intensifier of an adjective or adverb

The whole set of the exclamative *how*-clauses is syntactically diverse. Firstly, there are those which fit the frame *How+adj/adv+S+V* (115 instances at the absolute beginning and 39 shifted to the medial position as content clauses), or for some of them, the alternative *How+adj/adv+V+S* (63 instances at the absolute beginning and 23 placed in the medial position of the complex sentence). These observations allow us to make an intuitive judgement that subject-verb order becomes more acceptable, particularly if the *how*-phrase is placed at the beginning of the sentence. Overwhelmingly, the preferred use of this pattern is favoured at the end of the 19th century (49 instances, reaching a peak after 1850), but then there is a sudden drop at the beginning of the 20th century (only 25 examples). This may be illustrated as follows in Figure 5.3:

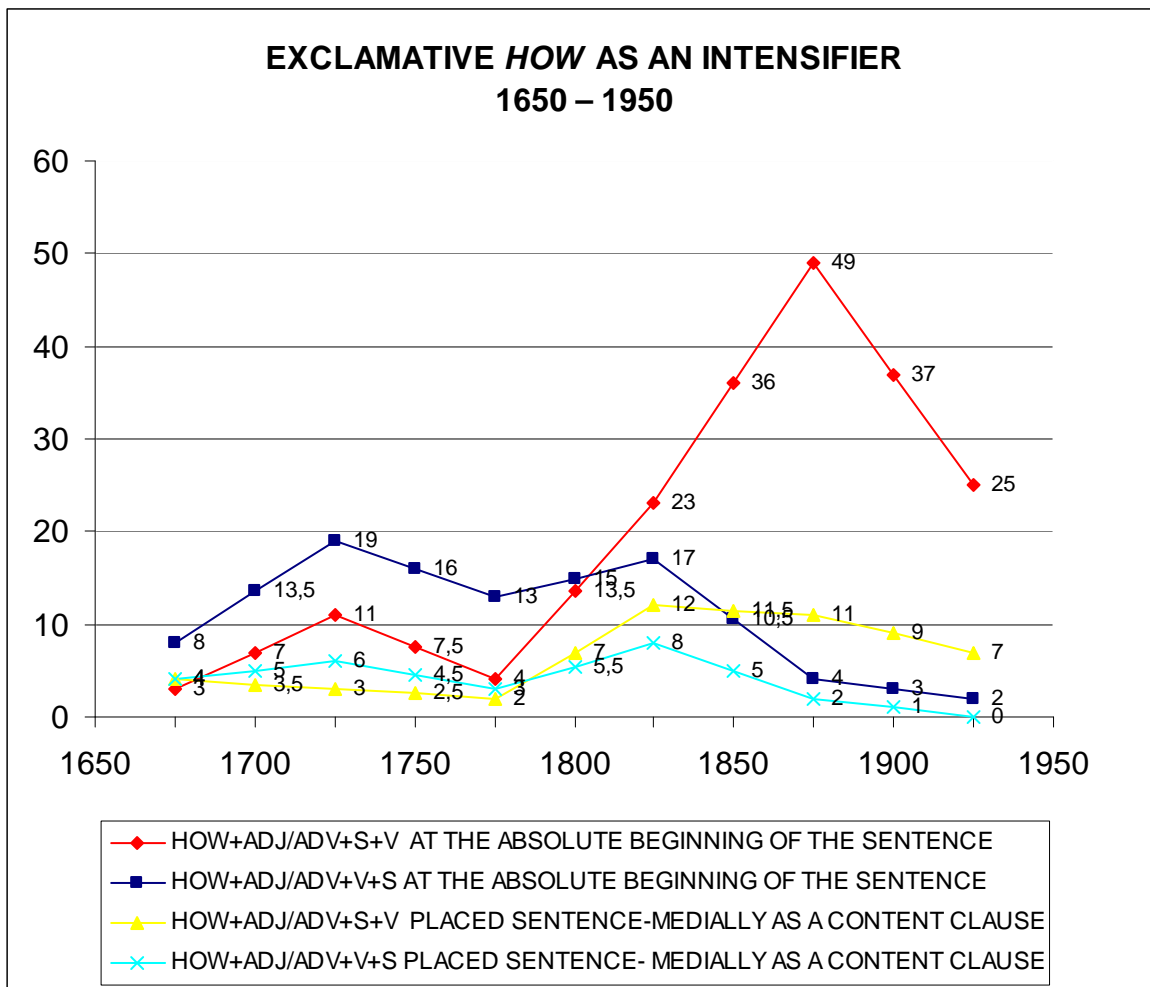


Figure 5.3
Frequency data of the exclamative *how* functioning as an intensifier

For certain speakers (63 instances) a verb-subject inversion if the *how*-phrase is shifted to the initial position is acceptable even in the 19th century; yet, the difference is that for fewer speakers choose this frame if it is shifted rightwards to the sentence-medial position in the complex sentence, because there is a sudden decrease (only two instances after 1850 and no examples after 1900). Turning now to the internal structure of the *how*-phrase, my observations focus on what emerged from a study of *describers*, that is, adjectives and adverbs, in the data. It is notable that adverbs, e.g. *far*, *nimbly*, *willingly*, *bravely*, *happily*, often occur immediately after *how* just after 1650, whereas this picture has changed from 1700 onwards, as the number of adjectives is considerably greater. There are both amplifiers, e.g. *grateful*, *sound*, *etc.* and downtoners, such as *cruel*, *unhappy*, *dangerous*, *etc.* Having investigated a number of rhetorical questions marked with an exclamation mark, it is worth noting that very few examples exist. Only one instance in Bunyan *Oh, how willingly would I*

have done it!, in which the verb is inverted, while in Richardson there is a wide range of such structures, e.g. *How like a fool I looked!*, *O how ashamed I was!*, *O how uneasy I was!*, *How blesse am I!*, in which the frame *S+V/V+S* is changeable. After 1800 there is a tendency to adjoin some complements to the frame *How+adj/adv+S+V/V+S*. For example, *How have I delighted, as I walked, to see them driven in showers about me by the wind!* in Austen, or *How bitterly do I lament that the one to which nature gave you a claim was so unworthy to be united with it, and that of my no less heroic father!* in Porter. Another issue concerns what happens when there is absence of adjectives/adverbs after *how* in the phrase. In this view, some generalisations emerge for these structures which appear in the frame *How+S+V/V+S+(complements)*. A comparison of the calculations is depicted in Figure 5.4:

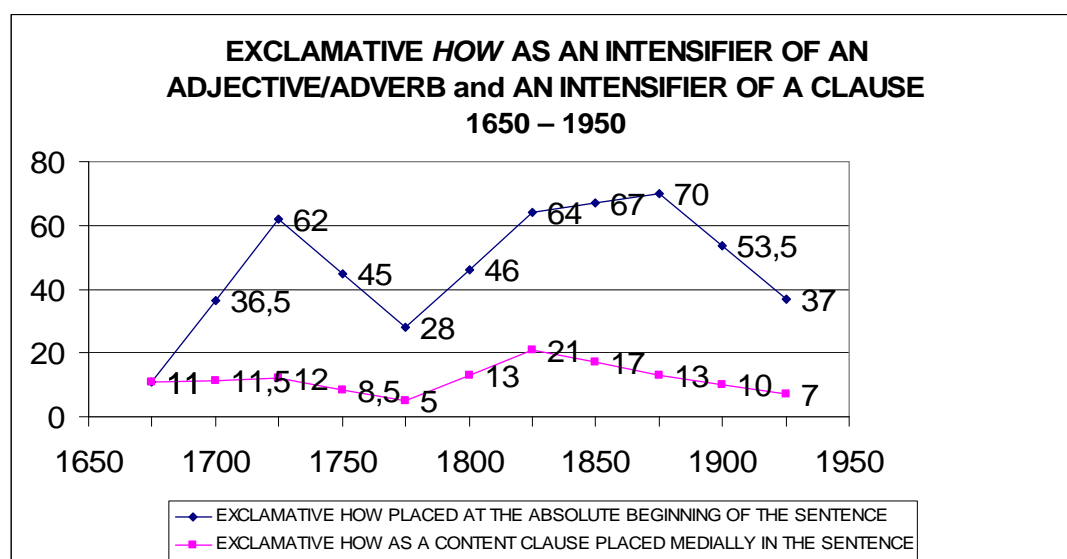


Figure 6.4
Frequency data of the exclamative *how* that functions as an intensifier of an adj/adv and intensifier of a clause

What appears to be clear, however, is that the transition from the fronted exclamative *how* to the shifted *wh*-phrase that has undergone the rightward movement to the sentence-medial position was not abrupt (Roberts 2007). Movement takes place gradually and, taking into account Figure 5.4, it appears that both syntactic organisations coexist in my findings. As things stand, this movement does not act harmonically. The first observation of Figure 5.4 provides an impression that the canonical pattern *how+adj/adv+S+V/V+S* placed at the absolute beginning is much more common. The major result is the evidence that such a pattern increased reaching a peak (70 instances) before 1900 and then dropped (from 70 to 37). It is, in fact, quite reasonable to say that “changes start slowly, gather speed, and then taper off slowly again” (Roberts 2007: 296).

A further observation concerns whether the exclamative *how* is preceded by intensifying additions to make the utterance more emotional⁸⁰. Following this, speakers have been modifying some structures using emotive items. Sentences can also branch to the right. However, for the sake of simplicity, it is treated here as a realisation of the exclamatory function. This is why only the most frequent types of next-to-right clauses are enumerated here. It is observed that ‘right-branching’ sentences can be quite complex but still understandable⁸¹. The frame *how* + (*adj/adv*) + (*S+V/V+S*) can be followed by *to*-clauses, *that*-clauses, time clauses, and conditional clauses.

5.3.1.1.2. *Initial position – as an intensifier of a clause*

We have seen that the typical *how*-phrase consists of adjectives/adverbs which may be responsible for changing the appearance and emotional colouring of a basic clause. In order to specify another function of the exclamative *how*, it is worth distinguishing a phrase that occurs within the frame *how+S+V/V+S* in which the *how*-word functions as an intensifier of a clause. There is ample evidence, however, that in the light of gradual diachronic change, it has been observed that *how* acting as an intensifier of a clause in which there is a total absence of descriptors (adjectives/adverbs) began to coexist with the canonical pattern of the *how*-phrase but fewer speakers have chosen *how+S+V/V+S*. Figure 5.5 shows that 59 instances appeared to be the upper limit, which covers the period between 1700 and 1750, and then this begins to decrease from 43 instances, between 1800 and 1850, to merely 31 at the beginning of the 20th century. Yet taking into account the slow growing number of clauses without modifiers, these combinations will sound natural enough to be used more frequently. A comparison of the calculations of coexisting structures is interpreted graphically in Figure 5.5:

⁸⁰ Channell (1994: 97) says that “together the syntax and the morphology provide the information we need to give a ‘semantic’ interpretation.”

⁸¹ Channell (1994: 127) points out that “speakers rely on the context in which they hear something to help them out in understanding what they hear, and remember utterances partly because of the contexts in which they occurred. If the context is memorable, people are more likely to remember exactly what somebody said; on the other hand, if the context is not particularly memorable, they are likely to retain only a general impression of the meaning of what was said.” So, it may be said that speakers appear to arrive at the correct interpretation.

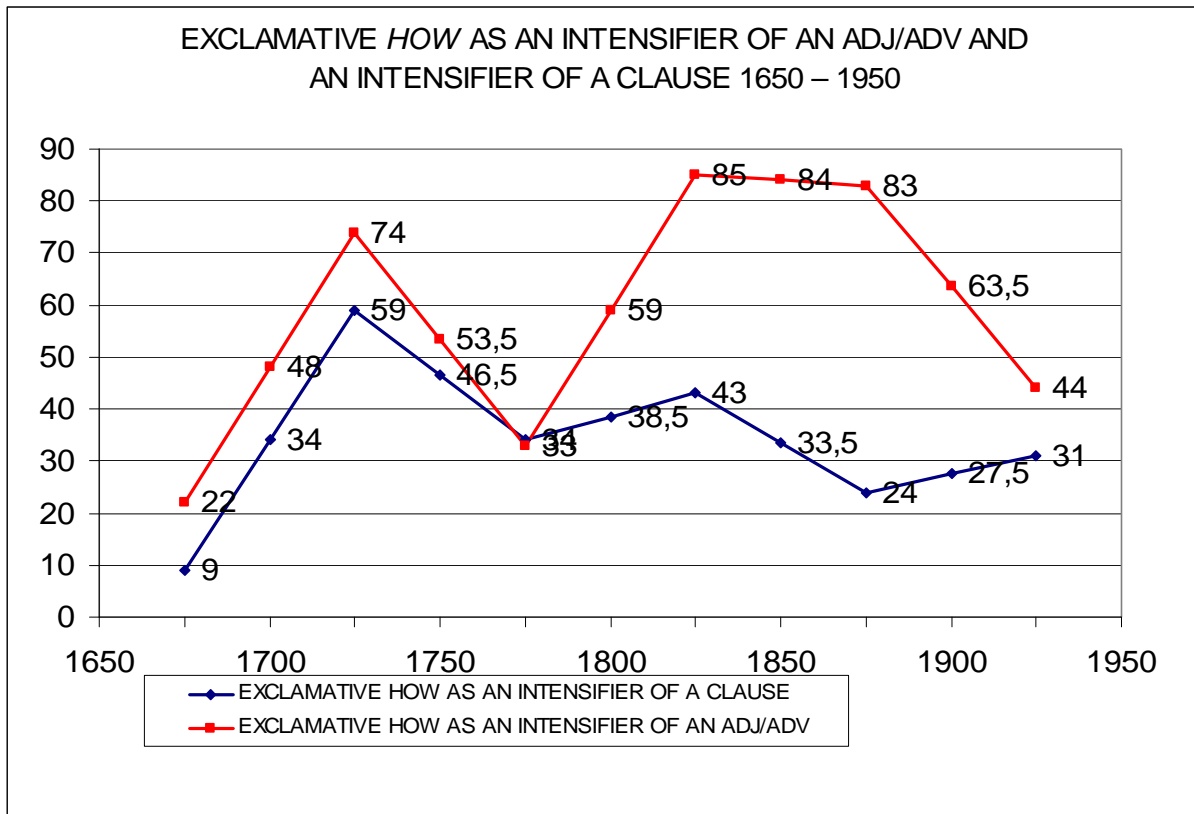


Figure 5.5
Frequency data of the exclamative *how* functioning as an intensifier of an adj/adv and an intensifier of a clause

A further observation (the empirical focus of the dissertation is our general understanding of the internal structure of the *wh*-phrase and the distribution of this phrase in the complex sentence) concerns whether speakers prefer the declarative or interrogative form. It is clear that *how+S+V* arrangement becomes more acceptable (69 instances) than the *how+V+S* frame, as only 50 instances occur using this structure. The declarative form is preferred in the 18th and 19th centuries, whereas considering the interrogative form, the preference fluctuates between 1 and 13 instances. This tendency is reflected in Table 5.27:

| <i>How</i> -exclamations | 1650 | 1700 | 1750 | 1800 | 1850 | 1900 |
|--|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 1700 | 1750 | 1800 | 1850 | 1900 | 1950 |
| <i>How</i> as intensifier of a clause <i>how+S+V</i> | 4 (6%) | 20 (29%) | 13 (19%) | 13 (19%) | 12 (0.2%) | 7 (10%) |
| <i>How</i> as intensifier of a clause <i>how+V+S</i> | 1 (2%) | 11 (22%) | 6 (12%) | 11 (22%) | 8 (16%) | 13 (26%) |
| <i>How</i> as intensifier of a clause <i>how+S+V+clause</i> | 2 (5%) | 11 (27%) | 12 (29%) | 7 (17%) | 4 (10%) | 5 (12%) |
| <i>How</i> as intensifier of a clause <i>how+V+S+clause</i> | 2 (4%) | 17 (38%) | 8 (18%) | 12 (27%) | 0 (0%) | 6 (13%) |

Table 5.27

Frequency data of *how* functioning as an intensifier of a clause

The data reveals similar structures *how+S+V+clause/ how+V+S+clause*, both of which may be complemented by following subordinate or abbreviated clauses, making the linear order to some extent complex. At this stage the quantitative analysis reveals that the subject-verb arrangement with adjoined complements is very frequent only between 1700 and 1750, while the inverted structure fluctuates, reaching a maximum of 17 instances after 1700 and dropping to zero at the end of LModE. What will be important for our purpose is the fact that in 46 of the 87 examples, the subject-verb inversion occurs.

One of the principal goals of this section is to arrive at a correct characterisation of modifiers, complements, intensifying additions, etc., which provides verbal reinforcement (Channell 1994: 246) and gives additional observation concerning speakers' attitudes and emotional colouring in a conversation. It is perhaps appropriate to mention some elements that precede the *wh*-phrase "may have nothing to do with the topic, but be some other element of the message that the speaker wishes to foreground" (Brown and Miller 1994: 367). Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 427-431) also observe that apart from the emphasis given by information focus in the *how*-phrase, "the language provides means of giving a unit purely emotive emphasis." We have noted in various chapters a number of features of this type. They include interjections, expletives, intensifiers, etc. Here discussion is confined to these devices which occur at the absolute beginning of a clause, that is in the next-to-left position. It is important in this connection to observe emphasisers first in front of the *how+S+V/V+S* patterns and then the *how+S+V/V+S+complements*.

Judging from the data, the most frequent interjections which precede *how* are *O*, *Oh*, *Oh!* found between 1650 and 1800, whereas from the beginning of the 19th century *Ah* and *Ah!* have become more prominent in intensifying the speaker's surprise, astonishment, happiness, or anger. So, it may be said that they are added to mark both positive and non-positive emotional colouring in the discourse. The situation in LModE is different, as we find

that some honorifics that can follow interjections, for example *O sir*; *Oh, dear sir*; *Good God, O gracious heaven!*; *Oh, Sobieski!*; *O, sire*. In contrast, such elements disappear after 1900. Looking at complex sentences *how+S+V/V+S+complements*, we find a totally different situation as in EModE the emphasisers are infrequent. A closer examination reveals that *expressions of strong feelings* (Burt 1991: 12) are mainly found in Richardson, e.g. *Oh!, O the wretch, Oh, But oh!*, in Reeve, Smollett and Lewis (after 1750), e.g. *Oh, what!, Oh!*, in Porter and Austen, e.g. *Oh, O, But oh,*. Consider now a case of a forceful device which may be shifted to medial position in the sentence. It is implied that the operator *do* emphasises positiveness or negativeness when it bears the focus (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973: 409). By the 19th century there is no presence of the emphatic *do*, while three examples (three out of a total 205, cf. Table 9.2) are confirmed by data which covers the period between 1800 and 1950 as in: *Dear little soul, how I do love her!* in Austen, in Forster *Heavens! how you women do fly round!*, and in Lawrence *Ha—ha! How we do talk indeed—new words and old--!*.

There is also a rhetorical *wh*-question, which can function as an exclamation marked with an exclamation mark. In my findings rhetorical questions have the word order of declarative as well as interrogative clauses. Rhetorical questions are another type of exclamatory question which are positive in form, and may be very useful in discussion of the description of emotive behaviour (Leech and Svartvik 1994). In most of these cases, we obtain a frequency of subject-verb inversions. By the 18th century a rhetorical question have become a minority pattern, e.g. *How many steps have I took in rain!*⁸² in Bunyan, or *alas, how have I offended her so to vex me, what Hippolitus am I!*. Modal auxiliaries start to be implemented in rhetorical questions in the second half of LModE. Following the problem of rhetorical questions, during the 1750-1800 period, subject-verb order is the clearly the leading pattern in English, that is, *God! how I have suffered for them!*, or *Formerly, how I was misled!* in Sterne.

