"A little more than kin" Quotations as a linguistic phenomenon

A study based on quotations from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*

Sixta Quassdorf

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"A little more than kin"
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Shakespeare's *Hamlet*

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For W.

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List of abbreviations

Databases and text collections

BNC	*The British National Corpus*
BritP	*British Periodicals* (digital text collection)
Brney	*17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database*
COCA	*The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies 2008-)
COHA	*The Corpus of Historical American English* (Davies 2010-)
DLCPT	*The Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts*
ECCO	*Eighteenth Century Collections Online*
ECJ	*Eighteenth Century Journals 1685-1815* (digital text collection)
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
HCPP	*17th, 18th and 19th-century House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1688-2004*
HYHA	*HyperHamlet. Corpus of references to and quotations from Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010)
LION	*Literature Online*
MakWorld	*The Making of the Modern World* (digital text collection)
MICASE	*Michigan Corpus of Academic English*
MOA	*Making of America* (digital text collection)
MOML	*The Making of Modern Law* (digital text collection)
NCSE	*The Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition* (digital text collection)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
ROER	*Romantic Era Redefined* (digital text collection)
TDA	*The Times Digital Archive*

Quotations

cruel/kind	I must be cruel, only to be kind (*Hamlet* III, iv)
frailty	Frailty, thy name is woman (*Hamlet* I, ii)
hoist/petard	For 'tis the sport to have the engineer Hoist with his own petard (*Hamlet* III, iv)
honoured/breach	It is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance (*Hamlet* I, iv).
look/upon	He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again (*Hamlet* I, ii)
manner/born	Though I am native here and to the manner born (*Hamlet* I, iv)
method/madness	Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't. (*Hamlet* II, ii)
protest/too much	The lady protests too much, methinks (*Hamlet* III, ii)
tale/unfold	I could a tale unfold (*Hamlet* I, v)
to be	To be, or not to be; that is the question. (*Hamlet* III, i)

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1 Introduction

Quotation [...] has a certain anomalous feature
(Willard Van Orman Quine. *Mathematical Logic*)

This thesis is dedicated to a "poor cousin" in linguistic phraseology: quotations. Linguistic phraseology is concerned with the study of multi-lexical units in language. As is typical with "pour cousins," quotations in linguistic phraseology are sometimes mentioned, but hardly ever properly acknowledged. Other branches of the humanities family are left to attend: Literature has been a caring mother and grandma Philosophy dotes on them. Quotation is even well received in musicology and the fine arts; why then need the phraseological cousins or even aunt Linguistics herself bother?

Linguistics should be bothered as any aunt should. Aunts always offer further perspectives which complement parents' and grandparents' views of their off-springs. Moreover, some quotations want to break free from their direct family: They do not remain in the realm of fictional texts where mother Literature looks after them, nor is grandma Philosophy's special delight in quotation's "anomalous feature(s)" (Quine 1981 [1940]: 26) everything there is to quotation. Aunt Linguistics has, for instance, an eye on quotation's behaviour in ordinary language use and can be its "ministering angel"[1] there.

The path of quotation into ordinary language is often connected to a seeming paradox: Quotations are typically characterised by their knowable source (cf. Burger/ Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 44; a detailed discussion of definitions will follow in chapter 3),[2] yet what about the following statements?

> According to a venerable anecdote, someone seeing *Hamlet* for the first time is supposed to have complained, on leaving the theatre, that he couldn't understand what all the fuss was about. "Hamlet sounds like just a lot of familiar quotations strung together." (Kaplan, Justin 2005: n.p.)[3]
>
> The subtype sayings includes formulae such as quotations (typically unattributed and sometimes unattributable), catchphrases, and truisms. (Moon 1998: 22)

The anecdote recounted by Kaplan (2005) suggests that quotations, which are supposed to have a source, can nevertheless be anonymous: They somehow exist as items in one's linguistic knowledge; they can even be recognised as something special that has been handed down in history, but where they come from and what their source is neither matters always, nor is it necessarily clear. Moon (1998: 22) even speaks of "unattributed and sometimes unattributable" quotations. How can this be, if quotations are primarily linked to the idea that they have a knowable source? Levin (1986) points out another, related paradox:

---

[1] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): "A ministering angel shall my sister be"
The convention throughout this thesis is: Capital Roman numbers indicate the act, while lower-case Roman numbers designate the scene in which the quoted sequence occurs.

[2] Original text: "Die Geflügelten Worte sind nicht von ihrer Struktur her definiert, sondern durch ihre Herkunft." (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 44). In German, quotations that are relatively frequent and supposed to be well-known are called *Geflügelte Worte* (winged words). The term derives from Homer's *epea pteroenta*, which Georg Büchmann translated into *winged words* and thus titled his very popular dictionary of quotations.

[3] It is the general convention in this thesis, to highlight the quoted passages in the examples by underlining. Any other typographic emphasis is original.

> If you cannot understand my argument, and declare "It's Greek to me", you are quoting Shakespeare;
> if you claim to be more sinned against than sinning, you are quoting Shakespeare;
> if you recall your salad days, you are quoting Shakespeare;
> […]
> even if you bid me good riddance and send me packing,
> if you wish I was dead as a door-nail,
> if you think I am an eyesore, a laughing stock, the devil incarnate, a stony-hearted villain, bloody-minded or a blinking idiot, then - by Jove! O Lord! Tut tut! For goodness' sake! What the dickens! But me no buts! - it is all one to me, for you are quoting Shakespeare. (Levin 1986: 98-99)

Levin (1986) implies that people quote without knowing that they quote; they must be told that they do so when they use certain phrases. This goes against another widely held assumption that quoting is a deliberate act where passages from a known source are reused in another context.[4]

Quotation apparently does not have just a single "anomalous feature" as Quine has it (1981 [1940]: 26). Quotations are very versatile and if one does not understand their characteristics, they can easily hide in the vastness of ordinary language and evade any sort of familial observation. Yet in this account, aunt Linguistics is nosy and wants to learn more about the "poor cousin" of its own off-spring, phraseology. As a matter of course, she asks the family first *what quotation is like?* Mother Literature and grandma Philosophy are not in agreement and are somewhat evasive. Linguistics infers from these relatives' accounts that quotation's main characteristic is and should be *reference* and *repetition*. *Reference* and *repetition* offer two different perspectives on the model after which quotation is constructed. Reference implies a functional aspect: In Literature's eyes, quotation relates two texts to each other, while Philosophy highlights quotation's capacity to provide metalinguistic statements. To fulfil the referential function, quotations need to repeat parts of the referent, be it certain features of another text (according to Literature) or of object language (according to Philosophy). Repetition then necessarily results in similarities between the referring and the referred entity. As a corollary, the recognition of such similarities often takes quotations back to their original referential function, even though they might have sought to evade this demanding role by plunging themselves into ordinary language to blend in with their less-burdened phraseological cousins.

Linguistics in this account does not wish to restrain quotation and force it into a referential job, which, indeed, it may not always want or even need to take on. Linguistics is more lenient and merely desires to watch quotation's behaviour in different contexts and draw her own conclusions about its nature. She is especially interested in the question of how quotations succeed in subsuming themselves among idioms, formulas, prefabs and other multi-lexical units.[5] Sometimes, quotation prefers to be just like these

---

[4] Most scholars in literary studies especially maintain that quotations are intended traces of a text *in absentia* in a text *in praesentia* (cf. chapters 3 and 4).

[5] Several phraseological terms will be used synonymously without alluding to any specified meaning given to them by some scholars e.g. *phraseme*, *phraseologism*, *multi-word unit/item*, *phraseological unit/item*, *polylexical unit/item*, *set phrase* and *schema* all denote a certain unspecified type of recurrent polylexical semantic structure. When referring to specific scholars, their terminology may occasionally be used, e.g. the term *formula* is used according to Wray's (2002; 2008) broad concept, but also occurs in the more restricted definition of Kuiper (2009: 4). *Collocation* denotes general co-occurrence phenomena of usually ordinary, short idiomatic sequences, while *cliché*, *proverb*, *saying* and *commonplace* hold their meaning in ordinary language (cf. also Mel'cuk 1998, Burger 2003 [1998], Lennon 2004, Colson 2014).

seemingly better off cousins who can move about anywhere they want and need not fulfil extra duties. Thus linguistics is interested in the paradox that quotation prompts if it does not really want to refer to another text as literature demands, or if it cannot be bothered to supply metalinguistic information, as philosophy expects.

Yet, not all quotations try to free themselves from prescribed paths. They deserve just as much attention from their "aunt" for their remarkable versatility and creativity in dealing with repetition and reference. Linguistics even offers help in doing the referential job properly: The *inquit formula* "X said that", for instance, is one of several means by which reference can be explicitly indicated by linguistic means, including the common convention of quotation marks in the written mode. Understanding the intricacies of signalling reference by linguistic means and/or narrative strategies in fictional texts especially helps to first recognise how quotations can be identified and then properly observed.

The question of identification becomes even more important given the paradox observed that quotations can be "unattributed and unattributable" (Moon 1998: 22) and that people may therefore quote without knowing. The question of *what is a quotation?* must therefore be expanded to

What is necessary to recognise a quotation?

The recognition aspect has an advantage in that it respects the dynamicity of quotation's character, whereas a *what-is* question implies a static understanding. Recognition presupposes prior knowledge. This thesis argues that *linguistic* and *textual knowledge* primarily are required for recognition, aided by *encyclopaedic* or *expert knowledge*. Many quotations are "openhearted" and reveal themselves to anyone who knows the conventions of a language. Think of the many quotations in academic texts whereby greats pains have been taken to set them properly off from the rest of the text. These provide metalinguistic information and even mention the author and source of referent. They surround themselves with the gifts of aunt Linguistics so that anyone who comes across them can detect them without having to know anything else but the conventions of a language. The intricacies of marking start, however, when a quotation does not accept every gift from their aunt, but uses only subtle or very few signals to reveal their referential potential. They may even rely on their own linguistic conspicuousness through archaisms or poetic patterns in a prose context. Still, these quotations refer using linguistic means and are thus recognisable thanks to general linguistic knowledge. Others do not seek the help of aunt Linguistics to point out their referent, yet they are still identifiable through the similarities between themselves and their referent. In such cases, *textual knowledge*, that is, the knowledge of the referential source text, is needed to identify these quotations. Similarity may be based mainly on either formal or conceptual aspects, but proper names can also betray a quotation's origin. Accordingly, quotations can be grouped into verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations, each with possessing particular behavioural traits. Furthermore, *encyclopaedic* or *expert knowledge* of preferred genres and discourses of quotations, their likes and dislikes with respect to users and epochs, provide clues to recognition on which some very playful quotations rely in particular. The concepts of a *full-knowing reader* (cf. the title of Pucci 1998) or a *sujet connaissant* (Kristeva 1969b: 443) are helpful and objective constructs by which to describe the condition of

possibility[6] to recognise a quotation based on similarity, where ordinary people may fail (partially or entirely).

The possibility of a lack of textual and encyclopaedic knowledge gives "lazy" quotations the chance to hide among their formulaic cousins and rid themselves of their referential burden. Therefore, the relationship between quotations and their phraseological cousins, too, has to be addressed and a third question needs to be asked:

What is the relationship between quotation and ordinary phraseology?

A comparison between the main characteristics of phrasemes and quotations can help to clarify the similarities and differences between these two cousins. Quotations and phrasemes resemble each other in more than one respect, yet not in all. Taking a historical perspective, it is even possible to trace quotation's strategy for achieving linguistic freedom. Hence, the next question follows:

What is necessary for a quotation to become an (almost) ordinary phraseme?

In addressing this question, diachronic studies illustrate the chosen path of selected quotations that have almost succeeded in being as widely used and accepted as their phraseological cousins.

1.1 Preliminary considerations on *what is a quotation?*

Quotation is not easy to define.[7] Yet, a preliminary answer to the *what* question is required by way of introduction. The preliminary answer is two-fold: First, the ordinary understanding of quotation as recorded in general language dictionaries such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) will be presented and analysed. The OED definition already hints at the complexity of the phenomenon. Still, in the course of this account, its key definition "a passage from a book" will mostly be understood as *quotation in the narrow sense*. The need also to take into account *quotations in the broad sense* primarily arises from the work with empirical data, which will be outlined below.

1.1.1 The ordinary concept of quotation in the OED

The OED entry for the noun *quotation* suggests a polyfunctional concept. The most familiar definition of quotation in the OED reads:[8]

> A passage from a book, speech, or other source; (in modern use *esp.*) a frequently quoted passage of this nature. (OED online edition, *quotation* 5a)

This definition is further extended to domains other than language

> A short musical passage or visual image taken from one piece of music or work of art and used in another (OED online edition, *quotation* 5b).

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[6] *Condition of possibility* is a philosophical term coined by Immanuel Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason*. The term is used in this thesis as it succinctly expresses the necessity that specific developments presuppose a number of specific conditions. No further philosophical aspects are intended. The term is *used*, not *mentioned* (cf. chapter 3).

[7] cf. especially Compagnon (1979) and Cappelen/Lepore (2012 [2005]).

[8] Only the concepts concerning the intertextual aspect of quotation are reviewed here. Quotation as a business term is excluded *a priori*. However, Compagnon establishes a nice metaphorical link between quotation as an intertextual term with the world of finance and business: Quotations circulate like currencies; they are as useful in language as money is in business. (Original text: "parce que la citation met en circulation un objet, et que cet objet a une valeur." cf. Compagnon 1979:19).

These definitions comprise an attributable source ("from a book, speech" etc.) and some replicated item ("a passage from"). The "source" implies a connection between a quoted and a quoting passage, a concept of quotation that has been taken up in literary intertextuality studies especially as *reference*. The analogous transfer to music and other works of art in definition 5b acknowledges that quotations are not necessarily limited to lexical objects. In fact, Clark/Gerrig (1990) maintain that anything can be quoted.

While part 5 of the OED definition refers to a physical object, "a passage", part 6 refers to the process of quoting:

> The action or an act of quoting (OED online edition, *quotation* 6).

The OED defines the verb *to quote* as follows:

- To reproduce or repeat a passage from (a book, author, etc.); to repeat a statement by (a person); to give (a specified person, body, etc.) as the source of a statement (OED online edition, *quote* v. 2a)
- To mention or refer to (a book, author, etc.) as providing support or evidence for a particular statement, opinion, or practice. (OED online edition, *quote* v. 2b)
- To give a reference to (a passage of text), by specifying the page, chapter, etc., where it may be found (OED online edition, *quote* v. 3a)
- To set down references; to refer (OED online edition, *quote* v. 3b)
- To repeat or copy out (a passage, utterance, etc.), usually with an indication that one is using another's words. Also of a musician or musical composition: to reproduce or repeat (a passage or tune from another piece of music) (OED online edition, *quote* v. 4a)

Quotations are generated by a process of linking two text events, an earlier text event (source) with a later text event through a common "passage": This is primarily achieved by *repetition* ("reproduce or repeat," "repeat or copy", "taken from one piece and used in another"). The notion of repetition ordinarily involves further assumptions, which will have to be partly revised in the course of this thesis: First, a *volitional act* – to "repeat or copy" something conventionally presupposes an antecedent decision to do so. Second, *exact rendition* is commonly understood in terms of "to copy," "to repeat" and "to reproduce" (which is reinforced by the Latin prefix "re-").

In addition to (volitional and verbatim) *repetition*, the OED gives three definitions for *to quote* with aspects of *reference* ("to mention or refer to," "to give a reference to" and "to set down references; to refer"). First, the function of *reference* for argumentation is explicitly stated. Second, reference serves to localise the origin; and third, more generally, reference "draw[s] the attention of (a person) to a fact, event, etc." and "relate[s] one thing to another" (OED online edition, *refer* v. I 3b and II).

The differentiation between the physical object of the quoted material and the process of turning a physical item into a quotation is significant as they need not overlap, as the following two examples illustrate.

(1) Who's there?
(2) Who's there? (Shakespeare, William (1601): *Hamlet.* Act I, scene i).

The object and the act of quoting are not necessarily identical. The simple question *who's there?* is generally not "a passage from a book" but rather is widely used in a situation when one feels the presence of a human being whom one does not see. Yet, it becomes a quotation as soon as an appropriate context, in this case a proper source indication, is given. In other cases, the act can be recognised by any *sujet connaissant* (Kristeva 1969b: 443)

solely through the object without further contextual clues. Mere form is, therefore, able to trigger the categorisation of a phrase as a quotation:

(3) The rest is silence.[9]

Hamlet's last words are conspicuous enough to place them as "a passage from a book." They are, indeed, typically used as "a passage from a book" and do not belong to any other prototypical context. Consequently, the usage experiences of these phrases make the difference: While "Who's is there?" is typically used in a specific non-literary context, "The rest is silence" has frequently been used as a quotation. It has a history as a quotation, so to speak (cf. Haßler 1997).

The OED definitions given above as well as the examples (1), (2) and (3) demonstrate that a formal and a functional dimension at least belong to the concept of quotation: *repetition* (form) and *reference* (function). Repetition and explicit reference must co-occur in some cases, as seen in comparison of example (1) with (2), but this is not necessary in other cases, as example (3) illustrates. Any term can be transformed into a quotation using appropriate linguistic strategies, yet only some famous and/or conspicuous quotations can stand alone. The OED does not define the conditions of use for explicit or implicit reference, nor the relationship between reference and repetition. Historicity is implied only in a trivial sense: Logic entails that the quoted "passage from a book" must exist before the quoting text.

The OED lists two more definitions of quotation, which, despite being marked as obsolete, reveal aspects of quotations that continue to resonate:

> A reference (usually in a margin) to a passage of text by page, chapter, etc. (OED online edition, *quotation* 2)

This first obsolete meaning would be called *bibliographical gloss* rather than *quotation* today. Still, quotation presupposes the potential of adding such glosses because the origin of a quotation has to be known by definition ("from a book, speech or other source"). In certain genres, such as academic writing and legal texts, the indication of the source of a quotation is even obligatory. Thus, quotation and source reference continue to be implicitly or explicitly bound together. The second obsolete meaning concerns the presup-position that quotations are *noteworthy* "passages."

> An observation; a matter noted (OED online edition, *quotation* 3)

Why else should one quote? Compagnon supports this interpretation when he describes the power of phrases to "appeal" and "excite" as a "petit coup de foudre" (Compagnon 1979: 17 ff., esp. 24).

In general intertextual discourse, another concept frequently appears as a complementing, counterpointing, and sometimes even as a superordinate concept to quotation that deserves attention: *allusion*. The OED defines allusion as:

- Illusion (OED online edition, *allusion* 1)
- A play upon words, a word-play, a pun (OED online edition, *allusion* 2)
- A symbolical reference or likening; a metaphor, parable, allegory. (OED online edition, *allusion* 3)
- A covert, implied, or indirect reference; a passing or incidental reference (OED online edition, *allusion* 4)

[9] cf. Hamlet's last words in *Hamlet* (V, ii): The rest is silence.

The first three meanings, that is, *illusion*, *wordplay* and *symbolical reference*, are marked obsolete yet clearly resound in modern English understanding. Particularly the ludic aspect in allusion and the symbolic functions of allusions are the subjects of scholarly study (cf. Meyer 1961, Ben-Porat 1976, Perri 1978, Genette 1997 [1982], and esp. Pucci 1998 and Lennon 2001 and 2004 with respect to the ludic aspect). Quotation and allusion are related and, in practice, are often hard to distinguish. The understanding of quotation "as a passage from a book" and the additional aspects listed by the OED capture the following dimensions of the term:

- quotation as an object
- quotation as an act
- repetition of form
- reference to the source

The functional aspects of *reference* comprise:

- argumentative support
- localisation of the source
- relating quoting and quoted (con)texts with each other

The dimension of reference is also included in the concept of *allusion* which leads to considerable semantic overlap. For this reason, allusion and quotation are treated as twin concepts here, which will only occasionally be differentiated.

1.1.2 A data-based broad concept of quotation

Working with empirical data made it necessary to broaden the concept of quotation as suggested by the OED. The data reveal the manifold ways of recycling bits and pieces from a model text that have developed over time. On the one hand, quotations can be longer or shorter; they may stretch from a single conspicuous word to lengthier expositions. On the other hand, as already insinuated, it need not necessarily be a phrase that is reused; it could also be a name, a motif, or a mixture of words, names and motifs. If it is a phrase, it can be reapplied using the exact words of the original, with a mix of quoted words embedded in freely composed language or entirely by paraphrase. Hence, not to restrict the data *a priori*, a broad concept of quotation is required to accommodate all the observable appearances of a quotation. In the absence of a superordinate term, the following broad working definition will be applied throughout this thesis:

> Anything that establishes a link to or a similarity with and thus constitutes a trace of a source text will be called *quotation*.

Hence, *quotation* will be used in an abstract, hypernymic sense. *Quotation* incorporates intertextual phenomena such as *allusion*, *parody*, *adaptation*, *pastiche*, *cento*, *citation* etc., including those that have no established terms, for instance the verbal traces of a source text in English phraseology, which might be called *de-quotational phrasemes* (like *de-verbal nouns* or *de-nominal adjectives*). It is principally Burger's and Beaugrande/Dressler's view on terminology that is followed here; they prefer to use traditional terms, "which people actually use as heuristics" (Beaugrande/Dressler 1981 [1972]: 183) and, therefore, tend to be more acceptable and widely used (cf. Burger 2003 [1998]: 34). The abstract concept of quotation as "anything that establishes a link to or a similarity with" a previous text does, of course, not come out of the blue. This abstract concept accommodates the various

aspects of quotation derived from the empirical work on the quoting data, as well as from previous scholarly work (cf. chapter 3).

1.2 Methodological considerations

As mentioned above, the following questions, which ultimately trace the phenomenon of inadvertent quoting, will be approached both theoretically and empirically:

- What is a quotation?
- How can we recognise a quotation?
- What is the relationship between quotations and phrasemes?
- What is necessary for a quotation to become a phraseme?

Besides reviewing the literature with respect to quotations, the explanations concerning questions 2 to 4 in particular will always be backed up with empirical data. The data for any study need to be defined, found, evaluated and categorised so that information about their characteristics can be distilled. The following sections will introduce the data used for this study on quotations and will discuss aspects of their retrieval as an introductory methodological account. Their evaluation in the sense of recognising quotations, and their categorisation to bring order into the heterogeneity of the phenomenon will be discussed extensively in later chapters.

1.2.1 The nature of the data and the impact of the quoted text on its quotations

The formal and functional wealth of quotations became particularly apparent during the work on a quotation database which provided the inspiration for this thesis (cf. Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010). The research project *HyperHamlet – Passages we live by* aimed to document William Shakespeare's cultural impact by tracing the afterlife of one of his most famous plays.[10] The idea was to investigate the so-called *Shakespeare phenomenon*, that is, the overall presence of Shakespeare that is felt in Western culture, including his assumed great influence on the English language. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* – arguably his most famous work – was chosen as the canonical base text. Accordingly, all the quotations discussed in this study derive from this Shakespearean tragedy. The present study reverses the beaten path in quotation studies. As a rule, a specific later text or a group of later texts are analysed for their intertextual sources,[11] whereas this study observes traces from one specific source text in many different later texts. This approach produces a wide variety of observable intertextual phenomena, as the usage contexts are varied and not restricted to a single genre or period of time in the quoting text or group of quoting texts. In fact, in addition to allowing synchronic descriptions, the data also allow for a diachronic approach to quotation. Historical aspects offer a second key, besides similarity, to understanding the paradox of inadvertent quoting.

The choice of the source text has repercussions on finding, categorising and evaluating the data. For instance, *Hamlet* was probably first performed in 1601, which

[10] The research project *HyperHamlet – Passages we live by* (HYHA for short) was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation from 2006 to 2010. More information can be obtained from www.hyperhamlet.unibas.ch. *HyperHamlet* is an open-access resource.

[11] cf., among others, Grieder 2013, Haßler 1997, Hillgärtner 2000, Jansohn 1990, Lennon 2004, Meyer 1961, Pucci 1998, Ricks 2002, Rößler 1997, Schoots 2000, Shaheen 1987 and 1999, Tsur 1998, Wheeler 1979 and Zima 2000.

means that quotations from *Hamlet* can principally be sought and found in texts which have been written in the last 400 years. If one studied quotations from more recent texts, like for instance Steyer (1997), who traced intertextuality in the political debates and newspaper reports on the changes in Germany after 1989, the time span of the texts containing those quotations is significantly reduced. Moreover, quotations from a play as well known as *Hamlet* are used in many genres and discourses, while quotations from academic texts are likely to be only found in other academic texts of the same discipline. Researchers can thus look for quotations from *Hamlet* almost anywhere, and need not restrain themselves *a priori* with regard to the resources used for searching the data. Also, categorisation depends to a certain degree on the source text: *Hamlet* is a work of fiction in which characters with names act and to which later texts may refer. These references form the class of onomastic quotations (cf. chapter 6), which are unlikely to occur in texts concerned with economic mechanisms or research in astronomy.

The evaluation of the validity of the data is connected to, among other things, the wealth of potential functions of quotations, which in turn depend on period and genre. Texts from the 17th century tend to modify quotations strongly and do not generally mention the original author. The quotations are typically incorporated into the text, and the notion of copyright seems little developed. The 19th century is much more careful in this matter. Furthermore, a quotation from an academic text is mainly used to deliberately situate the researcher in the context of their academic community, which is why they necessarily mention the author and additional details from the source of the quotation (cf. Tuormala 2000: 234).[12] Quotation marks, set-off passages, metalinguistic tags and (true) source indications are the clues that signal valid academic quotations. Quotations as plagiarism, however, given their rather dishonourable function, would avoid exactly these clues. Accordingly, only unmarked quotations are "valid" cases of plagiarised quotations. On the other hand, a poetic text may be quoted to impart aesthetic pleasure through its euphony and succinct expressivity, to help attract the reader's attention, or to provide fun by exploiting productive ambiguity and achieving humorous effects – to list just a few of the functions (cf. Lennon 2004: 236). The fun of discovering quotations would be diminished if they were all properly signalled and attributed. The diversity of functions is thus thought to influence their form, as is genre and period of time. This diversity is unlikely to be found in quotations from less well-known and more recent source texts. Given such a wide range of possible texts that might quote *Hamlet*, a wide array of quoted forms needs to be envisaged. One cannot rely on the presence of clear, added signals like quotation marks unless one takes the risk of missing a large amount of eligible data. The vast array of quoted forms from *Hamlet* is both a challenge and an advantage. On the one hand, the great heterogeneity of the data is demanding and calls for a sensible ordering principle. On the other, the wealth of observable data will permit generalisations about quotations, rather than only about those from the source text *Hamlet*. This thesis will repeatedly address the question of whether an observation is likely to be specific to quotations from *Hamlet* or not.

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[12] Original text: "Le L citant exprime sa propre position face à des travaux mentionnés (à des fins de rappel, de valorisation …)" (Tuormala 2000: 234).

1.2.2 The sources of the data and their method of retrieval

Theoretically, quotations from and allusions to *Hamlet* can occur almost everywhere. In practice, the dependence on available resources forms a natural constraint. The main resource used for this study was the *HyperHamlet* database (HYHA, cf. Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010), which derives its data from a wide variety of resources. *HyperHamlet* contains some 10,000 references to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* by more than 3,300 authors working in different periods, languages and genres. The database is a result of combined methodologies of the two sister disciplines, literary studies and linguistic studies. Literary studies contribute results from numerous scholarly articles on intertextuality, and from annotated editions of works by renowned authors such as Dickens, Scott, Byron, Nietzsche and Thomas Mann, to name but a few. *HyperHamlet* thus contains near-exhaustive data from several fiction authors who are known to quote extensively. The database also includes entries from allusion books (the historical forerunners of intertextuality studies) such as Bysshe's (1702) *The Art of English Poetry,* and from anthologies such as Henry's (1955) *Best Quotations for All Occasions*. These data provide information about the currency of specific lines from *Hamlet* at different periods of time. *HyperHamlet* brings together the results of earlier scholarly work on intertextual traces of *Hamlet*, and the digitalisation of those results – most data were only available in print – makes them easy to access.

Linguistics, especially the branches of computer linguistics and corpus linguistics, makes a methodological contribution to *HyperHamlet* by providing:

- searchable digital corpora
- scholarly experience in digital search methods
- scholarly experience as to the limits of using digital resources

Each of these will be addressed individually below.

Searchable digital corpora

There are two main types of digital corpora which offer fruitful resources for linguistic studies. First, *balanced language corpora* have been deliberately compiled by corpus linguists to study language in use. Their main advantage is their specific linguistic annotation. As a consequence, searches for multi-word fragments and syntactic patterns, including searches for parts of speech, are generally possible (depending on what the state of the art was at the time of their creation). The second type of digital corpora are *digital text collections*, which are assembled by scholars from other domains of the humanities.

Balanced language corpora can be subdivided into *general language corpora* and *specialised language corpora*. General language corpora try to mirror language in its entirety, versatility and complexity as closely as possible. They are usually as large as technically possible and comprise various genres so as to provide a reasonable cross-section of language in use at a specific period of time. The percentage of written vs. spoken language, fictional vs. non-fictional language, official vs. private language, etc., is either evenly distributed or, if that was not possible, the share is deliberately chosen and known so that users can judge the scope of their studies.

The most important general language corpora which were accessed for data for both the *HyperHamlet* database and the present study are:

- the British National Corpus (BNC, 100 million words, 1974-1994; Davies 2004-)
- the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA, 450 million words,1990-2012; cf. Davies 2008-)
- the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA, 400 million words, 1810s-2009; cf. Davies 2010-)

Searching for traces of *Hamlet* in these three general language corpora proved to be quite successful, while existing *specialised language* corpora (such as MiCASE[13] and the Lampeter Corpus[14]), which concentrate on a single genre, discourse subject and/or period of time in order to study and document a specific part of language in more depth, had to be abandoned after several unproductive trial searches. Finding specific tokens of quotations apparently requires large corpora in the same way as finding other multi-word units does (cf. Moon 2008:1045). Specialised corpora are typically much smaller than general language corpora.

The second group of digital resources used for the searches of quotations from *Hamlet* were digitalised text collections:

- British Periodicals (BritP – 500 periodicals published between the 1680s and 1930s)
- The Burney Collection of 17th and 18th-century newspapers (Brney)
- 17th, 18th and 19th-century House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1688-2004 (HCPP – 10 million pages)
- 18th Century Collections Online (ECCO – 150,000 works printed in the UK between 1701 and 1800)
- Eighteenth Century Journals 1685-1815 (ECJ)
- Early English Books (EEBO – almost everything printed in English worldwide between 1475 and 1700, over 125,000 English titles)
- The Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts (DLCPT – more than 1,500 texts by some 325 Protestant authors from the 16th and 17th centuries)
- Literature Online (LION – 350,000 works of English and American poetry, drama and prose from their beginnings to the 1930s)
- The Making of Modern Law 1-3 (MOML – 10 million pages of legal treatises from 1800 to 1926, more than 350,000 documents from the US Supreme Court Records and Briefs from 1832 to 1978, and 2 million pages of trials held in the Americas, the British Empire and France between 1600 and 1926)
- The Making of the Modern World (MakWorld – almost 12 million pages documenting the economic, political and social history from the mid-15th to the mid-19th centuries)
- The Making of America Digital Collection (MoA – 10,000 books and 50,000 journal articles (almost 4 million pages) documenting the social history of the USA from the antebellum period to reconstruction (1850 and 1877)
- Nineteenth-Century Serials (NCS – large collection of serialised novels from the late 18th through the 19th centuries)
- The Romantic Era Redefined (ROER – 19,000 pages of British and US writings between 1800-1830)
- The Times Digital Archive (TDA, 1785-1985)
- World Wide Web (WWW)

These collections are prepared for cultural rather than linguistic studies; the focus is on the text and its content rather than its language. Search and retrieval options are not always very practical for searching quotations effectively, even though all these listed

[13] Michigan Corpus of Academic English (MiCASE – a collection of transcripts of academic speech events recorded at the University of Michigan around the turn of the 21st century, containing 152 transcripts with almost 2 million words, cf. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/micase/).

[14] Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts (texts on various subjects published between 1640 and 1740, comprises some 1.1 million words, cf. https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/sections/linguist/real/independent/lampeter/corpus.htm).

corpora are real treasure troves. About 400 lines of *Hamlet* were searched systematically by manual means in most of the corpora listed above (esp. BNC, BritP, COCA, COHA, LION, HCPP, ROER and TDA). The searches covered all the lines from Hamlet's soliloquies, paradoxes and contrasts as a typical trait of the play (cf. Keller 2009, chapter 2), lines of proverbial origin, quotations identified as recurrent from the printed literary sources, and any familiar-sounding expression. The World Wide Web was only occasionally used to obtain rough diagnostics on the probability of finding instances of a specific line and their preferred genres of appearance. It was not used systematically because of the data noise produced by the multiple retrievals of a single source and the many hits from the original *Hamlet* text or from texts about the play, such as *Sparknotes*.

HyperHamlet can be categorised as a mixture between a specialised linguistic corpus and a text collection. *HyperHamlet* aims for breadth and tries to even out the typical Zipfian distribution as best it can. The phenomenon whereby a few passages are quoted extensively while most passages are quoted once in a while can also be confirmed with respect to quotations from *Hamlet.* Lesser quoted items have been given priority over much-quoted items, so that many references to frequently quoted lines, especially from the 20th and 21st centuries, have not been transferred to the database. Moreover, the editors made a special effort to find early and difficult-to-access quotations to help future users retrieve these rare data. Due to these decisions, *HyperHamlet* is not a balanced corpus in the corpus-linguistic sense with respect to text-type admission. Nor can it ever be exhaustive with respect to the many texts and the long period of time during which *Hamlet* has been quoted. *HyperHamlet* is, however, a valuable tool for studying examples of the cultural phenomenon Shakespeare and his quotations, their history and range of use, their form and function, and their conservatism and variability.

However, the empirical study on quotations that tend to fully immerse themselves in ordinary language requires a sizeable and ideally exhaustive set of data from specific resources. Therefore, all the data from the general language corpora COCA, COHA and BNC, and from the non-fictional text collections HCPP and TDA will complement the data collected in *HyperHamlet* in this account.

Digital search methods

The main task when searching a corpus by computerised means consists in developing effective (half-)open search strings that detect more variants than specifically envisaged by the human mind. So-called *wildcards* and/or *proximity operators* facilitate vague searches and are provided by most corpora and text collections. The wildcard *asterisk* * stands for an undefined number of letters, and is especially useful for varying affixes: *frail** captures *frail*, *frailty*, *frailties*, *frailness,* etc. A *question mark* fills the slot for one unspecified letter, so *wom?n* captures both the singular *woman* and the plural *women*.[15] Proximity operators define the distance in which the searched words may appear. The syntax for proximity operators differs from corpus to corpus. As the LION syntax is largely self-explanatory, it will be used throughout this thesis, regardless of the specific syntax of the corpus in question. In LION, *frailty NEAR.7 woman* returns any co-occurrence of the two lexemes regardless of

[15] Combined wildcards such as *wom?n** to capture woman, women, *womanhood* and *womanly* in one go are often not allowed because of the enormous computing capacity needed for the searches in large corpora. For this reason, searches for * and *?* had to be done separately.

their word order within a span of 7 words, whereas *frailty FBY.7 woman* takes the word order *frailty* followed by *woman* into account. The less conspicuous the searched words are, the more useful *FBY* becomes. As a rule, this study used the distance of the original words in Shakespeare *plus two*.

While wildcards and proximity searches are merely helpful tools, the nature of the best search strategies are the topic of much discussion in corpus linguistics.[16] A single, unified and sophisticated search method does not exist, because the search options are influenced by the characteristics of the linguistic object to be looked for and by the structure and the size of the corpus. Moon (2008) corroborates this view when she maintains that "only experience and experimentation show which are likely to be most successful" (Moon 2008: 1049). According to Philip (2008), two main types of search paradigms can be followed:

a) a single, very open search for keywords and manual selection of the valid data afterwards
b) a series of different searches to capture variety, while excluding as much data noise as possible from the start

The work with the different data and corpora showed that neither of these search paradigms can be described as perfect, and one is not significantly better than the other.[17] A single open search is quite effective if one is looking for items containing conspicuous lexemes such as *miching mallecho* (*Hamlet* III, ii), prominent names like Horatio and Polonius,[18] and/or if the corpus is rather small, as is the case with BNC. Conversely, when searching for structures with very common lexemes in a large general language corpus or text collection, it is better to search by multiple successive steps. The number of consecutive searches depends on whether the searches are carried out by a machine or a human. A machine follows strict logic and can perform many searches quickly and exhaustively, while humans are relatively slow, though their efficiency grows with experience. According to Gigerenzer/Selten, simple and quick heuristics learned from experience are apparently no less successful than complex logical calculations observing strict consistency and coherence (cf. Gigerenzer/Selten 2002: 9).[19] In fact, the editors of *HyperHamlet* started with a set of logically constructed search strings for each line to be searched, yet their experience meant that they were soon able to filter out the most successful sequences.

The search strings are built according to logical combinatory rules of the verbal constituents of the line from *Hamlet* to be searched with increasing specificity. Increasing specificity helps to quickly determine the appropriate level for efficient data editing. If

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[16] To list just a few: cf. Moon (1998) and (2008), Philipp (2008), the papers published after the *Fifth Corpus Linguistics Conference* in Liverpool 2009, and the many talks at the *Aston Corpus Conference* in Birmingham 2009.

[17] Philip (2008) objects to the single search paradigm, which she thinks is usually favoured by corpus linguists and that only a "few attempt to combine the results of successive related searches" (Philip 2008: 101). This appears to be an unjustified claim.

[18] Searches for "Hamlet" and "Shakespeare" had to be complemented by the *inquit formula* in the form of "as Hamlet says/said" and "as Shakespeare says/said". The homonym *hamlet* (village) as well as the innumerable streets, associations, clubs, pubs, etc. bearing Shakespeare's name produced large amounts of data noise. The searches with the *inquit* formula were quite successful, and gave hints as to which lines to search further, e.g. "reform it altogether" (*Hamlet* III, ii) returned about 40 additional hits in HCPP, TDA and BNP. Searches for other verbs of saying such as "to quote Shakespeare" or "as Hamlet put it" were not very successful. The wealth of verbs implying a speech act is too great to be anticipated.

[19] Similarly, a colleague told me in a private communication that his results for the frequency and usage of a specific German phraseme obtained by human heuristics are similar to the machine-retrieved results provided later by Google n-grams.

one search is too open and yields too many invalid results, the next, narrower level is inspected to avoid going through hundreds of hits to find a few valid ones. This procedure means that the necessary human evaluation becomes less time consuming. Invalid hits are phrasings that meet the search criterion but which have no relation to the play and/or differ in their structural make-up. For instance, *Father, thy name is dear to me* and *Lord thy name is written on the schroll*[20] are invalid hits for the search string *thy name is*, which aims to find traces of Hamlet's exclamation *Frailty, thy name is woman* (I, ii).

The search strings follow two different paradigms. *Keyword searches* group the lexical words of a Shakespearean line (such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, as well as conspicuous function words like the archaic possessive *thy*) in pairs, threes, fours and so on – depending on the number of the lexical words present – so that all possible constellations are covered. The expected results include variants with deviating word order, internal and external additions, and omissions and substitutions.[21] If the co-occurrence of only two lexemes is too open and produces a large amount of data noise, the larger groups are searched in order to reduce the hits to a manageable number. Table 1 lists the keyword searches for Hamlet's exclamation, *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (I, ii). Examples of valid and invalid hits are added for improved clarity.

Keyword combinations with increasing specificity	*Valid hits*	*Invalid hits*
frail* NEAR thy	Then, thou dear woman [...] all thy little defects and frailties are forgiven	Endless have been the proofs of thy frailty
frail* NEAR name?	The Frailty Whose Name Was Gertrude	so far as to name the frail and illustrious living
frail* NEAR wom?n	frailty! oh woman! you are synonymous	the keen glances of the woman beheld the frail bark of her husband
thy NEAR name?	Fragility thy name is glass	Thy name is written in the sky
thy NEAR wom?n	Oh Change, thy name is Woman!'	Kill not the woman with thy look
name? NEAR wom?n	frailty, thy name is man, thy same is woman	a woman of the same name
frail* NEAR thy NEAR name?	Frailty, thy name is Sceptre	-
frail* NEAR thy NEAR wom?n	frailty, thy name is man, thy same is woman	-
frail* NEAR name? NEAR wom?n	you may say of frailty that its name is woman	-
thy NEAR name? NEAR wom?n	"Thy name is woman."	when woman's spite Detests thy name
frail* NEAR thy NEAR name? NEAR wom?n	Oh Woman! Frailty is thy name	-

Table 1: Example search strings for the keyword search *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (III, iv), incl. examples of valid and invalid search results[22]

Fragment searches find modifications at the fringes of quotations and structural schemas. In this approach, function words play an important role. Fragments include searches for small original word strings, such as *frailty thy* or *thy name* (cf. table 2). If the

[20] cf. www.hymnary.org.
[21] This procedure is similar to what Philip (2000 and 2003) describes, but has been developed independently.
[22] For brevity's sake, the variants including the FBY function are not listed. The valid results come from HYHA, while the invalid results stem from COHA.

corpus is tagged for part of speech, as is the case with COHA, COCA and the BYU version of BNC (Davies 2004-),[23] one can search for the more abstract schema "thy [noun] is". The most explicit structural or fragment search is, of course, the full verbatim expression. Fragment search is the only option for corpora where proximity searches are not possible, such as in TDA. The manual searches through the digital corpora were run systematically for some 400 selected lines from *Hamlet*.

Structure or fragments to cover peripheral variation (partial match, structural match)	*Valid variants*	*Invalid hits*
[noun], thy * is	? Daughter of Grief, thy House is sand!	Alike the wrath and mercy of the skies, Thy pomp is in the grave
thy * is [noun]	Consolation, thy name is satin and lace	thy word is truth
"frailty thy"	Frailty, thy name is marriage	-
"thy name is"	Trust, thy name is LIC!	thy name is heard With reverence
"name is woman"	you may say of frailty that its name is woman	-

Table 2: Example search strings for the fragment search *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (III, iv), incl. examples of valid and invalid search results

Searching digital resources is also valuable with regard to a specific phraseological aspect: By finding out which and how many search strings retrieve the bulk of the valid data for an expression (cf. chapters 5 and 8), the linguistic characteristic of a quotation comes into relief through an almost purely empirical procedure. For example, the most successful searches for *'tis sport to have the engineer / Hoist with his own petard* (*Hamlet* (III, iv)) revealed that the almost invariable core of the expression in today's usage is *own petard*.

The limits of using digital resources

Three main issues have to be taken into account when using digital corpora for data retrieval:

- limitation on surface equivalence
- anticipation of variability and exhaustiveness
- corpus composition

A clear limitation of digital searches is the restriction on quotations that rely on formal similarity. Other types of quotations which are primarily based on conceptual similarity are only discoverable by chance. Lack of exhaustiveness is closely linked to this restriction. Exhaustiveness can never be achieved with digital search methods because digital searches suffer from the dilemma that the search string necessarily defines the result (cf. Moon 2008: 1049, Philipp 2008: 100 f.). Human creativity will always be more subtle and richer than what "corpus-linguistic philosophy" can "dream of".[24] Digital search methods can neither find traces which work entirely on the semantic or the pragmatic level, nor those where keywords are distributed over larger sections of a quoting text. Human reading is still the only way of detecting subtle and heavily modified intertextual traces (cf. Lennon 2004).

[23] Mark Davies, the Brigham Young University (BYU) professor who produced COCA and COHA, offers better search options for BNC than the (older) original XAIRA program distributed by Oxford University Computing Services.

[24] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Another limitation is the need for exact surface equivalence. Wildcards, proximity operators and well-designed search strings compensate for this deficiency relatively well. Still, any formal deviation, including spelling variants and simple typos, need to be largely anticipated by the researcher, despite the technological help available from open or half-open searches. The practice of searching for the data manually (in contrast to automated searches) has widened the horizon of possible variation during the search process, so that the researcher's anticipation could be improved online and the efficiency increased.

Lastly, it is important to mention the trivial-sounding insight that it is only possible to find the data that are contained in the corpus or text collection. Strictly speaking, the results of the present study do not necessarily tell anything about quoting Shakespeare in general, but about quoting Shakespeare in COHA, COCA, LION, etc., in Dickens, Scott, Byron and Mann, to name but a few. In other words, corpus-linguistic experience cautions against easy generalisations.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis will examine the "poor cousin" quotation from very different angles. Chapter 2 will address specific issues connected with the source of the quotations from *Hamlet*. On the one hand, it will address the Shakespeare "myth" by sketching out his proclaimed greatness, his language, and the practice of quoting in his time. On the other hand, these sketches will help judge how far the text and/or the genius of the author contribute to quotability. Does quotability depend on rhetorical finesse, formal and pragmatic harmony and/or on the position within the dramaturgy of the play? Among others, Hamlet's most famous soliloquy, *To be, or not to be* from act III, scene i, will be analysed in view of possible correlations between the dramatic organisation of the speech and the currency of each line as a quotation. Correlations are observable, yet the act of quoting does not yield simple cause-effect relationships; it is more complex than that.

Therefore, chapter 3 will give an overview of the complexities of quotation that have already been theoretically explored. Grandma Philosophy and mother Literature in particular have much to say: The philosophy of language is especially concerned with the metalinguistic function of quotations and recognises their pragmatic nature. Literary intertextuality studies offer a multitude of approaches and definitions that widen the linguist's horizon for the versatility of the phenomenon, and a broad concept of quotation also becomes necessary as a result of those theoretical accounts. Linguistics adds a few functional studies in specific genres, the results of which will inform the present account. Function is not the primary aim here, as the kind of data used calls for a structurally orientated approach that includes diachronic developments. Still, the reason for quoting is primarily functional, which makes these studies very valuable to draw on. With respect to theoretical work, linguistics does not yet have very much to offer, except for Steyer (1997) and some general observations in Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982). Accordingly, this thesis will draw on some conclusions from the available work in philosophy, literature and linguistics. One of the conclusions is that quotation can move rather freely within a space created by reference and repetition. Different knowledge bases help to spot the quotations in their respective locations within those coordinates. Knowledge of the conventions of language is usually sufficient for identifying a quotation

that refers as it should. If, however, only the repeated similarity betrays it, knowledge of the source text is indispensable.

Consequently, the subsequent chapters are dedicated to evaluating and categorising quotations according to their referential and repetitious features, and will elaborate on the question of recognisability. With respect to the perspective of recognition, it has to be borne in mind that the paradox of inadvertent quotation only becomes apparent from the perspective of a recipient, and that the researcher as the observer of quotations cannot adopt any other position. Production and reception are certainly intertwined and form a dialectical relationship; the way people quote influences the way people recognise quotations. Ultimately, however, the scholar *perceives* quotations based on a variety of accessible clues, and does not *produce* them. For heuristic reasons, the two principal knowledge bases for interpretable clues on which recognition is based – linguistic and textual knowledge – are separated and serve as a guideline for further categorisation to bring order into the apparent heterogeneity of quotations.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the question of how quotations signal their specific referential function. The linguist can again draw on early intertextual scholarly work with regard to the effect and functions of different marking devices and their categorisation. The most important aspect is that referential marking is graded. While the literary scholar also includes narratological strategies,[25] which require philological knowledge, it is suggested here that markers should be classified based on their recognisability according to mere linguistic knowledge. The separation from strategies which require further kinds of knowledge is considered promising, as linguistic markers function in any text genre, while narratological strategies are a speciality of fictional texts only. However, as will be explained, the annotation categories in *HyperHamlet* offer an alternative way of accommodating the observed narratological phenomena.

Among the linguistic marking devices, the function of the eponymous quotation marks will be described in detail, while the other marking devices, such as metalinguistic tags and stylistic peculiarities, which principally perform similar functions, are presented with respect to their versatility. Despite their shared function of alerting the addressee to some non-linearised additional meaning, each type of marker also has special functions: Quotation marks and other typographical markers primarily delimit the scope of a quotation, while added tags and stylistic features highlight a metalinguistic aspect. Added names point out the source. The chapter will finish with some information on the actual use of the different linguistic markers with respect to their frequency of occurrence in *HyperHamlet*.

Chapter 5 offers a closer look at a specific intrinsic feature of quotations from *Hamlet* which marks the Elizabethan origin: archaisms. It seems that archaisms are not merely frozen bits of language, as not all archaisms survive the centuries. Three often-quoted lines from *Hamlet* are analysed in view of the use and form of their archaisms, which are correlated with their communicative effect. Archaisms can generally perform the same function as quotation marks, that is, they can point out some non-linearised additional meaning, but only as intrinsic markers, not as added markers. However, they may also go beyond such marking purposes and, among other things, produce humour, contribute to

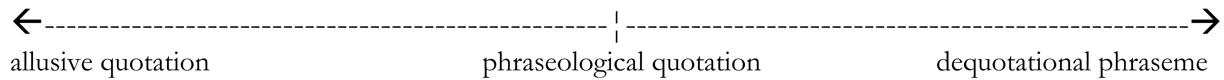
[25] cf. esp. Broich (1985), Füger (1989) and Helbig (1996).

euphonic pleasantness and/or formally complement the discursive prosody of the quotation. Cases of modernised forms are contrasted with those that maintain their archaic element in quotation. The communicative purpose seems to influence the choice for either archaic or modernised elements.

Chapter 6 concentrates on the repetitive aspect of quotations. Repetition leads to similarity and, in order to recognise similarity, knowledge of the source text is required. While most cases of linguistic marking presuppose a deliberate act of quoting, repetition without additional clues may also be coincidental. In other words, the aspect of similarity holds one of the keys to understanding the paradox of inadvertent quotations as implied in the passages by Levin (1986) and Moon (1998) cited at the beginning of this chapter. However, while in common practice quotations can escape attention because the knowledge of the text is not always accessible, the construct of a *full-knowing reader* (Pucci 1998) or *sujet conaissant* (Kristeva 1969b: 143) will serve as an abstract and objective heuristic vehicle to objectively identify quotations based on similarity. Specifically, chapter 6 tries to bring order into the apparent heterogeneity of quotations by offering a classification of quotations based on their similarities with the quoted text: Quotations can repeat *words*, *themes* or *characters* from the quoted text and, accordingly, the broad concept of quotation comprises verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations. The caveat that onomastic quotations are most likely only in literary source texts has already been made. It goes without saying that some additional background or even expert knowledge, such as knowledge about genres, the quoting habits of individual authors, and the quoting history of a phrase, helps further evaluate the data. Hence a few remarks on other kinds of knowledge which influence the recognition of quotations complement the account of the role of textual knowledge and the ordering principle according to different types of similarities.

The class of verbal quotations is the type of quotation which can blend best with its phraseological cousins. Scholars like Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982), Steyer (1997), Burger (2003 [1998]), Moon (1998) and Sabban (1998, 2008) have repeatedly noticed that verbal quotations share properties with phrasemes, and that some quotations "may become fixed in sayings, proverbs and other kinds of phraseological units" (Sabban 2008b: 591). Chapter 7 therefore tries to pinpoint the conditions under which quotations can mix with their phraseological cousins, which ultimately leads to the condition of possibility of inadvertent quoting. To that end, chapter 7 will compare observations in phraseology with the observations made with verbal quotations from *Hamlet*. Multi-lexicality and fixedness, idiomaticity, and familiarity and conventionalisation form the points of comparison in which phrasemes and quotations intersect to different degrees. The varying possibility to infer non-linearised associable meaning in quotations, as well as the tell-tale signs of conventionalisation (such as frequency and pattern formation over time) allow for a further graded differentiation between verbal quotations. Verbal quotations can be located on a cline between highly allusive to non-allusive lexical similarities. In some cases, quotations can only be understood if the source text can be accessed. The semantics of the linguistic constituents is almost overridden by the non-linearised implicatures of a quotation – these quotations will be called *allusive quotations*. Many other quotations, which will be called *phraseological quotations,* are mainly repeated for the sake of their semantics even though their referential side is still active and easily noticeable. They

are used *like* phrasemes as multi-word sequences for their semantic meaning, yet maintain their metalinguistic quality. Phraseological quotations can be located between allusive quotations on the one hand and *dequotational phrasemes* on the other, where any referential undertone is either unnecessary or even misleading. They are used as a "source-less" linguistic item like any ordinary bit of language. In other words, they have functionally *become* phrasemes.



The aspect of conventionalisation in dequotational phrasemes entails a historical dimension to the approach. While occasional quotations can be allusive and/or phraseological depending on the communicative purpose, dequotational phrasemes typically develop over time from frequently used phraseological quotations, as the empirical studies in the last two chapters will show. Chapter 8 will give a general overview of the four quotations chosen for the study. It will address their retrieval, frequency and other general properties. Chapter 9 synchronically describes and historically traces the development of conventional patterns and discursive distribution.

Finally, chapter 10 aims to tie together the loose ends of the various aspects discussed in the previous chapters, and will point out other paths for studying quotations as a linguistic phenomenon.

2 *The source of this our study*[1] – Shakespeare's times, his art and the question of quotability

Shakespeare would be as impressive as Mont Blanc in the Lüneburger Heide, as Goethe once observed, if one discussed his talent independently from his cultural environment.[2] In its alpine surroundings, however, Mont Blanc is not quite such an inexplicable miracle. Yet traditional scholarly work, such as Kenneth Muir's *The Singularity of Shakespeare* and Harry Levin's "The Primacy of Shakespeare", often conveys an impression of the peak in the plain rather than of one peak amongst others in a great period of English theatre and poetry. This brings with it a risk of reaching exaggerated, unrealistic or even false conclusions, which Kermode justly criticises as "idolatry", and Dr Johnson describes as "superstitious veneration" (cf. Kermode 2000: viii). The "idolatry" has also produced counter reactions which are just as exaggerated: Some people question Shakespeare's importance and attribute his works either to a well-educated person from a higher class, such as the 17th Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere, or to a group of authors, such as De Vere, Bacon, William Stanley and others.[3]

In addition to producing innumerable enthusiastic works about the Bard's genius in terms of his dramatic art, Shakespeare scholars have repeatedly declared that his rhetoric was unique and had a major influence on the English language. Bloomfield praised his "syntax and vocabulary" as "a rich gift" for the "English speaker" (Bloomfield 1976: 9); Hart noted that "over a third" of his words "made their first appearance" in English (Hart 1943: 244); and Spevack wrote that "Shakespeare accounts for almost half of the recorded words of his time" (Spevack 1993: vii). In the eyes of some devotees, Shakespeare is almost the founder of Elizabethan English.[4] But did Shakespeare really "invent" the language he used? Did all those famous quotations really spring from an *untainted* creative mind?

Sections 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 will set the most pervasive myths about Shakespeare and his extraordinary linguistic skill in a particular historical perspective. Those who describe Shakespeare's role as "unparalleled" or "exceptional" often do so based on analyses of single artistic features. Shakespeare's extraordinarily rich vocabulary and his impact on Modern English are two recurrent themes in this general "extolment". However, the historical context suggests a linguistic world in which aims and norms differed considerably from those of the 20th and 21st centuries: It was apparently common practice for authors to (re)use phrases, words and plots from other writers:

> The tension between our sense of quotation as attributed borrowing and the tendency of these plays to "quote" without attribution will ask us to consider how well our notions of property, language, and textuality apply to early modern drama. (Bruster 2000: 5)

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[1] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): The source of this our watch and the chief head
Of this post-haste and romage in the land.

[2] Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. Gespräche 1824. 2. Januar 1824: "Es ist mit Shakespeare wie mit den Gebirgen der Schweiz. Verpflanzen Sie den Montblanc unmittelbar in die große Ebene der Lüneburger Haide, und Sie werden vor Erstaunen über seine Größe keine Worte finden. Besuchen Sie ihn aber in seiner riesigen Heimath, kommen Sie zu ihm über seine großen Nachbarn: die Jungfrau, das Finsteraarhorn, den Eiger, das Wetterhorn, den Gotthard und Monte-Rosa, so wird zwar der Montblanc immer ein Riese bleiben, allein er wird uns nicht mehr in ein solches Erstaunen setzen." cf. Biedermann (1889-1896: Vol. 5, 106-123).
available at http://www.zeno.org/nid/20004867378 [last accessed 14 January 2015].

[3] cf. also the much-discussed film *Anonymous* by Roland Emmerich from 2011. Doubts about Shakespeare's authorship are hardly ever taken seriously by literary scholars (cf. Greenblatt 2005), but seem to be *en vogue* among writers and actors (e.g. Henry James, Walt Whitman, Charles Chaplin, Orson Welles), cf. http://oxford-shakespeare.com [last accessed 14 January 2015].

[4] cf. www.william-shakespeare-dictionary.htm.

The practice of quoting did not start after Shakespeare. Rather, Shakespeare and his contemporaries quoted extensively. In other words, the oft-assumed equation *quoted source = origin* is not mandatory; a quotation needs to have *a* source, not *the* source. The exceptionality and hence the role of Shakespeare as a concrete source has to be softened, especially since Shakespeare shares most of his qualities with many other great dramatists of his time. Still, his artistry is great, and the "myth" of Shakespeare exists. According to Zenner/Speelman/Geeraerts (2013), fame is likely to be the most influential factor in quotability. This provides a reasonable explanation as to why Shakespeare is quoted so much. Yet his poetic language and his dramatic art have a share in that fame, and these will be investigated in sections 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6.

2.1 *Words, words, words* [5] – Shakespeare's vocabulary

Throughout the history of Shakespeare studies, scholars have repeatedly counted and analysed surface phenomena of Shakespeare's language in order to find objective data on which to base the Bard's supremacy. Depending on their definition of *word*, scholars found that Shakespeare's vocabulary comprised some 15,000 to 25,000 different words. Whatever the correct number, it always exceeded those of other famous authors: Milton's vocabulary allegedly comprised "a mere" 7,000 to 12,000 words, Homer used 9,000 and the Bible contains approximately 10,000 different words if all inflections of nouns, pronouns and verbs are counted separately (cf. Jespersen 1972: 199-200, Greenblatt 1997: 63). An informative interpretation requires more than simple counts and numerical comparisons, as it is questionable whether the size of one's lexicon necessarily implies poetic or dramatic mastery.

Craig (2011) suggests that the extraordinary size of Shakespeare's oeuvre is at the heart of the playwright's exceptional lexical variety. Shakespeare's vocabulary may appear outstanding because the surviving canon of his works far exceeds that of earlier or contemporaneous writers. After normalization, Nashe's and Marlowe's works apparently contain "proportionately more [different] words than any Shakespeare play" (Craig 2011: 56, cf. also Ule 1977, 1985). The important question is not so much *whose vocabulary is the richest?,* but rather *why is Shakespeare's (or everybody's) so rich?*

First, the English of the 16th century called for enrichment. Although the language had been established as the recognised medium of communication and had definitely replaced French, it was still seen as lacking in elegance and eloquence compared to the classical languages. English poets strove to enlarge the expressive range of their mother tongue by forming new words through derivation and compounding. Blake suggests that Shakespeare was "thus very much of his time in seeking to extend the vocabulary of the language of his time" (Blake 1983: 55).

Second, the connection between words and their discourse domain offers another explanation for Shakespeare's seemingly rich vocabulary: "Shakespeare is acknowledged to be unmatched in the range of his characters, settings, and themes" (Crystal 2008: 6). In other words, even if it were true that Shakespeare used up to 25,000 words, and Milton "only" used 7,000 to 12,000, the conclusion is not necessarily that Shakespeare's vocabulary was richer and that he was the greater master, but rather that he wrote about a wider variety of subjects (cf. also Jespersen 1972: 202). Although the simple quantitative reasons given by Craig (2011) and Ule (1977, 1985) may make this argument superfluous, large

[5] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): Polonius: What do you read, my lord? / Hamlet: Words, words, words.

parts of the lexicon of a language are related to specific subjects and situations. The expressions used in a medical treatise differ considerably from those in mathematics, and falconers and sailors will use different words when talking about their respective professions. Therefore, the argument concerning the wealth of discourse domains is a valid one, especially since the empirical data show that certain quotations from *Hamlet* are preferred in the sphere of economics, while others abound in cultural contexts (Quaßdorf/Häcki Buhofer 2010). The principle of discourse-related vocabulary pertains across the ages.

Third, according to Blake (1983), the predominantly oral culture in Elizabethan times prioritised sound over sense: Words were not necessarily chosen for their precise meaning and they did not need to be applied in their conventional form. Instead, they had to create a "witty sound effect since at that time such effects were more admired than grammatical logic" (Blake 1983: 28; cf. also Folkert 2002). Grammatical correctness and logical soundness were secondary. Shakespeare's creativity seems exuberant to post-standardisation audiences, but in fact he was largely doing the same as everybody else. The principle of sound before sense also meant that simple metrical concerns may have been behind many creative deviations from conventional word forms and standard syntax. Moreover, as long as drama was performed and seen rather than read, one may concede that

> [m]embers of an audience cannot stop the actors and puzzle over some difficult expression, as they can when reading the play. The actions sweeps you past the crux, which is at once forgotten because you need to keep up with what is being said, not lose the plot by meditating on what has passed. Following the story, understanding the tensions between characters, is not quite the same thing as following all or even most of the meanings. Much about which later generations who read the plays had time to ponder extensively, escaped the attention of the listening ear in the theatre which is caught by the dramatic action. (Kermode 2000: 5)

This ties in with Dr Johnson's assumption that Shakespeare may have left in some "words such as occur" to present an idea rather than rejecting it if he did not find a more elegant solution (cf. Sherbo 1968: 73, source Kermode 2000: 5). Shakespeare's rich vocabulary can thus also be attributed to very practical necessities. Given the lack of codified grammars of English and the fact that the ear was more appreciated than rational logic, a variety of word forms were admissible at the time which appear downright incorrect in later centuries. This argument about Shakespeare's casual use of words must, however, not be misunderstood. It does not contradict the sophisticated interpretative work of Shakespeare scholars who noticed that Shakespeare excelled in combining phonological, semantic and pragmatic effect, and who have increased modern understanding and appreciation of his work by weighing the value of his every word (cf., e.g., Hart 1943, Smith 1963, Milward 1966-67, Rosinger 1975, Muir 1977, Shaheen 1987 and 1999, Lynch 1998, Kermode 2000). The argument simply takes into account the (unavoidable) practical aspect that "a man who wrote so much, and sometimes in a hurry, might well, to borrow a phrase of Dryden's, have some flats among his elevations" (Kermode 2000: viii).

Many of Shakespeare's unusual word forms are considered coinages that have "enriched" the English language. The OED lists more than 400 words as having been first recorded in a Shakespearean text, such as *unpolluted*, *self-slaughter* and *survivor*. Many of these coinages, however, appear either in Shakespeare exclusively or have only occasionally been used again. Words like *enacture*, *insisture*, *concernancy*, *interchangement*, *jointress*, *unpregnant*, *strewment*, and *compulsative* were apparently created for one specific purpose in the concrete

linguistic context of the play. Outside their context, they seemed out of place, and the existing conventional forms were sufficient for communication. Neither contemporaneous nor later audiences needed the words, except for some chance quotation which necessarily implies more than the mere meaning of the word. If such a chance quotation uses these peculiar, non-conventional forms, they function as an indication of quotative usage by pointing to the alleged word-coiner William Shakespeare (or at least to some variety of poetic style).

Alleged Shakespearean verbal inventions must be treated with suspicion. On the one hand, the availability of more digitised and thus searchable older texts has led the OED to revise several instances where it had attributed the first appearance to Shakespeare.[6] On the other hand, the available sources of Elizabethan English are not as rich as a linguist might wish. Most oral genres and registers have not been handed down in history, and modern knowledge is solely based on written evidence. The dialogues in Elizabethan drama may situate some features, yet one has to concede that "[t]he absence of elevation and embellishment is not the same thing as colloquialism" (Blake 1983: 29). In short, one must be wary of foregone conclusions. Although knowledge of historical pragmatics is steadily increasing (cf., among others, the pioneering work of Hulme 1962, as well as Hart 1998 and Collins 2001), the poor or incomplete data on common Elizabethan speech should caution against bold claims about coinages and expressive inventions.

2.2 Phrases, phrases, phrases – Shakespearean passages and idiomatic expressions

Logic suggests that the issue of coinages becomes more reliable if one proceeds from words to phrases. Phrases are longer, show more idiosyncratic variety and are therefore easier to trace. The probability that the components of a phrase are chosen and ordered in the same or a similar way by chance decreases as the number of components increases. This logical inference leads one to believe that one has found the origin of a familiar phrase if it appears in an older work of literature.[7] Moreover, a poet is expected to compose fine phrases, meaning that general knowledge also supports this reasoning. The anecdote about the frustrated theatre-goer who thought that Shakespeare was overrated because he used "nothing but quotations" (cf. Kaplan 2005 in chapter 1) is funny because it runs counter to such common assumptions. Paradoxically, that person is not as much mistaken as is generally believed.

Since scholars have started to look more closely at the historical context and since more old sources have become accessible, long-cherished Shakespearean attributions have had to be corrected. In his column "On quoting Shakespeare", Levin (1986) integrates 45 idiomatic expressions into the mantra-like structure "if you say such-and-such, you are quoting Shakespeare" (cf. chapter 1). This implies that many people are unaware that the expressions derive from Shakespeare; or, more precisely, that many people are unaware

[6] cf. the conference paper "Author and Authority in the OED: Nashe vs. Shakespeare", given by Giles Goodland at the British Shakespeare Association Conference 2014 in Stirling, Scotland.

[7] For instance, at the Europhras conference in Helsinki in 2008, a renowned scholar attributed the German proverb "mit einem weinenden und einem lachenden Auge" to Shakespeare's "With an auspicious and a dropping/drooping eye" (*Hamlet* I, ii). According to Tilley (1950) and Hibbard (1994), Shakespeare was using an already familiar saying ("to cry with one eye and laugh with the other") rather than creating one. The German *Hamlet* translations also deviate from the commonly used proverbial form: "Mit einem heitern, einem nassen Auge" (Schlegel) and "das eine Auge von hochzeitlicher Freude glänzend, das andere von Thränen überfliessend" (Wieland). The translators were apparently aware that Shakespeare had modified the proverb, and followed his intended pragmatic effect of the passage, i.e. to mark Claudius' dishonesty by stilted, artificial language.

that the expressions *were also used* by Shakespeare. Levin's list contains, among other things, *foul play* (*Love's Labour's Lost, Hamlet* and *The Tempest*), *bag and baggage* (*As You Like It*) and *to knit one's brow* (*Henry VI*, 2). Yet the OED now gives several older citations for both *foul play* and *bag and baggage*, and Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale*, written in the late 14th century, contains the line: "this Palamon gan knit his browes tweye" (line 270; Chaucer 1996 [1386-1388]: 45). Even the famous *To be, or not to be, that is the question* (*Hamlet*, III, i) is not a Shakespearean invention, but rather a combination of two "abstract and space-filling" phrases "common in theological, philosophical, and legal treatises, dating back [...] to well before *Hamlet*" (Greenfield 2008: 525; cf. also Hohl Trillini 2009 and 2012).

The assumption that this or that phrase is genuinely Shakespearean may in some cases be appropriate, yet this is not a necessary inference (nor, as many people seem to believe, an important one). The phrases which Shakespeare used repeatedly, such as *mind's eye*, *foul play* and *springes to catch woodcocks,* are likely to be borrowed from translations of foreign literature and/or were already part of the phrase stock of English. For instance, *mind's eye* is used in Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, and *springes to catch woodcocks* was already a proverb by Shakespeare's time (cf. Tilley 1950: S788 and Hibbard 1994: 178, footnote 115). In other such cases, proof for this type of claim have not yet been found. It is a truism, though, that one can neither know all the texts that ever existed, nor all the tokens of formulaic language in everyday oral communication. Yet, at the latest, modern corpus linguistics has made it indubitably clear that prefabricated structures in common speech are very common. The percentage of freely combined constructions in ordinary language lies far below the theoretical possibilities (cf., e.g., Pawley/Syder 1983, Sinclair 1987, Stubbs 1996, Moon 1998, Cowie 1998, Colson 2003, Evert 2008, Gries 2008), and the probability of a genuinely new phrase is much lower than logic would allow. Accordingly, the point is not originality, but rather transferability, that is, quotability.

Moreover, historical practices reveal specific production methods which raise further doubts about every fine phrase being an original creation of the Bard. Collaborations between several playwrights were a common working method at the time, and Shakespeare and his colleagues were not especially concerned about adopting bits and pieces from earlier and contemporaneous authors. The enormous production of commonplace books, such as Erasmus' *Adages* (Barker 2001) and Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie*, supports the notion of a "world of quotations" at the time (Bruster 2000: 15). In addition, the new wealth of readily available printed texts created a rich and tempting environment for picking up and copying felicitous phrases:

> It was in and with this abundance of texts that playwrights constructed their plays. As much as diversity of audience, venue, and language prompted the variety of early modern drama, this new sea of printed matter formed the most tangible source of its heterogeneity. Shakespeare and his dramatic contemporaries were voracious readers, and collected words and phrases from what they read. Patching together their plays from a variety of sources, they were among the least "original" writers in history. (Bruster 2000: 5)

Bruster's verdict of "least 'original'" is an exaggeration, but the sheer quantity of reading material certainly opened up new and irresistible sources to any author. Restrictive rules concerning authorship had yet to be introduced. One might compare this situation with the sudden availability of innumerable texts on the internet in the 1990s, which also created a rather carefree copy-and-paste mentality. Such practices of nonchalant borrowing have also aroused criticism. As early as 1592, Robert Green is said to have

called Shakespeare "an up-start Crow, beautified with our feathers",[8] and copyright protection has been more important than ever since the late 20th century.

A quotation is therefore better described as a *mediated expression* rather than an original one. The *idea* of the source is important, though not necessarily the source itself. Shakespeare was not alone in mediating expressions; many people after him did it, too. Jespersen, for instance, observes that some phrases found in Shakespeare entered usage as late as the 19th century. Poets sought a novel, defamiliarised and vivid poetic language, which they eventually found in archaic forms and ancient-sounding phrases. According to Jespersen, the "present currency" of phrases like *to cudgel one's brains* (*Hamlet* V, i) "is due just as much to Sir Walter Scott or Keats as it is to the original author" (Jespersen 1972: 215–6). Keats, Scott and other Romantic poets were tacit catalysts without necessarily overruling the older source. Yet even a writer as famous as Shakespeare can disappear behind successful appropriations by later quoters: The average middle-aged British citizen will associate the schema *to the X born* with the TV series *To the Manor Born* from the 1970s, rather than with Shakespeare's *to the manner born* (*Hamlet* I, iv). Likewise, *not a mouse stirring* will evoke the beginning of Moore's famous poem, *The Night Before Christmas,*

(1) 'Twas the night before Christmas, when all through the house, not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse. (Moore, Clement Clarke (1822): A Visit from St. Nicholas or The Night Before Christmas; source HYHA)[9]

rather than the first scene of *Hamlet*, as modern references to a Christmas scene frequently suggest. The *Absolut Vodka* 1994-2005 advertising campaign gives a visual example of this: An empty mouse hole in the shape of an *Absolut Vodka* bottle is depicted next to a Christmas tree, while the slogan "absolut stirring" creates the link to the mice in the poem.[10] The actual "coiner" of a phrase is, ultimately, of secondary importance, as Thatcher succinctly puts it:

> [S]uch phrases might already have appeared in spoken, colloquial English before Shakespeare's time. However, many editors, in glossing Shakespeare texts, seem unwilling to point out that no prior authorship or printed record of these phrases has yet been established. For them, possibly, 'appropriability' is central: what does it matter, they might assert, that no prior usage has been ascertained? It would not alter the fact that Shakespeare's formative influence was a crucial factor, ensuring the survival even of phrases he himself did not invent. (Thatcher 2002-2003: 95)

One should, however, also note that the numerous enthusiastic viewers and readers of Shakespeare have ensured that some traits of Elizabethan rhetoric can still be found in the English of later periods. Moreover, Thatcher suggests that people prefer quoting the "least 'literary'" expressions, that is, ordinary formulaic language such as "sayings, idioms, colloquial phrases, speech-tags and similes" (Thatcher 2002-2003: 95).

