TwiFULL (November 3, 2010) OsakaUniversity (Toyonaka C)

The Historical Development of *No Soone r* ... *Than* and its Semantic Change

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本研究について

背景

- 他の"no + 比較級 +than"との違い
- "no sooner"のまとまり(チャンク)
- "than"との相関

主張点

- "but" から" than" への移行は 18 世紀前半
- この時期は文法化にとって重要
- 否定→比較
- 副詞→接続詞
- OED の有用性

1. Introduction

• This study deals with the correlatives of the construction *no sooner* ... *than* in the history of English, paying particular attention to *but* and *than*.

- Present-day English
 - subject-auxiliary inversion
 - a combination of the past perfect and past ten se

(1)<u>No sooner</u> had we got home **than** the police ar rived. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1133)

• the BNC (British National Corpus) data

Table 1. Variation of the correlatives of *no s ooner* (BNC data, based on Suzuki 2010: 4

no sooner (238)	<i>than</i> (211), <i>when</i> (10), <i>then</i> (2), <i>but</i> (2), <u>no correlative</u> (13)
hardly (134)	when (93), before (32), than (9)
scarcely (38)	when (24), before (13), than (1)

 (2)a. <u>No sooner had Syd apparently recovered f</u> rom the knee injury he sustained in New Zealan d, <u>then</u> he suffered another major set back. (B NC:K25)

b. <u>No sooner</u> justice had ... <u>But</u> the Norwe yan Lord, surveying vantage ... Began a fresh ass ault. (BNC:HPG)

c. ... <u>no sooner</u> you got your dinner and had a drink, you had to be back again ... (BNC:HD H)

• The purpose of this study

• to discuss the stages of how this developm ent took place and how it has changed in m eaning over time

• demonstrated that in the process of gramm aticalization, the frequency of *no sooner* o ccurring in the clause-initial position incre ases over time

2. Previous Studies

- Araki and Ukaji (1984)
 - *than* and *but* in *no less/longer/more/other/soo ner/etc.* (...) *than/but/or* are structural alternati ves.
 - just like *but*, *than* gives a negative property to what follows
 - *But* was used from the first half of 15th centur y to 18th century.

- Fischer (1992)
 - *No sooner* ... *than* is not found in Middle E nglish, and other expressions are used inste ad, such as *not so soone* ... *that/but*.
 - (5) And nat so sone [he] departed n as/ Tho fro him, that he ne mette … (*The House of Fame*, III 2068-70)
- Rissanen (1999)
 - The earliest instances of *no sooner (...) than* f ound in the Helsinki Corpus date from around 1600

- Poutsma (1929)
 - In Early Modern English we frequently find *b ut* instead of *than* after *no sooner*.
- Terasawa (1997)
 - *no sooner* ... *but* was first recorded in 1560 a nd was obsolete by the early 19th century, wh ile *no sooner* ... *than* is found from 1594.

• Despite the replacement of *but* by *than*, the process of this shift is not described in detail in the literature.

• This paper, therefore, provides some new ins ights into the development of *no sooner* ... *t han*.

3. Data

- a <u>main</u> corpus
 - the OED quotations database
 - Iyeiri (2010), Mair (2004, 2001), and Hoffma nn (2004)
 - not a balanced or representative corpus
 - more than a thousand years of English usage
 - a large amount of material for analysis
 - 314 instances of data concerning *no sooner* ... *than*

• an <u>additional</u> means of investigation

1. the texts from Project Gutenberg

- to focus on the target expression during a particula r century in detail
- 22 works that 13 authors published within a restric ted time-span
- 461 examples of data concerning *no sooner* ... *tha n*

- an <u>additional</u> means of investigation
- 2. The London Gazette
 - the Official Newspaper of Record for the United Ki ngdom
 - State, Parliament, Ecclesiastical, Public Finance, T ransport, Planning, Health, Environment, Water, A griculture & Fisheries, Energy, Post & Telecom, Co mpetition, Corporate Insolvency, Personal Insolve ncy, Companies & Financial Regulations, Partners hips, Societies Regulation, Personal Legal.
- 3. A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (CED)
 - the language of the Early Modern period
 - interactive face-to-face communication
 - includes various modes of speech presentation

4. Results and Discussi on

4.1. The correlative with no sooner

Figure 1. The proportions of the corr elatives with *no sooner* (*OED*)

• an overview of the correlatives with *no soon er* for the period between 1384 and 1992

- The first *but* was the dominant form.
- The use of *than* was generalized in the cours e of the 19th century.
- There was competition between *but* and *than* in the first half of the 18th century.

