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INFLUENCE OF EARLY CONTACT SITUATIONS ON THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY RELATED TO FISHING AND ANGLING

A dictionary and corpus study on the earlier periods of the English language

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine and study the effects that the early language contact situations with the Celtic languages, Old Norse, and Norman French had on the English language by assessing their lexical presence in the semantic fields of fishing and angling. The influence is studied by consulting *the Oxford English Dictionary Online* and searching for collocations in the Helsinki corpus.

The study grounds the theoretical framework in contact linguistics and considers not only history and sociolinguistic background, but also the mechanisms that are the behind words being adopted from one language to another. The theoretical background also briefly acknowledges some major discussions in the field.

The influence is assessed from a variety of perspectives. The study begins by using *the Oxford English Dictionary Online* to determine the larger currents of the movements of the lexical items from one language to English, and then gathering a list of words that is utilized in studying the usage of the vocabulary as evidenced in the Helsinki corpus. The corpus study compares the occurrences of the many different orthographical forms of the word *fish* in the Old English and Middle English periods. The Early Modern English period is studied more qualitatively. The collocations and the proximate environments of the words *fish* and *angle* are studied to determine features of discourse, however, this involves only limited use of discourse analytical methods, as the focus is more on the phenomenon of using specialised vocabulary.

The results indicate that quantitatively the influences followed the general tendencies that the respective contact situations have entailed with slight hints at possibilities of the historical Danish settlement having some prominence in the areal movements of discussion. The corpus study also showed that fishing was not a common conversation topic with only passing mentions emerging via the selected approach. This makes the case that a specialised corpus should be compiled for further investigation, which was backed by the fact that one text was exclusively dedicated to angling in the corpus. The text itself suggests that by the Early Modern period fishing and angling had become a sport, which aligns with the general observation that the profession was hardly discussed.

Keywords: history, corpus linguistics, contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, borrowing, language shift, lexicology, fishing, old English, middle English, early modern English

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma tarkastelee varhaisten kielikontaktien vaikutusta englannin kielen kalastukseen liittyvään sanastoon ja sen historialliseen kehitykseen. Kielikontakteista tarkastellaan varhaisia kontakteja kelttiläisten kielten, muinaisnorjan sekä normannien puhuman ranskan kanssa, ja niiden vaikutusta arvioidaan tutkimalla, miten nämä kielet näkyvät englannin kielessä sanaston tasolla. Tutkimus tehdään osittain *Oxford English Dictionary Onlinesta* ja osittain *Helsinki Corpuksesta* kerättyjen aineistojen avulla.

Teoreettinen viitekehys pohjautuu kontaktilingvistiikkaan ja ottaa sen puitteissa huomioon kielen historiallisia ja sosiolingvistisiä erityispiirteitä. Tässä yhteydessä otetaan myös huomioon ja käsitellään ilmiöitä, joilla selitetään, miten sanat siirtyvät kielten välillä sekä teorioita, joita niihin ja englannin kielen kehitykseen liittyy.

Kielikontaktien vaikutuksia sanastoon tarkastellaan useammalla tavalla. Tutkielma alkaa tutkimalla kalastukseen liittyvää sanastoa *Oxford English Dictionary Onlinessa,* jonka avulla määritellään, miten sanaston kehitys asettuu alalla siihen, mitä alalla on näistä kontakteista yleisemmin todettu. Sen lisäksi kootaan lista sanoista, joilla kalastussanastoa sekä sitä ympäröivää keskustelua voidaan tutkia korpuksen avulla. Muinais- ja keskienglannin osalta korpus tutkimus vertailee sanan *fish* eri kirjoitusmuotoja, niiden kehitystä ja alueellista esiintymistä. Varhais-nykyenglannin sanastosta tutkitaan sanojen *fish* ja *angle* kollokaatteja sekä ympäristöä virketasolla. Tämän vaiheen avulla tutkitaan, miten ja millä sanoin kalastuksesta puhuttiin varhais-nykyenglannin aikakaudella. Diskurssianalyyttisiä metodeja hyödynnetään kuitenkin vain rajoitetusti, koska pääasiassa tarkastelussa on erikoisanaston käyttö.

Kvantitatiiviset tulokset osoittavat, että kalastukseen liittyvä sanasto on kehittynyt samaan tapaan kuin muukin sanasto, joskin aineiston rajoitteiden puitteissa on myös viitteitä siitä, että historialliset tanskalaisalueet olisivat toimineet aikanaan aihepiirin keskittymänä. Korpus analyysin tuottamien tulosten mukaan kalastaminen ei ollut yleinen puheenaihe, sillä valittu lähestymistapa löysi vain hajanaisia katkelmia kalastukseen liittyen. Aiheen tarkempaan tutkimiseen tarvitaan ehdottomasti varta vasten koottu korpus, ja tätä tukee se, että korpuksessa oli kuitenkin yksi teksti, joka käsitteli yksinomaan kalastamista. Teksti itsessään viittasi siihen, että kalastaminen oli pikemminkin urheilua tai ajanvietettä kuin ammattimaista toimintaa. Tätä huomiota tukee se yleinen päätelmä, että kalastamisesta ei juurikaan puhuttu sekä *Oxford English Dictionary Onlinesta* saadut löydökset.

Avainsanat: kontaktilingvistiikka, korpuslingvistiikka, sosiolingvistiikka, leksikologia, kalastaminen, muinaisenglanti, keskienglanti, varhais-nykyenglanti

Tämän julkaisun alkuperäisyys on tarkastettu Turnitin OriginalityCheck –ohjelmalla.

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1. Introduction

This thesis examines the early contact situations and their effects on the English language and specifically to vocabulary related to and revolving around fishing, as evidenced by the online versions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the Helsinki Corpus.

The topic of the present thesis stems from the author's want and interest to learn about the history of the English language. Though its history is not a dark and unknown place, the history is a different time marked by the extensive change in the language. The events that occurred in the forming years of the language are, however, well researched and the context of the changes in the language are available to anyone regardless of their knowledge of the dead languages.

Anecdotally, one observation steered the thesis towards the specific topic: the name for the English language, derives from the name of one the first Germanic tribes that settled on the British Isles in the beginning centuries of the common era. Angles provided the name for a country and its language, and the etymology for the name is the same as for the word *angle* 'a fish hook'[1]. It seems plausible that the vocabulary related to fishing is rather colorful and interesting.

Linguistics has developed methods to investigate historical events as the context for language change. Via these methods, the present study aims to examine the influence of the early contact situations to the fishing vocabulary of the English language. These methods involve contact linguistics, which consist of different considerations on how language mixing of any intensity occurs, as well as corpus linguistics and limited usage of lexicological considerations with the help of metalexicographical evidence.

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[1] "angle, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2022. Web. 17 April 2022.

The thesis will use the basis that has been established in earlier literature and a working description of the historical events and contact situations will be given in their respective sections. At this stage, motivation for the study should be addressed briefly.

Presently, English has become a global language. This has not always been the case, and English has seen many different events that have shaped in the British Isles as well. As will become evident to the reader, the English language has been massively influenced by other language, especially by the French language, but other major contact situations have grained the shades of the language and three of them, namely with the Celtic languages of the inhabitants of the British Isles, Old Norse of the Vikings, and French of the Normans, will be considered in this thesis. The base literature suggests the following framework for the study.

1. Old English was an agile language.

2. Old English was the native language of the majority of inhabitants, which made it resistant to borrowing to account for "gaps" (Matras 2009) in the language (see section 1.2.). However, established literature and research show that French, as noted, shattered this shell completely, and contact with Old Norse was of such intensity that even pronouns were borrowed.

3. The Celtic languages may have had limited influence on the English language, but the volume might be too low to show up in the fishing vocabulary.

4. Old Norse, being a familial language to Old English and socially more or less equal in the contact situation, probably had considerable influence on the fishing vocabulary, especially in the field of special innovations.

5. French language had a sweeping influence on the vocabulary altogether, and this is likely to be case here too; the question may be closer to which asserted more influence on the language: Norman-French or Old Norse.

A general hypothesis is therefore that the composition of the fishing vocabulary should be in line with the overall currents of the development. This hypothesis will be tested by collecting words from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and its adjacent *Historical Thesaurus,* and looking for varying types of collocations from the Helsinki Corpus (sources are presented in section 6).

Because the Helsinki Corpus is not a specifically compiled corpus it will also offer some insight into how much fishing was discussed (or, rather, written about) in the different periods. It will also allow to field the variations of orthography and possibly make tentative conclusions as to where the bubbling was if there was any.

In conclusion to this introduction, here is a reiteration of the research questions:

a. What is the lexical and etymological composition of general (and casual) vocabulary related to fishing in the **Early Modern English period?**

b. Do any major developments diffuse from the historical area of the Danish settlement?

c. Has any specialized vocabulary appeared in the corpus texts along with any equipment innovations?

The following sections present the historical background, both in terms of events and linguistic developments, and further along the thesis central terminology surrounding the movement of linguistic elements between different languages are discussed.

2. Historical background

Terminology of the present study is worth explaining in the context of their history. Some of the later sections will refer to, for instance, place names and dialects that only denote their objects if they are appropriately assigned. This is best done by examining the history of English and the British Isles in two different parts: social history and linguistic history. Social history (section 1.1.) will explain some of the terminology that this study will make use of, while the linguistic history (section 1.2.) will involve more specifically targeted information for the present study. One further distinction is made concerning this format: because the linguistic part of the study will consider contact linguistics as major theoretical tool, details of the contact situations will necessarily involve some overlap with section 1.1. However, this is addressed by giving only a rough summary of the social history with a more contextual and indexical function. Similarly, section 4.1. will point to research that has been conducted on the contact situations, and in doing so especially section 2 concerning creolization and koinéization might prove useful to the reader.

2.1. Summary of the historical background

At the beginning of the fifth century, Britain, before any form of English appeared, was inhabited by Celts, whose native languages included Welsh, Scots Gaelic, Cumbric, Kornish and Manx (Denison & Hogg 2006: 8). Celts are known to have lived in the British Isles for at least 3000 years (van Gelderen 2014: 2), but in addition, Britain was also a part of the Roman Empire at least until 410 CE. Latin was spoken in parts of the country and must have had some influence on the Celtic languages. The arrival of the English coincides with the withdrawal of the Romans and some Latin words have been borrowed already at this stage to the language that evolved to English (van Gelderen 2014: 2).

The reasons for the withdrawal of the Roman Empire are outside the scope of this study, but it may itself have been the reason for a new wave settling to the British Isles. The coincidence of the Germanic peoples from the European continent landing on the islands is argued to have gained impetus from the power vacuum that the Romans left behind (Denison & Hogg 2006: 8). Other accounts suggest that the Celtic king Vortinger asked help from Hengist and Horsa in fighting the northern Picts (van Gelderen 2014: 2).

Be that as it may, the Germanic peoples found their way onto the island and with them brought their languages, which became English. The identities of these peoples are both known and not known. There seems to be strong consensus that the tribes were Angles, Saxons and Jutes, however, very little is known about the Jutes (see e.g., van Gelderen 2014, and Hogg 2006). A fourth tribe, the Frisians, is also occasionally mentioned (e. g. van Gelderen 2014; Mufwene 2013), and the frequent omission is rather odd, given that typologically present-day English most resembles Frisian (Klemola 2013: 82).