2.3 Shakespeare's fame

Zenner/Speelman/Geeraerts (2013) suggest that fame is an important factor in quotability. Shakespeare's great fame is uncontroversial. He is valued and praised everywhere, and his plays are among the most-performed dramatic works in the world.

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[8] cf. http://www.william-shakespeare.info/william-shakespeare-quotes-about.htm [last accessed 13 August 2015]

[9] Full bibliographical data and further information on the examples used for this thesis can be obtained by full-text searches in the indicated source.

[10] cf., among others, http://www.sportslinkup.com/shop/0-Vodka-absolut-23.html or http://www.mommyneedsvodka.net/[last accessed 18 March 2016]

While certainly a consequence of the quality of his work, Shakespeare's fame is also the result of historical circumstances. Taylor (1991) maintains that Shakespeare's particular position as *the Bard* is mainly due to specific socio-political constellations in Great Britain and Europe:

> The history of Shakespearotics repeatedly demonstrates that his reputation is a function of larger social and cultural movements. Native English competitors to his predominance in the theatre were severely discouraged by centuries in which the theatre was censored but the press free. The spread of his reputation in Europe depended largely upon his usefulness as a subversive alternative to French neoclassical hegemony. Some considerable proportion of Shakespeare's current international reputation is the fruit not of his genius but of the virility of British imperialism, which propagated the English language on every continent. (Taylor 1991: 379)

It is the actual reception process and the social and communicative contexts of the readers, listeners and quoters-to-be that create the ultimate boost for outstanding fame and hence the condition of possibility for quotability.[11] A famous text is likely to have a large audience, while specific philosophical treaties and intimate poems are not. Moreover, drama is a popular genre; it is meant to reach and emotionally move a great variety of people, and has always been publicly discussed in the media. According to Taylor, Shakespeare appears more famous than other writers because leading publishers in the early 18th century persisted in discussing him extensively, so that even when the theatres were closed, he continued to be more present in the public discourse than any other author of the time (cf. Taylor 1991: 52 ff.). After Shakespeare's bicentenary (a decisive and not intrinsically literary event promoting Shakespeare's fame) in the mid-18th century, quotations from his works started to abound, and his words and phrases were increasingly used outside their original context. One no longer needed to see or read Shakespeare to know some of his phrases.

The exact cause-and-effect relationship that determines the success of a line as a quotation may be too complex to track down completely. Still, *accessibility* is unquestionably a *conditio sine qua non*. The same seems true for the more concrete textual level: Both the intrinsic quality of a passage and the (possibly socially influenced) context of the person or people perceiving it transform a line into a quotation. Mediated quotations corroborate this view: It is not necessarily the first appearance or the intrinsic quality, but the concrete encounter with texts, topics and expressions that creates the condition of possibility for language users to become aware of the greatness of an artist and/or the usefulness of a phrase for reapplication. Bearing this major extrinsic principle of quotability in mind, a closer look at Shakespeare's rhetoric will nevertheless suggest a few more aspects that have contributed to both his fame and his quotability.

2.4 *Sweet smoke of rhetoric* [12] – Shakespeare's rhetoric

Shakespeare's rhetoric is widely praised. He is said to have known and used more than 100 rhetorical figures and tropes (cf. Greenblatt op. 1997: 62). Keller finds 4,073 tokens of 43 rhetorical figures in *Hamlet*, without counting metaphor and metonymy, which are the most popular rhetorical tropes (Keller 2009: 292-293). As such, *Hamlet* consists almost entirely of rhetorically refined phrases. With 4,073 rhetorical figures distributed across the play's 3,832 lines, the density of rhetorical figures in the play is higher than 1.

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[11] cf. esp. Zenner/Speelman/Geeraerts (2014), but also Compagnon (1979), Sternberg (1982), Taylor (1991), Milroy (1992), Keller (1994), Croft (2000).

[12] cf. Shakespeare, William. *Love's Labour's Lost* (III, i): Sweet smoke of rhetoric!

Rhetoric was essential to Elizabethan writing and served to heighten the expressiveness and/or euphony of the language. Rhetoric was one of the three subjects taught at school, and professional writing was considered a "craft" that was learnable by practice and reading, (cf. Kermode 2000: 19). Any boy attending grammar school in Europe "between the Roman Empire and the eighteenth century" was supposed to know the names of several hundred rhetorical figures, "just as they knew by heart their multiplication tables" (Greenblatt op. 1997: 62). Rhetorical skill played a much more technical role before the Romantic era. According to Blake (1983), the focus on rhetoric in education and writing was due to an even more fundamental necessity, in that it structured verbal communication at a time when a standardised English grammar did not yet exist:

> In many respects rhetoric was a form of verbal organisation more important than grammar, for no writer would forego a rhetorical figure because it offended grammatical propriety. Indeed, as we have noted, grammar was not yet standardised for English and so its tenets would have had a weak hold over writers. To fill this vacuum left by grammar they employed rhetoric. (Blake 1983: 47)

The notable number of rhetorical figures and tropes in Shakespeare's works is in line with contemporaneous practice. Apt metaphors, succinct metonymies, well-structured phrases, and euphonic elements made phrases and texts expressive, impressive and memorable.

Rhetorical figures which operate on a formal level rather than a conceptual one, as is the case with the tropes, are a widespread technique of linguistic refinement. Even without Keller's (2009) statistics, one could have guessed that most of the frequently quoted phrases were also describable in terms of rhetorical figures.

(2) A little more than kin, and less than kind (I, ii)
(3) A countenance more in sorrow than in anger (I, ii)
(4) I must be cruel, only to be kind (III, iv)

Examples (2), (3) and (4) have an antithetic structure clad in (more or less) regular iambic pentameters. Moreover, examples (2) and (4) contain alliterations, which they share with the following familiar quotations:

(5) Himself the <u>primrose path</u> of dalliance treads (I, iii)
(6) Though this be <u>madness</u>, yet there's <u>method</u> in i't (II, ii)
(7) <u>Conscience</u> does make <u>cowards</u> of us all (III, i)

The combination of antithesis and alliteration in examples (2), (4) and (6) creates the stronger figure of *paronomasia*, which Keller (2009: 276) defines as the "repetition of words which are nearly but not precisely alike."[13] The antitheses of Polonius' advice,

(8) Neither borrower nor lender be (I, iii)
(9) by indirections find directions out (II, i),

are coupled with *hyperbaton*, or "unusual word order" (Keller 2009: 274), in example (8), and with *polyptoton*, or "the repetition of words derived from the same root" (Keller 2009: 276), in example (9).

In the following example

(10) Get thee to a nunnery
Go they ways to a nunnery
To a nunnery, go (III, i)

[13] cf. also Dietz (1999: 361) who defines paronomasia as a "pseudo-etymologic play" through small sound changes.

Shakespeare uses *epimone,* "the repetition of the same point in the same [...] words" (Keller 2009: 273). Meanwhile,

(11) Words, words, words (II, ii)

is an *epizeuxis*, "the repetition of one or more words with none between" (Keller 2009: 273).

Apart from conventionalised metaphors and metonymies, new linguistic imagery is constantly being created. For a long time, metaphor has merely been a widespread, versatile and well-liked rhetorical trope. The conceptualisation of metaphor has changed a great deal since Lakoff/Johnson's seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By* (2003 [1980]). Since then, the perspective of metaphor has widened and it is now understood as a deeply engrained cognitive strategy. Metaphors help people make sense of the world and communicate about this sense-making. Metaphors are basic, in that they treat opaque or abstract domains like concrete practices so that it becomes possible to communicate about domains which are not materially manifest. They are more than a sophisticated rhetorical device. Panther/Radden (1999) accord a similarly fundamental cognitive function to another rhetorical trope: metonymy. Whereas metaphors primarily communicate concepts, metonymies are used for (abbreviated) references to entities. No wonder human language abounds in metaphors and metonymies.

In his ability "to swoop from baroque sophistication to breathtaking simplicity" (Greenblatt 1997: 62), Shakespeare often combined in his metaphors tangible, everyday concepts with "words of vague or indefinite meaning" (Jespersen 1972: 215). The following phrases give examples of this technique:

(12) Something is rotten in the state of Denmark (I iv)
(13) The time is out of joint. (I v)
(14) Ay, there's the rub (III,i)

In example (12), an "unspecified or indeterminate thing (material or immaterial)" (OED online edition, *something* 1a) situated in the geographically existent *state of Denmark*, is said to be palpably *rotten*. According to the OED, the figurative meaning of *rotten* can be traced back to the early 15th century, as can other metaphors that evoke a similarly unpleasant image of "rotting organic matter" to denote negative and abhorrent circumstances. The figurative meaning of "to stink" and "to smell" recurs throughout Shakespeare's work, for instance in the famous expression *foul play* (*Hamlet*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Henry IV*, *The Tempest* and *Pericles*) as well as in:

(15) foul deeds will rise (I, ii)
(16) Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature / Are burnt and purged away (I, v)
(17) Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder (I, v)
(18) Murder most foul, as in the best it is;
But this most foul, strange and unnatural. (I, v)
(19) why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours (II, ii)
(20) And my imaginations are as foul / As Vulcan's stithy (III, ii)
(21) O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven (*Hamlet* III, iii)
(22) With pestilent speeches of his father's death (IV, v)
(23) the foul practise (V, ii)

The metaphorical vehicle is not new; it is what Lakoff/Johnson (2003 [1980]) call a "conceptual metaphor", that is, a productive and frequently used metaphorical transfer from a source domain, in this case certain (unpleasant) smells, to a target domain such as (undue) desires, actions and states of affairs. Shakespeare's audiences, both contemporaneous

and modern, need not struggle to decipher the meaning. The generally valid-sounding sentential judgment about obscure occurrences together with the "new" indication of where to find the "*rotten* something" (which, in turn, is a half-abstract *state* and a half-concrete *Denmark*) is associable with one's existing beliefs, adds information to those beliefs and has a positive cognitive effect, in that the information becomes relevant and thus noticeable (cf. Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]: esp. 143).

Example (13), *The time is out of joint,* is another token of a common, half-concrete and half-abstract verbal composition: Not only can noses and bones be put *out of joint*, [14] but *the time* is also vulnerable. Metonymically speaking, *the time* stands for the (social) order of a specific period. Hence, the expression is a complex combination of both metonymy and metaphor. The metonymic transfer in which a period stands for the occurrences that happen in that stretch of time is not and was not uncommon. The same is true of the image of broken bones. The appeal of the phrase lies in its relevance: The known information is easily accessible ("things are out of joint", metonymical meaning of "time") and the combination achieves relevance by producing a positive cognitive effect through contextual extension (cf. Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]: esp. 143).

The *rub* in example (14), *Ay, there's the rub!*, once denoted a physical obstacle that obstructs the smooth course of the bowl in lawn bowling. The abstract contemplation of the surrounding soliloquy together with the vague expletive *there* succeeds in giving *the rub* a non-physical meaning. It dematerialises the concrete rub to create a mental concept. Lawn bowls has disappeared from everyday experience, but the abstract concept of a dilemma has survived (cf. OED online edition, noun *rub* 3a: "an obstacle, impediment, or difficulty of a non-material nature").[15]

It is noteworthy that only a few Latinate word forms occur in the examples above. This observation is in line with Jespersen's suggestion that Shakespeare lived "colloquially on the lips of the people" (Jespersen 1972: 211), and with his verdict that Shakespeare was one of the many examples of great poets who "reach the highest flights of eloquent poetry without resorting to many of the conventionally poetical terms" (Jespersen 1972: 217). Moreover, Jespersen notices only slight differences in style between Shakespeare's prose and his poetry. Similarly, it seems to be a truism amongst scholars that Shakespeare "was able to write poetry which was densely packed with meaning but which did not seem strange or exotic" (Blake 1983: 55) and that "[i]f anything, his linguistic profile is exceptional in being unusually close to the norm of his time" (Craig 2011: 68). Shakespeare maintained a natural style; his rhetorical art was not an end in itself.

2.5 *Suit the word to the action* [16] – The pragmatics of Shakespeare's language

Shakespeare was a master of language, even if he was not the only one of his time. Some contemporaneous admirers such as John Weever and Thomas Heywood called him "honie-tong'd" and "mellifluous" (cf. Bloomfield 1976: 4). The reason for this appreciation becomes clearer if one looks at the pragmatics of his language rather than at the rich vocabulary, syntactical liberties and lexical inventions so admired by later generations. Crystal, for instance, concludes that "[t]he Shakespearean linguistic legacy is not in the

[14] The most frequent collocates of *out of joint* according to the BNC, COCA and COHA.
[15] According to the OED (3c), Hamlet's exclamation *there's the rub* was the model for later, similar expressions including *there lies the rub,* while the abstract meaning of the noun *rub* can be traced back to at least 1589.
[16] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): suit the action to the word, the / Word to the action;

number of words he used, but in the way he used them" (2008: 77). The linguistic studies of Shakespeare's language that go beyond simple listings of word forms and semantic explanations identify two main characteristics: First, as mentioned above, that Shakespeare's language is remarkable for its naturalness, and second, that his language is remarkable for its performative strength in the sense of Austin's (1962) *How to do Things with Words*. As already mentioned, it was common to adopt bits and pieces (some of those pieces were quite large) from contemporaneous writers or those who had gone before. Sometimes the elements were copied 1:1 if they fitted. In many cases, however, Shakespeare refined his sources to make them fit their assigned purpose. He obeyed his own rule and *suited the word to the action* (*Hamlet* III, ii). In *Hamlet*, the rhetorical shape of the some 185 contemporaneous proverbs which Tilley (1950) and Dent (1981) identified (cf. Dent 1981: 4), and the many passages alluding to biblical themes (cf. Shaheen 1987 and 1999) or works of his contemporaries (cf. Hibbard 1994) are frequently adapted to suit a specific dramatic or narrative purpose.

Even though Shakespeare apparently did not believe that good literary style was characterised by "hard words" (Blake 1983: 55), some common sayings, especially proverbs, may have appeared too *musty*[17] to be left in their Anglo-Saxon shape. For instance, the proverb

(24) A bad custom is like a good cake, better broken than kept (Tilley 1950: C931)

reappears in *Hamlet* as

(25) A custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance (I, iv)

Shakespeare has taken the explicit, slightly absurd simile with a down-to-earth tinge of the proverb and has changed it into an entirely abstract form consisting of non-tangible components – *custom*, *honour*, *breach* and *observance* – combined in a highly complex way. Linking the negative *breach* with the positive *honour'd* adds irony, and cognitive complexity is heightened by the personification of the abstract noun *custom*, which can be *honoured* but also *broken* like an object (conceptual metaphors). Shakespeare made the expression more sophisticated to linguistically characterise the relationship between Hamlet and Horatio: The two young men are both students of philosophy, so the abstract style of the expression is in line with the status of the speakers. In terms of the reception history of this phrase, it is worth noting that it is mostly quoted in a similar social context: Hundreds of instances are found in *The Times*, in the *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers* and in academic texts. The educational background of Hamlet and Horatio is echoed in the people quoting them (cf. Quassdorf 2009b; Quaßdorf/Häcki Buhofer 2010 and chapter 8). The phrase is again half-abstract and half-concrete. It refers to the concrete and well-known behaviour of carousing. Principally, even though the phrase is a "difficult" one in terms of word choice and abstraction, it is combined with a very precise and well-known context. Aside from the proverb at the root of the expression, the negative attitude towards carousing will be familiar and thus facilitate interpretation.

Another example of an adjusted proverb can be found in Hamlet's first words, repeated here for convenience's sake:

(26) A little more than kin, and less than kind (I, ii)

The proverb, according to Tilley, reads:

[17] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): Ay, but sir, 'While the grass grows,'--the proverb is something musty.

(27) the nearer in kin the less in kindness (K 38)

Example (27) is one of the many proverbs which corroborate Dietz's (1999) thesis that folklore is full of rhetorical figures. The stylistic and rhetorical phenomena in literature are elaborations rather than particularly artistic or even artificial inventions.[18] The proverb in example (27) plays with a syllepsic allusion. The rhetorical figure of *syllepsis* involves the "use of a word having simultaneously two different meanings" (Keller 2009: 276). The almost synonymous association of *kind* with *kinship* is frequently documented by the formula "of the same kin and kind" in text collections such as LION, DLCPT and EEBO, while the de-adjectival noun *kindness* relates to *friendliness* (which should certainly be implied in kinship relations). The parallel structure with the k-k alliteration is noteworthy for the words' antithetic, even paradoxical meaning – it stands *beside the law* (para-dox) of "blood is thicker than water" – since it suggests that kin and kindness form an opposition rather than a unit. Shakespeare increased the rhetorical finesse further: His *A little more than kin and less than kind* highlights the syllepsis, as no grammatical affix upsets the parallelism with regard to word class. Moreover, the alliteration, parallelism and antithesis are strengthened by the direct combination of *little* and *less*, the repetition of *than*, and the direct contrast between *more* and *less*; the phrase also forms a regular iambic pentameter. These characteristics distinguish the Shakespearean version from the proverb and make the phrase recognisable even in highly modified quotations.

This rhetorically refined proverb is Hamlet's introduction. His first words have to impress and be expressive. Through his art, Shakespeare sketches Hamlet as a witty, mentally flexible and intelligent character. By drawing on folklore, he presents Hamlet as a prince who does not dissociate himself from the people's concerns. The line further characterises the overall situation within the play: The general foreboding of *all is not well* (*Hamlet* I, ii) and the uneasy personal relationship between Hamlet and Claudius shine through. The words are placed in a salient position as Hamlet's first words and, being short and to the point, the phrase stands out for its *witty brevity*.[19] The prominent position and the conciseness of the protagonist's first words mean that the proverb aids the understanding of the complex meaning. The decision to base lines and phrases on a proverb establishes common ground: Audiences are very likely to recognise the proverb and can quickly interpret the line thanks to their familiarity with the concept. Proverbs and rhetorical finesse may therefore be favourable factors for later quotations.

2.6 Shakespeare's rhetoric and quotability

2.6.1 Positive text-inherent factors for quotability

Keller (2009) notes that the density of rhetorical figures is weakest in act IV (ratio of rhetorical figures per line: 0.75) and act V (ratio of rhetorical figures per line: 0.87), and strongest in act I (ratio of rhetorical figures per line: 1.39) (cf. Keller 2009: 292). These numbers correlate with the empirical observation that only very few quotations derive from acts IV and V (cf. Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010). This raises the question of whether Shakespeare's rhetoric influences quotability. On the other hand, Keller (2009) counted more rhetorical figures than lines in *Hamlet*, but relatively few lines are frequently

[18] cf. also Conseriu's notion that literature and its rules are not a deviant form of language, but rather "language in its full functionality" (Coseriu 1994: 148).

[19] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): since brevity is the soul of wit

quoted: Only 14 lines have more than 100 references in *HyperHamlet*, and a further 20 lines are quoted up to 50 times. This means that fine rhetoric cannot be the only key to quotability. If it was, many more lines from *Hamlet* would be found in later texts and speeches.

The lines which have so far been used to illustrate Shakespeare's rhetoric,

(28) A little more than kin, and less than kind (I, ii; 82 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(29) A custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance (I, iv; 190 entries in *HyperHamlet*).
(30) Something is rotten in the state of Denmark (I, iv; 89 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(31) The time is out of joint. (I, v; 74 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(32) Ay, there's the rub (III, i; 124 entries in *HyperHamlet*),

are among the play's most frequently quoted phrases. Apart from their rhetorical finesse, further contextual conditions give them an advantage over other lines with regard to quoting.

Examples (28) and (29) are both marked by their expression of well-known and seemingly universal truths thanks to their origin in proverbs, and by their position in the play. Hamlet's first words are the first words of the main character, so they will attract the attention of the audience in the context of the play. With regard to the dramatic context in act I, iv, Hamlet utters the phrase *A custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance* shortly before he expects to meet with the ghost. The ghost scenes are among the most stimulating of the play, and have always enjoyed heightened attention (cf. Greenfield 2008: 523).[20] The audience apparently notices the conspicuousness of the phrase in that scene and attributes a great weight of truth to the abstract-sounding, proverb-like concept, which means it is worth reapplying to other contexts.

Aside from its perfect linking of half-abstract and half-concrete meanings, example (30), *Something is rotten in the state of Denmark,* excels in the following ways:

a) it is a single utterance by a character
b) it disrupts the regular flow of the blank verse of the preceding conversation between Horatio and Marcellus
c) it follows a question, which attracts the audience's attention
d) it occurs near one of the ghost scenes

Something is rotten in the state of Denmark stands out syntactically (stand-alone phrase), semantically (metaphor), pragmatically (reply to a question, ghost scene) and phonologically (disruption of a regular metre). Only examples (17)/(33) and (18)/(34) from the list of "rotting metaphors" above can concur:

(33) Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder (I, v; 10 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(34) Murder most foul, as in the best it is;
But this most foul, strange and unnatural. (I, v; 40 entries in *HyperHamlet*)

These two passages are also relatively well-known, especially the second example, which summarises the upsetting message from (17)/(33) by the succinct formula *murder most foul.* Both examples derive from the thrilling ghost scene and are single utterances by one speaker. They describe what has happened in a terse manner, which attracts attention. The metre is disrupted by two bi-syllabic exclamations from Hamlet: *O God!* and *Murder!* The word order in (18)/(34) is almost unconnected and seems to express shock about the

[20] *HyperHamlet* records 59 purely thematic references to the ghost scene, not counting references to individual lines. For comparison, *madness* - another favoured subject in the play's reception history - yields 50 data sets referring to Hamlet's madness and 40 to Ophelia's madness.

crime. The cotext of a line appears to help people notice a phrase. These observations are reminiscent of Compagnon (1979), who describes how a future quotation has to appeal, solicit and excite,[21] that is, it must ask for and require attention. If co(n)textual factors mean that attention is already high, the probability of the audience noticing a well-formed phrase increases. Pragmatically, *Something is rotten in the state of Denmark* has two advantages over examples (17)/(33) and (18)/(34): First, the half-abstract phrasing *something* can refer to almost anything, while *revenge* is a specific instruction to act, and *foul murder* must necessarily refer to some evil deed or fact. Second, example (30) is already a general evaluative statement, a *sententia*, and thus easily applicable as a comment elsewhere.

In the case of *The time is out of joint*, the phrase does not stand alone but is part of a larger utterance by Hamlet. However, it is a full clause. Semantically, the passage stands out as it is the only general statement in a series of instructions, such as *let's go in together / And still your fingers on your lips, I pray.* It also stands out pragmatically, for three reasons: First, it is the beginning of an exclamation, i.e. an emotionally loaded statement. Second, its proverb-like structure attracts attention because of the assumed universal truth. Third, the phrase comes at the end of the ghost scene, meaning that it is again very likely to attract attention. Phonologically speaking, the phrase is notable for its role in a *rhymed* iambic pentameter:

(35) The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!

The proverb-like generality of *The time is out of joint* may help the phrase transfer to other contexts, as it reflects commonly shared feelings in times of perturbation. Drawing analogies with new contexts does not require much effort; on the contrary, the phrase expresses a well-known concept and can be reused as a simple, ready-made evaluative formula.

The rub metaphor from example (32) is syntactically (full clause), semantically (metaphor) and pragmatically (exclamation) salient. It is also phonologically prominent, since it changes the tone and requires a rupturing pause. Moreover, it constitutes a turning point in Hamlet's most famous soliloquy in (III, i), and thus demands attention both linguistically and dramaturgically. Again, several features cumulate in this little phrase, which may have helped it to become a frequently used quotation.

The origin of the rub metaphor, sport, is another favourite source domain for metaphor creation. As such, sports are an almost conventional metaphoric frame, which may facilitate reapplication because the cognitive schema is familiar. Sports involve power, strength and competition – as do their "cousins", hunting and warmongering. Such metaphors persist in today's ordinary speech (cf. "to be caught in a trap" and Lakoff/Johnson's (2003 [1980]) conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR[22]) and abound in *Hamlet* (here in order of frequency):

(36) The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune (III, i; 145 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(37) For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petard (III, iv; 107 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(38) When sorrows come, they come not single spies
But in battalions (IV, v; 72 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(39) it out-herods Herod (III, ii; 47 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(40) I will speak daggers to her, but use none (III, ii; 41 entries in *HyperHamlet*)

[21] Compagnon (1979: 26 f.) notices that the Latin root *citer* forms part of *citation, solliciter* and *exciter*.
[22] Conceptual metaphors are generally given in small caps in the literature.

(41) I know a hawk from a handsaw (II, ii; 12 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(42) Ay, springes to catch woodcocks (I, iii; 16 entries in *HyperHamlet*) /
as a woodcock to mine own springe (V, ii; 2 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(43) thou hast cleft my heart in twain (III, iv; 1 entry in *HyperHamlet*)[23]

Not every sports metaphor has been quoted frequently, which shows that quotability relies on more factors than just the conceptuality of a metaphor. Example (36) is combined with the *hendiadys* of *slings and arrows*[24] and occurs at the beginning of Hamlet's central soliloquy. Examples (37) and (38) are variations of the proverbs "harm set, harm get" and "misfortune never comes alone", and are thus well-known. The almost abstract, analytical[25] schema of example (39) is succinct, expressive, easily adaptable and occurs in a scene with heightened attention, during which Hamlet develops his strategy against Claudius. Conversely, example (40), *to speak daggers*, contains a very strong, concrete image. Moreover, it occurs just after it has become clear that Claudius did indeed murder Old Hamlet, and the young Hamlet eventually resolves to revenge this *murder most foul.* The rarely quoted example (41), which is easily schematised into *to know X from Y,* expresses the everyday, fundamental practice of differentiating things. However, the choice of *hawk* and *handsaw* is peculiar, even obscure. The two nouns are related by sound rather than semantics. The alternative proverb of "(not) comparing apples with oranges" (or whatever objects were idiomatically compared in Elizabethan times) may be preferable for comparisons. Example (42) is more of a reference than a proper proverb. It lacks the typical form of a generally true-sounding and sentence-length comment, and its attractiveness has suffered as a result. Finally, example (43), *to cleave a heart in twain*, offers a strong concrete image. However, it is embedded in a series of laments from Gertrude, which reduces its salience.

Whatever the reasons for quotability, there is more to it than fine rhetorical tropes and the right balance between abstract-concrete expressions – the co(n)text also has a role to play.

2.6.2 *O, this is counter*[26] – Inhibiting text-inherent factors for quotability

Co(n)text and rhetoric can, however, work in two directions: The practice of *suiting the word to the action* may limit the range of meaningful reapplication and reduce attention to single phrases. Shakespeare creates a strong link between the linguistic code, that is, the formal features, and its semantic and pragmatic functions within the play. This form-function link may also be too strong and involve too much cognitive effort to loosen it from its origin. Keller (2009), for instance, notes that the rhetorical figure of *hendiadys* – according to his definition a "[c]ombination of two words not grammatically congruent; or between which the semantic relation is not immediately apparent" (Keller 2009: 274) –

[23] The number of entries in the core collection of *HyperHamlet* as of January 2014; the *complete* collection is larger and contains entries that are either ambiguous or not yet fully edited.

[24] Scholars differ in their definitions of hendiadys. Keller (2009: 274) defines it as a "[c]ombination of two words not grammatically congruent; or between which the semantic relation is not immediately apparent" (Keller 2009: 274). Wright interprets the formula "one through two" (the literal translation of hendiadys) as "two substantives, joined by a conjunction" (Wright 1981: 168), often with the restriction that "the second substantive [or adjective] explains or unfolds or augments the first" (Wright 1981: 169) so that a "ceremonious doubling of nouns" results (Wright 1981: 172). Ueding/Steinbrink define hendiadys as a "Verknüpfung von zwei synonymen Substantiven" (1986: 281, source Dietz 1999: 115), while Lausberg says it is "a figure of speech in which a single idea is expressed by two words connected by a conjunction in order to raise expressivity" (Lausberg 1990: 99, footnote 1). For a general overview of the different concepts of hendiadys see Dietz (1999: 114 ff.).

[25] "Analytical" in the sense of Kant's differentiation between analytical and synthetic statements: The meaning of the schema "to out-x X" can be grasped without knowing the referent X.

[26] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, v): O, this is counter, you false Danish dogs.

is exceptionally frequent in *Hamlet*, with 20.1 occurrences per 1,000 lines (Keller 2009: 152 and 165).[27] Keller (2009) finds 77 instances of hendiadys in *Hamlet*.[28] Hendiadys reflects well the ambiguous, uncertain and complex nature of Hamlet's textual world, which is most famously condensed in the phrase *To be, or not to be*. Greenblatt even maintains that hendiadys "has something of the quality of a fingerprint" of Shakespeare in general (Greenblatt 1997: 62).

However, only two instances of hendiadys are found in the 50 most frequently quoted Shakespearean lines as recorded in *HyperHamlet*. Some rhetoricians would not even classify them as true examples of hendiadys (e.g. Ueding/Steinbrink 1986):

(44) the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune (III, I; 145 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(45) Angels and ministers of grace (I, iv; 62 entries in *HyperHamlet*)

A few others also appear to be familiar:

(46) wild and whirling words (I, v; 18 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(47) the book and volume of my brain (I, v; 7 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(48) the very age and body of the time (III, ii; 6 entries in *HyperHamlet*)
(49) the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time (II, ii; 3 entries in *HyperHamlet*)[29]
(50) cheer and comfort of your eye (I, ii; 1 entry in *HyperHamlet*)

Shakespeare's "fingerprint" is thus a characteristic trait of his play(s), but has not been incorporated into ordinary English.

Also, Shakespeare's use of proverbs is often specific, and not all familiar proverbial phrases are reused. The proverb

(51) to cry with one eye and laugh with the other (Tilley 1950: E248)

is most likely the pattern on which

(52) With one auspicious and one dropping/drooping eye (I, ii; 8 entries in *HyperHamlet*)[30]

is based. The proverb is an oxymoronic metonymy. An oxymoron brings opposites together "in a single expression" (cf. Keller 2009: 275). The verbs *cry* and *laugh* stand metonymically for opposite emotional states whose combination concisely expresses a situation of mixed feelings. The stilted words (*auspicious, drooping*) which Shakespeare chooses characterise Claudius as a double-talker in his inaugural address as the new king. The proverb is embedded in a chain of several oxymoronic or contrastive concepts which together form the figure of anaphora. An anaphora begins "a series of clauses with the same word" (Keller 2009: 270):

(53) ... with a defeated joy,
With an auspicious and a dropping eye,
With mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage (I, ii)

This passage is followed by an antithesis,

(54) In equal scale weighing delight and dole (I, ii)

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[27] *Hamlet* is followed by *King Lear*, with 10.6 occurrences, while the other analysed plays contain only about 5 instances of hendiadys per 1,000 lines (cf. Keller 2009: 152 and 165).
[28] cf. footnote 24: As the definitions of hendiadys differ among scholars, Wright (1981), for instance, counts 66 expressions in *Hamlet* as clear hendiadys, while a further 23 structures, "if not hendiadys, are close, or odd" (Wright 1981: 289).
[29] *HyperHamlet* records 12 references to this line, yet only 3 entries preserve the rhetoric form of hendiadys; the abbreviated form *brief chronicles* is mostly quoted.
[30] The wording differs in some editions; *dropping* or *drooping* are spelling variants of the pre-standardised era (cf. Furness 1963 [1877]).

and is embedded in a *hyperbaton*, which is "unusual word order, often for purposes of emphasis" (Keller 2009: 274):

(55) Therefore our sometime sister, now our queen [...]
have we, as'twere [...]
Taken to wife: ... (I, ii)

The proverb-like oxymoron in example (52) is not conspicuous, as the entire passage is a rhetorical unit; the individual phrases do not stand out and none have ever been frequently quoted. The proverb was made *vile* to suit the *smiling villain*.[31] The passage makes the audience suspicious; someone is *protesting too much*.[32] The passage does not have the right ring to it, and no matter how wise the proverb is, it almost wants to be forgotten again.

The next section uses an analysis of Hamlet's central soliloquy to test the assumption that the dramatic and linguistic contexts constitute an inherent factor that influences whether or not a line or passage succeeds as a quotation.

2.6.3 *To be, or not to be* – An empirical test

In general, Hamlet's most famous soliloquy is rather frequently quoted. Thus, it can be used to test the assumptions put forward in preceding sections. A short rhetorical and pragmatic analysis of each line is compared with the number of quoted items as recorded in *HyperHamlet*, which is interpreted as a rough indicator of quotative success (cf. Table 1).

The first line, *To be, or not to be*, is a special case because its rich quoting tradition means that almost everyone in Western culture will recognise it as a quotation. The line has been discussed at length by several scholars, most prominently by Hohl Trillini/Langlotz (2009) in view of its linguistic characteristics, and more generally by Hohl Trillini (2012). The famous beginning of the soliloquy is a marker for philosophical discourse. Greenfield (2008) found that *To be, or not to be* was an "abstract and space-filling" formula in "theological, philosophical, and legal treatises, dating back [...] to well before *Hamlet*" (Greenfield 2008: 525). Linguistically, the formula is composed of simple, functional Germanic words (except for *question*). This makes the line a small rhetorical masterpiece, since it alludes to depth by almost empty words in the form of an antithetic *ploké*. A ploké is a rhetorical figure that repeats "the same word within a line or sequence of clauses" (Keller 2009: 276). Consequently, its rhetorical finesse, easy-sounding form paired with abstract generality (cf. Hohl Trillini/Langlotz 2009), dramatic context of heightened attention, and conspicuousness thanks to its position at the beginning of the soliloquy are most successfully combined.

Line two, *Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer*, paves the way for the concretisation of the abstract dilemma, which is rendered in lines three and four. The dilemma lies in the opposition between either the endurance of *The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune* or fighting against a *sea of troubles*. Lines three and four satisfy the audience's curiosity about the meaning of the abstract dilemma in line one. The strikingly metaphorical language attracts attention. The metaphors are not consistent, as several scholars have noticed and as example (56) suggests:

(56) ... I will quote a Passage from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: Whether 'tis nobler in the Mind to suffer / The Slings and Arrows of outrageous Fortune, / Or to take Arms against a Sea of Troubles, / And, by opposing, end them. This has been much censured as a faulty Allegory, because the

[31] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain;" and
Hamlet (II, ii): That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase;

[32] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): The lady protests too much, methinks.

> Writer flies from one Allusion to another, from Slings to taking up of Arms - against what? – a Sea – and then opposing a Sea, &c. ... (Preston, John (1772): Genuine Letters from a Gentleman to a Young Lady His Pupil; source HYHA)

The metaphors are, however, well-suited for conceptual transfer: *Fortune* and *sea* are semantically and semiotically broad concepts. They combine concreteness (a fortune and a sea are visible and tangible) with implied vastness, that is, with almost abstract dimensions. The dramatic description of the dilemma at the beginning of the soliloquy is expressive and emotionally loaded. It attracts attention, which is reflected in the relatively high number of quoted items in *HyperHamlet* (153 and 117 entries).

	Text	**Etries in HYHA**
1	To be, or not to be, that is the question,	587
2	Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer	23
3	The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune	153
4	or to take arms against a sea of troubles	117
5	and by opposing end them? To die: to sleep;	27
6	no more, and by a sleep to say we end	12
7	the heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks	30
8	That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation	93
9	devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep	61
10	To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub	144
11	For in that sleep of death what dreams may come	42
12	When we have shuffled off this mortal coil	80
13	Must give us pause: there's the respect	17
14	That makes calamity of so long life;	5
15	For who would bear the whips and scorns of time	17
16	The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,	27
17	The pangs of despised love, the law's delay	25
18	The insolence of office and the spurns	41
19	That patient merit of the unworthy takes,	8
20	When he himself might his quietus make	12
21	With a bare bodkin? who would fardels bear,	27
22	To grunt and sweat under a weary life	5
23	But that the dread of something after death	8
24	The undiscover'd country from whose bourn	108
25	No traveller returns, puzzles the will	33
26	And makes us rather bear those ills we have	12
27	Than fly to others that we know not of?	2
28	Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;	50
29	and thus the native hue of resolution	8
30	is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought	29
31	And enterprises of great pith and moment	11
32	With this regard their currents turn awry	2
33	and lose the name of action. - Soft you now!	8
34	The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons	14
35	Be all my sins remember'd	9

Table 1: Hamlet's central soliloquy (III, i) and the number of quoted tokens in HYHA as of March 2015

The next two lines offer variations on the thought *To be, or not to be,* and here attention can slacken. The ideas are again presented rather abstractly until, in lines seven and eight, more concrete details are offered. The familiar feeling of *heart-ache* and the hyperbolic *thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to* cause the number of quotations to rise again slightly

(30 entries). The following exclamation, *a consummation devoutly to be wished*, promises relief. It is like an answer, it is pleasant – people may wish for the same and will therefore like to quote this – and the numbers rise (93 and 61 entries). Aside from the dramatic load (which grabs the attention), the emotions and especially a positive attitude towards what is being expressed play a role. This continues in the next line with *perchance to dream*, which is also an extremely pleasant idea. Then the rupture comes: *ay, there's the rub!* Attention is heightened because of an unexpected turn, the return to reality, which is undeniably true, to which one has to submit, and which serves as a general warning to pleasant dreams. Here, the numbers are highest (144 entries).

The second half of the soliloquy lists well-known concrete problems with some defiant complaints. Overall, the *HyperHamlet* numbers fall; the repetitive structure does not add much new information, and relevance decreases. Moreover, the audience may struggle to remain attentive as the soliloquy continues. Yet some lines contain useful euphemistic metaphors. *Mortal coil* and *undiscovered country* which is often complemented *by from whose bourn no traveller returns* (80, 108 and 33 entries respectively), and the succinct expressions *the oppressor's wrong*, *the proud man's contumely*, *the law's delay* and *the insolence of office* (27, 25 and 41 entries respectively) are easy to identify with, as they reflect common vexatious experiences. The number of quotations also rises somewhat when the taboo of suicide is explicitly addressed. The mention of the weapon becomes conspicuous by its alliterative and euphemistic choice of words: the *bare bodkin* (27 entries). The *sententia*-like conclusion, *Thus conscience does make cowards of us all*, is again more quoted than the surrounding lines (50 entries). It answers the question of why *we rather bear those ills we have than fly to others* (12 entries) and thus fits the pattern where answers increase relevance and thus attention and conspicuousness. Moreover, the alliteration stands out and the metaphor is a striking combination of the concrete *coward* with the abstract *conscience*. The *pale cast of thought* (29 entries) is salient as an apt metaphor in the context of the inhibiting effects of conscience. The soliloquy then peters out; no solution to the dilemma is found. Even the last line, *and lose the name of action*, does not seem to attract much attention (8 entries) before Hamlet is drawn away to a different subject: Ophelia's entrance.

Text-inherent properties, a line's rhetoric and its context within the play may influence the degree of attention and memorability that a future quotation requires. Yet they do not explain everything. The aspect of attention apparently works on several levels: A line may be conspicuous because of its inherent rhetorical shape. It may also be noticed for its thrilling co(n)text. Following Zenner/Speelman/Geeraerts (2014), the fame of its source is the ultimate influential factor, which brings the chapter full circle to the initial question about the reasons for the Shakespeare phenomenon.

2.7 Concluding remarks

The examination of some exaggerated but persistent claims of Shakespeare's uniqueness shows that Shakespeare was very much "of an age" (despite Jonson's proclamation: "He was not of an age, but for all time," cf. Greenblatt 1997: 3352) – an age which was characterised by a great freedom in the use of language and an enthusiastic renewal of, and experimenting with, literary forms. Shakespeare wrote great drama, and so did his contemporaries; he had a rich vocabulary, as did his contemporaries; and he made ample use of rhetoric, as did his contemporaries. Accordingly, his outstanding position in literary

history can only partly be explained by artistic criteria. Shakespeare is "just" the "Mont Blanc in the Alps" and not the high mountain in the plains.

The preceding sections analysed some frequently quoted phrases to identify inherent salient factors which may have contributed to their careers as quotations. Rhetorical figures and tropes function as devices to increase the power of persuasion and memorability through euphony and attention-grabbing images. However, hardly any line in *Hamlet* is untouched by rhetoric but not all lines have become frequent quotations. Thus, rhetoric cannot be the only factor. Apart from sophisticated rhetorical figures and tropes, a good rhetorician must strike the right balance of familiarity and newness to make a speech or a text relevant for the audience. As Sperber/Wilson suggest, the cognitive effort must neither be too strong, nor too weak (cf., among others, Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]: 142 ff.). In view of these mechanisms, it is not surprising that familiar concepts are often found among the frequently quoted phrases. The cotext of a phrase and the dramatic context further affect the perception in terms of both content and emotions (e.g. the unpleasant *an auspicious and a dropping eye* in act I, ii, or the soothing *perchance to dream* in act III, ii).

Shakespeare's artistic conspicuousness has often been highlighted (if not exaggerated). Thatcher considers *appropriability* as a major factor for Shakespeare's quotability (cf. the quotation from section 2.2, here repeated in a shortened version for convenience's sake):

> [S]o, it might be argued, the key thing is not so much what is (or can be claimed to be) intrinsic to (or original in) Shakespeare as the phenomenal "appropriability" of his work. (Thatcher 2002-2003: 95).

Appropriability depends on the transferability of a potential quotation to other contexts, and on the complexities of the reception process. At the latest since Grice (1957), it has been understood that informative meaning does not necessarily reside in the linguistic code, and that the speaker's intention and the listener's ascriptions of intention are of primary importance. When it comes to recognising the intention of the speaker, the code is one clue among many. Later pragmatists, such as Sperber/Wilson (2007 [1995]), and Nerlich/Clarke (2001) do not only rely on the listener's recognition of the speaker's intention, but concede that the listener actively constructs the communicative and informative content from a variety of different clues in the linguistic and extra-linguistic cognitive environment: The speaker's communicative intent and the code's meaning are enriched and interpreted in the light of additional manifest clues in the communicative situation. Similarly, Grice's *timeless meaning* of the code corresponds to the meaning of the quoted passage in its original context and, on a more abstract level, to the artistic qualities of Shakespeare. In the communicative process, however, this *timeless meaning* may be overwritten. Speakers, quoters or the public discourse have their own communicative goals, and listeners, readers or consumers interpret the clues according to their cognitive environment at the time of perception in an almost unforeseeable way.[33] Consequently, appropriability only partially depends on the quoted text; more importance needs to be given to the context of the quoting situation (context here is to be understood in the broadest possible sense).

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[33] cf. also Compagnon's poetic description of the role of chance: "Bien antérieur à la citation, plus profonde et plus obscure, c'est la sollicitation: un petit coup de foudre parfaitement arbitraire, tout à fait contingent et imaginaire […]. La sollicitation est essentiellement fortuite. A preuve, le même livre peut me tomber des mains aujourd'hui et me ravir dès demain. Ce qui me sollicite n'est ni le livre ni moi-même, mais une rencontre de hasard, une passante, de la faveur d'une perspective ou d'une circonstance particulière et imprévisible que soudain je m'éprendrai de lui (d'une image fugitive et insaisissable) et en tomberai d'amour fou." (Compagnon 1979: 23 f.)

Quotability requires relevance, which may be achieved by dramatically and/or rhetorically conspicuous passages, but is not limited to such text-intrinsic factors. The roles of the quoters-to-be as listeners/perceivers are crucial in the reception process of both Shakespeare as a poet and his language as exemplified by *Hamlet*. Reception requires accessibility. Shakespeare has been frequently quoted, he is present and accessible in more than one way. His works are taught in schools, his plays keep being performed around the world, and bits and pieces of his language turn up in many other contexts. Accessibility increases the probabilities of reception.

If analogical reasoning is permitted, the history of Shakespeare's fame is another reason why the quotability of Shakespearean passages cannot be explained by inherent features alone. Discussions about the inherent qualities of quotations highlight the ontological side of quotations, yet the inability to explain everything by inherent features suggests that quotations are not a given ontological object, but rather a pragmatic device. Just as contextual historical conditions influence the popularity of an author, so the popularity of a quotation is influenced by its own historical condition. One attributes *mind's eye* to Shakespeare as long as one does not know Dante's *The Divine Comedy,* and *not a mouse stirring* to Moore's Christmas tale instead of to *Hamlet*, simply because they are repeatedly attributed to these famous sources. Who knows where Dante found the metaphor? One may even think that *to sleep no more* stems from *Hamlet* instead of *Macbeth*, if one knows *Hamlet* better than *Macbeth* and/or if the comma in Hamlet's *to sleep, no more* (III, ii) is overlooked.[34] The attribution may be wrong, yet the quotation is still a quotation. In the right context, a simple *who's there?* can also count as a quotation if one associates this expression with the beginning of *Hamlet*. A quotation as mediated expression does not require a specific source, but rather the *idea* of a source. The true origin is secondary, and so are the original intrinsic formal and conceptual characteristics. With that in mind, the discussion of quotations will now change from the perspective of the quoted text to its later appropriation and the quotations themselves in their new environments.

[34] The two sequences from *Hamlet* "to sleep, no more" and *Macbeth* "sleep no more" are indeed repeatedly confused; cf. www.hyperhamlet.unibas.ch, annotation feature WORK MARKING/MARKED/INCORRECTLY ATTRIBUTED.

3 Scholarly concepts of quotation

The introduction in chapter 1 already foreshadowed that quotation plays an eminent role in the philosophy of language and in literary studies. This chapter reviews some of the major theoretical issues as discussed in the two disciplines in order to further the understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon and to explore which aspects are relevant for a linguistic study of quotations.[1] The third section reviews some of the few works on quotations in linguistics for a general overview and to position the present account.

3.1 Quotations in the philosophy of language

The value of philosophical approaches generally consists in establishing connections between phenomena in a fundamental way – something which seems especially worthwhile for fuzzy concepts like quotation. Moreover, philosophy helps lay bare implicit assumptions and thus increases the researcher's awareness of where biases may lurk. Lastly, one must not forget that it was philosophers, not linguists, who first pondered the meaning of language and made the linguists aware of the context-dependency of language. It was philosophical thought that ultimately led to the semantic and pragmatic study of language.

In the specific case of quotation, philosophers seem to avoid positing clear definitions. Instead, they try to understand the mechanisms involved: What does a quotation do? What do quotation marks do? How can a quotation be interpreted? What is the relationship between a string of words used as a quotation and one used as a series of regular linguistic symbols? What is the link between different types of quotation? Not all of these questions will be addressed here.[2] Nevertheless, the answers to these questions influence, more or less directly, the assumptions about quotations in common parlance. For instance, the classical philosophical understanding of quotation as a metalinguistic device tends to insist on verbatim renditions and signals like quotation marks, whereas a more modern pragmatic approach which understands quotation as pointing at something *in absentia* can accept variational plurality as a matter of course. Most importantly, however, the philosophy of language introduced a productive heuristic for the description of quotations: the *use/mention* distinction.

3.1.1 "A certain anomalous feature" – Quine's Proper Name Theory

In his first notable monograph, *Mathematical Logic* (1981 [1940]), the American philosopher W.V.O. Quine describes – in a similar way to other philosophers before him, such as Tarski, Frege and even Augustinus (cf. Welte/Rosemann 1990: 13-17) – that no matter what syntactic structure the passage between the quotation marks has, the entire quotation can be treated linguistically as a noun or a name:

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1 For the sake of completeness, it must be mentioned that quotation has enjoyed a wide scholarly interest from musicology and the arts. As the present thesis focuses on quotation as a linguistic phenomenon, concepts from the non-linguistic domains are not reviewed.

2 For a comprehensive overview, cf. Cappelen/Lepore (2012 [2005]). The interested reader can also refer directly to Quine (1981 [1940]), Tarski (1944), Davidson (1979), Washington (1992 and 1993), Garcia-Carpintero (1994), Cappelen/Lepore (1997), Saka (1998), Recanati (2001), Gutzmann (2007), Stei (2007) and Gutzmann/Stei (2011), among others.

> Quotation […] has a certain anomalous feature which calls for special caution: from the standpoint of logical analysis each whole quotation must be regarded as a single word or sign, whose parts count for no more than serifs or syllables. (Quine 1981 [1940]: 26, §4)

Quine's theory is therefore also called the *Proper Name Theory*. The type of quotation he has in mind has a special function in the logical analysis of language in science: It is "a device to steer clear of" apparent paradoxes and ambiguities by differentiating between references to "an object and its name" (Quine 1981 [1940]: 23), i.e. between different levels of linguistic use. Typically, language is used to communicate about the physical or mental objects in the world. If language is used this way, it is called *object language*. If, on the other hand, language is used to communicate about the names of the objects and the properties of their names, that is, about language itself, philosophers speak of *metalanguage*. Quotation marks signal the metalinguistic level of language, and the text between inverted commas is called "quotation":

> The name of a name or other expression is commonly formed by putting the named expression in single quotation marks; the whole, called a *quotation*, denotes its interior. (Quine 1981 [1940]: 23)[3]

The following are classic examples of this type of quotation:

(1) "Shakespeare is the author of *Hamlet*" is true if Shakespeare is the author of *Hamlet*.
(2) "Shakespeare" refers to Shakespeare.
(3) "Hamlet" is the name of a Shakespearean play.
(4) "Hamlet" has six letters.

Example (1) gives a truth-conditional account of the semantics of a phrase along the lines of Tarski's *disquotational feature* (1944),[4] whereas examples (2) to (4) are metalinguistic statements in terms of referent assignment in (2), naming in (3) and orthographic conventions in (4). Strictly speaking, quotations are polyfunctional and thus ambiguous even in stringent logic.

Two helpful concepts derive from the principal differentiation between object and metalanguage: the *use* and the *mention* of lexical items. The verbal symbols of the object language, i.e. the passages outside quotation marks, are said to be *used* to express states of the world, whereas names or abstractions of the metalanguage merely *mention* those symbols to communicate linguistic properties. This distinction between the *use* and *mention* of linguistic symbols has become standard in the philosophy of language and will be referred to repeatedly in the course of this study.

Quine was concerned with the conditions of a coherent language in philosophy and science, for which logic and sound argumentation are indispensable. Since analytical philosophy[5] has moved to ordinary language, the *Proper Name Theory* is only of historical interest. Over time, the type of quotation as exemplified in (1)-(4) has become a mere sub-category of the interest in quotations, called *pure quotation* (cf. Davidson 1979, Cappelen/Lepore 1997, Saka 1998, Noh 2000 and others) or *flat mention* (Recanati 2001).

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[3] The differentiation between single and double quotation marks is marginal to this thesis and will therefore not be further addressed.

[4] The disquotational feature consists in the truth-conditional evaluation of a quoted passage: A passage in quotation marks is a true statement if it is a true proposition in the real world, i.e. in object language without quotation marks.

[5] *Analytical philosophy, philosophy of language* and *philosophical logic* are here used as synonymous expressions. The term *analytical philosophy* is preferred in American English and may sometimes, yet not necessarily, specifically denote the work by US philosophers of language.

Ordinary language requires a much more complex treatment of quotations, yet Quine's observations are worthwhile for at least two reasons. First, the fact that a quotation is referred to as an entity despite its possible compositional structure suggests a family relationship between quotations and other compositional units of language such as idioms, proverbs and set phrases. Thus, philosophy supports the view that quotations may – or even should – be studied from a linguistic perspective. Second, the ability of quotations to behave linguistically like nouns helps identify some instances of quotations in practice: Quotations may be preceded by determiners or qualifiers which work like implicit markers:

(5) With whom I share one heart, one mind,
My more than kin and more than kind,
(Morgan, Lady (1801): To Olivia; source HYHA)[6] [7]

(6) … no man who has declaimed the words across the footlights, let alone experienced the exigencies of the profession, can be anything but deliberate with "Neither a borrower nor a lender be"
(Anon. (1964): Striking Too Soon at a Rising Fish; source HYHA)[8]

In example (5), Hamlet's first words are signalled as a linguistic unit by the possessive "my", while the preposition "with" marks Polonius' good advice as a unit in example (6), which is further marked by inverted commas. *Nominalisation* can thus serve as an implicit indicator of potential quotative usage qua Quine's "anomalous feature".

3.1.2 Quotation's journey from scientific to ordinary language – Davidson's Demonstrative Theory

In his seminal paper "Quotation" from 1979, Davidson introduced to the philosophical discussion a type of quotation which occurs much more frequently in ordinary language than pure quotation: *mixed quotation*. Davidson's prime example was the quotation from Quine (1981 [1940]):

(7) Quine says that quotation "… has a certain anomalous feature." (Davidson 1979: 28)

After struggling with consistently using quotation marks according to logic in his professional writing, he notices that a quotation can both *mention* and *be used* at the same time. The meaning of the quoted material can indeed form an "active" part of the sentence and need not be "opaque" as had been postulated. The relationship between a *used* sequence and its *mentioned* counterpart required revision. Davidson's specific solution to the problem – the assignment of the single-term status to the quotation marks that "do all the referring" (Davidson 1979: 37) and *demonstrate* "the expression with the shape here pictured" (1979: 38) – is less relevant for the present study. However, his attention to *mixed quotations* and the postulation of a *demonstrative* function of quotation marks as "pointing at something" was a great inspiration to pragmatically minded scholars like Clark/Gerrig (1990), Saka (1998), Recanati (2001) and Stei (2007), to name just a few (Davidson himself continued working exclusively in the field of semantics). Thus,

[6] The bibliographical data of the examples can be obtained through the full-text search of the database at www.hyperhamlet.unibas.ch.
[7] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): A little more than kin and less than kind.
[8] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iii):Neither a borrower, nor a lender be.

Davidson can be said to have prepared a pragmatic turn in quotation studies by decoupling quotation from its specialised field of logic and acknowledging its function(s) in ordinary language. As a side effect, Davidson turned the Quinean quotation into a topos in philosophical discourse.

3.1.3 Quotation's journey from semantics to pragmatics – Saka's Disambiguated Ostention Theory

Saka's (1998) treatment of the use/mention distinction offers a useful tool for working with real data. Therefore, his theory will be briefly summarised as one example of what followed after Davidson (1979). Saka (1998), among others, finds fault with Davidson's analysis because, in practice, quotation marks are optional. Furthermore, Saka (1998) observes that *mentioning* can serve a broad range of purposes, such as attributing words to another person, distancing oneself, expressing irony and indicating titles (cf. Saka 1998: 113). Even pure quotations allow for several interpretations. They may refer to the semantics, the concept, the form, to a type or a token, to the specific word-form mentioned, or to the more abstract lexeme, including its derivations (cf. examples (1) to (4) above).

Saka (1998) assumes that "every use of language is an act of multiple ostension, partly direct and partly deferred" (1989: 125). The referent in direct ostension is identified by experiencing it directly qua "deictic demonstration or simple exhibition of the item" (Saka 1998: 125). Deferred ostension, however, denotes the reference to an absent object through pointing or description, such as when one points at a book but means and speaks about its author. Metonymical relations are hence typical for deferred ostension.[9] Multiple ostension, according to Saka, may occur on each of at least five levels of language: orthographic and phonic form, grammatical function, intension and extension (cf. Saka 1998: 126), which accounts for the extreme variability of the shape of quotations. Extension comprises all the objects to which a term can refer. For instance, the extension of CHAIR[10] comprises all the objects people usually call "chair", be they high or low, wooden or made of plastic, upholstered or hard, have armrests or not, etc. The intension, instead, denotes the properties which are ascribed to the referenced objects. The typical intension of CHAIR is an object that offers a comfortably elevated seat with a back, while features such as having four legs and armrests, being made of wood, and being bare or upholstered are further optional intensions of the concept.

The concept of multiple forms of ostension is the basis for Saka's model of the *use/mention* distinction: *Use* and *mention* imply a three-step process, with the first two steps being identical:

1. A token is exhibited,
2. thereby, several items are ostended which are associated with that exhibited token.

Only step 3, differentiates between *use* and *mention*

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[9] Saka attributes the concept of "deferred ostension" to various scholars, including Quine (1968), Nunberg (1978) and Fauconnier (1985). Furthermore, he refers to Norrick (1981), who found recurring relations in deferred ostension which coincide with classical metonymical relations such as "cause – effect", "institution and physical instantiation" and "process and product" (cf. Saka 1998:125). Saka implicitly accommodates notions of the ostensive-inferential concept of communication as presented in Sperber/Wilson's *Relevance Theory* (1995).

[10] Small caps are used to highlight the conceptual use of the term.

3. a) the speaker intends to direct the thoughts of the audience to the extension,

if the expression is *used*; while if it is *mentioned*,

3. b) the speaker intends to direct the thoughts of the audience to some item associated with X other than its extension (Saka 1998: 126).

In other words, *use* means the direct ostension to the objects symbolised by language, while *mention* refers to anything that goes beyond this.

The advantage of Saka's model is, as he says, that the model is independent from the presence or absence of quotation marks. It also shows that *use* and *mention* are related, and that *use* and *mention* are not mutually exclusive but can occur simultaneously, which coincides with the observations in natural language. The referent is the same; only the speaker's intentions concerning the function of the referent in communication differ. The *use/mention* distinction is "a purely pragmatic affair" (Saka 1998: 128). Saka thus follows Grice's (1991 [1957]) pragmatic dictum that the communicative intent is the *sine qua non* for the interpretation of a statement and accordingly for the *use* or *mention* of words.

Quotation marks are merely optional disambiguating devices for the interpretation of a sentence – they do not produce quotations. Nevertheless, if they are present, they need to be interpreted as pointing to "some item associated with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126). However, this transcendent meaning is ultimately based on the inference of the speaker's communicative intentions. Thus, Saka finds a viable compromise between earlier theoretical posits which either declare quotation marks to be empty (e.g. Washington 1992) or say they act as obligatory referential symbols (e.g. Davidson 1979, Cappelen/Lepore 1997).

Saka does not dwell on the role of scare quotes (e.g. quotation marks used to express irony), or on emphasising quotes, or on the matter of his "misquoting" Quine:

> Quine says that quotation ' ... is weird'. (Saka 1998: 115)

Yet his account can explain both "anomalous features". On the one hand, Saka (1998) shows that quotation marks share the ability to convey some additional meaning, which forms a fundamental link between the different types of quotation. The concrete meaning of the association "with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126) produces the different types of quotations, e.g. that of "these words were used by someone else" in reported speech, of metalinguistic usage in pure quotations and of "these words are not meant seriously" in scare quotes. In all these cases, the phrases between quotation marks require more or something other than their purely literal interpretation. The mentioning aspect of quotations thus generates a special type of pragmatic idiomaticity.[11] On the other hand, multiple ostension is the key to Saka's replacement of "has an anomalous feature" with "is weird": Multiple ostension can be extended to concepts via deferred ostension. The main point is that quotation marks point away from the extension. Therefore, "is weird" can imply "has an anomalous feature" by conceptual abstraction. The ostended concept is maintained, while the form to express the concept varies.

[11] cf. also Klockow (1980) and chapter 4, which contains a review of Klockow (1980); cf. also the discussion on the idiomaticity of quotations in chapter 7.

3.1.4 Summarising remarks

Quotation in philosophy has made quite a journey. First, the need to differentiate between levels of language for a clear and unambiguous language in science led to the introduction of quotation with a specific metalinguistic function. This type of quotation derives from and is linked to quotation in ordinary language by its metalinguistic, referential meaning. It is, however, also set apart through its special function in the specific context of use in the language of science and philosophy. However, a specific context of use cannot be strictly separated: Object language, metalanguage, scientific language, logical language, etc. all originate from and are embedded in natural language. Hence, germane phenomena of natural language, such as mixed quotations, needed explaining. Whereas Davidson (1979) (and similarly Garcia-Carpintero 1994, Cappelen/ Lepore 1997 and other semanticists) restricted his investigations to the semantic implications of quotation, others such as Saka (1998), Recanati (2001), Gutzmann and Stei (2007 and 2011) "returned" to natural language, found pragmatic aspects in quotation, or placed quotation entirely in the realm of pragmatics. Quotation as a pragmatic phenomenon made it necessary to include further germane phenomena in the investigations, such as reported speech, scare quotes and emphasizing quotes.

For the present thesis, at least three benefits can be derived from philosophical quotation studies. First, the use/mention distinction offers a way of describing quotations along the two dimensions of "extension" and "other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126), and these can be related to *repetition* and *reference*, which are already diagnosed as dimensions from the OED definition. The term *quotation* fills the space created by the *extension* of *repeated* passages and their *reference* to former passages or texts, that is, where meaning *goes beyond* extension. Quotation can thus be conceptually localised, despite the difficulties of clear-cut definitions. Second, the intuitively felt connection between quotations in the sense of "passage from a book" and phrasemes is supported by philosophical reflection. The observation that quotations form a linguistic unit despite their compositionality establishes a theoretical link to phraseology, especially since the philosophy of language exclusively investigates quotations from a single word up to sentence lengths, which corresponds to the typical length of phraseological items. Third, the prominent role of quotation marks in the philosophical tradition directs the attention to the existence of clues for recognising quotations. The clues discussed in philosophy are interpretable on the basis of *linguistic knowledge*. If quotation marks are used, or if a quotation is nominalised by a determiner or modifier, the linguistic conditions of the use of these clues can communicate the potential presence of a quotation. The issue of marking as a means of linguistic signposting for quotations squarely falls into the realm of linguistics and will be addressed in detail in chapter 4.

Remarkably, clear-cut definitions are rare in the philosophical accounts. Quine (1981 [1940]), Davidson (1979) and Saka (1998) exemplify metalinguistic usage rather than define it. The focus lies on the capacities of and mechanisms involved in quotations. The limits were first set by studying quotation in the restricted environment of the language of science, which has to express states of affairs as precisely as possible. However, ordinary linguistic practice could not be kept outside. Limits were then set by the presence of quotation marks, yet even those were found to be merely optional. Thus, the object itself is neither explicitly *a priori* nor explicitly *a posteriori* delimited, except for its

metalinguistic quality. Instead, different domains, purposes and forms have been explored from a theoretical perspective. The notion of quotation in contemporary philosophy has thus widened over time and comprises pure, mixed and scare quotations as well as reported speech.

3.2 Quotations in literary studies

In der Zitierkunst bekundet sich die allgemeinere Erscheinung, dass Literatur sich von Literatur nährt. (Meyer 1961: 22)

Hamlet, the source text of all the quotations discussed in this thesis, is a canonical work of literature. Bits and pieces of *Hamlet* abound in novels and novelettes, poems and song lyrics, theatre plays and films. The treatment of quotations in literary and cultural studies is therefore directly relevant to the present study.

Literature usually "pushes the boundaries"[12] of language and, compared to other registers and genres, shows an exemplary openness to linguistic creativity and innovation. As such, Coseriu, among others, objects to a widely held bias toward literary language as a deviant form of language. Instead, he maintains that the other linguistic registers of language are limited (though for good reason) (cf. Coseriu 1994: 148).[13] [14] Zima thus does not surprise when he writes:

> der literarische Text ist im Gegensatz zum wissenschaftlichen oder juristischen im Umgang mit Zitaten nicht an bestimmte Normen und Regeln gebunden. Im Gegenteil, man erwartet von ihm, daß er die geltende ästhetische Norm verletzt und neue Formen des Zitierens, Parodierens, Verfremdens und Ironisierens hervorbringt. (Zima 2000: 298)

Quotation in literary studies is thus likely to further transcend the multiple concepts of quotation as defined in both ordinary language and analytical philosophy. The primary function of quotation in literature is to establish a metonymic relationship, while philosophical quotation studies focus on the metalinguistic function. A quotation in a literary work typically operates as a *pars pro toto* to connect passages, texts or even groups of texts with each other. Consequently, quotation can no longer make do with linguistic knowledge alone; it also demands knowledge of other texts. The key concept in the theoretical accounts of literary quotation studies is therefore appropriately called *intertextuality*.

As a result, literary studies do not focus exclusively on short quotations up to the unit of the sentence, but also take account of intertextual strategies in larger sections of texts.

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[12] *Pushing the boundaries* is the subtitle of Wray 2008.

[13] cf. Coseriu (1994: 148): "Der dichterische Sprachgebrauch ist nicht etwa eine Abweichung vom 'normalen' Sprachgebrauch, genau das Umgekehrte ist der Fall: Alle anderen Modalitäten der Sprache wie z.B. die Alltagssprache oder die Wissenschaftssprache (man sollte besser "wissenschaftliche Sprechweise" bzw. "praktisch ausgerichtete Sprechweise" usw. sagen) stellen Abweichungen gegenüber der totalen Sprache dar, gegenüber der Sprache schlechthin. Wenn man von Reduktion sprechen darf, so im Fall der verschiedenen Arten des nicht-dichterischen Sprachgebrauchs, denn dort werden viele Sprachfunktionen aufgehoben, 'entaktualisiert', die beim dichterischen Sprechen vollständig präsent sind."

[14] cf. also Jakobson's statement that the poetic function of language is not only found "in poetry, where this function is superimposed upon the other functions of language, but also outside of poetry, when some other function is superimposed upon the poetic function." (1960: 259; source Tannen 1987: 574). Similarly, Mahlberg (2007: 221, referring to Carter 2004:69): "he dismisses the distinction between literary and non-literary language as unhelpful: literary language should be seen as a continuum, 'a cline of literariness in language use with some uses of language being marked as more literary than others in certain domains and for certain judges within that domain'."

Some of these large "quotations" have been given genre labels such as cento, parody and adaptation. In the citation above, Zima (2000) does not accidentally mention quotation and parody together. From a qualitative viewpoint, the act of establishing a reference to other texts or events is comparable: If one focuses on the procedural aspect of the OED definition, parodies, satires, pastiches, centos, etc. are indeed a kind of quotation. Equally, such a qualitative relationship can be identified with regard to irony: Sperber/Wilson (1992 and 2007 [1995]) interpret irony as a specific evaluative representation of an imagined proposition that is attributed to others, while Krotthoff (2003) understands irony as "staged intertextuality", as the title of her article suggests. The extension of quotation has increased considerably in literary quotation studies, yet practical analyses usually require a focus on only selected properties. Accordingly, the concepts of applied intertextuality vary in the literature.

3.2.1 The realm of intertextuality studies

Intertextuality has become a buzzword since the late 1960s, when Julia Kristeva (1967) coined the term to denote a highly theoretical and comprehensive account of a practice known since antiquity as the imitation of renowned older writers (*imitatio veterum*), as opposed to the notion of texts as the imitation of life (*imitatio vitae*). Closely linked to this is the experience that there is no absolute creation (*ad nihilo*); all texts relate to and interact with other texts. Moreover, Kristeva rediscovered, reinterpreted and further developed Bakhtin's concept of *polyphonic dialogue*,[15] which draws attention to the multiplicity of voices (e.g. the narrator's voice, the characters' voices, and the underlying dialogue of commonsensical and traditional discourse with opposing or emancipating anarchical or rebellious views on life) and their interaction within a text. As a result, literature is considered to be a dynamic structure.[16] As Bakhtin was concerned with the relationship between literature and society, he located the polyphonic dialogue not only in the domain of literary works, but also saw comparable structures in language and society. The poststructuralist approach to intertextuality thus surpasses the limit of *a single* text, establishes relationships between various texts and broadens the concept of *text* to a global phenomenon which eventually captures the dialectics of all human endeavours. One does not only read "written" texts, but also history and life itself. As a consequence, intertextuality in that global sense leads to a fundamental criticism of the apparently "natural" hierarchical structure of societies, where top-down monological structures constitute a means of suppression, and of the traditional understanding that human action is telic and identifiable (cf. Pfister 1985: 2 ff.).

Intertextuality in this global sense is defined both as a semiotic theory

> of the text as a network of sign systems situated in relation to other systems of signifying practices (ideologically marked sign usage) in a culture (Godard 1997: 568),

and as an actual process:

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[15] cf., among others, Bakhtin (1929, 1963 and 1975).

[16] cf. Kristeva, Julia (1969a: 144): "Bakhtine est l'un des premiers à remplacer le découpage statique des textes par un modèle où la structure littéraire n'est pas, mais où elle s'élabore par rapport é une *autre* structure. Cette dynamisation du structuralisme n'est possible qu'à partir d'une conception selon laquelle le 'mot littéraire' n'est pas un point (un sens fixe), mais un *croisement de surfaces* textuelles, un dialogue de plusieurs écritures: de l'écrivain, du destinataire (ou du personnage), du contexte culturel actuel ou antérieur." (source Pfister 1985: 5).

> Nous appellerons INTERTEXTUALITÉ cette interaction textuelle qui se produit à l'intérieur d'un seul texte. Pour le sujet connaissant, l'intertextualité est une notion qui sera l'indice de la façon dont un texte lit l'histoire et s'insère en elle. (Kristeva 1969b: 443; source Pfister 1985: 7; original emphasis)

The process requires a *sujet connaissant*, which means that an interpreter of intertextuality needs to have knowledge of the relevant pre-texts. Furthermore, intertextuality highlights the historicity of human action and its artefacts. Historicity manifests itself in noticeable traces of previous texts in a specific later text and affects interpretation in both directions, that is, the pre-text resonates in the quoting text and the quoting text potentially reevaluates the pre-text.[17] For instance, quotations that support an argument in an academic text are meant to raise the value of the argument,[18] while, on the other hand, scholars and their works gain in esteem and authority the more they are quoted. Or, to take a more mundane example from the world of fiction writing, authors of thrillers love to quote from *Hamlet*, as the plot can easily be transformed into a whodunit (cf. Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010). However, too many overly explicit parallels and references to *Hamlet* can lead one to assume that the author hopes to offset a lack of artistic imagination with the fame and acknowledged quality of the quoted Shakespearean text – in other words, that the famous source is expected to throw its light on, raise the interest in and increase the appreciation of the quoting text. Conversely, the more Shakespeare has been quoted across the centuries, the more his works have been perceived as qualitatively outstanding and the more his fame has grown (cf. Taylor 1991). Kristeva understands intertextuality primarily as a text-text relationship. Still, she acknowledges the traditional relationship between author, text and reader. Intertextuality, in her understanding, cuts vertically across the horizontal relationship between text and subjects. The production and reception of texts and hence the pragmatic aspects of communicative intent become negligible only on that vertical dimension. Barthes' famous postulation of the "death of the author" is therefore often misunderstood as an abolishment of the horizontal relationship between text and subjects. In fact, while acknowledging the semiotic role of the text itself, i.e. its intertextuality, he analyses the roles of the participants in particular and eventually celebrates the "birth of the reader":

> a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. (Barthes 1977 [1968]: 148)

The important role of the reader as the interpreter of semiotic codes – that is, of texts – was further developed by Iser's reception theory (cf. Iser 1994 [1972]), while Nerlich/Clarke (2001) support the autonomy and freedom of the reader/listener from a pragmatic-

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[17] The mechanism of the inscribed historicity in a text is comparable to a notion, developed later in cognitive linguistics, for word meaning: The meaning of words is also influenced by their historicity. The semantics of a concrete word in a concrete context is derived from the accumulated meanings in prior usage events. Thus, the precursors, the former usage events, have the power to influence the interpretation of words, expressions and texts. Later usage events will also lead to reinterpretations of prior usage events (cf. Bakhtin 1986 [1953], Langacker 1987, Clark 1996).