5.3.1.1.3. Initial position – reduced structures/ verbless clauses/ independent how/ end-focus

In this section I will focus on the *reduction* of linguistic elements (Fisher 2007). In the light of trimming syntactic constructions, Locke (1996: 180) points out that “*exclamation* is also often realized by a clause with no Subject, Finite, or Predicator (technically a *minor clause*), as in the following *How stupid!*.” Fisher (2007: 116) states that “language does not steer itself

⁸² Welna (2003) points out that in terms of verbs, the developments in the 17-18th centuries faced, for example, a rise of perfective aspect and a shift from strong to weak, i.e. addition of *-ed* to former strong verbs.

but is the work of speakers, which seems to be the conditioning factors for grammaticalisation that must in the first place be found at the speaker level.” Further, she adds that “it is the *dynamic* process” and “language is studied as a meaningful communication process between speakers⁸³, as the interplay of production as well as comprehension.” An important concept here is that of *onions* or *Russian dolls*, which is proposed by Pinker (1994; 205). He claims that “even short sentences are uninterpretable if they have multiple embeddings”, that is why “onion sentences become possible” because “the mental grammar defines different kinds of phrases that can be modified” (1994: 206). That is why, it is possible to claim that ‘the more, the better’ does not mean ‘interpretable’, so speakers reduce, trim, and elide the *how*-exclamative clauses to make them two-word or one-word forms. Let us investigate this simplification of syntactic organisation in the light of the gradual ‘diachronic process’, which is depicted numerically in Figure 5.6.

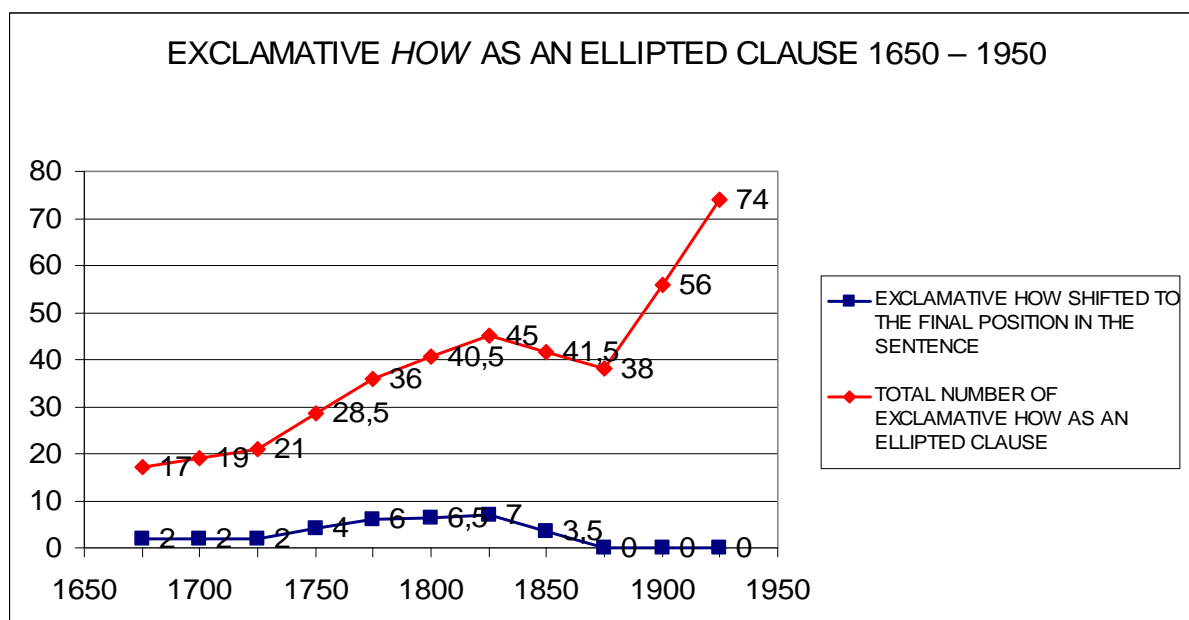


Figure 5.6
Frequency data of the ellipted exclamative *how*

⁸³ The idea of compression, reduction, condensation, etc. is explained by Fisher (2007: 117) who claims that “a speaker’s grammar itself is much less fixed syntactically and much more dynamic than generative linguists accept, and, furthermore, that the constraints on the form of a speaker’s output not only come from the formal grammar acquired in childhood but from a much wider field encompassing all aspects of the speaker’s mind and the communicative situation.”

Figure 5.6 provides evidence for relatively regular simplification⁸⁴ of the structure which emerges in the frame *how+(adv)+(adj)*, in which adverbs or adjectives may be optional. The exclamative *how* can modify another degree modifier (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 918), that is, “the exclamative feature percolates upwards in the same ways as the interrogative feature”; it goes from *how* to the AdvP *How lovely* (Burton), and thence to the AdjP *How charmingly charitable* (Porter), *Oh! how infinitely superior!* (Austen), *How very rude!* (Forster), *How perfectly magnificent.* (Richardson), *How extremely dangerous* (Mansfield). An illustration of this option is provided in Table 5.28.

| Exclamative <i>how</i> | 1650 | 1700 | 1750 | 1800 | 1850 | 1900 |
|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 1700 | 1750 | 1800 | 1850 | 1900 | 1950 |
| functioning as a degree modifier <i>How+(adv)+(adj)</i> | 9 (7.2%) | 9 (7.2%) | 11 (88%) | 21 (16.8%) | 23 (18.4%) | 52 (41.6%) |
| modifying other intensifying additions | 5 (9%) | 7 (12.3%) | 12 (21%) | 7 (12.3%) | 10 (17.5%) | 16 (28%) |
| totally independent <i>how!</i> or <i>how?</i> | 3 (7.9%) | 4 (10.5%) | 13 (34%) | 7 (18%) | 5 (13%) | 6 (16%) |
| shifted to the final position in the sentence | 2 (12%) | 2 (12%) | 6 (35%) | 7 (41%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |

Table 5.28

Frequency data of the exclamative *how* functioning as a degree modifier, totally independent word, and as a form shifted to the final position

More precisely, phrases with fronted *how+adj* generally occur much more frequently, as we find only single instances (three out of a total 125) from 1650 onwards. By the 19th century constructions with the exclamative *how* are only sporadically preceded by interjections or honorifics. A closer examination reveals that around 1800 the reduced phrase has undergone rightward movement since interjections, vocatives, honorifics, and other intensifying expressions appear at the absolute beginning of the linear order. Table 5.29 illustrates the next-to-left emphatic expressions.

⁸⁴ Here it is interesting to quote Onions (1971: 46) who points out that “many exclamatory sentences are elliptical and may consist of single words as the relics of sentences possible or imaginary: *How foolish of him!*, *What a task!*, etc.” He adds that exclamations may be accompanied by simple interjections that express sudden emotions: *Ha! ha! ho! ho! he! he!*. Following Onions, it is worth noticing that “under interjections the few survivals may be grouped as expressions of laughter, *ah ha, oh, hi*, and the interjectional use of sacred names and their deformations, such as *gosh, golly, lor’, law, ’.*”

| Exclamative <i>how</i> | 1650 – 1700 | 1700 – 1750 | 1750 – 1800 | 1800 – 1850 | 1850 – 1900 | 1900 – 1950 |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| functioning as a degree modifier <i>How+(adv)+(adj)</i> may be preceded by intensifying expressions | - | - | ah | Oh! Dear me, Well! | Oh, Good heavens! | Oh, Ach, Na, Huh! Oh! |

Table 5.29

Pragmatic modifiers that precede the exclamative *how*-clause

In such a context, exclamative mood may be achieved by implementing a *how+adj* pattern two or three times into one sentence to give the utterance ‘strongly emotive value’ (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973: 121). For example, in EModE (1650-1700) and at the beginning of the 20th century, several repeated frames are found:

How rich, how fortunate, how happy is he?, or *How lovely, how tall, how comely she was* (...) in Burton, and *Ach, how sweet, how delicate.* in Mansfield.

Coming back to the quantitative analysis shown in Table 5.28, it is worth noting that *how!/how?* is used sporadically (about 4-6 times per 50-year period), gaining the peak in the late 1750s. What I find most interesting about the one-word phrase in which *how* functions as an interjection is that it is generally followed by an exclamation mark, but after 1800 only a question mark is adjoined. Taking into account a single-word phrase, e.g. *How?* (Fisher (2007: 263) points out that “the interpretation depends to some extent on contextual and cultural presuppositions.” What is more, Pinker (1994) says that such ellipted forms are obviously part of the grammar of conversational English. Turning again to Fisher (2007: 121) it should be noted that some factors that are recognized in grammaticalisation on the level of the speaker are most functional and relate to the communicative situation or to the workings of the mind.

Finally, the occurrence of the exclamative *how* in final position in the complex sentence is so rare in my data that it confirms the fact that, as far as position is regarded, the front position if is linked to the *how*-word which acts as an exclamation.

5.3.1.1.4. Non-initial position – subordinate exclamative clause

To facilitate the analysis of the *how*-unit functioning as an exclamation, I would like discuss the internal structure of the exclamatory clause as well as sideways constituents that affect the emotional colouring of the utterance. A greater departure from the canonical structure,

how+(adj/adv)+S+V, which is placed traditionally at the beginning of the sentence is seen in dependent exclamations (content clauses), i.e. exclamatory that is the subordinate clause (Onions 1971: 47). The following section then surveys very briefly the distinction between canonical exclamative *how*-clause (placed initially) and the rightward movement of the *how*-phrase. Taking into account the internal structure, he notes that “dependent exclamations, like dependent statements and dependent commands, are preceded by verbs of *saying, thinking, perceiving, knowing, and showing*” (1971: 48). In my findings such verbs have appeared throughout all the periods under investigation.

Diachronically speaking, dependent exclamations with fronted *how* are favoured in LModE, as there is a gradual increase of embedded structures, from eight instances after 1700 to 39 examples around 1850. Coming back to the *how*-unit placed in the main clause at the absolute beginning, the number of occurrences is illustrated in Table 5.30:

| Exclamative <i>how</i> | 1650 - 1800 | 1800 - 1950 |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| Placed at the absolute beginning of the clause | 295 (31%) | 459 (48%) |
| Functioning as dependent exclamation (embedded clause) | 49 (5%) | 78 (8%) |

Table 5.30

Frequency data of the exclamative *how* appearing sentence-initially or as a content clause

In the light of placement within the syntactic structure, it appears that the initial position is relatively common from 1650 to 1950 as there are as many as 295 instances (31%) prior to 1800, and 459 examples (48%) after 1800 (see Table 5.30). Variation in the frequency of exclamatory clauses shifted to the sentence-medial position is illustrated in Figure 5.7.

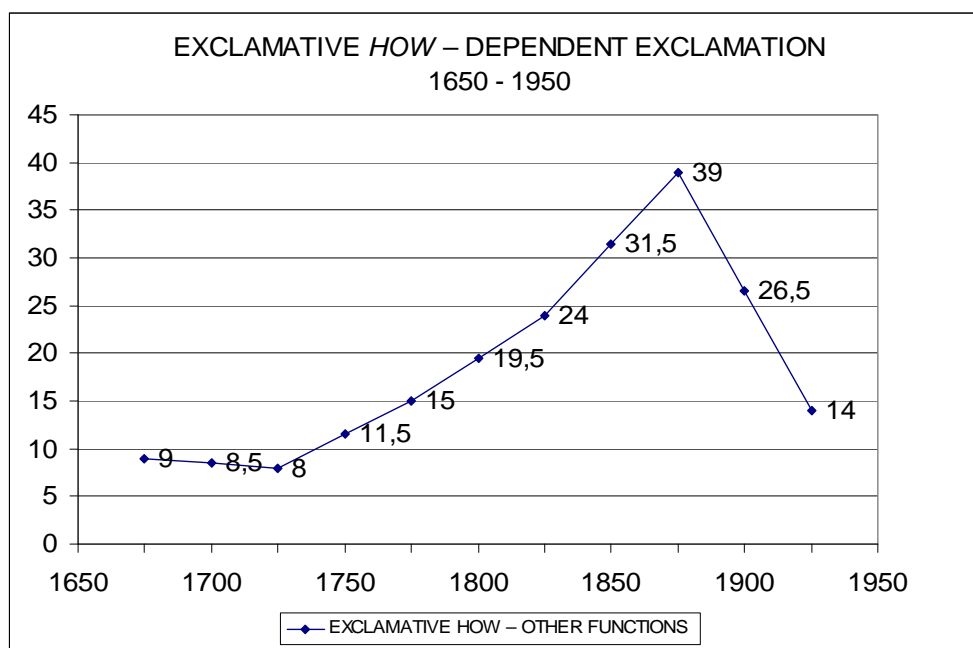


Figure 5.7

Frequency data of the exclamative *how* functioning as a dependent exclamation

There are only 49 instances out of 390 (5%) before 1800, and 78 examples (8%) after 1800 (see Figure 5.7). It must be emphasised that speakers preferred embedding by the mid-nineteenth century. The number of occurrences suddenly declines at the beginning of the 20th century. An illustration of this option confirms the fact that shortening an information unit makes the speaker's message highly informative and emphatic; therefore it may be presumed that the shorter the syntactic unit, the more frequently it is used by speakers in communication. But the result of embedding⁸⁵ and sideways extension makes the answer surprisingly hard to understand (Pinker 1994). Pinker continues to note that creating a triply embedded onion sentence, results in complete unintelligibility.

In linguistic terms, in most cases the internal structural change (linear order emerging in the frame *how+adj/adv+S+V*) from Early Modern English to Present-day English is minor in comparison with similar changes that took place in the canonical pattern of the exclamative *how*-clause that appears at the beginning of the string of constituents. Consequently, this section is mostly concerned with the lexical change of constituents that precede or follow the canonical frame that is embedded as the word order of the *how*-unit changes in such a subtle

⁸⁵ According to Roberts (2007: 186) "OE show a wider range of possible word orders, in both main and embedded clauses." Of particular importance in this connection are the *how*-phrases that function as content clauses embedded in complex sentences. That is why, *coexisting* word-order patterns is an interesting variant of this approach.

way that it does not affect the whole emotive colouring of the syntactic structure. Table 5.31 clearly illustrates this:

| Internal structure of the <i>how</i> -phrase that functions as a content clause | 1650 – 1700 | 1700 – 1750 | 1750 – 1800 | 1800 – 1850 | 1850 – 1900 | 1900 – 1950 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>how</i> +(<i>adj/adv</i>)+ <i>S+V</i> | 10 | 8 | 31 | 23 | 39 | 14 |
| <i>how</i> +(<i>adj/adv</i>)+ <i>V+S</i> | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| As intensifier of <i>adj/adv how+adj/adv</i> compared to the occurrences in the <i>how</i> +(<i>adj/adv</i>)+ <i>S+V</i> | 9/10 | 7/8 | 29/31 | 15/23 | 33/39 | 11/14 |
| As intensifier of a clause <i>how+S+V</i> compared to the occurrences in the <i>how</i> +(<i>adj/adv</i>)+ <i>S+V</i> | 1/10 | 1/8 | 3/31 | 8/23 | 6/39 | 3/14 |

Table 5.31

Frequency data of internal structure of the *how*-phrase that functions as a content clause

The data prior to 1800 differs from the examples emerging after 1800 if the quantitative analysis is considered. Variations in the use of adjectives and adverbs as modifiers are observed more frequently (104 instances) than the *how*-element acting as an intensifier of a clause (only 22 instances). Whereas subject-verb inversion is an infrequent occurrence in such circumstances because only two (1.6%) examples out of a total 125 instances appear in the 19th century.

Other linguistic features, i.e. politeness formulations, direct forms of address, verbless imperatives, etc., often heighten dramatic or comic effect within face-to-face interaction (Fennell 2005: 165). Expressions, found by the search program, such as *sir, my dear, my dear angel, my poor heart, my dear sister*, could also signal levels of power, solidarity, positive or non-positive emotions particularly amongst Late Modern English speakers. Interestingly, *Oh, Oh!* precede the complex sentence, which is more common in the second half of LModE. It may indeed be the case that influences the illocutionary force providing more positive colouring, which is noticeable before 1800, whereas later speakers more frequently express their anger, surprise, threat, criticism, and unhappiness.

Finally, taking into consideration the horizontal segments that extend rightwards from the mid-position within the syntactic organisation, that is, the dependent exclamative *how*-clauses, typically a finite *that* clause, *to*-clause, or relative clause can follow the *wh*-phrase. More precisely, it should be noted that the number of constituents that precede and follow the *how*-phrase is proportionally different, because there are many more next-to-left elements than those next-to-right. This is clearly what happened in the history of the English language.

If the *how*-phrase is placed in the sentence-initial position it is likely to find more complements (even strings of paratactic or hypotactic clauses) to the right of the exclamative *how*-clause, whereas if the *how*-phrase is shifted to the sentence-medial position in which it functions as a dependent exclamation, i.e. the non-canonical structure, there is only a limited set of constituents that can occur in a frame such as *how*+(*adj/adv*)+(S+V/V+S).

Chapter Six

Analysis of WHY

6.0. Introduction

With respect to the exclamatory function of the selected *wh*-forms, the items listed in this section will facilitate and clarify the meaning and function of *why* from 1650 to 1950. The presence of question marks after the ellipted *why* implies that the *wh*-element acts as an interrogative pronoun in a question. Sometimes, however, the occurrence of the *wh*-element does not uphold the *wh*-question formation since an exclamation mark is located just after the independent and ellipted *why*. As “exclamative sentences are used to express an emotionally tainted comment on a matter discussed” (Cap and Kozanecka eds. 2002: 25), it is important to note that such minimal sentences give the whole process of communication more emotive colouring. My analysis will depict the nature of exclamative constructions with *why* the number of which is different in contrast to *what* and *how* functioning as exclamations. Thus, the method of describing *why*-exclamative structures will be different.

Sections 6.1. and 6.2. provide some observations concerning the position of *why* in the sentence. In Sections 6.1.1.1.-6.1.1.5. and 6.2.1.1.-6.2.1.5., a closer examination of the post-extension is discussed. Section 6.1.3. and 6.2.3. illustrate the independent *why*-element that functions as an exclamation/interjection in ModE. Finally, Sections 6.1.4. and 6.2.4. illustrate the *why*-word moving rightwards in the syntactic organisation.

6.1. EModE/LModE 1650 – 1800

I will first discuss *why*-elements taking the traditional sentence-initial position as well as rightward movement within the complex sentence followed by a detailed analysis of the initial *why* that is followed by various syntactic structures, such as declarative clauses,

negative constructions, interrogative clauses, non-clausal structures, or *if*-clauses. It is also possible to find out some *why*-elements that occur independently and as ellipsed clauses; yet, such minimal structures are sporadic in the investigated novels.