Table 7 The raw frequencies of <i>but</i> and <i>than</i> with <i>no sooner (Pro</i>	but	than
704 Jonathan Swift The Battle of the Books (1)	0	1
704 Jonathan Swift A Tale of a Tub (1)	0	1
719 Daniel Defoe Robinson Crusoe (16)	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
720 Daniel Defoe The Life, Adventures and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton (4)	3	1
720 Daniel Defoe Memoirs of a Cavalier (4)	4	0
722 Daniel Defoe The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders &c.(7)	7	0
722 Daniel Defoe A Journal of the Plague Year (1)	1	0
724 Daniel Defoe The Fortunate Mistress (4)	2	<u>2</u>
736-50 Horace Walpole Letters of Horace Walpole — Volume I (1)	1	0
1739-40 David Hume A Treatise of Human Nature (4)	0	4
1740-41 Samuel Johnson Parlimentary Debates I. (8)	1	7
740 Samuel Richardson Pamela (3)	1	2
742 Henry Fielding Joseph Andrews (66)	1	65
744 Eliza Fowler Haywood The Fortunate Foundlings (37)	1	36
747-49 Samuel Richardson Clarissa (12)	<u>5</u>	7
748 Tobias Smollett The Adventures of Roderick Random (121)	0	121
749 Henry Fielding The History of Tom Jones, a foundling (165)	3	162
1750 John Cleland Memoirs Of Fanny Hill (6)	5	1

Table 2. The raw frequencies of *but* a nd *than* with *no sooner* (*Project Gut enberg*)

- John Cleland
 - the clear predominance of *but*
- Henry Fielding and Smollett
 - *than* is the dominant form
- Robinson Crusoe and Clarissa
 - competition between *but* and *than*

Table 3. The raw frequencies of *but* an d *than* with *no sooner* (*The London G*

	but	than
1701-1730	4	3
1731-1740	1	4
1741-1750	4	11
	9	18

Table 4. The raw frequencies of but and than with no sooner

	but	than
1680-1720	11	0
1720-1760	2	6
	13	6

(6) a. and **no sooner** one arises **than** the rest <u>immedi</u> ately follow. (1739-40 David Hume *A Treatise of Hu man Nature* (4))

b. : **<u>but</u>** the dear gentleman had **no sooner** laid hi s head on the pillow, **but** he fell asleep, or feigned to do so, and that was as prohibitory to my talking as if he had. (1740 Samuel Richardson *Pamela*)

c. The horse was **no sooner** put into Adams's hea d **but** he was <u>immediately</u> driven out by this reflectio n on the character of Fanny. (1742 Henry Fielding *Jo seph Andrews*) • <u>three factors to be considered regarding this</u> <u>construction in detail</u>

- subject-auxiliary inversion in the first clause
- tense in the first clause
- the co-occurrence with the synonymic expressions such as *immediately*, *instantly*, *at once*, *presently*, and so on

Figure 2. The proportions of **i nversion** in *no sooner* clause (*OED*)

• The version with subject-auxiliary inversion is less frequent in the first half of the 18th ce ntury.

• This inversion spread to the next period, 175 1-1800.

Figure 3. The proportions of **t ense** in the *no sooner* clause (*OED*)

• A steady decline of past tense from 19th cent ury is marked.

• A significant increase of past perfect can be observed in the 20th century.

• the possibility of the co-occurrence with the synonymic expressions

(7) A gracious Soul <u>no sooner</u> hears where Christ is, <u>but instantly</u> makes ou t after him. (*OED* 1703 Expos. Notes New Test. Lu...)

Table 5. Frequencies and proportionsof the co-occurrence with the synony								
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	-1600	1601-	1651-	1701-	1751-	1801-	1851-	1901-
		1650	1700	1750	1751- 1800	1850	1900	
Freq.	3	7	3	6	0	2	0	1
%	6.4	11.7	6.8	<u>18.8</u>	0	5.6	0	3.1

• Table 5 shows that the construction is used most frequently with synonymic expressions in the first half of the 18th century

• the co-occurrence with synonym can improv e the meaning of the construction "immediat ely."

4.2. Semantic change

• I suggest that *no sooner* can be analyzed in t he process of gramaticalization.

Figure 4. The proportions of *no soon er* occurring in the clause-initial positi on (*OED*) • *No sooner* when positioned initially has cont inued to spread at a steady rate.

• This position makes *no sooner* serve as a ma rker of topic expressing time such as *when* a nd *before*.

• Akimoto (1999: 229)

• Although this co-existent period seems transie nt, the period is important, and can be consider ed as a pre-stage to idiomatization.

 In fact, no sooner can behave just like a conj unction in Present-day English.

(8) a. ... <u>no sooner</u> you got your dinner and ha d a drink, you had to be back again ... (BNC:HD H) (=(2a))

b. <u>as soon as</u> they come we had to open a tre nch and heel them ... (BNC:HER) • *No sooner* as in Example (8a) can be replace d with *as soon as* as in Example (8b), and th e two variants can be structural alternatives.

no sooner tends to fulfill the same function a s a conjunction expressing time.

5. Conclusion

- The first half of the 18th century was the cru cial stage of the change from *but* to *than*.
- This process of grammaticalization is also v alid in analyzing the development of *no soo ner* ... *than* in this study.
- It has been very helpful to treat the *OED* qu otations database as a tool for linguistic rese arch.

Thank you for your kind attention !