[18] cf. also the authoritative role of Bible quotations, especially in the Middle Ages, as established by Compagnon (1979) and van den Berg (2000), as well as Meyer's (1961) observation that quotations in Baroque times served educational purposes, i.e. quotations convey truth and wisdom and so does the quoting text.

linguistic point of view. Holthuis (1994) and Pucci (1998) are the most prominent proponents of a reader-based approach to intertextuality within literary studies.

Intertextuality in a narrower sense reintegrates the communicative partners more directly and bases its concept on authorial intent.[19] As such, these theories are analogous to Grice's pragmatic notion of meaning "on a particular occasion" (cf. Grice 1991 [1957]: 217), in contrast to the semantic "timeless meaning" (Grice 1991 [1957]: ibid) which features more prominently on the agenda of intertextuality in Kristeva's global sense. This philosophically pragmatic treatment of intertextuality is indeed the result of academic pragmatism in view of the complexity of the phenomenon. Scientists, for instance, sometimes use the metaphor LIGHT IS A WAVE to explain some properties of light, but prefer the metaphor LIGHT IS A QUANTUM for other models. Similarly, while the abstract and all-encompassing understanding of intertextuality as discussed by Kristeva is key to accounting for resemblances of texts where individual intention cannot be assumed, other cases of intertextuality can be explained well by intentional behaviour (especially if the clues for quotational usage are investigated, as in Broich 1985, Pfister 1985, Füger 1989, and Helbig 1996, cf. chapter 4).

The abstract concept that relies on the code alone offers a solution to the paradox of inadvertent quotations, which are *used* like any other linguistic symbol and lack any mentioning overtones, as example (8) illustrates:

(8) Herein lies the rub; Berlin and Kay (1969) and associates regard a particular color as a label given in response to a controlled stimulus, a Munsell color chip, an act of naming an objective sensible difference. (Foley, William A. (1997): Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction; source HYHA)[20]

Not only are any clues needed to diagnose a quoting intention missing, but it would even be inappropriate to assume any Hamletian overtones in example (8). Still, given the similar way of expressing a dilemma, a link to *Hamlet* as the origin of the phrase is probable. The link is established on the grounds of the code, that is, on the grounds of the vertical dimension of Kristeva's intertextuality. Another case in point is genre (cf. Genette 1997 [1982]). Genres are manifestations of intertextual influences from previous texts, but not necessarily from a concretely traceable work.[21] Many of the commonly held assumptions about the world of discourses that influence thinking and acting are further manifestations of intertextuality where individual and conscious references to a specific earlier text are impossible. Thus, Kristeva's concept captures those textual links to which the horizontal dimension between author and text cannot contribute. In other cases, however, the important role of intention in literary studies is justified if one concedes that writers are especially careful with their word choices and in structuring their works.

While Kristeva's universal approach to intertextuality can account for general phenomena, it does not provide a methodology for the study of its concrete manifesta-

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[19] cf., among others, Broich (1985), Pfister (1985), Füger (1989), Plett (1991 and 1999), Bruster (2000), Irwin (2001), Brendel (2007), Grieder (2013).

[20] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;
Tilley (1950: R 196) and Hibbard (1994) claim that "Shakespeare's use […] seems to have made 'Ay, there's the rub' proverbial" (Hibbard 1994: 240, footnote 66), while the *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (Heackock 2002 [1998]) does not mention Shakespeare in the entry for *there's the rub* and its alternative, *therein lies the rub.*

[21] There are some exceptions to this rule: Gotti (2010) describes the birth of a genre, the experimental essay, as the consequence of imitations modelled on the especially successful writings by a specific scientist.

tions. Once intertextuality is concerned with the actual pieces forming "the mosaic of quotations" (Kristeva 1969a: 146), the concept of intertextuality inevitably changes.[22] It becomes more practical, but also more reduced and varied, as each approach focuses on particular problems. The term intertextuality has therefore been understood in more than one way. Some scholars see intertextuality as a communicative strategy rather than a theory of the human condition: Eco's *A Theory of Semiotics* interprets intertextuality as a "mode of 'over- coding' that sets up frames for relating texts" (source Godard 1997: 569), while Riffaterre sees it as a device to "control reader-response" (1994: 786 f.). Others associate intertextuality with traditional philological source studies: Scholars concentrate on a particular work, author, period and/or genre to uncover concrete references and analyse their respective functions.[23]

3.2.2 Definitions of quotation and allusion in intertextuality studies

The treatment of *quotation* and its intertextual sister concepts vary in the literature. Scholars working in the field of intertextuality have offered various definitions for quotation and allusion, either separately or for distinguishing one from the other. Some definitions mainly rely on formal criteria, some are primarily based on functional properties, and others claim a formal/functional divide. The ensuing discussion does not, however, intend to find the ideal definition, nor does it aim to distinguish the right assumptions from the wrong. Rather, its goal is to explore the dimensions of quotation and allusion.

Formal definitions

Purely formal definitions are rare in literary intertextuality studies, as the relationship between two or more similar texts is central and almost immediately leads to a functional approach. Still, some scholars highlight formal aspects of quotation and/or allusion. Amman, for instance, states that

> [b]y definition, quotations are not concealed, but rather foregrounded or thrown into relief as alien elements, for example by typographic highlighting such as inverted commas, quotation marks or italics (Ammann 1991: 66),

while allusions are hidden and unmarked. Other, primarily formal concepts of quotation and allusions can be circumscribed by the question, *how does one quote (or allude)?* Plett (1988: 297 ff.) introduces a differentiation between quotation and allusion that is based on "surface-structure" (quotation) vs. "deep-structure" (allusion) intertextuality, while Holthuis (1994: 79) speaks of "linearized" vs. "non-linearized properties" adopted from a former text. Plett (1998) and Holthuis (1994) thus focus on the dimension of repetition with regard to *how* and *what*.

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[22] Kristeva later preferred the terms *transposition* (Kristeva 1974) or *polylogue* (Kristeva 1977) to *intertextuality*, in order to differentiate her global concept from the narrower communicative concepts within literary theory and the study of token-related cases. It is interesting to note that, similar to the tripartite notion of *langage, langue* and *parole* by the structuralist de Saussure, the same tri-partite differentiation of levels of abstraction can be found in poststructuralist intertextuality studies: Kristeva's concept covers the dimension of *langage*, while the communicative approach corresponds to *langue*, and classical source studies to *parole*.

[23] cf., among many others, Jansohn (1990), Hillgärtner (2000), Krajenbrink (2000), Grieder (2013).

Functional definitions

In the accounts of Ben-Porat (1976: 108), Perri (1978) and Irwin (2001), the "sign-referent" relationship is central as a main characterisation of *allusion*. Their accounts focus on the ability to trigger associations with other text-worlds, which in turn modify and enrich the meaning of the quoting text. Irwin stresses the role of "authorial intent" and the need to discover it behind the "indirect reference" (Irwin 2001: 287 and 291), whereas Ben-Porat (1976) is interested in the implications of the *metonymic* relationships that allusions establish. Perri (1978), on the other hand, is concerned with the mental steps of allusive processing. Similarly, Recanati (2001) requires a "full-fledged process of interpretation, possibly involving an assessment of the speaker's [author's] communicative intentions" to understand quotations (Recanati 2001: 641-642). Thus, Ben-Porat (1976), Perri (1978), Irwin (2001) and Recanati (2001) explore the question of meaning through reference: How does the reference to a quoted text affect the meaning of the quoting text? Because Perri (1978), Irwin (2001) and Recanati (2001) explicitly take into account the communicating actors, their notion of intertextuality is a pragmatic concept.

Other authors concentrate on more concrete pragmatic functions of quotations. Van den Berg (2000) defines quotations as a succinct general wisdom which is attributed to a public authority, hence invested with authority, and serves authoritative or decorative purposes.[24] Compagnon (1979) develops a historical account of the pragmatic functions of quotations through the semiotic dimensions of icon, index and symbol. In classical times, the iconic relationship (the formal truth to the original text) was essential, whereas medieval authors hoped to transfer the general truth of the quoted text, mostly the Bible, to their own writing. The quotation from the authoritative text thus proved the validity of the author's argument. Modern times then saw the rise of diverse symbolic functions, such as the dialogue between authors. Consequently, historical phenomena also play a role in the conceptualisation of quotations.

Other functional definitions in literary studies concentrate on some "weird features"[25] of *allusion*, such as the paradox of "being something that is at once elsewhere and here, elsewhen and now, one's own and yet another's" (Ricks 2002: 297), or on very concrete poetic purposes and strategies of *quotation*, such as "characterisation of characters", "setting a frame of reference", "create a specific atmosphere or emotion" (cf. Schoots 2000: 194). Grüttemeier (2000), Zima (2000), Ricks (2002), Greenfield (2008), Grieder (2013) and many others offer rich accounts of the various functions of quotations and allusions in specific literary texts.

Formal/functional definitions

Similar to Plett (1988) and Holthuis (1994), Meyer (1961) uses a formal criterion when he distinguishes between a broad concept of quotation as "inhaltliche Wiedergabe" (Meyer 1961: 15) and a narrow concept of quotation as "wortlautliche Anführung". "Wortlautliche

[24] Original text: "In rhetorischen Lehrbüchern wird ausführlich auf die Definition, Einteilung, Wirkung und die angemessene Verwendung solcher Zitate eingegangen. Als autoritätspotenter, prägnant formulierter und aus seinem Kontext gerissener Sinnspruch wird der Gnome gewöhnlich eine argumentative oder schmückende Funktion zugeschrieben" (van den Berg 2000: 14).

[25] cf. Saka's (1998: 115) rendition of Quine's statement "Quotation has an anomalous feature" by "Quine says that quotation ' ... is weird'."

Anführung" must not be translated as "verbatim rendition" because "more or less deviance from the original text" is permitted (cf. Meyer 1961: 15).[26] The broad sense as the replication of contents locates the concept in "family relations to allusion, plagiarism, pastiche and parody" (cf. Meyer 1961: 15). Quotation is thus a superordinate concept in Meyer's account. On the level of the "wortlautliche Anführung", Meyer distinguishes quotations from *borrowings* in terms of function. Borrowings are mere linguistic take-overs, adopted in order to fit a semantic or decorative purpose:

> Die Entlehnung unterscheidet sich vom Zitat dadurch, dass sie keinen Verweisungscharakter hat; sie intendiert nicht, zu ihrer Herkunft in Beziehung gesetzt zu werden (Meyer 1961: 13)

Quotations, meanwhile, serve a poetic function:

> Im Allgemeinen dürfte gelten, dass der Reiz des Zitats in einer eigenartigen Spannung zwischen Assimilation und Dissimilation besteht: Es verbindet sich eng mit seiner neuen Umgebung, aber zugleich hebt es sich von ihr ab und lässt so eine andere Welt in die eigene Welt des Romans hineinleuchten. Darin besteht seine ausweitende und auflockernde Wirkung, die die vielheitliche Ganzheit und den Reichtum des Romans mitbewirkt. (Meyer 1961: 12)

Borrowings are mere *repetitions* without *referential overtones*. In this thesis, they are also called *phraseological quotations*: The quoted passage merely *uses* the words for their aptness, pithiness or decorativeness, but does not aim to trigger associations with "some item […] other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126). Quotation, according to Meyer (1961), necessarily implies the functional aspect of poetic reference, and with it authorial intent. Meyer's quotations are also termed *allusive quotations* in this thesis.

Pucci (1998), on the other hand, qualifies *allusion* as the generic term and *quotation* as one of its hyponyms, without defining the latter in detail. *Borrowing* denotes the process of reproduction and is one of the "fundaments of allusion", along with "referentiality" and "conversion" (cf. Pucci 1998: 29). Like Meyer, however, he sees the need to limit the term, which "include[s] potentially everything" (Pucci 1998: 31), to "a literary borrowing, that is, a borrowing comprised of language shared between two literary works" (Pucci 1998: 31). He explicitly excludes the allusive mentioning of character names, as they do "not involve shared language". Rather, they refer to "materials in [the] culture" (Pucci 1998: 31). In short, Meyer's (1961) quotations, Plett's (1988) surface-structure intertextuality and Holthuis' (1994) linearised references are Pucci's allusions.

Pucci further observes that the size of the allusion is "irrelevant" and that allusion therefore comes in "manifold appearances […] running the gamut from the most obvious instance in which material is quoted verbatim to the least obvious, a single word" (Pucci 1998: 32). Thus, Pucci widens the concept of quotation with regard to the shape of quotation. By clearly distinguishing between formal and functional properties, Pucci clarifies the usual dictionary definition of allusion as a "covert, hidden, indirect or obscure" reference (cf. Pucci 1998: 38-39). He concludes that *allusion* has to be functionally overt "because it functions only after it is recognized" and "does not seek, as plagiarized words do, to conceal its 'otherness'" (Pucci 1998: 39). Yet allusion may well be covert in formal terms, "that is, it is not necessarily easily, or readily, identifiable" (Pucci 1998: 39). Pucci's definitive definition,

[26] Original text: "sie kann [...] mehr oder weniger stark vom Originaltext abweichen [...die] Gründe [sind] oft recht uninteressant." (Meyer 1961: 15)

> The literary allusion is the verbal moment in a subsequent text of a specific and verifiable verbal moment in a prior text, generated through the collusion of authorial and readerly intent, neither controlled nor limited by the language that constitutes it, in which a bundle of potential meanings obtains, retrievable at any given time only in part (Pucci 1998: 47),

eventually highlights the co-productive moment of author and reader, the potential openness of meaning, and the necessary partiality of its actuation.

Tsur (1998) further illustrates the arbitrariness of terminological choice by differentiating between different types of *allusions* along the lines of Meyer's broad vs. narrow concept of *quotation*. Tsur's *inlay language* or *verbal allusion* – which derives from a Hebraic scholarly tradition that pays respect to a canonical text by reusing its words – is equivalent to Meyer's "wortlautliche Anführung", while *thematic allusions* correspond to Meyer's quotation in the broad sense. Tsur's allusions are functionally defined by their communicative purpose. In particular, he stresses that passages "taken from the Bible or other authoritative texts are used to convey the poet's message", which "may be repeated in the same meaning as in the source, or in a changed meaning; some of them mention even blasphemously changed meanings" (Tsur 1998: n.p.). Tsur (1998) thus draws attention to the semantic variability of quotations as a consequence of their pragmatic nature or, more fundamentally, as a consequence of cognitive mindsets. On the one hand, *a mental set* which relies on stability is crucial for "handling any situation consistently" and entails "pleasure from the saving of mental energy". The pleasure derived from mental sets accounts for the preference for the familiar, such as the observable preference for familiar phrases (cf. also Van Lancker Sidtis/Rallon 2004). On the other hand, the capacity to *shift one's mental sets* evokes the ability of one's mental adaptation devices, which are key to coping with changing situations. This feeling of "properly functioning adaptation mechanisms" also yields pleasurable feelings. Hence, wit, humour and modifications of quotations in form and meaning are actualisations of "adaptation devices developed for survival" that "are turned to aesthetic ends" in poetry (Tsur 1998: n.p.). Thus, both stabilising and modifying factors are engrained in human cognition and echoed in language use. Tsur's differentiation between *verbal* and *thematic* turns out to be a fruitful approach for distinguishing different types of quotations along the lines of *what is quoted* from the source (cf. chapter 6).

Bruster (2000) defines quotation as

> the textual incorporation of such discrete components as words, events, and identities, a process that links texts to specific elements in the world outside them. Quotation in this sense stands midway between imitation and citation, and refers to both the borrowed matter of texts and the activity of borrowing itself. (Bruster 2000: 5)

Bruster (2000) thus identifies three types of quoted material – "words, events and identities" – which can relate the quoting text with other, exterior texts (in the global sense). With "events", he adds a term which is almost equivalent to Plett's (1988) "deep-structure", Holthuis' (1994) "non-linearized" and Tsur's (1998) "thematic". It palpably contrasts to "words" (or "surface-structure", "linearized" and "verbal" respectively). He also adds a third object, "identity", to the binary distinction. The aspects of *repetition* ("imitation") and *reference* ("citation"), as well as the physical and procedural side of quotation, as already established by the OED definitions, are fused. Yet quotation

"stands midway between" – in other words, the conceptual space of quotation is dynamic and therefore also vague.

Sternberg's (1982) definition is most comprehensive compared to the previously cited scholars. He uses, among other terms, *allusive quotation*. First, he highlights the metalinguistic dimension of quotation "as the world of discourse", which is reminiscent of the metalinguistic philosophical approach:

> In quotation, first of all, the two discourse-events enter into representational ("mimetic") relations. It should be borne in mind that quoting consists in a representation, one that differs from other acts of representing the world only in the represented object. For its object is itself a subject or manifestation of subjective experience: speech, thought, and otherwise expressive behaviour; in short, the world of discourse as opposed to the world of things. In this general sense, all reported discourse – from the direct through the free or the plain indirect to the most summary or allusive quotation – is a mimesis of discourse. (Sternberg 1982: 107)

Second, he stresses the mimetic, that is, the repetitive character of quotation which applies to all quoting phenomena, from reported speech to allusion in the sense of "covert, implied, or indirect reference" (OED, *allusion* 4). Third, his analysis identifies four fundamental properties:

> Representational bond, structural framing, communicative subordination, and perspectival montage or ambiguity […] figure as the universals of quotation. It is the coincidence of the four features that defines quotation, and it is the fourth that distinguishes it from any other referential or mimetic relationship between word and world." (Sternberg 1982: 109)

Reference ("representational bond"), mimetic replication and its embedding ("structural framing"), semantic difference ("communicative subordination") and pragmatic dependence ("perspective") need to be viewed together. As a result, quotation is characterised by complex many-to-many relations, that is, by the "Proteus principle" (Sternberg 1982: 112).

3.2.3 Summarising remarks

Intertextual studies offer help in tackling the paradox of inadvertent quotations as well as the elementary research questions of *what is a quotation* and *how can quotations be recognised*. First, the global concept of intertextuality recognises that quotation is at work as *imitatio veterum*. Quotation is fundamental to all texts and discourses, as nothing is ever created *ad nihilo* (or, as Shakespeare has King Lear (I, i) say, "Nothing can come of nothing"). There is always some model, some inspirational trigger which creates a more or less strong link between a former and a later text, thought, event or action. Thus, the global perspective on intertextuality reveals a semiotic dimension which is inscribed in a text (or thought, event, action, etc.) and which can be interpreted on the grounds of iconic similarity, indexical clues and/or emblematic symbols, even without the cooperation of an author or the assumption of intentional behaviour. The manifest text itself can trigger interpretation based on its own semiotics if the addressee's accessible knowledge leads him/her to associate an "item [...] with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126), or, as Barthes wrote: "The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination" (Barthes 1977 [1968]: 148). Ultimately, the generic force of a quotation lies in the cognitive environment of the addressee, to borrow the words of Sperber/Wilson (2007 [1995]).

Second, the idealised concepts of a *sujet connaissant* (Kristeva 1969b: 443) or a *full-knowing reader* (Pucci 1990) imply that *textual knowledge* is a necessary *a priori* for the association with earlier texts unless they are intentionally and overtly indicated by the author (for the specific means of authorial indication, cf. chapter 4). Such idealised concepts lend a theoretical objectivity to the existence of intertextual traces. Otherwise, being a pragmatic phenomenon, quotations which are recognisable only on the grounds of textual similarity depend too strongly on the actual knowledge of the individual addressee in a specific situation which could never be captured in a general way. Barthes (1977 [1968]) takes this effect into account when he implies that a quotation may be "lost". Pucci (1998) also does this when he draws attention to the fact that, in practice, only a part of the "bundle of potential meanings" is "retrievable at any given time" (Pucci 1998: 47). Idealised concepts, such as that of a *full-knowing reader*, may make a linguist uneasy. However, in view of this thesis' focus on quotations from and allusions to *Hamlet*, which do not require "full knowledge" of all the texts ever written, but "only" full knowledge of that specific Shakespearean tragedy, an almost ideal state of knowledge can be achieved by working steadily with the text. The concept of the *full-knowing reader* offers the advantage of indicating the objectively given possibility of identifying any trace, even if, in practice, the reader is "specialised" rather than "full-knowing".

Third, the motto of this section, Meyer's (1961) observation that "literature is fed by literature", captures both involuntary and voluntary references. Even though the global approach to intertextuality can do without deliberate quoting, fiction authors in particular choose their words and themes carefully and like to play with sources. For this reason, the assumption of authorial intent in fictional texts is generally justified. Moreover, as authors cannot rely on "full-knowing" readers, they develop more or less subtle strategies to help the reader become a "full-comprehending" reader, and invite them to participate in a pleasant game of hide-and-seek. In other words, authors can contribute to the audience's cognitive environment, which is where quotations are ultimately generated, by giving clues. The definitions above either specifically mention quotation marks (cf. Amman 1991) or refer more vaguely to some sort of noticeable strangeness,[27] which can "upset the textual isotopy" and act as "reference signals" for intertextual traces (Helbig 1996: 37).[28] Plett (1988: 301) succinctly terms instances of such noticeable strangeness "seams", while Riffaterre (1994: 782) calls them "ungrammaticalities". The strategies used by authors to help readers recognise quotations will be the subject of chapter 4. At this point, it is important to note that the vertical relationship between two texts requires textual knowledge to recognise quotations, while the (traditional) horizontal relationship between author and reader remains at work and typically requires linguistic knowledge, as the clues which the author deliberately includes use the conventions of ordinary language.

Quotations turn out to be a dynamic, complex and poly-functional phenomenon. As a corollary, terminology is not unified: What Meyer (1961) and Bruster (2000) call a

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[27] cf. Meyer (1961: 12): "Im Allgemeinen dürfte gelten, daß der Reiz des Zitats in einer eigenartigen Spannung zwischen Assimilation und Dissimilation besteht: Es verbindet sich eng mit seiner neuen Umgebung, aber zugleich hebt es sich von ihr ab und läßt so eine andere Welt in die eigene Welt des Romans hineinleuchten."

[28] Original text: "Als wesentlich bleibt hier zunächst festzustellen, daß Lachmann die Kategorie des Referenzsignals unverrückbar in eine Intertextualitätstheorie einbindet. Nur aufgrund der Identifizierung dieser die Textisotopie störenden Signale sei Intertextualität für den Rezipienten überhaupt konkretisierbar" (Helbig 1996: 37). The passage reviews Lachmann (1990).

quotation is an allusion for Pucci (1998) and Tsur (1998). Sternberg (1982) uses the term "allusive quotation", and Jansohn (1990) observes that these word combinations illustrate the fuzziness of the concepts. However, she maintains that the referential quality is predominant in allusion, whereas quotation is characterised by formal similarity.[29] The attribution of such core notions to quotation and allusion is shared most explicitly by Plett (1988) and Holthuis (1994), but also by the OED. Yet, *reference* and formal similarity as a result of "surface" (Plett 1899) or "linearized" (Holthuis 1994) *repetition* operate on different categorical levels which are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, quotation is associated with *lexical* replication, while *phonological* and *semantic* resemblance is interpreted as allusive. Lexis and phonology are formal aspects, while the semantic level corresponds to meaning. In other words, allusion also cuts across form and meaning, while the core notion of quotation is restricted to only one aspect of form: the lexical choice. The interchangeable terminology of the scholars therefore comes as no surprise, and the present account will not differentiate between quotation and allusion. It will continue to use the terms *allusion* and *allusive* if the referential aspect of a quotation needs to be highlighted.

While it has become clear that a differentiation along the lines of *quotation* vs. *allusion* is problematic, some of the definitions above, especially those put forward by Tsur (1998) and Bruster (2000), offer alternative approaches for a more promising classification of quotations within the dimension of repetition. If one asks *what has been repeated*, the following typology arises:

- verbal quotations, which primarily repeat lexical, grammatical and/or phonological form
- thematic quotations, which primarily repeat ideas and concepts
- onomastic quotations, which repeat the names of characters, places, the author and/or the work

Thanks to such a differentiation, the broad concept of quotation can be better understood and the specificities of each sub-class can be coherently accommodated, as chapter 6 will show. Furthermore, separating verbal quotations from thematic and onomastic quotations makes it possible to pinpoint the group of quotations which most prominently lead to the paradox of inadvertent quotations, as noted at the very beginning of this thesis: Verbal quotations are especially capable of mingling with the phraseology of a language. Philosophers noticed that quotations are multi-lexical units; the task of linguistics is to further specify how the immersion in ordinary phraseology is possible.

In short, intertextuality studies show that the apparent paradox of inadvertent quotation can be approached through the global semiotics which are inherent in any manifest text, as all creation is built on some former creation. Intertextual studies thus introduce a vertical text-text relationship as a complement to the horizontal author-reader relationship, which also entails a historical perspective. In addition, the *what is?* question can now be answered more precisely with the following definition:

[29] Original text: "Daß die Begriffsbestimmung von Zitat und Anspielung recht komplizierter Natur ist, zeigen die zahlreichen kontroversen Studien, in denen entweder von einer sehr engen oder einer sehr weiten Definition dieser beiden Begriffe ausgegangen wird. [...] darüber hinaus weisen Wortbildungen wie 'Zitatanspielung' oder 'zitathafte Anspielung' auf die fließenden Übergänge dieser beiden Begriffe. Dennoch wird man den Begriff der Anspielung bzw. Allusion von den oben beschriebenen charakteristischen Merkmalen des Zitats dahingehend abheben können, daß das Zitat ein früheres Textsegment reproduziert, während sich die Anspielung im besonderen Maße durch ihren Zeige- bzw. Hinweischarakter auszeichnet. Dabei kann der Dichter Anspielungen bis ins Kryptische verschlüsseln." (Jansohn 1990: 15).

> A quotation is anything that constitutes a trace of a text *in absentia* in a text *in praesentia* and thus establishes a link between two or more texts by verbal, thematic and/or onomastic similarity, which may or may not be intended and, if intended, which may or may not be additionally indexed by the author.

Furthermore, literary studies consider "intertextual competence" (Plett 1999: 317) as the main condition for recognising quotations: The knowledge of the text *in absentia* is the *sine qua non* for identifying intertextual traces on the grounds of lexical, thematic and onomastic similarities. The author may also give clues as to quoted passages which are typically decipherable with general linguistic knowledge.

Literature essentially contributes to the understanding of what quotations are and how they work. Accordingly, this thesis largely benefits from the work of the literary sister discipline and mainly follows the path outlined above. The relationship between *reference* and *repetition*, that is, between the allusive and the replicating aspects of quotation, along with the philosophical concepts of *use* and *mention* will resurface as a central theme throughout this thesis. In addition, the two main types of knowledge for identifying quotations help to structure the thesis: Chapter four is dedicated to indexed quotations, which are interpretable via general linguistic competence, while chapter 6 bases its classification of quotations on the similarities which are identifiable through intertextual competence, i.e. textual knowledge. The diverse functional aspects mentioned in the definitions above, as well as Sternberg's (1982) and Tsur's (1998) observations on the perspectivising effects of quotations and their subservience to communicated purposes, will, due to space limitations, not be explored in detail. They are, however, considered to be useful and plausible observations, and the present study will occasionally return to them if appropriate.

3.3 Quotations in linguistics

In linguistics, quotations have been treated the way one typically treats "poor cousins": Sometimes they are mentioned as somehow belonging to the family, and sometimes they are invited to join their linguistic relatives but are met with some embarrassment. Only rarely are they addressed, and when they are, it is very selectively, perhaps even moodily, and with varying intensity.[30]

3.3.1 Quotations as reported speech

Quotations in linguistics have been most coherently investigated in terms of reported speech, that is, as a grammatical category.[31] In contrast to quotations in the sense of a "passage from a book" (cf. OED), quotations as reported speech are, as a grammatical category, necessarily metalinguistically indexed and never allow for inadvertent quoting. However, Clark/Gerrig (1990) deserve some special attention here as they provide converging evidence to Saka's (1998) notion of multiple ostension and show by empirical means that the widely held assumption of verbatim rendition does not normally hold in ordinary language. Moreover, they imply a further aspect which may account for incidental quotations.

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[30] cf. also Lennon's (2004: 11) verdict on the treatment of allusions in linguistics as "unsystematic" and "*ad hoc*".

[31] cf. most notably Coulmas (1986), Clark/Gerrig (1990) and Clark/Wade (1993), but also Helbig (1996), Haßler (1997), Steyer (1997) and Authier-Revuz (1998), to name just a few.

The psycholinguists Clark and Gerrig depart from the pragmatic question of "what do we do when we quote?" and embed their theory in a general theory of action, as the fathers of pragmatic theory did (Austin 1962, Searle 1992 [1969], Grice 1991 [1957 and 1967]). According to Clark/Gerrig (1990), people *demonstrate* things when they quote. They make their interlocutor "experience what it is like to perceive the things depicted" (Clark/Gerrig 1990: 765). The idea is to make one's interlocutor understand what the demonstrated part is and what the accompanying or embedding linguistic actions are. Clark/Gerrig (1990) identify four quotation ingredients that are simultaneously delivered to achieve this (cf. Clark/Gerrig 1990: 768):

- depictive aspects
- supportive aspects
- annotative aspects
- incidental aspects

First, the depictive aspect implies selectivity, similar to Sternberg's aspect of "perspectival montage" (Sternberg 1982: 109), which is mentioned in section 3.2.2. Second, the supportive aspect, which should make the communicated point clear, might allow for quoting a Japanese phrase or a stuttered utterance in smooth English to facilitate communication. Hence, Clark/Gerrig's dictum is *form follows function* rather than *form follows form*. Clark/Gerrig (1990) thus strictly oppose an understanding of quotations as verbatim renditions. Third, the annotative aspect comprises added comments or ostensive exaggerations as guiding clues for the correct interpretation of the quoted passage. One might draw a disapproving face or chuckle good-naturedly while quoting: "And then he pronounced 'My dad is a philtosopher'."[32] Quotation is therefore closely linked to the process of quoting and less so to the original form and function. Last, incidental aspects may comprise one's own accent, register and the like, which are not intended to form part of the quotation, but may be misinterpreted as doing so. The choice of words betrays the linguistic experience of the speakers/writers, including their exposure to sources of quotations and quoted phrases. A *full-knowing reader* might then detect a quotation which was never intended as such.

3.3.2 Quotations in the language of newspapers – Functional studies

Quotations in newspapers have also attracted the attention of linguists. The comprehensive studies by Klockow (1980) and Tuormala (2000) include both reported speech and passages "from a book, speech etc." (cf. OED) when they focus on passages set between quotation marks. Klockow (1980) develops the linguistic conditions for the use of quotation marks in a Grice-inspired pragmatic paradigm. He offers a thorough account of the interrelationship between the different types of quotations that are conventionally tagged with quotation marks: *pure quotations* as used in the philosophical discourse, *reported speech*, and quotations conveying some sort of attitude, which he calls *modalising quotations*. Furthermore, he identifies two main functions of quotations in the discursive practice of German journalism: to increase authenticity and avoid responsibility for the truth of the

[32] Like Quine's comment that "quotation has an anomalous feature", "My dad is a philtosopher" is an allusion to another "classical" example in the philosophical discourse on quotations (cf. Cappelen/Lepore 1997: 436; Recanati 2001: 668).

quoted passage. With respect to the use of quotation marks, Klockow (1980) will be reviewed more thoroughly in chapter 4, which deals with (typographical) marking.

Tuormala (2000) compares quotations in newspapers and magazines with quotations in academic articles on linguistics from a functional discursive angle within the framework of *la linguistique de l'énonciation*.[33] Tuormala (2000) extends Klockow's study with regard to the modalising effect of quotations by asking what do quotation marks point at? She seconds Klockow's (1980) functions with regard to French newspapers. Yet instead of journalistic authenticity, she uses the term *dramatising effect*, which is probably more appropriate. In addition, Tuormala (2000) identifies genre-related functional differences: While the journalist mainly uses quotations to suspend responsibility and create drama, scholars deliberately situate themselves in the context of their academic community by adopting, confirming, elaborating on or refuting other scholars' viewpoints. The modalising effect of quotations in academic texts thus "oscillates between the epistemic and the evaluative" (cf. Tuormala 2000: 234).[34]

Lennon (2004) examines allusions in British newspapers, that is, verbal units that function as "an echo orchestrated by the writer so that understanding involves a setting off of one unit of language *in praesentia* (the alluding unit) against another *in absentia* (the target)" (2004: 2). Lennon (2004) groups allusions according to their referents: quotations, titles, proverbs, formulaic text, names and naming phrases, and set phrases (cf. Lennon 2004: 21 and 103 ff.). In doing so, he takes for granted a close relationship between quotations in the OED sense of "passage from a book", names/titles and ordinary multi-lexical units. His study focuses on the cognitive processes of alluding and their comprehension, and on the discursive functions of quotations. Lennon (2004) identifies 15 discursive functions, which he groups in five domains that capture the intratextual, inter(con)textual, metatextual, processing and interpersonal-affective aspects of allusions. Some of Lennon's (2004) discursive functions are listed below for future reference, as the present thesis does not address functional aspects in detail:

- to attract reader attention (intratextual domain)
- to exploit productive ambiguity (inter(con)textual domain)
- to mean "more" than is "said" (inter(con)textual domain)
- to achieve humorous effects (metatextual domain),
- to ease the cognitive processing load for the reader and the writer (processing domain)
- to establish common ground with the reader (interpersonal-affective domain)
- to impart aesthetic pleasure (interpersonal-affective domain)
- to display the writer's own erudition (interpersonal-affective domain) (cf. Lennon 2004: 236)

Lennon (2004) is thus mainly interested in the referential aspect of quotations, which – depending on the communicative environment – can also be fulfilled by ordinary multi-lexical units. The present study, however, seeks to explore the relationship between verbal quotations and ordinary phrasemes in terms of the ability of quotations to *lose* their referential overtones. As such, this thesis partly complements Lennon (2004), since it

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[33] *La linguistique de l'énonciation* denotes the French tradition of pragmatics, which was formed in the 1930s by the linguists Bally, Benveniste and Culioli, and further developed by Ducrot, Authier-Révuz and others.

[34] Original text: "Le L citant exprime sa propre position face à des travaux mentionnés (à des fins de rappel, de valorisation …) en jouant de toute une gamme de modalités oscillant de l'épistémique à l'évaluatif." (Tuormala 2000: 234).

approaches the issue from the dimension of *repetition* (rather than from *reference*), for which a phraseological (rather than a cognitive) approach is chosen.

3.3.3 Quotations in phraseology

While phraseological literature on quotations in English is extremely rare, the German tradition has made a number of contributions. Phraseologists regularly group quotations among phrasemes as a matter of course,[35] yet only a few address the "pour cousin" directly. Some scholars make a degree of effort to gather them, especially Mieder (1979 and 2008), who offers rich collections of quotations, including passages from *Hamlet*. Others concentrate on special text types, such as quotations in advertisements (Hemmi 1994) or titles (Alexander 1986). Again others, like Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982), are concerned with the socio-psychological aspects of reception and the fluidity of individual familiarity with frequent quotations (*Geflügelte Worte, winged words*). Steyer (1997) and Rößler (1997) examine some of the concepts developed in literary studies and explore the role of linguistics in intertextuality studies. In sum, the phraseological approaches are diverse and isolated; their findings are hardly comparable with each other. One also cannot speak of a unified concept of quotation. It oscillates between reported speech and a "passage from a book" (cf. OED), it is partly linked with the assumption of verbatim rendition (e.g. Klockow 1980, Steyer 1997),[36] and/or the focus lies primarily on recurrent quotations which are assumed to be generally well-known (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982). Accordingly, a more promising approach for exploring the relationship between quotation and ordinary phraseme, which will be done in chapter 7, seems to be to begin from findings in general phraseology rather than from the few specific studies of quotations in phraseology. However, a few comments on Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) and Steyer (1997) will help position the present account.

Comments on Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982)

Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) concentrate on *geflügelte Worte*, which are said to "have an oscillating character" between occasional "quotations on the one hand and other kinds of phraseologisms on the other hand" (1982: 56).[37] The problem that Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) mainly raise is that of familiarity as part of the definition of *winged words*, which cannot be assumed as a matter of course. Familiarity is a psycho- and sociolinguistic characteristic of linguistic units which varies between individuals and groups of individuals. Moreover, winged words are typically connected to cultural knowledge, which does not remain stable over time. The broad approach of the present account principally includes

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[35] cf., among others, Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982), Burger (2003 [1998]), Moon (1998), Sabban (1998 and 2008), and chapter 7 for more details.

[36] Original text: "Ich gehe von einem engen zitatbegriff aus, nach dem das zitat die wörtliche reproduktion einer lokaliserbaren äußerung bzw. eines teils davon ist. Mit 'lokalisierbar' ist gemeint, daß die äußerung einem urheber, einem text oder einer bestimmten situation zugeordnet werden kann, auf die mit der reproduktion verwiesen wird." (Klockow 1980: 92).
"Der Sprecher präsentiert ihn [den Ausdruck] mit dem sprachlichen Mittel des direkten Zitats. Er drückt damit aus: 'Hiermit übernehme ich wörtlich einen Ausdruck, ohne irgendeine Veränderung in der sprachlichen Oberflächenstruktur vorzunehmen'."(Steyer 1997: 95)

[37] Original text: "Unsere Überlegungen zur Produktion und Rezeption von Geflügelten Worten haben gezeigt, daß diese Klasse von Phraseologismen einen oszillierenden Charakter hat: Sie sind nicht eindeutig abzugrenzen von Zitaten auf der einen Seite, Phraseologismen sonstiger Art auf der anderen." (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56)

the entire range of "oscillation" between occasional quotations and phraseologisms, including winged words. However, some special attention is necessarily paid to winged words. First, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as the reference point for all the quotations discussed here is a typical source for the classical concept of winged words. *Hamlet* is a canonical text and Shakespeare is a cultural icon who is indeed often quoted. Second, if they are to be informative, empirical investigations must be based on a certain amount of data. While the range of data that demonstrate the versatility of quotations may include occasional quotations, diachronic studies on the developments of specific quotations must be based on quotations that are frequently quoted, at least at some point in time.

However, the chosen methodological approach to quotations in this account deviates from the approach that Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) took to winged words. Their relatively concrete question – *does a reader recognise*?, or even *how many readers still recognise this or that quotation?* – is here asked in a more abstract way, as *what is necessary for recognising a quotation?* The answer to this question, as has already been foreshadowed, is basically *linguistic* and *textual knowledge*. Linguistic knowledge is sufficient for interpreting manifest clues which highlight quotations in the texts. Thus, whereas Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) assign required knowledge to individuals, this thesis argues that part of such knowledge can be derived from the quoting text itself. Similar to the options for reception put forward by Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982; 47 f.), the clarity of clues for quotation is also a matter of degrees (cf. chapter 4). Table 1 schematises the degrees of marking and hence of possible recognition based on general linguistic knowledge. If the linguistic clues are not maximally explicit, the textual knowledge of a *full-knowing reader* fills the gaps and makes recognition objectively possible (cf. chapter 6).

Options for reception of winged words in Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982)	*Transparency of manifest clues*
The reader knows the quotation and its source.	The clue indicates the source and highlights the quotation by typographical and/or metalinguistic means.
The reader somehow knows the quotation, yet not necessarily further details such as the precise source, the original wording, etc.	The clue indicates that the passage is a quotation, typically by typographical and metalinguistic means, but does not indicate the source.
The reader knows or recognises a sequence of words as fixed, but does not associate any source.	The clue indicates that the passage is a lexical unit, e.g. by nominalisation, language switch, stylistic deviations.
The reader does not recognise a quoted sequence as fixed.	No linguistic clues exist.

Table 1: Comparison between Burger/Buhofer/Sialm's (1982) options of reception and graded transparency of linguistic markers for quotations

In other words, the chosen approach to tackling the question of recognition is structural rather than psycho- or sociolinguistic.

Comments on Steyer (1997)

Steyer (1997) tries to define the scope of linguistics within intertextuality studies. It is noticeable that she tries to avoid the fuzzy terms *quotation* and *allusion*, but uses the term *Intertextualität* instead as a collective term for any manifestations of intertextuality (in Kristeva's broad sense). Steyer (1997: 83) distinguishes between encyclopaedic intertextuality

and intertextuality referring to language (original terminology: "enzyklopädische Intertextualität" vs. "sprachproduktbezogene Intertextualität"). Encyclopaedic intertextuality implies an understanding of intertextuality in the sense of general discourse and reference to the outside world, which she rejects as being an unsuitable subject for linguistics. *Sprachproduktbezogene Intertextualität* comprises anything that relates one text to another in the sense of linguistic product, where verbal, propositional and functional levels of language have to be distinguished from each other (Steyer 1997: 94).[38] The basic differentiation between verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations as proposed here falls, according to Steyer (1997), squarely within the linguistic domain of intertextuality. The present account largely follows the differentiation between the three levels of language: Verbal quotations operate on the verbal level of language, while thematic quotations operate on the propositional level. Onomastic quotations bridge both levels as their replicated form typically stands metonymically for specific propositions (e.g. character traits, cf. chapter 6).

Another terminological pair found in Steyer is "interpreted" vs. "presented intertextuality" (Steyer 1997: 91). Steyer uses them to separate subjectively perceived intertextuality from types of intertextuality which offer "verifiable" clues. These verifiable clues may be explicit markers, such as quotation marks, or manifest surface similarities between text passages. In other words, her "presented intertextuality" captures both aspects which are differentiated in this thesis: indexed quotations, which rely on linguistic marking (cf. chapter 4), and the perception of similarity, which requires textual knowledge (cf. chapter 6). However, Steyer (1997) does not approach presented intertextuality from a presupposed kind of knowledge but from the perspectives of linguistic explorability:

- the single quoting text
- synchronic perspective
- diachronic perspective

Her discussion of the clues in a single quoting text focuses on added indices (cf. Steyer 1997: 94 ff.). Steyer (1997) also maintains that the recognition of intertextuality can be based on "intertextual" or "referential markers" (her terminology, cf. Steyer 1997: 93 f.), which is the "communicatively ordinary case". The perspective of the single text is thus qualitatively different from the other two perspectives, which require more specialised knowledge (cf. Steyer 1997: 3).[39] The synchronic approach focuses on textual comparison and relates almost exactly to what this thesis calls textual knowledge or competence (cf. Steyer 1997: 98 ff.). The diachronic approach, meanwhile, is the application of expert linguistic knowledge that can interpret large text corpora in terms of the occurrences,

[38] Original text: "Für alle Analyseperspektiven gilt jedoch die Notwendigkeit, deutlich zu machen, mit welcher Sprachebene man sich gerade beschäftigt. Referentielle Muster können und müssen immer bezogen auf die unterschiedlichen Sprachebenen rekonstruiert werden (Ebene der sprachlichen Ausdrucksform, propositionale und funktionale Ebene), was jeweils auch zu unterschiedlichen Resultaten führen kann." (Steyer 1997: 94).

[39] Original text: "Zwischen der Einzeltextperspektive einerseits und den synchronen bzw. diachronen Sichtweisen andererseits besteht ein qualitativer Unterschied. Im Grunde ist die Einzeltextperspektive der kommunikative Normalfall, der Hörer/Leser kann Intertextualitätsmarker unterschiedlichen Explizierungsgrades entdecken, die er in Abhängigkeit von seinen kognitiven, erfahrungsgeleiteten und intentionalen Prädispositionen für sich verarbeitet, auf welche Weise auch immer. Der synchrone Vergleich von Referenzobjekten und -subjekten bleibt im Regelfall schon einem intendiert analytischen Herangehen vorbehalten, eine diachrone Sicht ist ohne wissenschaftliches Instrumentarium kaum noch vorstellbar." (Steyer 1997: 93).

distributions and frequencies of intertextual traces (cf. Steyer 1997: 101 ff.). The present account follows Steyer's clue-based approach; the diachronic perspective is echoed in the empirical sections in chapters 5, 8 and 9.

Taking into account a broad approach to intertextuality, Steyer (1997) also systematises referential patterns. Expressions may refer to expressions or to texts, and texts may refer to texts or to expressions, as the following schema shows (cf. Steyer 1997: 86 f.):[40]

a)	expression X	--------------- >	expression Y
	Ex in Tx	refers to	Ey in Ty
b)	text X	--------------- >	expression Y
	Tx	refers to	Ey in Ty
c)	expression X	--------------- >	text Y
	Ex in Tx	refers to	Ty
d)	text X	--------------- >	text Y
	Tx	refers to	Ty

Here, X refers to the quoting expression or the text *in praesentia* (*Referenzsubjekt*), Y refers to the quoted expression or the text *in absentia* (*Referenzobjekt*), E stands for *expression*, and T refers to *text*. The expression-expression relationship is seen as the foundation of "reformulation", which is what Steyer (1997) prefers to call verbal quotations that are not necessarily verbatim (cf. Steyer 1997: 87).[41] The relationship (b) *quoting text to quoted expression* usually occurs in interpretative texts, such as school essays, where lines and passages are discussed (cf. Genette's metatextuality).[42] Also mottos, be they explicit as epigraphs or implicit as an underlying theme, fall under relationship (b). For instance, Murakami's novel *Kafka on the Shore* seems to be built on the notion of *The time is out of joint* (I, v). Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982: 90) observe that such a relationship equals a structural or text-forming narrative principle. Relationship (c), where an expression refers to an entire text, can be found in famous lines from well-known references, such as the beginning of Hamlet's central soliloquy *To be, or not to be* (III, i), which is often used metonymically for the entire scene or play, or even for high culture in general. Finally, relationship (d) is the most appropriate for true "inter**textuality**" (Steyer 1997: 89, original emphasis).[43] It can cover any transformation of an entire text, such as translations,

[40] Similarly, Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2008) and Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) describe and accommodate the many-to-many relationships of quoting and quoted items.

[41] Original text: "Unter 'Reformulierung' lassen sich ebenso komprimierende und berichtende Wiedergaben subsumieren, die zwar als Referenz gekennzeichnet sind und Originalelemente verwenden, jedoch keine explizite Redewiedergabestruktur aufweisen." (Steyer 1997: 87).

[42] The literary scholar Genette (1997 [1982]) developed a widely discussed general typology of transtextuality (his term for what Kristeva calls *intertextuality*), in which he differentiates between five main aspects: *Metatextuality* in Genette's schema comprises comments – both "first-hand" as in literary criticism, as well as "second-hand" or fictional within a novel. *Metatextuality* describes the relationship between two texts, where one is the object of the other. The other aspects are: *intertextuality*, which comprises verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations as discussed in this account; *paratextuality*, which captures the effect of references in the paratext like titles, epigraphs, prefaces, blurbs, illustrations etc. (cf. the guiding effect of Joyce's title *Ulysses*); and *hypertextuality*, which is the practice of creating texts (hypertext) by transforming earlier texts (hypotext). Parodies, adaptations, satires and sequels result from *hypertextuality*. Finally, *architextuality* denotes abstract models on which texts are built. The later text is no longer attributed to a specific earlier text, but to ways of structuring texts, for instance as a novel, poem or epic (cf. Genette (1997 [1982]: 1 ff.). Genette (1997 [1982]) focuses primarily on hypertextuality.

[43] Steyer (1997) and Genette (1997 [1982]) apparently agree that the text-text relationship is the core of intertextuality, even though their terminology differs (hypertextuality vs. intertextuality). As mentioned in footnote 42, Genette (1997 [1982]) focuses on the larger genres, while Steyer's linguistic approach makes her concentrate on expression-expression relationships.

adaptations, text revisions, interpretations. Outside the field of literature, it is court laws and sentences, minutes, political speeches and government reports that constitute chains of texts that interpret each other and hence build up strong intertexts.

As Steyer (1997) focuses on non-fictional texts, onomastic relations are not on her radar. For completeness' sake, it should be added that names can also serve different textual functions. Names can remain names – such as when *Hamlet* is mentioned as *Hamlet* in a later text – or be used to name something else:

(9) Anon (1960): Hamlet Cigars / Hamlet Chocolate (source HYHA)

Names can be formed by expressions, such as when they are used for titles:

(10) Arnold, Samuel (1804): *Foul Deeds Will Rise* (source HYHA)[44]
(11) Morton, Thomas (1818): *Methinks I See My Father! or, Who's My Father?* A Farce, in Two Acts. (source HYHA)[45]

On the other hand, names can become part of quoted themes, such as *Hamlet's madness* or *Hamlet's melancholy* (cf. Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010 and Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010). While all these referential patterns are largely acknowledged in the chosen approach of this thesis, and thus isomorphism in quotations cannot be presupposed, the special focus will lie on Steyer's (1997) relationship (a): expressions referring to expressions.

3.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter reviewed some general concepts of quotations in order to learn more about the "oscillating character" of quotations (in a more general sense than Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982: 56) intended). Philosophy has highlighted the metalinguistic and pragmatic aspects of quotation, while literature recognises its metonymic nature and reveals a fundamental network of interrelated meanings, texts and expressions. The characterisation of quotation in philosophy seems too narrow for linguistics, while the horizon plotted by literary intertextuality studies, whereby anything is connected with everything, seems so broad that, as Steyer (1997: 85) puts it, the linguist almost yields to scholarly helplessness and cluelessness.[46] Accordingly, some guiding principles need to be distilled. After having defined quotation in section 3.2.3 as

> anything that constitutes a trace of a text *in absentia* in a text *in praesentia* and thus establishes a link between two or more texts by verbal, thematic and/or onomastic similarity, which may or may not be intended and, if intended, which may or may not be additionally indexed as such by the author,

the question of recognition needs to be further scrutinized. Recognition is based on knowledge. The next chapter will explore recognition on the basis of noticeable clues within the text that can be interpreted using one's general linguistic competence (cf. Steyer's 1997 level of *single text reference*). Chapter 5 empirically explores some implications of the observations made with inherent clues. Chapter 6 will then address recognisability on the grounds of an ideal textual knowledge and will present a classification of quotations

[44] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Till then sit still, my soul: foul deeds will rise.
[45] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): My father!--methinks I see my father.
[46] Original text: "Entwickelt man diesen Gedankengang fort, gelangt man schließlich zum kritischen Punkt, nämlich zu der Erkenntnis, daß sich in der Tat jede Äußerung und jeder Text auf andere beziehen, daß alles miteinander zusammenhängt. Spätestens jetzt stellt sich wissenschaftliche Hilflosigkeit ein …" (Steyer 1997: 85)

based on the recognisably repeated and thus similar elements. The relationship that is often claimed to exist between quotation and phraseology will be explored in chapter 7, which focuses on verbal quotation exclusively. Finally, Steyer's (1997) synchronic and diachronic perspectives will be applied to the study of selected frequent quotations from *Hamlet* which demonstrate the path from quotation to dequotational phraseme, create scope for better characterising quotation's "oscillating character" (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56) and ultimately form the basis of inadvertent quoting.

4 Marking and the role of linguistic knowledge for the identification of quotations

Quotation is a pragmatic affair according to Saka (1998), Recanati (2001), Stei (2007), Gutzmann (2007) and other philosophers of language. Quotation thus depends on intention and/or on recognition by the communicating parties. Particularly in the written mode, intention can only be assumed by the reader. Text production and text reception are separate processes, leading Plett to appropriately diagnose a *communicative difference* ("kommunikative Differenz", Plett 1974). The readers have nothing but the text to go on and cannot usually ask the author whether or not their interpretation corresponds to the author's intentions. Therefore, the question *what is a quotation?* is closely linked to the question *what do I have to know to recognise a quotation?*. The question regarding the recognition of quotations highlights the pragmatic aspect of quotation and goes beyond the seemingly static, ontological concept generally suggested by a *what is?* question.

This chapter follows a similar path as suggested by Steyer (1997) with respect to her single-text perspective and the concept of presented intertextuality. It focuses on the clues to quotations which are given by means of language and become noticeable and interpretable via one's linguistic knowledge. These clues will be called markers. Marking comprises all the devices and strategies which "trigger the simultaneous activation of two texts" (Ben-Porat 1976: 108). Marking is an aspect of quotation and is of equal interest to both linguists and literary scholars. While literary scholars prefer to investigate marking in terms of reader guidance (cf. Grieder 2013, Holthuis 1994, Perri 1978, Ben-Porat 1976) or as a text-grammatical device in fiction (Plett 1985, Broich 1985, Pfister 1985, Füger 1989, Helbig 1996), linguists focus on formal variety and communicative effect, particularly in non-fictional texts (cf. Klockow 1980, Steyer 1997, Rößler 1997, Tuormala 2000, Quaßdorf 2012a).

To set out the field and introduce the concepts of local and global marking, Helbig's (1996) comprehensive study on marking will be reviewed and then compared with the data-driven schema developed by Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) and implemented in the *HyperHamlet* database (Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010). Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) separate local from global marking according to the different types of required knowledge and expertise. The main part of the chapter will then focus on local marking, where "only" common linguistic knowledge is required. A review of Klockow (1980) will provide an example of a functional account of markers, and the subsequent presentation of a data-driven typology of markers will reveal the variety of local markers, which in turn helps clarify the question of what is needed to recognise a quotation on the basis of general linguistic competence. A quantitative overview of the actual frequencies of local markers as recorded in the *HyperHamlet* database will round off this chapter. Despite a great variety of marking, preferences for specific types of marking are revealed and empirically confirm that quotation is a conventional linguistic phenomenon and – obviously – that the knowledge of linguistic conventions plays a major part in their recognition.

4.1 Global and local marking in fiction

Marking necessarily becomes significant if one acknowledges that traces of other texts and discourses are a characteristic of all (or at least most) texts:

> Aus der Markierung der Alterität des Textes im Text leiten sich die eigentlichen textlinguistischen Fragestellungen ab, für die sprachliche Mittel unterschiedlicher Ebenen und Komplexität anzunehmen sein werden. (Haßler 1997: 23)

Particularly in fiction, marking comprises both local linguistic devices and global narrative strategies, as will be illustrated in section 4.1.1. While Broich (1985), Füger (1989) and Helbig (1996) try to accommodate this complexity in a one-dimensional system of increasing transparency, a database approach such as that of *HyperHamlet* (Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf 2010) singles out the various influential factors and captures complexity by their dynamic combinations (cf. section 4.1.2). The analytical transparency in terms of the linguistic means and their levels of operation as demanded by Haßler (1997: 23) is thus increased.

The type and the transparency of a marker is also influenced by genre. It is good academic practice to highlight quotations by typographical and metalinguistic means, including source indications, and a hidden quotation counts as plagiarism. Conversely, in literature, references that are too obvious could be criticised for spoiling the pleasure in the game of quotation hide-and-seek, and the art of using quotations that are formally concealed but properly functional is praised.[1] Plagiarism apart, even cryptic allusions want to be recognised as functionally overt intertextual traces (cf. Pucci 1998: 39). Therefore, fiction writers in particular have developed a number of more or less subtle linguistic devices and narrative strategies to help the reader become aware of their mastery in reusing the works of others. The range of such devices stretches from very explicit source indications to faint "seams" (Plett 1988: 301) and "ungrammaticalities" (Riffaterre 1994: 782) between quotation and cotext that "upset the textual isotopy" and act as "reference signals" for intertextual traces (cf. Helbig 1996: 37).[2] Because of this graded nature of transparency, most scholars agree on a distinction between explicit and implicit signals for intertextuality (cf. Helbig 1996: 53),[3] while only some of them, that is, Broich (1985), Füger (1989) and Helbig (1996), have explored the nature of the transparency cline in more detail.

The degree of transparency of intertextual traces depends on more than one factor, and different scholars have explored these different factors with varying degrees of attention. The list below uses a summary given by Füger (1989: 199) and is complemented by the names of the main scholars who worked on that specific aspect:

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1 cf. Meyer (1961), Compagnon (1979), Pucci (1998) and the contributions in Beekman/Grüttemeier (2000), to list just a few.

2 The passage reviews Lachmann (1990), cf. chapter 3, footnote 28, p. 56.

3 Helbig (1996: 53) observes that the terminology for this basic distinction of markers varies. Alternative terms are *open* vs. *cryptic* (cf. Meyer 1961, Holthuis 1994) and *overt* vs. *covert* or *veiled* (Ben-Porat 1976). They generally describe the clarity of a reference. *Distinct* vs. *indistinct* reveal a reader's perspective, while *foregrounded* vs. *concealed* (Ammann 1991:66) and *marked* vs. *unmarked* (Wheeler 1979) reflect the perspective of the author. In addition, these different approaches function on different levels and are therefore not mutually exclusive: Something may be *cryptic* but still be perceived as *distinct*. Ben-Porat (1976) offers a few further oppositions. *Complex* vs. *simple* accounts for layeredness, *concentrated* vs. *dispersed* refers to the local distribution, and *all-inclusive* vs. *local* concerns the text level. In short, terminology echoes the chosen perspective, which indicates the complexity of both quotations and their markers.

- the relationship between text and pre-text (Lachmann 1990, Füger 1989, Plett 1991)
- the position and profile of the reference in text-grammatical terms (beginning, middle, end, paratextuality) (Broich 1985, Plett 1991)
- the position of the reference in view of the narratological perspective (Broich 1985)
- the frequency of references (Broich 1985, Füger 1989, Plett 1985, 1988, 1991, Helbig 1996)
- the share in text-meaning generation (Füger 1989, Plett 1985, 1988, 1991)

The importance of the first factor, the *text–pre-text* relationship, becomes clear if one thinks of mottos, entries in quotation anthologies, parodies and adaptations, which quote by definition. The relationship to the quoted text can be established *a priori* so that even slight similarities will be interpreted as quotation because of the intertextual expectation raised by the text type. Conversely, manuals and police reports are unlikely to contain literary quotations. The second factor, the *position* of the reference is closely linked to the first. Parodies and adaptations are often indicated by titles (e.g. Käutner's film *Der Rest ist Schweigen* and Stoppard's play *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead*),[4] and mottos are also put at the beginning of a text, that is, in a privileged position. Footnotes, on the other hand, are often just quickly glanced over, if read at all, yet they may contain explicit indications. The same holds true for other accompanying texts, such as the author's diaries and letters, or scholarly articles about the work which are not normally accessed by the general readership (cf. Broich 1985: 35 ff., Füger 1989: 199). The third factor, *narratological perspective,* differentiates between clues addressed to the reader, e.g. via third-person narrators and titles such as Fforde's *Something Rotten*,[5] and clues that operate within the text-world where characters read and discuss works by others. The fourth factor, *frequency*, primes the reader for further intertextual traces: As more quotations are found, so more are expected. Füger's (1989) last factor, the share in *text-meaning* generation, is the same as Meyer's (1961) differentiation between borrowings and quotations. Borrowings can go unnoticed without any interpretative loss, while quotations require textual knowledge to understand the quoting text.

4.1.1 Helbig's global account of marking

Helbig's (1996) classification of the strengths of marking is the most analytical, consistent and comprehensive. He further develops Broich (1985), who focuses on the role of the *where* and the *how* of marking, and Füger (1989), who explores the art of subtle marking. Like Füger (1989), Helbig uses authorial intent as the baseline for categorisation. Helbig (1996) sets up a graded, four-level system that runs from the *zero level* (*Nullstufe*) to the *reduced level* (*Reduktionsstufe*), the *full level* (*Vollstufe*) and the *multiplied level* (*Potenzierungsstufe*).[6] The zero level comprises quotations which are fully integrated into their contexts. In contrast to Plett (1988) and Riffaterre (1994), Helbig (1996) acknowledges that "seams" and "ungrammaticalities" are not necessarily observable; the *zero level* is the level of the unmarked quotation that has to be differentiated from marked quotations:

> Es erscheint daher geboten, die Bezeichnung 'Markierung' für spezifische sprachliche oder graphemisch-visuelle Signale zu reservieren, die eine intertextuelle Einschreibung erst als solche kennzeichnen (eben: 'markieren') sollen - sei es, indem sie zu dieser hinzutreten, sei es, daß sie

[4] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): The rest is silence. [...]
To tell him his commandment is fulfill'd, That Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead.

[5] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.

[6] Helbig (1996) takes the terminology from Füger (1989), while the implied concepts are not entirely equivalent.

> der Einschreibung inhärent sind und durch deren Kontextualisierung Markierungscharakter erhalten. (Helbig 1996: 54)

Helbig's definition of markers includes added signals, noticeable "seams", "ungrammaticalites" ("inherent features"), and marking strategies on the textual level ("contextualisation"). Helbig distances his concept of marking from self-referential concepts where markers comprise *everything* that "trigger[s] the simultaneous activation of two texts" (Ben-Porat 1976: 108) and "point[s] to a referent by echoing it in some way" (Perri 1978: 290). Ben-Porat's (1976) and Perri's (1978) definitions comprise the index as well as the indexed: Unmarked verbal and thematic quotations can also produce associations with the pre-text if one knows the text.[7]

Helbig's lowest level of marking, the *Reduktionsstufe,* comprises all implicitly marked references. Implicitness is defined as polyfunctionality in Helbig's account. A more precise definition has to be inferred: Helbig must have in mind any emphasizing means, such as:

- repetition of references
- clustered references
- conspicuous positioning
- intertextual strategies like analogies, homologies and contrasts in view of the entire text,[8]

which subtly raise the reader's expectation of intertextuality, including genres, such as mottos and parody. The *reduced level* thus denotes an abstract marking strategy that, via genre, quantity and position, qualifies as a marking strategy. These abstract marking strategies can use context to turn scattered, individual unmarked quotations into marked ones. Helbig's (1996) *reduced level* thus denotes marking on a global text level, while polyfunctional localised signals such as typographical clues and *code switches* are assigned to the next level (*Vollstufe*).

Helbig's *Vollstufe* represents the level of "proper" marking in the sense of "specific linguistic or graphemic-visual signals" (Helbig 1996: 54). These markers are local and salient enough not to go unnoticed. Helbig (1996: 112) lists

- onomastic signals
- code switches
- graphemic interferences

as explicit markers. Graphemic inferences, such as quotation marks, italics, capitalisation and set-off passages, are conventional paralinguistic signs that indicate quotations. They are also clearly recognisable as having been intended by the author, so the reader is encouraged to pragmatically enrich the passage and derive further implicatures.[9] This balanced duality of perspective between the production and reception of a quotation also holds for the other two marking devices in Helbig's (1996) *Vollstufe*: onomastic signals

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7 Ben-Porat (1976) and Perri (1978) address their papers to a well-read, expert audience who will easily recognise phrases and symbols from other literary works thanks to their intertextual competence. Ben-Porat (1976) and Perri (1978) do not concentrate on marking but aim for a valid description of the specificity of *literary* allusions, where the recognition of a marker is just one requirement among many. In Ben-Porat, it is the first in a four-step interpretative process, followed by the "identification of the evoked text", the "modification of the initial interpretation of the signal" and the "activation of the evoked text as a whole" (1976: 110 f.). In Perri (1978), it is the fifth of ten conditions in a description of literary allusion as a speech-act, and is very much reminiscent of Searle's *rules of reference* (cf. Searle 1992 [1969]:94-96).

8 cf. Füger's (1989) categorisation of implicit markers.

9 cf. Grice (1991 [1957]), Sperber/Wilson (2007 [1995]), Recanati (2001), Wilson/Sperber (2004).

and code switches. Authorial intent is unquestionable when it comes to mentioning character and place names from other works of art which a full-knowing reader is sure to recognise.[10] Code switches cover diachronic (e.g archaisms), interlingual (e.g. an English passage in a French text), diatopic (e.g. dialect expressions), diastratic (e.g. stilted or colloquial expressions), diatypic (e.g. a poetic passage in a prose text) specificities that produce marking as a side-effect (cf. Plett 1985: 85 and Helbig 1996: 118). For instance, the archaic pronoun *thy* or the verb form *doth* in a contemporary piece of work are certainly clear examples of Plett's "seams" (1988: 301): They signal quotative usage as they obviously do not derive from the speaker/writer's idiolect (cf. Helbig 1996: 54).

Onomastic marking, code switches and graphemic interferences all cover a wide spectrum of clear to subtle references. In some cases, such markers give unquestionable proof of quotative usage, as is the case with the name *Hamlet* or an English passage in a French text. In other cases, they are ambiguous, such as epithets of characters, archaic words in a 19th-century poem, or quotation marks without any further clues. Co-occurring and recurrent markers – which Helbig (1996) classifies under the *reduced level* – can then strengthen the degree of marking, and/or additional knowledge bases have to be accessed (cf. Plett 1985: 85).[11] Furthermore, Helbig (1996), Broich (1985) and Füger (1989) note that stronger and weaker markers yield specific effects. If strong and unambiguous markers follow several subtler ones, they lead to a reinterpretation of the text *a posteriori* and produce a pleasant light-bulb experience. In contrast, the fun of reading parodies or adaptations lies in uncovering more and more analogies, which are strongly indicated in the beginning so that one knows what to look for at later stages and is ready for increasing subtlety.

Helbig's (1996) highest level of marking, the *multiplied level* (*Potenzierungsstufe*), denotes explicit intertextuality by *metalinguistic thematisation* or by more or less direct identification of the pre-text. Again, different degrees of transparency are observable. Metalinguistic thematisation may be realised by:

- hinting at mere repetition ("he quoted himself")
- hinting at unspecific or generic authorship ("an illustrious poet")
- hinting at unspecific or generic texts ("song", "play")
- indirect description ("the friend and eulogist of Shakespeare")
- vaguely identifying authorship and/or characters ("was it Shakespeare?")
- concrete identification (cf. Helbig 1996: 132)

The scale thus ranges from indicating repeated sections to fully identifying the work by author and title.

[10] The degree to which an actual reader can identify names as references to other works is an entirely different matter to the objectively given possibility of recognition by a *sujet connaissant*. Recognition in practice depends on accessible knowledge. In this specific case, *Hamlet* will be easily identified as a reference to some piece of canonical literature which most people in the Western hemisphere will have heard of in school. *Elsinore* might be less identifiable and *Gertrude* might be entirely inconspicuous and not ring an intertextual bell at all. Yet the empirical data show, and Helbig (1996: 114) also observes, that onomastic references often co-occur with metalinguistic and typographical indices, which – in unison with the clues from the *reduced level* – render the intertextual reference recognisable in many cases, even for an ordinary person.

[11] Original text: "Allerdings gilt für das implizite Zitat-Signal die Einschränkung, daß nicht jeder Kodewechsel von vornherein eine Prätext-Referenz anzeigt. Dies erhellt etwa das naturalistische Drama mit seinen diatopischen und diastratischen Sprachvarianten. Die gleiche Regel trifft selbstverständlich auf die expliziten Signalarten zu. Demnach signalisiert nicht jedes Anführungszeichen ein Zitat, sondern es kann ebensogut die Terminologisierung oder Ironisierung eines bestimmten Textzeichens besagen. Aus diesem Befund ist zu folgern: Erst die Aufdeckung eines konkreten Prätextes kann letztlich die Gültigkeit eines Zitatsignals bestätigen." (Plett 1985: 85).

Helbig's (1996) observations about the mechanisms and effects of marking are detailed and systematic. They give a comprehensive overview of the multiple aspects which generate a marking effect. The presented cline between the zero level and the multiplied level is, however, a little forced. For instance, differentiating between the full level and the multiplied level is difficult in practice with respect to onomastic marking on the full level and the thematisation of the pre-text by names and indirect descriptions on the multiplied level. Similarly, attempting to grade the individual strength of markers is a highly theoretical affair, as several markers often co-occur. Thus, his account also reveals the deficiencies of grading the effects of marking along a single dimension. Marking is complex. Discrete marking devices play a part, as do their accumulation, distribution, positioning, and the quality of the pre-text and the quoting text in view of accessibility, fame, prestige and genre. Cross-cutting phenomena are the result. At this point, the strength of a multi-factorial approach which can be represented by a relational database becomes evident. The complexity of the phenomenon is accommodated by the dynamic combinations of various factors. Helbig's (1996) account unites linguistic, textual and broader hermeneutic factors. Database annotation can separate these aspects and make them more analytically transparent, as the next section will illustrate.

4.1.2 The clue-based approach to marking in *HyperHamlet*

An alternative perspective on marking is taken by Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) in the handling of the *HyperHamlet* database (HYHA). Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010), and Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) empirically identify various clues which "trigger the simultaneous activation of two texts" (Ben-Porat 1976: 108) and operationalise these as annotation categories and features. As marking in Helbig's (1996) sense is complex, more than one annotation category feeds into marking: The annotation category TEXTUAL FUNCTION[12] is similar to Genette's (1997 [1982]) *paratextuality,*[13] which covers the "position and profile in text-grammatical terms" (Füger 1989: 199),[14] that is, whether the quotation occurs in a title, the body of the text, a footnote, etc.

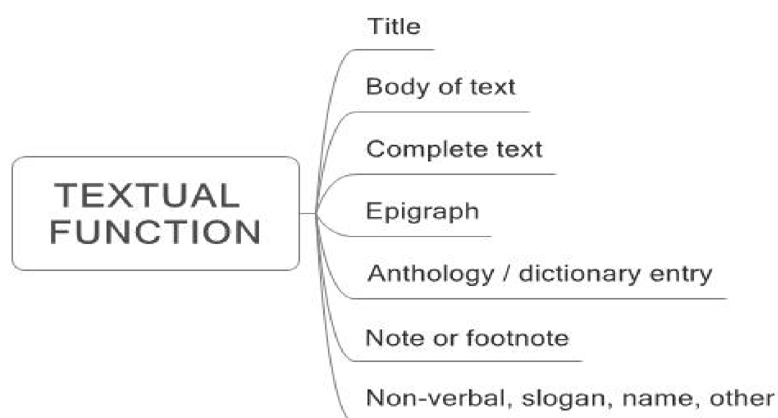

Figure 1: The TEXTUAL FUNCTION annotation category in HYHA, with annotation features

[12] Annotation categories and features in HYHA are given in small caps.

[13] cf. footnote 42, chapter 3, p. 64: Genette (1997 [1982]) developed a widely discussed general typology of transtextuality (his term for what Kristeva calls intertextuality) in which he identifies the five main aspects metatextuality, intertextuality, paratextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality.