Firstly, I will provide the quantitative analysis of *why* where it functions as exclamation between 1650 and 1800. From the figures in Table 6.1, it is clear that the overall number of *why* instances is much smaller (1140) than *what* (5210 instances). The figures in Table 6.1 illustrate that the number of instances of *why* functioning as an exclamation fluctuates, peaking in the early 1700s. These frequencies show that, in the late 1750s, we find a sharp distinction as exclamative *why* behaves quite similarly (80 instances (29%) before 1800) to *why* prior to 1700 (78 instances (20%)). Table 6.1 shows the distinctions.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>why</i> -words in the novels | The number of <i>why</i> that functions as an exclamation |
|---------------|---|---|
| 1650 – 1700 | 390 | 78 (20%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 475 | 262 (55%) |
| 1750 – 1800 | 276 | 80 (29%) |
| Total | <u>1140</u> | <u>420</u> (37%) |

Table 6.1
Quantitative comparison of selected *why*-elements that undergo emotive functions in EModE/LModE

There are fewer exclamative *why*-forms (420 instances (37%)) than *what*-forms (662 instances (12.7%)) which render the specific speech patterns of the speakers implemented into their utterances before 1800. Inasmuch as the position of *why* in the structure changed, the frequency of occurrences can be depicted in Table 6.2:

| Periodisation | The number of <i>why</i> occurring in the sentence-initial position | The number of <i>why</i> occurring in the sentence-medial position | The number of <i>why</i> occurring in the sentence-final position |
|--------------------|---|--|---|
| 1650 – 1700 | 64 (82%) | 6 (8%) | 8 (10%) |
| 1700 – 1750 | 251 (96%) | 10 (4%) | 1 (0.4%) |
| 1750 - 1800 | 72 (90%) | 4 (5%) | 4 (5%) |
| <u>1650 - 1800</u> | <u>387</u> (92%) | <u>20</u> (5%) | <u>13</u> (3.1%) |

Table 6.2
Quantitative comparison of selected *why*-elements in the sentence-initial, medial and final position

The above results show that the initial position is the most frequent place within the syntactic structure as there are 387 *why*-elements (92%) placed at the absolute beginning of a sentence. What will be important for our purposes is the fact that there are only 14 items that

appear in the middle, and 20 examples (5%) of *why* placed finally in the sentence. Anticipating the analysis of the facts given in Chapter Three, we can see that there are different phrases, clauses, or other structures which follow the initial *why* and affect its emotive colouring. The diversification of constructions which occur moving rightwards is shown in Table 6.3. Consider the number of occurrences:

| <i>Why</i> functioning as an exclamation/ interjection | The structures that follow <i>why</i> in the sentence-initial position | 1650 - 1700 | 1700 - 1750 | 1750 - 1800 | Total |
|--|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Why, | declarative clauses | 24 (41%) | 59 (23%) | 18 (25%) | <u>101</u> (26%) |
| | negative clauses/ negated structures | 1 (27%) | 12 (4.8%) | 10 (13.9%) | <u>23</u> (5.9%) |
| | interrogative clauses | 10 (17%) | 26 (10%) | 10 (13.9%) | <u>46</u> (11.9%) |
| | non-clausal structures | 21 (35%) | 145 (58%) | 30 (42%) | <u>196</u> (51%) |
| | if-clauses | 0 (0%) | 5 (1.9%) | 2 (2.8%) | <u>7</u> (1.8%) |
| | independent <i>why</i> -element | 8 (13%) | 4 (1.6%) | 2 (2.8%) | <u>14</u> (36%) |

Table 6.3

Quantitative comparison of forms that follow *why*-element in the sentence-initial position

From the above data we can conclude that the non-clausal structures (196 instances (51%)) are the most common constructions accompanying the *why*-element. Then, considering the post-extension, declarative (101 items (26%)) and interrogative (46 examples (11.9%)) clauses are frequent structures that follow *why*. It emerges that negative constructions (23 instances (5.9%)) and *if*-clauses (7 examples (1.8%)) are rather sporadically implemented items. Then, the early 18th century (Gothic), can be illustrated by the number of clauses and structures, e.g. 145 non-clausal structures (58%) or 59 declarative clauses (23%), whereas the number of these post-extension elements decrease at the end of the 17th century and at the end of the 18th century.

In contrast with these instances located just after *why*, there are only 14 examples of ellipted clauses (36%) that are next-to-right forms of the *why*-word which functions as an exclamation/interjection.

6.1.1. Syntactic organisation

The interaction of *wh*-elements and preceding as well as following constituents will play an important role in the discussion of morphosyntactic organisation. From the historical perspective, “the study of language change is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions” (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 23). It emerges that the syntactic structure of the investigated utterances including *why* can be described as entirely different from the analysed *what*- and *how*-elements in Chapters Four and Five respectively.

The search program has provided me with a wide range of constructions which are attached to the *why*-word, declarative clauses, negative clauses/negated structures, interrogative clauses, non-clausal structures, and *if*-clauses. In contrast to paratactic and hypotactic strings of clauses, the independent *whys* are likely to be found only sporadically. Some intensifying adverbs or honorifics are next-to-right elements of *why* which in turn precede these sentences (i.e. *that*-clauses, time clauses, etc.) which function as complements of the *why*-word acting as an exclamation.

The problem of mobility and exclamatory function of the *why*-word between 1650 and 1800 will be discussed in the order which is illustrated in Table 6.2. Clearly, as the non-initial positions are relatively sporadic in the data, initially placed *why* will be discussed in detail. The forms of complements are shown in Table 6.3.

6.1.1.1. Declarative clauses as post-extension

Insofar as the research is based on an extensive investigation, declarative clauses functioning as post-extension deserve due attention, which is given in examples (95)-(97). Above all, in the late 17th century the syntactic structures were longish, often described as “suspended sentences” (Corns 1990: 70) and divided into shorter clusters of clauses which, in turn, were joined together by means of a wide range of conjunctions. What will be important for our purposes is a category associated primarily with written language and can be described as an orthographical and rhetorical unit, so the graphic devices used in the selected structures can reinforce the presentation of each rhetorical unit.

This section will include a detailed analysis of declarative clauses that are placed just behind *why*⁸⁶, as in (1)-(2):

- (1) And now he thought himself a perfect man, he thought he was always a Boy till now.
 What think you now of Mr. Badman?
 Atten. **Think! why, I think he was an Atheist:** For no man but an Atheist can do this.
 I say, it cannot be, but that the man that is such as this Mr. Badman, must be a rank and
 stinking Atheist; for *Bunyan 1670*
- (2) **'Why, that's honestly said too,'** says the countryman. 'Not so honest, neither,' said I to myself,
 'if thou knewest all.' *Defoe 1722*
- (3) I suppose, that the poor little Wretch met with bitter bad treatment from him, for in a few months after,
 we received intelligence of his death.
'Why, this was a most terrible old Fellow, Segnora!'
 'Oh! shocking! and a Man so totally devoid of taste! Why, would you believe it, Segnor?'
Lewis 1796

Thus, my research shows no examples, in the late 17th century, of selected *why*-words accompanied by declarative clauses in Burton and Browne, and only 19 instances in Bunyan. In the early 18th century, no such clauses have been found in Swift, Fielding, and Haywood, while in Richardson there were 38 examples and in Defoe as many as 18 declarative clauses (for more details see app 10-12). Surprisingly, the number of clauses under investigation significantly decrease in most novels of the late 18th century, since only one example in Smollett, two instances in Goldsmith and Lewis, three items in Sterne, five in Reeve and six in Mackenzie were found. However, considering the number of clauses that are conjoined paratactically or linked hypotactically, it should be noted that the length of these sentences is much more noticeable particularly in the 1750s. The chunks of syntactic structures are separated by means of semi-colons, colons, commas, or dashes.

Providing an additional observation concerning the emotive state, Crystal points out that, in accordance with pragmalinguistics, “people choose different forms to express a range of attitude and relationships” (2003: 361-364). Thus, describing the emotional appeal, not only the punctuation marks that are placed just behind the first⁸⁷ declarative need to be

⁸⁶ As we have mentioned before, the syntactic structures of the 17th-century prose were complex, longish and grouped into a set of clauses by the joining commas, semi-colons or colons. That is why, taking into account the closest (next-to-right) clause to exclamative *why*, the corpus is investigated as being more homogeneous, and grammatical units just behind *what*, *why* and *how* are discussed in a similar way.

⁸⁷ It is important in this connection to observe the aspect of language use. Considering the longish complex sentences, it would be worth mentioning Pinker's (1994: 401) opinion that “the aspect of language use that is most worth changing is the clarity and style of written prose. Expository writing requires language to express far more complex trains of thought than it was biologically designed to do. Inconsistencies caused by limitations of short-term memory and planning, unnoticed in conversation, are not as tolerable when preserved on a page that is to be perused more leisurely.” Furthermore, the preference of fronted and emphatic topic is discussed by Leech and Svartvik (1994: 200-201), who point out that “in <informal> conversation, it is quite common for a speaker to front an element (particularly a complement) and to give it nuclear stress, thus giving it double emphasis. It is

discussed. However, there is also a repertoire of *pragmatic markers* used by speakers to perform a particular social role, providing a level of formality, or simply affect the nature of the ongoing activities, as briefly illustrated in Table 6.4.

| | Declarative clauses as post-extension | Punctuation |
|------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Why+ a comma+ | proper noun + declarative clause + reported verb + declarative clause + deictic expression + be+ negative clause + reported verb + clause of result + relative clause + | a full stop |
| | declarative clause + that-clause + reported verb + negative clause + declarative clause + question tag + unreal past (<i>as if</i>) + interrogative clause + | a question mark |
| | NP + verb of thinking + declarative clause+ | a colon |
| | declarative clause + NP + declarative clause + NP + relative clause + clause of reason + | a semi-colon |
| | declarative clause (unreal past <i>wish</i>) + there + be + clause of purpose + deictic expression + reported verb + declarative clause + | an exclamation mark |
| | declarative clause + | |
| a semi-colon | declarative clause + | a full stop |
| double dashes | why + a comma + relative clause + | a comma + double dashes |

Table 6.4

Clausal structures that follow the *why*-word that functions as an exclamation/interjection

Such an extension must be regarded as highly speculative, though, it is suggestive as an account for the changes observed in the history of English. Single words such as *Say!*, *Examples!*, *Saw!*, *Seen!* (in EModE), and *Let!* (after 1750) are next-to-left intensifying elements which provide an emphatic effect to the whole utterance.

The quantitative analysis, shows that 38 declarative clauses are followed by a full stop, 20 by a semi-colon, and only 11 examples by an exclamation mark (see Table 6.19). Looking at the behaviour of attached clauses, we can presume that the construction *why+declarative clause+ exclamation mark* is still declarative in mood because there are more full stops than exclamation marks (38 full stops/11 exclamation marks). Additionally, it would be useful to examine these semantic categories which may act as intensifiers or downtoners. For example,

as if the speaker says the most important thing in his or her mind first, adding the rest of the sentence as an afterthought.” That is why, it appears to be a good idea to pay attention to the first clause that is placed as a next-to-right element of the *why*-word.

in Bunyan (TP) *Why, the Son of the Blessed is very pitiful*, in Defoe *Why, you were fully satisfied* (...), or *Why, says I, this has been a hellish juggle*, (...), in Fielding *Why, I think, says Slipslop, he is the handsomest*, (...), in Richardson *What! you, madam! Why our hearts are almost broken*, (...), or *Why, said he, I was a little saucy once or twice*. In such sentences predicative adjectives usually occur as the complement of a linking verb. Furthermore, these adjectives are modified by adverbs of degree. It is worth mentioning that archaic forms such as: *why, the Word of God saith that*, or *Why, I did but (...) thee to (...)* are found in Bunyan, and *Thou art, I'll lay thee a wager, child thy (...)*, in Richardson.

Besides declarative sentences suffixed to the *why*-word, there are sporadic instances of negation. Clearly, different speakers exploit different strategies in negative constructions and implement not only contracted *n't*, but also other negative expressions, such as *nothing*, *neither*, *no*, etc. In the following section I will try to provide a discussion on a wide range of negative particles as emphatic elements of interaction between speakers and hearers.

6.1.1.2. Negative constructions as post-extension

It is possible to intensify the emotive force of a *wh*-exclamative clause by adding the negative particle *not* or implementing other non-positive expressions, e.g. *never*, *neither*, *nothing*, etc. (Leech and Svartvik 1994: 307-309, Berk 1999: 151). In negative constructions “a wide range of meanings is involved”, especially when modal auxiliaries are attitude markers (Leech and Svartvik 1994: 307-309). The factual content of the utterance implementing modal verbs may be used to express, e.g. uncertainty, vagueness, possibility, etc. Following Berk, in PDE contracted negatives are ubiquitous, which is also observed in the LModE period (see examples (4) - (6)).

In brief, my findings have shown that such negative structures appear in the early 18th century. There are only 5 examples in Richardson, while in the late 18th century there are 3 instances in Mackenzie and only one example in Reeve and Lewis respectively. In terms of ‘negative polarity items’, my evidence has shown only one negative adverb such as *never* in Bunyan and Lewis, or *nothing* in Richardson.

- (4) Are you sure you will love me? said she: Now speak your conscience!--**Why**, said I, **you must not put it so close; neither would you, if you thought you had not given reason to doubt it!**--But I will love you as well as I can!--I would not tell a wilful lie:

Richardson 1740

- (5) Why, madam, said I, to shew your ladyship how I was engaged for this day and evening. --And for nothing else? said she. **Why, I can't tell, madam**, said I: But if you can collect from it any other circumstances, I might hope I should not be the worse treated.

Richardson 1740

- (6) Sir Harry is going to be married to Miss Walton."--"How! Miss Walton married!" said Harley.
"Why, it mayn't be true, sir, for all that; but Tom's wife told it me, and to be sure the servants told
 her, and their master told them, as I guess, sir; *Mackenzie 1771*

It is worth pointing out the auxiliaries *don't*⁸⁸, *mayn't*, *can't*, or *must not* in these clauses as well as punctuation make the utterance more colourful. Consider Table 6.5:

| | Negative clauses/negated structures as post-extension | Punctuation |
|---------------|---|---------------------|
| Why+ a comma+ | negative clause (<i>don't</i>) + reported verb + declarative clause + negative clause (<i>mayn't/would not</i>) + | a full stop |
| | negated question (<i>may it not be</i>) + | a question mark |
| | negative clause (<i>can't</i>) + addressing noun (<i>madam</i>) + | a colon |
| | negative clause (<i>won't</i>) + modal + perfect infinitive + | a semi-colon |
| | NP + negative clause (<i>will not</i>) + reported verb + negative clause (<i>must not</i>) + | an exclamation mark |
| | negated structure (<i>never</i>) + | double dashes |

Table 6.5

The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection and negated structures that appear as post-extension

Looking at the selected examples an auxiliary becomes a standard device, which is supported by the examples in Table 6.5. In the next section mechanisms of grammaticalisation are evident since the *canonical* VSO word order emerges as the most frequent in the selected interrogative clauses in the 18th-century data, which is the result of “the descriptive grammars produced by linguists” (Malmkjær 2004: 246-249) and ‘a normative grammar’, which started to “regulate rules for what was considered to be correct or appropriate usage” (Richards and Platt 1992: 249, Crystal 2003: 318).

6.1.1.3. Interrogative clauses as post-extension

The data would seem to suggest that over the LModE period the ‘inverted order’ questions (word order in the interrogative clauses was VSO) were frequent. With respect to this problem, in my findings, there are only two examples that show a different or even ungrammatical order, such as *how you sit there* in Lewis (see example (10)), or *Why, what*

⁸⁸ According to Crystal (1995: 70) “only 20 per cent of interrogative sentences used *do*-forms in 1500, whereas over 90 per cent did so by 1700.” Yet, in my findings dummy *do* was still used sporadically in the 18th century.

have you to do with Pamela, old fellow? in Richardson. Curious as it may seem, these interrogative clauses are followed by a question mark (39 items in my data; there are 19 examples in Richardson), a full stop or an exclamation mark (see Table 6.5).

Moving on from 1650, in the field of the complex sentence construction, in the late 17th century and early 18th century the clauses are relatively short (see examples (7) - (8)), but in the late 18th century there are still ‘suspended sentences’ (see examples (9) - (10)) (Corns 1990: 70) in which the *floating elements* (intensive additions) were adjoined to the *wh*-word or inserted into the structure (see examples (9)-(10)).

- (7) Thus was the snare laid for this poor honest Maid, and she was quickly caught in his pit.
 Atten. **Why, did he take this counsel?**
 Wise. Did he! yes, and after a while, went as boldly to her, and that under a Vizzard of Religion,
 as if he had been for Honesty *Bunyan 1670*
- (8) 'Then I will have no victuals,' says I, again very innocently; 'let me but live with you.'
 'Why, can you live without victuals?' says she.
 'Yes,' again says I, very much like a child, you may be sure, and still I cried heartily.
Defoe 1722
- (9) I found her well disposed, but she would advise with Sir Simon, who by the by is not a man of an
 extraordinary character for virtue; but he said to his lady in my presence, **'Why, what is all this, my
 dear, but that our neighbour has a mind to his mother's waiting-maid!** And if he takes care
 she wants for nothing, I don't see any great injury will be done her. He hurts no family by this.'
 (So, my dear father and mother, it seems that poor people's honesty is to go for nothing)'
Richardson 1740
- (10) But to what we have, believe me, you are heartily welcome.'---Then turning to his wife--'
 **Why, how you sit there, Marguerite, with as much tranquillity as if you had nothing
 better to do! Stir about, Dame!** Stir about! Get some supper; Look out some sheets; Here, here;
Lewis 1796

The awkwardness or uncertainty caused by a wide range of lexical items were common in early Renaissance prose (Viney 2003). Interestingly, the research shows that they also appeared in the 18th-century selected novels. As a consequence of the way writers explored the potential of the language for complex sentence constructions, there was “conscious experimentation with new grammatical patterns, new conjunctions, and orthographic symbols” (Viney 2003: 31-39). More to the point, the constructions are not only followed by a question mark (which is used at the end of a direct question (Trask 1997)), but also by a full stop, and an exclamation mark, as shown in Table 6.6:

| Why+ a comma+ | Interrogative clauses as post-extension | Punctuation |
|---------------|--|------------------------|
| | | interrogative clause + |
| | interrogative clause + (proper noun/addressing form)+ wh-interrogative clause + reported verb + wh-interrogative clause+ reported verb + rhetorical question + (that-clause)+ how-form + adverb of time (<i>now</i>) + | a question mark |
| | - | a colon |
| | - | a semi-colon |
| | inverted structure (<i>how you sit there</i>) + wh-interrogative clause + | an exclamation mark |

Table 6.6
The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection
and interrogative clauses as post-extension

In addition to exclamatory questions that appear sporadically in the data, rhetorical questions are another way of intensifying the emotive force of the utterance (Leech and Svartvik 1994). Compared with *what*-rhetorical questions, *why*-rhetorical questions are infrequently used in the selected novels (which is discussed in the section 6.1.1.2.). Consequently, in contrast to *what*, *why*-rhetorical questions do not emerge in the late 17th century, but later, in early 18th-century prose, e.g. in Defoe (see example (11)) and in Richardson, as in examples (12)-(13) in which the emotion is expressed with *should*⁸⁹.

- (11) **'Why,'** says I, **'should I be at a loss?** First of all, I am not obliged to give me any reason at all; on the other hand, I may tell them I am married already, and stop there, and that will
Defoe 1722
- (12) No, sir, said I, I hope not. **Why should I?** Expect, said he, a stranger then, when you
Richardson 1740
- (13) And yet, my dear father and mother, **why should I,** with such a fine gentleman? And whom I so dearly love? And so much to my honour too?
Richardson 1740

The search program has provided me with a set of rhetorical questions in which the *wh*-element is moved into initial position and located immediately before the inverted structure or unattached to the following clause because of the gap that is filled by the verbs of saying, such as *says I*. Consider the examples (11)–(13). At this stage it is important to note that some words that are considered archaic in modern English are often deployed in a

⁸⁹ What is interesting here is the fact that “putative *should* is also found in some questions and exclamations: *How should I know?, Why should she have to resign?*” (Leech and Svartvik 1994: 143-144).

sentence prior to 1800 (Blake and Moorhead 1993). The novel may contain forms such as *thou, dost thou, art thou*, in Bunyan, *thy* in Fielding, *hast thou* in Sterne, which are implemented in four interrogative sentences in the data.