In the seventh century they founded among themselves seven kingdoms, which were called Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Kent, East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria. Contest arose a century later, when the Vikings from Scandinavia started their own series of raids in the late 8th century. This had major effects on the organisation of the British Isles, in that the Vikings constantly warring with the English and the Danes eventually acquired their own territory from the North East coast of Britain. This area was called Danelaw, and consisted of most of Mercia, and East Anglia and Northumbria (see e.g., van Gelderen 2014, and Hogg 2006).

2.2. Genealogical context

The language which is called Old English had its origins on the European continent. The continental languages were varieties of the Germanic languages, while "English" denotes an insular variety that branched from it after the Anglo-Saxons emigrated to the British Isles in

449 CE. Germanic languages at this stage had already developed several dialects, of which relevant for this thesis can be categorized as West Germanic, North-West Germanic, and North Germanic.

Campbell's (1959) *Old English Grammar* gives a good description of the West Germanic category: in the 'Old' period (lasting until 1100 CE) the West Germanic languages consisted of Old High German, Old Saxon and Old English which are well recorded (1959: 1—2). In addition there are good records on Middle Dutch, Middle Low German and Middle Frisian, which are, obviously, recorded in the 'Middle' period (1959: 2). Campbell (1959: 2) explains that the major distinction between 'old' and 'middle' periods is "the unaccented back vowel."

Campbell (1959: 2—3) further distinguishes a subcategory in the West Germanic branch, namely, the Ingvaeonic branch, which consisted of all of the above, except Old High German. This leaves to the subcategory Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Frisian (which, although, to reiterate, is better recorded in the 'middle' period.)

The emigrant speakers that settled Britain lived on this continuum, mostly on the north-western corner of the continent. The exact identity has not been completely disclosed, but classification most often agreed upon is that the emigrants belonged to three tribes: Angels, Saxons and Jutes (Denison & Hogg 2006: 9). There seems to be consensus that Angles and Saxons were among the peoples that inhabited Britain, but, for instance, van Gelderen (2014: 2) sheds doubt on Jutish emigration and adds Frisians to the list.

After being established in Britain, the Anglo-Saxons and their language had contact with a few different languages throughout the next centuries. For the purposes of this thesis, three contact situations will be considered to establish framework for the development of English. Chronologically, the language situations were with the Celtic languages, with Old Norse during the Viking age, and finally with French during and after the Norman conquest.

These contact situations differed from each other greatly, and more detail is offered in the following sections. But as an introduction it can be said that the contact with Celtic involved the Germanic tribes as being the invaders or strangers that eventually took control of the island, whereas with Old Norse, the situation was the contrary, albeit the Vikings did not totally subvert the ruling English. Further, the Norman Conquest, evidently, was a total overthrow. It is not surprising then that the specific languages had different kinds of influence on the English language and its vocabulary. We may find that some of these languages have lent themselves to enrich the vocabulary in different areas of daily life of the English.

Discussion on the contact situations will be provided in section 4, but before that some important terminology and concepts is presented in section 2.

3. Core concepts

This section discusses concepts that have been utilized in the present study and addresses other topics that are usually associated with the general theme of the thesis, that is, the contact situations in the history of the English language. The section begins with briefly addressing the creolization discussion. This subsection only works to explain why the question is not relevant, because while the creolization is a part of contact linguistics, the scope of this thesis does not extend to it. The subsequent subsections discuss terminology surrounding borrowing and imposition, as well as bilingualism and second language acquisition and finally, three major contacts English had with Celtic, Old Norse, and Norman-French are observed to extent that it is meaningful for this thesis. To be sure, in the scope of this study all of the minutiae that the thesis maybe should address will not be discussed. This is not to be taken as their relegation to an irrelevant position in the line of research, but only as them being unnecessary for a research question as open and surveying as those in this thesis.

3.1. Creolization and koinéization

Even though creolization and koinéization are an interesting debate in the history of the English language, contemplating on the terminology is hardly necessary for this thesis. A cursory discussion is, however, warranted, because a thesis involving historical contact situations would not do without it.

The difference between creolization and koinéization may not be an easy one to attain. In a way, the difference hinges on the two (or more) languages that are involved in the contact situation. Fischer (2013: 22) argues that a koiné is the product of languages that are not in a relationship of power, and that are similar enough to draw from their internal structures to find similarities amongst each other. This drawing of similar features involves reduction, simplification, assimilation, and refunctioning of the variation. As the following

subsections will show, the contact situation with Old Norse fits some of these requirements, and in fact interesting studies that will be discussed in the subsection concerning Scandinavian influence, rely heavily on the presumed mutual intelligibility and structural similarity of Old English and Old Norse.

Creolization and creoles in more general, involve power, and this is reflected in the terminology that describes the languages in contact as having substratum or superstratum roles. Discussion on creoles also often prerequisites mentioning pidgin languages. Pidgins have chronologically been the place where literature has tended to begin studying creoles. Bartens (2009: 52) says that this approach is mainstream practice and identifying features of a pidgin in a creole helps make studying them easier. In their book on World Englishes, Mesthrie and Bath (2008: 5) give what they consider "a prototypical" definition of pidgins and creoles: pidgins are rudimentary languages with no native speakers, whereas creoles are fully formed languages with native speakers. Their mechanism of formation is very similar, in that their lexicon and grammar are usually courtesy of different languages. As the pidgin develops into a creole it extends beyond the contact situation of speakers of two (or more) different languages to the realm of communication between speakers of the developed language, which raises demands for the language to diversify and become a language capable of referring to all life.

It is clear that this line of research is outside the scope of the present thesis, despite the fact the contact situation between Old English and Norman French has attracted attention in this regard. However, the argument for Middle English emerging as a creole has been rejected time and time again, and a good treatment on it is given by Warner (2017), whose article will be observed in the subsection covering Scandinavian influence. Indeed, Fischer (2013) and Warner (2017), among others, contemplate the possibility that the contact situation between Old English and Old Norse resulted in a koiné, but they hardly even entertain the

idea of Middle English being a creole. For these reasons, the creolization is not discussed any further, save the occasional mention in the next few subsections.

The next subsection gives background on other terminology that will be present in the reminder of this chapter.

3.2.   Borrowing and imposition

Examining linguistic contact necessarily involves some sociolinguistic features, given that the contact situation itself is languages – or more accurately their speakers – interacting with each other. This has become very evident from the earlier sections concerning the influences Celtic, Old Norse, French, Latin and English have had on each other. The contact situation is filled with sociological considerations, especially – but not exclusively – in such situations as the described historical occasions were. Fischer (2013: 20) states that the social background of the contact situation is important to know for reasons of identifying the "dominating language". The reference to dominating language is apt in discussing the history of the English language, in that the contact situation was often contentious, but it is also meaningful in terms of core terminology in the field of contact linguistics.

Contact-induced language change – which is very much the theme of this thesis – often involves one key terminological dichotomy, namely that of BORROWING and LANGUAGE SHIFT. Their differences are analyzed through the agency of the languages: borrowing has "recipient language agentivity", and language shift, or imposition, has "source language agentivity" (Fischer 2013: 19, following van Coetsem 1988). On a more abstract level Fischer (2013) also distinguishes between direct and indirect influence, which are result from contact-induced change and shift-based induced interference, respectively.

Thomason & Kaufman (1992: 37) describe borrowing as the "incorporation of foreign features" by speakers to their own language, whereas language shift, which is related

to what they call "substratum interference" (ibid. 38—39), means that the speakers change to speaking the other language altogether. Indeed, neither borrowing or language shift are confined to vocabulary, but phonological and syntactic elements may also be affected.

Their terminology is fairly useful and connects neatly to what Fischer means which "dominance". The languages are likely to be non-equal in the contact situation, the other then being dominant or superstratum, and the other substratum. The roles of the languages are not self-evident or internally derived, as even the substratum language in shifting to use the other may have extensive influence on the superstratum language; language shift is often characterized by "imperfect learning" and the errors that the new speakers produce are by no means unable to diffuse throughout the old speakers' speech (Thomas & Kaufman 1992: 38—39; Fischer 2013: 21). Bilingualism and language learning will be further discussed in a later section.

Matras (2009) gives a detailed treatment of the motives for borrowing. Two of the reason are connected to the phenomena themselves, in that both borrowing and language shift happen out of necessity. According to Matras (2009: 149) one reason for borrowing is to fill "gaps" in the vocabulary. This would mean that any object or phenomena (or anything really) that is present in the speakers' life needs a referent word, and if such does not exist in the native language, it will be borrowed from a language that has a word for them. Such case could conceivably be all of the three contact situations that will be covered in the following sections. Settlement (be it malevolent or benevolent) to a strange land will present new vistas and experiences that the newcomers may not have encountered before. In this sense it would be English that should *not* be expected to be the recipient language, because the gaps are precisely in the structure of the recipient language. English language probably was capable of referring to anything in the British Isles. The roles are flipped if the newcomers, especially

powerful and dominating groups, brought with them something that the English were not able to identify and internally name. In such case English indeed would be the recipient language.

Another motivation that Matras (2009: 149) mentions is related to the superstratum influence described above. Matras calls this (as is common in the field) *prestige,* and in cases of prestige influence a language borrows from a language that has high-ranking status. This borrowing is not necessitated by strive to communicate accurately, rather it stems from an attempt to gain social stature. The recipient language might even be well equipped to refer to the topical entity, but still borrow from the prestige language. Matras (2009: 147) notes that while such pairs may have surfaced, the prestige status meant that the competing words were not pragmatically identical.

This may not have been much of an issue before the Norman Conquest (as will be discussed later), because only the contact situation with the Normans was a total overthrow of the social elite, although Matras (2009: 151) comments that prestige is not exclusively confined to power, but prestige is dictated by the goals of the speaker. Whichever community, be it a small minority or the dominating majority, has the terms that the speaker desires to use and identify with, has prestige.

Interestingly, Thomason & Kaufman (1992: 41) show that structural borrowing as a long-lasting and complete process takes hundreds of years, whereas language shift may occur in less than one generation. The "shifting speakers" embed the features of their first language to the target language virtually immediately, and the features may diffuse to the speech of the other group, although Thomason & Kaufman remind that many different social factors affect the results (ibid. 41).

3.3. Bilingualism and second language acquisition

Matras (2009) discusses a wholly different type of contact situation from the three situations discussed in section 2, and describes the stages that a bilingual child experiences during their upbringing. The obvious differences between, for example, English and Celtic languages, and Matras' example are that the discussions are separated to micro and macrolevels, but also, that there is no such hostility as is involved with mediaeval raids. The sociological situation on a microlevel, however, should not be radically different, as regards a bilingual child. Their parents speak one or more native languages to the child, who then possesses native level skills in both of them. Bruce & Robinson (2012: 126) contemplate that when the historical Dane and Anglo-Saxon married, their child might have been confused by their using different case endings in cognate words. While this might be a peculiarity of the mutual intelligibility of Old English and Old Norse or the age of the child, Matras (2009: 19) argues that "[the child] is fully aware of the context-bound separation, and pursues it consistently."

A dominant language will predictably emerge, however. Matras (2009: 15—16) reports that the stronger language announces itself in situations that concern the "immediate world" of the child, such as names of body parts and toys, and this overrides the aforementioned sensitivity to context. Matras (2009: 25—26) further points out that when a third language comes into the mix during education and becomes the "dominant language of play and verbal reasoning" the third language overrides even the stronger native language. Furthermore, the given example is a syntactic one: the English construction "I'm cold" extends to the parental Hebrew and German, displacing their preferred dative constructions. Most importantly, the insertion of the copula adhered to the grammar rules of the target language: Hebrew uses zero-copula in the present tense, which was accounted for by the child (ibid. 25—26)

Although, the example is but one, it is illuminating as to what external influence can amount to. External influence has been a point of contest in literature, and contact linguistics shares a similar branching point from generativist linguistics which will be discussed later in section 4. Thomason & Kaufman (1992: 16) describes the separation by the treatment on the resistance and stability of the grammar of a given language, while Fischer (2013: 16) points especially to the generativist tendency to discard the external influence, while emphasizing the internal "autonomy of syntax and parameters and universal patterns of 'innate grammar'".