[14] cf. also Genette (1997 [1982]), Broich (1985) and Plett (1991).

Figure 1 indicates the different annotation features within this category in HYHA. Most of the features in HYHA are self-explanatory, such as TITLE, EPIGRAPH, NOTE OR FOOTNOTE. BODY OF TEXT covers all the quotations that appear in the text itself (i.e. not in a title, footnote, etc.). COMPLETE TEXT covers cases where the entire text refers to the model, as with adaptations, off-shoots, translations, etc.

The category INTERTEXTUAL RELATION roughly corresponds to Genette's (1997 [1982]) *hypertextuality* and implicitly describes quantitative aspects. Figure 2 lists the various annotation features:

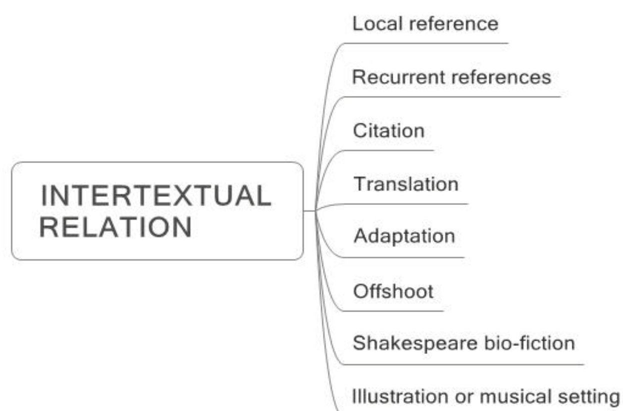

Figure 2: The INTERTEXTUAL RELATION annotation category in HYHA, with annotation features

Quotations that *come single spies* are LOCAL REFERENCES, while those that *come in battalions* but are not formally and/or thematically fundamental to the quoting text are RECURRENT REFERENCES.[15] If a single quotation is defined by its form as an independent entity, such as entries in an anthology, it is labelled CITATION. If multiple quotations are thematically fundamental, they are categorised according to existing genre terms such as TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION and OFFSHOOT. In other words, the quality and density of quotations in a fictional text led to genre differentiations.

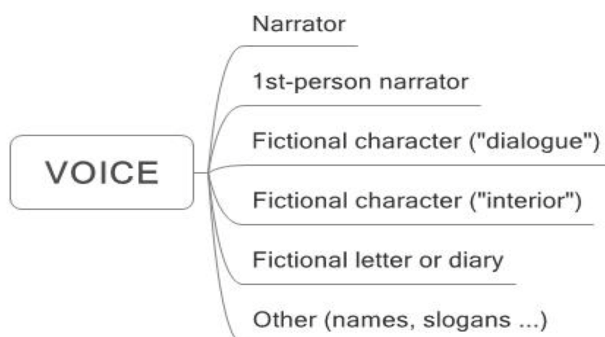

Figure 3: The VOICE annotation category in HYHA, with annotation features

The VOICE category captures the narratological perspective: marking in view of the inner and outer text-world (cf. figure 3). Fictional characters or their actions, such as letter-writing, indicate quotations in the inner text-world. Helbig (1996) maintains that the interpretative import of the quoted work is generally very high if it is thematised in the inner text-world, while third-person narrators address the reader, that is, the outer

[15] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, v): When sorrows come, they come not single spies / But in battalions.

text-world. The first-person narrator acts as a bridge between the inner and outer text-worlds, and is therefore to be differentiated from the third-person narrator and fictional characters.

This short overview of the different aspects of global marking as annotated in HYHA will suffice. Global marking relates to entire fictional texts which are generally distinguished by genre designations such as adaptation, offshoot and parody, while the present thesis also includes non-fictional texts and concentrates on quotations as local references. Furthermore, some of the annotation features and categories, such as VOICE, ADAPTATION and SHAKESPEARE BIO-FICTION, are only informative or applicable for fictional texts and cannot be generalised to include other genres. Lastly, the categories listed above also provide information beyond marking. VOICE also implies oral vs. written conceptualisation in fictional settings, and TEXTUAL FUNCTION can reveal preferences for using specific quotations. Some quotations, like *murder most foul* (I, v), are repeatedly used for titles. Others are preferred for epigraphs, such as *Look, here, upon this picture, and on this* (III, iv), or almost only ever appear in the body of a text, such as *it is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance* (I, iv) (cf. HYHA). The strength of the database *HyperHamlet* consists in its practically tested, coherent annotation of the data, which provides scope for a multi-factorial approach without having to weigh *a priori* the impact of, in particular, indices for global marking. Global marking is created by the interplay of several aspects which ultimately have to be interpreted using expert philological knowledge.

Local marking, however, is characterised by clearly distinguishable, manifest clues which are interpretable using linguistic knowledge alone. Moreover, local marking applies to both fictional and non-fictional texts. Therefore, only local marking is labelled MARKING FOR QUOTATION in HYHA. The next section will describe the intricacies of local marking in more detail.

4.2 Local marking in fiction and non-fiction

Marking as a purely *linguistic* strategy is predominant in Helbig's (1996) *full* and *multiplied level*, while his *reduced level* requires more specific philological expertise. The MARKING FOR QUOTATION annotation category in HYHA covers exactly those clues which are interpretable using linguistic knowledge alone (cf. figure 4):

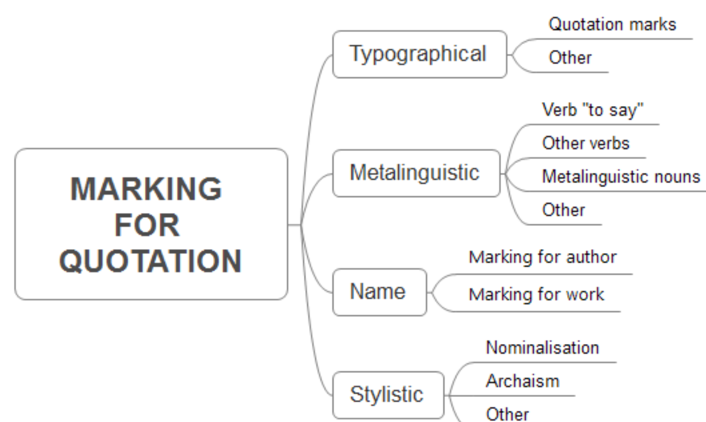

Figure 4: The MARKING FOR QUOTATION annotation category in HYHA, with key annotation features

HYHA therefore offers a suitable guideline for discussing linguistic markers, which this account will largely follow, though not in every detail.

Some of these local marking strategies are conventional linguistic devices: Quotation marks, as the term indicates, are generally seen as the most prominent signal for quotations. Since medieval times, they have been used to differentiate imported text passages in a manuscript (cf. Klockow 1980: 87-88). Quotation marks are often accompanied by metalinguistic tags and name-marking (cf. also Helbig 1996). Despite their frequent co-occurrence, typographical, metalinguistic and name-marking will be discussed separately for heuristic reasons, as they each cover a different aspect of quotation. Typographical marking limits the scope of the quotation and calls for an idiomatic interpretation (cf. chapter 3 and 7). Metalinguistic marking raises awareness for the repetition of verbal or thematic sequences. Name marking points out the source of a quotation. In addition, stylistic peculiarities may also lead to metalinguistic inferences and indicate that speakers/writers are not expressing themselves with their own idiolect but rather with the language of others.

4.2.1 Typographical marking – The quintessential function of quotation marks

The term *quotation marks* suggests that inverted commas have a prototypical relationship with quotations. They index metalinguistic usage of a term in semantic and logical treaties, and indicate quotations in the sense of replicated direct speech in general writing, and of quotation in the sense of imported text passages in academic and legal texts in particular. The philosophical discussion about quotation in chapter 3 revealed that quotation marks call for a reading that goes beyond literal understanding. As such, quotation marks are linguistically meaningful because, if they are present, they compel the reader to associate "some item [...] with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126). Linguistic studies on quotation marks are rare. Quotation marks are a phenomenon of the written mode, which is likely to be considered a mere epiphenomenon. Many scholars prefer to focus their studies on oral communication.[16] Others, like Tuormala (2000), take quotation marks as nothing more than a defining criterion for data selection. Klockow (1980), however, explicitly discusses the *where* and *why* of quotation marks and empirically explores their linguistic conditions of use. Klockow's (1980) insights into the linguistic conditions of the use of quotation marks are easily transferrable to the other types of marking. This thesis will therefore review his account.

Klockow (1980) lists three types of quotations. *Logical quotations* (*L-Zitat*) correspond to *pure quotations* in the philosophy of language (cf. chapter 3), where quotation marks identify metalanguage. Reported speech is termed *pragmatic quotation* (*P-Zitat*), as the reproduction of speech is a phenomenon of linguistic usage (cf. Klockow 1980: 74). Although the extension and intension of L and P quotations are not identical and one could conceive of quotation marks as typographical homonyms, Klockow (1980) infers a connection between these two types of quotations. The link between reproduction and metalinguistic usage via a tag like "X wrote that" or "Y said that" may explain why, in the

[16] cf. Labov 1978 and Milroy 1992, to name just a few. Deconstructivist theorists like Jacques Derrida, however, see the written mode as being just as removed from thought as spoken language, and hence postulate the equivalence of speaking and writing (cf. Makaryk 1997: 296 f.).

19th century, the use of quotation marks was extended to signal metalanguage.[17] Metalanguage was formerly indicated – if at all – by other typographical means such as bold print or smaller fonts (cf. Klockow 1980: 87-88 and 357 footnote 95). The *inquit formula* marks both types as metalinguistic reproduction, and thus the use of a common marker for L and P quotations is motivated rather than arbitrary.

The third and central category in Klockow's model is the *modalising quotation* (*M-Zitat*), which he defines as "a verbatim reproduction of a localised utterance or a part thereof", where "localised" means that "the utterance can be attributed to an author, a text or a particular situation to which this reproduction refers" (Klockow 1980: 92).[18] Klockow (1980) claims that quoting is always a modalising linguistic strategy. Quotations always convey an attitude towards the quoted passage, while the degree of identification with the quoted text varies: One may signal full agreement or distance oneself from the replicated statement by deferring authorship,[19] and even use taboo arguments and swear words. Moreover, evaluations such as "exemplary", "important", "appropriate", "well put", "beautiful", "correct" and "wrong" are always implied.[20] For this reason, Klockow (1980) concludes that, in particular, fragmented quotations (*Teilzitat*), which cover mixed, scare and emphasising quotes and for which quotation marks are the least mandatory, are often found in texts where people react, comment on, interpret, contradict, etc. Such texts include letters to the editor, contributions to discussions, and reviews. As quotation marks are often not mandatory, they serve as "a vehicle to convey some additional intentions" if present (Klockow 1980: 100).[21] Klockow's (1980) modalisation is thus similar to what Saka later described as an association "with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126, cf. chapter 3). The presence of quotation marks signals to the reader that the passage in between requires a pragmatic interpretation.[22] Klockow (1980) contrasts *constructivity* with *idiomaticity*, signifying that sense is "constructed" out of the regular meanings of words, whereas quotation marks produce an idiomatic meaning through an idiosyncratic interpretative process (cf. Klockow 1980: 119), that is, through conversational implicature.

The Gricean term is deliberate. Klockow eventually develops principles of formulation which are an explicit adaptation of Grice's *cooperative principle* to the domain of written language (instead of conversational) and to the specific function of quotation marks (instead of the more fundamental processes of communication; cf. Grice 1991 [1967]: 26 ff.).

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17 cf. the basic concept of *repetition* and *reference* as the main dimensions of quotations in this account.

18 Original text: "Ich gehe von einem engen zitatbegriff aus, nach dem das zitat die wörtliche reproduktion einer lokaliserbaren äußerung bzw. eines teils davon ist. Mit 'lokalisierbar' ist gemeint, daß die äußerung einem urheber, einem text oder einer bestimmten situation zugeordnet werden kann, auf die mit der reproduktion verwiesen wird." Klockow 1980: 92. Verbatimness is, however, not a necessary characteristic of quotation as Clark/Geerig 1990, and Tuormala 2000 show. The question of verbatimenss does not, however, affect his findings, as he is concerned with the marking device.

19 Some languages, like Hidatsa, show specific grammatical features for this quotative mood.
cf. also German *Konjunktiv 1*, even though it seems to be no longer mandatory (cf. Klockow 1980: 93).
cf. also Grice's maxim of quality, especially the second specific maxim: "Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence" (1991 [1967]: 27).

20 cf. Compagnon's notion of quotations as "passages that move, strike, appeal" as a reviewer nicely put it (cf. S.F.R. 1982: 70) as well as the obsolete OED meaning of "An observation; a matter noted" (OED online edition, *quotation* 3).

21 Original text: "Gerade weil sie entbehrlich sind, kann ihr einsatz zum vehikel von nebenintentionen werden." (Klockow 1980: 100).

22 Whereas "other than its extension" (Saka 1998) can cover almost everything, modalisation in Klockow (1980) specifically concerns attitude, which is mainly due to the different degrees of abstraction in their respective scholarly approaches.

Klockow's empirical data lead him to set out ten *principles of formulations* which imply the conditions of use for quotation marks. The communicators may, for instance,

- expect from each other that they will avoid ambiguity (principle iii)
- expect that they will express themselves precisely (principle v)
- expect that style and register will be appropriate (principle vi)
- expect that they will communicate what they consider to be true (principle viii)
- expect that they will use their own words (principle ix, cf. Klockow 1980: 275-279)

If these principles are not observed, the tenth principle comes into play:

- All deviance from the other principles needs to be signalled and excused (Klockow 1908: 279).[23]

As such, the application of the last principle, that is, the use of quotation marks, signals the implicit acknowledgement of the validity of the other nine principles, which in turn define the usage conditions of quotation marks.

In Klockow's (1980) model, however, *winged words* (famous quotations), as well as sayings, proverbs and other prefabricated bits of language where the additional dimensions of allusion, admiration and authority play a role (cf. Klockow 1980: 103-107), do not necessarily convey a precise message, but often a more abstract one, such as one's social background. Their linguistic form communicates a specific "(sub-)code". Therefore, Klockow sees here a "borderline" connection to the autonymy of the quoted item, which is the same as the autonymy of L quotations (cf. Klockow 1980: 107). Autonymy means that quotations behave similarly to proper names (cf. chapter 3, Quine's *Proper Name Theory*). Furthermore, Klockow observes that these well-known quotations and sayings are only indicated by quotation marks if the writer cannot be sure of the reader's familiarity with the quoted phrase or if the writer applies it in a highly metaphorical, unusual, or perhaps even far-fetched way (cf. Klockow 1980: 104).

Klockow (1980) offers a viable typology for the different kinds of quotations, and highlights their underlying link. He shows that quotation marks trigger conversational implicatures and that, subsequently, quotations are a pragmatic phenomenon. Moreover, he spells out the conditions of use for quotation marks and demonstrates that even the study of secondary conventional features, such as quotation marks in the written mode, can reveal underlying linguistic mechanisms and communicative structures. Just as the flouting of Grice's maxims explains interpretations that deviate from literal meaning, so the flouting of Klockow's principles entails a specific implied understanding. If a writer neither uses his/her own words (principle ix) nor indicates this by quotation marks (principle x), and if one need not assume a lack of communicative cooperation (principle vii), the reader can infer that the writer considers him or her equal in intertextual competence. The lack of any other type of marker has the same effect. Accordingly, Klockow's (1980) account is principally transferrable to marking local quotations in general.

[23] Original text: "Zehntes formulierungsprinzip: Prinzip der signalisierten abweichung
(FP x) Es wird erwartet, daß jede abweichung von den zuvor angeführten prinzipien signalisiert und entschuldigt wird." (Klockow 1980: 279).

4.2.2 Other typographical markers

Quotation marks are not the only typographical means of indexing a quotation, as Klockow (1980), Helbig (1996) and others have observed. Quoted passages can also be set off from the surrounding text or set in italics, capitals, spaced-out font and the like. They function in the same way as quotation marks do. Example (1) illustrates set-off, example (2) a case of italics, and example (3) an instance of capitalisation:

(1) 'Tis an old custom – So the *Fellows* / In their deep wisdom gravely tell us:–
Custom, be it noted, in some schools / Is aptly styl'd, the law of fools;
And there are customs, other teach, / Most highly "*honour'd in the breach*–"
But, to return – too true the fact is, / Custom, *here* sanctifies the practice,
And,
"------- It is a custom / more honoured in the breach than the observance."
SHAKESPEARE
(Anon. (1773): A Sketch, or Model, of an University-address, to a New Chief Governor; source HYHA)[24]

(2) as if they had beheld a ghost, cried out, *O horrible, horrible, most horrible*!
(Collier, Jane; Fielding, Sarah (1750-1754): *The Cry*; source HYHA)[25]

(3) jouer théatre élisabethain OR NOT TO / SLEEP PERCHANCE TO BE!
(Roche, Maurice (1966): Compact; source HYHA) [26]

Typographical markers indicate the scope of the quotation and imitate in writing what intonation, mimic and gestures would otherwise do for creating meaning. As such, Klockow's (1980) principles of formulation and Recanati's (2001) conclusion that quotation marks (and other typographical means) are a paralinguistic device are plausible. There is apparently a need for typographical marking if an underlying communicative intention is to be conveyed that complements the explicit code. Typographical marking is thus a way of overcoming the linearity of the spoken words. In that broad sense, all the available typographical indices can be seen as conventional linguistic means, even though only quotation marks and text set-offs for mottos and longer quotations are codified in explicit orthographic rules. By contrast, for instance, the use of italics to highlight quotations from *Hamlet*, to draw attention to specific terms and/or to add emphasis is an individual choice in this thesis.

In addition to linguistic knowledge, the disambiguation of quotation marks – whether they indicate a quotation in the sense of a "passage from a book" or mark reported speech or indicate pure, open, scare or emphasising quotes – requires, for instance, textual knowledge. Moreover, different types of quotations may overlap. One example of this is a quotation from *Hamlet* that might also occur in reported speech:

(4) "I could tell a hawk from a handsaw," as my father would say.
(King, Stephen (1995): The Man in the Black Suit; source HYHA)[27]

Hence, knowledge about the linguistic conditions of use of typographical markers raises the awareness for metalinguistic interpretation and pinpoints the scope, while the full interpretation of a quotation may also require other types of knowledge, particularly textual knowledge (cf. chapter 6).

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[24] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): It is a custom / more honour'd in the breach than the observance.
[25] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): O, horrible! o horrible! most horrible!
[26] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To be, or not to be: that is the question:
[27] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): I am but mad north-north-west: when the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a handsaw.

4.2.3 Metalinguistic markers

The *linguistic* aspect of metalinguistic markers is contained in their name: Meta*linguistic* markers are linguistic items, i.e. words and phrases, whose semantics signal that language is being used metalinguistically, i.e. quoted. Metalinguistic markers are part of the linguistic code. The range of explicitness is wide:

(5) If I had no *Dombey*, I could write and finish the story [*The Haunted Man*] with the bloom on – but there's the rub... Which unfamiliar quotation reminds me of a Shakspearian (put an e before the s; I like it much better) speculation of mine. What do you say to "take arms against a sea of troubles" having been originally written "make arms", which is the action of swimming. It would get rid of a horrible grievance in the figure, and make it plain and apt. I think of setting up a claim to live in The House at Stratford, rent-free, on the strength of this suggestion. (Dickens, Charles (1847): Letter to John Forster; source HYHA)[28]

(6) Lady Catherine de Bourgh would not want us to miss the fine shades in the title "Lady". When it comes attached to the first name [...] it signifies that the lady in question has the title "in her own right", as the daughter of an earl; she is thus "to the manner born", as the expression goes, and she retains her title irrespective of her husband's status. (McMaster, Juliet (1997): Class; source HYHA)[29]

(7) I have been almost obliged like Hamlet to forego a custom of my exercise and amuse myself within doors the best way I can. [...]. (Scott, Sir Walter (1809): Letter to Samuel Rogers; source HYHA)[30]

The noun "quotation" in example (5) is most explicit, while constructions like "as the expression goes" in example (6) may also refer to the general phrasicon. Yet, as Lewis (1969 [1950]) writes, the person using such phrases

> knows quite well, and he expects his readers to know, that he is borrowing from somewhere. He is decorating his style. He wants the phrase to stand out from his own composition as gold lace stands out from a coat. The whole pleasure, such as it is, depends on the fact that the embedded quotation is different. (Lewis 1969 [1950]: 135)

Accordingly, the main function of metalinguistic marking consists in raising the awareness for replicated language, i.e. metalanguage in the philosophical sense (cf. also Helbig 1996 in section 4.1.1 above). In most cases, metalinguistic markers rely on their semantics, that is, their "timeless meaning". In other cases, the metalinguistic message is conveyed by the occasional meaning of a conversational implicature (cf. Grice 1991 [1957]: 217). A case of implied metalinguistic marking is given in example (7): The *timeless* semantics of *like* denotes a comparison. In (7), the action of a first-person narrator is compared to the action of a person called Hamlet. The first-person narrator repeats Hamlet's action. However, the original action is a literary product, it is discourse, not object-world activity (cf. Sternberg 1982). Accordingly, in this specific context with the specific referent Hamlet, the lexeme *like* adopts a metalinguistic connotation.

The awareness for replicated language can be achieved by a number of linguistic devices and strategies. Therefore, metalinguistic markers are best subdivided into groups according to their main linguistic characteristics: metalinguistic verbs, metalinguistic nouns and other metalinguistic markers. In view of the noticeable frequency of the *inquit formula* "X said that", the verb *to say* will be treated separately from the other verbs of saying.

[28] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): Or to take arms against a sea of troubles *and* There's the rub
[29] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): But to my mind, though I am native here / And to the manner born
[30] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): I have of late – but wherefore I know not – I lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises;

The inquit formula – The verb "to say"

The *inquit formula* is the most typical way of indicating metalinguistic usage. The *inquit formula* is a grammaticalised tag for reported speech, along with typographical marking and name marking (the verb requires a subject unless the formula is put in the passive). The *inquit formula* is thus generally perceived as part of a highly transparent way of marking metalinguistic usage:

(8) He's mad by these ten Pickers and Stealers, as Hamlet says. (D'Urfey, Thomas (1791): *The Two Queens of Brentford*; source HYHA)[31]

(9) This sarcasm was the cause, why the poor Countess is thrust among such a pack of motley figures on the stage. As Hamlet says by the players; "You had better have a poets good word, than a bad epitaph after your death." I must confess a poor revenge upon a woman; and a revenge of this kind on any of the soft sex, is below the dignity of man. (Anon. (1761): A key to the new comedy call'd *Three Hours After Marriage* by Gay, Pope and Arbuthnot; source HYHA)[32]

(10) You cannot guess how anxious I am to shew you what I have been doing in this little handkerchief of a place – not to mention the part of Rokeby which is finishd [sic] & twenty other As's of great weight as Hamlet says –[.] (Scott, Sir Walter (1812): Letter to Miss C. Rutherford; source HYHA)[33]

(11) I know not how this should be. I am myself, as Hamlet says, "indifferent honest"; and my father, though an attorney (as you will call him), was one of the most honest men, as well as gentleman-like, that ever breathed. (Scott, Sir Walter (1813): Letter to George Ellis; source HYHA)[34]

(12) Nor will there be any fear of taking them when they are in any act that has the relish of salvation in it, as Shakespeare says – so that my revenge, if they perish in the flames I shall light up, will be complete as to them. (Richardson, Samuel (1747): Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady; source HYHA)[35]

(13) Mr. Dardis constantly repeated his visits, both public and private. He did not drop his assurances of his honourable intentions, and gave me incessant marks of his esteem, unabated love; nay he seemed, (as Shakespeare says)
As if increase of appetite had grown / By what it fed on.
(Leeson, Margaret (1797): Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Leeson; source HYHA)[36]

Just as quotation marks can point out unknown, unusual and far-fetched quotations (cf. Klockow 1980: 104), so the semantic transparency of the *inquit formula* can identify particularly unfamiliar and inconspicuous quotations as well as modified and unusual reformulations. Example (8) is a little-used modified quotation: Instead of *So do I still, by these pickers and stealers*, which refers to Hamlet's mistrust of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, the quoted passage refers to madness and contains a quantification: "mad by these ten Pickers and Stealers". In example (9), the two connected clauses are reversed and partly paraphrased. Scott's substitution of the original *charge* by the synonymous "weight" in example (10) would render the quotation unrecognisable if he had not added the *inquit formula.* Furthermore, "nay, he seemed" in (13) is likely to pass unnoticed without the addition in brackets. Similarly, the short, inconspicuous sequences, *indifferent honest* and *relish of salvation,* in examples (11) and (12) would be easily overlooked if they were not explicitly marked.

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[31] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): So I do still, by these pickers and stealers.

[32] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): Good my lord, will you see the players well bestowed? Do you hear, let them be well used; for they are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time: after your death you were better have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you live.

[33] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): And many such-like 'As'es of great charge

[34] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): I am myself indifferent honest;

[35] cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): That has no relish of salvation in't;

[36] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Seems, madam! nay it is; I know not 'seems.' [...]
As if increase of appetite had grown / By what it fed on: and yet, …

Examples (8) to (13) are also indexed by the names of Hamlet and Shakespeare. Yet the author and characters are not the only ones who can "say" lines from *Hamlet*:

(14) …, but, in point of fact, so many painful occurrences have happened, treading, as a man may say, on one another's heels, that I have been in a devil of a state myself, and perfectly unfit for every description of society. (Dickens, Charles (1848): Dombey and Son; source HYHA)[37]

(15) But age has clawed me somewhat in his clutch, as the song says; (Scott, Sir Walter (1821): Kenilworth; source HYHA)[38]

The subjects of the verb "to say" in examples (14) and (15) point more vaguely to a quoted source (cf. Helbig's *Potenzierungsstufe*). "As a man may say" in (14) is almost a P quotation in Klockow's (1980) sense, i.e. it highlights the metalinguistic aspect of reported speech and not necessarily that of a quotation in the sense of a "passage from a book." The "song" in (15) indicates the source of a quotation in a generic way. The *inquit formula* is a marker for metalinguistic usage whatever its subject and objects are and despite frequent co-occurrence with typographical and onomastic marking.

Other metalinguistic verbs

In addition to the *inquit formula*, a rich variety of other verbs signal metalinguistic usage – most conspicuously, the verb "to quote."

(16) "'Shuffle off this mortal coil,'" quoted Inspector Reeves reflectively. Chief Inspector Macdonald turned and looked at him. "You've been to see that film," he observed. Reeves grinned. "Got it in one. I read the thing afterwards." (Lorac, E. C. R. (1949): And Then put Out the Light; source HYHA)[39]

(17) The Revolution of 1789 happened over there, not in England. The French acted the tragedy; the English watched, exercised (or exorcised) their pity and fear, moralized upon the spectacle and then – to quote Hamlet – "did nothing." (Taylor, Gary (1989): Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present; source HYHA)[40]

While the verb *to quote* is autonomous in example (16), it is complemented by an object that points out the source in example (17). Example (17) is another case that indicates the balancing effect of markers in making inconspicuous and/or unfamiliar quotations transparent (cf. Klockow 1980). The ordinary phrase *did nothing* would not have registered as a quotation without the explicit metalinguistic marker *to quote* (which is strengthened by additional support from onomastic and typographical signals). The metalinguistic marker *to quote* turns even the tiniest, regular word into a quotation. *To quote* is thus a typical performative verb (cf. Austin 1962) which indicates the pragmatic nature of quotations by its acquired "timeless meaning" (cf. Grice 1991[1957]).

The range of metalinguistic verbs is wide and cannot be listed in full. The verbs *to cry out*, *to remark*, *to whisper*, *to assure* and *to tell* indicate the variety that exists in verbs of saying:

(18) Assert thy SHAKESPEAR's native Dignity,
My restless Ghost cries out – REMEMBER ME. (Anon. (1734): An Epistle to the Egregious Mr. Pope; source HYHA)[41]

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[37] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, vii): One woe doth tread upon another's heel,
so fast they follow; your sister's drown'd, Laertes.

[38] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): But age, with his stealing steps, / Hath claw'd me in his clutch,

[39] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): When we have shuffled off this mortal coil.

[40] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): So, as a painted tyrant, Pyrrhus stood,
And like a neutral to his will and matter, Did nothing.

[41] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): Adieu, adieu! Hamlet, remember me.

(19) There are more things, as Hamlet sagely remarked, in heaven and earth, than is dreamed of in your philosophy. (Dawes, Rufus (1839): Nix's Mate; source HYHA)[42]

(20) I was just writing these very words to you, "Susan fronts on the Gulf Stream," when Vinnie entered with the Sea. Dare I touch the Coincidence? Do you remember what whispered "Horatio"? (Dickinson, Emily (1886): Letter to Susan Gilbert Dickinson; source HYHA)[43]

(21) The ladies are tempted, by the insidious Mr. Cantwell, who may perhaps be the Devil, for, as Hamlet assures us, the Devil may assume a pleasing shape. (Davies, Robertson (1950): At My Heart's Core; source HYHA)[44]

(22) Which leaves us only with the How, and therein, as the Bard will tell us, lies the rub. (Russell Gewirtz / Spike Lee (2006): Inside Man; source HYHA)[45]

Again, the quoted bits are sometimes very unobtrusive, and their recognition is further aided by typography and indications of names. *Remember me* in example (18) is too common as to be recognised as a quotation without further marking. A case of heavy condensing is shown in example (20): Horatio's words are concisely implied in the otherwise very normal verb "whispered". The quotation is thus highly allusive. In contrast, the quotation in example (22) is a frequently used phrase that has been slightly modified. The author of example (22) takes care to reassociate the almost ordinary expression, which can serve as an example of dequotational phraseme, with its assumed literary source, while the *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (Heackock 2002 [1998]) lists *there's the rub* and its alternative *therein lies the rub* as an idiom without mentioning Shakespeare.[46] Hence, while modified, far-fetched and cryptic quotations are marked to increase clarity (cf. Klockow 1980), so too are those that have almost succeeded in "hiding" themselves among their phraseological cousins.

In addition to genuine verbs of saying, verbs of writing and other verbs which adopt a metalinguistic connotation in the context also mark potential quotations:

(23) One writes, that "Other friends remain,"
That "Loss is common to the race"–
And common is the commonplace,
And vacant chaff well meant for grain.
(Tennyson, Alfred Lord (1837): In Memoriam A. H. H.; source HYHA)[47]

(24) But as *Hamlet* finely observes,
"*Frailty! thy name is woman.*" (Kelly, Hugh (1767): Essay; source HYHA)[48]

(25) The sexton scratched his head, the language of Mr. Escot not being to his apprehension quite so luminous as his own. "You have been sexton here," continued Mr. Escot, in the language of Hamlet, "man and boy, forty years." (Peacock, Thomas Love (1815): Headlong Hall; source HYHA)[49]

(26) "Altars may reel," said Wimsey, "Mr. Thomas may abandon his dress-suit and Mr. Snowden renounce Free Trade, but the second law of thermo-dynamics will endure while memory holds her seat in this distracted globe, by which Hamlet meant his head but which I, with a wider intellectual range, apply to the planet which we have the rapture of inhabiting."

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[42] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

[43] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): At least, the whisper goes so. Our last king,
Whose image even but now appear'd to us,

[44] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): The spirit that I have seen / May be the devil: and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape

[45] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;

[46] cf., however, example (5) on p. 79, where Dickens suggests that *there's the rub* was an unfamiliar quotation in his time; while Tilley (1950: R 196) and Hibbard (1994) maintain that "Shakespeare's use […] seems to have made 'Ay, there's the rub' proverbial" (Hibbard 1994: 240, footnote 66).

[47] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die [...]
But, you must know, your father lost a father; / That father lost, lost his

[48] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Let me not think on't -- Frailty, thy name is woman! --

[49] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): Why, here in Denmark: I have been sexton here, man and boy, thirty years.

(Sayers, Dorothy L. (1932): Have His Carcase; source HYHA)[50]

To write, *to observe*, *to continue*, *to mean* and many more such verbs can take on the "occasional meaning" of verbs of saying by implicature (cf. Grice 1991 [1957]). They may, but need not, be accompanied by further clues, and their subject does not always indicate the source, as in examples (23) and (25). Passive constructions can avoid a subject altogether:

(27) Now I know, that what is termed the insolence of office produced the insurrection in Saugur. (Anon. (1852): Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; source HYHA).[51]

The verbs signal metalinguistic usage, while their subjects (or objects) rather than their own semantics indicate that a passage was chosen from "a book", with the exception of the specific verb *to quote*. Metalinguistic verbs always characterise the quality of a typographically marked and/or a name-marked verbal sequence as a repeated sequence of words or an expressed idea taken over from some resource other than one's own.

Metalinguistic nouns

Metalinguistic nouns designate linguistic categories such as *saying*, *language*, *motto*, *quotation*, *passage*, *aphorism*, *metaphor*, *expression, subject, line* and *cliché*, as the following examples illustrate:

(28) which I shall conclude with a saying of *Hamlet* Prince of *Denmark*.
Then let the stricken Deer go Weep,
The Hart Ungall'd go Play;
For some must Watch, while some do Sleep,
Thus runs the World away. (Ward, Edward (1700): The Metamorphosed Beau; source HYHA, emphasis original)[52]

(29) Lord Jackey in the Language of some Character in a Play, cry'd out, "A palpable Hit, by Jupiter," and laughed egregiously, running about from one to another, repeating the same Words. (Richardson, Samuel (1741-1742): Pamela; source HYHA)[53]

(30) As for "Manfred" – it is of no use sending "proofs" nothing of the kind comes. I sent the whole at different times … You must call it "a poem," … And this is your Motto "There are more things in heaven & earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy." (Lord Byron, George Gordon Noel (1817): Letter to John Murray; source HYHA)[54]

(31) Vivian: "[...] They will call upon Shakespeare – they always do – and will quote that hackneyed passage forgetting that this unfortunate aphorism about Art holding the mirror up to Nature, is deliberately said by Hamlet in order to convince the bystanders of his absolute insanity in all art-matters." (Wilde, Oscar (1889): The Decay of Lying; source HYHA)[55]

(32) In the years A.D., angling was seen as something more than the mere coaxing of coldblooded vertebrates from water. Consider, for example, Shakespeare's metaphor: Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth, and thus do we ... by indirections find directions out. With such distinguished observers and enthusiasts, it was only a question of time before the sport acquired its own philosopher. (Kanfer, Stefan (1974): The Sport of Fishing: The Lure of Failure; source HYHA)[56]

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[50] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat / In this distracted globe. Remember thee!

[51] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): The insolence of office and the spurns / That patient merit of the unworthy takes

[52] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): Why, let the stricken deer go weep, / The hart ungalled play;
For some must watch, while some must sleep: / So runs the world away.

[53] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): A hit, a very palpable hit.

[54] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

[55] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature;

[56] cf. *Hamlet* (II, i): Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth:

(33) or today we take up a fifth tradition, Humanism. Which, except for spirituality, is also the oldest. BTW, the subtitle of today's subject is "What a piece of work are we!" But you know, there's a sarcastic version of this expression that goes like this: "so, uh, why did Bob say that?" "Oh Bob, he's a real piece of work." Meaning, Bob's a jerk, or worse. But that's not the sense for today. (Bond-Upson, Leland (2004): Humanism – What a Piece of Work Are We!; source HYHA)[57]

(34) The line more honour'd in the breach than the observance, or variations on it, is now a standard leader writer's cliché, invariably used in the incorrect "more often ignored than observed" sense. (Barder, Brian (2004): Honoured in the Breach; source HYHA)[58]

Again, the list is not exhaustive. Metalinguistic nouns can be accompanied by source indication and by typographical marking to delimit the quotation, yet they are also used as autonomous referential expressions, which is illustrated by "cliché" in example (34). This example is also noteworthy as it addresses the generally intuited relationship between quotations and the phrasicon: *Line*, a term which belongs to poetry, and *cliché*, a term which belongs to phraseology, refer to the same phrase (cf. chapters 6 and 7 for further details).

Similar to the observation regarding the verbs, the pragmatic context of a quotation may also turn object-language terms into metalinguistic terms:

(35) Margery: No, stay, Dorothy. I've got a presentiment that something is rotten in the state of Denmark.
Alfred: My dear, I'm afraid that this is no time for culture.
(Maugham, William Somerset (1930): The Bread-Winner; source HYHA)[59]

Culture in example (35) refers to the preceding clause by pragmatic inference. *Culture* is used metonymically and identifies the words of the previous speaker as words from a cultural artefact, that is, a quotation in the sense of "passage from a book." Thus, the noun *culture* in example (35) has adopted an occasional metalinguistic meaning by conversational implicature and functions as a quotation marker that directs the reader's attention to a canonical source of the quotation.

Other metalinguistic markers

In addition to verbs and nouns, metalinguistic usage can also be signalled by adjectives, adverbs and prepositions, or by adjectival, adverbial and prepositional constructions. For instance, the expressions *like, as it were* and *according to* put the passage in question into metalinguistic relief:

(36) There is no request of yours that I would deny on selfish grounds, therefore my dearest dear, albeit I would rather not reduce myself to the unhappy condition of certain writers of billets, who sit like Hamlet gazing apparently on vacancy out of sheer destitution of matter, I will even do so for the sake of satisfying your ill deserved anxiety about me. (Eliot, George [Mary Ann Evans] (1841): Letter to Maria Lewis; source HYHA)[60]

(37) Like Hamlet, Landor would speak daggers, but use none.
(Dickens, Charles (1869): Landor's Life; source HYHA)[61]

(38) A dark inexplicable blight
Had touched her, thinned her, till of that sweet earth
Scarce more was left than would have served to grow

[57] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): What a piece of work is man!
[58] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): It is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance.
[59] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.
[60] cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): That you do bend your eye on vacancy
[61] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): I will speak daggers to her, but use none;

A lily. Later, at a fresh-turned grave,
From out the maiden strewments, as it were,
A whisper rose, of most pathetic breath,
Of how one maid had been by two men loved –
No names, God's mercy!
(Alrich, Thomas Bailey (1890): Wyndham Towers; source HYHA)[62]

(39) There was a single sheet of paper inside. Brevity is the soul of wit, according to Shakespeare. If it's true, then Carol's letter was witty as hell. (King, Stephen (1994-1999): Hearts in Atlantis; source HYHA)[63]

Again, some of these expressions can be used autonomously, as is the case with *as it were* in (38), while *like* and *according to* necessarily require a reference point, which is usually a name.

4.2.4 Name markers

Name markers (which can also be called *onomastic* markers, cf. Helbig (1996)) indicate the source of a potential quotation. In Helbig's (1996) account, name markers are placed in the *Vollstufe*, yet some pointers to the author and/or the work are placed in his *Potenzierungsstufe*. To avoid the practical difficulties of differentiating his onomastic markers from the clues that thematise the source in a quoting text, any mention of author, work title, character and place name forms one marking category in this account, which follows Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010), and Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010). However, it does propose a differentiation according to the two identifying aspects of a "passage from a book": the *author* and the *work*. While any hint and mention of the author's name places the quotation into a specific cultural sphere, the mention of titles and names of characters and places evoke both the object "book" from which the quotation is taken as well as its contents, its *text-world*.

Onomastic marking is strongly linked to textual knowledge, yet it is also identifiable using linguistic knowledge. Linguistic knowledge allows one to understand the setting of the quotation in example (40), that is, that a character called Hamlet speaks to a character called Ophelia:

(40) If she's so fond of living in church we can quote to her Hamlet's advice to Ophelia – 'Get thee to a nunnery!' (Bangs, John Kendrick (1897): Paste Jewels; source HYHA)[64]

Even if one does not know who Hamlet and Ophelia are, one can deduce that the words *Get thee to a nunnery!* were uttered at some point during an exchange. Hamlet is the agent of the proposition and Ophelia the patient. They have a semantic function in the clause whether one is able to place them as characters in a famous Shakespearean tragedy or not. If one were interested in knowing more, one could google the names (especially since, in this case, the metalinguistic verb *to quote* and the metalinguistic noun *advice* show that the quotation is not merely reported speech). Hence, in practice, name markers do not necessarily reveal the actual source to the general audience – that is a question of textual knowledge. Understanding their semantic roles, however, is a matter of linguistic competence. These roles then point to the source and/or setting of a quotation. They offer the potential of identifying something as a quotation from a specific source.

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[62] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): Yet here she is allow'd her virgin crants,
Her maiden strewments and the bringing home
Of bell and burial.

[63] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): Therefore, since brevity is the soul of wit

[64] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): Get thee to a nunnery: […] Go thy ways to a nunnery.

Marking for author

Marking for author comprises all the indications that identify a person or a group of people as the author of a quoted item, including its thematic and verbal contents. Varying degrees of clarity and different linguistic strategies of mentioning an author exist, as Helbig (1996), above, and other scholars have observed. As the following examples demonstrate, the indication of authorship may range from hints about anonymous or collective authorship, to circumscribed and direct naming of Shakespeare:

(41) The soul of wit is brevity, / As all the ancients tell us; (Dudley, Sir Henry Bate and William Shield (1794): The Travellers in Switzerland: A Comic Opera in Three Acts; source HYHA)[65]

(42) It hath been observed by some Man of much greater Reputation for Wisdom than myself, that Misfortunes seldom come single. Fielding, Henry (1749): The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling; source HYHA)[66]

(43) Upon this topic Adéle was almost eloquent, and the little girls naturally adopted and repeated what they heard, so that life, in the aspect it now offered to Lucy, afforded ground for the fanciful theory of a certain writer, who supposes man, "that paragon of animals and quintessence of dust," to be made up of clothes. (Sedgwick, Catharine Maria (1837): Live and Let Live, or Domestic Service Illustrated; source HYHA)[67]

(44) … and say of him in the language of the poet, that he is a man, "take him for all, we shall not look upon his like again". (Anon. (1818): Article. *The Gorgon*; source HYHA)[68]

Example (41) illustrates a case of collective and anonymous authorship: "all the ancients". Example (42) refers to an unnamed male individual of "great wisdom" who once, very probably, expressed the idea in "a book, speech" (cf. OED). The explicit "a certain writer" and "the poet" in examples (43) and (44) further clarify the source of the quotations as a "passage from a book". "Writers" and "poets" tend to produce texts which are published in books. The author Shakespeare may also be mentioned by epithet. Thanks to his fame, several epithets have become almost conventional, such as *the Bard*, *our great dramatist*, *the Swan of Avon, our great poet*:

(45) This custom, in the emphatic language of our most celebrated bard, "would be more honoured in the breach, than the observance." (Bethell, John (1794): Llangunnor Hill; source HYHA)[69]

(46) The sense of the term as expressing the ground or faculty by which men are enabled to connect words conclusively, that, namely, which our great Dramatist with a happy fullness yet precision names DISCOURSE OF REASON [...] and to which sense the Author confines himself in the two first Divisions of his Work, determined and explained. (Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1823-1829): Logic; source HYHA)[70]

(47) since you are not going to return – those beautiful words of the Swan of Avon occurred to me:
'To be or not to be – that is the question;
Whether 'tis better in this world to bear
The slings and arrows of –'
(Cooke, Johne Esten (1856): The Last of the Foresters, or Humors on the Border; source HYHA)[71]

(48) 'Yes,' said I, 'strictly speaking, the question is not how to get cured, but how to live.' He approved with his head, a little sadly as it seemed. *'Ja! ja!* In general, adapting the words of your

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[65] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): Therefore, since brevity is the soul of wit,

[66] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, v): When sorrows come, they come not single spies / But in battalions.

[67] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): What a piece of work is man! […] the beauty of the world! The paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust?

[68] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): He was a man, take him for all in all, / I shall not look upon his like again.

[69] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): it is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance.

[70] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): O, God! a beast, that wants discourse of reason, / Would have mourn'd longer

[71] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To be, or not to be: that is the question: …

great poet: That is the question' He went on nodding sympathetically... 'How to be! *Ach*! How to be.' He stood up with the tips of his fingers resting on the desk. (Conrad, Joseph (1899): Lord Jim; source HYHA)[72]

The explicit name, Shakespeare, is, as one might guess, the most frequently used reference to the author. The many examples above that mentioned his name provide sufficient evidence of this.

Marking for work

Markers for work comprise all the indications that refer to the cultural artefact from which a quoted item is taken, be that its physical manifestation as a written, printed and/or performed object, or its contents. In general, there are two ways of marking for work: First, one can refer to the artefact directly, for instance by its title or by a more abstract genre term. Second, the contents can be evoked through the names of the fictional characters, who implicitly reveal the source. In the specific case of *Hamlet*, reference to the artefact and its contents may overlap. HYHA thus differentiates between HAMLET THE PLAY and HAMLET THE CHARACTER, as the qualities and manners of reference differ.

(49) There goes the real genius; he paces the ground like Hamlet, and with a book too. (Mimicking.) "Words, words, words..." (Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich (1896): The Seagull; source HYHA)[73]

(50) Browne the naturalist takes a Hamlet-like interest in the physical changes in the human body after death. (Gregory, Tobias (2013): They Rudely Stare About; source HYHA)[74]

(51) Have I not heard, over and over again, the man in Hamlet slowly mouthing out the poet's magnificent reflections on the easiness of death? Yes; who would bear all this wretchedness and misery when the quietus offers itself at once in the shape of a bare bodkin? (Sala, George Augustus (1862): The Seven Sons of Mammon; source HYHA)[75]

Example (49) addresses the character. The marker *like* introduces a comparison between an agent – "he" – and a being called Hamlet. Both are able to "pace the ground with a book", that is, Hamlet fulfils the semantic role of agent in the compared situation, i.e. Hamlet the character is meant. Similarly, in example (50), only a person can take an interest in something. Moreover, example (50) is interesting because the quotation is entirely paraphrased; only the explicit comparison with Hamlet establishes the link between "physical changes in the human body after death" and Hamlet imagining the decay of Alexander the Great and Caesar in V, i. Example (51) uses *Hamlet* in a locative construction with the preposition *in*, which means the referent must be the artefact. These three examples are all highly allusive: Knowledge about the situation in which

[72] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To be, or not to be: that is the question: …

[73] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): But, look, where sadly the poor wretch comes reading. [...]
Words, words, words.

[74] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): Dost thou think Alexander looked o' this fashion in the earth? [...]
Alexander died, Alexander was buried,
Alexander returneth into dust; the dust is earth; of
earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he
was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?
Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expel the winter flaw!

[75] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To be, or not to be: that is the question: […]
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? …

Hamlet utters "words, words, words" (49), how he reflects over Yorick's skull (50) and what is meant by the "easiness of death" (51) have to fill the noticeable gaps.

References often name the play and its protagonist directly, as can be seen from the many examples in section 4.2.3 above. The same holds for other characters:

(52) She reversed the Picture of the Ghost in Hamlet, of whom Horatio says, that he had "A Countenance more in Sorrow than in Anger." (Fielding, Sarah (1759): The Countess of Dellwyn; source HYHA)[76]

(53) but Tom Tusher, to take the place of the noble Castlewood – faugh! 'twas as monstrous as King Hamlet's widow taking off her weeds for Claudius. (Thackeray, William Makepeace (1851): The History of Henry Esmond; source HYHA)[77]

(54) I really can't let the orchises and hyacinths go out of flower while I'm trying to cast sums; and I've been two whole days at work on the purple mash orchis alone, which my botanical readers will please observe is in St. George's schools to be called "Porphyria veris", "Spring Purplet". It is, I believe, Ophelia's "long purple". There are a quantity of new names to be invented for the whole tribe, their present ones being not by St. George endurable. (Ruskin, John (1875): Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain; source HYHA)[78]

(55) The hon. member for Carlisle, on the evening he went home after lending the hon. member for Londonderry his day, might have said with the Emperor Titus "I have lost a day." (Laughter.) He would recommend the hon. member for Carlisle to follow the advice which Polonius gave his son Laertes; "Neither a borrower nor a lender be, / For loan oft loses both itself and friend, / And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry." (Anon. (1877): "House of Commons, Wednesday, July 18." *The Times*; source HYHA)

(56) Stoppard, Tom. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead. (Stoppard, Tom (1968). Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead; source HYHA)[79]

Epithets are also common, especially for the character Hamlet, e.g. *The student of Wittenberg*, several compositions with *prince*, especially *the Danish Prince*, but also *royalty* and *youth* repeatedly occur as illustrated by examples (57) to (62):

(57) The Student of Wittenberg (Raabe, Wilhelm (1851): Der Student von Wittenberg; source HYHA)

(58) Whenever that undecided Prince had to ask a question or state a doubt, the public helped him out with it. As for example; on the question whether 'twas nobler in the mind to suffer, some roared yes, and some no, and some inclining to both opinions said "toss up for it;" (Dickens, Charles (1860-1861): Great Expectations; source HYHA)[80]

(59) The Prince of Denmark might even add: 'Let the galled jade wince' – if one can use that expression of a lady. How wonderful Shakespeare is! One can always find a phrase in his works for any situation!" (Sayers, Dorothy Leigh (1927): Unnatural Death; source HYHA)[81]

(60) TCP/IP packet handling may sound crystal clear when you first hear it, but after you've configured your ethernet card's netmask address, the details become rather remote. You might find yourself asking – if you were a Danish prince – "What is a packet, if its chief good and market of its time be but to route and wrap?" If routing and wrapping were all packets did, we would all enjoy our ignorance blissfully. But packets – like men, as the prince learned – can be hollow carriers of ill will, and excluding the bad ones requires us to understand what they really, truly are. At last. (Leopold, Peter (2001): Review of "Linux Firewalls"; source HYHA)[82]

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76 cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): A countenance more in sorrow than in anger.
77 cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Fie on't! ah fie! 'tis an unweeded garden, / That grows to seed;
78 cf. *Hamlet* (IV, v): Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples
79 cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): To tell him his commandment is fulfill'd, That Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead.
80 cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To be, or not to be: that is the question: / Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
81 cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): your majesty and we that have free souls, it touches us not: let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung.
82 cf. *Hamlet* (IV, iii): What is a man, / If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed?
cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): But thou wouldst not think how ill all's here

(61) Was this a law (to quote Danish royalty) "More honoured in the breach than the observance...", or are we looking at an act of defiance? (Reynolds, Oliver (2010): In the Light of Virtue. *Times Literary Supplement*; source HYHA)[83]

(62) Denmark's sage courtier to her princely youth,
Granting his cloud an ouzel or a whale,
Spoke, though unwittingly, a partial truth;
For Fantasy embroiders Nature's veil.
(Scott, Sir Walter (1817): Harold the Dauntless; source HYHA)[84]

(63) There is internal evidence in the story that the story teller like a certain lady of dramatic celebrity, "doth protest too much." (Member of the public, (1882): Correspondence Respecting Native Affairs in New Zealand; source HYHA)

Occasionally, other characters such as Polonius, the *sage courtier* in example (62), and Hamlet's mother, the *lady of dramatic celebrity* in example (63), are indicated by epithet. These are, however, less common than the epithets for Hamlet and Shakespeare. The play itself is not always explicitly mentioned either, as examples (64) and (65) illustrate:

(64) Something was rotten in the State of Denmark in Shakespeare's great drama. Something is rotten in the United States when this barbarity is not only legally sanctioned but declared a fundamental Constitutional right. (Hyde, Henry (1997): Mister Speaker; source HYHA)[85]

(65) I went to book a ticket for to see a modern play;
The man behind the counter said, "There's no such thing today,"
Every actor who has any self-respect is being starred
In the brightly-written masterpiece of England's Only Bard.[...] (Wodehouse, Pelham Grenville (1998): Too Much *Hamlet*; source HYHA)

The author's *great drama* and his *masterpiece* are among the stock epithets used for the play *Hamlet*.

An apparently unmotivated use of a name, be it the name of a character or a place, such as Denmark in example (66), is itself a marker:

(66) Another had replied that they were short, or would be glad to oblige him, and as soon as Jack left the office had called to their bookkeeper to "send MacFarlane his account, and say we have some heavy payments to meet, and will he oblige us with a check " – adding to his partner – "Something rotten in Denmark, or that young fellow wouldn't be looking around for a wad as big as that." (Smith, Francis Hopkinson (1908): Peter; source HYHA)

In the context of example (66), the mention of *Denmark* does not make much sense. Assuming that Grice's cooperative principle (1991 [1967]) and/or the condition of relevance according to Sperber/Wilson (2007 [1995]) hold, there must be another reason for this strange way of including *Denmark* in the discussion. It obviously belongs to the chosen expression. The most obvious inference is that a multi-lexical unit has been taken over, be it from a proverb, a saying or a "passage from a book". Hence, the impossibility of contextualising the name *Denmark* in its literal sense within the surrounding text indicates a transferral from one (con)text to another, in short: a quotation. Example (66) thus also illustrates that name marking may occur as an intrinsic part of the quotation.

Example (59), which mentions Shakespeare explicitly, Hamlet by epithet and the play

[83] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): it is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance.

[84] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): Hamlet: Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?
Polonius: By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed. Methinks it is like a weasel. It is backed like a weasel.
Hamlet: Or like a whale?
Polonius: Very like a whale.

[85] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.

via the generic term "works", demonstrates that marking for author and the two dimensions of marking for work are independent of each other. The analytical separation of these aspects is thus justified. Further generic references for the work are shown in example (15), here repeated as (67), and (68):

(67) But age has clawed me somewhat in his clutch, as the song says; (Scott, Sir Walter (1821): *Kenilworth*; source HYHA)[86]

(68) In other circumstances, the criminal's own awakened conscience pursued and brought him to justice; and in some narratives the grave was said to have yawned, that the ghost of the sufferer might call for a revenge. (Scott, Sir Walter (1822): The Fortunes of Nigel; source HYHA)[87]

Characters can also be referred to in a generic way:

(69) Lord Jackey in the Language of some Character in a Play, cry'd out, "A palpable Hit, by Jupiter," and laughed egregiously, running about from one to another, repeating the same Words. (Richardson, Samuel (1741-1742): Pamela; source HYHA).[88]

The character and/or the play in the examples above are not precisely named, yet their function is clear: The preceding or subsequent verbal sequence is signalled as a quotation by reference to a source. The mention of *a*, but not necessarily of *the* source is the linguistic contribution of onomastic marking. This becomes especially obvious with faulty attributions:

(70) I wonder what ... but as Hamlet says, "There is no wonder; or else all is wonder." (Anon., (1775): The Correspondents; source HYHA)[89]

(71) [Evans (As he pulls a notebook out of his pocket):] Plenty. First thing is a term paper on the "Decay of King Lear's Character."
[Meacham:] That's the play where they put out somebody's eyes, ain't it? (With shuddering reminiscence.) Uhm! And a fellow had a long speech in it about "to be or not to be." (Green, Paul (1935): The Enchanted Maze: source HYHA)

(72) Frailty, thy name is woman!
SHAKESPEARE – Antony Act I. Sc.2 (Henry, Lewis C. (1945): Best Quotations for All Occasions: source HYHA)[90]

Despite the erroneous name marking, the quotation is signalled as a quotation. Example (70) is a case of pseudo-quoting: Hamlet never "spoke" those words, yet, linguistically they have to be interpreted as a quotation. Example (71) attributes *To be, or not to be* to *King Lear*, and example (72) attributes *Frailty, thy name is woman!* to *Antony and Cleopatra*. While the implicit or explicit author in the latter cases is correct, the reader's textual knowledge indicates that the information about the works is wrong. The reader's linguistic knowledge, however, interprets the indexed expressions and situations as quotations. This example demonstrates that linguistic and textual knowledge ultimately feed into each other. Linguistic knowledge marks the quality of an expression as a repeated item, while textual knowledge locates the referent.

So far, the discussion has mainly focused on added markers in Helbig's (1996) sense. The next section is primarily dedicated to inherent indices, or stylistic markers. The caveat "primarily" is necessary, as some name marking may be intrinsic – cf. the mention

[86] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): But age, with his stealing steps, / Hath claw'd me in his clutch,

[87] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): Tis now the very witching time of night,
When churchyards yawn and hell itself breathes out / Contagion to this world.

[88] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): A hit, a very palpable hit!

[89] The passage does not occur in *Hamlet*. It was a popular quotation in 18th-century fiction, yet its source has not yet been identified.

[90] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Let me not think on't -- Frailty, thy name is woman! --

of *Denmark* in example (66) above and the frequently quoted line *Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio: a fellow of infinite jest,* which comes from *Hamlet* (V, i) and contains the names Yorick and Horatio. On the other hand, *nominalisations*, the classic stylistic anomaly which was mentioned in chapter 3 and falls under stylistic markers, often becomes visible through added articles and/or prepositions.

4.2.5 Stylistic markers

The group of markers that will be discussed in this section are mostly covered by *code switches* in Helbig's (1996) account. They are generally inherent rather than added features of a quotation, and therefore more subtle. As a consequence, they are not necessarily deliberate and can thus account for incidental quoting. As the name suggests, stylistic markers are mainly apparent in differences to the style and content of the quoting environment, i.e. by virtue of being an "anomaly" (cf. Quine 1981 [1940]), of their more or less noticeable linguistic "seams" (Plett 1988: 301) or "ungrammaticalities" (Riffaterre 1994: 782). For instance, an English phrase becomes salient *per se* if it appears in a text that is written in another language, and a poetic style is only salient if it appears in a prose context. If such a "seam" is perceived, it will trigger a pragmatic interpretation to identify the motivation of this "ungrammaticality". This is similar to what Klockow (1980) diagnosed for the presence of quotation marks (cf. section 4.2.1). The most immediate explanation for these kinds of linguistic markers is that the speaker/writer has left the realm of his or her own style and lexicon in favour of words and phrases taken from somewhere else, i.e. the passage has, broadly speaking, been quoted.

Nominalisations

Nominalisation is the "classic" anomalous feature of quotations. It has been widely discussed since ancient times (cf. Welte/Rosemann 1990), and especially since Quine (1981 [1940]; cf. chapter 3). Nominalisation is a sign of the autonymy of quotations, whereby they become a unit in their own right despite their compositionality. As a corollary, quotations may take on grammatical functions, such as subject or object, which are typically used by nouns. In such cases, verbal inflections may point out nominalisation, as in example (73). Determiners, demonstratives such as "that" in example (74), and prepositions such as "into" in example (75) can produce the same effect:

(73) 16 Down: "neither a borrower, nor a lender be" was one of them (8). (Anon. (1968): Crossword Puzzle. *The Times*; source HYHA)[91]

(74) We may confront that Be or Not to be. (Lawless, Emily (1902): Above the Cliff: A Monologue; source HYHA)

(75) His expression, hitherto brightly animated, now moves into more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger (Cooke, Rachel (2009): Kingsley and I; source HYHA)[92]

Strictly speaking, nominalisation is both intrinsic and extrinsic. Extrinsic clues, such as verb inflections, determiners and prepositions, make explicit the intrinsic potential of quotations to function as a singular term.

The term nominalisation is ascribable to tradition, yet the phenomenon comprises more than the mere condensation to a name or a noun. At times, the quoted passage also

[91] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iii): Neither a borrower nor a lender be

[92] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): A countenance more in sorrow than in anger.

adopts the function of an attribute, which is generally performed by adjectives.

(76) She was wise enough to understand, however, that it might well be a leave-her-to-God situation?" (George, Catherine (2012): Believing the Lie; source HYHA)[93]

The defining criterion for nominalisation is that the quoted, multi-word passage is condensed into one syntactical category, which reflects the observations of several philosophers of language that quotations behave like names or singular terms, i.e. that they form a multi-lexical unit.

Archaisms

Archaisms are words, word forms and grammatical constructions that were conventionally used in earlier stages of a language, but which have been abandoned in the course of history. Archaisms include the old pronouns and possessives *thou, thee, thy* and *thine* (cf. example (77)), inflections which have fallen out of use such as the *-th* for the second person singular in *hath* (example (78)), negation without do-support (examples (79) and (80)), and obsolete lexemes like *unhand* (example (81)):

(77) Twenty to one, says Lenehan. Such is life in an outhouse. *Throwaway*, says he. Takes the biscuit, and talking about bunions. Frailty, thy name is *Sceptre*. (Joyce, James (1914-1922): Ulysses; source HYHA) [94]

(78) He goes out for his elevenses and assumes seniority though he hath it not. (Sayers, Dorothy Leigh (1933): Murder Must Advertise; source HYHA)[95]

(79) They would rather bear those ills they have, as Shakespeare pointed out, than flee to others that they know not of. They prefer the "fleshpots of Egypt" to the ordeals of emancipation. (King, Martin Luther (1958): A Tough Mind and a Tender Heart; source HYHA)[96]

(80) The symptoms of the disease can be classified; their effect on conduct can be described; but the state of mind itself remains indefinable. It is that state of mind to which Hamlet refers when he says "Hamlet does it not ... Who does it then? His madness". (Anon. (1952): Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment; source HYHA)[97]

(81) "I will have my soft music! Unhand me, girl! Let's see what the B.B.C. can do for us." (Sayers, Dorothy Leigh (1937): Busman's Honeymoon; source HYHA)[98]

Archaisms are no longer conventional and are therefore easily spotted as linguistic deviations in the English of the 20th and 21st centuries. These deviations, in turn, generate conversational implications and have a similar effect to quotation marks and other markers, in that the listener/reader will involuntarily evaluate the importance of the stylistic deviation (cf. Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]). One potential inference is that someone is quoting from an Elizabethan author, such as Shakespeare. And indeed, *Hamlet* contains plenty of archaisms. Yet biblical references also have the same effect: The canonical King James Bible was written in Shakespeare's time, and many religious texts preserve the biblical archaisms. A third inference from quoted archaisms is 19th century poetry.[99] Moreover, archaisms are a means of provoking fun via their anachronistic

[93] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): Leave her to heaven / And those thorns that in her bosom lodge
[94] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Let me not think on't--Frailty, thy name is woman!--
[95] cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
[96] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): And makes us rather bear those ills we have / Than fly to others that we know not of?
[97] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away, / And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes, Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it. / Who does it, then? His madness: if't be so
[98] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): Still am I call'd. Unhand me, gentlemen.
[99] Jespersen observed that the poets of the 19th century frequently used archaisms in "the desire to leave the beaten track" (Jespersen 1972 [1938]: 214). The poets of the 19th century preferred *thy* and *thee,* and *hath* and *dost,* and *know not* and *speak not* over the modern variants as style markers for their poetic genres.

effect in the 20th and 21st centuries. The fun aspect of archaic language in some modern contexts is ultimately also based on imitation, perhaps not of concrete lines, but of style, which is quoted.[100] Hence, archaisms may imply a number of different "sub-codes" (cf. Klockow 1980), yet the inference of *quoting*, be it from *the Bard*, another poet, the Bible, a discrete passage or an abstract style, suggests itself. If archaisms are used in a modern context, they trigger a similar interpretation to that of quotation marks, in that they "direct the thoughts of the audience to some item associated with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126). The caveat "modern text" is essential because the more one goes back in time, the less appropriate it is to ascribe any signalling function to archaisms.

Archaisms in modern usage are an interesting facet of quotations and of language use in general. Some archaisms survive, some are lost and others appear only occasionally. Archaisms are apparently not merely kept alive because of the verbatim assumption, that is, the common belief that quotations should be exact replications. In practice, archaisms are repeatedly replaced by modern constructions or modifications which avoid an old-fashioned structure:

(82) Of these pleasures and triumphs, and they did not come as single spies, Mr. Phillips made a good deal; the thrill seemed to come direct instead to by proxy. He almost made us believe that songs ought to be translated. (Anon. (1913): The Garden in March: Theory and Fact. *The Times*; source HYHA)

(83) To be "going on" implied that one was in the movement, that invitations were coming, not single spies, but in battalions, carrying with them all the glamour and distance of those who are socially "rushed." (Anon. (1914): 'Going On': Restlessness Of The Modern 'Season'. *The Times*; source HYHA)

(84) Mr Bruce Gardyne: "Is it not becoming apparent that the political hatchet men have been recruited not as single spies but in battalions? Would it not be more seemly that they should be paid by Transport House or, better still, by Labour Party union bosses, so there should be no dubiety about where their allegiance lies? (Anon. (1974): Labour has not Put a Spy into Review Staff. *The Times*; source HYHA)

Instead of using the original archaic negation without do-support in *When sorrows come, they come not single spies / But in battalions* from *Hamlet* (IV, iv), example (82) quotes the negative phrase with obligatory modern do-support. Examples (83) and (84) shift the scope of the negation more clearly to *single spies*, most evidently in (83) by a separating comma. Archaisms are sometimes essential for the rhetorical and/or the metrical composition of the phrase, which is one reason why they endure.[101] Some data, however, suggest that the survival of archaisms depends just as much on several other factors, which will be addressed in more detail in chapter 5 (cf. also Quaßdorf 2012a).

Other stylistic markers – Language and prose-poetry switches

Language and prose-poetry switches are not central to the present study, but as they are very clear "seams" in a text, it is appropriate to devote a few words to them. Language switch means that a text contains one or more passages in a different language. This thesis, for instance, also contains passages in German and French which would stand out even without the additional typographical, metalinguistic, onomastic and extra local marking that is required by standard academic writing. Language switch is an obvious

[100] cf. Genette's (1997 [1982]) notion of *archetextuality* (cf. chapter 3, footnote 42, p. 64).

[101] According to Blake (1983: 38), the parallel use of archaic and modern forms within Shakespeare's work is also often due to metrical reasons.

marker for quotations in the broad sense of replicated language:

(85) Noch regte und rührte sich nichts, keine Maus. und von den Geistern des Hauses weder ein guter noch ein schlimmer. "No mouse stirring!" murmelte Mrs. Crusoe von Brooklyn. (Raabe, Wilhelm (1884-1886): *Im alten Eisen*; source HYHA)[102]

(86) Je dis simplement: "Être ou ne pas être! That is the question!" (Boulanger, Nadia (1979): Conversation; source HYHA)[103]

(87) Words, Words, Words*: Kolloquium zum 60. Geburtstag von Andreas Fischer.* (University of Zurich, 23 March 2007; source HYHA)[104]

If a foreign phrase is not a quotation in the sense of a "passage from a book", it is likely to be at least the replication of a typical foreign phraseologism (cf. Zenner/Speelman/ Geeraerts 2014). The change of language puts the quotation/phraseme into relief by linguistic means so that the reader perceives it as a specific linguistic unit from outside the speaker's idiolect, which has pragmatic implications. Example (85) contains an English quotation from the beginning of *Hamlet* in a German text, example (86) contains an English reference to Hamlet's most famous soliloquy in a French text, and example (87) is an English title for a German article that uses Hamlet's reply to Polonius' question about what he is reading in act II, scene ii.

Switches from prose to poetry are recognisable by the pronounced rhythmic patterns of the poetic passages embedded in the prose sections. Poetic passages are rhetorically more polished than prose, they may contain rich metaphorical imagery, as in examples (88) and (89), and/or they may be conspicuous by euphonic refinement, such as rhyme in example (90):

(88) And therefore must poetry be emotive. Take as an illustration Shakspeare's description of morning –
"Lo! where the morn, in russet mantle clad
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill."
Everyone recognises this as poetry.
(Anon. (1842): Article I. *European Quarterly Journal*; source HYHA)[105]

(89) But then the Christmas of our ancestors was a time of solemn though cheerful thought. There was mumming and minstrelsy, but there was also earnest devotion. The very superstitions of the people were hallowed by their confiding belief:–
"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
And then, they say, no spirit can walk abroad;
The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,
So gracious and so hallowed [sic] is the time. […]
(Anon. (1845): The Year of the Poets – No. XIX; source HYHA)[106]

(90) Anne wondered. Had she somehow been drugged? She had drunk only perrier at the party, and eaten nothing. But she could have been slipped something somewhere, through a pinprick. Had Clive done anything? And what kind of dope produced that kind of idiotic but vivid hallucination? She did not want to think about it; that would only make her more disorientated. The time is out of joint, she thought. "Oh cursėd spite," she said aloud, "that ever I was born to set it right." There was nothing awry in her mind now. (Newman, Kim (1990): Bad Dreams; source HYHA)[107]

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[102] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): Bernardo: Have you had quiet guard? / Francisco: Not a mouse stirring.
[103] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To be, or not to be: that is the question:
[104] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): Words, words, words.
[105] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): But, look, the morn, in russet mantle clad, / Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastward hill:
[106] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes …
[107] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): The time is out of joint: O cursed spite, / That ever I was born to set it right!

The poetic passages usually comprise at least two lines, often more, and many also feature the additional typographical clue of set-off, as shown in (88) and (89). Metalinguistic and onomastic clues also often accompany the poetic passages. As a rule, the interpretation of a prose-poetry switch is unambiguous, as they are quotations in the OED sense of "passage from a book". Language and prose-poetry switches are both easy to identify. They are thus clear clues for linguistic inference.

4.3 Frequencies of markers for quotation as recorded in HYHA

This chapter will finish with some observations about the actual use of markers. HYHA annotates quotations, which makes marking quantifiable. In total, some 4,350 entries in HYHA are annotated as marked for quotation, while 4,750 datasets are annotated as not marked. In other words, almost 50 percent of the annotated data recorded in HYHA are accompanied by added or inherent signals for quotative usage. This proportion is likely to be representative, as the searches focused on discrete lines rather than on the markers; the signals for quotative use are retrieved as a side-effect. Many of the examples given above have demonstrated that markers can co-occur. For this reason, the reader must not be surprised if the counts of the marking devices exceed the total number of datasets recorded as being marked for quotation.

The categorisation in HYHA slightly differs from the description of the categories above. On the one hand, HYHA has to accommodate more aspects than are relevant here. On the other, HYHA is bound to technical capabilities, which sometimes require compromises. For instance, only *verbal* quotations, which refer to a specific line in *Hamlet*, are annotated for all the local markers as described in section 4.2. Thematic quotations, which refer to motifs (cf. chapters 1, 3 and 6), are not annotated in this way. The relevant category in HYHA is called MARKING QUOTATION.

MARKING QUOTATION in HYHA is subcategorised into TYPOGRAPHICAL, NAME, METALINGUISTIC and ANOMALY, which each correspond to the categories discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 (typographical markers), 4.2.3 (metalinguistic markers), 4.2.4 (name markers) and 4.2.5 (stylistic markers). Furthermore, HYHA includes markers for GENRE, CONTEXT and VISUAL. These are marginal to the present discussion, but will be addressed briefly for completeness' sake. Marking by GENRE comprises datasets which derive from mottos, epigrams, and anthology and dictionary listings, and are quotations by definition. Marking by CONTEXT covers data which are not marked within the cited passage in HYHA, but are marked by author and/or work in the larger cotext. VISUAL marking includes references where the link to *Hamlet* is established by visual means, e.g. on stage as example (91) demonstrates:

(91) (Enter Josiah, I., in a theatrical manner, with an open play-book in his hand)
Josiah Batkins Drinkwater (reading): "Tew be, or not tew be, that is the question. Whether 'tis better in the mind to suffer the stings and arrers of outrageous fortun'." Neow, I wonder if I can say all that. (Baker, George Melville (1866): A Drop Too Much; source HYHA)

On stage, the book from which the actor reads functions as a visual demonstration of the common-sense definition of quotations: The character is about to read a "passage from a book" (cf. OED).[108]

[108] Also many cartoons rely on visual marking (cf. the results for the search *Hamlet* on http://www.cartoonstock.com) [last accessed 18 March 2015].