After discussing the practice of infusing a wide range of linguistic forms that contribute to the more emphatic utterances, let us investigate the non-clausal structures which can be limited to a one-word form (see example (15)) that is placed just behind the exclamative *why*.

6.1.1.4. *Non-clausal structures as post-extension*

Utterances (14)-(20) are all examples of statements with *left dislocation* (Richards and Platt 1992: 209). This word order device is often used to signal the writer's original, emphatic, and clear style, which makes the dialogues more colourful and emotive by putting emphasis on some linguistic forms (amplifiers or downtoners, e.g. adverbs, nouns, pronouns, verbs, etc.) which are moved to the left. These reduced forms render a wide range of subjuncts, first names, titles, animate pronouns, etc., after which different bridge verbs (9) or non-bridge (1) verbs occur. Then, in turn, such structures (placed just behind *why*) can be treated as minimal, reduced or simply non-clausal structures. Consider Table 6.7.

The use of such emotional associations of lexical items (e.g. terms of endearment) is often motivated by the speaker's intention to "identify more closely with the hearer to win social approval" (Crystal 2003: 161). According to Yule (2006: 220-224) an address form (*father, sir, brother, etc.*) claims "the kind of closeness in relationship associated with a family member, the speaker's choice of address term is an attempt to create solidarity"; beginning the request with e.g. *sir, my Lord, mistress*, indicates an unequal relationship of power, while inserting, e.g. *Pamela, Robin, man*, renders a close relationship.

| <i>Why</i> functioning as exclamative | The linguistic forms placed just behind the initial <i>why</i> -form | | The verbs of saying |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Why, | adverbs | at first, truly, then, now, ne'er, good Mr A, indeed, yes, surely, so, really, | said she, says he, said he, said I, says I, says Mrs J, answered I, replied I, |
| | nouns | man, sister, creature, lambkin, home, wife, girl, child, bold-face, father, boy, gentlemen | |
| | pronouns | They, this, | |
| | verbs | go, look, tell, may be, look ye, see, | |
| | conjunction | but, for, | |
| | interjection | Ay | |
| | address terms | madam, Robin, sir, mistress, Pamela, | |
| | intensive additions | my Lord, my dear, dear sir | |
| | prepositions/ PrepP | to one of his own trade, in +NP, in the head, to her beloved, | |
| | infinitivals/ imperative | to be short, look ye, look you, | |
| | phrases | barbarous Mr J, your good angel, good Mr A, | |

Table 6.7

Range of the linguistic forms as next-to-right complements of *why*

The search program found only one instance of *Sir* and *man* (see (15)) placed just behind *why* in Bunyan, then 14 reduced forms with *sir* (10 items in Richardson, one in Defoe), and two ellipted forms with *madam* in Richardson and Defoe. Interestingly, the number of address forms increases between 1700 and 1750, while in the late 18th century there are only three examples with *sir* in Reeve, and two instances in Goldsmith. In commenting on historical change within written texts, there are many linguistic characteristics concerning next-to-right elements of the *why*-word, that is *Why, then/ Why then*, (see Chapter Three), which are regularly used at the beginning of the 18th century (22 examples), only one instance after 1650 and two examples before 1800. There is a tendency to change the form from declarative to exclamative as it is possible to find an exclamation mark placed after *Why, then/ Why then*, (there are 25 examples out of a total 196 with interjectional *why*).

In the 18th-century prose there are more bridge verbs (verbs of saying, see e.g. (16-18)) than non-bridge ones (see (14-15)) that are implemented between the initial exclamative *why* and accompanied non-clausal constructions unattached to the clause as in (16)-(17) inclusive:

- (14) Atten. But his Father would, as you intimate, sometimes rebuke him for his wickedness;
pray how would he carry it then?
Wise. **How! why, like to a Thief that is found.** He would stand gloating, and hanging down
his head in a sullen, pouching manner, (a body might read, as we use to say, the picture
Bunyan 1670
- (15) IGNOR. What! you are a man for revelations! I believe that what both you, and all the rest of you,
say about that matter, is but the fruit of distracted brains.
HOPE. **Why, man!** Christ is so hid in God from the natural apprehensions of the flesh, that he cannot
by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him to them.
Bunyan 1678
- (16) Such a thundering proof as this left no further room for objection; the two unbelievers began to gather
and pocket up their mistake as hastily as they could. **"Why, truly,"** said the first, **"upon more mature
consideration"**--"Ay," says the other, interrupting him, "now I have thought better on the thing,
your Lordship seems to have a great deal of reason." "Very well,"
Swift 1704
- (17) **'Why, mistress,'** says he, **'I have a horse that will carry double, and I don't much care if I go
myself with you,'** and the like.
'Will you?' says I; 'well, I believe you are an honest man; if you will, I shall be glad of it; I'll pay you in
reason.' **'Why, look ye, mistress,'** says he, **'I won't be out of reason with you, then; if I carry you to
Colchester, it will be worth five shillings for myself and my horse, for I shall hardly come back to-
night.'**
Defoe 1722
- (18) **'Why, but, child,'** says the old lady, **'she is a beggar.'**
Defoe 1722
- (19) He came up to me, and took me by the hand, and said, Whose pretty maiden are you?--I dare
say you are Pamela's sister, you are so like her. So neat, so clean, so pretty! **Why, child, you far
surpass your sister Pamela!**
Richardson 1740
- (20) **Why, sir,** said she, **I hope you'll sing psalms all day, and miss will fast and pray!**
Such sackcloth and ashes doings, for a wedding, did I never hear of!--She spoke a little
Richardson 1740

In respect of *fragments*, words which stand by themselves just behind *why*, there are 99 verbs of saying between 1700 and 1750, then the number decreases to reach four in the 1750s. These constructions should be illustrated by means of the most common emerging pattern *why + comma + (non-clausal structure) + (verb of saying) + complementisers*. There are numerous lexicalized expressions within the frame, although, exclamative clauses with *why* bear strong formal resemblances to declaratives which are components of matrix constructions⁹⁰, the length of which has been achieved by extending the rankshifted sentences.

⁹⁰ What is interesting here is the fact that "before 1800 the sentences appear to go on and on because they are not very tightly structured, and the light punctuation reinforces this impression" (Blake and Moorhead 1993: 72). Furthermore, they add that "the organization of the sentences is difficult to know exactly where it finishes, and the absence of full stops makes it particularly troublesome in this case" (1993: 66). That is why, the variation causes that, first of all, I examine the forms that are next-to-right and next-to-left to *why*, and then I discuss structures (that are said to be *rankshifted* (1993: 19)) which follow the forms placed at the beginning of the complex sentence.

The entire construction indicates that the value of the variable is remarkable, but does not explicitly specify what this is. These constructions express the speaker's strong emotional reaction or attitude to some situations (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Functioning as an exclamation, the *why*-word expresses surprise, anxiety, objection, or content.

Nevertheless, without making up a complete sentence (Trask 1997: 11-12), it would be difficult to justify clearly the emotive colouring of the whole utterance as a final-punctuation mark is frequently placed at the end of the complex or longish utterance (only 15 out of a total 196 are limited by an exclamation mark). The whole range of sentence-final punctuation marks is depicted in Table 6.8:

| | | Non-clausal structure as post-extension | Punctuation |
|------|----------|--|---------------------|
| Why+ | a comma+ | verb + to + NP + that clause+ adverb (of degree/time) + declarative clause + adverb if time + NP (<i>my dear</i>) + declarative clause+ preposition + NP + declarative clause + clause of reason + declarative clause + relative clause + declarative clause + reported verb + NP (<i>my dear</i>) + declarative clause+ PrepP+ reported verb + non-clausal structure | a full stop |
| | | addressing noun + interrogative clause + NP + pseudo-cleft + proper noun + reported verb + interrogative clause/inverted structure + | a question mark |
| | | addressing noun + declarative clause + pronoun + comma+PrepP+verb+ that-clause + adverb + declarative clause/negative clause + deictic expression + declarative clause + NP + relative clause + preposition + pronoun + conjunction+ verb + NP + reported verb + declarative clause + interjection (<i>ay</i>) + that-clause + | a semi-colon |
| | | deictic expression + reported verb + be + NP | a colon |
| | | PrepP+double dashes+ declarative clause of-genitive + gerund + adverb of degree + reported verb+ PrepP+ | double dashes |
| | | addressing noun (<i>man/sir</i>) + (declarative clause) N/NP + declarative clause/pseudo cleft/to-clause/ conjunction (<i>therefore</i>) + to-form+declarative clause+ adverb of time + proper noun+ declarative clause + proper noun + reported verb + NP adverb of degree + reported verb + NP + declarative clause+ PrepP + NP + | an exclamation mark |

Table 6.8

**The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection
and non-clausal structures as post-extension**

The reduced constructions usually lack the grammatical structure of a full sentence, so the linguistic environment, before and after *why*, adds important emotional colouring.

However, in my data, there is only one interjection, *Ay*, which is located at the beginning of a hearer's response (see example (16)).

Further, I will discuss the lexical organization preceding *why* in the following sections as 'the text is composed meaningfully' and 'connected to each other in a sequence' (Malmkjær 2004: 542-543), which plays an important role in determining the expressive function. But, in what follows, it is essential to recognize the importance of *if*-clauses to which *why* can be attached before (illustrating apodosis) or after the main clause, which makes the emotional descriptions explicit.

6.1.1.5. *If-clauses as post-extension*

According to the *OED*, there was a number of *if*-clauses equipped with exclamative or interjectional *why* in the 15th and 16th centuries. Surprisingly, in my findings there are no conditional clauses in late 17th-century prose. However, in the case of these structures, placed just behind the *why*-element, a few *if*-clauses in the 18th-century data were found. On the basis of the quantitative analysis there are 10 *if*-clauses in Richardson, only 2 examples in Defoe, one in Fielding, and one instance each in Goldsmith, Walpole and Lewis respectively. The examples are given in (21) and (22):

(21) But, sir, said I, let me ask you but one question, and pray don't let me be called names for it; for I don't mean disrespectfully:

Why, if I have done amiss, am I not left to be discharged by your housekeeper, as the other maids have been? And if Jane, or Rachel, or Hannah, were to offend, would your honour stoop to take notice of them?

Richardson 1740

(22) HASTINGS. No, sir: but if you can inform us---

TONY. **Why, gentlemen, if you know neither the road you are going, nor where you are, nor the road you came, the first thing I have to inform you is, that--you have lost your way.**

Goldsmith 1773

It is worth mentioning that *if*-clauses are the main clauses of complex sentences as in (21) – (22). In my findings the selected constituents of syntactic structures are illustrated in Table 6.9:

| | | If-clauses as post-extension | Punctuation |
|------|----------|---|---------------------|
| Why+ | a comma+ | reported verb + if + declarative clause (<i>can</i>) + (<i>would not</i>) (mixed conditional)+ reported verb + if + conditional type I (<i>is/may</i>) + +and + subordinate clause Adv + NP + if + conditional type I (<i>must/are</i>) | a full stop |
| | | NP + reported verb+ conditional type I+as + subordinate clause | a question mark |
| | | - | a colon |
| | | reported verb + if + NP + be +comparative structure + N+ conditional type II+ for+ subordinate clause N + reported verb+conditional type I | a semi-colon |
| | | - | an exclamation mark |

Table 6.9

**The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection
and *if*-clauses that appear as post-extension**

A closer examination of the data shows that there is no apodosis in the LModE period. The picture that emerges then is that the linguistic environment preceding *why* determines the expressive function. In conversational situations, politeness moderates speaker`s uses of the lexical elements. There are many more conditional clauses, in the selected material, in which both the matrix clause and the *if*-clause contain present tense forms. Considering the issue of intensifying the emotive force of conditional clauses, it should be pointed out that there is only one example of *if*-clause with past forms in the data. What is important here is the fact that generally the protasis is placed just after the *why*-word acting as an exclamative form, but there is one example, in Sterne, in which the *why*-element is placed between the protasis and the apodosis, i.e. *If that be so, why, indeed, seek me at all?* In the next section the linguistic units that precede *wh*-element will be discussed, but I shall limit myself only to lexical items located just before *why*.

6.1.2. Linguistic units as pre-extension

According to Onions (1971: 2) “it is especially appropriate to exclamations and abrupt commands” to find single-word units or self-contained groups of words shifted to the prominent initial position in the sentence in order to provide special emphasis. The search program has provided me with a set of pre-complementisers (modifiers) that affect or premodify the entire structure (see example (23)).

- (23) PIETY. And what saw you else in the way?
CHR. **Saw! why**, I went but a little further, and I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the tree; and the very sight of him made my burden fall off my back,

Bunyan 1678

In the context of exclamatory function, *why* was used with statements, exhortations, demands, etc. meaning *well*, *so*, *why* to emphasise the speaker's response and hearer's attention to a situation (*OED*). What is more, in the late 17th century the emphatic function of the whole utterance was enhanced by other one-word linguistic units, such as *Think!*, *Examples!*, *How!*, *What!*, *Seen!*, or *Saw!* (see (23)) etc., which were placed just before *why*.

In the early 18th century, we can see that the elements within the linguistic environment form clauses quite frequently emphasised by an exclamation mark (see example (24)).

- (24) At last she broke out: '**Unhappy child!**' says she, 'what miserable chance could bring thee hither? and in the arms of my own son, **too! Dreadful girl!**' says she, '**why, we are all undone! Married to thy own brother!** Three children, and two alive, all of the same flesh and blood! My son and my daughter lying together as husband and wife!

Defoe 1722

According to the quantitative analysis of these preceding elements, the search program found only 7 examples in Bunyan, one in Defoe and 11 in Richardson. But in the late 18th-century prose I found only two instances in Mackenzie and one in Sterne. *Why* functioning as an exclamation/interjection may be preceded by a group of intensive additions e.g. *So pretty!*, *Dreadful girl!*, or *Well!*, which function as emphasisers, downtoners or amplifiers respectively, which was discussed in Chapter Four. The expressive function of reduced and independent *why* will be discussed in subsequent sections.

6.1.3. The independent WHY-element

The discussed *wh*-elements also occur in their prominent initial position but reduced to one-word form is sporadic in the data (in comparison to independent *what/how* that appear more frequently in the data). To take the analogy further, *why* functioning as an exclamation/interjection⁹¹ is equipped with an exclamation mark or question mark, which adds emphasis, signals a surprise, or calls more or less abrupt attention to the statement (see example (25)).

⁹¹ It is worth mentioning again that single-word units may be recognised as 'sentences'. Onions (1971: 1-2) states that " 'Yes' and 'no' are long-established sentence-words; they are words *equivalent* to sentences; some sentences lack some part or parts that are ideally necessary to the full form of a sentence." This observation reflects the chameleon nature of the *wh*-words that may function as an exclamation and interjection in the same construction particularly if they have a form of a single-word phrase, i.e. *What!*, *Why!*, *How!*

- (25) Or, if he could get near to some that he had observed would fit his humour, he would be whispering, gigling, and playing with them, till such time as Sermon was done.
 Atten. **Why!** he was grown to a prodigious height of wickedness.
 Wise. He was so, and that which aggravates all, was, this was his practice as soon as he was come to his Master, he was as ready at

Bunyan 1670

The position of the interrogative pronoun in question did not change, only the punctuation marks and some attached lexical elements altered. In my findings there are only several ellipted forms, for instance, *Why!* (one example in Bunyan), *Why?* (7 instances in Bunyan, one in Haywood, and one in Sterne). The data would seem to suggest that the independent and unattached exclamative and interjectional *why* was used sporadically from 1650 to 1800. What is more, I found *Why so?* in Defoe, and *Why not?* in Sterne. In the light of minor sentences, a two-word utterance exists in some speaker's responses, for example: *Why, man!*, or *Why, my brother?* in Bunyan. Undoubtedly, there may exist different reasons for shortening these clauses. In these cases the communicative context plays an important role, which is discussed by Heritage (1984: 237) who says that "this contextualisation of utterances is a major and unavoidable procedure which hearers use to rely on to interpret conversational contributions."

Why is used interjectionally meaning *well*, *why*, *ah*, to express surprise, anxiety, or indignation, but it should be pointed out that this *why* occurs sporadically performing such functions in the selected novels. In the data it is observed that *why* is not only placed in sentence-initial position, but it may appear sentence-medially or finally within the syntactic structure. According to the *MED* and *OED*, there were only sporadic examples of *why* placed centrally or initially (see sections 3.3.3. or 3.3.4.). Regarding the linear order the reduced forms placed after *why* are not as common in utterances as the ellipted *what*-forms that are discussed in Chapter Four.

Why is not only fixed in initial position as between 1650-1700 there are only two instances located medially, one in Bunyan *The Death and Life* and one in Browne, and 5 examples (with *why* placed finally) in Bunyan *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and 9 instances in Burton as in (26)-(27).

- (26) Yea, if there shall, as there will sometimes, rise a doubt in the heart of the buyer about the weight and measure he should have, **why**, he suffereth his very senses to be also deluded, by recalling of his Chapmans Religion to mind, and thinks verily that not his good chapman but himself is out; for he dreams not that his chapman can deceive.

Bunyan 1670

- (27) But as to the daughter, though I think you might find as fitting a match in England, yet if your heart be really set upon this Scotch rosebud, **why**, the Baronet has a great opinion of her father and of his family, and he

Scott 1814

On the contrary, the number of the ellipted *why* placed centrally or finally fell down drastically as my search program found only 13 examples (10 in Richardson, two in Defoe, one in Fielding) in the early 18th century and three examples (one in Goldsmith, Walpole, Lewis) in the late 18th century. In (28) and (29) it is observable that *why* is a *floating lexical item* that can be placed within a clause and separated from it by commas, semi-colons, or dashes⁹².

- (28) 'Poor Mrs. Betty,' says he, 'it is a sad thing to be in love; **why**, it has reduced you sadly.'
At last I spoke a little. Defoe 1722

With respect to longer structures in which *why* is moved to the final position, such as *though not knowing why*, *I don't know why*, or *I know why* (similar structures occurring with exclamative and interjectional *what*-phrases), it is worth observing that they are implemented centrally within the complex sentence and placed between commas (see example (29)), or just before or after (see example (27)) a semi-colon as in (29):

- (29) She said dryly, '**I know why**; you have stayed longer than any other lodger. Few ever stayed a second night; none before you a third. But I take it they have been very kind to you.'
Sterne 1759

Moving towards the ellipted forms traditionally considered as not in complete sentences, it can be immediately observed that independent and ellipted *why* were not common constructions between 1650 and 1800. As appears from Table 6.11, out of total number of *why* functioning as exclamations or interjections, only 20 instances mark the ellipted form located at the end of the sentence. In the data, the *why*-element tends to appear in final position generally followed by a question mark or full stop. Consider example (30).

- (30) "(...) I could understand it if it was her old home, because a home, or a house"--he changed the word, designedly; he had thought of a telling point--"because a house in which one has once lived becomes in a sort of way sacred, **I don't know why**. Associations and so on. (...)"
Forster 1910

The repertoire of reduced *wh*-clauses floating within syntactic structures can also be found in the data after 1800, which shows a tendency among speakers to produce expressions referring to their emotional effect on the listener, as in the 'emotive content'.

⁹² It is worth noticing here that "in the early 16th century punctuation was relatively light, but at the of the century and in the 17th century punctuation could be used rather heavily. There was a tendency to introduce new marks, such as brackets, the dash, the question mark and the exclamation mark, which coincided with the colon (frequently used at this time) and the semi-colon which partly replaced the colon."(Blake and Moorhead 1993: 60).