Indeed, it appears relatively clear that any given language itself is not impervious to external change, but rather the speaker may be to some extent confined to their own mental models. Matras (2009: 26—27) suggests that the child learner is interested in being as accurate as possible, which means reaching to the whole repertoire of language at their disposal.

4. Studies on the history of fishing industry

Seeing as the research questions were posed as ones that intend to survey historical evidence and make conclusions based on them – instead of, for example, trying to verify something or test a specific hypothesis – the study needs to consult some sources to locate a place to begin the search. One method will be a rather crude one, namely, to investigate the immediate environment of the word *fish* in the corpus and make qualitative assessments based on the findings.

Another approach will require application of previous scholarship. This section considers two articles from the book *Cod and Herring : The Archaeology and History of Medieval Sea Fishing* edited by Barret & Orton (2016). The volume runs a number of articles that concern the history of the fishing industry, and two of them, one by Poul Holm and the other by Maryanne Kowaleski were consulted for this section. They chronicle the development of some fishing innovations that took place in the Western Baltic Sea and later in the British Isles. These two articles will be briefly consulted to form a backdrop for the type of lexicon this study is likely to detect. Obviously, there is much more research that could be consulted in this section, but for the purposes of this linguistic thesis and the function that they serve (although, they somewhat also steer the focus towards Old Norse) these two articles should suffice.

Holm (2016) presents evidence on the diet of mediaeval Baltic, and they suggest that Denmark happened at a pivotal spot in the Baltic Sea, and thus became a powerful nation in the area. The people of Scandinavia in a more general note seem to have been on a consistent seafood diet, differences only occurring from social stratification, as documented in Sweden (Holm 2016: 27—29). This was not a continental trend, on the contrary marine-based nutrition in Poland was very low in the mediaeval period (according to preliminary evidence discussed in Holm 2016: 29).

The fish catches in the Baltic area experienced a high surge in the 6th and 7th centuries (Holm 2016: 30), a few centuries after the Anglo-Saxons had emigrated to Britain. This could imply that some of the innovations that supplied the increasing catch were not at the disposal of the English. On the other hand, Denmark enjoyed the innovations massively (ibid. 30). In the same volume Kowaleski (2016) describes the fishing situation in Britain which had evolved into a similar direction by the 10th and 11th centuries, saying especially that herring fisheries on the eastern coast of England were "clearly producing for the market in the 10th and early 11th centuries, but the pace quickened considerably over the course of the 11th and early 12th centuries" (Kowaleski 2016: 44). Furthermore, "even coastal residents ate little marine protein until the late ninth to eleventh centuries" (Kowaleski 2016: 44) which neatly coincides with not only the Viking Age but with the location of Danelaw on the east coast of Britain, and Kowaleski (2016: 57) notes that current theories from archeologists maintain that the Scandinavians may have brought some of their Baltic innovations with them.

In light of the earlier discussion on Scandinavian influence in this thesis, it seems likely that the Vikings established a highly successful fishing business to Danelaw that diffused to other areas upon the post-Conquest period of English and Scandinavians being overthrown. Several exact places discussed by Kowaleski (2013: 49) fall inside the borders of Danelaw.

To summarize, around the Norman invasion fishing had become to flourish in the British Isles. This coincided with the Vikings arriving in the late 8th hundreds, which in turn was accompanied by their fishing success and innovations in Denmark and the western Baltic in general.

Therefore, there is reason to assume that some of the innovations were brought along to the British Isles, which contributed to the development of local fisheries on the Eastern

coast. Kowaleski (2013: 49) refers to earlier research that "the early Essex sea weirs (often called 'kiddles' in eastern England and the River Thames)" have received attention in literature and documentation ever since the eleventh century, and she speculates that "clusters of sea weirs [. . .] could well have been operating in the Anglo-Saxon period if not earlier."

Kowaleski (2013: 49—50) gives further details on the *weir* tool, and it seems that it has been (or become) a rather agile word. Something that is called a *hackle weir* (ibid. 49) was also an integral part of the business and apparently helped to strengthen the profession along the coastal communities. The operating of said weir is left obscure, however, and *the Oxford English Dictionary Online* does not even recognize this compound. Nonetheless, Kowaleski attributes hackle weirs to being best used by fishermen working from boats and stretching a net across an eddy (ibid. 49). In general, Kowaleski (2013: 49) notes that they were made of stone, and a tide would guide fish into the weir, and, given that they were costly to construct and maintain, it seems to have been highly effective.

In conclusion, the research may anticipate to locate vocabulary most likely related to nets, dams and specialized lexis referring to natural phenomena. The next sections will describe the methods of research, the contact situations in detail, and how the previously mentioned databases and sources were used to gather the material for analysis.

5.   Discussion of methods

The present thesis aims to study four different things: words, semantic fields, contact situations and the history of language. In terms of theoretical framework, the study will draw from two different sources, namely corpus linguistics and contact linguistics. The two areas consist of their own smaller parts that will be covered in their respective section later in the thesis.

The inclusion of words and semantics and the coincidental lack of any lexicographic or lexicological theory or methods may raise questions as to why this is. The reason for their omission is quite simply in their usefulness as well the properties of the selected theories and practices.

Bèjoint (2010) gives a useful definition of lexicographic methods. Lexicography is the process of creating a dictionary, and further a metalexicographer studies dictionaries (2010: 9). This quite clearly does not apply to the present thesis, because only one dictionary will be consulted, and the contents therein will not be put under any particular scrutiny. In an introductory textbook to lexicology, Halliday (2007: 4) describes lexicology as "the study of content words, or lexical items." Now, such a linguistic method is already closer to the demands of the present thesis. However, lexicology is yet another area of study that is too specific for the purposes of this thesis. The aim of the study is to gather information as to what is the lexical environment of the semantic field of *fishing*. The data that will be analyzed is going to benefit from consulting a dictionary by looking at etymologies, dates of entries, synonyms and former orthographic forms of the words, but the definition, insomuch as is in the realm of *fishing*, will not be an issue, unless it is of paramount importance. Even if such cases arise, no lexicological models will be necessitated.

Nevertheless, that is not to say, that lexicological methods are not suited for a study such as this one. On the contrary, if one was to extend, refine and continue studying

fishing vocabulary further, I should encourage them to include a terminological taxonomy in the results.

The next sections will discuss the theories that were deemed relevant for the scope of the present study.

5.1.   English in contact

Terminology related to contact linguistics and a summary of the field's characteristics were given in section 2 in conjunction with presenting core concepts in the thesis. Section 1, in turn, introduced the historical contexts of the contact situations, but without observing them in any detail. The next section will survey the three contact situations that were mentioned in section 1, and their consequences to the development of the English language will be considered.

5.1.1.   Celtic influence

The influence of Celtic on English has been a point of argument. Until recently the tentative consensus has been that the Celtic languages had a very minor, even negligible influence on English (discussion in Klemola 2013: 75). Indeed, even the nature of the contact situation has not been settled in literature. Klemola (2013: 76) discusses the development of the literary stance on the issue and maintains that archaeological evidence indicates that the contact situation was not deadly to the indigenous Celts. Rather, the Celtic population remained the clear majority in Britain, while the Anglo-Saxons were but a small elite.

Presently it is well established that the Celtic languages have had a relatively major influence on English. Mufwene (2013) mentions the SVO word order and the so-called internal possessor construction, and thirdly, the periphrastic usage of *do,* which was studied by Patricia Poussa in 1990 and is also considered the beginning of the "Celtic hypothesis" (Filppula & Klemola (2009: 1687).

As Klemola (2013) has observed, however, influence need not be sweeping, but traces of it can be searched from less obvious places. Klemola (2013) examines three case studies on the influence of Celtic language, and only one of them is a feature spread throughout the language, namely the unique usage – in the context of development of other Germanic languages -- of *self.* The two other examples are features that have geographical currency and occur in close connection to Celtic language areas. In Northern England, the so-called Northern Subject Rule, which dictates that the verbal -*s* suffix is omitted when it succeeds a personal pronoun but used elsewhere (ibid. 77—82) The rule is more sophisticated, but elaboration is probably not needed for the purposes of this thesis. The other feature discussed by Klemola (2013) is present in southwestern England, and it is a variant of the third person pronoun, specifically *en*.

The two features from Klemola (2013) have arguably been confined to their geographical locations. Nonetheless, if the analysis is correct, they are evidence of Celtic influence. On the other hand, Filppula & Klemola (2009) discuss the Celtic varieties of English, that is, Englishes spoken natively in Ireland, Wales, Hebrides, and Manx (ibid. 1689). They study two syntactic features that have originated from Celtic influence. In these cases the features are by definition contained in their respective geographical areas, but still show the capability of Celtic languages to assert influence on English.

Another thing to consider is the general situation on the British Isles, when the Anglo-Saxons arrived. Mufwene (2013: 207) notes that English language was unlikely formed during the initial contact with the indigenous Celts. The four tribes spoke different dialects of the Germanic language, and they probably had their differences. Ultimately, Mufwene (2013: 207—208) suspects that the dialect spoken by the Angles became the basis for Old English, but argues that the process of it spreading throughout the population was close to koinéization, rather than dialect-leveling. Mufwene discards the term dialect-leveling,

because it entails reverting to the commonalities in the dialects, which the four dialects seem to have lacked (ibid. 207—208). In other words, the times were formative for the new language, and contact with established indigenous languages are more than likely to have had their impact.

For the purposes of this thesis, then, could be argued that Celtic influence, while at the same time being continuous, was also present in the formative state of the English language. If koinéization is an acceptable origin process for Old English, koinéization is the speakers' effort to be mutually intelligible (see also next section). Although neither koinéization or dialect-leveling apply to Celtic and Old English, a non-Germanic language, the efforts of second language learners and eventual bilinguals to participate in the makings of England cannot be ignored. Considering, also, the evidence discussed in Klemola (2013), the success of the group of Germanic languages triumphing over the clear majority population, and the following "acculturation" (ibid. 76—77) of the Celts, along with bilingualism and eventual shift to English, suffice to say that an absence of Celtic influence should be surprising.

5.1.2. Scandinavian influence

The Scandinavians, namely Danes and Norwegians, started raiding Britain at the end of the 8th century, and by the mid-9th century they had started gradually wintering and eventually settling on the island. The Danes gained their coexisting area on the east coast, and it was bordered in the North by a Norwegian settlement. The Danish territory roughly consisted of East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria. They brought with them their native language Old Norse, which has, for many different reasons, stirred discussion concerning the development of Old English.

The influence that Old Norse asserted on Old English has been contemplated from many points of view, and a great many theories have been put forward. One of the reasons for the interest and many-faceted research is that Old Norse, as Old English, is a Germanic language, even better, a North Germanic language. The relation between the languages has been taken to mean, among other things, that Middle English, given its substantial simplicity it presents in comparison to Old English, is a creole borne out of the contact situation between the Scandinavians and the subsequent Norman Conquest.