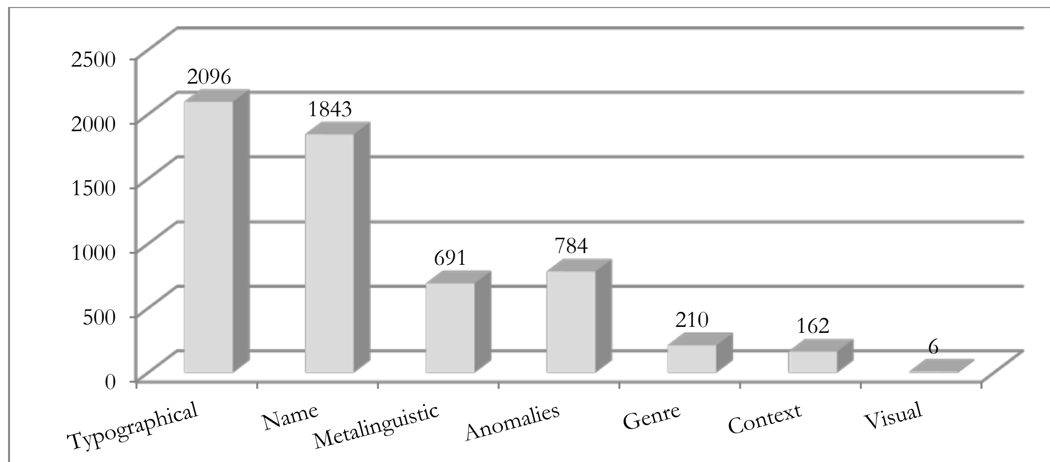

Figure 5: Distribution of marking devices within MARKING FOR QUOTATION in HYHA (the y-axis indicates token frequencies)

Figure 5 shows the quantitative distribution of the markers in HYHA. The most frequent way of indexing quotations from *Hamlet* is by TYPOGRAPHICAL marking, with 2,096 instances in total. This is followed by name markers, ANOMALIES (stylistic markers) and METALINGUISTIC tags. The stark difference between NAME and METALINGUISTIC may be surprising, as might the relatively high number of stylistic markers. The predominance of name markers can be explained by at least three factors. First, names can stand alone and do not always require metalinguistic tags, as examples (52) and (54) in section 4.2.4 above illustrated. They are repeated here as (92) and (93):

(92) She reversed the Picture of the Ghost in Hamlet, of whom Horatio says, that he had "A Countenance more in Sorrow than in Anger." (Fielding, Sarah (1759): The Countess of Dellwyn; source HYHA)[109]

(93) I really can't let the orchises and hyacinths go out of flower while I'm trying to cast sums; and I've been two whole days at work on the purple mash orchis alone, which my botanical readers will please observe is in St. George's schools to be called "Porphyria veris", "Spring Purplet". It is, I believe, Ophelia's "long purple". There are a quantity of new names to be invented for the whole tribe, their present ones being not by St. George endurable. (Ruskin, John (1875): Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain; source HYHA)[110]

Second, the database counts occurrences of name marking and not the phrases containing the marking, which means that example (92) delivers the following count: 3 name markers (the ghost, Hamlet and Horatio) vs. 1 metalinguistic marker ("says"). Third, onomastic marking can be inherent, as it is in (94):

(94) Brien's reaction: dull. He has seen it all before and doesn't look.
Mummy: Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off,
And let thine eye look like a friend
on Daddy here beside me.
Daddy: Absolutely, Mummy.
(Kilroy, Thomas (1998): Tea and Sex and Shakespeare; source HYHA)[111]

The data in HYHA suggest that indicating the source of a quotation is the most preferred marking device after quotation marks. This finding correlates with the approach taken in

[109] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): A countenance more in sorrow than in anger.
[110] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, v): Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples
[111] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off,
And let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark.
Do not for ever with thy vailed lids / Seek for thy noble father in the dust:

this thesis, whereby repetition and reference are the most important defining dimensions of the concept of quotation. Quotation marks delimit the scope of the repeated passage and highlight its mentioning quality. Thus, quotation marks are linked to both repetition and reference and are therefore the most frequently applied marker. In addition, onomastic marking points out the mentioned source, thereby helping the reader to find the correct reference and establish appropriate connections. Metalinguistic embedding then "merely" characterises the relationship between repetition and reference further; its impact is less central. The relatively high number of stylistic markers is primarily due to the archaic elements contained in the chosen source text, *Hamlet,* which was first performed around 1601. More than 400 years have since passed and language has changed considerably.

4.3.1 Typographical, metalinguistic and stylistic markers in detail

With respect to the quantitative distribution among typographical signals, the eponymous quotation marks take the lion's share, with 1,545 recorded instances out of 2,096 (cf. figure 6). SET-OFF, which is usually applied for larger quotations and quoted poetry, accounts for some 18 percent. Even though the number of datasets (374) is considerably lower than the number of sets for quotation marks, they still reflect conventional usage. After all, longer quotations are much less frequent than shorter ones. OTHER includes italics, capital letters, letter-space print and other typographical ways of highlighting a passage that are individual choices rather than norm-induced markers. Accordingly, the numbers are low.

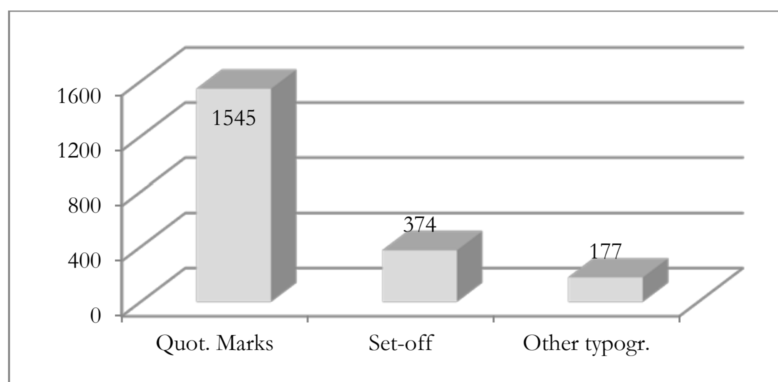

Figure 6: Distribution of marking devices within TYPOGRAPHICAL MARKING in HYHA

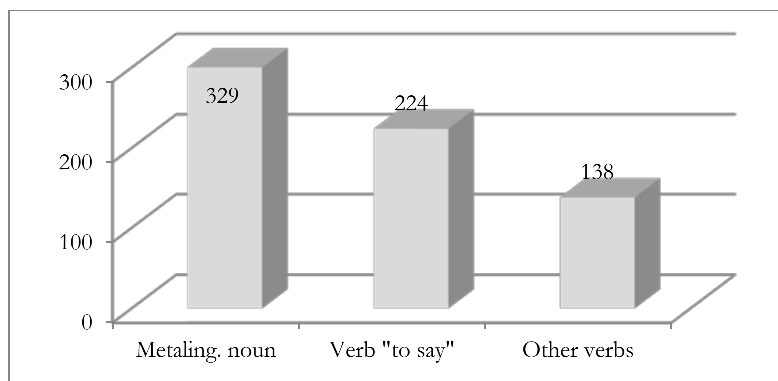

Figure 7: Distribution of marking devices within METALINGUISTIC MARKING in HYHA

Within the category of METALINGUISTIC marking, metalinguistic verbs and metalinguistic nouns are almost evenly distributed, with 362 verbs vs. 329 nouns. The *inquit formula* with

the verb *to say* stands out among the verbs, with 224 tokens (cf. figure 7). This reflects its high degree of conventionality.

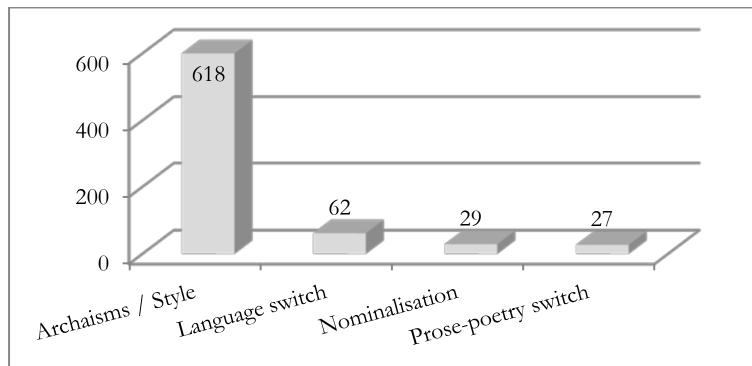

Figure 8: Distribution of marking devices within ANOMALIES in HYHA

As already mentioned above, the relatively high number of ANOMALIES (784 tokens) is a characteristic of the Elizabethan source text. Accordingly, the majority of ANOMALIES are ARCHAISMS and related STYLISTIC features, which total 618 tokens (cf. figure 8). The relatively low numbers for LANGUAGE SWITCH, NOMINALISATION and PROSE-POETRY SWITCH echo the "anomalous" status of these types of inherent markers. They are "out of the ordinary" and therefore less frequent. For the same reason, however, they are salient attention-grabbers and give rise to such extended philosophical discussions as Quine's "anomalous feature". The low numbers for the two code-switching features might increase in the future, as more non-English data will lead to more instances of LANGUAGE SWITCH, and a thorough revision of all the data in HYHA is sure to result in more instances of PROSE-POETRY SWITCH. PROSE-POETRY SWITCH was the most recent addition, and many datasets have not yet been updated.

4.3.2 Marking for author and work in detail

The NAME annotation feature within MARKING QUOTATION records the onomastic markers of verbal quotations, irrespective of whether they point out the reference to the work, the author or both. A further sub-categorisation within that category would have been too technically complex. Hence, the MARKING AUTHOR and MARKING WORK annotation categories were implemented separately. In turn, these independent categories can annotate onomastic marking for both verbal and thematic references. The onomastic markers of verbal quotations are thus included and specified in MARKING AUTHOR and MARKING WORK.

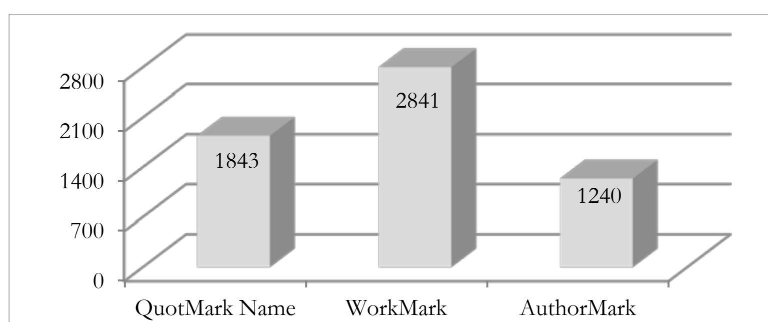

Figure 9: Distribution of MARKING as QUOTATION NAME, MARKING WORK and MARKING AUTHOR in HYHA

As figure 9 shows, 1,843 *verbal* references are onomastically marked. Including thematic and onomastic references, almost 1,000 more references are marked for work alone. Work marking turns out to be the most common method of onomastic marking. Work marking is more than twice as frequent as marking for author. In addition, author marking often accompanies marking for work: In HYHA*,* 265 of 691 references that indicate the title *Hamlet* are also marked by SHAKESPEARE (BY NAME). Meanwhile, only 263 references that are marked SHAKESPEARE (BY NAME) are not accompanied by any hints as to a specific work. This means that half of the entries categorised as MARKED FOR AUTHOR co-occur with MARKING FOR WORK.

The predominance of marking for work compared to marking for author must be interpreted in the light of genre specificities: *Hamlet* is a fictional text in which characters act out a story. Fiction is one of the cultural achievements that helps humans to understand the world and cope with life. Therefore, stories and characters are valuable models for interpreting reality. These models can be referred to by the names of the characters who populate a fictional text-world and/or by the "name" of the book, i.e. the title. Lennon (2004: 256 ff.), among others, points out that the names of characters in particular serve as metonymic references to evoke specific character traits by analogy. This is visible in the mention of Claudius in the following example:

(95) "Revenge. It makes me think of what Harvey said, a rather stupid comment – well, perhaps not so stupid – about *Hamlet*. 'Revenge tragedy. One's just like another. You go round killing off all the wrong people until you finally manage to kill the right one.' Hard to think of our murderer trying to work up the nerve to kill his own particular Claudius." Plant smiled grimly. (Grimes, Martha (1986): The Dirty Duck; source HYHA)

In example (95), Claudius stands metaphorically for the main villain and culprit in the specific situation of the new context. Onomastic quotations allow one to talk about people and feelings, because particularly the characters in fiction, but also the stories told, are preferred objects of identification for real-life people and situations. In fiction, not only propositions and ideas, but also character names and plots (which are evoked by the title of a book) offer a model for the effective communication of states of affairs. Pointing out the quoted text is more informative than pointing out an author, especially if his or her oeuvre is as large as Shakespeare's. The situation certainly changes if the pre-text is a non-fictional text which has no characters acting out a story, and when the name of the author is better known than his or her works. For instance, the philosophical articles about Quine's "quotation has an anomalous feature" hardly ever indicate the work from which the passage is quoted, but always mention his name.

Figure 10 and figure 11 illustrate the frequencies of the various indices for the source of the quoted passage. In both cases, concrete names, be they the names of the fictional CHARACTERS or the name of the AUTHOR, are the predominant choice for source indication within their respective category. Figure 10 shows that the characters are quoted much more than the title of the play. The functional range of characters is broader than that of a title, which is more likely to convey a mere reference to a concrete object than establish a link to a wide range of different human experiences. The 38 references naming Hamlet by EPITHET are informative in view of the general perceived familiarity with the play and its main protagonist; recurrent epithets like *the Danish prince* even hint at conventionalisation. The GENERIC annotation feature points to an opposite trend: In some

contexts, associating the passage with *Hamlet* is not communicatively necessary. Wrongly attributed quotations occur, but the fame of *Hamlet* means that they are not numerous.[112] Visual objects were not the focus of the searches, hence their negligible number.

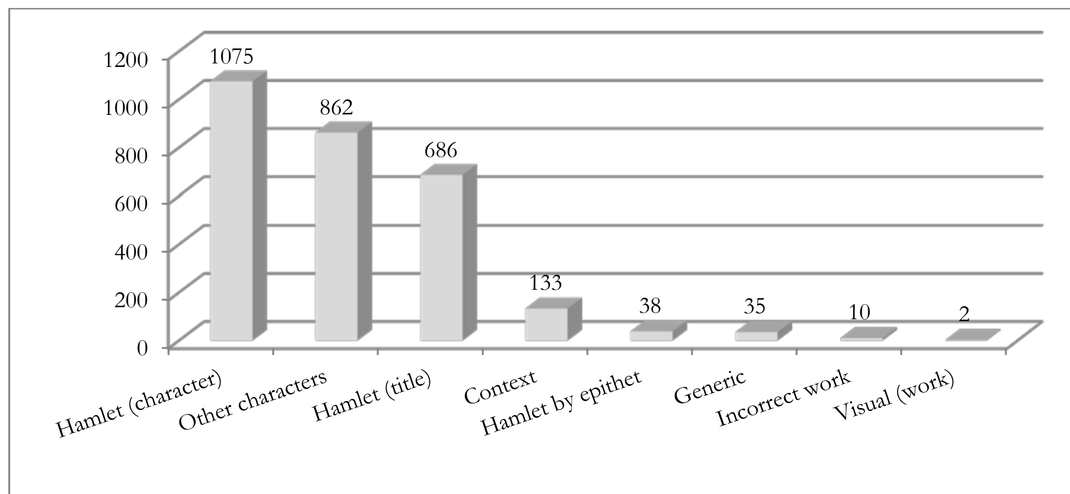

Figure 10: Distribution of individual indices within WORK MARKING in HYHA

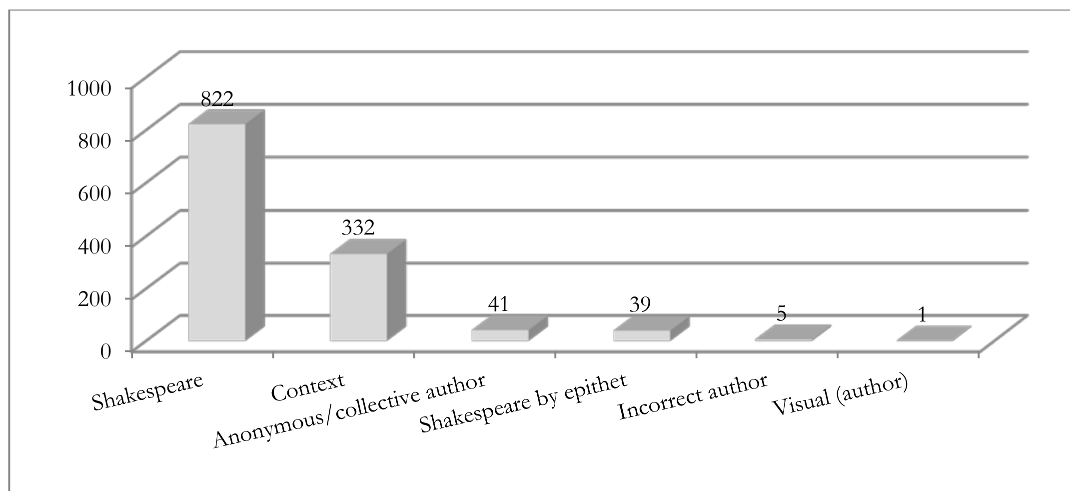

Figure 11: Distribution of individual indices within MARKING FOR AUTHOR in HYHA

The relatively frequent occurrence of the author's name in the CONTEXT of a quotation (cf. figure 11) can be explained by Shakespeare's outstanding status as a cultural icon. The mention of his name indirectly primes readers for quotations that thus become identifiable even if they are not directly marked. Shakespeare's fame is also reflected in the recurrent use of EPITHETS, particularly *the Bard*. The indication of ANONYMOUS/ COLLECTIVE authorship or an INCORRECT AUTHOR suggests an emancipation of the quoted passages. It reflects the usage of the quotation for its semantics; the referential aspect is imprecise and can thus be disregarded. The quotation is used in a similar way to other multi-word units. ANONYMOUS/COLLECTIVE is also a token of what Thatcher diagnosed as the "appropriability" of Shakespeare's words, plots and characters (Thatcher 2002-2003: 95): They are striking and can be transferred to other contexts without losing their value.

[112] However, passages from less-famous Shakespeare plays are repeatedly attributed to *Hamlet*.

4.4 Summary

Marking for quotation is as complex as the phenomenon of quotation itself. Particularly in literature, the interplay of various factors that signal quotations is intricate. A rich variety of devices and strategies can clearly signal or faintly hint at other textual traces. This chapter began by distinguishing local and global marking strategies. On the global level, genre, narratological structure, quantitative and distributive aspects, and hermeneutic demands (incomprehensible passages may require the association with another text to become understandable) influence the awareness of quotations. Accompanying comments also provide information about intertextual references (cf. Füger 1989 and Helbig 1996). Global marking as explored by scholars such as Plett (1985, 1988, 1991), Broich (1985), Pfister (1985), Füger (1989) and Helbig (1996) requires linguistic, textual and expert philological knowledge, while local markers have been defined as any signal that may be used and recognised by mere linguistic knowledge. The chapter then moved on to its main focus: local signals.

Local marking ranges from very obvious to very subtle signals, as the numerous examples above demonstrate. About half of all the annotated data in HYHA are marked, mostly by the conventional added signals. This quantitative aspect suggests that marking must have an added value for language users. The added value mainly consists in signalling a passage as a repeated sequence or concept with a referential quality. The markers serve as clues for pragmatic inference and hence for interpretation. Local markers comprise typographical, metalinguistic, onomastic and stylistic devices, and are realised in a great variety of forms. Moreover, local markers may *come single spies, but also in battalions*. In the case of co-occurring markers, one marker is sometimes specified in the light of the other, which shows the complexity of marking. If the subject of the *inquit formula* is the name Hamlet, the *inquit formula* is a marker for quotation in the sense of a "passage from a book", and not only in the sense of reported speech.

Typographical, metalinguistic and onomastic markers are usually added markers, while stylistic markers are typically text-inherent. The added markers fulfil specific functions in addition to their general "modalising effect" (Klockow 1980: 92). Typographical markers indicate the quoted passage in view of scope, metalinguistic markers draw attention to repeated language from other contexts, and onomastic markers identify those contexts as the source of the quotation. The review of Klockow (1980) identified the conditions of use of quotation marks and thus their pragmatic effect on interpretation. Quotation marks conventionally signal an *idiomatic*, non-literal use of a verbal sequence, which Saka (1998: 126) later describes as pointing to some associable "item [...] other than its extension". This principal pragmatic function of quotation marks is transferrable to all the marking devices discussed in this chapter. They point at the quotation from different angles but serve the same purpose, namely, to convey some non-linearised meaning, some meaning which is not explicitly coded in the chosen words.

In terms of quantity, quotation marks figure most prominently. They trigger pragmatic inference and define the scope of the repeated section. They are thus linked to both dimensions of quotation: reference and repetition. Onomastic markers are the second most frequent indices for quotation. They help the reader identify the referent and thus work out the intended association. The most commonly used marking devices thus reflect the importance of *repetition* and *reference* for quotation. Metalinguistic markers

further spell out the relationship between the marked passage and its referent, while intrinsic markers lead to metalinguistic connotations. These local markers thus principally cover three different aspects of quotation.

The internal distribution of the different markers within the typographical, name, metalinguistic and stylistic categories shows a strong preference for only one specific marker among the many possible alternatives: quotation marks, the *inquit formula*, precise names and archaisms. The large numerical differences between the verb *to say* and other metalinguistic verbs, between quotation marks and other typographical means, between precise names and other forms of referring to the author or the work clearly indicate usage preferences and show that marking for quotations follows conventions. The development of such conventions suggests that marking for quotation is a much-used linguistic practice. As a corollary, and due to these conventional forms, markers are interpretable on the basis of linguistic knowledge as indicators of quotations in use (cf. Quaßdorf 2012a).

The conventionality and thus transparency of added markers in particular has repercussions on the quoted item itself. Klockow (1980: 104) observes that quotation marks are predominantly used if the quotation is highly metaphorical, unusual, or used in a far-fetched way (cf. Klockow 1980: 104). Many of the examples from HYHA in the preceding sections support this observation. Ordinary phrases like *did nothing* (cf. example (17)), or additional modifications of inconspicuous phrases such as *great weight* instead of *great charge* (cf. example (10)) would, because they are so common, never be recognised as quotations (not even by a *sujet connaissant*) if they were not marked. The more marking is used, the greater becomes the range of quoted lines and their formal or conceptual modification. A well-marked quotation can be entirely unknown; it does not presuppose knowledge of the pre-text. Journalists and writers of academic papers, for instance, do not expect their readers to be familiar with their quotations, which is why they mark them. On the other hand, explicit marking can make a quotation out of anything. Pseudo-quotations of the kind in example (70) are a case in point.

Stylistic markers are intrinsic signals which primarily trigger metalinguistic inferences. Stylistic markers are far less conventional than the added typographical, metalinguistic and onomastic signals. They are text inherent and thus text specific. Their frequency in HYHA is thus a particularity of the Elizabethan source text. The archaic language of an Elizabethan source text contains numerous indirect hints as a result of the stylistic contrast to the surrounding language of more modern quoting texts. Language and register switches share this stylistic effect with archaisms, while nominalisations mark a passage as a syntactic unit despite compositionality. All these features occur repeatedly in the quotations from *Hamlet*. Stylistic peculiarities need not be intentional, but they may be incidental aspects of a quotation (cf. Clark/Gerrig 1990).

For completeness' sake it must be mentioned that marking is also subject to historical changes. Chapter 2 explains that reusing other texts and passages was handled differently in the 16th and 17th centuries than in later periods. While marking as described above is rare in those early periods, the 19th century made ample use of all explicit typographical, metalinguistic and onomastic devices. Klockow's (1980) account also suggests that the link between different types of quotations which are all marked by quotation marks lies in the history of the marker. This chapter, however, mainly discussed marking from a

synchronic perspective, as the question of *how to recognise a quotation by linguistic means* implies the standpoint of a contemporary reader.

Chapter 6 will explore the question of *what is a quotation* from a self-referential perspective, that is, from the perspective of similarity, where recognition depends on textual knowledge. Before that, however, chapter 5 will analyse the specific *modalising* aspect of archaisms in three frequent quotations from *Hamlet*. Archaisms, it seems, are more than frozen bits of language that lead to metalinguistic inferences. They also appear to fulfil other communicative functions, which in turn seem to affect their survival. A short comparison with frequently modernised quotations thus also raises the matter of *why some archaisms are regularly quoted while others are not*. In some cases, at least, it appears that semantic activity and discursive functionality stabilise the use of archaic forms and prevent their modernisation.

5 Archaisms in practice – Empirical observations

The preceding chapter focused on the variety and typology of markers and their main forms and functions. This chapter shifts the attention to stylistic archaic markers as a peculiarity of the Elizabethan source text. Stylistic markers differ from conventional markers in that they are inherent to the quoted text and only become noticeable if the text *in absentia* and the text *in praesentia* differ stylistically. The data suggest that archaisms are not merely frozen bits of language preserved because of an implied norm of truthfulness to the model. Verbatimness is not a necessary condition of quotations, and modernisations are indeed attested. Accordingly, this raises the question of why archaisms and other stylistic peculiarities survive in some quotations while ancient forms are modernised in others. It will be argued that the survival of archaisms depends on, among other things, whether they serve additional pragmatic functions by association with something "other than [their] extension" (Saka 1998: 126) in their specific communicative contexts.

According to the data in HYHA*,* the following three frequently quoted passages typically maintain their stylistic anomalies

(1) The lady protests too much, methinks (III, ii) (*protest/too much*)
(2) Though I am native here and to the manner born (I, iv) (*manner/born*)
(3) Frailty, thy name is woman (I, ii) (*frailty*)

Others, however, do not. These include:

(4) He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again (I, ii) (*look/upon*),
(5) I could a tale unfold (I, v) (*tale/unfold*).

For ease of reference, the abbreviations given in brackets will often be used in the following sections. The noticeable stylistic peculiarities consist of either old pronominal forms such as *thy* in (3), archaic verb forms such as *methinks* in (1), old-fashioned-sounding verb constructions such as *to look upon* in (4) and/or unusual word order such as in (2) and (5). These elements signal, as a minimum, that the speaker is unlikely to produce the phrases *ad hoc*, that he or she is not drawing from his or her own idiolect. Stylistic markers produce a "seam" with respect to the surrounding text (Plett 1988: 301), and it is perceived via one's linguistic competence. The "seam" is likely to trigger implicatures because the listener/reader assumes that the speaker/writer has some reason for deviating from his or her ordinary style (cf. Grice 1991 [1967], Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]).

Claiming that anomalies have a pragmatic function does not contradict the general implicit norm of verbatimness; many people will stick to the original form if they know it, because they want to quote properly. The frequently attested modifications, which are regularly criticised as "misquotations", merely signal a discrepancy between norm and practice, but not the abolition of the ideal. In addition, the quality of poetic language, its euphony and/or conciseness of expression also cause people to copy the original as it is, and rhetorical refinement enhances memorability (cf., among others, Morawski 1971, Dietz 1999, Lennon 2004, Keller 2009). A case in point is *murder most foul* (I, v), which hardly ever deviates from its original form thanks to its expressive brevity and good sound quality. The ideal of verbatim rendition and the often-mentioned decorativeness of poetic language are almost taken for granted here. Yet archaisms are also regularly found

to fulfil other pragmatic functions. The ongoing or even increasing use of specific archaisms from specific lines seems to be encouraged by a functional overtness of the quotation which is foregrounded by the archaism, while such overtness may be harmful in other contexts.

In the following, section 5.1 will describe the use of archaisms in *The lady protests too much, methinks* (III, ii) and will analyse their functional range between euphony and humour, intensification and hedging. Section 5.2 will discuss the value of the resilient archaic word order in *to the manner born* (I, iv), which formally echoes the semantics of the preferred discursive context of class discourse. Section 5.3 will illustrate the value of the archaic *thy* in *Frailty, thy name is woman* (I, ii), which adds emphasis to the simile by the associable authority of old proverbial or biblical wisdom, irony through the anachronistic construction, and phonological weight to the comparison.[1] Section 5.4 will briefly review some counter examples in order to approach the hypothesis that archaisms are more than frozen bits of language from the opposite (i.e. negative) side.

5.1 The use of archaisms in *The lady protests too much, methinks*

Queen Gertrude's often-quoted complaint is a prime example for the discussion of archaisms in current use. The phrase contains the archaic hedge *methinks* and is often quoted with the additional, non-canonical archaism *doth*. The different behaviour of these two archaisms suggests that several factors influence the use of archaisms; the original form of the model is just one factor among many.

Searches and numbers

In total, 380 quotations of *protest/too much* were analysed. They derived from HYHA and were complemented by all data retrieved from BNC, COCA, COHA and TDA (cf. table 1).

Corpus	Absolute nos.	Normalised nos. per 100 million words
TDA	161	< 16
COCA	81	18
COHA	55	13.75
BNC	23	23
additional data in HYHA	60	n. a.
Total	380	

Table 1: Sources and respective token and normalised frequencies of *protest/too much* [2]

The high number of 161 tokens found in the TDA corpus results from the enormous size of the resource. For better comparison, the numbers have been normalised. However, the frequency in TDA can still only be extrapolated as the corpus size is not given by word count, so the normalised value may lie well below 16 words per 100 million.[3] The frequency

[1] An earlier version of the data analyses was published in Quassdorf 2012a.

[2] As HYHA, COCA, LION, ECCO and other corpora are still growing and search options are continuing to improve, the numbers indicated in this study may not be reproducible. The data indicated correspond to the status in the first half of 2013.

[3] The first issues of *The Times* in 1785 consisted of 4 pages with some 3,500 to 4,000 words each, according to the article word count in TDA. This amounts to 14,000 words per (early) issue and to some 4.5 million words per year. If these figures are extrapolated over a period of 200 years, the number of words amounts to some 900 million. If one takes into account that *The Times* has become much thicker over time, the TDA corpus will actually exceed the 900 million words by some considerable distance. To ease calculation, 1,000 million words are assumed as a rough value, which is likely to be still too low.

of occurrences in the general language corpora COCA, COHA and BNC is relatively high, with 13.75 to 23 tokens per 100 million words. These numbers do not allow for statistical relevance according to Moon (1998). However, compared to ordinary multi-word units, they provide robust evidence for common usage. For instance, *to grin like a Cheshire cat* occurs only 8 times in BNC, and the prime example in linguistics, *to kick the bucket*, occurs just 5 times. Ultimately, however, nothing but tokens are discussed here, and they are compared to each other or to each other within one corpus.

The data were searched according to the combinatory rules presented in chapter 1, i.e. by searches for co-occurring keywords and structural fragments. The searches in the digital resources suggest that the quoted core element of the line consists in the verb phrase *to protest too much*. This is because the most effective search turned out to be the proximity search *protest** with the intensifier *too much*. The search for the co-occurrence of *protest* with *too much* also revealed an unexpected regular pattern: the insertion of the non-canonical archaism *doth*.

(6) [Bell:] I think the lady doth protest too much.
[Emily:] Ay, but she'll keep her word.
(Colman, George (1763): The Deuce is in Him; source HYHA)

(7) I know, that the Lady Britannia, like the Lady Desdemona, "doth protest too much". (Dickens, Charles (1864): Speech at University College Hospital; source HYHA)[4]

(8) What makes Tom Cruise an authority on psychiatry? He is an affront to every human being with a mental impairment. Perhaps TC doth protests [sic] too much! (Anon. (2005-2006): Letters! Letters! *TomCruiseIsNuts.com*; source HYHA)

The archaism *doth* was then also included in the keyword search. However, the proximity searches *doth NEAR protest** and *doth NEAR "too much"* retrieved only very few additional variants, such as:

(9) Whitman keeps a great deal of this dark: hence the humbug. Hence also the Whitmanesque vehemence. "Methinks the gentleman doth insist too much." Men must always insist heavily on a half-truth. (Lawrence, David Herbert (1916): Whitman. *Studies in Classic American Literature*; source HYHA)

(10) Michael doth protest a bit too loudly, however. (Fricke, D. and J. Hoefler (1990): The year in records. *Rolling Stone*; source COCA).

Example (9) is an instance of verb substitution, *protest* is replaced by *insist*, and example (10) swaps the intensifier *too much* for *too loudly*. In contrast to these exceptional modifications, the following variants are recurrently attested:

a) The lady protests too much, methinks.
b) Methinks, the lady doth protest too much.
c) The lady protests too much.
d) The lady doth protest too much.
e) [to] doth protest too much.
f) [to] protest too much.

These regularly quoted versions of the quotation reveal another much-used but non-canonical variant: the fronting of the hedge *methinks*. In total, 69 out of 81 recorded instances of *methinks* (or variants like *me thinks*, *usthinks* and *we thinks*) are fronted (cf. table

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[4] The reference to the name Desdemona is, of course, erroneous (or ironic?). Wrong attributions occur from time to time. The TDA corpus contains several other instances of wrong attributions, for instance to *Macbeth* (*The Times*, Friday, 4 July 1919) and *Julius Caesar* (*The Times*, 14 November 1931).

2). The shares of fronted *methinks* and archaic do-support differ from corpus to corpus, but a clear majority of *methinks* is shifted in all the data. The share of *doth* is highest in HYHA, with about 60 percent, followed by TDA, COCA, COHA and BNC, with about 26 percent.

	Total	doth	methinks	Fronting of the hedge
TDA	161	60	35	28
HYHA	60	36	23	20
COHA	55	16	8	7
COCA	81	20 (+ 7)*	9	8
BNC	23	6	6	6
Total	351	148	81	69

Table 2: Recorded archaisms in *protest/too much* as recorded in TDA, HYHA, COHA, COCA and BNC
* the verb is rendered twice in the form *protesteth*, and five instances of *dost* are recorded.

HYHA	Total	doth	methinks
17th-18th c.	2	1	0
19th c.	10	5	2
1900-1949	10	3	5
1950-1999	14	10	7
21st c.	24	17	8
Total	60	36	22

Table 3: Diachronic distribution of stylistic markers in HYHA

The differences between the corpora concerning the use of *doth* are mainly due to variations in diachronic coverage and genre. A closer look at the data in HYHA suggests a considerable increase in numbers since the 1950s (cf. table 3). A similar development can be traced within COHA, and a comparison between COHA and COCA also seems to indicate an increase concerning the use of *doth* and other archaic verb forms in more recent times. The raw token frequencies from table 2 yield, in normalised terms, 4 instances of *doth* in COHA per 100 million words, and 6 tokens per 100 million words in COCA, whose time span merely covers some 25 years compared to the 100 years that COHA covers.

The increase of *doth* since the 1950s in HYHA, BNC and COCA mainly occurs in journalism, political debates and blogs, as examples (11), (12) and (13) illustrate:

(11) The lady doth Protestant … Margot and her Huguenot, Joseph de la Môle (Tunzelmann, Alex (2011): La Reine Margot: sober dispatch or shameless massacre? *Guardian Online*; source HYHA)

(12) Whether it has been the MMC Report itself and its outcomes, the unfair bias towards cider in duty terms, the way that duty is measured or the very duty itself – the strident voice of the Brewers' lobby has been deafening. One recalls from Hamlet "The lady doth protest too much, methinks". (Anon. (1994: Treasury and Civil Service Select Committee: Cross border shopping; source HYHA)

(13) Methinks You Doth Protest Too Much: How the Radical Student Union got it wrong (Veix, Joe (2009): Methinks You Doth Protest Too Much. *The New Campus*; source HYHA)

Political arguments figure most prominently as the thematic context of use. However, academics also sometimes draw on the archaic form:

(14) B's volubility may be undesigned, and if it is so regarded by A it may raise in A's mind a doubt as to whether B is as certain as he says he is ("Methinks the lady doth protest too much"). But if it is thought of as designed, it would be an oblique way of conveying that it is to some degree controversial whether or not p. It is, however, arguable that such an implicature could be explained by reference to the maxim of Relation without invoking an alleged second maxim of Quantity. (Grice, Herbert Paul (1967): Logic and Conversation; source HYHA)

(15) The Lady Doth Protest...Mapping Feminist Movements, Moments, and Mobilisations (Anon. (2013): Conference motto of the Feminist and Women's Studies Association, UK & Ireland (FWSA), Nottingham; source HYHA)

Grice (1991 [1967]) uses the Shakespearean quotation in (14) most fittingly for his description of the effect of exaggeration in communication. The quotation in (15) also correlates with the observation that the phrase is often used in political discourse. It is worth noting that the fictional texts recorded in HYHA use *doth* more sparingly than non-fictional texts do.

TDA	total	doth	methinks
19th century	39	21	9
20th century	122	39	26

Table 4: Diachronic distribution of stylistic markers in *The Times*

Table 4 confirms that the phrase also enjoyed a general rise in popularity in the TDA corpus, which is almost exclusively linked to political debate. *Doth* does, however, not rise proportionately. While nearly every other quotation contained the archaism in the 19th century, its use had dwindled to every third quotation by the 20th century. Regrettably, the TDA corpus only covers the 20th century up to 1985, which means it omits the most recent period. The comparison between COHA and COCA, as well as the data in HYHA, suggest that the use of *doth* enjoyed a particularly strong increase from the 1990s onwards.

With regard to added markers, all corpora document a diminishing use of typographical, onomastic and metalinguistic markers in the 20th and 21st centuries. Figure 1 shows the distribution of inherent and added markers for *protests / too much* in

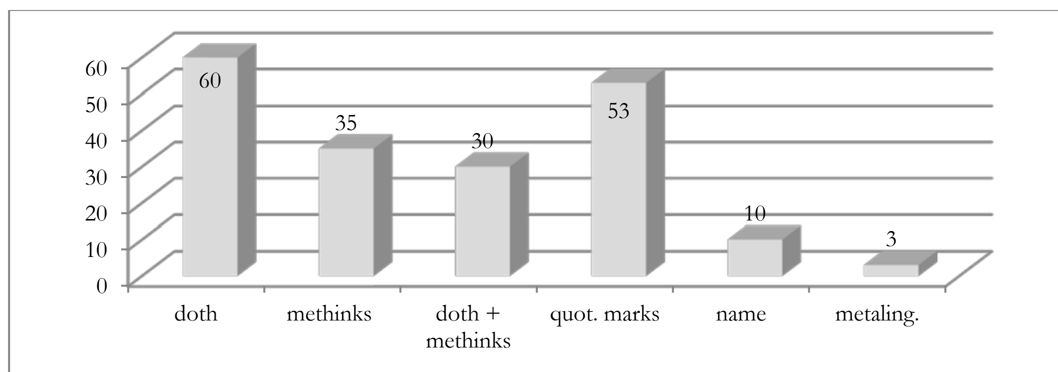

Figure 1: Marking for quotation of *protest/too much* in TDA

TDA, the largest corpus: The specific nature of the line leads to the dominance of inherent markers. The non-canonical archaic do-support is particularly noticeable. In TDA, most instances of the canonical form *methinks* co-occur with *doth*. Only five instances of *methinks* are recorded independently from archaic do-support. Apart from the frequency of archaisms, which is particular to that phrase, the numerical order of the conventional typographical, onomastic and metalinguistic markers follows the general

findings from HYHA as stated in chapter 4: Typographical marking is most frequent, followed by name marking and then metalinguistic marking. The large difference in frequency between name marking and typographical marking points towards the phraseological usage of the quotation. Phraseological usage means that the phrase is primarily used for its semantics rather than its referential aspect (cf. chapter 7 for more details on the relationship between quotations and ordinary phrasemes). With regard to the general diachronic increase from 39 tokens in the 19th century to 122 tokens in the 20th century, marking in TDA has dropped over time. The relative proportion of quotation marks vs. archaic markers has shifted towards the archaisms (cf. figure 2).

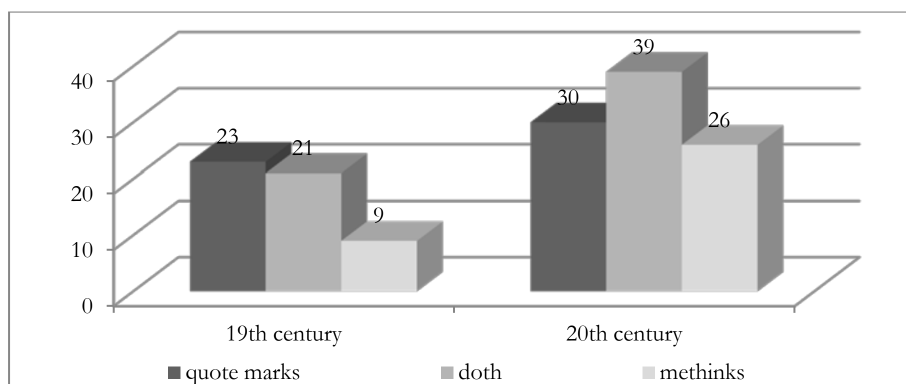

Figure 2: Diachronic distribution of markers for *protest/too much* in TDA

In the 19th century, TDA records 23 instances of typographical marking vs. 21 instances of archaisms. The 9 instances of *methinks* in the 19th century all co-occur with *doth*. In the 20th century, typographical marking has lost ground: 30 instances of quotation marks contrast with 39 instances of *doth* plus 5 additional independent tokens of *methinks*.

The growing attractiveness of the archaisms since the 1950s, but especially from the 1990s as suggested by the COHA/COCA comparison, is supported by other recorded non-canonical archaic forms, such as *thou dost*, *protesteth*, which repeatedly occur in the late 20th and early 21st centuries:

(16) While the dominant media persistently proclaim our lack of interest in Whitewater, the phrase, "Thou dost protest too much! " rings in my ears. (Witt, Harriet (1994): Find an Alternative to Packing the Jails. *San Francisco Chronicle*; source COCA)

(17) Thou Dothn't Protest Too Much (Pell, Dave (2004): Thou Dothn't Protest Too Much. Davenetics. Remote Control Revolutionary; source HYHA)

(18) She smiled. "It has much to do," Susan said, "with whether you are happy in the task." "So maybe she protesteth too much?" "I'm sure she knows all there is to know," Susan said. "But most adult women do." (Parker, Robert Brown (2006): Dream Girl; source HYHA)

In some cases, *doth* functions almost as a prefix:

(19) [Andie:] Methinks thou doth protesteth too much.
(Alexander, Michele; Buckley, Kristen; Long, Jeannie; Petrie Donald (2003): How to Lose a Guy in 10 Days, source HYHA)

(20) You, you're "doth protesting," like, way too much.
(Anon. (2009): T-Shirt Print. *Paranoid Creative Apparel*; source HYHA)

(21) The Salahis doth protest too much. (Capehart, Jonathan (2009): The Salahis doth protest too much. *Washington Post*; source HYHA)

In example (19), the lexical verb is conjugated despite the presence of the auxiliary *doth*. In example (20), the auxiliary *are* does not supersede the auxiliary *doth*. And in example

(21), the archaic *do* does not pluralise. *Doth* is no longer understood as a proper auxiliary but as part of a compound verb phrase, *to doth-protest too much*. Nevertheless, the actual examples seem to be mere tokens of humorous wordplay rather than signals of an emerging grammatical change.

To sum up this descriptive account, variants of *The lady protests too much, methinks* have regularly and increasingly been quoted from the 1850s onwards. The core element of the quotation is the verb phrase *to (doth) protest too much*. The archaism *doth* is used in almost every third or every second entry, depending on the corpus and the period. A disproportionate increase of *doth* can be traced from the 1950s, and especially from the 1990s, in political contexts. The archaism *methinks* is almost always fronted, which indicates semantic activity rather than frozen inertia. Symptoms of "frozen inertia" are observable in a few cases of *doth*, in which it occasionally merges with the lexical verb *to protest*.

Origin, use and function of the archaic elements

The origin of the non-canonical *doth* has not yet been addressed, and neither have the reasons for its popularity. The First Folio of 1623 and the quality editions of *Hamlet* render Gertrud's complaint without do-support, yet *doth* occurs in the first quartos from 1603 and 1604 (cf. Furness 1963 [1877]: 254) and, most importantly, in many cheaper Shakespeare editions. It is fairly unlikely that those editions preferred the *quartos* to the *First Folio*. Rather, the editors presumably "improved" the text as was customary in the late 18th and 19th centuries (cf. Furness 1963 [1877], Blake 1983, Hibbard 1994 and Greenblatt 1997). The addition of *doth* turns the line into a regular blank verse. Those editors overlooked, however, that the deviation from the blank verse formally supports Gertrude's emotional consternation, which is why the *First Folio* and the serious editions are less euphonically pleasing.

The well-shaped metrical pattern of the blank verse, which enhances memorability according to rhetorical teaching (cf. esp. Dietz 1999 and Keller 2009), is certainly the most natural explanation for the insertion and persistence of the archaic do-support. Among the data in HYHA and COCA, instances of spoken usage, be that in interviews as in example (22), political debates as in (23) or films as in (24), are repeatedly attested:

(22) I think she's talking about luminol. And it's my understanding that blood was found in Peterson's car. But it was Peterson's blood, and in fact, he openly volunteered that to witnesses before they even asked him. Oh, yes, they're going to find my blood in my car. Shakespeare says methinks thou doth protest too much. But regarding luminol, I think it was used in the car. Not used in the home. (Grace, Nancy (2004): Comment during the Larry King Show; source HYHA)

(23) I find such a level of shock horror disturbing to the point of "methinks the lady doth protest too much." (Mayer, Anthony (1995): Committee on Standards in Public Life; Prime Minister: Local public spending bodies; source HYHA)

(24) Homer: You're not saying "no". Marge: Fine. No!
Homer: I'm still not hearing "no". Marge: No. No. No!
Homer: Well, methinks the lady doth protest too much.
(Groening, Matt; Moore, Steven Dean; Verrone, Patric M. (2005): The Simpsons: Milhouse of Sand and Fog; source HYHA)

Sound is an aspect of oral communication; the recurrent use of the full blank verse in spoken language indicates that the resulting uneconomic greater length is outweighed by other factors, one of which is phonological smoothness, another tradition. The cheaper

Shakespeare editions are widely read, which means that the *doth* variant will have found its way into the cultural memory of English speakers (so much so that even the philosopher Grice 1991 [1967] used this extended form). While this explains the *doth* insertion, the non-canonical, newly introduced forms such as *usthinks, dost* and *protesteth* call for other reasons which are not covered by euphony and custom.

The use of wordplay and thus of humour has already shone through in examples (19) and (20) and is further illustrated by the following quotations:

(25) We thinks he doth protest too much. No one suggests that the manufacturing sector is about to disappear. (Huey, John (1994): Waking up to the new economy. *Fortune*; source COCA)

(26) Usthinks the company doth protest too much (Anon. (no date): Computergram international; source the BNC)

(27) Methink you screweth up big time, mylady (Cadiff, Andy; Lotterstein, Rob; Salsberg, Matthew (2006): The War at Home: Drive Me Crazy; source HYHA)

The forms *we thinks* and *usthinks* in examples (25) and (26) are clearly fantasy creations which testify to the fun of creative wordplay. Example (27) "translates" the Shakespearean line into slang while still using an archaic verb inflexion. True archaisms also have the potential to create a whimsical connotation through their anachronistic form. Humour produces several effects. It is a "social facilitator" (cf., among others, Norrick 2003, Attardo 2005), it helps establish social relations and can resolve critical situations. *To protest too much* criticises exaggeration. Criticism delivered with a twinkling eye is more acceptable than a purely authoritatively conveyed admonition. On the other hand, if communicative functions are less peaceful, ridicule and sarcasm will take over and aggravate the situation. Still, humour "provides a socially acceptable vent for strong emotions" (Norrick 2006: 425). As many archaisms are attested in contexts of critical political argument, the "venting of strong emotions" by ridicule is more frequently attested in the corpora:

(28) Mr. Gladstone's repeated declarations that the release of Mr. Parnell was effected without negotiations, promise, or engagement, reminded him of Hamlet's words – "The lady doth protest too much." (Laughter). (Anon. (1882): Lord Carnarvon At Hanley. *The Times*; source TDA)

(29) Before I proceed to that task I am bound to meet a personal challenge which Lord Salisbury has thrown out to me. (Cheers.) […] He said, "I will say that this is a baseless libel, that it has not a shred or shadow of truth and that I defy him to point out the language I used in Opposition which I am contradicting by deeds in office. That is a simple test. If he can prove it he confutes me; if he cannot prove it the reproach which he makes recoils upon him and covers with the charge of dishonesty the tactics he pursues." Methinks the marquis doth protest too much. (Cheers and laughter.) He is very anxious that the cap should fit him. I did not especially refer to him; I spoke generally of the Government of which he is the head. (Anon. (1885): Mr. Chamberlain in Wiltshire. *The Times*; source TDA)

(30) He might be excused if he did not give a very large part of his reply to that part of Mr. Thomas's speech, which was devoted to ulterior purposes. He would only say that some of them listening to the right hon. gentlemen's political vindication of what was a true blue Imperial party could not help thinking of the line: "The lady, methinks, doth protest too much." (Laughter.) (Mr. Amery (1929): House of Commons: The Lord Mayor's Fund. Mr Amery's Reply. *The Times*; source TDA)

These are three out of ten examples in which the serious factuality of the quality paper *The Times* unambiguously points out effects of ridicule by the explicit addition of "laughter" in brackets. Many more examples with clearly inferable sarcasm can be found,

particularly in reported speech. The archaisms can generate humour (including irony and sarcasm), which, if appropriate, is another sufficient motivation for their persistent use in practice.

With regard to appropriateness, modernisations are informative. *The Times* cultivates a professional, neutral linguistic style and appears to refrain from employing the humoristic or ridiculing effects of the archaisms if they are not contextually fitting. Hence, the instances without *doth* are more numerous than those with the archaic elements. However, 23 instances of modern do-support are attested:

(31) He thought "they did protest too much;" and, if he were one of the public creditors, he should not feel at all assured respecting their intentions. (Anon. (1849): House of Commons. *The Times*; source TDA)

(32) It makes me think we do protest too much, and if not too much, then almost certainly in vain. (PHS (1973): *The Times* Diary: Traditionalists v. big brewers. *The Times*; source TDA)

The Times is a written medium where the economic brevity of texts is more important than the sound quality of the phrases. The modern, non-obligatory do-support in (31) and (32) is thus a symptom of another function which both the modern and the archaic forms can fulfil and which affects the semantics of the quotation.

The core of the quotation has been established as *to protest too much*. In Shakespeare's time, *to protest* meant "to openly or formally declare something, to asseverate" (cf. Howard 1983: 12). The meaning in *Hamlet* can therefore be paraphrased by "The lady promises too much", which makes Hamlet's reaction, *O, but she'll keep her word*, comprehensible. Modern *protest* is more appropriately paraphrased by "to object vehemently". The two meanings are not always neatly distinguishable, as one may vehemently asseverate negative states of affairs. This is, however, not always important as the qualifier *too much* expresses exaggeration, which may even override the meaning of the verb. The phrase is thus best paraphrased more abstractly by "someone performs an exaggerated (speech) act". "Speech" in speech act is bracketed because a few quoted instances refer to artistic performances rather than speech acts.

(33) […] the general effect was impaired by an exaggeration of gesture and facial expressions frequently bordering on caricature. In both scenes the lady emphatically does "protest too much." How far these shortcomings may have been the effect of nervousness cannot at present be determined. (Anon. (1980): Her Majesty's Theatre. *The Times*; source TDA)

(34) It has all the disadvantage of that abrupt, elliptical manner which Beethoven adopted in his transitional period which tempts the public performer to protest too much. Mr. Barton did not fall into that error. (Anon. (1921): Saturday's Concerts. Mr. Barton's Recital. *The Times*; source TDA)

In (33) and (34), *to protest too* much is synonymous with *to exaggerate*, and the meaning shifts entirely towards the qualifier. Do-support, whether archaic or modern, intensifies the point of exaggeration as expressed by *too much*. Moreover, it occurs before the actual verb, thus preparing the addressee for an intensified reading of the subsequent proposition. The intensifying quality of both archaic and modern do-support is another added value for the use of archaisms, though it is not exclusive. The archaism helps convey the intensified meaning, but can also be replaced by modern variants if other potential effects of the archaism are either inappropriate or not needed.

In addition to humorous or ridiculing effects, which can appease or inflame an argument, archaisms also mark quotative usage as discussed in the previous chapter. The

speaker does not need to take full responsibility for what is said; authorship is deferred, the expressed criticism is indirect (cf. especially Compagnon 1979, Klockow 1980 and Tuormala 2000). The quotative nature of the criticism as signalled by the archaism offers speakers/writers a way out if the person they are criticising rebukes them or retaliates. From the start, the quoting party implicitly points out that what is said is not his/her own creation. Quotations thus perform hedging functions in discourse. In this connection, the following observation in the *Letters to the Editor* section in TDA is noteworthy: 16 out of 38 occurrences use the Shakespearean line or its trace in their initial sentences:

(35) Sir, – "Methinks" Sir Hartley Shawcross "doth protest too much." The fallacy of his argument seems to be that there is not one universal standard of living for everybody, either nationally or internationally. (Franklin, Alan P. (1947): Standard of Living. *The Times*; source TDA)

(36) Sir, – The Chairman of the Brewers' Society doth protest too much in his letter to you of July 14. (Heath, H. Cecil (1965): Conducive to Health. *The Times*; source TDA)

(37) Sir, Methinks Mr Michael Alison, MP, doth protest too much (*The Times*, February 27) in calling on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to suspend VAT inspectors' entry and search operations …(Leggatt, Hugh (1975): VAT inspectors' powers. *The Times*; source TDA)

(38) Sir, – "Methinks the lady doth protest too much." Not all the carefully-worded disclaimers of "Artillerist" can hide from any man with a grain of common sense that he is simply holding a brief for the War Office. (Anon. (1990): Our Artillery in the War. *The Times*; source TDA)

It is arguably "protested too much" to claim that the Shakespearean line has become a genre marker for *letters to the editor*. Nevertheless *to protest too much* has been used repeatedly as a hedging formula, which prepares the reader for an arguable or contradictive statement. This effect is mainly achieved by the archaic elements *methinks* and *doth,* which indicate deferred authorship, and occasionally also by quotation marks. The archaisms are missing if the letter writer replaces their appeasing effect with rhetorical questions and/or negation:

(39) Sir, – does not Mr. Cabburn protest too much in his letter appearing in your issue of to-day? (H.W. (1911): Copyright and Journalism. *The Times*; source TDA)

(40) Sir, I do not wish to "protest too much", but protest I must. (Boulting, John (1980): One of the greats. *The Times*; source TDA)

In addition, the hedging function is regularly explicitly conveyed by the high proportion of fronted *methinks* in any genre. The fronting of *methinks* corresponds to the typical position of hedges and indicates that the semantics of the archaism are active. If *methinks* were merely a frozen element of a properly quoted passage from a book, the original position would be more regularly maintained. Besides the archaic form, variants with the modern *think* are also recorded, as illustrated by examples (31) and (32) above, and by the following extract from 1763:

(41) When once the heart has settled its affections, how mean is it to withdraw them from any paltry considerations of what nature so ever!
[Bell:] "I think the lady doth protest too much."
[Emily:] "Ay, but she'll keep her word."
(Colman, George (1763): The Deuce is in Him; source HYHA)

Conjunctives and hedging expressions, such as *seems* and *perhaps*, also abound in the data:

(42) In his effort to pillory Capitalism as the whipping-boy for all the country's ills he seems to us to protest too much. (Anon (1923): Capitalism at the Bar. *The Times*; source TDA)

(43) He explained under nine separate headings why the Munich agreement was an improvement on Hitler's ultimatum at Bad Godesberg; even in the dry prose of official minutes, the Prime Minister still seems to protest too much. (Howard, Philip (1969): How Britain drifted to tragedy of Munich. *The Times*; source TDA)

(44) "A squalid little political manoeuvre", he said, as the Labour noise engulfed him, but perhaps he did protest too much. (Anon (1965): Shop Windos. *The Times*; source TDA)

(45) With reference to Lutoslawski's 1950-54 entrant in this class one might say that the opening pages of the Intrada protest too much. (Harrison, Max (1975): Surfeit of musical small talk: LPO / Barenboim, Festival Hall. *The Times*; source TDA)

These hedges are semantically reminiscent of *methinks*, and perhaps even synonymous substitutions. The hedging effect of *methinks* is both semantically and connotatively contained in the archaic form. The suspension of responsibility for what is said is implicitly signalled by the deferred authorship through the stylistic means of archaic elements. If other pragmatic effects such as humorous undertones, are to be avoided, the archaic *methinks* can be, and indeed is, replaced by modern hedges without communicative loss.

To summarise, more than a third of the data for *The lady protests too much, methinks* contain archaic do-support, which implicitly marks quotative usage. The core proposition of the quotation is a critical comment on exaggerated behaviour. The communicative demands in a situation of criticism are facilitated by the use of the archaism. *Doth* can add humorous effects, be they to lighten the critical situation or to stress self-empowerment by ridiculing the other. Moreover, the archaisms signal deferred authorship, which turns the quotation into a communicative hedge. The attested co-existence of archaic and non-obligatory modern do-support suggests that both these structures function as intensifiers of the qualifier *too much*. The archaic form is thus not a frozen remnant, but is felt to be semantically active. If the predominant function of do-support is merely to intensify what is said, archaisms can be replaced by modern do-support without communicative loss.

Semantic activity is also evident in the case of *methinks*. The position is almost always shifted to the beginning of the phrase, which is the typical position for verbal hedges. The archaic *methinks* is a way of double-coding: Both the archaic form (through the implicit signal of deferred authorship) and the semantics reduce the burden of responsibility for what is said. Modern hedges thus merely reduce the formal unity, not the message. They can easily replace the archaism and are thus recurrently attested in the vicinity of *to protest too much*. On the one hand, the data show that the hedging formula is part of the quotation, either in its original or an altered form. On the other hand, modern hedges are more frequently attested than modern do-support. The marking function for quotation is not lost if *methinks* is modernised, but it would disappear if modernised do-support were used.

The greater share of *doth* vs. *methinks* reflects the different semantic roles that the archaisms play in the core meaning of the quoted passage. *Doth* is the decisive metrical element and directly linked to the verb phrase; it reinforces its illocutionary and perlocutionary effect in more ways than one. *Methinks* functions as an appeasing, counterbalancing hedge on the periphery, which can be taken over by the quotation itself. *Methinks* is thus the less important archaism and undergoes more changes – variations in word order, and omissions and substitutions – than the more central part of the quotation. The insertion of the non-canonical *doth,* the recurrent use of *methinks* (including its modern variants) and the invention of additional archaic forms in more recent decades suggest that archaisms are used for a reason, or, more precisely, for a number of different reasons, which may come (almost) *single spies or in battalions*. Some of the functions of archaisms, e.g. their semantic value, may be satisfied just as well by modernisations, while others, e.g. subtle marking for deferred authorship, are most elegantly performed by the

archaic form. Furthermore, modernisations highlight the semantic import of the archaism, and the parallel existence of modernised forms and/or the omission of archaisms suggest that language users have access to alternative ways of quoting. Seen in this light, the regular use of the archaisms, and their apparent increase over the last few decades must be interpreted as an expression of communicative functionality.

5.2 The French word order of *to the manner born* and its function in discourse

Hamlet's statement *though I am native here and to the manner born* (I, iv) links two related phrases: *to be native* and *to be born*. The near-synonymy and the lack of conspicuous euphonic patterns such as alliteration or rhyme may have contributed to the shortening of the clause over time. Since the mid-19th century, the second part – *to the manner born* – is almost the only element of the quote to be found recurrently in the data. The full bi-polar clause emphasizes Hamlet's social background with a hendiadys-like construction.[5] The notion of social background is closely linked to the usage of the quotation, and this exemplifies another instance of double-coding, as will be illustrated below.

Searches and numbers

In total, 541 quotations of *manner/born* were analysed. They derived from HYHA and were complemented by all the retrieved data from BNC, COCA, COHA and TDA. The earliest reference in HYHA dates from 1723. Again, the frequencies are not statistically significant. They do, however, range with at least 5.3 tokens per 100 million words within the margins of ordinary multi-word units (cf. table 5).

Corpus	absolute nos.	normalised nos. per 100 million words
TDA	371	< 37
COCA	24	5.3
COHA	100	25
BNC	8	8
additional data in HYHA[6]	38	n. a.
Total	541	

Table 5: Frequencies of *manner/born* in TDA, COCA, COHA, BNC and HYHA

The most successful search string for the digital corpora was the fragment *"to the" NEAR born**. The searches revealed that the passage is mainly quoted verbatim. One typical variant is recurrently attested: the pun *to the manor born*. Other noun substitutions are also attested. Figure 3 shows the occurrences of the expression in the different corpora, sorted according to the three main variants in use:

a) to the manner born
b) to the manor born
c) to the *NOUN* born

The TDA contains 371 instances in total. The earliest quotation of *to the manner born* dates from 1828; the pun is first documented in 1859. Searches for noun substitutions could not be executed for technical reasons. Therefore, the zero for *other* variants in figure 3

[5] If one follows a broad definition of hendiadys (cf. Dietz 1999: 114-117).
[6] *HyperHamlet* contains 70 instances in total, including the data from COCA and BNC.

does not mean that there are no noun substitutions in *The Times* corpus. One can neither search for the stop words *to* and *the*, nor carry out proximity searches; the search for the participle *born* returned too much data noise to allow an effective analysis. Therefore, only the results of the fragment searches *manner born* and *manor born* are given. The relatively high number of puns (77) in TDA is also misleading. The pun is only used 6 times before 1979, that is, before the British TV series *To The Manor Born* started. Most of the later mentions of *to the manor born* are listings in the *Arts & Entertainment* section, which contains the TV program and reviews of a sequel. Hence, the pun is often *mentioned* but is only sparingly *used* in *The Times*. In other words, the high proportion of the variant *to the manner born* is the only valid information that can be derived from TDA.

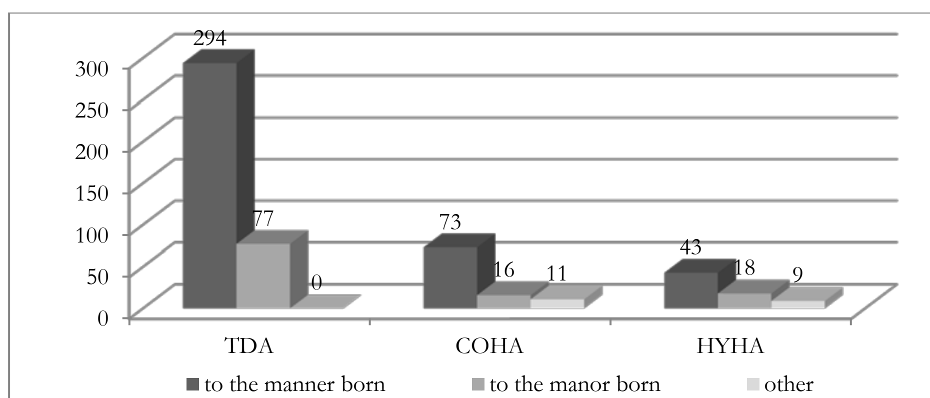

Figure 3: Distribution of *manner/born* and its variants in TDA, COHA and HYHA

COHA records a total of 100 instances, including 16 puns and 11 further substitutions. The earliest quotation in COHA dates from 1832, the earliest pun from 1839 and the earliest noun substitution from 1883:

(46) Those who are "to the manor born" feel this most sensibly, and pity with all their simple hearts the … (Kirkland, Caroline M. (1839): A New Home – Who'll Follow?; source COHA)

(47) He made no toilet himself, for being English and to the saddle born, he cared not a jot how he looked on horseback. (Crawford, Francis Marion (1883): *Doctor Claudius, A True Story*; source COHA).

The pun in example (46) is additionally marked by quotation marks. They are, strictly speaking, functionally ambiguous in terms of whether they indicate a quotation, irony or, most likely, both. With regard to the usage of conventional marking over time, a general decrease in quotation marks, as well as the omission of the first part of the hendiadys is noticeable from 1860 onwards. The idea of being native continues to resound in paraphrases, as example (47) demonstrates with the phrase "being English". Both variants occur in a fictional text. COCA records a total of 24 references to the Shakespearean expression, with 12 verbatim instances, 9 puns and 3 noun substitutions. BNC contains 8 references in total, with 2 puns and 1 case of noun substitution. In other words, the phrase *to the manner born* is just as widely used among English speakers as many ordinary polylexical units are.

French form and typical discourse domains

The earlier example of *protest/too much* was found to be regularly used as a critical comment on the breach of an implied communicative norm, which Grice described as "Do not make your contribution more informative than is required" (Grice 1991 [1967]:

26). The archaisms were shown to improve the sound quality, provoke an ironical, sarcastic or humorous effect and help signal deferred authorship. Even though these effects of archaic elements are potentially always implied, the most conspicuous added value of the archaic form *to the manner born* differs from that of *doth* in the earlier example. The particularity of *manner/born* can best be explained by looking at its preferred discursive context.

In *Hamlet, to the manner born* means "being well familiar with a certain tradition". The entire passage reads:

(48) But to my mind, though I am native here / And to the manner born, it is a custom More honour'd in the breach than the observance (I, iv).[7]

The custom that Hamlet is criticising is that of carousing and feasting extensively. The quoted data rarely relate to drink, however. Rather, quoters stress the concept of being native and of upbringing as the reasons for familiarity with a tradition, and sometimes for possessing a specific ability. The following examples are cases in point:

(49) The Passe Caille of Le Picq & Madame Simonet – and the Reel in the Scotch Dance, were both very delightful – In the Reel, Slingsby, from being to the manner born, was more agreeable than Le Picq – Nothing indeed can be conceived as more captivating. (Algarotti (1783): Review. *Whitehall Evening Post*; source Brney)

(50) As an experienced Yankee, to the manner born, I can throw light on the use of "likely" as a term of praise in the rustic dialect of New England forty or fifty years ago. (Anon. (1880): Contributor's Club. *Atlantic Monthly*; source COHA)

(51) Yet, although if occasion demanded he could do or think a thing with as mercurial a dash as can the men of towns who are more to the manner born, his special power, morally, physically, and mentally, was static, owing little or nothing to momentum as a rule. (Hardy, Thomas (1873-1874): Far from the Madding Crowd; source HYHA)

In example (49), it is assumed that Mr Slingsby is Scottish, that he has been brought up in Scotland, that he is familiar with Scottish traditions and that he therefore dances Scottish reels better than non-Scottish performers. The "Yankee" in (50), who grew up with American English, is supposedly the best authority on the use of particular expressions in his variety of the language. Examples (49) and (50) relate the specific familiarity and ability to nationality, just as Hamlet associates the custom of drinking to the Danish. Hardy, in example (51), chooses a smaller political structure as the source of familiarity with specific customs: the town. Being born into a specific political structure leads to familiarity with the language, the musical traditions, and the customs of feasting. Political structure means, however, the organisation of a community. Hence, one is not only born in a specific place that has a political structure, but that place is also a short-cut for social conditions. In the following, it will be illustrated that *manner/born* preferably associates the quotation with socio-political discourse.

In particular, the social context of the upper classes is evoked by accompanying lexemes and phrases that denote prestigious settings. These include *grandeur* in example (52), *aristocratic surroundings* in example (53) and *courtly* in example (54):

(52) Dolly found from the first the grandeur did not in the least incommode her. On the contrary, she enjoyed it. She felt forthwith she was to the manner born. (Allen, Grant (1895): The Woman Who Did; source HYHA)

[7] The passage *It is a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance* has itself become a well-known quotation (cf. chapters 8 and 9).

(53) The heroines of such ballets go hunting, practise archery, play lutes or mandolins, dance appropriate period dances and generally behave "as to the manner born in aristocratic surroundings" (Lawson, Joan (1991): A Ballet-Maker's Handbook; source HYHA)

(54) There's nowhere you can't go in the new G-Series.
[…] A lofty and spacious carriage, the G slips from rough country into a more courtly role as if to the manner born. (Anon. (1990-1991): Advertisement for Mercedes-Benz G-Series; source HYHA)

The recurrent pun *to the manor born* makes the implicit association with upper-class discourse explicit:

(55) But Lakey was very contradictory; that was her charm. Sometimes she was a frightful snob and sometimes just the opposite. She was looking so furious this morning because Kay, according to her, should have got married quietly in City Hall instead of making Harald, who was not to the manor born, try to carry off a wedding in J. P. Morgan's church. Now was this snobbish of Lakey or wasn't it? (McCarthy, Mary (1963): The Group; source HYHA)

(56) There is a seemingly endless amount of minute details to be committed to memory, ranging from what clothes to wear to how much to tip the gamekeeper. Fortunately, though, you don't have to be to the manor born to acquire this vital information. (Dubow, Charles Stewart (1991). The Aim of the Game. *Forbes Magazine*; source HYHA)

Examples (55) and (56) even communicate the link to upper-class traditions despite their negative form: A marriage with someone who belongs to a lower class, that is, *not to the manor born,* should be done *quietly* and not in public; and if you are not upper class, knowledge about *what clothes to wear* and *how much to tip* can only be acquired with extra effort. Further noun substitutions regularly support this class-discursive interpretation:

(57) That is why it is preferable to have aristocrats in high office. Men "to the purple born" have wealth and class before they make their first campaign speech (Anon. (1973): Letters. *Time Magazine*; source COHA)

(58) Remnants of the Gilded Age are evident in the town's loyalty to tennis, yachting, and formal gardens. But today, Newport is a more "democratic" town. Yachting schools offer lessons to children and adults alike (not just folks to the yacht born); the once-exclusionary Newport Casino houses both the Tennis Hall of Fame and courts for public use; the beaches are open to all; and nine Gilded Age mansions – once the domain for the social elite – are open for touring by the public. (Gage, Marjorie E. (1999): A summer place. *Country Living*; source HYHA)

(59) To the Mall Born
Are certain kids destined to get dollar signs in their eyes? (Rosenberg, Amy (2007): She's Gotta Have It. *Psychology Today*; source HYHA)

Purple, *yachts* and *malls*, as well as the *saddle* from example (47) are all emblems of the lifestyle of the very rich. The association with class discourse is also supported by contrastive examples, such as:

(60) This newcomer bore, as to the manner born, the stigmata of poverty and of obedience. (Hyams, Edward (1951): Sylvester; source HYHA)

(61) Lunatics and Lovers quite to the gutter born (Anon. (1954): New Plays in Manhattan; source *COHA*)

Poverty and *the gutter* are, so to speak, the other side of the class coin.