6.1.5. Closing remarks

We have shown that the ellipted *why*-forms are used infrequently between 1650 and 1700, then the number of instances increased in the early 18th century, only to decrease after 1850. In terms of the issues related to *if*-clauses, apodosis appears only once between 1650 and 1800. Then, apart from hypotactic constructions occurring to the right of *why*, the problem of linkage conveyed by punctuation has been shown as particularly diversified. Structurally, there are three kinds of sentence - simple, compound and complex; yet, the length of even a simple sentence is achieved by extending the noun phrase, by adding adverbials, etc. What is more, these stretches of language are frequently found to be separated by means of colons, commas or semi-colons, causing it difficult to recognise the beginning or end of sentences due to there being a noticeable lack of capital letters.

In reduced sentences, the number of ‘abbreviated’ structures was very low. The wide range of preceding and following orthographic clues (Hoey 1991) and intensive additions facilitate the process of communication, yet the small number of intensive additions does not make the sentences conform to the canons of standard language. Taking the exclamation marks into consideration, there are significantly fewer instances with *why* than with *what*-elements floating in sentences performing an exclamatory function (see Section 4.1.).

6.2. LModE 1800 – 1950

The search program has also provided me with numerous *whys* placed sentence-initially as well as *why* moving rightwards within the emphatic structure. In accordance with the quantitative analysis the number of occurrences of *why*-phrases in the corpus increased gradually to 539 instances in the early 20th century. Taking into account the number of selected clauses with *why*, functioning as an exclamation, the number of examples doubled in early 19th-century and 20th-century prose, while the number of *why*-forms is similar to those in the early 18th century (see Table 6.1).

Let us look at frequency of occurrences after 1800 shown in Table 6.10.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>why</i> -phrases in the novels | The number of <i>why</i> that functions as an exclamation / interjection |
|--------------------|---|--|
| 1800 – 1850 | 273 | 114 (42%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 486 | 196 (40%) |
| 1900 – 1950 | 539 | 125 (23%) |
| <u>1800 – 1950</u> | <u>1298</u> | <u>435 (33.5%)</u> |

Table 6.10
Quantitative comparison of selected *why*-forms that undergo emotive functions in the LModE period

As language is viewed as changeable, ‘discourse’ is also treated as a dynamic process of communication. The reordering of constituents may modify the structure to achieve a more dramatic form of expression. This functional shift of *why* is particularly shown in its mobility in the syntactic structure from medial position to more peripheral place. This changeable position of *why* and the number of occurrences is depicted in Table 6.11:

| Periodisation | The number of <i>why</i> occurring sentence-initially | The number of <i>why</i> occurring sentence-medially | The number of <i>why</i> occurring sentence-finally |
|--------------------|---|--|---|
| 1800 – 1850 | 99 (86.8%) | 10 (8.8%) | 5 (4.4%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 158 (81%) | 22 (11%) | 16 (8.2%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 107 (85.6%) | 5 (4%) | 13 (10.4%) |
| <u>1800 - 1950</u> | <u>364 (83.7%)</u> | <u>37 (8.5%)</u> | <u>34 (7.8%)</u> |

Table 6.11
Quantitative comparison of selected *why*-elements occurring sentence-initially, medially and finally between 1800 and 1950

Upon examining Table 6.10 we cannot but notice nearly the same number of *why*-elements placed initially both in LModE (240 instances) and in the early 20th century (122 instances). Moving rightwards along the linguistic strings, there are as many as 37 *why*-elements (8.5%) placed sentence-medially and 34 instances (7.8%) placed sentence-finally after 1800. To examine sequences that act as the pre- and post-expansions (see Sections 6.1.1. – 6.1.3.) I will discuss the nature of selected elements considering their morphosyntactic organisation. Table 6.12 shows a quantitative representation of lexical items that render the post-expansion of *why* in predominant initial position.

In the context of the present research, the examined structures are grouped and will be investigated individually in accordance with the constructions that complement the *why*-word, the order of which is shown in the second column of Table 6.12

| <i>Why</i> functioning as an exclamation/ interjection | The structures that follow <i>why</i> which occurs in sentence-initial position | 1800-1850 | 1850-1900 | 1900-1950 | Total |
|--|---|------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|
| | declarative clauses | 28 (28.3%) | 48 (30%) | 17 (16%) | <u>93</u> (25.5%) |
| Why, | negative clauses/ negated structures | 2 (2%) | 5 (3.2%) | 1 (0.9%) | <u>8</u> (2.2%) |
| | interrogative clauses | 18 (18/2%) | 22 (14%) | 21 (19.6%) | <u>61</u> (17%) |
| | non-clausal structures | 38 (38.4%) | 67 (42%) | 40 (37%) | <u>145</u> (39.8%) |
| | if-clauses | 4 (4%) | 3 (1.9%) | 3 (2.8%) | <u>10</u> (2.7%) |
| | independent <i>why</i> -element | 9 (9.1%) | 13 (8.2%) | 25 (23%) | <u>47</u> (13%) |

Table 6.12
Quantitative comparison of forms that follow the *why*-element
which occurs in sentence-initial position

From these facts we can conclude that the number of declarative clauses, interrogative clauses or negative constructions is similarly arranged within the 150-year period (there is moderate growth in the early 17th and 19th century, then the items selected reach a peak and consequently drop in the late 18th and early 20th centuries). It is worth pointing out that there are as many as 38 selected non-clausal structures (38.4%) in the early 19th century, while there are only 40 examples (37%) in the late 20th century. When set beside the independent *why*-elements, the situation is drastically different. The number of such *mini sentences* grow substantially from 9 instances (9.1%) between 1800 and 1850 to 13 examples (8.2%) between 1850-1900, and from one example between 1750-1800 to 25 instances (23%) in the early 20th century. Considering *if*-clauses, this pattern of realisation of the *why*-phrases has been found to be uncommon in my data.

Each post-expanding form will be discussed widely in the following sections.

6.2.1. Syntactic organisation

The emphasis on norms that “were considered appropriate in speech or writing for a particular situation” was particularly current in the 18th and 19th centuries (Richards and Platt 1992;

Crystal 2003: 319). SVO word order characterised most of ModE statements. The manifestation of an attitude towards the fixed and regularized language rules has been rendered in Present-day English prose, which will be discussed selectively in accordance with the investigated post-components (shown in Table 6.10) of *why* placed sentence-initially. In the following section let us move on to the problem of the variation of lexical items within the syntactic organisation and the presence or absence of exclamation marks.

6.2.1.1. Declarative clauses as post-extension

The practice of using longish constructions started to be less common after 1800. The 20th-century data show that the longish sentences tend to disappear, which is illustrated in the fragments (31) – (33):

- (31) “What a charming thing it is that Mrs. Dashwood can spare you both for so long a time together!”
 “Long a time, indeed!” interposed Mrs. Jennings.
 “**Why, their visit is but just begun!**” *Austen 1811*
- (32) I tried to rise. There was a faint streak in the east. “**Why, it is daybreak!**
 How far are we from Norton Bury?” *Craik 1857*
- (33) Sampson, whose natural cholera was constantly checked by his humour, declined this profuse proposal.
 “Here’s vanity!” said he. “Now do you really think your two lives are worth a guinea? **Why, it’s 252 pence! 1008 farthings!**” *Reade 1863*

We can see that the exclamation marks placed at the end of the utterance become more frequent. Yet, despite the exclamatory function, the suffixed clauses preserve their SVO word order. In my corpus there is only one declarative clause followed by an exclamation point in Austen, then one instance in Gaskell, three examples in Craik and only 4 ones in Reade. However, there is a further decrease in the early 20th century again as there is only one instance in Mansfield, and Christie respectively, and 3 examples in Forster. Richards and Platt (1992: 148) maintain that “the functional uses of language cannot be determined simply by studying the grammatical structure of sentences.” Table 6.13 shows a wide range of not only lexical elements, but also orthographic clues in the syntactic organisation. With this in mind, the wide variation of lexical units is shown in Table 6.13 below:

| | | Declarative clauses as post-extension | Punctuation |
|------|---------------------|--|-----------------|
| Why+ | a comma+ | proper noun + declarative clause + | a full stop |
| | | declarative clause + negative clause + | a question mark |
| | | NP + verb of thinking + declarative clause+ | a colon |
| | | declarative clause + NP + declarative NP + relative clause + | a semi-colon |
| | declarative clause+ | an exclamation mark | |
| | a semi-colon | declarative clause + | a full stop |

Table 6.13

**The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection and declarative clauses
that appear as post-extension of *why***

The contrast between exclamative structures with sentence-initially placed *why* can be illustrated by the emerging pattern: *why + comma + (verb of saying) + declarative clause + (verb of saying) + (complementing clauses)* in the early 19th century, while in the late 19th century the verbs of saying disappear gradually and the typical pattern after 1900 becomes *why+comma+a declarative clause+(exclamation mark)*. For example: in Forster *Why, it's only in pencil!*, *Why, you just said it was!*, *Why, she may be coming down to turn us out now!*, in Mansfield *Why, even a prostitute has a greater sense of generosity!*, in Christie *Why, she was devoted to her!*, and in Lawrence *Why that's Lodaro!*. In 6 of the 17 examples, the exclamation mark provides special emotional colouring to the whole utterance. These frequencies show that the full stop placed at the end of the syntactic structure is still predominant after 1800. In such a context, verbs of saying appear sporadically (only 5 instances between 1800 and 1850) to disappear entirely after 1900. By the beginning of the 20th century intensive expressions that are next-to-left elements occur infrequently. For example, "*Ah!*" said Mrs.Dodd,"**why**, you are looking yourself once more.", or "*Halloa!* **why**, this will be the little girl grown up int`a wumman while ye look round.", or "*Not bled in apoplexy!*" said he superciliously;"**why**, it is the universal practice.", or "*Not bled enough!* **Why**, Sampson says it is because he was bled too much." in Reade. More precisely, fronting the emphatic element affects the spelling of *why*, since the boldfaced forms are not marked with a capital letter at the beginning of the sentence. In the following sections I shall devote some space to a characterisation of negative constructions in which clitic forms co-occur with modal verbs frequently.

6.2.1.2. Negative constructions as post-extension

In recent grammatical theory, interest has been shown in the scope of the negator, that is, how much of the sentence is actually negated. Furthermore, the way the meaning of the sentence can change may depend on the position of the negator. In my data *not* co-occurs with modal verbs and sporadically with the dummy *do*. The whole utterance constructed in this way enforces an interpretation and the emotive colouring. Consider the examples (34) – (35):

- (34) Dodd asked for a receipt.
"Why, it is not usual when there is an account."
 Dodd's countenance fell: "Oh, I should not like to part with it unless I had a receipt."
Reade 1863
- (35) "I fear you do not remember me, Inspector Japp."
"Why, if it isn't Mr. Poirot!" cried the Inspector. He turned to the other man.
 "You've heard me speak of Mr. Poirot?"
Christie 1920

Similarly to declarative clauses, a negative constructions appear sporadically in post-expansion. Table 6.14 illustrates a possible variation of clitic forms accompanying modal verbs.

| | | Negative clauses/negated structures as post-extension | Punctuation |
|------|----------|---|---------------------|
| Why+ | a comma+ | negative clause (<i>don't</i>) + reported verb + declarative clause + negative clause (<i>mayn't/would not</i>) + negated question (<i>may it not be</i>) + | a full stop |
| | | negative clause (<i>can't</i>) + addressing noun (<i>madam</i>) + | a colon |
| | | negative clause (<i>won't</i>) + modal + perfect infinitive + | a semi-colon |
| | | NP + negative clause (<i>will not</i>) + reported verb + negative clause (<i>must not</i>) + | an exclamation mark |
| | | negated structure (<i>never</i>) + | double dashes |
| | | | |

Table 6.14

The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection and its negated structures that appear as post-extension

Let us look closer a set of instances. Table 6.14 illustrates a range of written symbols placed at the end of negative constructions making the whole speakers' utterance more emphatic. Among 50 negative constructions, there are only 6 instances which are finished with an exclamation mark. Apart from meaning *well, so, why*, the *wh*-element was also used with statements, exhortations, demands so as to emphasise the speaker's response and hearer's attention to a situation. For instance, *Why, Paul, you never told me what kind of fellow this*

minister-cousin of yours was! in Gaskell, or *How the man stares! Why, it's not mine, James; it's my children's: there, good-bye* in Reade.

More intensive additions appear as specific lexical items within the interrogative clauses that follow the *why*-word. A brief review is presented in the next section.

6.2.1.3. Interrogative clauses as post-extension

Contrary to *what*-phrases, the picture that emerges then is that the *why*-forms in the examined prose are not accompanied by intensifying, downtoning, or limiting adjuncts. This observation could be confirmed by Berk (1999: 186-187), who says that “downtoners rarely occur in negative constructions, probably because it is redundant to downtone a quality that has already been negated.” More often, however, the scope of exclamatory marks is narrowed down to several examples.

First of all, the rule VS(O) appears to be common in my findings, examples of which are shown in (36) – (38):

- (36) "I believe he is most likely a papist; though they say papists don't read the Bible, but worship images."
"Why, what reason have you to suppose that? He's an Englishman, is he not?"
 "No, he is an emigrant." Porter 1845
- (37) 'A moment,--a moment; this poor prisoner is dying where shall I find a surgeon?'
'Why, where should you? We have none, you know, but two or three
 French fellows, who, I believe, are little better than GARCONS APOTHICAIRES.'
Scott 1814
- (38) **"Why, what on earth can he know about English?** [Greek text] is a
 Cormorant: [Greek text] is a Skinflint; and your tutor is a Duffer. Hush!
 keep dark now! here he comes." And he went hastily to meet Edward Dodd: Reade 1863

In respect of the presence or absence of intensifying expressions within the inverted structures, there is a wide range of pragmatic markers, such as *Good heaven!* in Scott, *Why, how the devil did Lord Clonbrony get into such hands as his?* in Galt, *Why, what in the world have you been doing?* in Gaskell, or *Why, does anybody know anything about you, you shifty bitch!* in Lawrence, can be found to form more emotive colouring. Most often, this exclamatory function of *why* is accomplished by means of the same morphosyntactic pattern i.e., *why + comma + what / where/ how/ why*.

Upon examining my data, I found that the set of ellipted interrogative *why*-forms appears frequently in the 20th century, which will be discussed in the following sections. The data shows that the most interesting patterns for the structures in which *why* functions as an

exclamation/interjection are constructions limited to nominal phrases or other adverbial phrases which are placed just after *why*. Let us consider now all the options of those next-to-right non-clausal structures in the following section.

6.2.1.4. *Non-clausal structures as post-extension*

The realisation of emotive function of *why* in the case of non-clausal structures is more complex than the structures discussed in Section 6.1.1.4., Hoey (1991:209-219) points out that “twentieth-century literature has been prolific in the production of texts that do not conform to any generalizations.” He adds that a word encountered in context must either reinforce, modify, or help to understand marginal grammatical structures. The frequency, complexity and mobility of lexical items in the syntactic structures also make the process of speaker`s and hearer`s interaction more diversified and problematic. In most of the examples discussed, the non-clausal structure involves such intensive additions such as *my dear mother, my lord, dear girl, my darling* in Porter, Galt and Reade, which the speaker produces to express anxiety, surprise, indignation or protest in reply to a remark or question (see Chapter Three). What is more, other titles of respect are also used as vocatives e.g. *My Lord, gentlemen, madam, or man*. Consider the structural variants in (39) – (41).

- (39) The eyes of Lady Sara sparkled with pleasure.
"Why, surely, Lady Sara!" exclaimed Lady Tinemouth, doubtfully. *Porter ?*
- (40) 'Regard, respect, esteem, admiration!--**Why, my dearest Colambre!** this is saying all I want; satisfies me, and I am sure would satisfy Mrs Broadhurst and Miss Broadhurst too.'
Galt 1820-1821
- (41) **'Why, Paul, you never told me what kind of a fellow this minister-cousin of yours was!'**
 'I don't know that I found out, sir,' said I. 'But if I had, I don't think you'd have listened to me, as you have done to my father.'
Gaskell 1865

The total number of such markers is 111 in the 20th-century prose. However, there are only 14 instances with an exclamation mark placed finally. This pattern (*why + adverbial + clause/reduced form*) of realisation of the expressive function presented in (39) – (41) is typical of instances found in my data. The address forms are arranged into a complex address system. The presence of vocatives, hypocoristics, diminutives, forms of endearment, such as *Terry, Miss, my dear Basil, Brother, Ruth, my dear love*, is a characteristic feature of the non-clausal structures suffixed to *why*, which is used to mark the speaker`s relation⁹³ to the hearer,

⁹³ Similar observations are made by Blake and Moorhead (1993: 86) who note that if we consider some general characteristics of language, “it is important to remember that a distinction exists between what can be called

as in (41). As for other amplifiers affecting all of the speakers' turns during the entire conversation, in my findings adverbials such as *truly*, *surely* are implemented.

The selected details are summarised in Table 6.15

| | | Non-clausal structure as post-extension | Punctuation |
|------|----------|--|---------------------|
| Why+ | a comma+ | verb + to + NP + that clause+ adverb + declarative clause + preposition + NP + declarative clause + clause of reason + declarative clause + relative clause + declarative clause + | a full stop |
| | | addressing noun + interrogative clause + NP + | a question mark |
| | | addressing noun + declarative clause + pronoun + comma+PrepP+verb+ that-clause + adverb + declarative clause/negative clause + deictic expression + declarative clause + NP + relative clause + preposition + pronoun + conjunction+ verb + | a semi-colon |
| | | PrepP+double dashes+ declarative clause | double dashes |
| | | addressing noun (<i>man</i>) | an exclamation mark |

Table 6.15

The *why*-word functioning as an exclamation/interjection and its non-clausal complements

Within the group of the elements appearing to the right of *why*, it should be noted that these one-word nominal forms or adverbials can be treated as *linking signals* or even as *backchannels* (Leech and Svartvik 1994: 129). The presence of ellipted forms that accompany the independent *why*-element is a characteristic feature. The number of such forms is not very high in prose after 1900, e.g. *Why so?* in Austen, or Craik respectively, and *Why not?* used once in Galt, Craik, or Mansfield, and appearing three times in Richardson and five times in Forster. These reduced structures are always finished with a question mark. But taking affixed vocatives into consideration, it is worth noting that the structural variants are restricted with an exclamation mark only in the early 20th century novels. Consider the following fragments:

- (42) "What can bring her here so often?" said Marianne, on her leaving them. "Could not she see that we wanted her gone!- - how teasing to Edward! "
"Why so? - - we were all his friends, and Lucy has been

Austen 1811

Within the group of affixed lexical items, the speaker produces the acknowledgement using agreement marker *yes* as in *Why, yes;* in (43):

user-related and *use-related varieties* of language." They add that speakers observe what the appropriate norms in a use-related variety are considered to colour their (speaker's) attitudes to the hearer's educational and social attainments. Thus, each individual has many use-related varieties, because the term implies adjusting one's language to the different situations in which one finds oneself on a daily basis (Blake and Moorhead 1993).

- (43) "Is it true, " asked the Widow, picking her teeth with a hairpin as she spoke,
 "that you are a vegetarian? "
 "Why, yes; I have not eaten meat for three years. "

Mansfield

It has been mentioned so far that *why* functioning interjectionally is sporadically followed by verbs of saying, that is 10>6>0 within each fifty-year period from 1800 onwards respectively, resulting in an emerging pattern *why+adverbial/infinitivals/honorifics+ clause/ellipted structure*. Considering the matter of attached clauses, it is possible to find exclamative *what* and *how*, e.g. *Why, how quietly you seem to take it!* in Craik, or *Why, Mary, what a gruesome conversation!* in Christie. A brief review of conditionals is presented in the next section.