The theory of Middle English being a creole was first put forward by Bailey & Maroldt (1977) and Domingue (1977) independently in 1977 (I only mention the seminal studies, for I have no access to them), and subsequently a great many have firmly rejected it (see O'Neil 2019 for discussion; for the theory itself e.g., McWhorter 2002; Trotter 2012). In the heart of it, the theory suggests that Old English underwent sufficient amount of substantial change in contact with Old Norse and Norman French, that the development warrants a reanalysis of Middle English as a creole. This is based, for example, on the facts that Middle English is much more analytic and inflectionally simpler than the synthetic Old English, and that Middle English emerged festooned with loanwords from both languages. In support of Old Norse, but not exclusively pro-creolization, literature gives that English seems to have borrowed words that belong to classes that rarely are supplemented, namely the third person plural paradigm *they, their, them*. For French, on the other hand, examples of borrowing are plenty. van Gelderen (2014: 4) states that 45% of Modern English words originate from French, and Kastovsky (2006: 250) that 75% of the 10,000 French words borrowed to Middle English are still in use today.

Dance (2012: 1728) doubts that committing to strong wording is necessary, and further that "contact with Norse in the Viking Age should not be regarded as the midwife for the birth of a 'new language'." Indeed, literature has set out to find more middle ground

descriptions of the situation. Warner (2017) carried out a detailed analysis on some features and developments that shed some light on the possible nature of relationship between the habitants of Wessex (England) and Danelaw. Warner (2017: 377) suggests a koinéization process (section 3.2.3) and proposes that both Old English and Old Norse were used in the same conversation which led to accommodation of features of speech. Fischer (2013: 37) also evaluates a koinéization between Old English and Old Norse as most likely: "The suggestion is that koiné arose in the Danelaw which led to the simplification of Old English morphology and word order, via shift-induced interference."

Further, in Fischer's (2013: 33) assessment Old English and Old Norse were mutually intelligible. The similarity is, however, debateable (see Warner 2017 for a thoughtful discussion), and, for example, contrary to Fischer and Warner, *The Wiley Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Lapidge 2014, 350) states s. v. *old norse* that mutual intelligibility was highly unlikely. Fischer (2013) does not explain the reasoning further, but Warner's (2017) argument is persuasive: the languages have common word stems, their ancestor language was a continuum of dialects, and the branching happened only a few hundred years earlier.

Warner's (2017) theory posits that upon contact, the mutually intelligible languages interacted and accommodated their speech for the other speaker, in other words, adopted structures from a pool of choices in pursuit of simplification. Warner's study (2017: 321—6) examines the so called -i/ij- reflex in weak verbs and finds that its zero-variant began to appear the Danish settled areas first and then spread to other areas of Britain. This is in line with what Hogg concluded in more general:

> Indeed, it could be argued that there were more innovations which spread in a north—south direction than vice versa. [. . .] Generally speaking, and in terms of core items in the vocabulary, most of the innovations seem to have sprung from areas of the country where there had been substantial Scandinavian settlement at the time of the Danelaw. (Hogg 2006: 364)

Finally, there are also studies that further diminish the influence Old Norse may have had on Old English. Cole (2018) proposes that the deep-rooted assumption of Old Norse origins for the third person plural pronoun (*they, their, them,* see above) is not necessary, because their origin can be derived from internal development. The theory does not rest on the most obvious of counterarguments (that pronouns rarely are borrowed from language to another), but rather on more discreet considerations: change of orthography, and "refunctionalisation" (Cole 2018: 166). In arguing refunctionalisation, Cole looks at Middle English texts that include "double glosses" (Cole 2018: 175), that is, texts that give two grammatically correct alternatives for a single Latin lemma. Cole's study argues that the determiner and their Latin equivalent glosses illustrate interchangeability between Old English determiners. At the very least, endogenous development is possible.

Differences are many, but some common ground has been achieved also. One of them is that Old Norse had an impact on the English vocabulary. The influence was not as substantial as French had, as we will later observe, but then again neither was the contact situation (these topics will be discussed in the next section). In terms of Scandinavian loan words, the discussion above is important to settle. The equality of parties in the contact situation determines such basic conditions as "source language agentivity" and "recipient language agentivity", direct and indirect change and even area of living (terminology was discussed in section 2).

The contact situation with Old Norse seems to have been contentious, but equal. The settlers did not conquer the entire land as was when the Anglo-Saxons invaded the British Isles, or after the Norman Conquest. On the contrary, the country was divided to Wessex and Danelaw, although not with a stable border, and there is evidence of Old English texts with its own developments being written in Danelaw. The Scandinavian population was not a small

elite, but farmers, as were the English which is backed by the *lack* of archaeological evidence on consistent habitation (Fischer 2013: 33).

The mixing of population would, however, entail childhood bilingualism which does not conform neatly to the koinéization theory. Fishcer (2013: 33) argues precisely that the changes arising from the contact situation were due to "imperfect learning", that is interference in second language acquisition. Dance (2012: 1728) argues similarly and categorises the Old Norse influences in 1) the Scandinavians needing to loan new words from Old English to express their new surroundings (see section 3.2. on borrowing), and 2) their changing completely to using Old English and carrying over features from their native language. If the languages were mutually intelligible, phonology would be the area were these transfers would manifest, and, this is indeed what Warner (2013) showed in suggesting the speakers of similar enough language accommodating towards simplicity in, for example, the weak verbs' -i/ij- reflex.

We can, therefore, expect the vocabulary originating from the Scandinavian contact be related to the everyday life of the speakers. Whereas the Celtic contact was one of substrata versus superstrata, and the French situation (covered in the next section) being similar but with English, this time, being the low prestige language, Old English and Old Norse coexisted in the same level of population. Dance (2012: 1731—2) relays research that Old Norse influence is visible in such semantic fields as legal, seafaring, measures and coins, and military, which "arguably represent need-based loans, that is they reflect the desire to name some newly-imported Scandinavian cultural artefact." Ultimately, the loans extend to areas in which English was already natively "well-stocked" (Dance 2012: 1732).

5.1.3.   French and Latin influence after the Norman Conquest in 1066

French appeared on the British Isles after the Norman Conquest in 1066, which has been described as a catastrophic event for the overthrown population. The English had had contact with the French language prior to the pivotal year. The distance between the two languages was merely the English channel, which was crossed regularly, and King Edward (1003—1066) had spent most of his life exiled in Normandy, and his coronation then meant that French had a stepping stone on the island (Skaffari 2013: 1672).

Whereas the Scandinavian invasion was not a complete sweep of power from the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans became the primary rulers of the country (see e. g. Fischer 2013: 23). This is reflected in the fact that English ceased to be a written language for quite some time and when English started appearing again it had already the characteristics of Middle English. In the meanwhile, French and Latin were the primary languages of literature.

The variety of French that was used on the British Isles, as discussed in Skaffari (2013: 1672), was, however, not Central French, but the specific variety that was spoken in Normandy. Norman French had been influenced by Vikings two hundred years before the conquest, hence the name "Norman", and the speakers were not exclusively French. Furthermore, Skaffari (2013: 1676—1677) observes that post-Conquest Normandy had belonged to the English king (of Norman descent) until 1204, when it was captured by the king of France, which suggests a degree of separation between Normandy and France.

After the Conquest, French and Latin became the prestige languages in England, and both have had a massive influence especially on the English vocabulary. Latin had had its status for quite some time, and Mufwene (2013: 210) states that it had been the language of scholarship, law and trade. French, in its turn, had a similar trajectory. It was spoken by a small elite, which included the descendants of Celtic and Germanic peoples that had risen to such position, and Mufwene (2013: 211) compares them to the "Colonial auxiliaries" of more

contemporary situation of the like. The linguistic space on the British Isles involved multilingualism, and French enjoyed a prestige status; English speakers retained their native language, while the French-speaking rulers only new French (e. g. Skaffari 2009: 1674—1675); Fischer 2013: 23). Fischer (2013) puts the topic aside, but Skaffari (2009) and Mufwene (2013) observe that the situation necessarily developed to bilingualism. Skaffari (2009) considers the year 1204 a turning point for the country. The loss of Normandy meant that those French-speaking landowners that had land on both sides of the English Channel, were left with little incentive to retain French, while the English still saw it as a tool to socially advance (ibid. 1676—1677). Mufwene (2013: 211--212) also observes bilingualism among the Celts and English, but maintains that the French-speakers eventually shifted to English. This affected not only the English language, but also the French language. Especially the linguistic variety, that Skaffari (2009: 1673) refers to as "Law French" was affected by the English aspiring professions in law.

The French-speakers shifting to English brought many noticeable changes. Skaffari (2009) gives a list of semantic fields that loaned words, and also observes that novel diphthongs [oi] and [ui], and *r* as in the word *rouge* appeared to the English phonology. In terms of Latin influence, Fischer (2013) writes that Latin influence was mostly indirect, because its speakers were bilinguals, but French speakers were not, and this is a reason – but not the only one -- for the influx of French loan words.

5.2. Corpus linguistics

Using corpora to study languages is an efficient way to get insight on the actual usage of a given language. Beal (2004) describes the utility of compiling corpora and subcorpora to identifying emerging historical phenomena. Beal's examples include the formulation of the

rules and the history of the neglected stranded pronoun, and the more recent development passive progressive (Beal 2004: 17, 20—22).

The corpora that served to reveal these historical changes were compiled and studied manually. Corpora, in themselves, are nothing magical, in that they are essentially a small or a larger compilation of texts. However, the process of compiling a corpus is a laborious one, and should not be downplayed. Corpora nowadays contain millions, even billions of words and the electronic versions of them demand tagging and labelling for them to be useful. Diemer (2012) gives an overview of the challenges of compiling a corpus containing historical texts, and indeed, even the transcribing of the original texts is a meticulous task. Writing from a compilers point of view, Diemer (2012: 31) states that the biggest obstacle in studying Middle English is that spelling is highly varying, and this is reflected in the compiled corpora. The transcribers make differing judgments.

Critics of corpus linguistics also often argue that the information that the method reveals is trivial and not useful, and that the field is overly infatuated with the quantitative dimension. The differences and the discussion of them occasionally bounces off the generative grammarian theory of language (see e. g. Teubert 2004; Lindquist & Levin 2018).

Lindquist & Levin (2018) address some of these points. In discussing the usefulness of frequency, they give an example that indeed might seem trivial. They argue that corpus studies can reveal knowledge of the use of language that even the native speaker is not aware of (contrary to the generative theory), for example, which words are more frequent in English than others. They give such examples as *hand* and *eye,* and *big* and *large,* which does make the case for less than useful information, until the application is extended outside native speakers. Lindquist & Levin (2018: 27) point out that this is useful information for example teachers in determining which words to teach the students first.

This is also an example of over-using the quantitative method, because little is disclosed of the actual usage of language. Lindquist & Levin (2018: 25) seem to admit that the field has had a preference for crunching numbers, but they assert that the tendency is disappearing, and the modern method appears to involve a crucial qualitative aspect: quantitative method necessarily entails qualitative considerations to decide what is studied.

Indeed, determining the item that is studied is another thing. The subject may range from studying corpora themselves to something that the research has defined as a 'word' or a 'morpheme'. Teubert (2004) discusses the difficulty in making such definitions, but fortunately, English seems to distinguish words from the surrounding words quite unambiguously.

Teubert (2004) notes importantly that a dictionary is not after all a conclusive source for word definitions, and this exemplified with the word *strike*. The lemma *strike* has a number of collocations that influence its definition, and some of them are not listed in the consulted dictionaries (Teubert 2004: 87). While the *strike* example is complimented by other dictionaries, some words or entries might arguably lack some existing collocation in every dictionary. It is therefore only detectable from a corpus (Teubert 2004: 87). Quite like the discussion on frequencies being outside even native speakers' abilities, collocations are also somewhat idiosyncratic.