The original relationship between nationality and familiarity with certain customs has thus transformed into the relationship between class and familiarity with certain customs. In *Hamlet*, class membership is only implicit. Hamlet is a prince, yet his status is not

foregrounded when he utters his sarcastic criticism on carousing.[8] The added value of the stylistic anomaly of *to the manner born* then lies in the fact that it also formally supports associations with the upper classes, as ordinary people do not speak like that. The word order of *to the manner born* marks the linguistic style of the upper classes. The post-positioned participle structure derives from French, the language of the Normans, who for centuries formed the upper classes on the British Isles. Their linguistic traces are attached to formal language to this day: A cordial reception is still different from a hearty welcome. The construction *to the* NOUN *born* reinforces the association with the upper classes by way of a stylistic effect. The stylistic effect and the discursive association thus produce an efficient double coding of the phrase's implications. The specific value of the French word order is thus to make the expression's connotations more salient through form. Here, form and semantic prosody are in unison. In addition, the examples above also support the view that the historical attire of the phrase can create some humorous effects.

5.3 The role of *thy* in *Frailty, thy name is woman*

Another quotation for which the archaic element is regularly quoted is the exclamation *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (I, ii). The original line is a Shakespearean variant of an old cliché. Women were said to be easily tempted because they were the weaker sex.[9] The cliché can be traced as far back as to the Bible and ancient Roman sources.[10] [11] Not surprisingly, the quotation is regularly linked to gender discourse, as will be shown below. The expressed criticism, mainly of women, suggests a similar interpretation of the function of *thy* as that of *methinks* and *doth* in *protest/too much*, i.e. deferred authorship to suspend responsibility, and the use of humour, irony or sarcasm to appease or provoke further. However, the references to this line are more regularly modified than the two examples discussed above. The stable core of the quotation is *thy name is*. The nouns on either side of this fragment can be substituted so that *thy name is* forms the productive schema NOUN *thy name is* NOUN to express similes of any sort. The archaic form *thy* turns the structure into a salient equation and adds humour as well as authority by implied ancient truth.

Searches and numbers

The following analysis is based on 145 datasets in total. Table 6 provides the quantitative overview of documented usages in HYHA, TDA, COHA, COCA and BNC:

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[8] One could hypothesize that the shift towards class discourse may have been favoured by attested similar-sounding phrases with the structure *the* ADJECTIVE/ADVERBIAL *born*. These include *the high born (prince), the better born* and *the nobly born*, which regularly denote prestigious contexts and are documented in EEBO, Classic Protestant Texts, the TDA corpus and other historical text collections. Even the still-common phrase *the first born* is historically associated with the prestigious standing of the family's heir. By contamination, phrases with the structure *the* ADJECTIVE/ADVERBIAL *born* may have transferred their upper-class associations to the construction *to the* NOUN *born*. In addition, the lexeme *manner* usually denotes "good manners", which are traditionally linked to the customs of the aristocracy (which Shakespeare actually seems to question through Hamlet).

[9] cf. Dent 1981: W 700.1 and Tilley 1950: 704 and W674

[10] cf. *The Geneva Bible*, 1 Peter 3.7 (1587): "Likewise ye husbands, dwel with them as men of knowledge, giuing honour vnto the woman, as vnto the weaker vessell, euen as they which are heires together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not interrupted." (source http://www.studylight.org; mentioned in *HyperHamlet*)..

[11] cf. Vergilius Maro, Publius. *Aeneid.* (29 a. Chr): "Varium et mutabile simper foemina." In his book *The History of Pudica* from 1784, Richard Gardiner explicitly connects Shakespeare's *Frailty, thy name is woman* with this Latin cliché (cf. *HyperHamlet*).

Corpus	absolute nos.	normalised nos. per 100 million words
TDA	25	< 2.5
COCA	15	3.33
COHA	25	6.25
BNC	3	3
additional data in HYHA[12]	77	n.a.
Total	145	

Table 6: Frequencies of *frailty* in TDA, COCA, COHA, BNC and HYHA

The most successful search in the digital corpora was the fragment *thy name is*, as has already been established in chapter 1. The searches for the keywords *frail* NEAR name, wom?n NEAR name* and *frail* NEAR wom?n* did not return substitutions of the archaic *thy*, which means the ancient pronoun is a fixed constituent of the construction. The substitution of the archaic element *thy* by modern *your* was found only once, in a film dating from 1987:

(62) Woman, your name is trouble. (Cheung, Mabel; Law, Alex; Low, Chi-Yeuh (1987): *An Autumn's Tale*; source HYHA)

Example (62) is thus an unusual modernisation. On the other hand, the sequence *thy name is* does not only occur in the Shakespearean construction NOUN *thy name is* NOUN. The search string *thy name is* occurs more often in the structure *thy name is* PARTICIPLE/ADJECTIVE, which is common in religious contexts, e.g. *thy name is near* (psalm 75.1) and *thy name is for everlasting/forever* (Isaiah 63.16). COHA also records instances of (artificially) poetic language in fictional works from the 19th century with the structure ADDRESSEE *thy name is* PROPER NAME. Therefore, only 25 out of 53 hits in COHA are related to the Shakespearean form. The difference between valid and invalid results in TDA is even greater: 103 hits for the search *thy name is* contained only 25 references to the valid form NOUN *thy name is* NOUN, and 32 biblical quotations.[13] Nevertheless, the religious undertones seem to have an effect on the Shakespearean quotation, as will be discussed below.

The relatively small number of occurrences in *The Times* (cf. table 6) is in line with the observation that *Frailty, thy name is woman!* is preferably used in fictional texts. The preference for fiction in the data from HYHA and COHA can be clearly seen in figure 4:

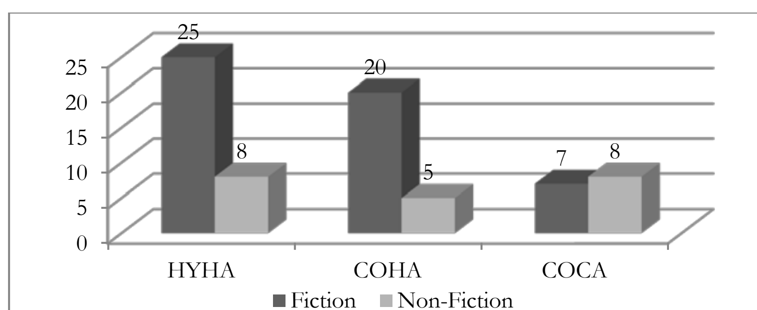

Figure 4: Distribution of *frailty* in fictional and non-fictional texts

This preference is most likely related to the implied subject, as the relationship between human beings is most extensively explored in fictional texts. At first sight, the distribution

12 HYHA contains 85 references in total.

13 45 items in TDA had to be discarded as they were repetitions of an advertisement for the play *Thy name is woman* in 1926.

in COCA in figure 4 indicates an almost even distribution. Apart from its lack of statistical significance because of the very low token frequency, it must be added that four of the eight non-fictional quotations occur in magazines, and only four references in factual news. Articles in magazines also often deal with human relationships and often adopt a narrative style that is not dissimilar to fictional story telling. Moreover, magazines contain short stories, which means that a fictional occurrence cannot be excluded.

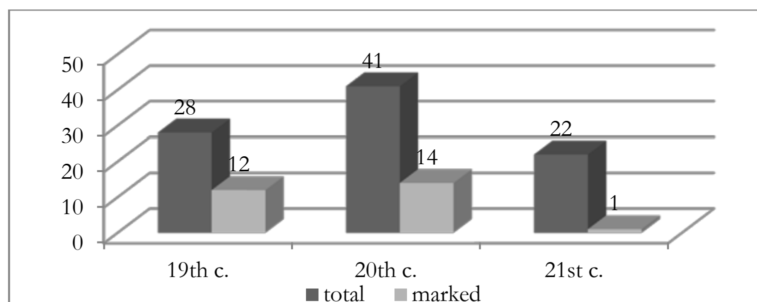

Figure 5: Conventional marking of *frailty* in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries[14]

The distribution of conventional added markers is illustrated in figure 5. While the number of recorded quotations is increasing, added marking by quotation marks, metalinguistic tags and names is decreasing. A decrease in conventional marking over time can regularly be observed with frequent quotation.[15] In this specific case, one has to consider that added markers are generally less frequent in fictional texts. On the other hand, *thy* is a stable constituent, so the quotation is always inherently marked.

Variants, semantic domains and authority

References to *frailty* are regularly modified by noun substitutions (cf. figure 6). The substitution of one or even both nouns – *frailty* and *woman* – is attested in all periods along with, of course, numerous verbatim renditions.

(63) But oh inconstancy! thy name is woman! (Bouverie, Georgina (1787): Georgina; source HYHA)
(64) Alas! "Frailty, thy name is Genius!" – What is become of all this mighty heap of hope, of thought of learning, and humanity? (Hazlitt, William (1825): The Spirit of the Age; source HYHA)
(65) 'Twas ever thus. Frailty, thy name is marriage. (Joyce, James (1914-1922): Ulysses; source HYHA)
(66) Woman, Thy Name is Valour: An Overview of the Role of Afrikaner and Uitlander Women and Children Inside and Outside Anglo Boer War Concentration Camps, 1899-1902 (Hanekom, LeandreÌ and Elria Wessels (2000): Woman, Thy Name is Valour: An Overview of the Role of Afrikaner and Uitlander Women and Children Inside and Outside Anglo Boer War Concentration Camps, 1899-1902; source HYHA)
(67) Ingratitude, thy name is Brougham and Vaux! (Anon. (1843): On Thursday night the 2nd of March. *The Times*; source TDA)
(68) Claudius the Fickle, or Fickleness Thy Name is Man, Not Woman. (Bush, William (1869): Claudius the Fickle, or Fickleness Thy Name is Man, Not Woman. A comedy in five acts; source HYHA)
(69) Oh, innocence! Thy name is Katherine (Sheldon, Mrs. Georgie (1904): Katherine's Sheaves; source COHA)
(70) Hypocrisy, thy name is feminism (Anon. (1998): Letters, Faxes & Email. *Denver Post*; source COCA)

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14 The total does not add up to 103 items, as the data from the 17th and 18th centuries have not been included. The 17th-century data are not marked as was the custom (cf. Blake 1983 and chapter 2), and neither are the fictional references in *HyperHamlet* from the 18th century. The two 18th-century references in TDA are both marked by author – one with quotation marks, one with set-off.

15 cf. the respective indications in section 5.1 above, in chapter 8 below and in Quassdorf 2009b, Quaßdorf/Häcki Buhofer 2010 and Quassdorf 2012b.

Examples (63) to (66) are instances of single noun substitutions; either frailty or woman is replaced. Example (66) shows that the word order is occasionally altered. Passages (67) to (70) are examples of double noun substitutions.

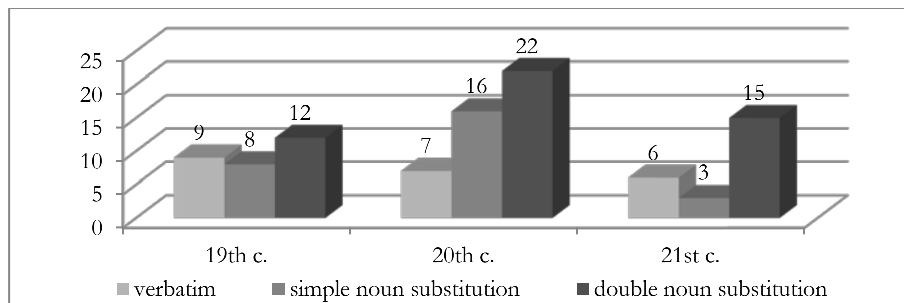

Figure 6: Development of modification patterns of *frailty* over time

A closer look at the data reveals that the majority of substitutions denote female human beings (cf. figure 7), mostly by the original *woman* but also by concrete names, such as *Katherine* in example (69) above. The old cliché lives on, as it were.

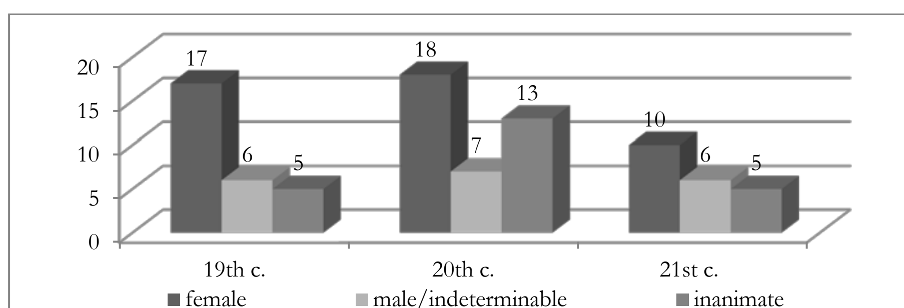

Figure 7: Noun substitutions in *frailty* – change of preferred word fields over time

Moreover, many ascriptions of the simile continue to be negative, regardless of whether they affect women, men or abstract concepts:

(71) Lady Changelove puts me in Mind of what Hamlet says, Frailty, thy Name is Woman. (Kelly, Hugh (1760): L'Amour à la Mode; source HYHA)

(72) Folly, thy name is Woman. (Anon. (1797): Editor's Preface to Poems by the Late George-Monck Berkeley; source HYHA)

(73) Oh, Man, thy name is Folly! (Atkinson, Kate (2008): When Will There Be Good News; source HYHA)

(74) The Press here expresses itself in most condemnatory terms about the dynamited explosions in London last night, one journal exclaiming, "Madness! thy name is Ireland!" (Anon. (1883): The Explosions At Westminster. *The Times*; source TDA)

(75) For weeks on end the Austrian tourist office in London could discover nothing whatever about the enterprise, and even when the helpful head of it went to Vienna, he could get nobody even to admit to the existence of such a festival, which is clearly in the very highest category of state secret. Schlamperei, thy name is Austria! (Levin, Bernard (1978): Ten days of Schubert, or take me to your Lieder. *The Times*; source TDA)

Frailty, *folly*, *madness*, and *Schlamperei* from the examples above, as well as *caprice*, *fickleness*, *greed*, *horror*, *hypocrisy, ingratitude*, *inconstancy*, *quackery, self-centeredness*, *treachery* and *vanity* are attested negative properties which are ascribed to women, men and states of affairs in the various corpora. The phrase thus usually denotes a fundamental criticism. As such, the principal situation is similar to that of *protest/too much*. The role of ironic wordplay is, however, more predominant:

(76) Consolation, thy name is satin and lace! (Barr, Amelia Edith Huddleston (1896): Winter Evening Tales; source COHA)
(77) "Ah, immortality," croons the inner brain of the smoker, "thy name is six weeks." (Chamberlain, Tony (1980): Sailing; source COHA)
(78) "Vanity, thy name is perfect hair." (Latona, Valerie (2001): Hair-free zone. *Vegetarian Times*; source COHA)

The trivialisation of *consolation* by *satin and lace* in example (76) and of *immortality* by *six weeks* in (77) implies a gentle criticism of a spoiled life, in which true values have been lost. Similarly, that *perfect hair* is the utmost expression of *vanity* in (78) belittles the concept through irony.

However, *thy*, along with the form of the entire phrase, triggers further meaningful associations: Many scholars maintain that quotations are regularly used for authority.[16] In fact, the authoritative function of quotations is the only function which is attested in general language dictionaries – if functional definitions are given at all.[17] Typical instances of quotations that aim for authority are quotations in academic texts. A quotation from an authoritative source adds its truth to the argument of the quoter.[18] Archaisms can implicitly highlight this aspect. If a phrase contains an archaism, it typically signals that the passage is quoted from an older source, which *per se* might suggest trustworthiness, as it has been considered worthy of being handed down through history. More specifically, archaisms may suggest the truth of faith – religious language is rich in archaic forms – and/or the truth of old wisdom, since archaisms also abound in proverbs. Proverbial generality is, moreover, signalled by the generic form of the exclamation. Adopting an authoritative stance via quoted truth is especially effective in cases of criticism. The archaism helps the quoting parties position themselves as being in the right and improves their chances of having the criticism accepted, as the quotation necessarily conveys truth. *Frailty, thy name is woman!* and its variants are particularly "true" because the phrase's "historical authoritative truth" is supported on three sides: by religious wisdom, proverbial wisdom and/or the wisdom of the genius Shakespeare.

From the early 20th century onwards, positive similes increasingly begin to appear:

(79) But Mr. Carton has one advantage over M. Capus; he has Miss Compton. Of all his good fellows she is the chief. […] She goes steadily over all obstacles like a Tank on the Western front. Imperturbability, thy name is -- whatever Miss Compton's baptismal name happens to be. (No theatrical programme has ever revealed the secret). (Anon. (1917): The Off-Chance. Mr. Carton's new play at the Queens. *The Times*; source TDA)
(80) Alsace, thy name is fidelity. (Anon. (1923): 'Implacable Resolve' of France. *The Times*; source TDA)
(81) I'll work harder and harder and I'm going to be the best woman golfer in the world some day. That's a promise." Competitive spirit, thy name is woman! (From a Former U.S. Walker Cup Captain (1956): Determination of the Women: Potential Curtis Cup Recruits. *The Times*; source TDA)
(82) Fidelity, thy name is Williams. (Anon. (1965): Crossword Puzzle. *The Times*; source TDA)

[16] cf. Meyer (1961), Compagnon (1979), Tuormala (2000), van den Berg (2000), Lennon (2004), to name just a few.
[17] cf. The Cassel Concise Dictionary (1997): "**quote** […] 1 to adduce or cite from (an author, book etc.), esp. *in illustration or support of a point, statement etc.*" (bold print original; emphasis in italics added).
[18] Meyer (1961), Compagnon (1979), Tsur (1998) and van den Berg (2000) have all shown that the authoritative function of quotations derives from the scholastic tradition, where the quoted text, the Bible, was indisputable. Today, more authorities are accepted, such as great dramatists, renowned scholars and famous politicians. The authoritative function of quotation becomes almost independent in some cases: As the trustworthiness of the quoted source is presupposed by tradition, something that is quoted becomes seemingly truer than an original statement (cf. Finnegan 2011: 282).

(83) Woman, Thy name is Valour (Hanekom, Leandres and Elria Wessels (2000): Woman, Thy Name is Valour; source HYHA).
(84) Trust, thy name is LIC! (Anon. (2008): Advertisement; source HYHA)

Imperturbatility, fidelity, competitive spirit, valour, trust, as well as *consolation, constancy, efficiency, justice* and *genius* are all attested. Here, the praise is heightened by the quoted, equation-like simile. Compared to a simple *be-like* structure, the advantage of the Shakespearean way of expressing an equation is heightened expressivity by an idiomatic usage of *name* and its phonological weight. The archaism *thy* not only increases the power of the phrase's perlocutionary force, but also strengthens its phonological impact.

5.4 Concluding remarks

Archaic style is not only associated with frozen "passages from a book", but also with active semantics and formal reflection of associated contexts, with proverbial old wisdom and/or religious truth to increase the authority of the said, and with euphonic qualities. Furthermore, archaisms as markers for quotation signal deferred authorship in a similar way to other markers, such as quotation marks. The anachronism of archaic usage also often creates a humorous effect. The three examples examined so far are not the only quotations where archaic forms can be said to play a functional role. From the more frequently attested quotations, *Neither a borrower nor a lender be* (I, iii) and *to thine ownself be true* (I, iii) are further cases in point. They are imperatives that, in the communicative context, profit from the indirect address, the proverbial, religious and poetic authority, and the humorous effects which the archaic form is able to trigger.

However, not all archaic forms are quoted in practice. Chapter 4 noted that quoters tend to avoid the archaic direct negation in *When sorrows come, they come not single spies / But in battalions* (IV, iv). Similarly, the structure *I could a tale unfold* (I, v) is regularly modernised. The question of why some archaisms are consistently quoted while others are not must also be approached from the opposite end:

(85) I dare say that he would have unfolded the tale of his exile to an intelligent stage-driver by whom he might have chanced to sit, with as little hesitation as he poured it into the ears of this graduate of a distinguished university and representative of a staid puritanical aristocracy. (De Forest, John Williams (1867): Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty; source COHA)
(86) A short laugh erupts from his throat, he spreads his hands and looks at them, he regards Nola with an indescribable waiting slyness in his face. |p142Bruce reads him -- oh, he reads him! He has a tale to unfold. He is going to shine. (Kosinski, Jerzy (1979): Passion Fly; source COHA)
(87) Sitting with a hangover on a Bridgehampton beach the next morning, I ask Blunt for his life story. The tale that unfolds over the next four hours will surprise those who know the singer only as the "You're Beautiful" balladeer. (Scaggs, Austin (2007): The Blunt Life. Rolling Stone; source COHA)

Either the *object-verb* word order is turned into the regular sequence *verb-object,* as in example (85), or the word order is maintained via alterations to the grammatical constructions, as in examples (86) and (87). The phrase is used as a discourse-structuring device. It has to prepare the listener for a remarkable story. Signals of humour would potentially belittle the importance of the story, and deferred authorship would reduce authenticity. The importance of old truth can shine through the slightly outdated verb *to unfold*. Thus, the modernisation of word order is functional, as the phrase is more *used* than *mentioned*.

Another example is the replacement of the old-fashioned-sounding verbal construction *to look upon* in *He was a man, take him for all in all, / I shall not look upon his like again* (I, ii) by the more neutral verb *to see*:

(88) He was a remarkable footballer. He gave Tottenham Hotspur the title, [...] and erm, eventually er, he also was a member of the Northern Ireland team that actually reached the quarter-finals in the nineteen fifty eight World Cup. [...] I'd I know that, there's that phrase you know, we will never see his like again, I think we probably will, but it will be a very long time, and I cannot tell you the infinite feeling of sadness erm, that I felt when I heard of his passing. It seemed to me, an age had gone. (Hendon, Melvin (1993): Talkback Radio Contribution; source HYHA)

While the majority of the original verb still occurs in the 19th century, the tables turn in the late 20th century. The modern corpora record more instances of *to see* than of *to look upon* (cf. table 7), and the future form *shall* is regularly substituted by *will*. A diagnostic WebCorp search for *his like again* even returns 78 instances of it collocating with *see* vs. 11 instances with *look*. The preferred context of *to look upon his like again* is the expression of mourning. The expression of mourning should be authentic, signals of deferred authorship and humour should be avoided. The phrase must appear to be *used* and not *mentioned*. The formulaic nature of available phrases in such contexts is an aid for finding words in a situation where speech is difficult, rather than a method of pointing away to "some item associated with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126). Euphemisms aside, further stylistic archaisms threaten the intended communicative effect. Hence, they tend to be replaced.

	Total	look	see	others
COHA 19th	14	10	4	0
COHA 20th	14	5	6	3
BNC 20th	5	1	4	0
COCA	8	2	6	0
WebCorp	100	11	78	11

Table 7: Distribution of *look upon his like again* vs. *see his like again* in COHA, COCA, BNC and WebCorp[19]

The archaic elements of quotations are not only formally frozen bits of a passage from Elizabethan times, nor are they the only form used to express the quoted proposition. Language users can choose and do choose, as the attested omissions and modernisations show. Mere conservatism can therefore be neither a general, nor the only factor to account for the presence or absence of archaisms in quotations. At least some of them have adopted specific pragmatic functions in their respective context of use, and these have fostered their recurrent use over time. Marking for quotation is, however, not the only function; effects of double coding and semantic intensification can also play a role. The actual effects depend on the specific quoted passages in their specific contexts of use.

[19] WebCorp uses the Google search engine and accesses 100 pages per search. It is accessible at www.webcorp.org. The query "his like again" was done on 15 February 2013.

6 Similarity relations and the role of textual knowledge for the identification of quotations

This chapter focuses on the knowledge that goes beyond linguistic competence and is important for the identification of quotations. Linguistic markers point out quotations with great explicitness in some cases, but in others they just raise the metalinguistic awareness for repeated language (cf. chapter 4). If markers only raise awareness for the presence of quotations in general, if the quotation is not marked at all, or if not even stylistic "seams" (Plett 1988: 301) and "ungrammaticalities" (Riffaterre 1994: 782) direct the reader's attention to the presence of other *voices* in a text (cf. Bakhtin 1986 [1953]), recognisable similarities with the quoted text are the only way of determining the existence of a quotation. Recognition of similarities necessarily presupposes knowledge of the quoted text. Textual knowledge or "intertextual competence" (Plett 1999: 317) is thus another major precondition for defining quotations.

By focusing on textual knowledge, this chapter is equivalent to Steyer's (1997) synchronic perspective of studying intertextuality by comparing the form and meaning of quoted passages with the form and meaning of those passages in the quoted source. This perspective differs qualitatively from the one adopted in chapter 4: While markers rely on signals which are interpretable on the basis of general linguistic competence, *synchronic* and *diachronic* approaches to quotations require more than that. The synchronic approach can only be addressed if the source text is known or available for comparison, while the diachronic approach needs the specialised knowledge and methods of the scholar (cf. the review of Steyer 1997 in chapter 3).

The synchronic comparison with the source text offers the possibility of bringing order into the seeming heterogeneity of quotations via a thorough description of the relationships between the quoted and quoting forms. By following the question *what is quoted from the source text?*, an elegant classification according to the nature of the quoted elements – that is, whether they repeat motifs, words or names – suggests itself with further sub-classifications that follow the same principle. This approach – which was developed by Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) and implemented, tested and found to be working well[1] in the *HyperHamlet* database – will be described in detail in section 6.1.

However, the cognitive environment of language users consists of more than linguistic and textual knowledge. Evaluations about quotative usage are, for instance, also based on general cultural knowledge, such as discursive traditions and/or genre expectations (cf. Bakhtin 1986 [1953], Sabban 1998, Kuiper 1996, 2000 and 2009). In addition – as Steyer (1997) suggests by the requirement of scholarly expertise for diachronic studies – specific philological knowledge about historical developments and authorial preferences help evaluate and study quotations. Section 6.2 will briefly address the additional contributions of other knowledge bases to complement the account.

[1] Regula Hohl Trillini writing in a private communication about her experience with students who understood the annotation features in *HyperHamlet* very quickly, which in turn speaks for the great efficiency of the categories developed for the database: "Es ist schon seltsam, mit den Studis zu arbeiten, die alle unsere Kategorien in 30 Minuten begreifen - es kommt einem vor, als ob das alles also ganz nichtig wäre, dabei heisst es, dass wir ausgezeichnete operationalisierbare Kategorien geschaffen haben und wie bei aller grossen Kunst sieht man die Anstrengung nachher nicht mehr." (Hohl Trillini, Regula (2015): Email to SQ).

6.1 Textual knowledge as the main basis for identifying, evaluating, describing and classifying quotations

Chapters 1 and 3 already proposed *repetition* and *reference* as the core concepts of quotations. Both concepts imply that at least two texts must stand in relation to each other. Reference points from the text *in praesentia* to the text *in absentia*, while the repeated elements from the source text delineate the scope of the referent in the quoting text. Thus, reference and repetition point in both directions and form a dialectical relationship. Dialectical relationships entail cross-cutting and complex many-to-many relationships (cf. Sternberg 1982). Thus, a heuristic hook has to be found so as to bring order into the seemingly limitless variety of quotative realisations. The traditional divide between *allusion* and *quotation* tries to differentiate intertextual realisations on the grounds of form and function in the quoting text. The shortcomings of this distinction have already been addressed: Form and function operate on different categorical levels and can combine in countless new constellations in the quoting text. One can quote allusively and allude by quotation.

In addition, as quotation "can only be determined on a pragmatic basis" (Recanati 2001: 665), the new communicative context can change meaning and form in unforeseeable ways – isomorphism between quoted and quoting element cannot be presupposed (cf. chapter 3).[2] A short phrase like *The time is out of joint* (I, v) may become the motif of an entire text, be it in school essays or works of fiction, and the contents of several passages in the source text may be condensed into single lexemes and phrases like "death in the orchard", "winter" and "flowers" in example (1). In other words, something that is an underlying motif in the original text may appear in a short verbalised form in the quoting text:

(1) I thought the Internal Plot Adjustment request was to sort out the seasonal anomalies! All that death in the orchard, then winter, then flowers – (Fforde, Jasper (2004): Something Rotten; source HYHA)

The short sequence *death in the orchard* in example (1) contains a whole story of murder, which is originally described by 23 lines in the ghost scene in (I, v)[3] and then again in the dumb show in (III, ii).[4] The mention of *winter* refers to the season in which the play is set and which becomes inferable by several hints at coldness and ice: Francisco complains in the beginning *'tis bitter cold* (I, i), and Hamlet remarks somewhat later on a platform that

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[2] cf. also Sternberg (1982), Steyer (1997), Tsur (1998), Recanati (2001), among others.

[3] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): 'Tis given out that, sleeping in my orchard, / A serpent stung me; so the whole ear of Denmark
Is by a forged process of my death / Rankly abused: but know, thou noble youth,
The serpent that did sting thy father's life / Now wears his crown. […]
Brief let me be. Sleeping within my orchard, / My custom always of the afternoon,
Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole, / With juice of cursed hebenon in a vial,
And in the porches of my ears did pour / The leperous distilment; whose effect
Holds such an enmity with blood of man / That swift as quicksilver it courses through
The natural gates and alleys of the body, / And with a sudden vigour doth posset
And curd, like eager droppings into milk, / The thin and wholesome blood: so did it mine;
And a most instant tetter bark'd about,/Most lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust, / All my smooth body. / Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand / Of life, of crown, of queen, at once dispatch'd.

[4] cf. the stage direction in *Hamlet* (III, ii): The dumb-show enters ENTER a King and a Queen very lovingly; the Queen embracing him, and he her. She kneels, and makes show of protestation unto him. He takes her up, and declines his head upon her neck: lays him down upon a bank of flowers: she, seeing him asleep, leaves him. Anon comes in a fellow, takes off his crown, kisses it, and pours poison in the King's ears, and exit. The Queen returns; finds the King dead, and makes passionate action. The Poisoner, with some two or three Mutes, comes in again, seeming to lament with her. The dead body is carried away. The Poisoner wooes the Queen with gifts: she seems loath and unwilling awhile, but in the end accepts his love EXEUNT.

The air bites shrewdly; it is very cold, to which Horatio replies *It is a nipping and an eager air* (I, iv). The mentioned recent war with Norway must also have taken place in winter as Old Hamlet *smote the sledded Polacks on the ice* (I, i). The *flowers* refer a) to Ophelia's mad scene in which she distributes *rosemary for remembrance, pansies for thought*, and *columbines, rue, herb-grace, daisies and violets* (IV, v), b) to Gertrude's report of Ophelia's death in which Ophelia's corpse is described with *fantastic garlands of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples* (IV, vii), and c) to Ophelia's grave when Laertes wishes that *from her fair and unpolluted flesh may violets spring* (V, i). With regard to meaning, the references in example (1) point out inconsistencies in Shakespeare's famous tragedy. By singling out little-relevant motifs, they attempt to poke fun by creating inferences such as *is it likely that anyone sleeps in an orchard in winter? Can one jump in the river with fantastic garlands of crow-flowers in the cold season?* In short, *can Shakespeare be serious?* These inferences are the product of their specific context of quoting and, in this case, deviate heavily from the original.

Example (1) thus illustrates that neither isomorphism nor stable meaning can be assumed *a priori*. Motifs that are developed across larger sections of the pre-text can become short phrases, and short expressions may be elaborated to produce larger texts (cf. also Steyer 1997: 87). Such changes are the result of specific variable and unpredictable communicative intentions in the situation of actual quoting.[5]

Given this complexity and the unpredictability of form and meaning in the quoting text, this account follows Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) and suggests mainly anchoring a typology of quotations in the knowledge of the quoted text as a strategy for handling empirical variety. Presupposing textual knowledge, the question of *what is quoted from the source text?* can differentiate between types of quotations according to similarities of linguistic form and mental concepts and, if applicable, proper names of characters, places and/or the mentioned work. In other words, despite formal and conceptual plurality, quotations can be recognised on the basis of knowledge about the original words, themes and names. The text *in praesentia* points out the scope and the function of the referent, yet the text *in absentia* defines its nature. The differentiation based on the quality of the quoted element rather than of the quoting element offers coherence from a stable referent point which is still "innocent" and not yet "tainted" by any communicative purpose of the quotation. Lines, motifs and proper names are in general differentiable elements in the original text, and their repetition leads to recognisable quotations through perceived similarity. Accordingly, the quotations in example (1) are thematic quotations because they are not taken from words but from an implied theme in the text *in absentia*.

The following typology necessarily refers to the specific source text *Hamlet*. *Hamlet* is a canonical and very complex fictional work, has a long quoting tradition and is particularly famous. Accordingly, quotations from *Hamlet* show a wide variety of formal and conceptual reapplications, especially since longer or shorter references to this source text reappear in other fictional texts, which typically enjoy a greater freedom from formal and functional norms than other genres. As such, the following account is specific, but can probably serve as an example. Not all classes will be relevant if one were to describe quotations from, for instance, academic texts or advertisements, but an analogical approach is assumed to also work for other text types.

[5] cf. esp. Sternberg (1982), but also Clark/Gerrig (1990), Glucksberg/McGlone (2001), Wray (2002 and 2008) and others.

6.1.1 Thematic quotations

Thematic quotations refer to overarching topics within the text-world of the play, most prominently motifs and scenes. Thematic take-overs from *Hamlet* may be compared to take-ups of arguments from academic texts. Thematic quotations differ from onomastic and verbal quotations with respect to their manifest fixedness: Lines and names are discrete referents while thematic quotations are the result of an interpretative process. Thematic references are usually paraphrased summaries or descriptions of discourses in the model text. Thematic quotations derive from both strong and weak implicatures. Strong implicatures derive from linguistic clues that are directly addressed, such as *revenge* and *madness* in the play, or highlighted in the shape of explicit arguments in academic texts. Weak implicatures are more subtle, implicit and/or tend to be subjective; the reference to *winter* in example (1) above is a case in point. Nevertheless, thematic quotations become visible through concrete tokens in the source text. The motif of *winter* can be identified via several verbal clues dispersed in the text. The dialectical relationship between reference and repetition is thus most relevant with regard to thematic quotations. The theme addressed in the reference forms the conceptual starting point for the comparison with the text *in absentia*, yet the repeated elements are interpreted in the light of the quoted, absent text. Consider the motif of winter in example (1), whose relative irrelevance in the source text creates a humorous inference. The reference point is the quoted text, and the nature of the quoted element defines whether the quotation is thematically or verbally similar to the model.

Thematic references use language. As a corollary, thematic references may also become identifiable through lexical similarities, such as verbal quotations, with the result that thematic quotations and verbal quotations form a cline. Thematic quotations typically refer to larger sections of the quoted text, if not the entire text, and tend to be paraphrased. Lexical quotations are more local and tend to be formally rather than conceptually equivalent. Nevertheless, some exceptional quoted items tend to imply both local and global, and conceptual and formal aspects. *To be, or not to be*, for instance, occupies a transition area in more than one aspect. Therefore, the line and the soliloquy from (III, i) form a category of their own which exists between the other groups of thematic references to *Hamlet* that link to motifs, scenes and/or the entire play.

Motif

In aesthetics, a motif denotes the theme of a work of art (cf. Hügli/Lübke 2001). Motif is thus the quintessential thematic reference. As many works of literature, including *Hamlet*, are complex, they typically contain numerous motifs (or, in the case of academic texts, several arguments). Some motifs are more prominent than others, and some are openly addressed in the text. Davies/Scott (2007) show with their keyword analysis of *Hamlet* that *revenge* and *madness* are the most prominent explicitly mentioned concepts in the play. Other recurring motifs have evolved in public discourse through a tradition of quoting. Greenfield (2008), for instance, observes that:

> Concern about the physical state beyond life also drew early seventeenth-century writers toward the beginning of act 5 and Hamlet's contemplation of the skulls. The image is hardly a new one, but Shakespeare's words, as David Frost notes, become a particular source for subsequent memento mori scenes. (Greenfield 2008: 515 f.)

The well-known motif of *Hamlet with the skull* is a consequence of a quoting tradition rather than an inherently central point within the play. Similarly, Taylor (1991) correlates the motif of Hamlet's indecision with the conditions of the 19th-century quoters, rather than with the original text. Other motifs seem almost arbitrarily chosen, such as the odd references to *death in the orchard*, *winter* and *flowers* in example (1). Motif is a matter of interpretation and the quoting author is essentially free to select whatever s/he finds suitable, which corroborates Clark/Gerrig's (1990: 769) claim that quotations are principally "selective in what aspects they depict".

Despite the potential plurality of motifs, some motifs are noticeably recurrent. In other words, language users do not only develop preferences for specific, often-quoted lexical quotations, which in German are succinctly labelled *winged words*, but also for quoted motifs. With respect to *Hamlet* and according to the data in *HyperHamlet*, the following motifs occur particularly often:

- Ophelia's death
- Hamlet's madness
- Hamlet's indecision and melancholy
- Revenge
- The scull

These motifs are referred to in multiple ways, which again shows the great variety and creativity in quoting. The three examples below all call to mind the motif of Ophelia's death as reported in (IV, vii). The quoting strategies range from the explicit "drown itself like Ophelia" in example (2), to a transformed setting – *brook* and *fantastic garlands* become "star-lit mill-pond" and "lovely water-lilies" in example (3) – to the implicit reference in the suggested counter-measure of "Ophelia Learns to Swim" in example (4).

(2) Poor darling English public, when will it go in for a little spiritual athletics. Are these Tommies, so tough and brown on the outside, are they really so pappy and unbaked inside, that they would faint and fall under a mere dose of Women in Love? – Let me mix my metaphors thoroughly, let me put gravy-salt into the pudding, and pour vanilla essence over the beef, for the world is mad, yet won't cry "Willow, Willow", and drown itself like Ophelia. (Lawrence, David Herbert (1917): Letter to Amy Lowell; source HYHA)

(3) Besides, how do you know that Hetty isn't floating at the present moment in some star-lit mill-pond, with lovely water-lilies round her, like Ophelia?" (Wilde, Oscar (1890-1891): The Picture of Dorian Gray; source HYHA)

(4) Ophelia Learns to Swim (Vsych, Jürgen (2000): n.n.; source HYHA)

A similar thing is evident in the references to Hamlet's indecision and melancholy. Example (5) is an explicit allusion to Hamlet's melancholy, while example (6) refers to his indecision by the paraphrasing verb "wavered". The excerpt from a letter by G.B. Shaw in (7) links the motifs of indecision with that of the Oedipus complex, another recurring theme. It does so by spelling out the reasons for the inability to act, namely Hamlet's assumed subconscious desire to possess his mother and hence his jealousy of his father.

(5) P.S. I heard from Hamlet by the last packet. He seems to be a prey to Gentle Melancholy. But he was a Good fellow, and I believe as honestly and disinterestedly attached to me, as a Man could be. I wish you could have seen his lady love. Quite a practical joke, she was. (Dickens, Charles (1843): Letter to Cornelius Conway Felton. Kent; source HYHA)

(6) Dear friend: I send you a flower from my garden – Though it die in reaching you, you will know it lived, when it left my hand – Hamlet wavered for all of us – (Dickinson, Emily (1877): Letter to Mrs. T. W. Higginson; source HYHA)

(7) Dr Ernest Jones contends that Hamlet's inability to kill the king is produced by his subconsciousness that he was jealous of his father and would have done the same thing himself to get possession of his mother. (Shaw, George Bernard (1911): Letter to Gilbert Murray; source HYHA)

The references to motifs range from explicit and paraphrased mentions of the theme, to descriptions and summaries, to implicit evocations through connected concepts (eg. drown – swim). Textual knowledge is needed to recognise and define the thematic similarities between the two texts, while linguistic competence relates the various formal realisations with the identified repeated concept.

The choices of motifs and their modes of representation seem potentially unlimited, depending on the genre.[6] When it comes to dealing with the plurality of thematic quotations, comparing the expressed meaning in the quoted text offers a more effective benchmark than comparing their multiple formal and conceptual realisations in the quoting text. The stable recognisable elements derive from the source text and, despite complexity and resulting selectivity, these elements can be sufficiently delineated.

On the other hand, the data in *HyperHamlet* suggest that only very few motifs from the potential wealth contained in *Hamlet* are recurrent. Their attested frequencies mirror cultural preferences and relevance (cf. Taylor 1991, Greenfield 2008). Cultural preference may be interpreted in analogy to preferences for specific lexical choices over others, as is observable in processes of conventionalisation: The recurrence of specific motifs provides some kind of standard, an approved reference point for speaking about human affairs and experiences through the quoted element.[7]

Scene

In addition to motifs, specific scenes are referred to in quoting contexts. Scenes are references to specific performed events in the play, such as the appearances of the ghost in examples (8) and (9), or the scene in *Hamlet* (II, i) where Polonius asks Reynaldo to spy on his son Laertes in Paris in example (10). Scenes are comparable to sections or chapters in other potential reference texts:

(8) Let formal Fools, their Wisdom boast, And talk like Hamlet to the Ghost; (Pagett, Thomas Catesby (1737): An Epistle to Mr. P---; source HYHA)

(9) Having turned hastily back, she had, she said, the courage to look behind, and saw the spectre pursuing her, who having waved its hand mournfully, as if beckoning to follow it, vanished suddenly from her sight. (Sleath, Eleanor (1798): The Orphan of the Rhine; source HYHA)[8]

[6] Good academic practice is one of the exceptions to the rule. Quotations in academic texts have to be true to the original at least in meaning, if not also in form.

[7] cf. the concept of *culture-boundedness* in Sabban (2008b). Sabban explicitly states: "Some of these [material productions of shared traditions] are linguistic 'monuments' (the works of Shakespeare, the Koran, the Bible). They provide a stock of textual material that speakers can draw on in allusions and quotations, thereby signalling their cultural identity. Some instances may become fixed in sayings, proverbs and other kinds of phraseological units." (Sabban 2008b: 591). One should add that not only phraseological units derive from such influential cultural products, but also general narratives and discourses.

[8] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): A countenance more in sorrow than in anger
and *Hamlet* (I, iv): *Ghost beckons HAMLET*
Horatio: It beckons you to go away with it, / […]
Marcellus: […] / It waves you to a more removed ground: / But do not go with it. […]
Hamlet: It will not speak; then I will follow it. / […]
It waves me forth again: I'll follow it.

(10) My father, spongy soul, cannot give freely. His business conscience pursues him into private life, and he plagues those he loves with the scruples he has learned in that world I so detest. He started giving me a Polonius, berating all my friends, warning me, adjuring me, doing everything short of damning me. (Bellow, Saul (1937): Letter to Oscar Tarkov; source HYHA)

Example (8) is an explicit, short reference to the ghost scene in *Hamlet* (I, v), for which merely the fact that Hamlet talks to the ghost is selected for quotation (again selectivity!).[9] Example (9), meanwhile, illustrates that not only names but also verbal reminiscences help to place a thematic reference. Additional lexical equivalence points out the right referent. A spectre may refer to any legend, but its closer description as *mournful* reveals a similarity with the ghost in *Hamlet*. The verbs *wave*, *beckon* and *follow* support the association with the ghost scenes in the first act (rather than with a specific line). In contrast to the markers discussed in chapter 4, example (9) is a case of self-referential marking where similarities perceived via textual knowledge mark the source and thus the quotation. Again, the dialectic nature of the form-meaning relationship between quoting text and quoted text becomes apparent. Example (10) is another case of a long passage of 70 lines from (II, i) being condensed to a sequence of 14 words.

The scenes from *Hamlet* that are referenced most often according to the data in *HyperHamlet* are:

- Ghost scenes (I, i, iv and v; III, iv)
- Ophelia's mad scene (IV, v)
- The mousetrap (the play within the play, III, ii)
- The gravediggers' scene (V, i)
- Closet scene (III, iv)

The ghost scenes, Ophelia's madness and the gravediggers' scene have attracted the audiences' interest from early on (cf. Greenfield 2008). Ophelia's madness is explicitly acted out in one specific scene, which is why it is a *scene* reference rather than a *motif*, while Hamlet's (assumed) madness is only occasionally visible in specific scenes (e.g. during his conversation with Polonius in (II, ii), where Polonius speaks his often-quoted aside *Though this be madness, yet there is method in't*). Hamlet's madness is more spoken about than performed.[10] Aspects of motif and scene sometimes overlap, as do theme and character occasionally (see below). Still, the comparison with the original text clarifies the differences between event and motif, between performed and discursive theme. Motif is more heavily dependent on interpretation and choice than scene, which is a physical entity in the original text. This prompts a theoretical differentiation, but a tool like *HyperHamlet* fuses motif with scene so that scholars are free to decide for themselves where to draw the line in each case.

The soliloquy: To be, or not to be

Hamlet's monologue in (III, i) is a particularity of *Hamlet* that deserves special attention. The beginning of the soliloquy *To be, or not to be* is possibly the most famous quotation in

[9] cf. Clark/Gerrig (1990) on the necessity of selectivity.

[10] cf. Greenfield (2008: 514): "Although the character of Hamlet thus seems to have circulated as cultural currency on the basis of his supposed madness, specific lines connected with Hamlet's (pretence of) insanity are rare in the surviving record. The most notable insanity allusion suggesting some sort of audience recognition points to Ophelia and comes soon after the play's release in print."

the world, and the monologue in which these words occur is equally famous. The numbers in *HyperHamlet* support this claim: 585 lexical references to the first line and 159 parodies on that monologue have easily been collected (cf. also Hohl Trillini 2012).[11] Thanks to their fame and the long quoting tradition, these words are often also used as a metonymic reference to the scene in which they occur, or to the entire play, as examples (11) and (12) demonstrate:

(11) To your enquiry respecting a selection from B'p Taylor I answer – it cannot be done, & if it could it would not *take* with John Bull. – It cannot be done, for who can disentangle and unthread the rich texture of Nature & Poetry sewn so thick into a stout coat of theology, without spoiling both *lace* & *coat*? How beggarly and how bald do even Shakespeare's Princely Pieces look, when thus violently divorced from *connexion & circumstance*! when we meet with To be or not to be – or Jacques's moralizings upon the Deer – or Brutus and Cassius' quarrel & reconciliation – in an Enfield speaker or in Elegant Extracts – how we stare & will scarcely acknowledge to ourselves (what we are conscious we feel) that they are flat & have no power. (Lamb, Charles (1801): Letter to Robert Lloyd; source HYHA)

(12) Could I see the same thing done of any great Man long since dead it would be a great delight: As to know in what position Shakspeare sat when he began "To be or not to be"–such things become interesting from distance of time or place. (Keats, John (1819): Letter to George and Georgiana Keats; source HYHA)

In both examples, the apparently lexical quotation of the soliloquy's first line is meant as a general thematic reference to the play or the scene. The metonymic quality of the phrase in the quoting context reveals the thematic import of the superficially formally equivalent lexical quotation. Thanks to its fame and the resulting conceptual load, *To be, or not to be* often occupies the transition area between lexical and thematic quotations. Thus, the dialectics between reference and repetition, function and form, source text and quoting text should not, in this particular case, be schematically disentangled, but accepted as being of equal importance. The recurrent communicative purpose of this specific expression requires a different treatment as the thematic and lexical qualities of the references merge. A viable explanation for this phenomenon may lie in Grice's (1991 [1957]) observation that particular conversational meaning can a) overwrite timeless meaning because meaning largely depends on the speaker's communicative intentions, and b) influence timeless meaning by repetition. As *To be, or not to be* has been frequently quoted with metonymic intentions, it has adopted metonymic connotations. The *recurrence* of the metonymic meaning of *To be, or not to be* is, however, an exceptional case which does not hold for the other lines from *Hamlet*.

On the other hand, the specific metonymic quality of *To be, or not to be* is also observable with a number of other much-quoted units. Churchill's *Dunkirk spirit* for the British and Gorbachev's *Life will punish latecomers* for the (East) Germans stand just as metonymically for decisive moments in the history of the people as *To be, or not to be* stands for a great moment in the play and in European culture. Hence, the phenomenon is not unique, only rare, and deserves to be taken into account in a general typology of quotations.

[11] The *HyperHamlet* project team could have devoted the entire project to entering and annotating references to and variants of *To be, or not to be*. For practical reasons, they decided not to add any further tokens of both the first line and the entire soliloquy, except for very early or highly unusual instances.

The play

The category *play* is contingent on the chosen source text, yet one may analogise to other texts if labelled as *work*. PLAY comprises those quotations which name the play or where a performance is mentioned:

(13) my conceipt is such of thee, that I durst venture all the mony in my purse on thy head, to play Hamlet with him for a wager. (Anon. (1605): Rat's Eye's Ghost; source HYHA)

(14) One day, as I was sitting alone, reading the Play of Hamlet, he introduced himself of a sudden [...]. (Thistlethwaite, James (1777): The Child of Misfortune; source HYHA)

(15) We must therefore turn a deaf ear to Professor Saurat when he invites us "to study what there is of lasting originality in Milton's thought and especially to disentangle from theological rubbish the permanent and human interest" (Milton, p. 111): This is like asking us to study *Hamlet* after the "rubbish" of the revenge code has been removed, or centipedes when freed of their irrelevant legs, or Gothic architecture without the pointed arches. (Lewis, Clive Staples (1941): A Preface to Paradise Lost; source HYHA)

Logically, play could be interpreted as a super-scene and thus be grouped under scene or motif. In practice, however, references to the entire play differ qualitatively, which means pure logic would not cover the complexity of the data. Whereas references to motifs or scenes in later texts tend to echo the inner text-world in *Hamlet*, it is the *context* in the quoting situation of *Hamlet* in the later text that becomes more salient with references to the entire play. Thus, the question of whether *Hamlet* is performed as in example (13), or read by fictional characters as in example (14), or of *how to study Hamlet* as in example (15) is different from alluding to specific motifs and scenes of the play. The category play includes aspects of a quoting tradition which becomes manifest in the quoting text and no longer relies exclusively on the quoted text. Still, the leading question remains: *what is quoted?* The answer is: *the play in its entirety*. References to the play thus illustrate another adaptation of the proposed rule: Textual knowledge and general cultural knowledge merge and are no longer meaningfully differentiable. Yet again, this perceived merger of different aspects is due to the particular fame of *Hamlet*; such a merger will not be noticeable in a model text that is less culturally relevant. Hence, the principal claim that quotations are best described on the basis of their original form and function and using linguistic and textual knowledge is not affected, but merely put into perspective. Quoting is a dynamic process, and the classification of quotations may thus require adaptations in specific cases.

6.1.2 Onomastic quotations

Onomastic quotations incorporate a formal criterion – the name – which *mentions* characters or place names to evoke further conceptual associations. Onomastic quotations are thus a means of metonymic communication: Their formally manifest proper name stands for the qualities and attributes of the named characters and/or places, such as Claudius' villainy or Hamlet taking revenge:

(16) "Revenge. It makes me think of what Harvey said, a rather stupid comment – well, perhaps not so stupid – about *Hamlet*. 'Revenge tragedy. One's just like another. You go round killing off all the wrong people until you finally manage to kill the right one.' Hard to think of our murderer trying to work up the nerve to kill his own particular Claudius." Plant smiled grimly. (Grimes, Martha (1986): The Dirty Duck; source HYHA)

Proper names are recognised by their strict formal overlap – by definition, they have the same form for the same referent. Proper names can be substituted by epithets, but never by other proper names, since that would imply a different referent.[12] The *title* of a book, play, film, etc. is here taken to be an equivalent to *name*, as it is the "proper name" of that book, play, film, etc. Onomastic quotations are the most specific and thus least ambiguous way of referring to a (fictional) source text. All onomastic quotations are also name markers (cf. chapter 4).

According to the referents of the names, a sub-categorisation of onomastic quotations along the lines of the named object – title (the "name" of the work), author, place or character – may seem self-evident. However, as the relevance of these four classes depends on the nature of the source text and/or on a possible quoting history, a suitable sub-categorisation is necessarily contingent on the actual source text. In the case of *Hamlet*, the title coincides with the name of the protagonist, and the place names are either little-quoted (Elsinore) and/or too unspecific (Denmark, England, Wittenberg). Hence, a *post hoc* classification should be preferred over an *a priori* distinction, which in the specific case of *Hamlet* leads to a sub-classification based mainly on character names.

In *Hamlet*, most character names are highly conspicuous so that coincidental similarity to other texts, characters or even real people is almost impossible. Hamlet, Laertes and Polonius are uncommon names in both the literary and the physical world. Ophelia is also not especially common, so a full-knowing reader will in most cases associate the name with the tragic female character in *Hamlet*. The mention of a ghost, a Gertrude or a Claudius may be more ambiguous, but the combination of Gertrude and Claudius quickly disperses any doubts, while contextual parallels (or differences) clarify whether the ghost of Hamlet's father is being alluded to, or a ghost from a different story (cf. example (9) above). The conspicuousness of the character names in *Hamlet* account for the observation that character names are the preferred approach to onomastic quotations from *Hamlet*, most prominently Hamlet, Ophelia and the Ghost. Other source texts will entail a different preference and hence a different sub-categorisation.

Many of the examples in this and the previous chapters contain names linked to lexical and thematic quotations. Names often play a dual role, in that they help the reader identify the reference text, and highlight the role of the referent within the text-world of the text *in absentia*, which may have repercussions on the interpretation of the text *in praesentia*. Consequently, onomastic quotations can be categorised as both a marking category and a type of quotation. Double categorisation is theoretically not a critical issue; it reflects the complexity of the real data. However, in order to specify onomastic quotations as a meaningful category, mere marking information will be differentiated from references to *Hamlet's* text-world. Only references which do indeed play a dual role and operate as "a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts" (Ben-Porat 1976: 107) are classified as onomastic quotations, while the others are mere name markers. In other words, while all the names are interpretable on the grounds of linguistic knowledge and are thus name markers, the meaning of a sub-group of names is only identifiable

[12] Switches from first names to nicknames are, of course, possible. At times, cultural knowledge will be necessary to identify conventionalised nicknames as derivations of first names. Without that knowledge, readers may be confused when they see that the same person is sometimes called Richard and sometimes Dick, or sometimes Alexandra and sometimes Sasha.

through textual knowledge and so forms a type of quotation in its own right. The distinction between linguistic and textual competence as a precondition for quoting and recognising quotations proves to be a useful heuristic device for the analytical categorisation of quotations in the case of major fictional texts. If the quotation were an onomastic reference in an academic context, such a differentiation would probably be superfluous, as the quoted name, typically the name of an author or a work, will in most cases stand for both the source of the quotation and the contents of the work.

Examples (17) and (18) illustrate the difference between mere name markers and onomastic quotations with respect to quotations from *Hamlet*:

(17) He told me he was happy to have the honor of making my acquaintance; and when I had paid my homage to Mrs. Waterbrook, presented me, with much ceremony, to a very awful lady in a black velvet dress, and a great black velvet hat, whom I remember as looking like a near relation of Hamlet's – say his aunt. (Dickens, Charles (1860-1861): Great Expectations; source HYHA)[13]

(18) No, my lord, springes to catch woodcocks! You don't catch me that way." "Hamlet," said Peter meekly, "Very well." (Sayers, Dorothy (1937): Busman's Honeymoon; source HYHA)[14]

In (18), the mention of *Hamlet* obviously indicates the source of the preceding quotation, which may or may not lead to further implicatures. In (17), however, the reader has to establish, via some sort of inference, a link between the "very awful Lady" and the designation as a "near relation of Hamlet's" in order to understand this passage. The reader has to enrich the utterance by his/her textual knowledge about the fictional Hamlet, who is clad in an *inky cloak* and follows the convention of wearing *suits of solemn black* (I, ii) as a sign of mourning for his father's death. It is the colour *black* which establishes the relationship between that "very awful lady" and Hamlet, but this link is not explicitly mentioned; it is merely implied in the onomastic reference. The implicature can only be made if the reader accesses the text-world of *Hamlet*. The role of Hamlet's name therefore goes beyond the mere identification of the pre-text, which would be sufficiently interpretable by linguistic knowledge alone. The reader has to work out the meaning of "Hamlet's aunt" via further interpretative steps using text-world knowledge. Accordingly, example (17) is a highly allusive onomastic quotation, whereas the name in (18) is an instance of name-marking of a verbal quotation.

Thematic references and onomastic references are closely linked, as the examples above demonstrate. Motifs such as *Hamlet's madness* and *Ophelia's death* show that a motif can be connected to a specific character. Hence, motifs and characters are like the two sides of one coin. However, thematic and onomastic quotations may emphasize one or the other more strongly. This can lead to different inferences, as example (19) illustrates:

(19) His suits were still black, but of the finest cut and quality. "With a star and ribbon, and his stocking down, and his hair over his shoulder, he would make a pretty Hamlet," said the gay old Duchess Queensberry, "And I make no doubt he has been the death of a dozen Ophelias already, here and amongst the Indians," she added, thinking not at all the worse of Harry for his supposed successes among the fair. (Thackeray, William Makepeace (1899): The Virginians: A Tale of the Last Century; source HYHA)[15] [16]

Example (19) is informative in several ways. First, the passage is highly intertextual and

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[13] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): 'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother / Nor customary suits of solemn black.
[14] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iii): Ay, springes to catch woodcocks. I do know
[15] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): 'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother, / Nor customary suits of solemn black.
[16] cf. *Hamlet* (II, i): No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd, / Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ancle;

illustrates the co-occurrence of several types of quotations. It mentions two names, Ophelia and Hamlet, refers to the motif of Hamlet's *black suits*, and contains a paraphrase of Ophelia's report about a visit from *mad Hamlet* in her closet. Second, the onomastic references are not merely source indications. This is not only semantically derived, but also syntactically. Hamlet and Ophelia are not "literal" personages. The indefinite article in "a pretty Hamlet" and the plural of Ophelia in "a dozen Ophelias" calls for pragmatic enrichment: What do "a pretty Hamlet" and "a dozen Ophelias" stand for? Hamlet and Ophelia are symbolic expressions. Third, the motif of Ophelia's death is explicitly mentioned, yet the generic form of Ophelia suggests a shift of attention from the motif to the character; Ophelia's story and her character traits in general are meant. In example (19), her death is less important than her unhappy love for Hamlet.

Despite the close relationship observed between thematic and onomastic references, they trigger different interpretative aspects and thus prompt an analytical differentiation. The generic use of character names, such as "*a* young Ophelia" in example (20),

(20) The old Weekley grandmother died, aged 86, and the Weekleys are making as much tragedy over it as if she'd been a young Ophelia (Lawrence, David Herbert (1927): Letter to Margaret King. 13 September; source HYHA),

and comparisons, such as "*like* a near relation of Hamlet's" in (17) above, are recurrent signals for drawing inferences from a mentioned name. Character names have become symbolic references to specific human behaviours or fates. As such, the differentiation between the thematic perspectives of motif, scene and play and that of onomastic references remains a useful framework for highlighting the implied stance of a precise quotation, despite some overlap. The knowledge of the text *in absentia* is the basis for identifying such qualitative differences and for categorising according to the analyses of the quoted elements and their importance in the text *in praesentia*. And again, even though the primary and reliable perspective of repetition is the source text, the dialectic interplay between the two texts does not cease and has to be taken into account.

6.1.3 Verbal quotations

Verbal quotations relate to a particular line or lines in *Hamlet* and reflect the typical understanding of a quotation as a "passage from a book" (cf. OED). In contrast to thematic and onomastic references, verbal quotations shift the attention away from primarily conceptual similarity towards form, be that form on the level of lexis, syntax or phonology. Accordingly, the criteria of analysis also need to be formal. First, the scope of the quotation has to be identified so that the basis for comparison is set. Second, verbal quotations can be sub-classified according to their formal appearance. Is the surface similarity between the text *in absentia* and the text *in praesentia* perfect or only partial? Or are only a few conspicuous words or lexical combinations replicated? Or is it more the syntactic or phonological structure that shows the similarity with the quoted model?

The focus on form does not mean that the conceptual side can be completely disregarded. Just as form can support conceptual interpretation (think of example (9), where the words "having waved its hand mournfully, as if beckoning to follow it" identify the mentioned "spectre" as the ghost from *Hamlet*), so formal similarity is often accompanied by conceptual similarity (though not necessarily, cf. chapter 9), which accounts for the cline between thematic and verbal quotations. Verbal quotations are typically meaningful units,

that is, quotations are ultimately form-meaning pairs. This becomes especially apparent in the case of synonymic substitutions and paraphrase, which would be neither describable nor definable without conceptual similarity. The definable syntactic scope of a verbal quotation, however, provides the primary frame for the manifest, conceptually equivalent substituted elements.

The scope of a verbal quotation: Syntactic phrase structure

The scope of the verbal quotation is the reference point for the evaluation of similarity. Valid statements about perfect, strong or weak similarity are only possible if the extent of a quotation is defined. The scope of a quotation is best defined by syntactic phrase structure, as grammatical rules constitute a rigorous and approved categorisation of linguistic units below the text level. The following phrase-structure distinctions are suggested by Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) for quotations from *Hamlet*, and are also likely to work for lexical quotations from other texts:

- longer passage
- clause
- verb phrase
- noun phrase
- adj./adv./participle phrase
- other

Longer passages are quotations which exceed either two sentences or four lines in the original text, as is the case in example (21):

(21) Q. What Birds are those, that are called Prophets twice borne?
A. The Cocke: first an egge from the henne, after a Cocke from the Egge: they foretell seasons and changes of weather, according to the Verse:
Some say for ever 'gainst that season comes,
Wherein our Saviours birth is celebrated,
The Bird of dawning singeth all night long,
And then they say no Spirit dares walk abroad,
So sacred and so hallow'd is that tune.
(Basse, William, Edward Phillips and Edward Pond (1621): A Help to Discourse; source HYHA)[17]

With the exception of dramas and poems, in which lines count, longer passages in other genres are typically multi-clausal structures. This is the case with many academic texts, where the passages are typically also signalled by set-off.

A *clause* is any quoted passage that contains a subject and a predicate, as in example (22):

(22) But <u>age has clawed me somewhat in his clutch</u>, as the song says; (Scott, Sir Walter (1821): Kenilworth; source HYHA)[18]

A *verb phrase* is headed by a verb, as in example (23):

[17] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad;
The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

[18] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): But age, with his stealing steps, / Hath claw'd me in his clutch,

(23) What do you say to "take arms against a sea of troubles" having been originally written "make arms", which is the action of swimming. It would get rid of a horrible grievance in the figure, and make it plain and apt. I think of setting up a claim to live in The House at Stratford, rent-free, on the strength of this suggestion. (Dickens, Charles (1847): Letter to John Forster; source HYHA)[19]

A *noun phrase* is headed by a noun, as in example (24):

(24) I know by experience of my best friends and sometimes by my own that the storm of adversity is the best touchstone by which to try our real value and that the true merit of a man consists in his not being what Shakespeare so well calls a "pipe for fortunes finger". (Scott, Sir Walter (1830): Letter to James Macculloch of Ardwall; source HYHA)[20]

And an *adj./adv./participial phrase* is headed by an adjective, an adverb or a participle, as in example (25):

(25) And I hope I shall live to see the Master of Art have Modesty enough to thank me for't; or else (for my fancy wou'd fain oblige him if it cou'd) to make it more German to the matter, as *Shakespear* has it (D'Urfey, Thomas (1698): Preface to *The Campaigners*; source HYHA)[21]

The unspecified category *other* covers the occasional exclamation, verbless clause, and other deviations such as the nonce word "pah" in example (26):

(26) Pah – as people say in Shakespeare. (Woolf, Virginia (1931): Diary entry; source HYHA)[22]

Other is a necessary "non-category" in most fields of categorisation, as linguistic creativity seems to always produce exceptions and peculiarities that cannot be generalised.

According to the data in HYHA, the most frequent syntactic categories of quotations are clauses, followed by noun phrases and verb phrases (cf. figure 1).

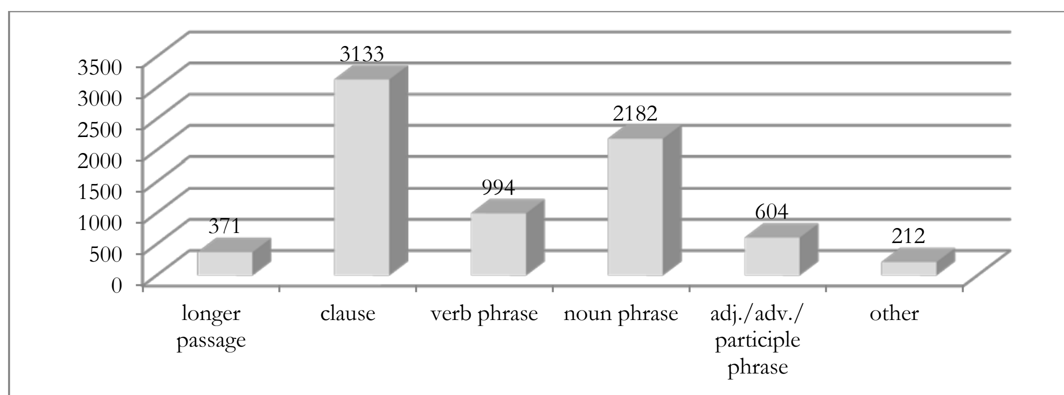

Figure 1: Frequencies of quoted phrase structures within the category of verbal quotation in HYHA

The predominance of clauses and noun phrases is conspicuous but not surprising. Clauses express complete propositions, and nouns denote a discrete subject, object, act or idea. Both categories enjoy more semantic and syntactic independence than verb phrases and participle phrases, which express relationships between or properties of subjects, objects, acts or ideas. *Longer passage* also theoretically satisfies the criteria of propositional completeness, but additional factors such as the genre of the quoting text also come into play. If one were to analyse academic quotations in academic texts, the proportion of longer passage would probably be higher.

[19] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
[20] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
[21] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): The phrase would be more german to the matter
[22] cf. *Hamlet* (V, i): And smelt so? pah! *Puts down the skull.*

Moreover, the preference for clause-length quotations very likely mirrors the functional similarity between quotations and proverbs. Burger maintains that the educated classes of the 19th century swapped proverbs for smart quotations (cf. Burger 2003 [1998]: 108):[23] Proverbs refer to the wisdom of the many, while smart quotations refer to the wisdom of the singled-out genius (cf. chapter 5). Also, similar to Burger's (2003 [1998]: 101) proverbs as "micro texts", which highlights the independent nature of typically clause-length proverbs as a facilitator for easy transferral to other contexts, Compagnon (1979) describes quotations as a "fragment" that is taken out of its original context and "converts itself into a text" (Compagnon 1979: 17).[24] Finally, Shakespeare himself used and rephrased many proverbs which later gained currency as frequently quoted clause-length passages (cf. also chapters 8 and 9). Hence, the comparison between clause-length quotations and proverbs is encouraged by both Shakespeare's writing and scholarly expertise.

Noun phrases are not independent "micro texts", but their semantic completeness means they are very flexible and can easily be integrated as subjects, objects or other syntactic functions into any clause or verb phrase. Repeatedly quoted noun phrases from *Hamlet* include, among many others, *questionable shape, mind's eye, discourse of reason* and *primrose path* from act I, *quintessence of dust* and *a king of infinite space* from act II, *slings and arrows (of outrageous fortune*) and *mortal coil* from Hamlet's great soliloquy in act III, *cap of youth* and *flattering unction* from act IV, and *yeoman's service* and *a palpable hit* from act V. Noun phrases enjoy relative autonomy and independence, which means their quoting contexts can differ enormously from the original, as the following book titles (all from HYHA) illustrate:

(27) Newman, Arnold (1974): *One Mind's Eye: The Portraits and Other Photographs of Arnold Newman.*
(28) Ferguson, Eugene S. (1992): *Engineering and the Mind's Eye.*
(29) Hofstadter, Douglas Richard and Daniel Clement Dennett (1981): *The Mind's I: Fantasies and Reflections on Self and Soul.*
(30) Turner, R. Steven (1994): *In the Eye's Mind: Vision and the Helmholtz-Hering Controversy.*
(31) Foster, Alan Dean (1978): *Splinter of the Mind's Eye: From the Adventures of Luke Skywalker.*
(32) Jacobs, Karen (2001): *The Eye's Mind: Literary Modernism and Visual Culture.*

The various contexts cover photography in (27), engineering in (28), psychology in (29), phonological wordplay and a scholarly dispute about colour perception in (30), the Biblical mental short-sightedness of a modern film hero in (31), and the role of visual culture in literary studies in (32).

The data-driven approach followed here again calls for special treatment of famous *To be, or not to be: that is the question* from (III, i). Its scope is better described in line-specific terms:

- not including "that is the question"
- including "that is the question"
- longer

[23] Original text: "Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts übernehmen im bildungsbeflissenen Brügertum die "Geflügelten Worte", das Zitieren von "Kernstellen" der Texte Schillers und Goethes und anderer Autoritäten, die Rolle, die früher einmal die Sprichwörter inngehabt haben mögen." (Burger 2003 [1998]: 108)

[24] Original text: "La phrase relue devient formule, isolat dans le texte. La relecture la délie de ce qui précède et de ce qui suit. Le fragment élu se convertit lui-même en texte, non plus morceau de texte, membre de phrase ou de discours, mais morceau choisi, membre amputé; point encore greffe, mais déjà organe découpé et mis en réserve. Car ma lecture n'est ni monotone ni unifiante; elle fait éclater le texte, elle le démonte, elle l'éparpille. C'est pourquoi, même si je ne souligne quelque phrase ni la déporte dans mon calepin, ma lecture procède déjà d'un acte de citation qui désagrège le texte et détache du contexte." (Compagnon 1979: 17-18)

The *to-be* line is the most frequently quoted phrase from *Hamlet*, which is one of the reasons why it is not comparable to any other line. The attested frequencies in HYHA indicate that the ratio of quotations without "that is the question" to those with it is about 2:1, while the ratio of *not including "that is the question"* to *longer* is about 10:1. Thus, categorising the line according to "without question" as in example (33), "with question" as in example (34) and "longer" as in example (35) follows observable recurrent quoting patterns.

(33) "Well, then", says the Patentee, "give me the Soliloquy in Hamlet." At these Words Mr. Cook began, "To be or not to be"; beginning and ending with an extremely low Bow to Mr. R-h; which Bows were well received, and added weight to the speaking. (Shebbeare, John (1755): Lydia, or Filial Piety; source HYHA)

(34) Two or more Sentences, Clauses, Phrases, or Single Words, linked together by one of the Conjunctions and, but, or, nor, for, are called co-ordinate. [as] A youth to fortune and to fame unknown; To be or not to be that is the question. (Onions, C. T. (1904): English Syntax; source HYHA)

(35) since you are not going to return – those beautiful words of the Swan of Avon occurred to me:
'To be or not to be – that is the question;
Whether 'tis better in this world to bear
The slings and arrows of –'
(Cooke, Johne Esten (1856): The Last of the Foresters, or Humors on the Border; source HYHA)

As already mentioned, *To be, or not to be* is particular in another sense because, more than any other line, it also serves as a metonymical reference to a specific scene and/or to the entire play. These particular functions again highlight the specific status of the phrase, which have to be accommodated if categorisation is to be meaningful and not an end in itself.[25]

The stable elements of verbal quotations

The identification of a verbal quotation, if it is not explicitly marked, is the result of a comparison between a passage *in praesentia* and a passage *in absentia* that stretches over a specific syntactic phrase structure and forms a semantic unit. Comparisons are based on the delineation of sameness and difference. Comparing quotations would be a quick affair if people always quoted with the original words. However, they do not, despite the widely held assumption of verbatimness (cf. Steyer 1997: 95). In some specific contexts, e.g. in written academic arguments, this common notion applies; hence, verbatimness is a question of genre. It is, however, also a question of function. Decorative quotations in an academic text need neither be verbatim, nor explicitly marked; only quotations which seek to use authority to support an argument fall under the normative rule of verbatimness as good academic practice. In many circumstances, the exact rendition of a quotation is of minor importance –many scholars have noted that the quotation must, as a rule, serve the new communicative situation.[26] The differentiation between the stable and the modified elements of a quotation then offers additional criteria for a typology of lexical quotations that brings order into the heterogeneity of quotations.