6.2.1.5. *If-clauses as post-extension*

There are not many adverbial *if*-clauses observed in my data. Upon examining my corpus, I found that *why* is usually moved to canonical initial position and then followed by a conditional clause (protasis), as in (44):

- (44) 'How could you strike so young a lad so hard?' said Waverley, with some interest.
 'Why, if I did not strike hard sometimes, the rascals would forget themselves.'

Scott 1814

The independent *why* shifted to the medial position (between the main clause and a clause of condition) may make the conditional sentence split. Turning now to the distribution of the *why*-element, the search program has provided me with only four instances of apodosis in the data between 1800 -1850. Let us consider now all the options of *why* being used in the apodosis of a sentence:

- (45) "If thy execution were equal to thy intent, how great a man you soon might be! " said he.
 "We shall make the attempt once more; and, **if it fail again, why, I must use other means to bring about my high purposes relating to mankind.** Home and make ready.

Hogg 1824

Through the examples, such as *As you said once before, we have nothing but our senses to depend on, and, if you and I believe that we see a person, why, we do see him.* in Hogg, *And if he does - -why, he may.* in Craik, and 'And if he does want my hat, such as it is,' said Birkin, '**why, surely it is open to me to decide, which is a greater loss to me, my hat, or my liberty as a free and indifferent man.**' in Lawrence, we can see this specific lexical structure in which *why* emphasises an emotional state or attitude such as delight, doubt, surprise, shock or disgust.

6.2.2. Linguistic units as pre-extension

Apart from lexical units (intensifying devices) that can be found after *why*, there is another manner in which to make the utterance more emphatic. *Why*, functioning as an interjection, is accompanied by intensive additions, vocatives, interjections, etc., which are frequently placed left to *why*. The whole structure is in turn followed by an exclamation mark. (46) – (49) clearly show the selected representation.

- (46) "Ah! why, dear girl, must I love you better for thus giving me pain? Every way my darling Mary is more stimable. Porter 1845
- (47) 'Suffer! **Good heaven!** - - Why, where is he?' Scott 1814
- (48) "Then I wish him well off'em, confound'em oncannal! **Halloa!** why, this will be the little girl grown up int' a wumman while ye look round. " Reade 1863
- (49) '**Bully you!** Why, it's a pity you can't be bullied into some sense and decency. Bully you! YOU'LL see to that, you self-willed creature.' Lawrence 1920

The Victorian data indicates that amplifiers such as *Ah*, *Good heaven*, *Halloa*, or downtoners *Bully you* preceding *why* are used to produce an expression of surprise, in reply to a remark or question, or to perceive something unexpected. According to the quantitative analysis of *what* discussed in Chapter 4, the number of pre-modifying lexical items placed before *why* is not as high as those preceding *what*.

Thus we have referred to elements of sentences that are so called *backgrounded elements* (Goldberg 2006: 130) which illustrate certain syntactic constructions, such as clauses of reason, *that*-clauses, *if*-clauses, etc. Yet, exploring these subtle differences in backgrounded elements, it is noticeable that the long syntactic structures are gradually reduced even to one-word phrase over time. In what follows I shall devote some space to a characterisation of independent *whys* that may be marked by an exclamation mark or question mark.

6.2.3. Independent why-element

Surprisingly, ellipted and independent *why*-forms have not appeared since the 15th century according to the *OED*. It is remarkable that there are only several examples of such forms functioning as exclamations/interjections. In my findings *why* means *well*, *well then*, *why*, *ah*, and it is used to express anxiety, surprise, or indignation as in examples (50) – (52).

- (50) 'What do you mean?'
'Why! was not I PRISINT in the court-house myself, when the JUDGE on the bench judging a still,
and across the court came in one with a sly jug of POTSHEEN for the JUDGE himself, who
Galt 1820-1821
- (51) 'But St. Omar!--**Why!** why is she a St, Omar!--illegitimate!--"No St. Omar SANS REPROCHE."
My wife she cannot be--I will not engage her affections.'
Galt 1820-1821
- (52) "Do! oh! 'tis quite easy. You cannot walk--you shall not walk- - we must hire a gig and drive home.
I have enough money--all my month's wages--see!" He felt in his pockets one after the other; his
countenance grew blank. "**Why!** where is my money gone to?"
Craik 1857

An illustration of this option is made in the following examples, that is *Why! what's this?* in Gaskel, *Why, him!* in Reade, '*Why!*' she cried, *amused and really wondering.* or '*Why! I don't believe in your new-fangled ways and new-fangled ideas (...)*'. in Lawrence. From 1800 onwards the independent *why* marked with an exclamation mark has become a minority pattern, whereas the *why*-word followed by a question mark occurs much frequently. Consider Table 6.16 below.

| Periodisation | The number of independent <i>why</i> -forms in the novels | The occurrences finished with a question mark | The occurrences finished with an exclamation mark |
|---------------|---|---|---|
| 1800 – 1850 | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| 1850 – 1900 | 13 | 11 | 2 |
| 1900 - 1950 | 25 | 22 | 3 |

Table 6.16

Frequency data of the independent *why*-word marked with a question mark and an exclamation mark

It should be pointed out that the correlation is very imperfect, since the main function of the interrogative *why* is to signal a question, which is noticeable in Table 6.16 (22 examples out of a total 25). This indicates that the constituent has the status of a question. Nevertheless, the question mark is replaced by an exclamation mark, which means that interrogative function and exclamatory function (7/47) coexisted after 1800.

Following Leech and Svartvik (1994: 129-130) such "short questions can be used as responses to statements, when the hearer wants more information. Like other responses, these questions are often shortened by omitting repeated matter and they are shortened to the question word alone." Leech and Svartvik point out that these shortened questions are rather abrupt. After focusing on the sentence-initial position of *why*, *why* shifted to the sentence-middle or final-position within the syntactic structure will be discussed. In what follows, I shall devote some space to a characterisation of these positions in the next section.

6.2.4. Rightward movement of WHY

It is possible, though unusual, to have the *wh*-word moved to the central or final position in the sentence (Leech and Svartvik 1994). The search program has also provided me with the number of occurrences of *why*-words limited with commas placed in the centre of the sentence, and ellipted *why*-phrases placed in the final position. To illustrate these structures, let us look at the frequency of occurrences shown in Table 6.17:

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences of <i>why</i> -words in the sentence-medial position | The number of occurrences of <i>why</i> -words in the sentence-final position |
|---------------|--|---|
| 1800 – 1850 | 10 (0.9%) | 5 (4.4%) |
| 1850 – 1900 | 22 (11%) | 16 (8.2%) |
| 1900 - 1950 | 5 (4%) | 13 (10.4%) |
| Total | <u>37</u> (8.5%) | <u>34</u> (7.8%) |

Table 6.17

Frequency data of the *why*-word in the sentence-medial and final position

In terms of centrally placed *why*, it is not as common as similar instances with *what* discussed in Chapter 4. In my findings it has been possible to single out a group of 37 instances (8.5%) representing *why*-word functioning as an expression of surprise, protest, doubt or objection placed centrally in the sentence. There is only one example in Austen, Galt, Gaskell, Craik, and Forster respectively, whereas five instances in Scott and Lawrence, three in Porter, and 11 events in Reade. In the case of orthographic clues, *why* is generally placed between commas or just after double dashes, or after a semi-colon. There are only four structures including sentence-medially placed *why*-word finished with an exclamation mark. (53) illustrates the investigated structure:

- (53) As you said once before, we have nothing but our senses to depend on, and, if you and I believe that we see a person, **why**, we do see him. Whose word, or whose reasoning can convince us against our own sense?

Hogg 1824

In the remaining part of this section, I shall concentrate on the *why*-word taking the final position in the syntactic structure. (54) – (55) illustrate the investigated variation of the position.

- (54) "Young gentlemen?" inquired Collier. "What the devil officer is that? "
"That is a name we give the middies; **I don`t know why.** "

Reade 1863

- (55) "Henry, I am awfully sorry. "
"And pray **why?** " he asked, and looked at there so sternly

Forster 1910

The Victorian and Edwardian data also indicate that those structures are more common. Although the structures represented in (54) – (55) are similar to investigated ones in LModE, and what is important here is the fact that the number of occurrences of structures such as *don't/did not know why* increased significantly. The quantitative analysis shows that the selected sentences with finally placed *why* are usually finished with a question mark. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1733) say that “the distinction between main and subordinate clause syntax is lost, and here a question mark may or may not be used: *She wondered why* or *She wondered, why?* or *She wondered, Why?*”. They also add that capitalisation is optional.

6.2.5. Closing remarks

As in LModE, initial *why* may appear with suffixed declarative, interrogative clauses or negative constructions as well as adjoined lexical elements, which adds special emotive colouring. There are as many as 145 non-clausal structures, 93 declarative clauses, 61 interrogative clauses, 47 independent *why*, which means that a variety of functions (interrogative, exclamatory, etc.) of *why* have coexisted from 1800 onwards. Yet, in conditionals, my search program provides me with several examples of apodosis in Victorian literature, whereas the *OED* does not quote any examples after the 17th century. Then we have shown that the independent *why*-words functioning as interjections are uncommon. I do not find many occurrences of exclamation marks following the whole syntactic organisation with initial, central, and final *why*.

In summary, in the 19th and 20th century this structure is less frequent than constructions to which *what*-phrases are attached. Unlike syntactic constructions emerging in LModE, Victorian and Victorian-Edwardian literature does not provide many examples of the apparent departure from standard syntactic rules, which may be presumed to be a result of prescriptive grammarians' influence on English.

6.3. Exclamative WHY 1650 – 1950 - summary

In this section I am going to concentrate on the ways the interrogative pronoun *why* functions as an exclamation or interjection within the syntactic structure in the period from 1650 to

1950. In my findings, the proportions of canonical as well as non-canonical sequences⁹⁴ with the *why*-element vary. With this in mind, and with our present limited grasp of these problems, the best we can do to understand these complex constructions is to demonstrate which particular types of markers are used as pre- and post-expansions of *why* to express anxiety, doubt, surprise, etc. Furthermore, a contrast between grammatical and semantic function will be provided.

In attempting to identify the exclamatory function of *why* and its mobility within the syntactic structure, the tables we have introduced so far can be used as a basis for constructing graphs or diagrams to represent the data more precisely. The section is organised as follows. Section 6.3.1. provides an overview of the quantitative analysis of *why* that functions as an exclamation. Section 6.3.2. contains general observations concerning the syntactic analysis and exclamation marking strategies. In Subsection 6.3.2.1., the description of *why* located sentence-initially is performed, whereas the sentence-medial and final location is presented in Subsection 6.3.2.2. Finally, Subsection 6.3.3. addresses several issues regarding on *why* that appears as an ellipted and independent form.

6.3.1. Quantitative analysis

In the sections to follow, I will demonstrate statistics allowing us to summarise complex numerical data and then to draw inferences from them. My data confirms Molencki's (1999: 212-227) observation that "in the written language there is a stronger tendency to obey the standard rules", but in the case of dialogues we find non-standard and occasional uses of constructions with *why* that are particularly common in emphatic structures. As a result, there are more and more common occurrences of the *why*-elements functioning as exclamations/interjections. This implies that *why* has two roles which are referred to as its *interrogative* and *core roles* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 902). In its interrogative role, *why* has a narrower range of usage than other interrogative words, e.g. *when*, *where*, *what*, *how*, etc., as it questions cause (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

Taking into account the noticeable differences, such as the linear position of *why*, length and complexity of next-to-right complements/modifiers, orthography, status markers, and so on, it would be preferable to present the frequencies of the *why*-elements that occur in the data between 1650 and 1950, as illustrated in Table 6.18.

⁹⁴ There is a vast range of possible clause constructions, and in order to provide an orderly description, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 46) provide a simpler description. He confines clause constructions to *canonical constructions* and *non-canonical constructions*.

| Periodisation | The number of <i>why</i> -elements occurring in the data | Occurrences of <i>why</i> which functions as an exclamation |
|---------------|--|---|
| 1650 – 1800 | 1140 | 420 (37%) |
| 1800 - 1950 | 1298 | 435 (33.5%) |
| Total: | <u>2438</u> | <u>855</u> (35%) |

Table 6.18
The frequency of *why*-elements in the selected novels

Table 6.18 itself comprises a neat and intelligible summary of the data, displaying the number of times that each of the 855 structures (35%) with the *why*-attachment was observed out of all 2348 instances. We can see, for instance, that the proportion of the total is approximately 3% (855/2438), whereas in the case of *what* the proportion of the total is 7% (1339/10453).

Next, taking the syntactic organisation into account, let us look at the pie charts that show the occurrences of sentence-initially placed *why* as well as its rightward movement within the complex sentence. In Figures 6.1 and 6.2 the proportion of the total in the selected novels is illustrated respectively.

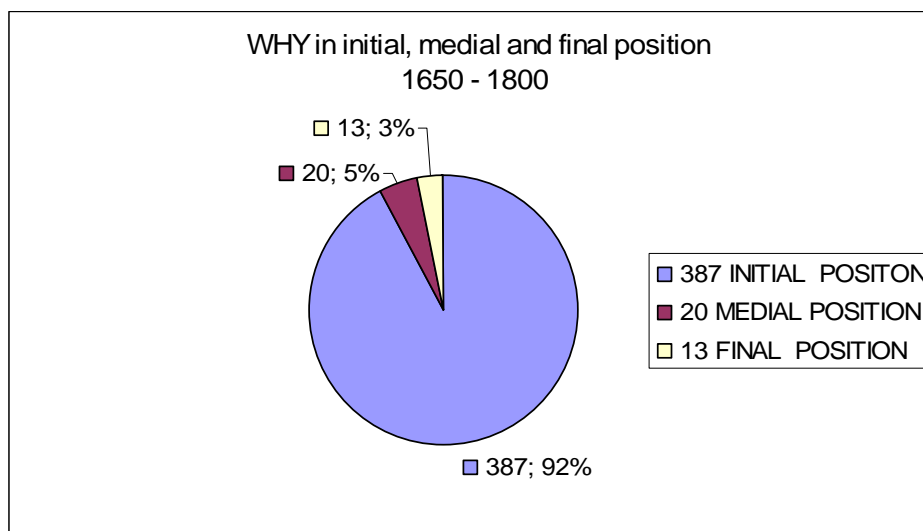


Figure 6.1
Frequency data of the exclamative *why* in the sentence-initial, medial and final position

The quantitative analysis presented in Figure 6.1 shows that there is “a tendency to conform to a potent formative force in the ongoing grammaticalisation of forms” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 156). In the light of the syntactic position, grammaticalisation tends to undermine the picture of stability, showing that the initial position of *why* can be treated as a typical and canonical place (387 examples placed initially out of total 420). This captures

positions of *why* as we obtain a frequency of 92% of *why* appearing sentence-initially functioning as an exclamation/interjection. In the data, 5% of *why* occurrences are shifted to the medial position, and only 3% of instances occur sentence-finally. The empirical evidence presented in Chapter Five supports the fact that the sentence-initially placed *why* is much more frequently followed by the declarative mood (26% from 1650 onwards) and non-clausal structures (50% before 1800 and 39% after 1800). What is more, in a descriptive sense, a terminal full stop in effect indicates that syntactically the sentences are declarative in form. The exclamative mood is infrequently indicated by an exclamation mark, which confirms a problem of gradual transition from an interrogative pronoun to an interjection, i.e. 420 examples out of 1140 occurrences of *why* until 1800, and only 435 instances out of total 1298 after 1800. The typical (rightward movement) pathway of change is also noticeable in Figure 6.2 which illustrates the syntactic organisation of the investigated mobile *why*-element in the selected novels after 1800. Figure 6.2 shows the number and percentage of occurrences of the *why*-element.

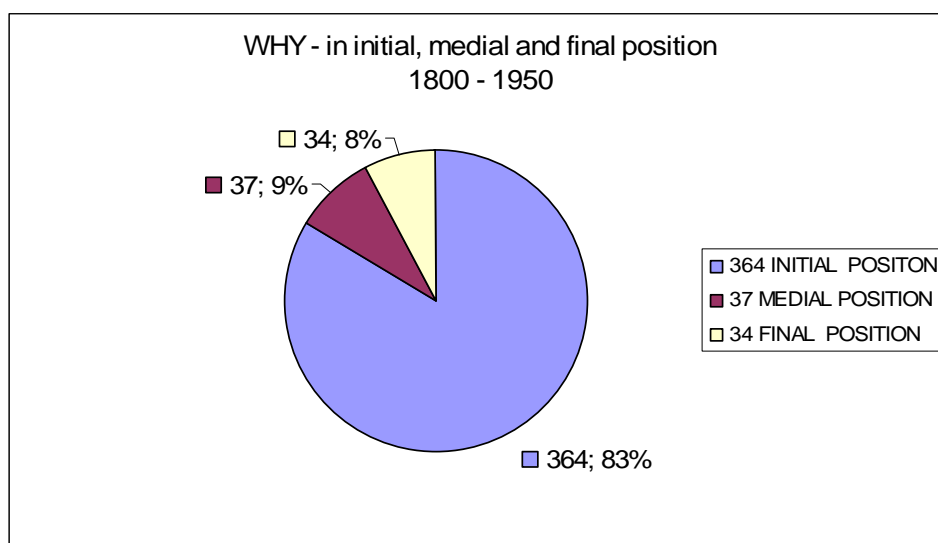


Figure 6.2

Frequency data of the exclamative *why* in the sentence-initial, medial and final position

As the figures suggest, the *wh*-word appears sentence-initially not only in interrogative clauses, but also in the other selected structures in which its function is more emotive, though, the observable changes are more discrete. From 1800, occurrences of the exclamative *why* shifted to the sentence-medial position within the sentence grew from 5% (20 instances) to 9% (37 instances), whereas the number of *why* appearing sentence-finally jumped from 3%

(13 instances) to 8% (34 instances). Nevertheless, taking into account sentence-final position, it should be emphasised that the form of *why* is still interrogative in mood as there is a question mark at the end, and the terminal exclamation mark occurs only sporadically. Clearly, *why* has undergone the process of *wh*-movement much more slowly than *what* and *how* (see Chapter Three), as in my findings there are fewer instances of *why* appearing sentence-medially and sentence-finally.

In the following section, we shall consider further detailed explanations of changes in the selected components of pre- and post-extension of *why* that undergoes the slow rightward movement within the syntactic structure, which depending on the situational context adds the utterance a more emotive colouring.

6.3.2. *Syntactic analysis and exclamation marking strategies*

Taking the syntactic organisation into consideration, it would be more accurate to represent the distribution of the clauses or non-clausal structures which are placed right to *why* (which predominantly appears sentence-initially), which can be treated as a *macro variation* (i.e. unlike *what* and *how*, there is no frame in which *why*-phrase appears). Figure 6.3 clearly shows the variation of structures placed to the right of *why*. Between 1650 and 1800, there are a number of different clauses (declarative, negative, interrogative, *if*-clauses, etc.) which occur as strings of constructions that are joined by commas, semi-colons, or colons. Later they are likely to limit the number of peripheral varieties to two or three clauses. Frequently we find that the next-to-right forms appearing in each fifty-year period represent a wide range of lexical elements that add special emotive colouring to the whole utterance. Thus, alongside gradual synchronic microvariation in these forms, I will look in some detail at such examples. Following that, the independent *why*-word will be discussed. These ideas can shed light on how and why English has changed since Ælfric's time in the ways we have observed above.