Collocations lead us to the final point. Lindquist & Levin (2018: 1) suggest that corpus linguistics' one common theory is that the rules of language are usage based, and usage is also the cause for change. As already alluded, there seems to be some fundamental disagreement between generative grammar and corpus linguistics, and the works cited here point to the direction of syntax not being an automated mental machine (Teubert 2004; Lindquist & Levin 2018). Teubert (2004: 77—78) formulates this as generative linguists seeing, for example, nouns and verbs have rules between them that are dictated by syntax, in

other words, "rules [between words] are part of syntax, not semantics." Lindquist & Levin (2018: 52) recall that in the late 20th century generative linguistics saw words as only blocks that are inserted into syntax after it has generated the necessary information: "The lexicon in such a model has a peripheral role as a storehouse of words, idioms and oddities that cannot be described by rules."

Indeed, if we consider the examples discussed above (*hand* and *eye*, and *big* and *large*), it is not unimaginable to subscribe to this theory. Another example that is presented by Lindquist & Levin (2018: 111) is that of the usage of the phrase *down the drain;* Teubert (2004: 77) gives "Fake diamonds hate eternity." *Down the drain* is a phrase that can be used both literally and figuratively, which would mean that the surrounding words do not necessarily reveal much about the rules that govern the collocations. Diamonds cannot hate, because only animate subjects can feel, and Teubert argues that this is indication that some nouns and verbs do not agree. But if diamonds are forever, then figuratively it makes sense. The duality of *hate* can be revealed by looking at "every" collocation of the word, that is the concordance of *hate.* Studying every instance of *hate* – manually – describes the requirements that need to be satisfied for a something to become a metaphor. An inanimate subject is clear indication of it.

We have seen that corpus studies have been useful in establishing which words are the most frequently used in a given language. High frequency words are resistant to change and on the other hand, high frequency combination can merge in to one (Lindquist & Levin 2018: 8). Earlier section about Scandinavian influence discussed the different theories surrounding the genealogy of the third person plural pronoun. Although partly setting the point aside, Cole's argument (2018) included that pronouns – high frequency core vocabulary words – are rarely borrowed from one language to another. Ultimately, Cole's thesis is that the Middle English pronouns must be the result of an endogenous process. A counterargument

could be made that the contact situation from whence the pronouns came to be borrowed was of such intensity that even such a rare occurrence as borrowing a pronoun happened. This is a line of argument that could lead to creolization theory which was discussed earlier.

This concludes the section on methods. Next section will reiterate the goals of the thesis, which is finally followed by the practical portion of the study.

6. Goals of the study

The previous sections have discussed the history of the English language, terminology, and considered briefly some specialized research on fishing and fishing industry. Based on the synthesis, the study anticipates to find traces of the multitude of contact situations affecting the fishing vocabulary. This section maps the framework on the upcoming analysis section.

The analysis and data – which will be described in detail in chapter 6 – interject the English language diachronically in the Early Modern English period. This period is usually asserted as having begun at around the turn of the 16th century. Therefore, the immediate historical situation is that the Norman Conquest of 1066 has had its full effect realized, and the data should show extensive influence from the Romance languages. In addition, if the extensive influence of Old Norse is as prominent in the field of *fishing,* the data should also show that the vocabulary consists of at the very least Germanic words.

In this context, the debates of whether English has experienced koinézation or creolization will not be resolved (obviously). Bilingualism and second language acquisition should be interesting to consider, because they touch on the contact situation in very much similar ways as koinézation and creolization, but without forcing to make affirmative conclusions. Although it is uncertain whether the selected semantic field will allow for such consideration, the results may, nonetheless give some indication as to the intensity (especially) of contact with Old Norse. If the vocabulary should comprise of Germanic words that circulate around the innovations that were described in section 4, the intensity could be asserted as extensive. The selected corpus – introduced in section 6 – allows to consult the historical dialect areas of the British Isles and if the data so indicates, the Danelaw area could be treated more closely. What will be illuminated instead, is the composition of the fishing

vocabulary in the Early Modern English period, as evidenced by, on the one hand, a massive online dictionary and, on the other, a moderately sized historical corpus.

7. Data

The present research makes use of multiple methods to examine the desired words: first locating some integral words related to the process of fishing from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, followed by an examination of their usages in the *Helsinki Corpus*.

The Helsinki Corpus is a sizable, but relatively small corpus that contains texts from the three earlier periods of the English language. The corpus contains 1.5 million words divided almost equally between the Old English (413,250 words), Middle English (608,570) and the Early Modern English periods (551,000). Even though the corpus is rather small – and a general, not a specialised one – it will do well for the purposes of this thesis. On the web version of the corpus, the compilers describe that "our corpus will probably be most useful for the studies of morphology, syntax, and lexis" and that "the results yielded by our corpus in its present form can be called diagnostic" (Kytö & Rissanen, [1991] 2011), and these statements confirm that the corpus will be sufficient to achieve the goals of this thesis. Any more profound and sweeping results would require compiling a specialised subcorpus, and this would better serve the purposes of a larger and detailed study. The corpus is freely accessible on the internet.

The Oxford English Dictionary Online is a well-established authority of the English language, with over 600,000 words and over 150 years of history behind it. The tools that the online version of the dictionary offers allow to investigate the etymology and the older orthographical forms of the words, which in turn complements the corpus part of the study, in that the past forms are going to the items to look for. In addition, the adjacent Historical Thesaurus of the OED online provides some further information about the environment of the sought words and give more hints as to what to look for in the corpus. *The Historical*

Theasaurus is described on the website as the taxonomic representation of the contents in the OED, a "semantic index of the contents of the OED". Indeed, the overall goal of the study is to go into the dark of history with an open mind to gather information about the used vocabulary. The resources are accessible with a subscription.

This decentralisation is used to combat some difficulties that are posed by the fact that the observed older forms of the languages are very different from the present-day variety of English. For example, searching for an Old English word in the *Helsinki Corpus* gives good insight to language usage, but examining the Old English (and Middle English) texts would demand learning the language itself, which is not in the scope of this research.

Therefore, only the Early Modern English period will be studied more qualitatively, while the two older periods are given a strictly quantitative treatment.

7.1. Data collection

The thesis will now proceed to study the vocabulary as gathered from the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The results are likely to yield a large number of results, given that the compiling of the dictionary has been and is cumulative work, whereas the next section, looking at corpus data, will study a data-set that is not evolving anymore. The sections will, however, complement each other, as well as consult each other as the analysis progresses.

7.2. Lexicographic evidence

First, the tools that the OED offers are used to narrow down the pool of words to be used in the study. Simply using the "advanced search" functions and searching for words in the subject 'angling' gives us 1203 hits, many of which only indirectly concern the semantic field of 'angling'. By doing an "advanced searched" and refining the search with label 'fishing' already narrows the results down to 43, and switching the label to 'angling' returns a hefty 351 collection of hits.

Note the way the OED displays the results (refer to table 1). The immediate total number of hits (the digit given after conducting the search) is the total number of results. However, examining the languages of origin tool on the right shows that the OED handles overlap in a way that does not correlate with the total number of results. For example, the category "Germanic 1066-1500" shows that there were 11 words with a Germanic origin introduced, but when the category is expanded and subdivided into North Germanic and West Germanic, the number of entries are 5 words and 7 words, respectively. Furthermore, only one of the words is shared by the two groups, which should leave 12 words onto the table. This is not criticism towards the dictionary, but only a reminder that the numbers used here are not absolute, but offer insight into the grand scheme of things. The issue is resolved here by using the top-level language Germanic.

The exact meaning of the category "Germanic" here perhaps needs further clarification. The term itself was explained in section 2 of this thesis, but in the context of the search it comprises of both West Germanic and North Germanic languages, as well as presumably Anglo-Saxon words. It will be difficult to distinguish whether, for example, Old Norse is the immediate source for a Germanic word, seeing that the Proto-Germanic ancestor diffused cognate words to its offspring languages. This should also explain why the number for etymologically English words in the Anglo-Saxon period (449—850) is so low: the majority of the words will have cognates in the Germanic category.

Dance (2012: 1725—26; 1728—1729) reminds of the perils of jumping into conclusions as regards assigning etymology on words: there is reason to group the continental Anglo-Saxon and the North Germanic into a continuum of languages, and the methods to then distinguish which Germanic words derive from the continental days of the continuum and which from Old Norse a few centuries later require knowledge about the Proto-Germanic language. Even though Old English and Old Norse exhibit their own characteristic

phonological developments that distinguish them from the Ingvaeonic group "formal comparative tests of Scandinavian derivation [. . .] [are] subject to the confident identification of their Germanic roots" (Dance 2012: 1729).

The advanced search function also allows to force some other restrictions on the searches, among them to determine a words date of entry into the language and its etymological origin. With these restrictions the list of 351 words was then divided in to 4 sections, each with 6 subsections (table 1). The top-level sections are based on the period of first entry and formed based on the historical events discussed in this study: 449—850 (Anglo-Saxon period), 851—1065 (Viking period), 1066—1500 (post-Conquest), and 1500--. The subsections are divided by the language of origin: English, Celtic, Germanic, Latin, French and uncertain.

	English	Celtic	French	Germanic	Latin	other	total
449—850	1	0	0	17	0	2	21
851—1065	10	0	2	24	4	1	40
1066—1500	59	0	46	11	15	6	128
1500—	134	1	2	2	0	5	162

Table 1 Origins of the words gathered with "angling" as the subject and "angling" in the label, categorised by the dates of first entry in the OED

The results were then examined one-by-one to determine, whether they meet the desired criteria. Any instance of the usage appearing with the label *angling* only after the 1500's was discarded. The vocabulary seems to be filled with repurposed words, and, further, most of them being names of bait and lure. Table 1 shows us that French influence was, as expected, at its height after the Conquest of 1066, and the manual examination revealed that 21 of the words appeared in names of flies (bait) and only in the 1800's.

Table 1 shows that the Celtic languages appear to have had next to no influence on the vocabulary. Germanic ancestor was the main supplier in the earliest periods, but in the

Middle English and after the Norman Conquest in 1066 English started to create novel words through internal processes, and French surpassed Germanic as the primary source of completely new vocabulary.

The search phrase that produced the numbers in Table 1 dodged some intuitively fishing related words, such as *rod* and *net.* This is somewhat surprising because *angling* should entail a tool to which the hook and line are attached. The omission of *net,* on the other hand, is therefore less surprising.

To complement Table 1, another table is produced by another search phrase. This time the results were gathered by using the advanced search function and searching for entries with either *fishing* or *angling* in the definition or in the label. The numbers are much larger, which makes any closer examination of this table unfeasible, but the numbers are quite revealing. English and French output after the Conquest increase, while the highly productive Germanic decreases. Then again, the Germanic influence was prominent in the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Periods.

English seems to have started its productivity after the Conquest, and the reason well may be that the Romance loan words got anglicized in large numbers. For whatever reason, Germanic did not start this kind of derivation wave. In any case, the entirety of the Anglo-Saxon period fishing vocabulary seems to be descendants of continental Germanic. Of the 66 Germanic words, 49 are further categorized as West Germanic.