[25] For a detailed analysis of *To be, or not to be*, cf. Hohl Trillini/Langlotz 2009 and Hohl Trillini 2009.
[26] cf. esp. Sternberg (1982), Coulmas (1986), Clark/Gerrig (1990), Tsur (1998) and Tuormala (2000).

Comparison requires a reference point. The reference point in the present model is the extent of the syntactic phrase structure in the source text. It is important to consider the entire syntactic phrase in the original text, including all complements. Categorisation merely according to surface sameness is not informative, as the assumption behind such a surface categorisation, verbatimness, does not hold (cf. Clark/Gerrig 1990, Tuormala 2000). For instance, the noun phrase *The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune* from *Hamlet* (III, i) is made up of two head nouns, *slings and arrows*, which are preceded by the determiner *the* and followed by the post-modifier *of outrageous fortune*. If only *slings and arrows* are quoted, the noun phrase is not replicated verbatim because the determiner and the post-modifier are missing.

As one quotes for analogy, and since verbal quotations are typically recognised by their stable elements, the proposed typology of verbal quotations is based on the items shared between the source and the quoted passage (cf. also Engler/Hohl Trillini/ Quassdorf 2010):

- verbatim renditions – perfect surface identity
- partially verbatim renditions – surface equivalence of a part of a phrase
- identical keywords and/or keyword combinations
- equivalent syntactic and/or phonological structure
- other (e.g. equivalent meaning in paraphrase, equivalent form in anagrams)

Each of these classes will be addressed individually below.

Verbatim renditions

Verbatimness denotes the perfect formal equivalence between quoted and quoting passage across the full extent of the relevant phrase:

(36) Are we to conclude that the Powers above do in Reality know nothing of what is doing here on Earth, or that they keep their Knowledge to themselves, and send this Ghost abroad with such Tidings as must make us all cry out with Horatio in Hamlet, / There needs no Ghost, my Lord, come from the Grave / To tell us this. (Anon. (1745): Letter from Rudgly in Staffordshire; source HYHA)[27]

(37) [Dick:] Hark-ye, *Simon*; – when I am playing some deep Tragedy, and cleave the general Ear with horrid Speech, you must stand between the Scenes, and cry bitterly. (Murphy, Arthur (1756): The Apprentice; source HYHA)[28]

(38) It was in the spring-time when these tender notions of mine, bursting forth into new shoots under the influence of the season, became sufficiently troublesome to my parents and guardians to occasion Somebody to volunteer to take me to see the outside of Saint Giles's Church, which was considered likely (I suppose) to quench my romantic fire, and bring me to a practical state. [...] I considered him the glass of fashion and the mould of form: a very Hamlet without the burden of his difficult family affairs. (Dickens, Charles (1853): Gone Astray; source HYHA)[29]

(39) Having been in Canada only a short time, and being almost a stranger in Toronto, I dare say I was looking around me with more attention and curiosity than persons who are "native here, and to the manner born," are accustomed to exhibit. (Dent, John Charles (1888): Gagtooth's Image; source HYHA)[30]

[27] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): There needs no ghost, my lord, come from the grave / To tell us this.
[28] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): He would drown the stage with tears / And cleave the general ear with horrid speech,
[29] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown! [...] The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
[30] cf. *Hamlet* (I, iv): though I am native here / And to the manner born,

These examples each document verbatim renditions within the scope of a clause in (36), a verb phrase in (37), a noun phrase in (38) and a participle phrase in (39). Moreover, the examples above illustrate varying degrees of explicitness in marking, which means linguistic knowledge has to be more or less compensated by textual knowledge. In (36), the quotation is marked by name, metalinguistic and typographical means. As a result, textual knowledge is not necessary to identify the quotation. Example (37), however, only mentions "some tragedy", which means the average reader may or may not establish a correspondence with the subsequent words if s/he relies on linguistic knowledge alone. Textual knowledge is essential to really identify the quotation. In (38), the link to *Hamlet* is set up by the mention of "a very Hamlet" in the direct vicinity of the quoted passage, which is again only identifiable as such via the wording, with which the reader must be familiar if s/he is to recognise it. The participle phrase in example (39) is signalled by quotation marks as a verbal repetition of some sort. Only textual knowledge can identify the passage as a quotation from *Hamlet*, that is, as a quotation in the dictionary sense of a "passage from a book". The role of marking is, however, of little relevance at this point. Rather, some type of marking cannot be avoided if the versatility of quotations is to be described. As observed in chapter 4, little-known, inconspicuous, heavily modified and/or far-fetched quotations are especially likely to be marked. Irrespective of marking, verbatimness is a strong clue for recognition if textual knowledge is accessible.

Partially verbatim renditions

A quoted passage with an incomplete verbatim sequence according to phrase structure is differentiated from fully verbatim quotations because it implies modifications at the fringes, such as omissions, insertions, additions and/or substitutions. A typical case in point is, as mentioned above, the noun phrase *slings and arrows*, which is often quoted as an independent noun phrase without the original determiner *the* and/or the post-modifier *of outrageous fortune*. This type of partially verbatim phrase is found across all types of syntactic categories, as the following examples illustrate:

(40) Belton: In other words, "Enough is as good as a feast."
Mallett: In the sense of art, better; in other senses, not half so good. The very essence of a feast is superfluity, and it would be a very mean banquet with only enough. How could the beggars be fed if we only had enough at our table? Enough is a miserly word to a liberal heart. It is like <u>using a man after his desert</u>, in which case, as Hamlet says <u>who should 'scape whipping?"</u> "<u>Use them after your own honor and dignity</u>," he adds; "<u>the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty</u>." (Story, W. W. (1989): Recent Conversations in a Studio. *The Living Age*; source HYHA)[31]

Example (40) illustrates a case of partial equivalence of a *longer passage* that is interrupted by metalinguistic comments. Moreover, the beginning of a quotation is altered to suit the grammatical structure of the embedding clause, and a qualifier is omitted: "using a man" instead of *use every man*. Still, major parts of the quotation are verbatim. Example (41) below demonstrates a partially equivalent *clause* whose original generic subject *one* is substituted by the near-synonymous expression "A Man", while the original exclamatory conjunction *that* is omitted. The quoted clause, like the passage above, is thus only slightly modified; the main part of the quotation is a verbatim sequence.

[31] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): use every man after his desert, and who should 'scape whipping? Use them after your own honour and dignity: the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty.

(41) If this be allowed, I believe we may admit that glavering Smile, whose principal Ingredient is Malice, to the Symptom of Good-Humour. And here give me Leave to define this Word Malice, as I doubt whether it be not in common Speech so often confounded with Envy, that common Readers may not have very destinct Ideas between them. But as Envy is a Repining at the Good of Others, compared with our own, so Malice is a rejoicing at their Evil, on the same Comparison. And thus it appears to have a very close Affinity to that malevolent Disposition, which I have above described under the Word Good-Humour: for nothing is truer than the Observation of Shakespear; – A Man may smile, and smile, and be a Villain. (Fielding, Henry (1743): An Essay on Knowledge of Characters of Men; source HYHA).[32]

One could argue that the scope of the quotation in (41) would only cover the verb phrase. The near-synonymic substitution of the subject suggests a different reading: The inclusion of the conceptual extent of the quotation establishes that typical ways of quoting can be differentiated. In fact, subject substitution by near synonyms or lexemes from the same word-field is a frequently observed divergence from the original which could not be traced if substitutions at the fringes were not taken into account. Another frequently observed change derives from adapting the quotation to its new grammatical context. A case in point is the omission of *that* in (41).

Besides these adaptive changes, longer passages in particular (but also clauses, verb phrases, etc.) contain small deviations from the original which are likely to be caused by imperfect memorisation rather than by intended substitution or wordplay. These are also interpreted as partial equivalence. The following example of a *noun phrase* plus relative clause is a case in point. Instead of the original *soak*, the verb *suck* is used in (42):

(42) A *Minister* like This *is a Spunge* (as the same excellent Author says in *Hamlet*) *who sucks up the King's Countenance, his Rewards, his Authorities*. (R. (1727): Letter to the editor Caleb D'Anvers. *The Craftsman*; source HYHA)[33]

(43) What I advise is, that Charles should go home, take his mother apart, and, like Hamlet in the closet scene, 'speak daggers, but use none.' It does not appear, from all we have yet heard, that any one has hitherto attempted to point out to her the deplorable folly, ay, and wickedness too, which she is committing. (Trollope, Frances Milton (1837): The Vicar of Wrexhill; source HYHA).[34]

The *verb phrase* in (43) illustrates another type of partial match: The two sequences *speak daggers* and *but use none* come from the original, but the phrase omits the first verb's indirect object (*to her*), which occurs in the middle of Hamlet's utterance. In example (44), only the sequence "from whose bourne no" exactly matches the original lines *The undiscover'd country from whose bourn / No traveller returns* from Hamlet's great soliloquy in (III, i):

(44) Tickets made of a kind of bamboo, had been long used to reinforce the circulation of Japan; but these were of no use in Tartary: the mercenaries and allies of that country would receive nothing but gold and silver, which, indeed, one would imagine they had a particular method of decomposing or annihilating; for, of all the millions transported thither, not one copan was ever known to revisit Japan. "It was a country (as Hamlet says) from whose bourne no travelling copan e'er returned." (Smollett, Tobias (1768-1769): The History and Adventures of an Atom; source HYHA)[35]

Example (44) contains other modified equivalences: The head noun *country* is stripped of its qualifier *undiscovered* and separated from its dependent relative clause by an inserted

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[32] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain.
[33] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, ii): Rosencratz: Take you me for a sponge, my lord?
Hamlet: Ay, sir, that soaks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities.
[34] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): I will speak daggers to her, but use none;
[35] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): The undiscover'd country from whose bourn / No traveller returns,

bracket. The verb *returned* is maintained in the relative clause, but its subject is substituted by "travelling copan" to suit the embedding context. Still, the qualifier maintains the root of the original *traveller* and thus remains close to the original sequence.

The participle clauses in examples (45) and (46) seem to be verbatim, yet (45) lacks its original complement *with the brave beast,* while the complement of (46), *in your nature*, is replaced by "in him":

(45) Central in the view stands the gracefully proportioned "Maha-Dop" with its range of stately columns, its pyramidical roof of little flame-points, its lofty spire, its justly harmonised tints of purple, crimson, and gold, the whole set off to perfection by a fantastic background of piled-up rocks, white shrines and spirelets, yellow-flowered shrubs, plumy bamboo-tufts, tall fan-palms, wide-branching trees, and a confusion of gold green leaves glittering under the pale bright sky and dazzling sun of the tropics – a fairy structure in a fairy land; itself incorpsed and demi-natured, like Shakespeare's good horseman, into that on and amid which it is placed. Architecture and scenery, art and nature are here at one. (Gifford, W. (1882): Phra-Bat. *Macmillan's Magazine*; source HYHA)[36]

(46) The great man, on the other hand, could marry where he liked, not being restricted to great women; indeed, it was often found sweet and commendable in him to choose a woman of no sort of greatness at all. (Sayers, Dorothy Leigh (1935): Gaudy Night; source HYHA).[37]

To summarise, partial equivalence is a verbatim sequence that is incomplete in terms of the full scope of the quoted passage in the original. The full scope of the quotation is determined by both formal and conceptual similarities. The quotation may contain small errors and/or changes as a result of grammatical adaptations to its new context, it may be interrupted by insertions, and/or elements at the fringes may be omitted, added or substituted by lexemes from the same word-field.

Keywords and keyword combinations

Many quotations are more heavily modified, and sometimes only certain lexemes and/or lexeme combinations from the source text remain. Such lexemes may still trigger the association with the source text, in which case they then become keywords. The concept of *key* was developed within the framework of the *configuration hypothesis* for idioms by Cacciari/Tabossi (1988). Langlotz (2006) paraphrases it as follows:

> A *key* works as a kind of mental signal that makes the hearer evoke the idiomatic configuration as a whole, which leads to the activation of the idiomatic meaning. The recognition of the key therefore marks the qualitative switching point between the idiomatic and the literal interpretation of an idiom. (Langlotz 2006: 21)

In analogy, keywords and also *key sequences* are the elements which activate the association with an accessible quotation. Keywords and key sequences "mark the qualitative switching point" which differentiates a quoted trace from other linguistic constellations. For instance, the mere co-occurrence of *method* with *madness* is salient enough to bring to mind Polonius's aside, *Though this be madness, yet there is method in't* from (II, ii):

(47) The Inspector shrugged his shoulders. "I don't quite know, sir. Between ourselves, I think Mr. Holmes has not quite got over his illness yet. He's been behaving very queerly, and he is very much excited." "I don't think you need alarm yourself," said I. "I have usually found that there was method in his madness." "Some folk might say there was madness in his method,"

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[36] cf. *Hamlet* (IV, vii): And to such wondrous doing brought his horse,
As he had been incorpsed and demi-natured / With the brave beast:

[37] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): 'Tis sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet

muttered the Inspector. (Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur (1893): The Adventure of the Reigate Squire; source HYHA)[38]

(48) We recognise a something behind this seeming boyish inconsequence, and trace a method in the madness, if our English games are the means of developing a side of our faculties which the classroom cannot touch. (Anon. (1900): Special Reports on Educational Subjects 1899-1900 Volume VI; source HYHA)

While example (47) still quotes the original bi-polar clause as a clause with the original expletive construction *there is*, example (48) reduces the clause to a noun phrase: "a method in the madness". Again, isomorphism cannot be taken for granted in quotations. Conversions of phrase structures are possible. Example (48) is also noteworthy with respect to the reversed order of the two key elements. Another example of scrambled word order is evident in example (49) below. It combines the keywords *stale* and *profitless* – the latter being a variant of the original *unprofitable* – with the sequence *seem to me*:

(49) Freud had misinterpreted *Oedipus*: the secret of the Oedipal wishes lies in the parent's heart, not the child's. The pity of it was that this discovery, if such it was, now seemed so stale, so profitless to me. What good was it? What good did thinking ever do? (Rubenfeld, Jed (2007): The Interpretation of Murder; source HYHA).[39]

The changes in word order, the omission of parts of the original phrase (such as *weary* and *flat*), and minor internal deviations from the original (such as the insertion of "so", which maintains the emotional load of the original exclamatory *How*) do not affect recognisability; the "qualitative switching point" (Langlotz 2006: 21) is sufficiently set by the few shared elements between quoting and quoted text. The reliance on keywords is a frequently observed phenomenon in lexical quotations.

If, however, the quoted keywords are ordinary lexemes, or if the keyword candidates are also used in other constructions, the concept of keyword has to be extended to include key sequences and/or key concepts. For instance, the mere co-occurrence of *cruel* and *kind* from Hamlet 's line *I must be cruel, only to be kind* (III, iv) is not distinctive enough to trigger an association with *Hamlet*. This is despite the noticeable parallels with the example of *method/madness* above. Both expressions form the rhetorical figure of alliterating paranomasia. However, in contrast to *method/madness*, the keywords *cruel* and *kind* are also contained in other constructions, such as *kind of cruel* and *a cruel kind of*, which are independent from *Hamlet*.[40] If no additional hints point to *Hamlet*, the key adjective *cruel* has to appear in combination with the key sequence *to be kind* (cf. also chapters 8 and 9):

(50) it might, indeed, be necessary for charity to withhold donations, and at times we must even be cruel in order to be kind. (Anon. (1879): Charity Organization Conferences. *The Times*; source HYHA)

(51) The Pope, in his mitigation of the fatal sentence on Count Cagliostro, by exchanging death for confinement for life, has surely proved himself cruel, though we doubt whether the convict will add – "only to be kind!" (Anon. (1791): News in Brief. *The Times*; source HYHA)

This example demonstrates that partial equivalence and keyword equivalence form a cline rather than clear-cut categories, while exact verbatimness is an either/or feature. The keyword sequence *to be kind* could also be interpreted as partial verbatimness. However, the two key components need not be adjacent to one another. They can be separated by

[38] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): Though this be madness, yet there is method in't!
[39] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable, / Seem to me all the uses of this world!
[40] cf. "What kind of cruel practical joke was this?" (Feather, Jane (2009). A husband's wicked ways; source COCA).

"in order", as they are in (50), or occur even further apart, as in (51). Example (51) separates the two components clearly for rhetorical effect. The author of (51) apparently assumes that the line is well-known not only to a full-knowing reader but also to his actual readers: The association with *only to be kind* is expected to follow almost naturally, as his "we doubt whether the convict will add" suggests. As such, *cruel* is a very decisive element, particularly since the sequence *to be kind* is also used on its own in other, ordinary contexts. Therefore, a reference to the expression in *Hamlet* is only inferable if the keyword *cruel* co-occurs with the key sequence *to be kind*. *To be kind* is not informative enough to be classified as a partial verbatim sequence. Even though the group of partially verbatim quotations and that of replicated keywords form a cline, a qualitative differentiation can be made by evaluating the quoted sequences in terms of function words and content words, the length of the verbatim sequence, and their salience with respect to similar linguistic constructions. Textual and general linguistic knowledge as well as the perspectives from the source text and the quoting text ultimately contribute to the classification of typical ways of quoting. The approach of describing and classifying lexical quotations from the perspective of the source text while focusing on form can be fine-tuned by expanding its scope to the quoted situation, if necessary. That necessity arises when a quotation approaches the transition areas on the cline between prototypical class representatives.

Structural equivalence

The last example showed that, in addition to lexemes, structures are also repeated in quotations. Sometimes the structure of a specific quotation is more conspicuous than its wording. The prime example is Hamlet's famous soliloquy in (III, i). Both the entire monologue and the first line have repeatedly been taken up for quotation, and they regularly form a structural template for more or less humorous plays on words, as the following examples demonstrate:

(52) TRAMLET loquitur; To come or not to come, that is the question [...]. (Anon. (1899): On Coming to Office; source HYHA)

(53) To cheat or not to cheat. Her question, not mine, which, she said, she had solved to her own satisfaction. (Tapply, Willam G. (1987): Dead Meat, source HYHA)

(54) to be or not drby (Anon. (2000): Advertisement for the Wall Street Institute Basel; source HYHA)

(55) Buy new communications technology? Good question: in which Shakespeare's Hamlet mulls over yet another dilemma. To buy or not to buy, that was the question. (Gregory, Dan (2001): Nursing Homes; source HYHA)

(56) Why name a maternity swimsuit after Shakespeares Dane? Because to Bikini or Not to Bikini is todays question for Hot Mamas to be and with this suit by Prego, you can skirt the issue. (Anon. (2005): Advertisement for the Hamlet tankini; source HYHA)

(57) A Parody on the Speech of "To Be or Not to Be" in *Hamlet* (Anon. (1747); source HYHA):

To write or not to write! That is the Question!	To be, or not to be: that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler with the Pen to scribble	Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The Flights and Fancies of outrageous Nonsense;	The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to lay down the Quill, or forbear to tire	Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
The Patience of the world? To write! to scrawl!	And by opposing end them? To die: to sleep;
And by that Scrawl to say we utter all the	No more; and by a sleep to say we end
Horrid Stuff & the thousand foolish Whimsies	The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
Labouring in the Brain - 'tis a Deliverance	That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation

"Devoutly to be wish'd." To write! to scrawl!
To scrawl - perchance to blot! – "ay, there's the Rub,"
For on a strict Review, what Blots "may come"
When we have scribbled all the Paper o'er,
"Must give us Pause". – "There's the respect,"
That stops the weak, presumptuous hand of Fools:
"For who could bear" the Sneers and Scorns of Wit,
The Critic's Laugh,
The learned Pedant's Railing;
The Spurns and Insolence of common Sense;
The Jokes of Humour, and the Repartee,
When he himself might his Quietus make
With mere blank Paper? Who would [?]isses hear,
Or groan or sweat at sound of Catcall's Squeak
But that the itch of writing for the Stage
(Where Garrick, with inimitable Charm
Of graceful Action, moves) "puzzles the Will,"
And makes us rather risque all Ridicule,
Than shun the Muses, & forbear to rhime.
Ambition thus makes Asses of us all;
And thus each empty Fellow, void of Genius,
Is tempted to imagine he's a Poet;
And Petit-maitres, of great Skill in Dressing,
Ev'n from the fav'rite Mirror "turn away",
To gain the name of Author.

Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep;
To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause: there's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the will
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of?
Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.

The long structural quotation in example (57) is not a rare case, as Hohl Trillini (2012) maintains: *To-be* parodies were a fashionable genre in the 18th century and largely contributed to the general fame of the scene. The structure of the first line of Hamlet's soliloquy – *To VERB, or not to VERB* – has become extremely productive over time. Variants of *To be, or not to be* work with any word class. The construction automatically turns nouns and adjectives into verbs without affecting its peculiarity, as the examples above show.

Other quotations whose structures serve as a schema are *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (I, ii) as *NOUN thy name is NOUN*, *to the manner born* (I, iv) as *to the NOUN born* (cf. chapter 5), and *to out-herod Herod* (III, ii) as *to out-x X*:

(58) Chutzpah, Thy Name Is Joe Biden. (Streiff (2010): Chutzpah, Thy Name Is Joe Biden. Redstate; source HYHA)

(59) It was all rather like school. We set the places, put fresh water and carnations in bud vases, one flower to each table, and folded pink napkins with precision. By seven-fifteen, the first breakfasters were addressing themselves to eggs Benedict and I was pouring tea and coffee as to the service born. At seven-thirty, in struggling daylight, we stopped briefly in a place identified in suitably small letters on the small station as Schreiber. (Francis, Dick (1989): The Edge; source HYHA)

(60) Hammond out-graced Grace, there was an outburst of murder at Moscow, Foxlaw won the Gold Cup and the earth opened at Oxhey and swallowed up somebody's front garden. (Sayers, Dorothy Leigh (1927): Unnatural Death; source HYHA)

The examples above are all instances of syntactic structural repetition which in some cases have gained a certain degree of productivity over time. This is, however, not to say that they are always quoted as schemas. Chapter 5 illustrated, for instance, that *Frailty, thy name is woman!* is often also quoted verbatim and as a partially verbatim quotation, in which just one noun of the exclamation is substituted, as in the following examples:

(61) Frailty, thy name is Genius!
(Hazlitt, William (1825): The Spirit of the Age; source HYHA)

(62) Oh Change, thy name is Woman!
(Landon, Letitia (1831): Romance and Reality; source HYHA)

If both nouns are substituted, only the structural schema *NOUN thy name is NOUN* remains as the fundamental shared element between the passage *in absentia* and the passage *in praesentia*, especially since the substituted nouns need not derive from the same semantic field. Consequently, while some expressions show a preferred way of quoting (e.g. the structural exploitation of *To be, or not to be* and the partial equivalence of *slings and arrows*), many other quotations, such as *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (I, ii), are repeatedly quoted in all possible ways: entirely or partially verbatim, by keywords or as schemas. Hence, again, the quoting situation is most influential for the heterogeneity of the quoted forms and concepts, while the source text forms the stable reference point and provides the template for a meaningful structural description of recognition patterns, and thus for classification.

Apart from short productive quoted structures, longer and/or occasional syntactic and/or phonological isomorphism also indicates a quoted model:

(63) To find happiness, a man need only live in the moment; he need only live for the moment. But if he wants meaning – the meaning of his dreams, his secrets, his life – a man must reinhabit his past, however dark, and live for the future, however uncertain. Thus nature dangles happiness and meaning before us all, insisting only that we choose between them. (Rubenfeld, Jed (2006): The Interpretation of Murder; source HYHA)[41]

(64) All that stands in my way is – you. Up, my dear. To the balcony. Go. Don't make me shoot you." (Rubenfeld, Jed (2006): The Interpretation of Murder; source HYHA)[42]

The two examples from Rubenfeld's whodunit above keep the original frames of *Thus ... us all* and *to DETERMINER NOUN go*, as well as a similar metric pattern of the Shakespearean model. The context of the novel aids recognition of the examples above, as the book thematises and repeatedly quotes *Hamlet*, which means the reader is primed for further references, including seemingly far-fetched ones as in (64). The latter example again hints at the interrelatedness of several types of analysis and knowledge which, in combination, lead to the awareness of quoted sequences. Example (64) is primarily marked by Helbig's (1996) *Reduktionsstufe*, which in Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) is referred to by the category *marking by context*, with the result that the almost inconspicuous structural similarity *to DETERMINER NOUN go* becomes interpretable as a local quotation.

To summarise, structural repetition is realised via a grammatical, lexical and/or phonological frame that corresponds to a sequence of the model text. The frame can be more or less specific (compare *to out-x X* with *NOUN thy name is NOUN*, or *Thus ... us all*) but one main criterion holds: The open slots of the structure are no longer conceptually restricted.

Other features of repetition

Only a few cases of quoted lines and phrases from *Hamlet* cannot be recognised by perfect or partially verbatim renditions, replicated keywords or structural similarities. These are usually cases of paraphrase, where the *concept* of a quoted phrase resembles the model rather than its *form*:

[41] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): Thus conscience does make cowards of us all.

[42] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To a nunnery, go.

(65) Is the first Squire that gives entertainement to errant strangers. At your first alighting hee straight offers you to see a Chamber, but has got the tricke of tradesmen to show you the worst first. Hee's as nimble as *Hamlets* ghost heere and everywhere, and when he has many guests, stands most upon his pantofles, for hee's then a man of some calling. (Saltonstall, Wye (1631): Picturae Loquentes. Or Pictvres Drawne forth in Characters; source HYHA).[43]

(66) By This time Yr Grace begins to guess ye reason why I left ye Town with taking leave: That was Rude, but I shd have been much ruder had I attempted it: To have made Yr Grace a Dumb Visit wd have been very unpolite; And at best, like Hamlets Ghost, I shd have been able to [illegible] have spoke is [in] Dismal Monosyllables onely; & therefore I humbly hope Yr Grace will pardon me for not frighting You out of your Wits. (Young, Edward (1741): Letter to Duchess of Portland. Tunbridge Wells; source HYHA).[44]

(67) The Strike has left a hole in somewhere in the social fabric, I feel: but I don't feel, like Hamlet, called upon to darn it up. (Lawrence, David Herbert (1926). Letter to John Middleton Murry; source HYHA)[45]

Example (65) paraphrases the swiftness of the ghost's movements by "nimble" and uses the locative indication "heere and everywhere" instead of *'Tis here! 'Tis here!* in (I, i). Example (66) paraphrases the ghost's demand *Swear!* by the metalinguistic term "monosyllables". Example (67) expresses Hamlet's lament *That ever I was born to set it right*, which occurs at the very end of act I, with the conceptual equivalent "I don't feel like called upon to darn it up."

Paraphrases are not the only group that deviates from the similarity features described above. Anagrams are, as it were, a highly sophisticated counterpart. While paraphrases are free in form but equivalent in meaning, anagrams are based on the formal equivalence of the letters used to form a phrase, regardless of any semantic limitations.

(68) Maintains a flowery myth (Anon (2000): Anagram [of *Frailty - thy name is woman*]; source HYHA)[46]

(69) In one of the Bard's best-thought-of tragedies, our insistent hero, Hamlet, queries on two fronts about how life turns rotten. (Calhoun, Cory (2005): Anagram [of the first three lines of Hamlet's soliloquy in III, i]; source HYHA)

Example (69) demonstrates, however, that anagram and paraphrase do not necessarily exclude each other. The exclusivity of similarity of form without meaning, as in anagrams, and that of meaning without form, as in paraphrase, are the two extremes of the cline between formal and conceptual similarity. In the majority of cases, however, similarity draws on both form and meaning, so quotations are form-meaning pairs like any other linguistic unit.

Anagrams are also exceptional in that they are the product of a deliberate game with letters; they might not even be recognisable to a full-knowing reader unless s/he is also an expert in anagrams. In other words, linguistic and textual knowledge is not enough to recognise them. Instead, they require experience in a specific linguistic game. However, several other types of quotation which are less conspicuous, very cryptic or deliberately hidden also sometimes require more clues from other resources than mere linguistic and textual knowledge. The next section will briefly outline this additional supportive knowledge.

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[43] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): Do, if it will not stand. / 'Tis here! / 'Tis here! / 'Tis gone! *Exist Ghost.*

[44] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): Ghost [Beneath]: Swear.

[45] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): That ever I was born to set it right!

[46] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Frailty, thy name is woman.

6.2 Additional supportive knowledge for the evaluation of quotations

Sabban (1998: 18) maintains that linguistic knowledge must be supported by various additional knowledge bases if one is to notice and understand a modified phraseme properly.[47] The same approach is plausible for quotations, since they also frequently deviate from their model, as the many examples given so far have illustrated. In the preceding sections, textual knowledge has been singled out as a specific complement to linguistic knowledge. Linguistic and textual knowledge are the most decisive factors for quotations. Linguistic knowledge has to be assumed because quotations use language, and textual knowledge is crucial because quotations are taken from other texts. Yet linguistic and textual competences are not the only resources used when quoting and recognising quotations. Steyer (1997), for instance, explicitly requires expert scholarly knowledge for the study of intertextuality (cf. chapter 3). Helbig (1996) relies implicitly on scholarly expertise for the interpretation of global marking (cf. chapter 4). And Sabban speaks of "various necessary knowledge bases" (Sabban 1998: 18).

In practice, knowledge of words, texts and other aspects of the world are not neatly separated from each other. Rather, they constantly interact – separation is a matter of heuristics. Accordingly, the clues derived from linguistic marking and from textual similarity are always also interpreted in the light of other accessible clues which derive from other knowledge bases. Some of these additional supportive knowledge bases will be addressed briefly below, in order to put the role of linguistic and textual competence into perspective. Knowledge of historical and synchronic contexts, such as discursive traditions, genres and authorial preferences have a particular influence on the evaluation of quotations. For completeness' sake, probabilistic criteria, which are based on experience, will also be mentioned.

General discursive traditions

The first words in *Hamlet*, *Who's there?*, and the mention of a cock's crow (I, i) show that mere formal and conceptual equivalence with a source text is not sufficient to turn a verbal sequence or a theme into a quotation. Quotations of such ordinary-seeming phrases and motifs either need to be clearly marked for quotation or they must have a "tradition of quoting" (Haßler 1997: 28),[48] be that in society at large or among small groups of friends and colleagues. The question *Who's there?* is typically used in situations where there is a perceived, yet unseeable presence of another being. It lacks both conspicuousness and a quoting tradition. A cock's crow may simply describe a well-known habit of a rooster. Yet in contrast to *Who's there?*, the cock's crow is also

[47] Original text: "Um manchen Ausdrücken überhaupt eine Bedeutung zuordnen und eine Variation in einem umfassenden Sinne 'verstehen' zu können, muß der Hörer offenbar über das sprachlich unmittelbar Gegebene hinausgehen. Er muß nicht nur den Textzusammenhang berücksichtigen, sondern er muß seinerseits auf verschiedenste Wissensbestände zurückgreifen, von denen sein sprachliches Wissen im engeren Sinne nur einen Teil ausmacht, und er muß diese Faktoren in je unterschiedlicher Weise zusammenführen." (Sabban 1998: 18)

[48] Original text: "Wesentlich erscheint, daß Lexeme in stabilisierten syntagmatischen Relationen in den Text eingehen, die über das Vorkommen im ursprünglichen Intertext hinaus bereits in ganzen Zitiertraditionen vorkommen. Diese Relationen verleihen den Lexemen ein zusätzliches Bedeutungspotential, das sich für den Rezipienten über eine Beziehung zum Intertext selbst, aber auch über eine bloße Einordnung in die Zitiertradition aktualisieren kann." (Haßler 1997: 28)

traditionally associated with another canonical text: the Bible.[49] Hence, without any specific clues to link it to *Hamlet*, the mention of a cock's crow is likely to be understood as a biblical reference, even by a *sujet connaissant*. Full textual knowledge is therefore typically complemented by knowledge about discursive traditions which have been handed down over centuries.

Further examples for the influence of discursive traditions are the motifs of *Hamlet and the skull* and *Hamlet's melancholy*, which are culturally influenced views of the play rather than primary motifs within the play. They derive from a history of quoting rather than from the text itself. Even *To be, or not to be* has become a conventional verbal and metonymical thematic quotation as a result of a specific tradition of quoting. Who knows whether Hamlet's great soliloquy and its first line would have acquired the same fame they enjoy today if the wide-spread fashion for parodying them in the 18th century had never come about (cf. Hohl Trillini 2012). Textual knowledge is thus regularly complemented by, and evaluated in the light of general discursive traditions and knowledge of alternative options.

Historical knowledge

A quoting tradition implies a diachronic view of quotations. Not only is quotation a diachronic phenomenon in the trivial sense of connecting an earlier text with a later text, but traditions of quoting also identify quotations as a cultural phenomenon in which preferences and patterns resurface. By tracing traditions of quoting, the "genesis of central lexical units as well as of patterns of phrasing, argumentation and text genres can be reconstructed" (Steyer 1997: 93).[50] This reconstruction becomes more relevant as recurrent quotations tend to lose their explicit markers. Repeated references to the same thematic, onomastic and verbal model make marking obsolete because familiarity with the referent is assumed. As a consequence, mere textual equivalence points to the referent. However, the presupposition of familiarity may fail as situations change over time, especially if the quoted element is used in contexts that have no relation to the original (cf. also Steyer 1997: 103). As a result, etymological knowledge combined with textual knowledge is the only way to re-establish the original connection. If this historical and textual knowledge is missing, the situation becomes paradoxical because one can quote without knowing that one quotes. Therefore, Steyer (1997) is not alone in calling for a diachronic perspective of analysis; the empirical approach of this account also includes the diachronic perspective, most explicitly in the empirical sections (cf. chapters 5, 8 and 9).

The inclusion of historical knowledge is methodologically relevant to tracing quotations that are hidden in common discourse. If a motif or a passage, in particular a certain formal variant, was (repeatedly) marked for a specific origin in the past, later instances of unmarked occurrences of that sequence or motif (even if they appear in a very ordinary or a very abstruse new context) are interpretable as traces of that source. In other words, even though a concrete phrase or theme in a later text may be unmarked

[49] cf. Mark 14, 66-72, Luke 22, 56-62 and John 18, 15-18 and 25-27: Peter denies knowing Jesus three times before the cock crows.

[50] Original text: "Diachrone Perspektive: Er kann schließlich (Inter)Textgeschichte erfassen, indem er empirisch auf der Basis großer Textkorpora die Genese zentraler lexikalischer Einheiten bzw. zentraler Formulierungs-, Argumentations- und Textsortenmuster rekonstruiert." (Steyer 1997: 93)

and non-intended and all *mentioning* quality lost, the link to the quoted model can still be traced using a diachronic approach. Examples (70) and (71) from the 19th century are marked by NAME, while examples (72) and (73) from the 20th and 21st centuries are tokens of unobtrusive phraseological usage of the expression *mind's eye.*[51]

(70) I see nothing but the old London belfry I have set them in [The Chimes]. In my mind's eye, Horatio. (Dickens, Charles (1844): Letter to John Forster; source HYHA)

(71) "Plain enough in your 'mind's eye,' as Hamlet says," replied Incledon. (Cooke, John Esten (1855): Ellie; source HYHA)

(72) The image in his mind's eye was as sharp as ever. (Ling, Peter (1992): Flood Water; source HYHA)

(73) He thinks prehistoric trackways and salt and cattle and coal; he thinks road, water and rail; his mind's eye is concentrated upon the map of Britain … (Lively, Penelope (2003): The Photograph; source HYHA)

The more recent occurrences, that is, examples (72) and (73), neither suggest nor require any mentioning quality of *mind's eye.* Yet historically, the phrase has repeatedly been attributed to Shakespeare and a connection to the play has been established in the past.[52]

Genre expectations

History is also implicitly involved in the knowledge of *genres*, which create specific expectations. Most prominently, Bakhtin (1986 [1953]) points out that:

> Genres correspond to typical situations of speech communication, typical themes, and, consequently, also to particular contacts between the *meanings* of words and actual concrete reality under certain typical circumstances. (Bakhtin 1986 [1953]: 87)

Genres frame the understanding of what is communicated. For instance, a description of a drowned young woman is a sad event in a police report. In a work of fiction, however, the same story may evoke the scene of Ophelia's death (IV, vii)[53] because "literature is fed by literature", as Meyer succinctly puts it (1961: 22). Accordingly, some genres are more likely to raise the expectation that quotations from *Hamlet* communicate meaning. They include fictional, journalistic and academic genres. Others, like manuals and police reports, do not. This is not to say that manuals and police reports do not contain quotations, but they are more likely to quote from other sources, for instance from other manuals and police reports, than from a literary text. Some genres, such as epigrams and entries in anthologies and quotation dictionaries, are quotations by definition (and are thus even able to produce pseudo-quotations if textual knowledge is not accessible as a corrective force).[54]

Authorial preferences

Knowledge of authors can also raise or dampen expectations for quotations, and thus guides the recognition of quotations when linguistic and textual knowledge do not give sufficient clarity. If it is known that an author has a preference for a certain text, author or epoch which resurfaces throughout his or her oeuvre, subtle similarities to those

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[51] cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye" and "In my mind's eye, Horatio.

[52] *Mind's eye* is also an example for the mediation of expressions: *L'occhio della mente* occurs in Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, but Shakespeare seems to have made it known to a wider English audience. The example also shows that quotations are not necessarily based on coinages, but on accessible famous texts (cf. Zenner/Speelman/Geeraerts 2014).

[53] cf. Glöckler (1997) who claims that drowned bodies in German expressionist literature are modelled after Rimbaud's poem "Ophelie", which in turn refers to Ophelia's death in *Hamlet*.

[54] cf. Zima (2000: 315): Zima gives the example of the epigram "'What' – Richard M. Nixon" in Pynchon's novel *Gravity's Rainbow*. Pynchon apparently commented: "Strictly speaking this is no longer a quotation but a parody."

models are typically interpreted in the light of knowledge of this preference. To an informed reader, certain authors are as good as a marker. Walter Scott, Lord Byron and Charles Dickens, among others, repeatedly refer to *Hamlet*. They knew "their" *Hamlet* so well that not even the smallest similarity will be incidental. Therefore, the mention of *jaded*, *stirring mice*, *rats*, and *conscience* in example (74) are interpreted as further traces of *Hamlet* besides the more transparent allusion to suicide *by one bold stroke*:

(74) "What am I now," he said to himself, "that I am thus jaded by the words of a mean, weather-beaten, goose-brained gull! Conscience, thou art a blood-hound, whose growl wakes as readily at the paltry stir of a rat or mouse, as at the step of a lion. Can I not quit myself, by one bold stroke, of a state so irksome, so unhonoured? What if I kneel to Elizabeth, and, owning the whole, throw myself on her mercy?" (Scott, Sir Walter (1821): *Kenilworth*; source HYHA)[55]

Knowledge of Walter Scott's tendency to quote Shakespeare serves as a clue for evaluating weak similarities as quotations. In the case of Jane Austen, who is known for quoting only very rarely, the same words are unlikely to trigger associations with *Hamlet*.

Quantity

Finally, probabilistic criteria also influence the evaluation of a motif or sequence as a quotation. As quoted passages become longer, more markers are set, coincidences become less likely and the quotation becomes clearer. In terms of relevance theory (Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]), multiple manifest clues for the interpretation of a specific informative and communicative intent produce a strong positive cognitive effect. The first perceived clue generates a certain assumption, which is automatically strengthened if further stimuli are perceived that point towards the same interpretation. The positive cognitive effect is strong because this procedure requires little cognitive effort. There is no need to create a new assumption for each stimulus; one's belief is continuously strengthened as long as no contradictory clue is found. This gives rise to the feeling that the more clues one finds, the more certain one's interpretation becomes.

In short, clues from additional encyclopaedic and/or specialised expert knowledge complement the evaluation of a similar-seeming sequence as a quotation. The linguistic code is, as Humboldt, Chomsky and other great linguists have marvelled, a limited resource with unlimited possibilities. As a result, the limited resource may lead to apparent similarities which are conceptually and/or etymologically unconnected. Therefore, linguistic knowledge alone does not always justify the interpretation of similar sequences as quotations, but further considerations complement the evaluation of quotations and thus confirm the ultimately pragmatic nature of quotations.

6.3 Concluding remarks

Quotation implies repetition, and repetition implies shared features with a model to which the quotation can potentially refer. Traditionally, quotations have been defined by the non-linguistic property of being attributable to a specific source. Accordingly, this

[55] cf. *Hamlet* (III, ii): Let the galled jade wince;
cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
cf. *Hamlet* (I, i): Not a mouse stirring;
cf. *Hamlet* (IV, i): How now! a rat? Dead, for a ducat, dead! and
cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): A rat, a rat!
cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd / His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! O God! God!
cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): When he himself might his quietus make / With a bare bodkin?

account starts from the defining specific source to describe the great variety of quotations. If other scholars differentiated at all between the two perspectives of model and quoting text (e.g. Steyer 1997), the focus seemed to be implicitly directed towards the quoting text rather than the model, or it shifted according to convenience. The practical work with quotations, however, definitely put the focus on the model text. Knowledge of the source text is a necessary precondition for doing this. The perspective from the known, quoted source text offers a stable anchor for bringing order into the apparent heterogeneity of quotations, while the contexts of the quoting texts, and the form and function of quotations, keep shifting and changing. Thus, similar to Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) and Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010), a typology of quotations based on similarity was proposed which follows the principal question of *what has been repeated from the source text?* This resulted in the development of the schema in figure 2.

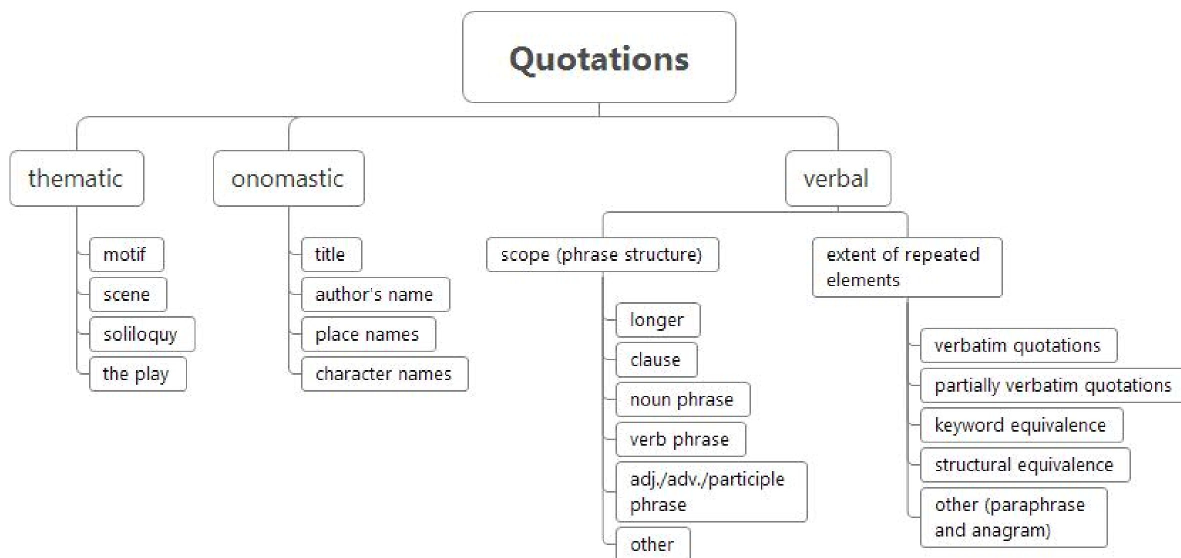

Figure 2: Typology of quotations

A differentiation between thematic and verbal quotations has, with varying terminology, already been proposed by Plett (1985), Holthuis (1994), Steyer (1997) and Tsur (1998), while Bruster (2000) added the category *name* (cf. chapter 3). After this basic differentiation according to *what is quoted*, the dialectical relationship between quoted and quoting element is taken into account in a second heuristic step: the scope of the quoted passage. The scope of a quotation is *framed* by the repeated passage in the quoting text, yet its ultimate definition must again be based on the original referent. A verbal quotation which mainly relies on formal similarity is captured by the formal criterion of syntactic phrase structure in the original text, while thematic quotations cover more overarching conceptual categories like motif and scene. Onomastic quotations primarily constitute metonymic relations and thus seem to be hybrids of verbal and thematic references. Their precise short form stands for thematic similarities with the fates and personal traits of the fictional characters.

Thematic and onomastic references tend to be contingent on the nature of the quoted text. While *motif*, *scene* and *play* may be analogised to, for instance, *argument*, *chapter* and *work*, Hamlet's soliloquy in (III, i) is a very specific thematic reference that has almost no equivalent in other source texts. The cultural presence and the fame of the entire play and

particularly of the great soliloquy *To be, or not to be* show that specificities of the model text and its history may affect the practice of quoting and lead to some exceptional behaviour. Despite such exceptions of taking the practice of quoting into account in addition to the quoted text, it is the fame of the model text, not of the quoted instance itself, which requires adaptations. The basis of categorisation thus still relies on the model text.

As for onomastic references, a principal categorisation according to title, author's name, place names and characters appears reasonable. However, the specificity of the concrete source text may give these main aspects of onomastic quoting different weights. In *Hamlet*, it is mainly character names that are used for onomastic references, which means they lend themselves to a further differentiation between mere name markers on the one hand and onomastic quotations that also refer to the text-world on the other. Such a distinction is likely to be superfluous in non-fictional source texts in particular. However, in the case of *Hamlet* and in view of the quantity of name-marked instances, the differentiation is useful for keeping the category of onomastic quotations informative.

The classification of verbal quotations is better-suited for generalisation to other texts, as it is based on a linguistic form which holds for all text types. Because they can be described in structural linguistic terms, verbal quotations can potentially become elements of a language themselves (cf. also chapters 7-9). Thematic quotations, on the other hand, which stress conceptual similarities, are rather apt to become part of a culture and may form *topoi* or cultural stereotypes for concepts such as revenge and melancholia. The metonymic character of onomastic quotations creates both. A name can occasionally become part of the language by taking on a regular figurative meaning, but more typically it expresses an attributed idea from the name's original context – see also example (19) above, where "the death of a dozen Ophelias" generalises Ophelia as an emblem of a tragic young woman.[56]

Only once the main feature and the scope of the quoted element have been defined can work begin on describing the actual quotation in its new context. Thematic quotations relating to motifs and scenes can be condensed and summarised, paraphrased and extended. The various onomastic references, however, are more restricted; only occasionally are characters not directly mentioned by their name but by epithet or in a generic form. The range of verbal quotations includes perfect, partial, structural and keyword equivalence as well as paraphrases of clauses, noun phrases, verbal phrases and other syntactic categories. The data from HYHA revealed a predominance of clausal and nominal quotations. Their greater semantic and syntactic independence compared to other syntactic structures aids their transposition from one context to another. Moreover, according to Compagnon (1979), quotations are "mini-texts" which can survive by themselves after being isolated from their surrounding text, even though they are possibly waiting to be "transplanted" to new surroundings (cf. Compagnon 1979). The conception of a quotation as a mini-text links quotations to the phraseological classes of proverbs, slogans and clichés, which are often considered to be mini-texts, easy to separate and highly transferrable (cf. Mueller 1965: 45, Honeck 1997: 28, Burger 2003: 101 ff., Fix 2007: 460). Hence, the predominance of clause-length quotations in particular may not be coincidental, but rather a corollary of a

[56] cf. also Lennon (2004: 1-2): The Dickensian character name *Scrooge* has adopted the general figurative meaning of a miser, as in *I know he thinks I'm a bit of a Scrooge.*

functional similarity between the many quotations and proverbs, as already mentioned in chapter 5 and as assumed by Burger (2003 [1998]: 108).[57]

This chapter focused on the role of textual knowledge in recognising, evaluating, describing and categorising quotations. Knowledge of the source text is a necessary condition for recognising quotations based on similarities if other clues are either not present or not explicit enough. Recognition may, however, also be weak in cases of only subtle similarities or if the assumed quoted elements are also frequently used in contexts other than the source text that one has in mind. Accordingly, to evaluate these potential quotations, one must access other knowledge – of, for instance, genre conventions, historical developments and authors' preferences. Also, quantity is an implicit guide for evaluating quotations. The evaluation of quotations principally rests on the assumption of authorial intention and on the study of etymologies clarified by scholarly expertise, that is, by ascribable communicated *reference* or steady *repetition* over time.

The following chapters will further explore the dimension of steady repetition over time, in particular the steady repetition of verbal quotations. Chapter 7 will examine the special relationship between phraseology and quotations. Chapters 8 and 9 are dedicated to the synchronic and diachronic description of quotations that have succeeded in becoming like their phraseological cousins.

[57] Due to space constraints, this very interesting issue cannot be explored in more detail here.

7 Verbal quotations and phraseology

This chapter looks at the relationship between the linguistic "cousins" verbal quotations and ordinary "anonymous" phrasemes in order to better understand the paradox of inadvertent quotations. The chapter thus limits its scope to the classic "passage from a book" (cf. OED), thereby shifting the focus away from the broader concept followed so far, which included thematic and onomastic quotations. At the same time, the chapter extends the discussion to quotation's phraseological "relatives" and seeks to explore in more detail the specific connection between verbal quotations and ordinary phrasemes which has so often been postulated. Sabban (1998), for instance, states that "verbal schemas" – her umbrella term for polylexical units[1] – comprise phrasemes as well as "proverbs and truisms, well-known literary quotations, expressions by famous personalities, titles of films, books and TV series, lines from songs, current ad slogans and many more" (cf. Sabban 1998: 13).[2] Moon (1998) categorises quotations as a subtype of formulae:

> The subtype **sayings** includes formulae such as quotations (typically unattributed and sometimes unattributable), catchphrases, and truisms. (Moon 1998: 22, original emphasis)

Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982), meanwhile, observe that "winged words are structurally not distinctive from phraseologisms" (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 44). Furthermore, such well-known quotations are "a class of phraseologisms with an oscillating character: They cannot be clearly delineated from occasional quotations on the one hand and phraseologisms of other kinds on the other hand" (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56).[3] In addition, diachronic links between quotations and phrasemes have been noticed:

> Some of these products [of culture] are linguistic in nature and may constitute truly linguistic "monuments" (the works of Shakespeare, the Koran, the Bible). They provide a stock of textual material that speakers can draw on in allusions and quotations, thereby signalling their cultural identity. Some instances may become fixed in sayings, proverbs and other kinds of phraseological units. (Sabban 2008b: 591)[4]

At least two of the collected aspects above are noteworthy. First, Moon speaks of "unattributed and sometimes unattributable quotations" (Moon 1998: 22), which expresses the paradox that quotations apparently do not always have a knowable source although the latter is a major defining feature. Second, Sabban (2008b: 591) sees canonical works as a source of "fixed sayings, proverbs and other kinds of phraseological units". In other words, quotations may apparently lose their mentioning aspect altogether and thus turn into ordinarily *used* phrasemes.

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[1] Sabban's (1998) term is not to be confused with conceptual *schemas* in the sense of *scripts* or *frames* in cognitive linguistics as described, amongst others, in Clark (1996), Croft/Cruse (2004), Langlotz (2006).

[2] Original text: "Eine Fülle von Erscheinungen lässt sich unter diesem Begriff [sprachlicher Schematismus] subsumieren: phraseologische Einheiten in ihrer ganzen Vielfalt, Sprachwörter und Gemeinplätze, aber auch zum Allgemeingut gewordene literarische Zitate, Aussprüche von bekannten Persönlichkeiten, Film- und Buchtitel, Namen von Fernsehserien, Liedzeilen, aktuelle Werbeslogans und anderes mehr" (Sabban 1998: 13)

[3] Original text: "…, dass Geflügelte Worte, strukturell gesehen, sich eben nicht von sonstigen Phraseologismen abheben." (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 44)
"Unsere Überlegungen zur Produktion und Rezeption von Geflügelten Worten haben gezeigt, dass diese Klasse von Phraseologismen einen oszillierenden Charakter hat: Sie sind nicht eindeutig abzugrenzen von Zitaten auf der einen Seite, Phraseologismen sonstiger Art auf der anderen." (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56).

[4] cf. Sabban (1998: 15): "entfällt der Bezug auf eine bestimmte Quelle, kann ein Geflügeltes Wort zum Sprichwort oder Phrasem werden."

Despite such recurrent postulations about quotations and their relatedness to ordinary phrasemes, phraseologists have hardly ever explicitly studied quotations or the diachronic development from quotation to anonymous phraseme. Sabban (1998) mentions a possible reason for this lack of attention: She justifies the exclusion of quotations from her own study by linguistic *heterogeneity*.[5] Quotations are, however, not unique with regard to heterogeneity. The rich, overlapping terminology in phraseology suggests a general struggle with the complexity of multi-word items and is therefore challenging to quotation studies and phraseological research alike. Colson (2014: 1), for instance, observes that "in spite of the abundant literature on phraseology, the very definition of what is actually a set phrase, for instance, is still a most controversial topic".[6] Different scholars classify different types of phrasemes differently, which means that a classification of the complex phenomenon is more a matter of approach than of clear-cut ontological properties. In fact, as Colson (2014: 1) continues, "set phrases" form "a continuum".[7]

Almost a decade later, Sabban (2008a: 240) suggests that categorising quotations according to their source is a promising way of tackling heterogeneity.[8] Restricting quotations exclusively to those from *Hamlet* echoes that proposal – though independently – as does the typology of thematic, onomastic and verbal quotations on the basis of the source text. The focus on the source text complements traditional intertextuality studies, in which scholars set restrictions on the quoting text via genre rather than the quoted text. The few available linguistic studies on intertextuality generally focus on newspapers and advertisements (cf. Hemmi 1994, Steyer 1997, Rößler 1997, Tuormala 2000 and Lennon 2004). Also, many literary studies restrict the new contexts by studying quotations in specific literary styles, such as in the *Nieuwe Zakelijkheid* (Grüttemeier 2000) and in postmodern literature (Krajenbrink 2000), or in the works of specific authors like D.H. Lawrence (Jansohn 1990), T.S. Eliot (Hillgärtner 2000) and D. L. Sayers (Grieder 2013). These studies tend to focus on the textual functions of quotations within the new context, while the present account traces quotations in a variety of contexts in more general linguistic terms. The potential identification of preferred quoting genres is then a result rather than a starting point. Quotations from *Hamlet* in contexts other than drama and literary criticism do not only mark Shakespeare's cultural impact, but also indicate a possibly weakened connection to the original, which, in turn, marks a step towards the "source-less" *use* of a verbal quotation.

In addition to set phrases, quotations also form a continuum which Burger/Buhofer/ Sialm (1982: 56) fittingly describe as "the oscillating character" of quotations. The umbrella

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[5] Original text: "Die vorliegende Untersuchung beschränkt sich jedoch auf Phraseme und Sprichwörter. Der Grund dafür liegt zum einen darin, dass diese Gruppen mit linguistischen Kriterien abgrenzbar sind, wohingegen Geflügelte Worte heterogen und als Gesamtheit linguistisch nicht bestimmbar sind" (Sabban 1998: 15).

[6] cf., among others, Moon (1998: 5 ff) on terminological issues, and Gries' criticism (2008: 4) of terminological inconsistencies by specific authors.

[7] As already mentioned and in view of the above-mentioned "continuum" of set phrases and the resulting classificatory uncertainty in phraseology, various terms denoting multi-lexical units will be used synonymously here, without alluding to the specific perspective that the scholar who introduced them envisaged. *Formulaic expression, multi-word unit/item*, *phraseme*, *phraseologism*, *phraseological unit/item*, *polylexical unit/item*, *set phrase* and *schema* all denote recurrent polylexical semantic units. When referring to specific scholars, their terminology may additionally be used. *Collocation* denotes general co-occurrence phenomena of usually ordinary, little-idiomatic sequences, while *cliché*, *proverb*, *saying* and *common place* maintain their meaning in ordinary language (cf. also Mel'cuk 1998, Burger 2003 [1998], Lennon 2004, and footnote 5 in chapter 1).

[8] Original text: "Bei der Kategorie 'geflügelte Worte' erweist sich eine feinere Unterteilung nach dem Herkunftsbereich der Zitate als aufschlussreich" (Sabban 2007a: 240).

term quotation emphasizes the overarching dialectic interplay of the dimensions *reference* and *repetition*, and *mention* and *use*, which depends on the ever-changing new co(n)texts and communicative purposes. *Reference* highlights the role of the source text, and *repetition* emphasises the replicated elements of the quotation in their new co(n)texts. As discussed in chapter 3, the dimensions *reference* and *repetition* derive from a long tradition of studying quotations, especially by Mother Literature. As quotations from a canonical poetic text are centre stage in this thesis, the literary perspective has proved to be especially beneficial. *Reference* and *repetition* help distinguish marked from unmarked, and verbal from thematic and onomastic quotations. As a result, they bring some orientation into the "oscillating" heterogeneity of quotations. Chapter 3 also explained that, according to the teaching of Grandma Philosophy, *mention* highlights the metalinguistic aspect, which may overlap with *reference*. This effect can best be seen in the *inquit formula*, in which the source indication and metalinguistic information merge. Conversely, *use* is qualitatively different from *repetition*. *Use* denotes the degree of semantic activity of the repeated elements in their new co(n)texts. In other words, *repetition* relates to formal or conceptual objects, and *use* affects the opacity or transparency of their meaning in their respective new contexts. In what follows, it will be argued that the transparency of meaning is crucial to quotation's ability to mix with its phraseological cousins. The question of transparency of meaning leads to another ordering principle for quotations, namely, the distinction between primarily *allusive* and primarily *phraseological quotations*.

Last but not least, Aunt Linguistics addresses a further "oscillating" dimension which corresponds to Burger/Buhofer/Sialms (1982: 56) original claim: *Winged words* oscillate between occasional quotations and conventional phrasemes. Hence, the cline between *single use* and *convention* needs to be addressed. It will be argued that, on the basis of frequency and pattern formation, quotations used phraseologically can principally be further distinguished from *dequotational phrasemes*. Dequotational phrasemes are most likely to produce the paradox of inadvertent quoting, as only a *sujet connaissant* will know their source. Such knowledge, however, no longer adds additional clarifying implicatures, as example (1) from a textbook on linguistics illustrates:

(1) In the metaphor man is a wolf, wolf substitutes for something like "a predatory creature, stealthy and vicious, with fierce loyalties to the pack (read family, group, country, gang, etc.), etc. ..." The *etc.* here is the rub, as is the open-ended nature of the literal paraphrase of the ground (Glucksberg, Sam (2000): Understanding Figurative Language: From Metaphors to Idioms; source HYHA)[9]

The knowledge that the expression *(t)here is the rub* derives from Hamlet's exclamation *There's the rub!* in his great soliloquy (III, i) makes the full-knowing reader at most wonder whether or not the author, Sam Glucksberg, also knows that those words occur in *Hamlet*. However, regardless of the answer to this incidental question, the communicated proposition that "the *etc.*" poses a problem is not affected. To use the family metaphor again, the further subdivision of verbal quotations can be said to be the product of good cooperation between the close relatives Literature, Philosophy and Linguistics. *Allusive quotations*, which are strongly referential and require the evocation of the source text, are Literature's favourite. *Phraseological quotations*, which may mention the referent but are also primarily *used* (e.g. the typical academic quotation) are Philosophy's darling. And

[9] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub; (cf., chapter 4, footnote 46, p. 82).

dequotational phrasemes are Linguistic's pet; they are recurrent, show signs of pattern formation and thus behave like her own phraseological offspring.

To explore this similar behaviour between verbal quotations and ordinary phrasemes, this chapter will first address some relevant issues in the study of phraseology, and will describe the characteristics of phrasemes to outline the field. Section 7.3 will then discuss the common and distinct features of lexical quotations and ordinary phrasemes, and will indicate the location of potential transition points.

7.1 Issues in phraseology

As Colson (2014) observed above, the literature on polylexical items is vast. It ranges from synchronic, diachronic, diatopic, diaphasic and sometimes even diastratic investigations and lexicographical descriptions. It also covers functional studies on and general accounts of theory formation, explorations of cultural implications, and cognitive and psycholinguistic interpretations. Furthermore, two schools of phraseology can be differentiated. In Continental Europe, the study of phrasemes and proverbs has a long tradition. The form and function of phrasemes, including proverbs, idioms, collocations and routine formulas, their conditions of use, structural realisations, historical sources, lexicographical treatment and psycholinguistic reality, and their cultural value, including cross-cultural implications, have all been widely investigated (cf. Palm 1995: 104 ff., Burger 2003 [1998]: 170 ff., Häcki Buhofer 2008: 836 f.). In contrast, linguists from the English-speaking world have only fairly recently discovered phraseology in the wake of the cognitive turn and metaphor research (Lakoff/Johnson 2003 [1980]), and through corpus-linguistic studies (esp. Sinclair 1987, Stubbs 1996, Cowie 1998 and Moon 1998). Lakoff/Johnson (2003 [1980]), for instance, found that metaphor is not merely a rhetorical trope for embellishing one's speech, but that it is also fundamental to human cognition. Other linguists followed with regard to further rhetorical devices, among them Panther/Radden (1999), who studied metonymy.[10] Hence, issues of mental representation of multi-word structures were put on the research agenda.

Corpus linguistics, in turn, raised awareness for the ubiquity of multi-lexical units, be they n-grams or prefabs (prefabricated items). N-grams and prefabs are two categories which are predominantly defined by statistics and the probability of lexical co-occurrences within a specified span of words. N-grams are recurrent contiguous verbal sequences of *n* items, i.e. of two, three, four, or (usually up to) five words including semantically incomplete sequences like the 3-grams "and for all" (2,190 tokens in COCA) and "and to the" (6,888 tokens in COCA). N-grams are frequent combinations of mainly function words and are supposed to help speed up production and processing on a subconscious level. Prefabs, on the other hand, form semantic units but are not necessarily contiguous sequences. Prefabs include idioms and sayings, but also grammatical verb-preposition constructions like the as-predicate in *to regard X as Y* and in *to see X as Y*. (cf. Gries 2008: 19).[11] These corpus-linguistic findings suggest that language

[10] Dietz (1999), who demonstrates the wide use of rhetorical tropes and figures in ordinary phraseology, can be situated well in such a cognitively oriented explanatory framework.

[11] Scholars in the European tradition also referred to probabilities of co-occurrence as an indicator of stability/ fixedness. Sabban mentions, for instance, an article by Mel'cuk from 1960 (cf. Sabban 1998: 29). However, the main impact of such a technical approach to phraseology derives from Anglo-American corpus linguistics, and was quickly taken up in Europe.

is not used as creatively as grammar would allow and that speech is primarily characterised by the combination of larger chunks of language rather than by the combination of single words within the limits of a generative grammar (cf. esp. Bakhtin 1986 [1953], Sinclair 1987, Kuiper 2000 and 2009, Wray 2002 and 2008).

Thus, the long empirical tradition in Europe and the Anglo-American approaches in corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics contributed to replacing the long-dominant generative paradigm of language by a more usage-based approach. Sinclair (1987) coined the term *the idiom principle* to capture the prefabricated aspect of language, which he distinguishes from the *free-choice principle* that denotes the free combination of single lexemes according to the rules of grammar. While the idiom principle is considered basic – the majority of communication rests on larger linguistic units of varying specificity[12] – the free-choice principle primarily applies to expressing novel thoughts and remains the *sine qua non* of language's adaptability and dynamicity (cf. Wray 2002 and 2008). The fictional genres make particular use of the free-choice principle.[13] Phraseology thus ties in with usage-based models of language, and polylexical sequences have become a major issue in linguistic theory.

The following description uses a variety of definitions to distil phrasemes down to their principal dimensions, and then relates phrasemes and quotations in terms of polylexicality, conventionality and idiomaticity. In particular, the specific idiomaticity of quotations that derives from their referential dimension contrasts with phrasemes. However, as in phraseology, idiomaticity is not obligatory, which means this distinction can be muted.

7.2 Definitions of phrasemes

Definitions delineate the properties of an object. If the object is complex, several definitions will capture a variety of properties and possibly weight them in different ways. The overlapping aspects of definitions may then be interpreted as the main dimensions of the phenomenon in a broad sense. According to Langlotz (2006), the definitions of phrasemes revolve around the three dimensions of form, meaning and grammatical status. *Form* captures the complexity and stability of the phraseological unit. *Meaning* captures the degree of semantic transparency or obscurity (compositional vs. non-compositional meaning). And *grammatical status* refers to matters of conventionalisation and familiarity. Other definitions add specifications regarding discourse functions and specific conditions of use.

For instance, Gläser (1998) proposes the following definition:

> A 'phraseological' unit is a lexicalized, reproducible bilexemic or polylexemic word group in common use, which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomatized, may carry connotations, and may have an emphatic or intensifying function in a text. (Gläser 1998: 125).

Gläser (1998) explicitly adds the textual functions *emphasis* and *intensification*, and concludes her article with the insight that "[t]he stylistic potential of the phrasicon is unchallengeable" (Gläser 1998: 143). Gläser (1998) thus draws attention to the communicative purpose-

[12] After all, a cognitive approach no longer draws a sharp distinction between grammar and the lexicon. Recurrent grammatical structures then become highly abstract prefabricated units (cf., among others, Langacker 1987, Goldberg 1995, Croft/Cruse 2004).

[13] In this light, cognitive and corpus-linguistic methodology thus corroborates Coseriu's position that literary language does not represent some particular use of language with a particular purpose, and that the conspicuousness of literary language derives from its exploiting the full potential of the free-choice principle in language. (cf. Coseriu 1971: 184, Coseriu 1994: 148).

fulness of phrasemes even though functional aspects will never be exhaustively covered. The "lexicalized, reproducible bilexemic or polylexemic word group in common use" in her definition spells out the features of both grammatical status (conventionalised unit) and form (complex unit). Gläser thus highlights the strong connection between grammar and form. The following clause "which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomatized, may carry connotations" refers to restricted variability and aspects of meaning. Gläser thus differentiates specific connotations from idiomatic meaning. Gläser (1998) defines idiomatic meaning by "cannot be derived from the meanings of its constituents" (Gläser 1998: 125).

Sabban (1998) phrases her definition of phraseological units differently again: "Verbal schemas are prefabricated complex expressions" which are "either fully fixed or may vary within narrow bounds" and are "generally known by the language users" (cf. 1998: 13).[14] *Prefabrication* emphasizes the psycholinguistic aspect of grammar, namely, that the phrase is stored, processed and produced as a unit and not assembled *ad hoc* (cf. Häcki Buhofer 2008). For the concept of *restricted variability,* Sabban (1998) uses the term *fixedness.*[15] Fixedness denotes a more or less predetermined material *gestalt* so that even missing components of a fixed expression can be predicted with a high degree of probability (cf. Sabban 1998: 29). Moreover, Sabban (1998) identifies different forms of verbal schemas. First, there are *phraseological units* in the narrow sense, which belong to the lexicon. Second, there are *proverbs*, which are described in functional terms as linguistically fixed forms conveying norms of behaviour and patterns of evaluations for daily life. Third, there are lyrics and literary quotations, which are fixed linguistic forms of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage (cf. Sabban 1998: 13). She thus draws attention to the heterogeneity of phraseologisms that exist in a space between culture and grammar.

Burger (2003 [1998]) also uses the term *fixedness* to capture, among other things, restricted variability. In his model, fixedness and polylexicality are the two main dimensions of "phrasemes in the broad sense", while the semantic aspect of idiomaticity is a third, distinctive feature of "phrasemes in the narrow sense" (cf. Burger 2003 [1998]: 14 f.). In contrast to the accounts mentioned above, Burger groups conventionality and general familiarity under *fixedness*, and also distinguishes between psycholinguistic fixedness and structural fixedness. Psycholinguistic fixedness refers to mental representation as a "stored, accessed and produced whole" (cf. Burger 2003 [1998]: 17), while structural fixedness refers to the formal aspects of phraseological units. In other words, phrasemes are considered to be form-meaning pairs, and both the conceptual and the formal level deserve the researcher's attention.[16]

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[14] Original text: "[…] es sind sprachlich vorgeformte, komplexe Ausdrücke, ihr Wortlaut ist entweder vollständig festgelegt oder variiert nur innerhalb eng gezogener Grenzen. Gemeinsam ist den Ausdrücken darüber hinaus, dass sie einen mehr oder weniger hohen Bekanntheitsgrad haben - sei es, weil sie zum Sprachschatz im engeren Sinne gehören (phraseologische Einheiten), weil sie in sprachlich fixierter Form Verhaltensnormen und Bewertungsmuster für die alltägliche Lebenspraxis tradieren (Sprichwörter), weil sie zum überlieferten Wissen, zum kulturellen Erbe einer Gemeinschaft gehören (Liedzeilen, literarische Zitate usw.) oder weil sie aktuell in Umlauf sind, und damit zumindest vorübergehend Teil des Allgemeinguts von sprachlich Vorgeformtem werden, das man als aufmerksamer Zeitgenosse kennt und auf das man in der eigenen Rede rekurrieren kann." (Sabban 1998: 13).

[15] Langlotz's differentiation between *frozenness* and *fixedness* is not of interest here. Langlotz (2006) distinguishes *frozeness* "as a generic term to capture lexicogrammatical restrictions" (Langlotz 2006: 3) from *fixedness*, which refers only to "any syntactic and morpho-syntactic restrictions and restricted collocability to capture paradigmatic constraints on the selection of lexical items" (Langlotz 2006: 4).