6.3.2.1. *WHY located initially*

The figures below provide a picture of a balanced corpus in LModE as the number of examples in my findings from 1650 to 1950 is nearly the same (420 instances before 1800 and 435 examples after 1800). Yet, taking into account the difference, when we turn now to the quantitative analysis of non-clausal structures, the total number of occurrences decreases significantly from 196 examples after 1650 to 145 instances after 1800 (see Fig. 6.3). Among non-clausal structures there are 196 instances in the 18th-century period, which amounts to

50% of the total number of events. Whereas there are 145 examples in 19th- and 20th-century prose, which amounts to 39% of the total number. These differences are illustrated in Fig. 6.3.

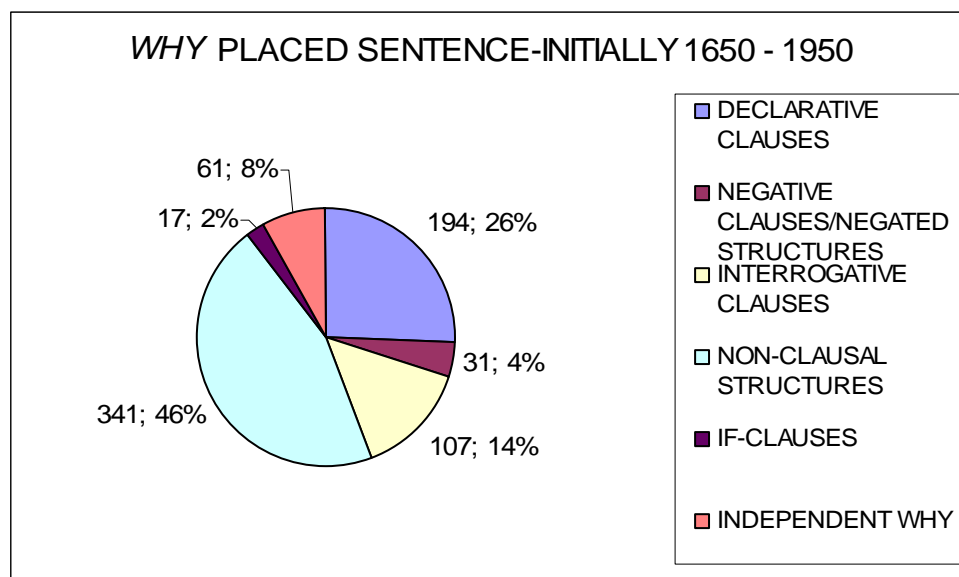


Figure 6.3

Frequency data of six exclamatory functions of the *why*-word in EModE/LModE

Taking into consideration the length of the sentences, it would be interesting to discuss the *constructional depth* (Wardhaugh 1995) so as to analyse the arrangement of constructions and constituents. An analysis resides in the interpretation of an example complex sentence such as that found in Bunyan 1678 *The Pilgrim*:

- (56) MAN. **Why**, I thought that the day of judgement was come [1], and that I was not ready for it [2]: but this frightened me most [3], that the angels gathered up several [4], and left me behind [5]; also the pit of hell opened her mouth [6] just where I stood [7].

As indicated above by the numbers in square brackets, there are 7 clauses that indicate optional components within a complex structure, which is generally the most frequent syntagmatic arrangement until 1700. It provides a kind of *frame* for *why*. Then, looking at the behaviour of similar constructions that appear in the 19th century, there are next-to-right slots that are filled by verbs of speaking, particularly *says I*, *says he*, etc. For example, in Defoe's *Moll Flanders*:

- (57) 'Why,' says I to him, 'this has been a hellish juggle [1], for we are married here upon the foot of a double fraud [2]; you are undone by the disappointment [3], it seems [4]; and if I had had a fortune [5] I had been cheated too [6], for you say you have nothing [7].'
Defoe 1722

The same happens in the case of the set of complements that occur as *if*-clauses, for example in Defoe *Moll Flanders*:

- (58) ‘**Why,**’ says I, ‘if your case is so plain as you say it is [1], you may be legally divorced [2], and then you may find honest women enough to ask the question of fairly [3]; the sex is not so scarce that you can want a wife [4].’

Defoe 1722

The declarative mood is used infrequently in the 1750s, and what is interesting for our purposes at this point in time, is that interrogative clauses as well as non-clausal structures represent a shorter string of constituents, e.g. in Richardson *Pamela*:

Why, dear father and mother, to be sure he grows quite a rake!

or

Why, what hindered it, my dear?

Turning to the data from word counts, shown in Fig. 6.3, further confirmation of some preference for similar structures (declarative, interrogative, non-clausal) is found in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is of some interest to observe what happens in the process of communication. In light of the functional shift from one role to another in the organisation of discourse, Goldberg (2006: 105) points out that “there is always a period of *overlap* between older and newer forms and/or functions, yet the cline should not be thought of as a line in which everything is in sequence.” In Chapter Three the evidence supports the fact that *wh*-words have ‘gained’ an ability to function as exclamations or interjections in discourse. Looking at the behaviour of exclamative *what* and *how*, the *why*-word does not seem to undergo the transformation from an interrogative pronoun to an interjection in an abrupt way. *Why* behaves quite differently because 46% of occurring *why*-elements act as an exclamation/interjection followed by the interrogative form by the end of the 18th century, whereas the number of similar structures reaches 61% of occurrences after 1800. According to Hopper and Traugott (1993) this is a slow process of competition between the exclamative and interrogative mood. They add that “the typical change from one category to another” can be described as ‘a series of gradual transitions’. These parallel changes are illustrated in Fig. 6.3.

The analysis of my data confirms Mazeland and Huiske`s (2001) observation that this variation of post-extension is precisely “the idea of language situated in the context, modified by its use and it modifies the context itself as language is no longer a passive abstract system but a provider of resources – syntactic, morphological, semantic, phonological, etc. for performing tasks and attaining goals within a social event.” In the case of my findings, the

linguistic structures in an informal situational context provided by selected literature are shaped by the speakers. However, in this research the intonation cannot be the problem of linguistic investigation, that is why the punctuation system is often used to achieve the desired stylistic effect and the emotive colouring of spoken communication.

Table 6.19 presents the number of exclamation marks, question marks and full stops that are placed at the end of investigated constructions.

| 1650 - 1950 | CLAUSES/ OR STRUCTURES AS POST- EXTENSION | P U N C T U A T I O N | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|----------------|------------------|
| | | FULL STOP | QUESTION MARK | EXCLA- MATION MARK | COMMA | COLON | SEMI- COLON | DOUBLE DASHES |
| WHY, | DECLARATIVE CLAUSES | 38/50 | 3/1 | 11/18 | 2 | 5/4 | 20/15 | 3/7 |
| | NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES | 1/3 | 39/54 | 1/5 | 0/1 | 0 | 0/1 | 0 |
| | IF-CLAUSES | 2/8 | 1 | 0/1 | 0 | 0/1 | 2 | 0 |
| | NON-CLAUSAL STRUCTURES | 68/44 | 38/29 | 22/14 | 8/1 | 1 | 46/16 | 4/8 |

Table 6.19

Frequency data of punctuation marks placed at the end of the exclamative sentence

As observed in Table 6.19, the occurrences of orthographic symbols have fluctuated, which may give the impression of a greater gradualness of change. A significant observation is made by Goldberg (2006: 137), who says that “the forms that have been grammaticalised compete with existing constructions so similar in function.” Contrary to exclamative patterns with *what* and *how*, an exclamation mark does not accompany *why* as frequently as within canonical frames in which *what* and *how* take a sentence-initial position.

A closer examination of the morphosyntactic organisation shows that a range of punctuation symbols is narrowed down to exclamation marks, question marks and full stops. The picture that emerges then is that the selected declarative clauses are followed by 88 full stops and 11 exclamation marks in 1650-1800, and then 50 full stops and 18 exclamation marks respectively in 1800-1950. It is important to bear in mind that the ordering of the elements remains analogous to the ordering of elements in a declarative sentence, but in some sentences (one-third of the total) the exclamation mark may be found at the end.

In this context it is also worth noting that in the discussion on interrogative clauses, *why* functioning as an exclamation can be perceived as an ordinary interrogative pronoun as the whole construction is followed by question marks, i.e. 39 examples in 1650-1800, and 54

instances in 1800-1950. There is only one full stop and one exclamation point of the total number in LModE, and three full stops and as many as five exclamation marks of the total number in the early 20th century.

Due to the fact that structures such as negative constructions and *if*-clauses are quite infrequent, which indicates that *why* functioned interjectionally only sporadically in the apodosis of a sentence. The number of *if*-clauses grew from 14 to 38 instances between 1650 and 1950, however, the *why*-element in the apodosis appeared only five times, one example followed by an exclamation mark. It remains then to determine how emotive colouring is recognised in non-clausal structures in which *why* appears sentence-initially.

The presence of such pragmatic markers as downtoners, amplifiers, vocatives, etc. placed just after *why*, is a characteristic feature of this structure. More specifically, my search program provided me with disjuncts that take the form of adverbs: *truly*, *surely*, *really*, and nominal forms, such as proper names, polite titles, etc.

In terms of the usual polite titles, only several instances e.g. *sir*, *gentlemen*, *madam*, *Lord*, emerge in the selected novels. After 1700 the situation is entirely different since the structural variants are realised by more informal forms e.g. *my dear mother*, *my dear love*, *dear girl*, *my son*, etc., which appear gradually and are common. Then, after 1750 proper names appear at the initial boundaries of the sentence, just after *why*. At the beginning of the 20th century, only first names are placed just after independent *why*. For instance, *Why, Ruth!*, *Why, Meg?* in Forster, or *Why, Mary*, in Christie.

In my findings the lexical items taking the form of intensive additions, downtoners or amplifiers are patterned and shaped by the speaker's and hearer's interaction. But, at the same time, it is recognised that this idea of adjoining such expressive elements is not implemented intensively and with an *even fashion* in each 50-year period of the data. First of all, in LModE, my search program provides me with five lexical items that are prefixed to the *why*-word, e.g. *Think!*, *How!*, *What!* found in Bunyan. After 1700, however, only some adjectives taking the form of downtoners *Dreadful girl!* (Defoe), or amplifiers *So nest! So pretty!* (Defoe) can be found. In the case of intensive additions, from 1750 onwards, I have found *why on earth* (Sterne), *why the devil* (Smollett), *Good Heaven!* (Scott), and *good heavens*, *what on earth*, *what in the world* in Reade. It is also worth mentioning that one of the similarities between *why*-units and *what*-phrases is that they are both preceded by a set of similar interjections. For instance *Alas, brother!* in Hogg, *Oh!*, *O*, *Ah*, *Ah!*, *Halloa!* in Porter and Reade. Yet, taking the quantitative analysis into consideration, there are fewer

interjections, vocatives or intensive additions that occur before or after *why* than the same forms appearing before or after *what*.

In conclusion, the verbs of saying are also elements which connect the independent *why*-forms and the clauses they follow. They are found at boundaries particularly in the initial part of the sentence, thus affecting the emotive function of the whole utterance. In the data the verbs of saying are manifested in the existence of the following instances: *said, replied, cried, observed, added, returned, answered* in the early 19th century, *said* in late 19th century prose, and only *say, said, thought, quoted* after 1900. It must be noted, however, that taking into account the verbs of saying which accompany *what*-phrases, the number of selected verbs that occur after *why* is lower.

6.3.2.2. *The mobile why-phrase – rightward movement*

It is possible to find sentences in which *why* is located medially or even finally in the syntactic structure. I have shown that *wh*-elements may occur in the central position within the syntactic organisation. In Figures 6.1 and 6.2 we can see that the proportion of the total and central as well as final position of *why* in the syntactic structure is different in LModE and in the early 20th century. The selected clauses with *why* located sentence-initially are predominant in the corpus, while the clauses with sentence-medial *why* account for almost 12%, and with the sentence-finally placed *wh*-element account for 15% of the total. In Figure 6.5, we may observe that the number of occurrences of clauses with final *why* grew gradually, while clauses with *why* placed sentence-medially fluctuated and finally decreasing after 1900.

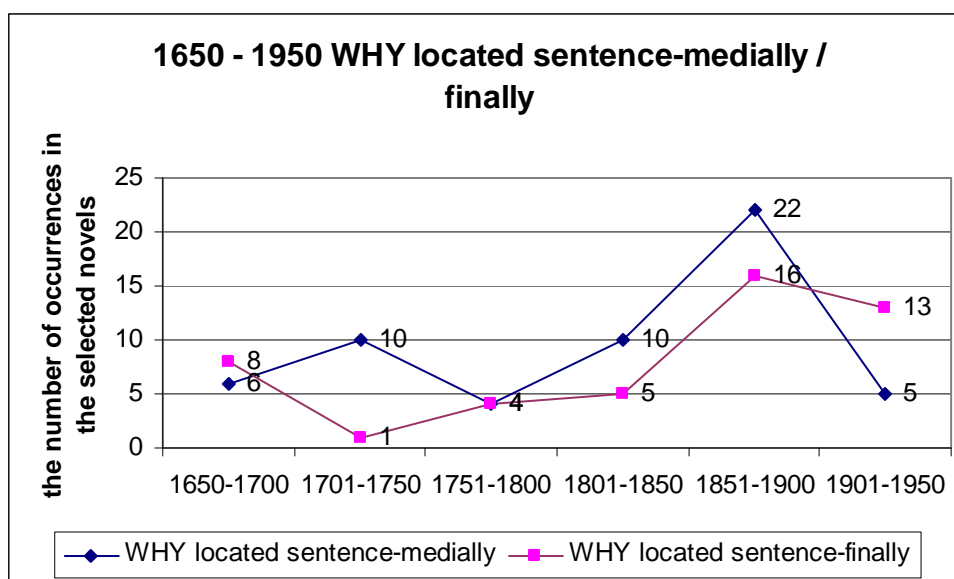


Figure 6.5
Frequency data of the exclamative *why* in medial and final position

To exemplify the characteristic meaning, we may mention instances of specific syntactic constructions embodied in ‘everyday’ utterances in the investigated novels. For example, (...) *about the Elysian meadows:--why, since there is no (...)* in Browne, or (...) *it is a sad thing to be in love; why, it has reduced you sadly (...)* in Defoe. From the above observations it follows that *why* located medially, meaning *well, so, why*, was used with statements, exhortations, demands, etc. to emphasise the speaker’s response.

In terms of sentence-final position, as mentioned above, there are fewer examples of the constructions e.g. *and why?, but why?, or why?, for why?* after 1650, *I don’t know why, I cannot tell you why*, in Sterne and Mackenzie, *Mary, why?* in Peacock, or *And why?, But why?* in Lawrence. Moving towards punctuation marks, it can immediately be observed that question marks are predominantly present at the end of the sentences, while exclamation points are entirely absent.

6.3.3. *WHY as an independent and ellipted form*

In the light of the totally ellipted *why*, the data can thus be summarised by providing the frequency with which each *why*-element was observed. Fig. 6.6 clearly shows there is a marked difference between the frequency of *why* with questions and that of exclamation marks.

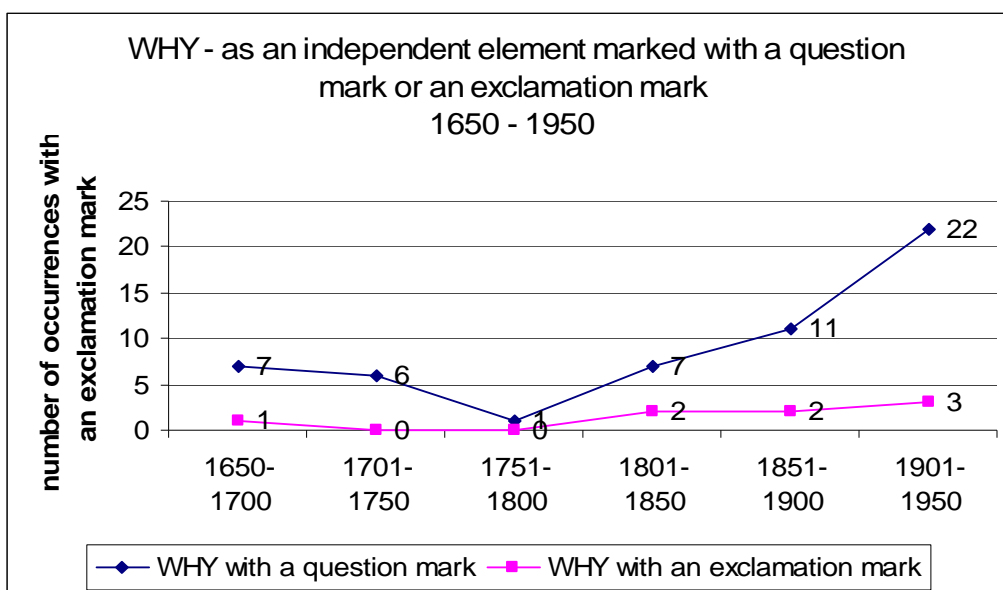


Figure 6.6

Frequency data of the ellipted *why*-word that is marked with an exclamation mark or a question mark

The figures reveal that *why* functions as an interrogative pronoun due to the number of occurrences increasing from 7 examples to 22 instances by the beginning of the 20th century, whereas exclamative minimal sentences were found to be on the same level from the early 17th century (only one example), to 3 instances in the 1900s. What is important here is that fact that as a future “the tendency to reduce the speech signal, e.g. via rapid speech is observable”; yet, signal simplicity is difficult to be interpreted as “it is more based in the speaker’s subjective attitude” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 64-65).

With respect to the exclamatory function of the ellipted *why*-phrase, the element is used as an expression of content, relief, surprise, shock, or indignation. While the competition between prime (interrogative function) and newer (exclamatory function) functions has been a major topic of standardisation and grammaticalisation. If the exclamative *why* appeared before 1800, it meant *well, why, ah* and was used to add emphasis, to signal a surprise, call more or less abrupt attention to the statement, while after 1800 it meant *well, well then, why, ah* and was used to express anxiety, surprise, or indignation. In the case of putting emphasis, it should be pointed out that an exclamation mark was used sporadically (7 instances) since a question mark was a frequent emphatic mark (40 examples).

Syntactically speaking, *why* is not perceived as a *floating lexical item* since the number of independent *whys* appearing in more peripheral positions decreased from 16 before 1700 to only 3 before 1800. Nevertheless the occurrences increased after 1800 from 9 to 25 instances

after 1900. Looking at the behaviour of the independent and ellipted *why*, it appears to be a form a syntactic position of which is shifted to the prominent initial position of the sentence.

Chapter Seven

Summary – conclusions and perspectives

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this dissertation was to trace the development of the exclamative clauses starting with *what*, *why*, and *how* functioning as exclamatory words in a diachronic perspective. The major objective that I set was to expand the current knowledge about *wh*-interrogative pronouns, which as multifunctional categories acquired exclamatory senses. To this purpose, I have utilised the corpus of English novels which were published between 1621 and 1921.

7.2. Summary of findings and implications

In attempting to identify the development and distributional aspects of the *wh*-exclamatives, a note proposed by Rosengren (1997) should be taken into account. She states that “exclamatives do not have a syntactic clause structure of their own” and “they may be introduced by *wh*-phrases or by complementisers, or they may look just like plain declarative or *yes/no*-interrogative clauses” (1997: 153). Turning to the data from quantitative analysis we find, however, further confirmation that it is possible to illustrate the *wh*-phrases as structures that appear with typical patterns. This is why I do agree with Rosengren that exclamatives do not have a syntactic clause structure, but it is possible to present them as patterns constrained in ‘repeating frames’.

In Chapter One, the increasing availability of the emerging electronic corpora is discussed as a main source of contemporary studies of the first English novels published as far as in the 17th century. It was compiled in the corpus of the Project Gutenberg that has served as a reliable source for research into grammar, vocabulary, functions and other linguistic properties. The existence of such language corpora facilitates an analysis of spoken interpersonal communications via the ‘written’ medium. What is more, it is possible to recognise a set of ‘written’ forms (discourse markers, punctuation, spelling, change of

graphemic form, etc.) which replace the prosodic features (intonation, stress, accent, etc.). In spite of these difficulties, I have managed to explore the ‘written’ spoken communication to examine, in particular, the syntactic organisation which was analysed from a variety of perspectives.