	Total	English	Celtic	Germanic	Latin	French	Other[2]
449-850	**72**	2	0	66	0	0	2
851-1066	**121**	23	0	79	14	7	2
1066-1500	**355**	180	0	44	26	96	20
449-1500	**545**	**205**	**0**	**171**	**40**	**102**	**24**

Table 2 Items found by searching for entries with either angling or fishing in the label or definition

As for what was discussed in the earlier sections, the fishing business in the British Isles may have benefitted from the Danish innovations that were brought along with them to the Danelaw area. One of the key elements, according to Kowaleski (2013) were *weirs* and *kiddles.* Therefore, *weirs* should be present in the corpus data. *The Historical Thesaurus* that comes together with the OED has a useful function that allows to look for synonyms for a word from a certain semantic field. In this case, *weir* is located at the end of branch that includes 'fishing-traps', but also 'barriers' and 'hedges', 'impound water', and 'fish-keeping, farming, breeding'.

By applying the same criteria as before -- the word was used exclusively in relation to fishing and the first attestation was in the Anglo-Saxon period -- another table to harvest a good sample of fishing related words can be created. Table 3 is created by searching *The Historical Thesaurus* for synonyms of *weir, kiddle, eddy* (which were described by Kowaleski (2012: 49) to have been firmly established means around the turn of the millennium), as well as *angle, net,* and *fish*. The branches in the Historical Thesaurus are then selected according to relevant words in the tree, such as *fish* or *water.* The list of words to search for could be amended with other words, but based on a few pilot searches in the Helsinki Corpus this is

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[2] The column titled "Other" includes names, imitatives and inventions.

determined unnecessary. The corpus, by not being a specialised corpus will not yield useful data if the word is marginal, or if the word is short and easily lost inside other words.

All of the words in Table 3 will not show up in the corpus data, but many of them do, and a closer analysis will be given in the next section. Nonetheless, this table again suggests that the period after the Conquest increased the number of fishing related words.

search word	Synonyms for the search word by the time period of entry		
	449--	865--	1066--
weir	weir, pool,	fish-weir, wharf, seath,	yair, fishgarth, eel bed, causey, wall, lake, flosh, water pool, carr, stamp, stank, pond, flash, stagne, peel
kiddle		mill weir	foot weir, kiddle
rod			several fishery, piscary, angler, angle rod, rod
fish	fish	fish (v.), fang (v.),	gross meat, visseÞ fishing, to go (wade) a-fishing, fish (v.) fish (meat), fish meat
angle	angle,	hook	angle hook, fish-hook, preen, angle (v.),

Table 3 Synonyms for words selected for closer corpus analysis (OED Online. Oxford University Press)

8. Analysis of the data

The results were gathered from a number of different sources and via a few different methods. The findings have been explained and discussed briefly and individually, and the present section will synthesize the findings, and discuss them according to adopted theoretical framework. This section discusses the findings. The first subsection assesses the results gathered from the Oxford English Dictionary Online, and the next subsection focuses on the findings from the Helsinki Corpus.

8.1. Results from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the Historical Thesaurus

The previous section presented two different findings from the OED Online in tables 1 and 2. A further division is presented in table 4. This table shows a rough analysis on the meanings of the words behind the numbers in table 1. This section will discuss the numbers in table 1 in more detail.

The new entries were by no means chiefly equipment related, but they included verbs and specialised vocabulary that has been repurposed from already existing words. The latter group is collapsed into a single category called "jargon", but it should be noted that the items are jargon in the widest possible sense. In fact, the advanced search function in the OED would offer to search for jargon and slang, but the purpose of the division in table 3 was merely to categorise the items neatly. The nomenclature is debatable.

Table 3 was compiled without the restriction of the word having to be used in relation to fishing during the Anglo-Saxon, Viking etc. periods. Instead, it shows which of the hand-picked words had synonyms circulating in the English language during the relevant time periods.

English and French were two major contributors to vocabulary after the Conquest of 1066. English shows powerful capabilities of deriving new terminology through internal

processes, while French both loaned new elements to the English, and provided for the internal derivation. This was evident in words like *paternosterer*[3], which is a combination of a Romance stem *paternoster* and the English suffix *-er,* and means 'a person who fishes with a paternoster'. All these kinds of derivations were listed under English origin, and the coining may have happened at any given time, while the relevant elements have entered the language, as regards table 3, before the Early Modern English Period.

English

	449-	859-	1100-
bait	0	0	15
w + fly	1	2	2
bug	0	2	0
equipment	0	1	12
verb	0	3	4
jargon	0	3	25
	1	11	58

Germanic

	449	859	1100
bait	5	1	5
w + fly	3	4	2
bug	1	2	0
equipment	6	5	4
verb	1	11	1
jargon	1	1	0
	17	24	12

French

	449	859	1100
bait	0	1	17
w + fly	0	0	3
bug	0	0	4
equipment	0	0	6
verb	0	0	6
jargon	0	2	9
	0	3	45

Latin

	449	859	1100
bait	0	1	3
w + fly	0	0	1
bug	0	0	3
equipment	0	2	1
verb	0	0	2
jargon	0	0	5
	0	3	15

Table 4 Breakdown of the meanings of 'angling' related words, from the definitions in the OED

As was already noted in the previous section, close examination suggests that the majority of the novel vocabulary centered around baits and lures, and table 4 indeed confirms

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[3] "paternosterer, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2022. Web. 25 March 2022.

this. Only the jargon category trumps these numbers, but the reason is only the miscellaneous character of the category "jargon". Among others, jargon contains references to behaviour of fish (e. g. *boil* 'sudden bold rise of a fish at a fly'; *take* 'time when fish rise to take food'), fishing methods and techniques (*sinking*, *sinking and drawing* 'a method for angling'; *drag* 'dragging movement of fish line'), natural objects (*freestone* 'river primarily fed by snow melt of rainwater'; *perch*, *perch hole* 'where perch are found'), and also words that are miscellaneous (*artificial* -> used with other words, especially *fly; dressing* 'the covering of a fly').

The category of names of baits and flies are distinguished only to separate compounds that contained the word *fly* from names without it, and, as it turns out (*word) + fly* as a strict dictionary entry was not as productive as it first seemed. The concept of 'artificial fly' does appear in many more definitions than names. The number of baits without the *fly* part is notably higher, and the amount of single word names in the list suggest that *fly* is tautological, although there may be some threshold as to when it becomes so, seeing that it, nonetheless, is still attested. In terms of creating compounds, English has observed to support two forms: (1) hyponym-superordinate compounds and (2) synonym compounds (Benczes 2014: 434). Benczes (2014) observes that neither of these kinds of compounds are ultimately tautological. However, *(word) + fly* compound probably cannot be analyzed as belonging in either of the categories, because (following Benczes 2014) type (1) should be inferable by the test "[word] is a kind of fly", and type (2) that the elements mean nearly the same things (Benczes' example is *subject matter*).

The names of the flies and baits that consisted of only one element hardly support a transparent reading. For example, the category 'Germanic', in table 4, contains a bait called *king,* which is probably not inferable as fishing bait without context. Indeed, *fly* probably serves to specify an item with a proper name. The question then becomes such that when can

the *fly* element be dropped. In the case of *king,* the OED notes that the word appears "chiefly in green king, purple king".[4] *Baker* (also in the Germanic section of table 4) is quoted in the OED in texts that list flies (in other words, *baker* appears on a list whose heading is *Flies*), in a sentence that calls *baker* "a good fly", and in a publication called *Twenty Salmon Flies.* [5]

Another study just committed on the names of flies should be interesting. As was discussed when the data collection was presented, an attempt to capture all relevant words with a single search is difficult, and indeed, replicating the searches more accurately – for example, performing an advanced search with *artificial fly* in the definition, 1100- as the date, and French as language of origin, yields some entries that are not represented in the numbers given in table 4. To reiterate, the goal of this study was to observe the influence the early contact situation may have had on the English fishing vocabulary, and incomplete lists do not hinder achieving this goal (although, for sure, completeness would have been desirable and ideal). A survey on the derivation and compounding of the untransparent names of equipment will have to be done in a separate study.

8.2. Results from the Helsinki Corpus

8.2.1. *fish* in the Old English and Middle English periods

Fish occurred in many of its old forms, which was not unexpected given that there was not a writing standard of English in the Old English period. As Figure 1 shows, the word appeared numerously, and the orthography is scattered and unfocused. A more easily readable treatment is given in Figure 2, although, the gradual changes are lost at the cost of clarity. The occurrences in both tables include every part of speech.

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[4] "king, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2022. Web. 11 April 2022.
[5] "baker, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2022. Web. 11 April 2022.
- The quotations are: F. Tolfrey (1848) *Jones' guide to Norway;* F. Francis (1867) *Bk. Angling;* M. D. Radencich (2010) *Twenty Salmon Flies.*
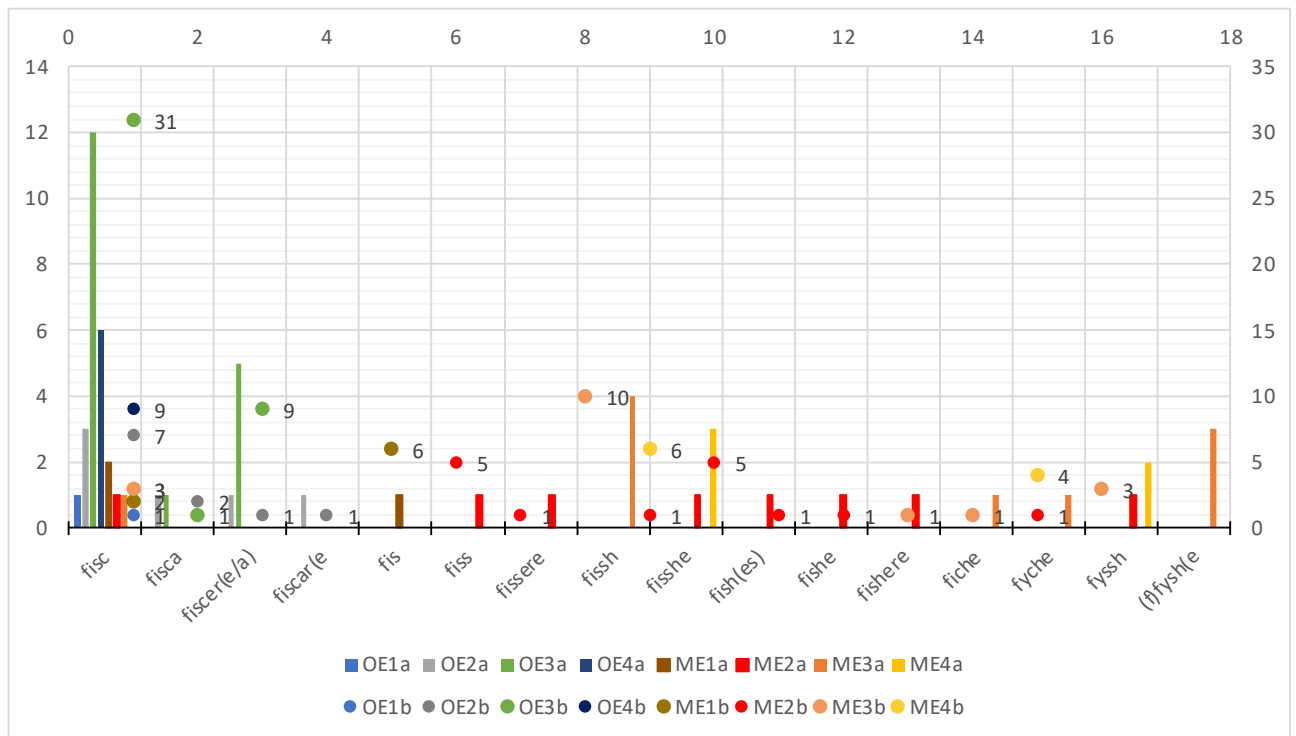
Figure 1 Spellings of *fish* in the Helsinki Corpus

The dots indicate total hits, and the bars indicate the number of texts that used the word. Clearly, three prominent groups emerge: *fisc, fiss,* and *fish.* The Old English spelling *fisc* was by far the most long-lasting and widespread form, but it started to decline as the Middle English period began, and other forms took over.

As can be seen in Figure 2, the stem experienced a clear movement away from the Old English *fisc*, but to which form was yet to be determined. The form fluctuated in the Middle English period, and the Present-day English from 'fish' is scarcely attested. In fact, at the time it might have seemed that *fiss* was becoming the focused form.

The movement was unlikely a reflection of pronunciation. Mitchell & Robinson (2012: 16) instruct that *sc* was usually pronounced as *sh.* The variation may, on the one hand, illustrate the great variety of Old English, and on the other that *fish* was high frequency word with its own life around the country. This is supported by the fact that the form was subject to change also in the Early Modern Period, and some writers showed consistency in marking the

consonant, e. g. Robert Fabyan's *The New Chronicles of England and France* (1516) wrote the consonant as -*sshe* at least in the words *fysshe* and *Englysshe,* as found in the corpus.
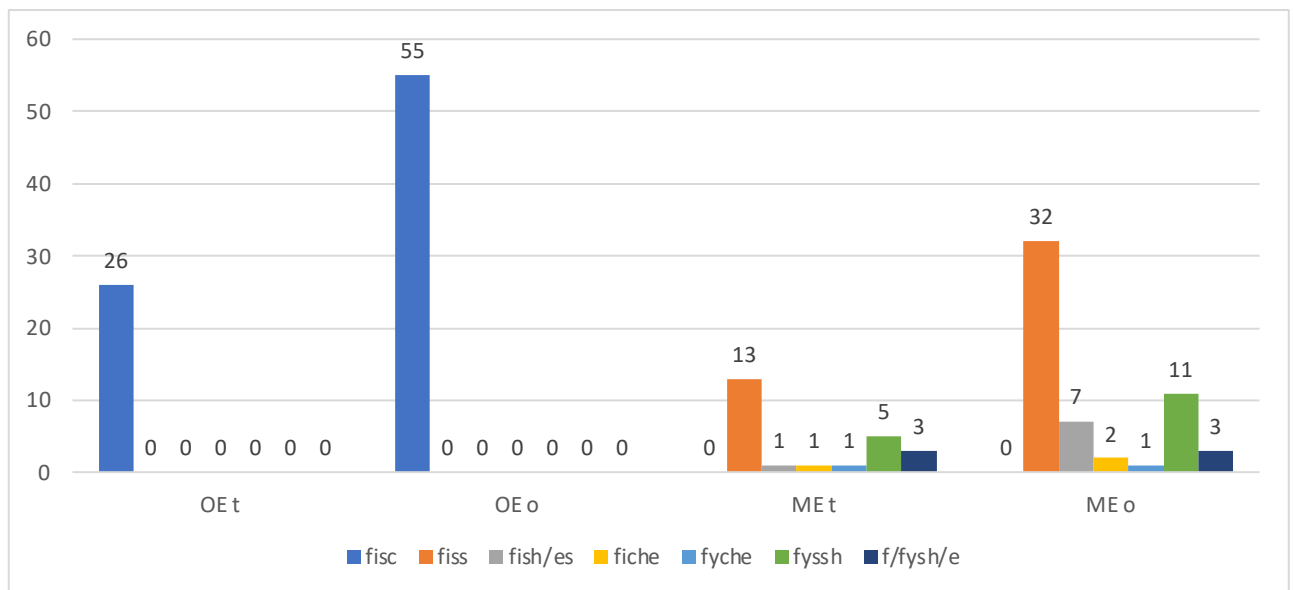

Figure 2 Variation in the stem of 'fish'; t is for number of texts, and o for occurrences.

Geographically the occurrences make some divisions. *Fisc* was overwhelmingly more frequent in West Saxon and Kentish (which are the southern and western parts of the British Isles) than in the Anglian Mercian and Anglian Northumbrian dialect areas (which are the eastern and north-eastern parts of the British Isles). The numbers were 41 versus 14 respectively. *Fiss* and its derivates scattered more evenly: east—northeastern areas yielded 19 texts, and the south—western parts 12. The three prominent forms were attested as in Figure 2.

Considering that *fisc* was dominating in general, as well as in Wessex, it is interesting that this orthographic form would disappear. With this knowledge, the topic of discussion was apparently shifting from a more Wessex centred towards the Eastern parts, where the fisheries started to appear during the turn of the millennium, in addition to the discussion diminishing. This conclusion necessitates studying the development of

orthography more widely, but this was not done in the context of this thesis. Consideration should include how did the consonant evolve in other words.

Fishing, as a process, was hardly the focal point in this instance. Old English period, taken as being represented by the form *fisc,* gave these results:

kin	8
fisher	9
net	3
fisc	12

Table 5 The representation of the usage of the word "fisc" in the Helsinki Corpus

Fish as a population living in water was mentioned in conjunction with the word 'kin' (*cynn, cynna, cin, kinna, kynn, cyn). *'Fisher' appeared 13 times, and something that may be a fishing net was mentioned 3 times, and once a fisher (and a hunter) was said to give away a net to someone. 'Fish' was also attached to prefixes *hron-, sæ-* and *ea-,* but they seem to refer to the animal itself. Similarly, the Middle English representative form *fiss* gives the results in table 6. Fisher appears only once, but a merchant has entered the discussion.

Interestingly, the person who is selling -- fishmonger – is derived with the word *monger*[6], a Germanic based word. In table 6, the product is represented by the word *stokfissh*, and it collocates with the word 'merchandise' (*Merchaundiseʒ)* and 'merchant' (*Merchantʒ)* in *Petitions (M4), London* by an anonymous writer.

fisher	1
merchant	1
fishing	1
product	1
other	29

Table 6 The Representation of the form "fiss" in the Helsinki Corpus

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[6] "monger, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2022. Web. 20 March 2022.

8.2.2. Early Modern English period

Early modern English period marks a clear departure from the previous tendencies and more or less settles to the orthographical suit *fish*. The word appears 108 times in 22 texts including one text wholly dedicated to the "art of angling" – *The Compleat Angler* (1676) by Izaak Walton. Walton's book is represented by a small section of the whole work in the Helsinki corpus, but nonetheless, gives 62 instances of the word *fish*. The result distorts the rest of the data for this period, and for this reason, Walton is treated separately from the rest, albeit cursorily, as the scope of this thesis does not allow to conduct a literary or discoursal analysis on the texts.

food	10
fisher	5
fishery	2
living creature	2
metaphoric	3

Table 7 The representation of the usage of the word "fish" in the Helsinki Corpus

Fish seems to have become increasingly more of a commodity in the early Modern English period (results in Table 4). Ten of the twenty-two texts used the word *fish* in reference to the food or a sales item, and a few more contained lists of food and fish collocated near them, but were not a part of them. Many of the hits retrieved from the Helsinki Corpus include the word in lists of food, where it collocates with *flesh, veal, mutton, pork,* etc., and, interestingly, *flesh* seems to be the word used for 'meat'. *The Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. *flesh* lists this usage in sense 4a and speculates that the etymology might be rooted in Scandinavian languages, which is noteworthy in a list with French-derived loan words for the other words of meat. This seems fairly ordinary usage during this period and is attested in legal documents as well (e. g. *Statutes* (IV), 1588—1604).

Five texts described the doings of *fishers* and *fishermen.* The words collocated with other professions, such as *fowler,* or descriptions of fishing business. Fishers supplied food for town, or, in one text, had exhausted a river completely from fish despite regulations, and it was an agreed-upon fact in town that the law-breaking had brought about a divine punishment; this large-scale operation was conducted as "some of the fishermen contrary to Gods law and their owne order) **tooke Boates and nettes and foshed, and caight three hundered Salmons**." (Taylor, John: *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*. ll. 998—1011 (1630). Bolding mine.)

Further, the fishing industry appeared in two more texts: fishery occurred once as an institution, rather than a place (*Statutes* (VII), l. 387 (1695—1699), and once more apparently as an alternative to 'fishing', again rather than a place where the fishing is conducted; more precisely, the writer visits a part of town "inhabited only by Poor People, in pitiful Cabbins covered with Palm-Tree Boughs, by the Sea-side, expecting Profit, as well by Strangers as by Fishery . . ." (Fryer, John: *A New Account of East India and Persia*, ll. 304—306 (1698)).

8.2.1. *angle*

The Early Modern English period was represented by something akin to a handbook of fishing, *The Compleat Angler* by Izaak Walton. This work definitely offered some insight into the research topic, which without it would have been left with very little.

Excluding the work by Walton, *angle* was hardly used in the sense that was expected. The different written forms for the word *angle* were determined from the OED s. v. *angle*. These were *angul, ancgel, ancgil, ongel, ongul* and *angel* for the Old English period, and for good measure, these were used for the Middle English and Early Modern English periods as well.

Not all of them appeared in the searches, in fact, and with the search that was performed, only *angul, ongel* and *angel* showed up. *Angle* was confined to refer to the geometric shape (a topic which also had specialised works in the corpus), again, excluding Walton's work. Most of the variations referred to the English people, or to angels. Only one instance seemed to carry some meaning of different semantic nature: *angeltweches* which according to the OED appears today in the form *angletwitch* meaning 'earthworm'. The word appears in *A Late Middle English treatise on Horses*, and the Helsinki Corpus essay on Middle English adds that the text type of the work is "Handbook: Medicine". The passage where the said worm appears uses it in a metaphor to describe a medical condition, which eliminates even this instance from closer inspection.

8.2.4. *The Compleat Angler* by Izaak Walton (1676)

The corpus text representing *The Compleat Angler* is the second and ninth chapters of the whole book and contains only 5457 words. Lest not bloat the results, only this part should be examined for this study. An argument could be made that treading outside the selected body of texts could make the data set unable to represent the language in the desired way, especially given that the compilers have thought about the selection of texts thoughtfully. But, in the case of *angle*, there is really no harm done, because Walton seems to have been the only author to use it in such a way. Therefore, only a short space is allotted for the discussion.

The lemma for the words *fish* and *angle* are presented in tables 8 and 9.

fish	47
fisher	4
fishes	2
fish(-)pond	2(+4)
fishing	5
fisherman	2

Table 8 Occurrences of the word *fish* in *The Compleat Angler*

angler	3
angle	4
angling	2

Table 9 Occurrences of the word *angle* in *The Compleat Angler*

Of the 47 plain forms of *fish,* 10 were verbs (including *fished*, for simplicity's sake in the same category). *Fisher* includes also names of fish (e.g. *king-fisher* (l. 140), *dog-fisher* (l. 44)), and the person fishing appears to be distinguished from the professional *fisher-man*. *fisher* can also be an angler (e. g. ". . . being possest with that hope and patience which I wish to all Fishers, especially to the Carp-Angler, I shall tell you . . ." (ll. 406—407). Despite focusing on angling, the numbers in tables 7 and 8 suggest that it may have been somewhat marked to use *angling* instead of *fishing* in conversation.