Chapter Two contains general theoretical observations concerning the notions of linguistic approaches to exclamations and interjections, which have been treated as two different separate word-classes. Considering many difficulties with the classification the pronouns and interjections in the light of word-classes, I demonstrated that exclamations and interjections should not be treated separately as they have much in common. They take the same initial position in the syntactic organisation, and on a semantic level, they perform similar emotional colouring in their expressive function. What is more, the characteristic of the basic grammatical functions of *what*, *why*, and *how* has proved that they perform a set of coexisting functions. In this context, it must be noticed that the variety of confusing forms used in terminology ‘word’, ‘phrase’, ‘element’, ‘structure’, etc. was explained in order to avoid any misinterpretation of terms.

On examining the *wh*-phrase in terms of mood, the emotional involvement of speakers, usages of feelings, etc., these features illustrate that exclamations and interjections relate to the subjective point of view in language revealing speakers’ emotive loading in utterances. As a result, the exclamatory/emotive function is triggered by sentence mood, the propositional properties, and the stress pattern which is performed by means of punctuation in the written version of spoken communication. The remaining subsections of this chapter (2.3.2.3. – 2.3.2.4.) address some issues on contrasting pairs of emotions (*DOP* 2001, Sauer 2006) which may be grouped into a ‘binary’ system of positive and negative members. These *contrasting* emotions (Szober 1969) show numerous issues which enable analysis and interpretation of the *wh*-phrases in terms of emotional involvement of speakers (Taavitsainen 1998). In order to support these emotional contrasts, the examination of exclamations and interjections in modern grammars illuminated this problem more precisely. In view of such limitations, it was necessary to identify the development of the selected *wh*-phrases functioning as exclamations/interjections in the analysed corpus linguistic, which is nowadays available as a written medium particularly if the research refers to spoken communication in a diachronic perspective.

The *historical background* in Chapter Three, examines various structural and functional characteristics of the *wh*-phrases functioning as exclamations over centuries (OE, ME, and ModE) in the *OED* and *MED*, the general syntactic patterns of *what*, *why*, and *how*

clauses functioning as exclamations as well as a set of other coexisting functions, e.g. interrogative. What is more, each section on the *wh*-words begins with a detailed description of the graphemic and phonemic changes from OE to ModE. Taking this into consideration, it is possible to see language as a dynamic area which serves as “a device for communication between speakers and hearers” (Brinton and Traugott 2005). Furthermore, this chapter presents the similarities and differences in grammaticalisation, standardisation and economy of the English language through the centuries. The division of the data into 50-year periods provides more possibility to explore and notice the influence of political, historical, social and economic situations, the relationship of which is depicted in language change over time. What is important here is the fact that from the perspectives of relative stasis (‘synchrony’) or of change over time (‘diachrony’) (Brinton and Traugott 2005), it is possible to bring together the systematic or idiosyncratic forms.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six of the dissertation concentrate on the analysis of exclamatory function of *what*, *why*, and *how* respectively, in both synchronic and diachronic perspective. In each individual chapter a qualitative and quantitative analysis was performed in relation to the structural and functional characteristics of the emotive language. The results of the detailed examination are shown in the Table 7.1:

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences in the selected novels/ the number of the <i>wh</i> -words that function as an exclamation | | | | | |
|---------------|--|-------|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-------|
| | WHAT | % | WHY | % | HOW | % |
| 1650 – 1700 | 1753/181 | 10% | 390/78 | 20% | 1058/77 | 7.3% |
| 1700 – 1750 | 1739/211 | 12% | 475/262 | 55% | 1052/185 | 17.6% |
| 1750 – 1800 | 1718/270 | 15.7% | 276/80 | 29% | 704/128 | 18% |
| 1800 – 1850 | 1723/169 | 9.8% | 273/114 | 42% | 848/208 | 24.5% |
| 1850 – 1900 | 1750/235 | 13% | 486/196 | 40% | 583/196 | 33.7% |
| 1900 - 1950 | 1770/210 | 12% | 539/125 | 23% | 815/162 | 19.9% |
| Total | <u>10453/1276</u> | 12% | <u>2439/855</u> | 35% | <u>5060/956</u> | 19% |

Table 7.1
Frequency data of all the *wh*-words found in the selected novels
and these *wh*-words which function as an exclamation

In Table 7.1, the quantitative analysis presents the results of the explored data, which may resolve major debates regarding the exclamatory function of *what*, *why* and *how*. Closer examination reveals that in the homogenous material, the quantitative analysis and

percentages illustrate the tendency to the significant and noticeable exclamatory function of *why* (855 times out of total 2439), which may seem surprising if we take into account the typical definitions of exclamative clauses (see Section 2.3.2.). These are generally initiated with the exclamatory word, *what* and *how*. Traditionally, *why* has not been treated as a word that can function as an exclamation in modern grammars. Nevertheless, the sceptical attitude towards emotive language should be brought out into the open as “[t]he net used by linguists to catch the phenomena pertaining to emotive language has often been cast too narrow or too wide” (Stankiewicz 1986: 32). In general, my examination of the *wh*-phrases supports the view that, in terms of the homogenous material, *why* appears 855 times (35%), *how* 956 times (19%), and *what* 1276 times (12%) as an exclamation.

A significant observation in understanding the emotional attitudes of the speakers is implemented on the various levels of language. Syntactically speaking, all pronouns (*what*, *why*, *how*) generally take the sentence-initial position, which as a prominent part of the whole utterance receives the most illocutionary force and emphasis. The traditional nature of the *wh*-phrases functioning as an exclamation shifted to the beginning of the sentence is illustrated in Table 7.2:

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences in the selected novels/ the number of the <i>wh</i> -words that function as an exclamation appearing as canonical patterns in the sentence-initial position | | | | | |
|---------------|---|-----|----------------|-------|----------------|-----|
| | WHAT | % | WHY | % | HOW | % |
| 1650 – 1800 | 662/589 | 88% | 420/387 | 92% | 390/358 | 91% |
| 1800 – 1950 | 614/602 | 99% | 435/364 | 83% | 566/489 | 86% |
| Total | <u>1276/1191</u> | 93% | <u>855/751</u> | 87.8% | <u>956/847</u> | 88% |

Table 7.2

Frequency data of the *wh*-words which function as an exclamation found in the selected novels and the number of these *wh*-words appearing in the initial position of the sentence

Using this interpretation, the appearance of these *wh*-words in the initial position of the sentence remains (*what* 93%, *why* 87.8%, *how* 88%) the dominant use of the traditional canonical pattern of the *wh*-phrases. Their appearance in the initial position typically represents a strategy to foreground emotive colouring. Furthermore, it must be noted the *wh*-phrase appears not only in the absolute sentence-initial position, but it appears as an embedded construction in the complex sentence or as a sentence-final focus at the end of the syntactic organisation. The shifting nature of *what*, *why* and *how* functioning as an exclamation is not clear. It is not surprising that exclamative *wh*-clauses appearing as non-

canonical constructions are infrequent. In this interpretation, it can be said that the rightward movement has not been the general domain shift. With respect to change in position, the various tendencies are summarised in Table 7.3:

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences in the selected novels/ the number of the <i>wh</i> -words that function as an exclamation appearing as non-canonical patterns in sentence-medial or final position | | | | | |
|---------------|---|------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | WHAT | % | WHY | % | HOW | % |
| 1650 – 1800 | 662/73 | 11% | 420/33 | 7.8% | 390/32 | 8% |
| 1800 - 1950 | 614/12 | 1.9% | 435/73 | 16.8% | 566/77 | 14% |
| Total | <u>1276/85</u> | 7% | <u>855/106</u> | 12% | <u>956/109</u> | 11.4% |

Table 7.3

Frequency data of the *wh*-words which function as an exclamation found in the selected novels and the number of *wh*-words taking medial or final position in the sentence

The patterns in the history of English discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six illustrate the paths of mobility of *wh*-phrases under investigation. As shown in Table 7.3, *what* persists in its sentence-initial position as there are only 85 examples out of 1276 (7%) which emerge in the non-initial position after 1800. In contrast, *why* (12%) and *how* (11.4%) appear more frequently in the non-initial position of the sentence, which reveals their stronger shifting nature over the course of time.

Another issue is the fact that the internal arrangement of constituents that are included in the *wh*-phrase frame may perform subject-verb organisation as well as the inverted structure (verb-subject word-order). Present-day data clearly shows that the declarative mood is typical for the word-order in the microvariation of the *wh*-phrase, however, historically speaking, variations in an interrogative/declarative mood were noticeable particularly prior 1800. In what follows, I agree with Molencki (1999: 314) that “from c1700 establishment of modern ‘rules’ sanctioned by the strong authority of prescriptivists” prove that “the traditional tripartite division of the history of English into OE, ME, and ModE (since 1500) is mostly based on phonological and morphological criteria.” What is more, Molencki states that “this periodisation is also justified by extralinguistic (historical, political, cultural) factors, which is not really applicable to the history of English syntax.” (see Section 2.4.1.) If the correlation between the length of the exclamative *wh*-clauses and syntactic position is taken into consideration, it is worth noticing that the more the sentence-medial position was taken, the shorter the pattern was. This recognition received significant formulation in the works of

Quirk *et al.* (1985), Molencki (1991), Hopper and Traugott (2005), or Roberts (2007). In this view, Sapir (1921) recognises that emotive language is synonymous with ‘abnormal speech’, which seems to be connected with the ellipted *wh*-phrases to single-word forms found in the numerous examples with *what* and *how*, but fewer were noticed with *why*. Table 7.4 is a summary of *wh*-phrases with the framework of simplified and ellipted structures.

| Periodisation | The number of occurrences in the selected novels/ the number of the <i>wh</i> -words that function as an exclamation/interjection appearing as ellipted forms | | | | | |
|---------------|---|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|------|
| | WHAT | % | WHY | % | HOW | % |
| 1650 – 1800 | 662/316 | 47.7% | 420/14 | 3.3% | 390/35 | 9% |
| 1800 - 1950 | 614/351 | 57% | 435/47 | 10.8% | 566/22 | 3.9% |
| Total | <u>1276/667</u> | 52% | <u>855/61</u> | 7% | <u>956/57</u> | 6% |

Table 7.4

Frequency data of the *wh*-words that function as an exclamation/interjection found in the selected novels and the number of *wh*-words appearing as ellipted forms

From the quantitative analysis above, it is evident that the number of *what*-phrases as one-word phrases is stable (nearly 52%). On the other hand, there is an increasing tendency from 3.3% to 7% with respect to *why*, and a decrease from 9% to 6% when taking *how* into account. On the orthographic level, it must be emphasised that an exclamation mark occurred relatively infrequently after these trimmed *wh*-phrases (i.e. *What!* 667/162 (24%), *Why!* 61/45 (74%), *How!* 57/36 (63%)) from 1650 to 1950. In such a context, this observation is confirmed by the increasing tendency towards the interrogative mood which is highlighted with a question mark at the end (*What?* 667/103 (15%), *Why?* 61/16 (26%), *How?* 57/21 (37%)). Moving on to the pragmatic and semantic levels, the situation of pragmatic modifiers used as pre- and post-modifiers is comparable as similar interjections, honorifics, special intensive additions, etc. accompany *what*, *why* and *how*. Thus, we find that although subtle contrasts between the emotive colouring of adjectives and adverbs modify the other elements in the internal structure of the *wh*-phrase/clause, the differences do not affect the results of the research to a great extent. Finally, in the selected structures it was possible to observe

incorporated stylistic phenomena⁹⁵ as archaisms, slang, and special capitalised forms whose emotive colouring arose in particular social and situational contexts.

The extent to which the objectives were attained could not be assessed without any reference, on the one hand, to previous studies, and on the other, to previous chapters in the dissertation. The results obtained in the course of the study were then used to illustrate the major variation of the syntactic structure of the *wh*-exclamatives in a synchronic and diachronic perspective. The major answers that the research hopes to provide are as follows:

- (i) Historically speaking, the new (exclamatory) function and the ‘traditional’ functions of the *wh*-interrogative pronouns have coexisted over centuries (in accordance with Chapter Three, Sections 3.2.2., 3.3.2., and 3.4.2.), *what*, *why* and *how* appeared as words taking exclamatory function, thus proving a continuity in the development of language;
- (ii) In the view of unidirectionality in diachronic studies, it should be noted that the *wh*-interrogative pronouns in their form as a minimum unit (ellipted to a single-word degree item) function either as interrogative pronouns (see Chapter Two, Section 2.6.5.3.) or exclamations/interjections (see Chapter Two, Sections 2.6.5.1.-2.6.5.2., Chapters Four, Five, Six) as they are marked by question marks or exclamation marks respectively;
- (iii) In the light of the exclamatory function of the *wh*-units, the situational context, e.g. the preceding syntactic structures, intensive additions, honorifics, interjections, etc., has influenced the emotive colouring and illocutionary force of the utterance. A number of possible contexts has been influenced in the course of history by the different variables, e.g. social position, power and solidarity relation between a speaker and a hearer;
- (iv) When focusing specifically on punctuation marks and the function of interrogatives, it must be stated that the process of change continues, and the question mark has been replaced by the exclamation mark, which has remained specific in its function as an exclamation; however, after 1800 the minimal units of *wh*-phrases began to be accompanied by a question mark, whereas longer constructions, *wh*-clauses, were still marked with an exclamation;
- (v) In the light of micro-speech acts of the *wh*-phrase, it gradually became trimmed

⁹⁵ What is important here is the fact that the study of archaisms, slang, etc. moves beyond the issues of emotive language. This is why I put emphasis on some of these if they were found to affect the illocutionary force of the whole utterance.

down to a one-word phrase. However, this minimum unit was much more frequently accompanied by post-complements, such as proper names, terms of endearment, addressative forms, or special intensive additions, which greatly affected the emotive meaning of the utterance;

- (vi) The empirical evidence presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six supports points of the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this dissertation that the prominent sentence-initial position is much more frequently the common position of the *wh*-phrase and *wh*-clause in the syntactic construction, this is not categorically always so, as medial and final positions occur with sufficient frequency. It should be added that the *wh*-exclamatory word is always shifted to the initial position in the *wh*-phrase, which is the leading pattern;

7.2. *Limitations and future research*

There are several limitations that may have contributed to the weakness of some aspects in this piece of work and to constrain its results to a certain extent. First of all, the realisation of the exclamatory function of the *wh*-phrases need not resemble all regularities found in the analysis as the major findings have been collected only from selected English novels. Secondly, it has been shown that the phenomenon of the exclamatory function and emotive meaning is not homogeneous due to the fact that there are various relations between speakers and hearers, which cannot be explored in depth as the capacity of this dissertation is limited. This is why emotive colouring appears to be dependent on the situational context, particularly of the pre-modifiers and complements of the single-word phrases. In addition, my conclusions should be taken with some caution as several issues remain tentative in the present study and require further investigation. There should be a more thorough and additional analysis of the exclamatory function of *what*, *why* and *how* based on the English novels published after 1950, in order to provide better insight which may confirm the similarities and divergences between the interrogative pronouns that function as exclamations. This study should be treated as the foundation for future work on evidence for decategorialisation and functional change. Further research will also show to what extent the same and other regularities can be found in other semantic areas.

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2. Linguist List. *Summary: exclamations/interjections*
<http://www.linguistlist.org/issues/10/10-483.html>
3. Linguist List. *Vowels and Sound Symbolism.*
<http://www.linguistlist.org/issues/6/6-1115.html>
4. Linguist List. *Exclamations and Interjections.*
<http://www.linguistlist.org/issues/10/10-603.html>
5. The Linguistic Glossary. *Exclamation, Speaker, Utterance, Illocutionary Act, Deictic Center
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8. Guide to Grammar and Writing. *Interjections.*
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9. Politeness. *Examples from Brown and Levinson's Politeness strategies:*
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| Christie Agatha | Mansfield | 1920 |
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S t r e s z c z e n i e

W pracy omówiono ewolucję form oraz funkcję wykrzyknień i wtrąceń *what*, *why* i *how* na podstawie korpusu tekstów powieści angielskich (XVII- XX wiek). Opierając się na dotychczasowych opracowaniach językoznawczych, podjęto próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy można mówić o konwencjonalizacji treści wykrzyknień przy współistnieniu tradycyjnej funkcji pytającej i wtórnej funkcji eksklamatywnej tych zaimków .

Jak wiadomo, każdy akt komunikacji związany jest z emocjonalnym zaangażowaniem rozmówców, co powoduje, że semantyka postaw uczuciowych i stosunków międzyludzkich wyraża się między innymi w różnych sposobach mówienia. Zasadne jest zatem omówienie wielorakich emocji, takich jak radość, zachwyt, rozczarowanie lub zdenerwowanie. Temat ten rozważany jest w rozdziale II. Ponadto zwrócono uwagę na złożoność problemu, która wyraża się także w różnicach definicyjnych pomiędzy pojęciem wykrzyknienia (*exclamation*) i pojęciem wykrzyknika (*interjection*), szczególnie gdy wykrzyknienie jest formą jednowyrazową typu *What!*, *Why!*, *How!*. Oba te terminy zostały jednoznacznie zdefiniowane.

Rozdział trzeci omawia diachroniczny rozwój wykrzyknień. Zjawisko współistnienia dwóch różnych funkcji opisywanej klasy pojawia się już w okresie staroangielskim. Różnice w poszczególnych przykładach wskazują na wymiennosc badanych funkcji w różnym stopniu i z różną częstotliwością dla *what*, *why* i *how*. Można też zaobserwować syntaktyczną mobilność badanych zaimków, które pojawiają się nie tylko na początku zdania, ale mogą również zajmować dalszą pozycję charakterystyczną dla zdania podrzędnego.

W rozdziale czwartym (poświęconym wykrzyknieniu *what*), piątym (opisującym leksem *how*), i szóstym (omawiającym *why*), przeprowadzono analizę zgromadzonego materiału badawczego - wybranych powieści angielskich opublikowanych pomiędzy 1621 a 1950 rokiem. Przeanalizowano modyfikację wyrażen wykrzyknikowych z *what*, *why* i *how* występujących zarówno w zdaniach pojedynczych (*exclamations*), jak i pojawiających się

jako jednowyrazowe formy (*interjections*). Zwrócono także uwagę na znaczącą różnorodność użycia znaków interpunkcyjnych (znak wykrzyknika, znak zapytania, kropka, itp.) stosowanych w języku pisanym w celu zasygnalizowania konturu intonacyjno-akcentacyjnego wypowiedzi.

Rozdział siódmy stanowi podsumowanie badań opartych na materiale historycznym, wskazując że silny preskrytywizm w XVIII i XIX wieku, jak również proces gramatyzacji mógł mieć znaczny wpływ na współistnienie funkcji pytającej oraz wykrzyknikowej. Badania dużych korpusów tekstów przy użyciu konkordacyjnych i wyszukujących programów komputerowych wykazały, że te konstrukcje zachowują moc illokucyjną, gdyż są często zaznaczone znakiem graficznym w formie wykrzyknienia, który podkreśla jeszcze bardziej ich funkcję emotywną. W tym samym materiale można zaobserwować asymetrię pomiędzy współfunkcjonalnością badanych zaimków. Podczas gdy *why* nadal jest używane jako wykrzyknik, *what* i *how* są coraz rzadziej spotykane w tej funkcji, zatem badanie wymyka się z ram sztywnej klasyfikacji..