The corpus text shows that the work uses three different words for the person who performs the catching of the fish: *piscator, fisher* and *angler*. Piscator is a Latin-based word, the usage is therefore somewhat marked, especially because it is used only as the name, or the referent word of the protagonist. Piscator, then, tells the other character, the Viator, about the secrets of his craft. All in all, Piscator presents himself as learned man, who cites the Greeks and the Bible, and mixes into his speech Latin loan words.

Swann's (2007) argument is that Walton's work is a showcase of ownership, or his success as a collector, and his virtuosity. This is reflected in Piscator's encyclopaedical knowledge of his craft, and the response this provokes from his listeners. Swann argues that this possession of knowledge is related to material ownership. Piscator does not eat his catch himself, and even if he does, someone else prepares it for him. The book contains attempts to elevate the characters above the others as somehow better people. Swann (2007: 108) says that fishing had become a sport, and a way for the characters to establish themselves as superior citizens by donating their catch to the poor. Furthermore, fishing is just a hobby for Piscator, it certainly is not his profession, and Piscator "contrasts anglers with money-getting-men (p. 177)" (Swann 2007: 108). This is, indeed, supported by the earlier findings in this thesis, just by considering the number of names for different flies. The weirs may have been costly to maintain, but at least the catch was of a good size. Creating a specific fly for every fish is time consuming and slow in turning to profit, and hardly meant for a person whose living depends on supplying to the market.

In addition, Piscator talks about the baits in detail. Baits include pastes made of bread and honey (ll. 460—461), but different kinds of worms work well too (e. g. "Marsh" and "Meadow" ll. 413—414). The passages also reveal that settling for a bait has been a business of trial and error ("And as for pastes, there are almost as many sorts as there are Medicines for the Toothach, but doubtless sweet pastes are best" ll. 416—418). This can hardly be a busy person's task, but, as pointed out, is further indication that Piscator is talking about a recreational hobby, not a profession.

9. Discussion

Although, the initial research setting did not pursuit any sweeping results to any specific problem, evidently, the selected data yielded even less than was expected. I assume that this indicates a few different general things. Firstly, the results are a testament to the applicability of specialized corpora; if the true goal of a study were to really rummage the vocabulary surrounding the area of *fishing,* that is to carry out terminological, lexicological etc. taxonomies, it would necessitate compiling a corpus specifically focused on the topic. Indeed, the results presented here indicate the more casual and nonchalant way of discussing *fishing*, as well as the attitude to and positioning in relation to it, even though the initial goal might have been to observe the other branch of the question.

Secondly, fishing was not a hot topic in the history of the English language. It was not discussed to the extent that it would prominently show up in a corpus that is meant to capture the whole width of language.

Thirdly, the results say something about the handling of the topic rather than educating to speak like a fisherman. Writers observe fishing, fishing industry and practices from afar, but the only work dedicated solely to fishing and angling, more precisely, is Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1676).

Most of the words that were gathered from the O*xford English Dictionary* and the adjacent *Historical Thesaurus* did not have a single mention in the corpus, while some occurred a few times. If the assumption was that these words would represent fishing vocabulary, then the results from the *Helsinki Corpus* suggest that fishing was not a particularly interesting point of discussion. A tentative conclusion can be made that the words that did show up in the analysis were common core words that anyone had in their disposal. Texts and their genres should be assessed more precisely to affirm this.

Most of the actual analysis was conducted in the previous sections, but the following section will summarize and discuss the findings from the contact linguistic perspective in accord with the hypothesis that Old Norse and Norman French probably competed for the same space in the lexis related to fishing.

9.1. Scandinavian influence

Scandinavian influence appears limited despite the tentative hypothesis. The fishing innovations may indeed have appeared in England roughly at the time as speculated above, but the collected data does not necessarily indicate an influx of Scandinavian loan words to account for the industry. Instead, English and French words are used, although, as established, words that revert back to Proto-Germanic pose a challenge to determine immediate etymology. Furthermore, the few clear Old Norse-derived words did not directly concern fishing. Mostly, they seem to have happened on the same area of life and thus contextually collocate with the fishing industry, but can hardly be asserted as means of fishing by any stretch. Such words were, for instance, *harbour* and *carr*. *Harbour* was part of a description of a town in Coverte, Robert: *A Trve and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman* (1612), and it was surrounded by words ranging from English and Anglo-Norman. The passage involves describing operation of a ship, which included *weighing* an *anchor (*from Common Germanic, and Latin or French respectively[7]).

Carr[8], on the other hand, was included in Table 3, and does in its context collocate with *ffyshyng,* but appears in the Middle English period. *Carr* is a part of the compound *aldercarr* and quite clearly does not relate to fishing, and, indeed, the meaning of *ffyshyng* is

[7]   "harbour | harbor, n.1." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
    "anchor, n.1." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
    "weigh, v.1." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
[8] "carr | car, n.2." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 2 March 2022.

hard to decipher, because the passage (from Reynes, Robert. *Commonplace book (*1420—

1500*)* concerns the acquisition of estate, which somehow involves *ffyshing*.

Fryer, John: *A New Account of East India and Persia* (1698) would offer an

interesting insight to how fishing is described abroad, but the work offers but a single hit,

fishery. The idiolect of the writer, however, suggests that the person might be a resident of

northern parts of the British Isles. Women are referred to as "lasses" (l. 513) and in the same

context their *cloathes* are *smock* (Old Norse) or *frock* (French or Germanic, with areal

glossing to north and Scotland)[9]. Describing commodity, Fryer lists *fish, roots, herbs*, and

pullen (OED: *poultry*, from French) of which *roots* is a Scandinavian loan, and *herbs* a

French loan[10].

The orthography of *fish* offers some interesting points of contemplation. *Fisc* did not

appear as numerously in the Danelaw area as it did elsewhere, and still the form did not

develop as the standard one. A small chance is that the discussion moved to where the action

was, in this case, where the innovations gained ground. Another point worth contemplating is

that the Old English period yielded 12 instances of 'fisher*'*: 11 written with *-e-* as the nucleus

vowel in the second syllable (*fiscere),* and one instance of the nucleus being *-a-* (*fiscare*). The

OED[11] informs that the Germanic languages of the "Old" period descended from Old

Germanic which (possibly) had *-a-* in the nucleus position, however, Old English and Old

Frisian developed *-e-* in to the formula, whereas Old Norse and Old Saxon retained the *-a-*.

The only instance of *fiscare* in the *Helsinki Corpus* appeared in the Lindisfarne Gospel, which

is located to the Northumbrian dialect area, in other words Danelaw. This contemplation

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9 "smock, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
 "frock, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
10 "root, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
10 "herb, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
10 "pullen, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
11 "fisher, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 7 March 2022.

hinges, however, on contemporary typology of the Scandinavian language, and might crumble under scrutiny.

9.2. French influence

French-derived vocabulary is pervasive, but, as with Scandinavian influence, it is hard to state that the vocabulary is exclusively related to fishing. The French loan words mainly concern food, business, and,, occasionaly, built structures.

Causey, an item in table 3, appeared in one travelogue (Fiennes, Celia: My Great Journey to Newcastle and to Cornwall (1698)). Lines 83—126 in the corpus version of the text give a description of a town: it has many geographical advantages that are not capitalized, and the only thing that is minded is "a little fishing for the supply of the town" (ll. 103—4). The writer offers suggestions to counter these shortcomings and the passage is riddled with French-derived technical terms, such as *manufacture, address,* and *victual*[12]. Causey, itself, is mentioned in conjunction with a description of Norwich (ll. 197—), which is "a large market for fish" (l. 214), but it is merely a structure adjacent to a river and bridge, with no specified link to fish.

The immediate context of *fish* did not contain other words included in table 3. As with Scandinavian influence above, further examination and highlighting of French influence in the surroundings of fishing would entail an unnecessary listing of random words that happen to appear close to it. Given that French influence on English from Middle English period onwards is well attested, there is really no reason to do so. Any further results could be produced by reversing the research setting to make list such as Table 3 with only French-

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[12] "manufacture, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
  "address, v." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.
  "victual, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, December 2021. Web. 23 February 2022.

derived loan words, and seeing how they collocate with fish, and comparing them against the

findings in this thesis.

10.   Conclusion

This thesis has considered the early contact situations in the history of the English language, and their possible effects on vocabulary related to fishing. The goal was to gather a lexical resource from the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* and use the lexicon to identify and analyze the stock of fishing vocabulary in the Early Modern English period as it is represented in the *Helsinki Corpus*.

The background section of the thesis contextualized the research with a summary of the historical events and detailed the core concepts that are usually utilized in the field of contact linguistics. The section successfully constructed a framework to assess the possibility of the variety of consequences a contact situation may have on a language. The focus was not so much on the structure of languages or the evolution of language in long term contact situations. Rather, the sections observed the mechanisms that the movement of lexical items may involve.

The terminology was complemented with a relatively lengthy discussion on the three major contact situations that the English language experienced before the Early Modern English period. It found that while all the languages – the Celtic languages, Old Norse, and Norman French – have left their mark on the English language, earlier research has established that Old Norse and, especially, French has had a major effect on it. The section justified the hypothesis that Old Norse and the Scandinavian settlers may have contributed to the fishing business more, seeing that the Norman conquerors captured the elite positions of the land, rather than becoming labourers. On the same token, the Scandinavians were practically equal with the English, and for quite some time the land was divided between the two. This was followed by a glance at research on fishing itself, and the section further encouraged the hypothesis.

The results, however, seemed to align with the major currents of the development. French words were the majority, as far as external influence goes, although the volume of Germanic etymology suggests that there may be more than meets the eye. The selected corpus was admittedly not ideal for the present study. The corpus revealed general tendencies and based on the development of the orthography of the word *fish* the Danish settlement may have had gained a marginal edge in terms of speaking about fish, the animal, after the Old English period. In the Early Moderns English period, however, the craft of specifically commercial fishing was not of particular interest for the writers, but on the other hand, recreational angling was honored with a special text in the corpus. All the results indicate that fishing was not on the agenda until in the Early Modern period it became a sport and fun times for the whole family it started to gain some momentum. The dictionary portion of the analysis showed that French derived words started to emerge, as was expected, but at the same time, baits, lures and flies started to have names, and there were a wealth of examples as seen in tables 5—7.

Table 3, which showed the available synonyms for some of the words that were studied, confirms the above observation. There were words to use if one were to speak about commercial fishing, but at least in the Early Modern period this seems not have been the case. Another interesting observation is that the word *angle,* in the sense meaning 'hook', does not seem to appear once in the corpus. The meaning may have been lost as the people were named after the words, but still the root reappears most notably in the Early Modern period in the recreational sense of *angling*.

Indeed, the Early Modern period provided some indication that fishing and angling were becoming a leisurely pass time. This was partly already hinted at in the dictionary results, but further confirmation provided *The Compleat Angler* by Izaak Walton (1676), whose contents show that fishing and angling and everything related to it is rather enjoyable

and recreational. The text was represented in the corpus by just a couple chapters, and a more detailed linguistic treatment on the whole work should be interesting, even in the event that it would only align with the corpus portion.

Further studies on the issue would necessitate expanding both data sources. This means specialised dictionaries and an ad-hoc compiled corpus. The earlier stages of the English language (the "Old" and "Middle" periods) would ideally be analysed with the same level of detail as the Early Modern period. The theoretical framework would also benefit from applying some general model from the contact linguistics field that would assess the developmental stages in history of the language. Although such research was already referenced in this thesis and there certainly exist more of it, a more detailed and thoughtful discussion on especially the typological similarities of the fishing vocabularies of Old English and Norman French would hardly be redundant.

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