[16] The dialectic relationship between conventionalisation and fixedness is also evident in the alternative hierarchical approach of Burger (2003 [1998]) compared to Langlotz (2006), who assigns equal value to every aspect. Dialectic

Wray (2002 and 2008) explicitly stresses the psycholinguistic aspect in her definition of formulas as a "stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar" (Wray 2002: 9; Wray 2008: 94). Kuiper (2000: 292) includes psycholinguistic aspects, but foregrounds form. Kuiper's formula is "phrasal in character rather than being just a single word: that is, it has syntactic structure. It is held in long-term memory by a speaker or a community of speakers." The grammatical status is seen as an expression of psycholinguistic ("long-term memory") and social phenomena ("community of speakers"). The formal aspect ("has syntactic structure") is highlighted, while meaningfulness is merely implied. Similarly, Gries (2008) stresses the formal aspects including statistical probabilities:

> In sum, a phraseologism is defined as the co-occurrence of a form or a lemma of a lexical item and one or more additional linguistic elements of various kinds which functions as one semantic unit in a clause or sentence and whose frequency of co-occurrence is larger than expected on the basis of chance. Gries (2008: 6)

Some definitions include the often-observed idiosyncrasy of verbal combinations which override standard grammatical rules, and the impossibility of literal translations into different languages. Others restrict phrasemes to fixed meaningful units below the sentence level, or define phrasemes by their syntactic function as large single words (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 61 f.). The single-word aspect is reminiscent of Quine's "anomalous feature" (Quine 1981 [1940]: 26), namely, that quotations behave syntactically like singular terms.

According to the definitions above, phrasemes can mainly be described along the dimensions of form and function, commonness and uniqueness, culture and grammar, and physical and psychological reality. According to the clue-based approach adopted for this thesis, Langlotz's (2006) dimensions of grammatical status (conventionalisation and familiarity), form (compositeness, frozenness) and meaning (non-compositionality) will be further pursued. The following section will compare these properties with the observed behaviour of verbal quotations in order to examine in more detail the extent to which verbal quotation and phrasemes relate to each other.

7.3 Similarities and differences between quotations and phrasemes

Langlotz's (2006) differentiation between grammatical status, form and meaning will serve as the ordering framework in this section. Where appropriate, models by other scholars will complement the discussion.

Langlotz's (2006) schema is not to be taken as a strict model. He himself says that "institutionalisation, frozenness and non-compositionality are clines" (Langlotz 2006: 5). The formal characteristic of relatively *frozen polylexicality* is observable in conventional phrasemes and verbal quotations alike, which presumably led to the recurrent view of quotations as a sort of phraseological unit. The observations on variability and fixedness can easily be translated from one verbal phenomenon to the other. However, the origins of frozen polylexicality are different. Quotations are, as it were, *born* as fixed polylexical units, while phrasemes are the product of a longer development in the history of a

relationships are open to several ordering principles if their dynamicity needs to be neglected for heuristic and/or demonstrative reasons.

language (as are dequotational phrasemes, as chapters 8 and 9 will show). While the surface suggests a trivial similarity between quotation and phrasemes, history reveals fundamental differences between the two.

As for *meaning*, the meaning of phrasemes in Burger's (2003 [1998]) narrow sense often cannot be retrieved from the meaning of their constitutive lexemes. The same applies to many quotations. In a trivial sense, quotations may contain idioms and metaphorical language. This aspect is of little interest in this account. Rather, on a more abstract, secondary level, *referential* quotations adopt a special type of idiomaticity through their mentioning potential. On the one hand, concepts of the source text may have to be taken into account to understand the proposition implied in the quotation (cf. the example of the "awful lady in a black velvet dress" who looks "like a near relation of Hamlet's" in chapter 6, example 17). On the other hand, clues that point to an *intended act* of quoting (e.g. explicit marking and conspicuous lexical choices) trigger meaningful associations that are relevant in the context of quoting (e.g. calling for an authoritative voice in an argument or showing one's erudition). Neither type of implied meaning (from the context of the quoted text or the act of quoting) can be derived from the meanings of the quoted words, so idiomaticity can be diagnosed (cf. Klockow 1980). However, this type of idiomaticity operates on a secondary pragmatic level rather than on a primary semantic level. It will be argued below that negligible or absent pragmatic idiomaticity is a symptom of the phraseological use of quotations, as it implies a strong shift towards the semantics of the quoted words, that is, they are *used*. The implied independence from the source text abolishes the mentioning aspect of quotations, and the quotation becomes a "source-less" multi-lexical unit and thus similar to a phraseme.

The grammatical statuses of *conventionalisation* and *familiarity* are fundamental in defining the distinctive feature of phrasemes, while the non-linguistic *source attributability* distinguishes quotations from phrasemes. Nevertheless, overlap is possible, especially if the quotation derives from a source as culturally important as *Hamlet*. And indeed, the anecdotal theatre-goer who considers Shakespeare overrated because "*Hamlet* consists of nothing but quotations" (Kaplan 2005), and Levin's (1986) sketch *On quoting Shakespeare*, which features the iterating structure *if you say ... you are quoting Shakespeare,* both imply that many people are familiar with quotations from *Hamlet*. Sabban (2008b: 591), above, expressively claims that the major canonical works of a culture "provide a stock of textual material" for the speakers of a language. Accordingly, if people are familiar with specific quotations and use them repeatedly, conventionalisation is no longer a distinctive feature of phrasemes. Similarly, an attributable source is no longer a distinctive feature of quotations if the referential aspect becomes irrelevant. On the other hand, Lennon (2004) shows that overlap can also occur from the other side. People do not only allude to literary texts, but also to proverbs, sayings and set phrases (cf. chapter 3). After all, quoting is "a purely pragmatic affair" (Saka 1998: 128) and thus depends on the communicative purpose rather than on the ontology of the quoted material. Conventionalisation is typically accompanied by specific tell-tale signs, such as a certain frequency and pattern formation. These signs are interpreted as clues for conventionalisation. Accordingly, if quotations in use show the tell-tale signs, they can be considered conventionalised and may form a third class of verbal quotations: *dequotational phrasemes*.

In other words, from a usage perspective, quotations become phrasemes if they are used like phrasemes. The pragmatics of quotations and the quantitative feature of recurrence ultimately decide on the degree of similarity or difference to quotation's phraseological cousins. The establishment of a stable ontological difference or likeness between phrasemes and quotations is not meaningful from this perspective. Ultimately, it is the pragmatics of quotations that decides whether a verbal sequence is used referentially in one instance, purely for its semantics in another, or both at the same time in mixed quotations. On the other hand, an ontological difference could always be based on a phrase's etymology. In view of the communicative effect, knowledge of etymologies is secondary, even unnecessary, unless explicitly evoked.

7.3.1 Form – Polylexicality and fixedness

Polylexicality

Polylexicality has already been mentioned as the fundamental shared property of phrasemes and quotations. Polylexicality means that at least two words form a semantic unit. The upper limit of polylexicality is less often defined, but numerous studies suggest that phrasemes are mostly sentence constituents such as noun phrases, verb phrases and adjective phrases.[17] Proverbs and sayings are typically clauses, while some patterned genres like obituaries or standard business letters are a kind of polylexical unit that exceeds the clause level (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 55). As shown in chapter 6, verbal quotations are predominantly clauses (such as proverbs), followed by noun phrases and verb phrases, and can also take on the shape of other phrase structures. Longer quotations are typically used in academic and legal texts, which means they depend on the genre norms of the quoting text, just as some genres consist of patterns of formulaic chains – such as weather forecasts, horse race commentaries and aerobic instructions (cf. Kuiper 2009). The formal equivalence between phrasemes and verbal quotations in terms of polylexicality is thus trivial, but it is the primary reason for their relatedness.

In the case of quotations, the genre of the original text may influence the length of quoted sequences. Quotations from academic texts may require more than a sentence to make the point clear. On the other hand, people also like to recite and re-enact longer bits of poetic beauty and dramatic excellence from famous texts such as *Hamlet*. Burger (2003 [1998]: 15) concedes that small texts, such as poems, can obtain a phraseme-like status if individuals know them by heart and if they are part of the linguistic reservoir of larger groups and possibly generations of people. In other words, if the condition of general familiarity is fulfilled, phraseological polylexicality has no upper limit and neither does quotation.

While the lower limit of two words might seem straightforward, some cases of (apparent) monolexicality exist. On the one hand, compounds like *coastline*, *bookshelf*, and *yesterday* are borderline cases in phraseology. Syntactically they form a single lexeme, but conceptually they comprise and/or derive from two ideas.[18] With regard to quotations,

[17] According to Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982: 21), Pilz (1978) tried to systematise phraseological units according to their syntactic function.

[18] Due to their apparent monolexicality, compounds are sometimes excluded from phraseological studies, e.g. in Moon (1998) and Sabban (1998). Depending on the specific compound and its function, their polylexical concept-tualisation may also be lost. If the modern referent is a single item or activity, such as *lighthouse*, *coastline* and *to broadcast*, these items are easily conceptualised as a simple object or activity, while the lexical surface allows analysis

single-term references, like *Truepenny* in example (2) and *mobled* in example (3), are occasionally attested:

(2) "Aha! and thou wouldst spice it for me, old Truepenny, wouldst thou not? (Scott, Sir Walter (1821): Kenilworth; source HYHA)[19]

(3) There rested a woman, close mantled in brown,
Mobled and muffled from sandal to crown,
Earthy-brown blood colour, – fronting the light. (Southesk, James Carnegie, Earl of (1877): The Meda Maiden and Other Poems; source HYHA)[20]

However, ontological monolexicality of phrasemes and quotations is, in fact, negligible. On the one hand, examples (2) and (3) are rare cases. On the other, and more importantly, it only seems to be a monolexical quotation. The quotation works because the single salient quoted lexeme (e.g. Truepenny in (2), which is a surprising form of address as it is not the name of the addressed person) evokes the original context that must then be mentally completed in order to derive the new meaning in context. Hence, the referential value of the *mentioned* quotation complements surface minimalism. The single word serves as a trigger for, or metonymic abbreviation of a larger representation. This "mental polylexicality" is the *sine qua non* of understanding allusions, be they allusions to literary texts or to ordinary phraseological items. As already mentioned, Lennon (2004: 90 ff.) demonstrates that literary works are not the only referents of allusions. Rather, things like proverbs, set phrases and formulaic texts are also alluded to and may become very cryptic.[21] This observation ties in with the hypothesis that the aspects of *mention* and *use* primarily account for observable dissimilarity between phrasemes and quotations (see section 7.3 below for a more detailed discussion). Polylexicality is the area in which there is the greatest overlap between verbal quotations and ordinary phrasemes, and thus forms the basis of their linguistic relatedness.

Fixedness

Fixedness is closely linked to the common property of polylexicality, as polylexicality can only be diagnosed if the constituents regularly co-occur, that is, if their cohesion is stronger than the cohesion between other ordinary single lexemes. The fixed form of quotations is defined by the phrasing in the original source, while a base form of a phraseme is an abstraction of attested occurrences. Actual occurrences may deviate diachronically, diatopically and diaphasically (cf. Burger/Linke 2000), and several variants may co-exist – not forgetting individual adaptations to the contexts of use which further blur the ideal picture of a single and reliable base form of a given phraseme. The origin of a phraseme lies in the dark, while a diachronic study of specific quotations is principally able to trace the developments from first appearance to recurrent usage.

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of the more complex concept which leads to the formation of the compound. Language learners, for instance, tend to analyse compounds as polylexical concepts to infer the meaning if they are not familiar with the term (cf. Wray 2008).

[19] cf. *Hamlet* (I, v): Ah, ha, boy! say'st thou so? art thou there, truepenny?

[20] cf. *Hamlet* (II, ii): First Player: But who, O, who had seen the mobled queen--
Hamlet: 'The mobled queen?'
Polonius: That's good; 'mobled queen' is good.

[21] In Lennon's study, 36 percent of the allusions to proverbs are reduced to single noun phrases (2004: 157), such as "new broom" for "the new broom sweeps clean", "New broom" is certainly not a single word, but one cannot rule out that a mono-lexical reduction is also principally possible in other cases. For instance, according to personal experience, the mention of "Glashaus" in a given context is sufficient to evoke the proverb "Wer im Glashaus sitzt, soll nicht mit Steinen werfen".

Fixedness is also closely linked to *variability*, just as variability is also linked to polylexicality. The shorter a quoted expression is (such as *primrose path*, *mind's eye* and phrasemes like *after all* and *thank you*), the less room there is for variation, and vice versa (cf. Burger/Linke 2000). The previous chapters extensively illustrated the variability of quotations that consist of more than two words, and the extensive literature on phraseology does the same for phraseological items. The dialectics between variance and fixedness, and modification and stability in phraseology are, in fact, a major issue.

Patterns of variation and modification

Variation in phraseology has been studied from various perspectives. On the one hand, systemic variation has been distinguished from occasional modification (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982). Systemic variation refers to co-existing conventionalised alternatives. These include, among many others:

- structural variants, as in *to watch with an eagle eye / watch with eagle eyes* (watch someone or something very closely), and in *the gift of gab / the gift of the gab* (ability to speak easily, confidently and persuasively)
- lexical variants, as in *to pour/throw cold water on something* (to criticise)
- antonymic variants, as in *to be in / out of the doldrums* (be in/out of [business] trouble),
- variants of perspective, as in *to give someone a rough time / to have a rough time* (to make one miserable or to have a miserable life)

Modifications, by contrast, result from *ad hoc* adaptations to context. However, as Moon (1998), Sabban (1998) and Langlotz (2006) suggest, modifications also follow typical patterns. Thus, variants and modifications are not always neatly distinguishable from each other (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 69) and some modifications can turn into new canonical forms (cf. Rodríguez Martín 2014).

The classic formal approach of describing variation goes back to ancient rhetoric. Addition, omission, substitution and permutation are the four main ways of modifying a complex expression (cf. Plett 1988; Dietz 1999 and Rodríguez Martín 2014, among others). In the literature, the labels may differ, such as *expansion* for addition (Fiedler 2007), *reduction, abbreviation* or *deletion* instead of omission (Fiedler 2007, Partington 1998 and Fernando 1996 respectively), and *replacement* instead of substitution (Fernando 1996). The implied concepts, however, remain largely the same (cf. Rodríguez Martín 2014: 5). Durco (2003: 83 f.) groups the processes differently into quantitative (omission, addition), alternating (substitution) and structural variation (word order), though the traditional categorisation remains recognisable. Partington (1998) extends the concept of permutation slightly by *rephrasing*, and Burger (2003 [1998]) adds grammatical features like pluralisation and/or changes of valency. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) differentiate less abstractly between, for instance, additions of adjectives and additions of genitive attributes, and between lexical substitutions and grammatical adaptation to context. They also take some types of conceptual alternation into account, such as synonymic and antonymic variation.

Quotations also follow these modifying patterns, as the data in HYHA demonstrate. Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) differentiate lexical substitutions, additions and omissions from grammatical adaptations, which are of minor semantic importance:

(4) There is internal evidence in the story that the story teller like a certain lady of dramatic celebrity, "doth protest too much." (Anon. (1882): Correspondence, etc. Respecting Native Affairs in New

Zealand and the Imprisonment of Certain Maories; source HYHA)[22]

(5) Methinks the Lady – (Endore, Samuel Guy (1947): Methinks the Lady - ; source HYHA).

(6) Diversity protests too much, methinks (Larkin, Philip (1939): Turning from obscene verses to the stars; source HYHA)

(7) Terry bowed to her judgement, though nothing could dislodge his impression that the lady had protested too much. (Francis, Clare (1999): Keep Me Close; source HYHA)

The underlined passages in example (4) illustrate lexical addition. Example (5) is a case of lexical omission, as only the beginning of the phrase is quoted. Example (6) illustrates lexical substitution, as the original *lady* is replaced by *diversity*. In contrast, example (7) merely adapts the quotation in terms of aspect and tense. Permutations also occur. These might involve changed word order, such as the fronting of *methinks* in (8):

(8) It's just, you sound like one of my mates from school, that's all." "Well, methinks the lady doth protest too much." (Nicholls, David (2004): Starter for Ten, source HYHA)

Or they might involve paraphrase, as in (9):

(9) Methink you screweth up big time, mylady. (Lotterstein, Rob, Andy Cadiff and Matthew Salsberg (2006): Drive Me Crazy; source HYHA)

It is also possible to modify the syntactical phrase structure. In example (10), the original clause *The lady protests too much, methinks* is turned into a noun phrase with a post-modifying participle phrase:

(10) O'Connor's categorical rejection of lesbianism as "unclean" may suggest, to modern readers, a woman protesting too much. (Churchwell, Sarah (2009). Grace, Like a Bullet in the Side; source HYHA)

Obviously, several patterns of variation may co-occur. For instance, example (5) includes a change of word order (the fronting of *methinks*) in addition to the omission of *protests too much*. Example (8) features the addition of *doth* in addition to the fronting of *methinks*. And example (10) swaps the subject *lady* for the synonymous *woman*, and turns the definite article into the indefinite article. A paraphrase results from several co-occurring substitutions, additions, omissions and/or permutations – as is the case in example (9), where the verb and the adverb have been substituted, the third-person statements have been turned into an address, and the inflection of the fronted *methinks* has been omitted. Hence, the systematic patterns of structural modification as observed in phrasemes also apply to quotations as a corollary of their multi-lexicality and the complexity of the larger form-meaning pair.

In contrast to such structural patterns, Sabban (1998) and Langlotz (2006), among others, also describe variational patterns with respect to conceptual aspects. Sabban's (1998) main principles of variation are based on extensions and adaptations of imagery, principles of substitutions and contrasting strategies, and structural and phonological patterns. Similarly, though differently weighted, Langlotz (2006) also analyses the following as "variation strategies" (Langlotz 2006: 205) in addition to *constructional adaptations*:

- literal-scene manipulation
- topic indication
- topic-related literal-scene manipulation
- ambiguation.

[22] *Hamlet* (III, ii): The lady protests too much, methinks.

Constructional adaptations comprise grammatical adaptations such as article and number variation, passivisation, fronting, and similar inflectional and syntactic changes (cf. Langlotz 2006: 206). *Literal-scene manipulation* covers extensions to, or modifications of the phraseological image. *Topic indication* links the phraseological image to the discourse topic at hand. Langlotz (2006: 209 f.) gives the examples of to *walk a narrow tightrope* as literal-scene manipulation and *to walk a financial tightrope* as topic indication. While the first instance emphasises a particular quality of "the tightrope", the second points to the referent of the "tightrope", that is, "financial" specifies where the "difficulty" lies. The two variation strategies can also be combined. This forms Langlotz's (2006) third strategy, namely, *topic-related literal-scene manipulation*. The fourth strategy, *ambiguation*, refers to puns and a parallel play on the literal and figurative meaning of an idiom (cf. Langlotz 2006: 214 f.).

These conceptual variation patterns for idioms also occur in quotations. The extension of *lady* as "of dramatic celebrity" in example (4) above is an instance of literal-scene manipulation, while in example (6), the substitution of *lady* by *diversity* is a topic-related modification. The schematic variants of *to the NOUN born* from chapter 5 are predominantly topic-related, as they direct the attention towards the discourse topic, while the variant *to the manor born* also relies on punning. Many of the modified instances of *Frailty, thy name is woman* given in chapter 5 define a property of people more closely, that is, this line tends to prefer literal-scene manipulations by qualifying the image (or the cliché in this case). However, if the context addresses gender issues, the variants combine literal-scene manipulation with topic indication. Ambiguation and Sabban's (1998) antonymic and contrasting strategies are also observable in quotations, as examples (11) and (12) show:

(11) The other morning at the female Hortons (their hopeful brother being gone to Sir Fletcher Beaumont's, who to reverse the words of Hamlet, is a little less than *kin*, and more than *kind*) and myself were taking a stroll, I was thus accosted by a poor little bare-footed boy [...].(Holford, Margaret (1785): Fanny: a novel in a series of letters; source HYHA; italics original)[23]

(12) Barry's shirt under a thin zipper jacket was open almost to the waist, revealing a fleshy roll which, in women, he'd heard called a "muffin top". Like Hamlet he had been "too much in the sun" and, from bridge to tip, his nose was burnt red from the long protracted summer, as was his tieless throat. (Rendell, Ruth (2007): Not in the Flesh; source HYHA)[24]

Example (11) is an instance of antonymic variation. The original *more/less* contrast is converted to a *less/more* contrast. In example (12), the context ("red-burnt nose") suggests that "too much in the sun" is meant literally. In *Hamlet, I'm too much i' the sun* (I, ii) is a metaphorical pun. Shakespeare exploits the homophony of *son* and *sun* for Hamlet's remark with which he objects to a friendly relationship with his uncle Claudius.[25] The Shakespearean background is made accessible by name marking, and the reader is overtly asked to construe a link to *Hamlet*. Typographical marking delineates the passage. The resulting double-reference to the literal meaning of the quoted words and their meaning in *Hamlet* creates a witty undertone through the discrepancy between a famous tragedy and trivialisation by literalisation. Both literal and original meanings are evoked. Example

[23] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): A little more than kin and less than kind.
[24] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Not so,my lord; I am too much i'the sun.
[25] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): Claudius: How is it that the clouds still hang on you?
Hamlet: Not so, my lord; I am too much i' the sun.

(12) thus illustrates that the referential potential of quotations can be compared to idiomatic meaning, which is the precondition of ambiguation. The meaning of the quotation cannot be derived from the words alone.

To summarise, variation is also widely observed in quotations, despite the widespread assumption of verbatimness. Quotations, like ordinary phrasemes, are subject to additions, omissions, substitutions, permutations, figurative and topical extensions, phonological wordplay and ambiguation. The findings on variability produced by many years of research in phraseology are principally applicable to quotations.

Fixedness and formal stability as recognition points

Variation as the complement to fixedness has been widely studied, yet a typology of the stable elements of phrasemes is less often addressed in the phraseological literature. Stable polylexicality is taken for granted as the defining precondition. Fixedness is indirectly described by listings of variant forms – the components and component combinations that do not vary are the fixed constituents which form the recognisable scaffold of the phraseme. On the other hand, as mentioned above, it must be borne in mind that the fixed elements in phrasemes are sometimes less easily identifiable than those in quotations, as the base form of a phraseme is already an abstraction of co-occurrence patterns. Nevertheless, some more cognitively inspired accounts also address the matter of "recognisability constraints" (Langlotz 2006: 215 ff.), "recoverability conditions" and/or the interplay with "accessibility conditions" (Kuiper 2009: 193). Kuiper's "accessibility condition" refers to the individual's need for prior knowledge and general familiarity with the phraseme in question. This correlates with the approach taken in chapter 6 of this thesis: Textual knowledge is one of the preconditions for identifying a quotation.

Sabban (1998) also states that the form of a phraseme needs to be sufficiently familiar so that deviations are tolerated and do not sever the link to the model.[26] She compares phrasemes with visual *gestalt*. The perception of *gestalt* offers a frame for recognition if all the characteristics of the complete object are not visible – for instance, the abstract image of a smiley can be identified as a kind of smiling face (similarly, Langlotz 2006). As a corollary, Sabban (1998) says that single constituents of the phraseme should be able to activate the entire complex expression, possibly supported by phonological properties like rhythm, intonation and length of syllables, as well as specific syntactic structures (Sabban 1998: 113 f.).[27] Sabban (1998: 114) also notes that this kind of stimulus requires a certain degree of salience. Salience may be defined by uniqueness or by the relative rarity of specific features in their given co(n)texts, registers and periods of time. Langlotz (2006) lists four formal types of saliency which can activate phraseological conceptual

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[26] Original text: "Analog dazu kann man wiederum für festgefügte Wortverbindungen postulieren, daß das Wissen über deren Ausdrucksseite so beschaffen sein muß, daß Abweichungen noch als eine Realisation dieser Wortverbindung aufgefaßt werden oder, schwächer formuliert, daß variierte Sprachstücke wahrnehmungsmäßig noch auf das entsprechende Original bezogen werden können." (Sabban 1998: 111)

[27] Original text: "Es müßten also einzelne Wörter, die Bestandteil des komplexen Ausdrucks sind, genügen können, um die gesamte Wortverbindung zu aktivieren. Dabei dürften auch Formelemente wie Rhythmus, Reim, Betonungsmuster, Silbenlänge, Wortbildungselemente, bestimmte syntaktische Strukturen u. a. m. eine Rolle spielen; manche dieser Merkmale sind bei den häufig nach ästhetischen Prinzipien 'gedichteten' Sprichwörtern vermutlich besonders wichtig." (Sabban 1998: 113 f.)

models. They are *cranberry morphs*,[28] *highly salient lexical constituents*, *salient constructional features* (idiosyncrasies or non-prototypical constructional schemas) and the *co-occurrence of core lexical constituents* (cf. Langlotz 2006: 219). Chapter 6 proposed a structural typology of verbal quotations on the basis of the quality of the observed stable elements. This typology can largely be handled in the same ways as Langlotz's four types of saliency that activate recognition (2006: 219), but the data-driven approach with respect to quotations from *Hamlet* shifts the weight of relevant features to Langlotz's constructional features and the co-occurrence of lexical constituents (cf. table 1).

Types of saliencies for idiom recognition according to Langlotz (2006: 219)	*Recognition by stable elements of quotations from* Hamlet
Cranberry morphs	(Coinages)
Highly salient lexical constituents	(Archaisms as a marker rather than as a stable element) (Very few salient lexical words like *petard*, *Truepenny* and *mobled*)
Salient constructional features	Structural equivalence
Co-occurrence of core lexical constituents	Verbatim renditions Partially verbatim renditions Keywords and keyword combinations

Table 1: Comparison of types of saliencies in Langlotz (2006: 219) and in quotations from *Hamlet*

The first two aspects, *cranberry morphs* and *highly salient lexical constituents*, are less relevant for quotations from *Hamlet*, though analogies can be drawn. Shakespearean quotations may contain coinages which are typical for Shakespeare, such as the cranberry morph *kith* for the phraseme *kith and kin*. Yet, word coinages are not reliably traceable, and word coinages are not necessarily quoted, as was mentioned in chapter 2. They may be listed for curiosity's or completeness' sake, yet their informative value hardly extends beyond their etymology. Similarly, *single conspicuous features* such as archaisms trigger associations with quotations and/or phrasemes alike, yet they need not necessarily lead to a specific expression. Hence, this account considers these salient constituents to be potential markers rather than points of recognition, while specific salient lexical words, such as Langlotz's *bandwaggon* and *tightrope* (2006: 219), find hardly any equivalence in *Hamlet*. *Petard* from *For 'tis the sport to have the engineer hoist with his own petard* (III, iv) is one such example, as are the above-mentioned less frequent references to *Truepenny* and *mobled* (cf. examples (2) and (3) above). Thus, Langlotz's first two constraints are adaptable, but, with regard to the specific verbal quotations from *Hamlet*, only of limited relevance.

The last two types of saliency posited by Langlotz (2006) – *salient constructional features* and *co-occurrence of core lexical constituents* – are, however, more appropriate. The constructional features can be compared to *structural equivalence* as described in chapter 6. Structures such as *to VERB, or not to VERB, to out-x X* and *to the NOUN born* are salient features of phrases from *Hamlet* that remain stable and allow for recognition despite highly diverse substitutions of X. The most important trigger for associations with phrases from *Hamlet* is, however, the *co-occurrence of core lexical constituents*. Therefore, the present account suggests a tripartite sub-categorisation of co-occurrence patterns (cf. table 1). First, core

[28] *Cranberry morphs* in Langlotz's account are "unique phraseological constituents" (Häcki Buhofer 2008: 845) which only occur in a specific phraseological combination and never (or no longer) as free lexemes. An example is *kith* in the phraseme *kith and kin*, which is as unique as the morpheme *cran* in *cranberry*. Langlotz (2006 219) also mentions *cropper* and *kibosh*.

lexical constituents and functional constituents co-occur in their full original structure, that is, they are rendered *verbatim*. Second, core lexical constituents and functional constituents co-occur in formally stable sequences, that is, they are rendered *partially verbatim*. Third, core lexical constituents may co-occur with little or no further structural overlap, that is, single *keywords and keyword combinations* are the only stable elements. The few occurrences of single conspicuous words, such as *petard*, *mobled* and *Truepenny,* are best grouped in this category.

Table 1 shows that Langlotz's types of saliency for idiom recognition are principally adaptable to quotations from *Hamlet* – in other words, a fundamental qualitative difference in the clues for recognition cannot be diagnosed. Yet the quality of the data leads to differences in relevance. This reflects the fact that the studied items ultimately influence categorisation: Idiomatic phrasemes often contain highly specific expressions compared to ordinary language. This will have led Langlotz (2006) to differentiate *cranberry morphs* and *highly salient lexical constituents* (Langlotz 2006: 219) from *co-occurrence of core lexical constituents*. Such salient single items are less well attested in the data from *Hamlet*, which is why they are set in brackets in the second column of table 1 (surprisingly, even though the quoted text is 400 years old; yet many proverbs and especially idiomatic expressions date back even further). Thus, quantitatively, the recognition of quotations from *Hamlet* is primarily based on different types of lexical co-occurrence and on structural equivalence. Qualitatively, however, the triggers for recognition are comparable between idiomatic phrasemes as studied by Langlotz (2006) and quotations from *Hamlet*.

In short, some similarities and some slight differences have come to the fore with regard to fixedness, stability and the recognition of phrasemes and quotations. Phrasemes are defined by lexical and structural patterns of co-occurrence, and it turns out that quotations share this property. This shared property of polylexicality leads to very similar, if not identical behaviour in terms of variability. The complement to variability is a certain degree of fixedness, which allows for recognition of both phrasemes and quotations even if they are modified. In the case of quotations, the stable elements are based on a model with an absolutely fixed form, while a typical phraseme is based on an abstraction. Verbal quotations can sensibly be categorised according to their degree of overlap with the original – perfect equivalence, partial equivalence, structural equivalence, and mere equivalence of keyword combinations – while idioms in particular are also recognisable by single salient constituents.

7.3.2 Meaning – Idiomaticity

This section will aid understanding of the extent to which idiomaticity in quotations influences the relationship between quotations and their phraseological "cousins". Idiomaticity is typically defined as non-compositional meaning (Langlotz 2006), that is, the meaning of the constituents does not reveal the meaning of the composite unit. Idiomaticity in phrasemes is a frequent, but non-compulsory defining feature (Burger (2003 [1998]) distinguishes idiomatic phrasemes as phrasemes in the narrow sense). Likewise, idiomaticity in quotations is frequent but not obligatory. However, the quality of idiomaticity in phrasemes and quotations differs, as the former is semantic, while the latter is pragmatic in nature.

Klockow (1980: 119, cf. chapter 4) explicitly applied the term idiomaticity to quotations, and used the term for the conversational implicature which is triggered by the presence of quotation marks. Moreover, example (12) above demonstrated that the variational strategy of ambiguation can also be found in quotations, which presupposes two kinds of meaning: literal meaning, which can be derived from the semantics of the words in the polylexical unit, and idiomatic meaning, which does not allow such inferences but results from knowledge about the quoted text and about the linguistic practice of quoting. While idiomatic phrasemes have a fixed translation because of their conventionality (unless made ambiguous by wordplay), the specific idiomaticity of quotations is a matter of situated context. *To hit the bottle* will in most cases mean "to drink too much alcohol", and *to kick the bucket* will in most cases mean "to die". However, the meaning of Hamlet's words *A little more than kin and less than kind* (I, ii) may vary when repeated in other contexts:

(13) He speaks: "Philip Howard; is that Philip Howard? Something terrible happened. Hamlet has sprained both ankles, and we have no understudy. I heard that you were in the audience. Do you think, ... I know it is ridiculous. ... Can you remember ...? Expostulation starts in my mouth. Sweat starts on my forehead. But suddenly from a great distance the lines start to come back. "A little more than kin, and less than kind. ... O that this too too sullied flesh would melt ..." Why not? Is this supposed to be a perfect day, or is it? Life is too short for caution or care. And yes I said yes I will Yes. (Howard, Philip (1984): A Weekly Guide to Leisure, Entertainment and the Arts: My Perfect Day Part 3; source HYHA)

(14) David is less than kind to Shakespeare, "that gonoph" (pick-pocket), Shelley, Homer (who would never build a story), and sundry others. (Evans, Stuart (1984): Sing unto the Lord a New York song, David (Psalms 33.3); source HYHA)

(15) Melrose Plant: "I did not marry the Randolph Biggets."
Lady Ardry: "You don't want to meet your own *kin*?"
Melrose Plant: "Less than kin and less than kind, to paraphrase Hamlet. Hamlet would have been ever so much happier had he hewn to that rule. But I suppose if Claudius had been named Randolph Bigget, Hamlet might not have had so much trouble killing him whilst he prayed." (Grimes, Martha (1987): The Dirty Duck; source HYHA)

(16) In titling my essay "A little more than kin and less than kind" I risk a similar gaffe. Hamlet here is speaking to his detested uncle Claudius, drawing attention to the uncle's incestuous relation with Hamlet's mother. Changing the meaning somewhat, I use the phrase to suggest that literature and politics are closely related, but not, as is fashionably held, identical. I hope this is a pardonable dislocation of the passage from its context. (Whalen, David M. (2001): 'A Little More than Kin and Less Than Kind': The Affinity of Literature and Politics; source HYHA)

In example (13), the quoted words primarily mean "these are Hamlet's first words" and "this is the beginning of Hamlet's first soliloquy", implying that the author was happy to remember them. The semantic meaning of the quoted words is not active in this context. Example (13) is thus an instance of a *pure* quotation in the philosophical sense, or a *closed* quotation as Recanati (2001) calls them. Recanati's (2001: 669 ff.) analysis of open quotations as being generated by *pragmatic enrichment* or *context-shifting* offers a useful framework for seeing the differences between the next two examples. Examples (14), (15) and (16) are cases of *open quotations* (or *mixed quotation* in Davidson's (1979) and Saka's (1998) terminology). The meaning of the words is active, yet they are marked for their source. Example (14) illustrates a case of implicit *pragmatic enrichment* by the original context. As soon as the quotation is recognised and the original context is accessed, the words *less than kind* convey additional relevant but implicit information. By associating the words *less than kind* with their original context, especially with the preceding sequence *a*

little more than kin, David is understood as a kind of *kin*, possibly even *more than kin* to the writers he is criticising for their lack of originality. Example (15) demonstrates a case of explicit pragmatic enrichment. Hamlet's situation is overtly compared to the situation in the context in which the quotation is used. The conclusion that Hamlet would have acted differently if Claudius had been as insufferable as the relation by marriage Randolph Bigget creates a humorous undertone through the triviality of associating motifs from a great classical tragedy with trifling family issues. In example (16), the source no longer pragmatically enriches the interpretation; the implicatures derived by marking concern the situation of use, such as "I find the quotation suitable" and "I know the historical dimension but I use history creatively". Example (16) explicitly renounces any meaningful contribution from the source text and is thus a case of *context-shifting* (Recanati 2001: 677 ff.). It shifts the original context towards the situation of use, and the quotation may also be interpreted in the light of some general cultural understanding about, for instance, the status of quotations, the role of *Hamlet* as a source for quotations, or other contexts in which that specific quotation is used. Example (16) exemplifies the freedom of metaphorical transfer vs. metonymical transfer by pragmatic enrichment. In short, pragmatic idiomaticity leaves ample room for interpretation and ranges from absolute autonomy as in (13), where the pragmatic context entirely overrides the semantics of the words, to pragmatic enrichment by knowledge of the source text as in (14) and (15), to contextual shift as in (16).

Contextual shift generally implies that the words of a quotation are semantically active and clearly comprehensible without having to take recourse to the source. They are an integral, overt part of the proposition made in the quoting text. Quotations that can convey their main proposition without any need for pragmatic enrichment from their source are used like phrasemes – in other words, they are used as a multi-lexical, semantically clear multi-word unit. They can therefore be called *phraseological quotations* in contrast to *allusive quotations*, which require pragmatic enrichment if the proposition is to be understood. Phraseological quotations may be accompanied by contextual clues that indicate that the words are quoted. Potential clues for quotation can be markers as discussed in chapter 4, and perceivable, conspicuous textual similarity which is recognisable through knowledge of the source text as described in chapter 6. The actual purpose of highlighting a quotation (by whatever means) may be of greater or lesser importance for the understanding of the communicated message. Quotations may provide weak accompanying "sub-messages" (Klockow 1980: 107) that range from the mere source indication of a concise and apt phrase, to implicit claims such as "these words must be true because they are quoted", to attitudinal information about the quoter such as "these are not my own words, but I like them" or "look at how well-read and witty I am".[29]

(17) When I learned the final news, by then so expected, yet so hard to accept, I felt a profound void. In the words of Shakespeare: 'He was a man. Take him. For all in all, I shall not look upon his like again.'(Kissinger, Henry (1994): Remarks By Dr. Henry Kissinger At Richard Nixon's Funeral; source HYHA)[30]

[29] The functions of quotations and of marking for quotation are numerous, perhaps even innumerable. Hence, these examples have been chosen at random. See chapter 3, or more specifically Helbig (1996), and in particular Lennon (2004: 236) for a good functional overview.

[30] cf. *Hamlet* (I, ii): He was a man, take him for all in all,/ I shall not look upon his like again.

(18) I was never in better Spirits or more non-sensical in my Life, allways excepting those never to be forgotten and paralleled Days that were Spent at O. Alresford in the Reign of *Ragdanjaw* in the Month of July Anno Dom 1746; – *It was a Time, take it for all in all &c* I admire your Imitation of the Post-mark, & think if You would Apply to the more Exalted Imitation of Shakespear You would equally succeed; (Garrik, David (1746): Letter to Reverend John Hoadly; source HYHA)

(19) This distinction provided a rational scheme for classifying jaundice in different forms of hepatobiliary disease, even if the chemical basis for the different reactions was not yet understood. To paraphrase Polonius in Hamlet, "By indirectness, we find directness out." Many explanations were put forth to explain the puzzle of direct and indirect reacting bilirubin, but the conundrum was not solved until the contemporaneous but independent publication of three brief landmark articles. (Reuben, Adrian (2002): By Indirections Find Directions Out; source HYHA)[31]

(20) The interview was carefully prepared by Audley, with the aim of discovering More's intentions or of obliquely applying familial pressure upon the prisoner. Like Polonius he might "by indirections find directions out". (Ackroyd, Peter (1998): The Life of Thomas More; source HYHA)

(21) If I should be taxed with Cruelty in depriving *Pains-taking People* of the Bread, I reply, that a Whole is greater than a Part, and plead with Hamlet, that "I must be cruel only to be kind." (Anon. (1772): To the Printer of the Public Advertiser; source HYHA)[32]

A definite assignment of such implied sub-messages is not easy, as they derive from weak implicatures which change in weight according to the wider context of both the quoted text and the interpreter's cognitive environment. Moreover, several inferences can be drawn in parallel. Kissinger's hint at Shakespeare in example (17) may imply aspects of source attribution, apt words, perceived beauty and expression of a cultured background, while the wordplay of the same line in example (18) stresses the wittiness of the author and his wish to establish or express a good relationship with the addressee. The quotation in example (19) concisely describes an observable paradox in science, whereby indirect methods may lead to direct results. Example (20) highlights the truth value by taking the quotation as an instruction. Example (21) also relies on the truth value of the proposition expressed by the quotation, and uses the fact that it stems from a quotation to justify its unpopular application. The strength of the additional sub-messages which create some idiomatic overtones shifts within *contextual shift*. The gradable nature of contextual shift thus also allows for a *perfect* shift to a context where the apt words for the idea to be expressed count, and any hint of using another's words for whatever reason becomes negligible or even distracting. The main point about *phraseological quotations* generated by contextual shift is, therefore, that the statements would be understandable even if the clues for quotations were omitted. This can be said of examples (17), (19), (20) and (21) above. The proposition is entirely related to the new context; only the presence of explicit quotative clues hints at some additional weak implicatures, which are semantically negligible for the main formulated proposition.

In the light of these negligible clues, it is only a small step from phraseological, mixed quotations which *mention* and *use* quoted phrases, to a potentially purely *used* quoted phrase, as in the examples below. "Potentially" needs to be borne in mind because addressees are always free to associate whatever they feel like, but referential meaning is neither pointed at nor necessary in the following cases:

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[31] cf. *Hamlet* (II, i): By indirections find directions out

[32] cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): I must be cruel, only to be kind

(22) It is for Merlin to try that question, to test her love by every possible means, to be cruel in order to be kind. (Anon. (1903): M. Maeterlinck's "Joyzelle"; source HYHA)[33]

(23) Sometimes in life it is necessary to be cruel in order to be kind. It is better that the parents suffer than the children. (Baumgarten, C. (1904): Free Meals for Children. *The Times*; source HYHA)

(24) It has dawned upon quite a number of the business people of the great republic that the Government is cruel only to be kind, and that there is more than they first thought in the contention that the day has gone by when it was wise, or even safe, to leave great corporations, or any corporations, to carry on their affairs entirely free from the legislative control. (Anon. (1911): Special Article. *The Times*; source HYHA)

The examples above "direct the thoughts of the audience to the extension" of the phrase (Saka 1998: 126), and the quotation loses its specific metalinguistic idiomaticity. It is *used* as directly as any phraseological item, and no earlier context has to be taken into account for interpretation. As soon as the semantics (i.e. the timeless meaning of a quotation, not its pragmatic meaning in context) are predominant, phrasemes and quotations merge functionally. Quotations are used for their semantics as a prefabricated multi-lexical unit, and no longer as a referential and/or metalinguistic device.

One might object that *mention* and *use* is a question of interpretation, and indeed it is to a certain degree. On the one hand, a *sujet connaissant* can detect very subtle quotations and is free to construe analogies, whereas an ordinary person might only vaguely remember *Hamlet* from school (if at all) and will miss most of the non-name-marked instances. Individual variance in perception does not, however, affect the potential of recognition provided by manifest clues. On the other hand, even if full-knowing readers can see the slightest trace of a source text, and may relish in their own free play of associations, they will be able to understand the primary proposition of the quoting text (similar to Grice's "primary intention of an utterer" Grice 1991 [1957]) and to judge the interpretative relevance of relating the passage to the source text. Such judgements are not necessarily subjective, as they are influenced and triggered by manifest clues in the cognitive environment, such as the transparent primary meaning of the quoted passage. Section 7.3.3 below will further discuss clues that can support claims about negligible pragmatic idiomaticity as they point to institutionalisation (cf. also Rodríguez Martín 2014).

Quotations typically refer to some former usage event and explicitly highlight the repetition of a former usage event. However, contextual shift may become strong enough to override the referential value of the quotation and highlight the literal meaning for the new context. If the semantics of the quoted words are active and a reference to a former usage event is neither necessary nor perceivable, quotations become items of the object language, where reference in a very basic sense of meaning is at most implicit. If the referent of a quotation becomes equally implicit, it becomes a phraseological quotation.

7.3.3 Grammatical status – Familiarity and conventionalisation

The term *grammatical status*, as chosen by Langlotz (2006), refers to issues of *conventionalisation* and *familiarity*, which Langlotz groups under the term *institutionalisation*. Institutionalisation, along with polylexicality, is the main defining criterion for phrasemes according to most phraseological accounts. The terms *conventionalisation* and *familiarity*, and sometimes also *reproducibility,* reflect the two sides of the institutionalised grammatical coin. Conventionalisation refers to what de Saussure termed *langue* and Chomsky *e-language* (*e-* for external), which

[33] cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): I must be cruel, only to be kind

denotes an abstract linguistic system shared across larger groups of language users. Familiarity and reproducibility, meanwhile, imply a psycholinguistic concept on the level of *i-language* (*i-* for internal), that is, the mental representation of language in the individual. Burger (2003 [1998]: 16 ff.) therefore distinguishes, under the heading of *conventionalisation* (*Gebräuchlichkeit*), *psycholinguistic* from *formal fixedness,* among other things.

In the Anglo-American tradition, a rather clear polarity can be observed between heavily cognitive approaches, such as those of Gibbs (1994) and Wray (2002 and 2008), and highly formal approaches, such as those of Sinclair (1991) and Stubbs (2000 and 2001). While questions of holistic storage, processing and retrieval are most relevant for cognitive approaches, the formal approaches use corpus-linguistic tools that rely on frequencies and statistics. If the observed frequency of co-occurring lexemes is larger than expected on statistical grounds, a phraseme is identified and conventionality is assumed (cf. Gries 2008: 5).

In the European tradition, conventionalisation is interpreted in a more integrative way, namely as shared knowledge across large groups of people. Conventional items are said to be generally understood by the language users and to form part of the linguistic system. Conventionalisation thus presupposes knowledge of the i-language, and requires e-language relevance, while the exact definition of what is part of the lexicon and what is known when and by whom is not easy to define. Burger (2003 [1998] therefore states that conventionality cannot be directly measured but can be assumed thanks to certain psycholinguistic, formal and pragmatic clues.

The system-orientated description of institutionalisation can principally differentiate phrasemes from quotations on the grounds of conventionalisation. While phrasemes are conventional linguistic units by definition, quotations are not. However, quotations can become conventional (cf. chapters 8 and 9). In practice, therefore, the seemingly clear distinction is a matter of degree. The psycholinguistic approach does not seem to offer any major distinctive features between quotations and phrasemes. Why should the polylexical semantic unit *phraseme* and the polylexical semantic unit *verbal quotation* be stored, processed and retrieved differently? Indeed, Sabban (1998: 18) maintains that linguistic knowledge must be complemented by additional knowledge bases if a person is to notice and understand phrasemes properly, just as textual and additional expert knowledge complements the linguistics of quotations. This required additional knowledge is presumably responsible for the possibility that phrasemes can also be alluded to. However, in what follows, the psycholinguistic aspect of familiarity will be only briefly addressed as the dialectical partner for system-oriented conventionalisation. As the available data for this study reflect language in use between speakers, i.e. between several individuals, the chosen data-driven method delivers clues for the system-oriented description of institutionalisation rather than for individual mental representations. Accordingly, more attention will be given to institutionalising processes (cf., among others, Burger (2003 [1998]), Bybee (2006) and Rodríguez Martín 2014).

Familiarity

Familiarity is mainly an issue of the individual. A specific quotation may be a favourite of just one person or of a small group. For instance, six out of ten references in HYHA to *But age, with his stealing steps, / Hath claw'd me in his clutch* (V, i) stem from Sir Walter Scott:

(25) Mr. Hugh Cleghorn dine[d] at Charlton and I saw him for the first time, having heard of him all my life. He is an able man, has seen much and speaks well, but Age has clawd him in his clutch and he has become deaf. (Scott, Sir Walter (1827): Diary entry; source HYHA)

(26) We are all as usual. I feel almost monthly that old Age is clawing me wi[th] his clutch. It is no great matter so there is no disease or pain and yet to find ones self grow every day weaker is dispiriting enough. (Scott, Sir Walter (1830): Letter to Mrs. Lockhart; source HYHA)

References to that line from *Hamlet* are apparently not very frequent among speakers of English in objective, quantifiable terms, yet Sir Walter Scott is very likely to have memorised, stored and retrieved the phrase as a unit. Other phrases like *To be, or not to be* are, however, known, used and played with as a unit world-wide. Thus, familiarity with specific quotations may range from individuals to large groups, yet the individual psycholinguistic representation is likely to be comparable in each knowing subject despite the differences on the social plane, that is, despite the varying numbers of individuals who have such a representation.

Compagnon (1979: 17) sees the birth of a formula in the process of reading when a particular expression catches one's attention, when one wants to re-read it to keep it in mind, and when one wants to add it to one's memory for reuse in the future.[34] The notion of quotation as something to be kept in mind seems to correspond to the psycholinguistic concept of formulas as "stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use" (Wray 2002: 9, Wray 2008: 94, cf. also Burger 2003 [1998]: 17, incl. footnote 2). Compagnon's (1979: 17) description combines the psycholinguistic aspect of memorisation with conspicuousness. Yet conspicuousness can also be perceived differently by individuals. Phrasemes and quotations may stick out from other linguistic items thanks to their imagery, their rhetorical make-up and/or their functionality. Chapter 2 proposed a few text-inherent factors, such as the expression of a familiar concept in a new way and emotionally loaded stand-alone phrases, which enhance memorability and hence the potential of take-up for quotation. According to Compagnon (1979),[35] Moon (1998), Greenfield (2008) and Zenner/Speelman/Geeraerts (2014), conspicuousness and relevance do indeed appear to depend on emotional aspects:

> It is not certain exactly how catchphrases establish themselves as ritualistic FEIs, but in the clearest cases above, they are associated with a memorable event or film sequence, or consistent media use. (Moon 1998: 43)[36]

Conspicuousness can also be transferred from specific rituals to the language used in those rituals. Prime examples are *Le roi est mort – vivre le roi* and *habemus papam*. The former phrase was used in France to announce the death of a king and to welcome the successor to the throne, while the latter is still used to declare a new pope. Both expressions are well known as belonging to those specific events, but very limited in their actual use. Similarly, objectively little-used but fixed expressions may develop as a result of

[34] Original text: "Il y a un objet premier, posé devant moi, un texte que j'ai lu, que je lis; et le cours de ma lecture s'interrompt sur une phrase. Je reviens en arrière: je re-lis. La phrase relue devient formule, isolat dans le texte. La relecture la délie de ce qui précède et de ce qui suit. Le fragment élu se convertit lui-même en texte, non plus morceau de texte, membre de phrase ou de discours, mais morceau choisi, membre amputé; point encore greffe, mais déjà organe découpé et mis en réserve." (Compagnon 1979: 17 f.)

[35] cf. also Compagnon's concept of *sollicitation* as one of the prerequisites for memorising and imitating bits of language: "Bien antérieure à la citation, plus profonde et plus obscure, c'est la sollicitation: un petit coup de foudre parfaitement arbitraire, tout à fait contingent et imaginaire." (Compagnon 1979: 23-24).

[36] FEIs are *fixed expressions including idioms*, cf. Moon (1998: 2).

remarkable events within smaller communities (such as a family or a group of friends or professionals) without ever spreading outside those groups.[37]

The psycholinguistic view of phrasemes addresses the individual and thus i-language representations. Yet, as Wray (2008) summarises, "even an account based on the individual's knowledge will recognize that many word strings are likely to be formulaic for most native speakers – that is what it means to know the same language" (Wray 2008: 11).

Conventionalisation

Conventionalisation comprises the social dimension of familiarity and therefore denotes a more abstract notion, which, however, is "necessarily vague" (cf. Burger 2003 [1998]: 16) because the use of specific phrasemes differs diastratically, diatopically and diachronically, and according to age, text type and register (to list only a few of the variables; cf. Burger/ Buhofer/Sialm 1982). Still, several tell-tale signs of conventionality in e-language can be observed, such as frequency of occurrence, specific phonological features (pauses, stress), orthography (hyphenation), distribution in specific linguistic styles and discourses, non-compositional or semi-compositional meaning, and structural fixedness (cf. Wray 2008: 11 and 100 ff.). This list again indicates a dialectical relationship between form, meaning and grammatical status. Non-compositional or semi-compositional meaning, and structural fixedness count as tell-tale signs of conventionalisation and as defining properties of conventionalised phraseological items. The description of form, meaning and grammatical status in apparently independent sections is thus a matter of heuristics, not of the underlying mechanisms of language use.

In what follows, three tell-tale signs of conventionality will be commented on in order to prepare the ground for the empirical analyses in chapters 8 and 9. The signs are frequency, pattern formation (fixedness) and distribution across discourses. In addition to loss of marking and loss of second-layer idiomaticity, these observable features are understood as the primary clues for diagnosing the conventionalisation of some quoted forms.

Frequency

The size of the community which knows and uses a specific phraseme (or a specific quotation) may vary enormously. Still, some groups of people who use a polylexical structure repeatedly are presupposed by definition in the case of phrasemes. As for quotation, although a certain passage may be quoted only once, quotation implies at least *one* repetition. Repetition can be measured by frequencies, which seem to deliver good, rational hard facts for conventionalisation. However, one must not overrate these "rational hard facts". Kuiper (2009), for instance, warns that a "quest for certainty" by, for instance, "statistical significance" is a "fruitless quest" for the "social scientist" (Kuiper 2009: 41). He quotes Miller (1994) to back up his view: "Social phenomena [...] cannot be understood on materialist terms" (Kuiper 2009: 17).[38] However, as Wray (2008: 102) says, "frequent examples of formulaic sequences are […] a good place to start," but not much more.

[37] cf. Wray's 2008 example of the language of aviation maintenance engineers, and Kuiper's studies on auctioneers and sports reporters (1996) and on further formulaic genres (2009).

[38] Kuiper (2009: 16-17) observes that "arbitrary conventional elements and functional elements" can be found in both "internal and external factors of conventionalisation" and continues that "the inner structure of communicative genres […] consists of […] formal linguistic properties", while "'*[t]he external structure* of communicative genres ... exhibits a certain degree of obligation, that is, constraints with respect to milieus, the

As frequency is generally perceived as "a good place to start" (Wray 2008: 102), many scholars lament the fact that phrasemes which are felt to be familiar do not occur in general language corpora in the large quantities expected and hoped for (cf. Moon 1998 and 2008, Colson 2001, Wray 2002, Gries 2008). Moon (1998: 60) observes that "over 70% of FEIs have frequencies of less than 1 per million" and states that even "[z]ero frequency is ambiguous: it may signify either non-currency or simply a random failure to appear."[39] Following this line of reasoning, the appearance of even a single token of a specific phraseme in a general language corpus can be taken as sufficient indication of its use in linguistic practice. Moon (1998) and Colson (2001) speculate that general language corpora cannot usually fully reflect linguistic reality, and that they are typically biased towards specific well-attested genres. Text-type variety is mainly limited to written and spoken journalism (including some spontaneous speech in interviews), literature and academic texts, while private language, where much phraseology is assumed to occur, is generally not included (cf. Moon 1998: 7). Formulaic genres, such as routine interactions with cashiers in a supermarket (cf. Kuiper 2009), do not usually feature in the general language corpora. To overcome this shortcoming, therefore, many scholars require language corpora to be much larger, or they build up their own specialist corpora – as in the case of Moon (1998), Sabban (1998), Tuormala (2000), Lennon (2004), Langlotz (2006) and others.

However, in the meantime, general language corpora like COCA (not to mention the World Wide Web) have reached a previously unimaginable size. Philip (2008) therefore suspects that the difficulties in finding sufficient instances of specific phrasemes for reliable empirical studies are not so much due to the composition and size of language corpora, but that human perception plays tricks on linguistic intuition: As mentioned above, emotion-based salience of form and meaning, specific contexts of (ritualistic) use, etc., may outweigh frequency effects. Nevertheless, frequency certainly increases the possibility of encountering a phraseme or a quotation in ordinary communication and thus contributes indirectly to their perception as a linguistic unit.

As frequency is not the only aspect of conventionalisation, scholars such as Griess (2008) explicitly refrain from postulating a numerical threshold for phraseological units. Others, such as Moon (1998), Bybee/Perkins/Pagliuca (1994) and Bybee (2006) differentiate between low-frequency and high-frequency items, which they correlate with observations on semantic transparency or degree of grammaticalisation respectively. Moon (2008: 1050) found that "idioms, proverbs and similes were typically found with very low frequencies, often no better than random chance." "Idioms proverbs and similes" are functionally most like the quotations discussed here. Not only do some quotations derive from proverbs, but they share their typical phrase structure with "idioms, proverbs and similes" (cf. chapter 6). Despite "random chance," Bybee (2006: 719 f.) maintains that low levels of repetition may nevertheless lead to conventionalisation, while the generation of abstract patterns like constructions and grammatical structures requires high and highest levels of repetition. Following Bybee (2006), comparable frequencies of

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communicative situation, the type of social relationship as well as social categories of actors (men, women, ethnic groups), relevant in such environments' (Günthner/ Knoblauch, 1995: 8), that is, contextual factors." cf. also Günthner/Knoblauch (1995 [1994]).

[39] FEIs are *fixed expressions including idioms*, cf. Moon (1998: 2).

idioms and proverbs on the one hand and quotations on the other hand are assumed to signal a comparable grammatical status with respect to conventionalisation. Well-known idioms such as *to watch the grass grow*, and proverbs such as *you can't eat the cake and have it too* occur just once or twice in BNC, that is, once or twice per 100 million words. Accordingly, the expected numbers for quotations need not be much larger. This reasoning has already been followed in chapter 5, and will be pursued in chapters 8 and 9. More importantly, however, a certain absolute quantity is necessary for the analysis of structural, conceptual and/or discursive pattern developments as tell-tale signs of conventionalisation. Hence, only quotations which are found to have relatively high token numbers are suitable objects for studies on conventionalisation, while aspects such as *relative frequency* and *statistical significance* cannot and *need not* be taken into account.

Structural fixedness by diachronic pattern formation

Anonymous phrasemes are not alone in developing fixed patterns over time; quotations also do, as has been shown implicitly in chapter 5. According to Burger/Linke (2000: 746 f.), structural fixation processes appear to be systematic. At first glance, comparing pattern development in quotations and phrasemes may seem to be inappropriate. Quotations have a canonical form from the start, while phrasemes develop a fixed form over time. Yet the previous chapters substantially illustrated that quotations are frequently modified in practice. If modifications of a line from *Hamlet* are recurrent, they can be equated with the diverse attested variants of a phraseme in history, which over time become more fixed (cf. Burger/Linke 2000: 746 f.). The suggested conclusion is therefore as follows: If a modified variant repeatedly occurs, a similar process of conventional fixation is assumed. A quotation can turn into a (dequotational) phraseme by a comparable process of fixation through usage across time.

Burger/Linke (2000: 746 f.) list the following types of fixation processes:

- reduction of lexical variants
- reduction of attested modifications
- fixation of morpho-syntactic structure
- lexical reduction with morpho-syntactic consequences
- fixation on diminutive forms
- fixation on the positive/negative variant/connotation
- fixation of word order

Many of these fixation processes can also largely be observed with quotations. For example, word order fixation was discussed earlier with regard to the fronting of *methinks* in *The lady protests too much, methinks* (III, ii); likewise, the negative connotation of *Frailty, thy name is woman!* (I, ii). The reduction of lexical variants and the reduction of attested modifications are suitably exemplified by *I must be cruel, only to be kind* (III, iv). First, the quotation regularly reduces the clause to the adjective phrase *cruel only to be kind* (III, iv). Second, in the 19th century, the adjectival variant occurs repeatedly, either as the extended version *cruel in order to be kind* as in examples (22) and (23) above, or as a further reduced variant, *cruel to be kind.* In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, however, the short form *cruel to be kind* becomes the predominant variant (cf. chapters 8 and 9). Reductions from clause to clause constituent (*I must be cruel, only to be kind* => cruel to be kind), from noun phrase with modifier to noun phrase without modifier (*the primrose path of dalliance* =>

primrose path), etc. are other frequently observed features of fixation which echo lexical reduction with morpho-syntactic consequences. Some other processes are more specific to phraseological developments, such as antonymous reduction (the loss of one variant of an antonymic pair) and fixation on a diminutive form, which is not applicable to English but is a specific trait of German and the Slavonic and Romanic languages.

On the other hand, some quotations also show diverse recurrent patterns. Apart from the three 19th-century variants of *cruel, only to be kind* mentioned above, the passivised verb phrase *to be hoist with one's own petard,* which is derived from *For 'tis sport to have the engineer/Hoist with his own petard* (III, iv), shows recurrent substitutions of the original preposition *with* by *on* and *by* (cf. chapters 8 and 9). Similarly, on the conceptual level, *It is a custom/More honour'd in the breach than the observance* (I, iv) has developed two, if not three meaning variants over time. Apart from the original meaning (that a custom may be bad and therefore better be changed), there are also instances of the conceptual variant "the custom is simply not followed", which in some cases implies a third meaning, namely, that the *rules* or *regulations*, which generally substitute the original *custom*, are not followed because they are not known (cf. chapter 8 and 9).

The recurrent changes in the form and meaning of quotations suggest that such quotations are used independently from their original context as polylexical items. They have lost their pragmatic idiomaticity and are used phraseologically with respect to their semantics, and formal and conceptual recurrence can be interpreted as symptoms of conventionalisation.

Discursive prosodies and distribution across discourses

The discursive context of lexemes and phrases – and, it is argued, of quotations – is another indicator of typical usage across members of a linguistic community and thus of conventionalisation. The idea to study the extended context of linguistic units to derive their function in language use was mainly developed by the corpus linguist Sinclair (1996 and 1998) and followed cognitive work in which the meaning of a linguistic unit derives from the sum of its uses and is considered to be dependent on its contextual frame (cf. Langacker 1987, Clark 1996, Croft/Cruse 2004). Sinclair distinguishes four types of usage patterns which influence meaning. The concept of *collocation* captures actual lexical co-occurrence patterns, such as *manner born*. *Colligation* reflects the preferred grammatical structure, such as *to the NOUN born*. *Semantic preference* describes patterns of near-synonymous or antonymous substitutions, such as *to the habit born* (cf. COHA). And the most abstract concept, *semantic prosody*, covers pragmatic connotations and attitudes (cf. Stubbs 2007: 177 ff., and Louw 2000).

> A semantic prosody is attitudinal and on the pragmatic side of the semantics/pragmatics continuum ... once noticed among the variety of expression, it is immediately clear that the semantic prosody has a leading role to play in the integration of an item with its surroundings. It expresses something close to the 'function' of an item. (Sinclair 1996: 87)

Collocation, colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody form a cline that stretches from the most concrete surface element to the most abstract conceptual notion. Thus, different scholars set the dividing line between semantic preference and semantic prosody differently. Louw (1993), for instance, seems to understand *semantic prosody* merely in terms of abstract positive and negative evaluations (e.g. for the lexeme *symptomatic*), while

Sinclair (1996 and 1998) seems to allow a differentiation between general topic indication as *prosody* and the more concrete *preference* in concrete lexical substitution patterns (Sinclair 1998). With regard to the phrase *to the manner born*, the link to class discourse can thus also be counted as semantic prosody. Stubbs (2007) prefers the term *discourse prosody*, as the "semantic prosodies are a generalization about the motivation for speaking" and "have pragmatic and textual functions" (Stubbs 2007: 178). As discourse prosodies and preferences develop from recurrent similar usage, they serve as a further clue for assuming conventionalisation. One can assume that a quotation is used as conventionally as a phraseme if it occurs repeatedly in a specific discourse, such as *to the manner born* in class discourse, and *Frailty, thy name is woman* in gender discourse (cf. chapter 5). If the chosen preferred discourse deviates from the original, a high degree of autonomy from the origin becomes visible, which likens the use of the quotation to that of an ordinary, anonymous multi-lexical unit. The likeness is strengthened by the diachronicity of the process, which affects phrasemes and these discursively specialised quotations alike. Steyer (1997) even claims that it is almost characteristic for intertextual expressions not to take over the embedding context of the original.[40] The discursive specialisation is not necessarily a corollary of the canonical text, but develops autonomously in language use.

While a quotation's preference for a particular discourse signals independence from the source text, the quotation's spread across diverse discourse domains does this to an even greater degree. If a quotation occurs in discourses as diverse as literary criticism as in example (22) above, socio-psychological contexts as in example (23), and politics as in (24), "this expansion into other genres which, in turn, cover a wide range of topics, is one of the main criteria to determine that a creative modification has superseded its context-bound nature to become a canonical PU [polylexical unit] in its own right" (Rodríguez Martín 2014: 11). In other words, the diversification of discourse domains points most pronouncedly at a process of conventionalisation.

7.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter sought to substantiate the often-postulated close relationship between quotations and phraseologisms in order to approach the question of inadvertent quoting. The method of comparing parallels and differences between phrasemes and lexical quotations has revealed some areas of overlap, such as the observation that most properties are gradual in nature. This chapter also established the theoretical background for the empirical analyses – retrospectively for chapter 5 and prospectively for chapters 8 and 9.

Phrasemes and lexical quotations are both heterogeneous linguistic phenomena. They overlap with regard to their polylexical structure and such corollaries as variability and fixedness. The fixedness of quotation is defined by the original text, while that of phrasemes derives from diachronic developments and is abstracted from usage patterns. This difference affects the granularity of the formal description of quotations. The description of the varied and stable elements of quotations can be more fine-tuned and can imply perfect verbatimness, partial and structural equivalence, and mere co-occurrence phenomena, while idiomatic phrasemes in particular are often more ancient and can also be evoked (and thus described) by a single salient element, or even a unique

[40] Original text: "Charakteristisch für alle referentiellen Relationen diesen Typs ist, daß die Originalumgebung des Ausdrucks, auf den referiert wird, in den seltensten Fällen übernommen wird" (Steyer 1997: 88).

element. These differences are, however, negligible, as they depend on individual specificities which may change from case to case. Principally, verbal quotations and lexical phrasemes are both form-meaning pairs which have a noticeable, stable formal and conceptual scaffold, or *gestalt*, which defines the degree to which they can be adapted to context (modifiability) without losing their unity.

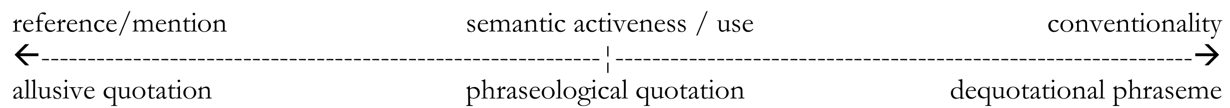
However, phrasemes and quotations differ in view of their idiomaticity. While phrasemes may be idiomatic on a semantic level, verbal quotations are characterised by idiomaticity on a secondary pragmatic level. The secondary pragmatic idiomaticity of quotations derives from their referential aspect. As long as the reference to the source text is evoked and/or the metalinguistic quality highlighted, that is, as long as some observable clues in the cognitive environment draw the addressee's attention towards something "other than [the] extension" of the quoted words (cf. Saka 1998: 126), quotation and phraseme differ. Quotations remain "a purely pragmatic affair" (Saka 1998: 128) and "can only be determined on a pragmatic basis" (Recanati 2001: 665), whereas phrasemes are conventional units with a semantic meaning in use. However, *use* and *mention* in quotations are not mutually exclusive, and their import shifts from context to context. If the semantic meaning of the quoted sequence is active and its comprehension no longer requires *pragmatic enrichment* (Recanati 2001) from the source text, a quotation is used like an ordinary phraseme, i.e. as a multi-lexical sequence which can be understood using one's general linguistic competence. These types of quotations can thus be called *phraseological quotations*, since they are used like ordinary semantic polylexical units, in contrast to *allusive quotations*, which largely depend on pragmatic enrichment. Other weak implicatures are still possible, but the primary message is no longer affected, not even for a full-knowing reader. In other words, if the referent becomes negligible and the quotation loses its secondary pragmatic idiomaticity, the quotation becomes as "source-less" and pragmatically "anonymous" as any ordinary phraseme.

The grammatical status in the sense of the institutionalised unit of a language constitutes a further key difference between prototypical quotations and phrasemes. The social aspect of phrasemes, that is, their being part of institutionalised e-language, is a crucial defining feature, while quotations may remain individual references. However, the data for this study (cf. chapters 8 and 9) as well as general experience (cf. Sabban 1998) show that some quotations can also become institutionalised over time; they can be quoted and thus also learned without their referential background. Such quotations do not only behave *like* phrasemes, they have *become* phrasemes – *dequotational phrasemes*. Only a full-knowing reader will be able to uncover their etymology, which, however, no longer affects the communicated message. The knowledge about the original context of the source does not add any additional meaningful implicatures.[41]

Allusive quotations, phraseological quotations and dequotational phrasemes describe the range of the "oscillating character" of quotations (Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56).

[41] This claim does not contradict Nerlich/Clarke's (2001) observation that the addressee is principally free to entertain and follow further associations that come to mind even though they may be little supported by observable clues and probabilities. Communicating partners "make use of what is available to them, regardless of contextual information or speaker's intent" (Nerlich/Clarke 2001: 11). They may simply enjoy and exploit ambiguities to spice up their social lives with wittiness and jokes, to hold larger entities of communication in memory by keeping ambiguous meaning alive, and possibly also to remain flexible and adaptable for new contexts.

Allusive quotations, phraseological quotations and dequotational phrasemes form a cline through decreasing referential idiomaticity with increasing semantic activeness on the one hand, and increasing conventionality on the other.



The origin of quotations is typically traceable through repeated reference, while that of ordinary phrasemes lies in the dark. Still, the *coup de foudre* or *sollicitation* that Compagnon (1979) diagnosed for the birth of quotations may also have been at work: A certain expression uttered by an anonymous speaker captured the attention of other speakers who repeated it on other occasions because the expression was considered to be adequate, apt and fitting for conveying a specific meaning. The development of both the phrasicon and the lexicon ultimately relies on repetition, which was identified in the first chapters as one of the main dimensions of quotations. Moreover, if reference is equated to meaning, all linguistic units refer. Therefore, the observation that quotations inhabit a space between reference and repetition may appear to be trivial; language in general relies on the repetition of lexical items which mean something. Meaningful repetition is how Grice's (1991 [1957]) *timeless meaning*, which is generally called *semantic* meaning, is supposed to come about. However, quotations *explicitly* use repetition to mean something by metonymic reference. In the act of *quoting*, the reference needs to be elaborated and thus draws attention to itself; the repetitive aspect in language is also foregrounded and made conscious through quotation's metalinguistic connotations. Reference (meaning) and repetition are typically buried in the automatism of ordinary linguistic usage. Depending on the context of repetition, the original pragmatic meaning of quotations may be altered and even lost, with the result that the quotation is mainly used for its semantic extension, like other linguistic items.[42] If, furthermore, the metalinguistic sense for repetition is also lost in the process of repetition, if the quoted sequence is repeated as automatically and subconsciously as any other linguistic unit through conventionalisation, the quotation ultimately loses its distinctive features. They "become fixed in sayings, proverbs and other kinds of phraseological units", to quote Sabban (2008b: 591) from the beginning of this chapter again. The paradox of unattributed quotations and inadvertent quoting follows suit.

The next two chapters are dedicated to empirical synchronic and diachronic descriptions of these developments from *allusive quotation* via *phraseological quotation* to *dequotational phraseme*.

[42] That the referential aspect is not necessarily always lost demonstrates the case of famous *to be, or not to be* (III, i), which keeps its referential aspect despite frequent use. Yet *to be* is according to the data an exceptional case.

8 Quotations from *Hamlet* in the English phrasicon I: General data on *hoist petards, methodical madnesses, kind cruelties* and *honourable breaches*

This chapter presents some general information on the quotations chosen for empirical investigation. It includes accounts of their first recorded instances, some particular properties, the method of their retrieval, attested formal variety and their frequency of occurrence. This is to set the scene for the diachronic studies of pattern formation and discourse distribution which will follow in chapter 9.

The following quotations from *Hamlet* have been chosen to illustrate the path from allusive quotation to dequotational phraseme:[1]

(1) For 'tis the sport to have the engineer / Hoist with his own petard (III, iv; *hoist/petard*)
(2) Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't. (II, ii; *method/madness*)
(3) I must be cruel, only to be kind (III, iv; *cruel/kind*)
(4) It is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance (I, iv; *honoured/breach*).

For the sake of simplicity, the short-cuts given in the brackets above will be used to refer to the quotations from now on. The four lines were chosen for their shared properties with regard to frequency, length and expressed concept:

- at least 100 entries in *HyperHamlet*
- sentence-length semantic unit in the original text
- expression of a paradoxical concept

First, the token minimum of 100 is a comparably reasonable number "to start with", to refer to Wray again (2008: 102). Of the 3,832 lines in *Hamlet*, *HyperHamlet* records only 14 lines with more than 100 entries in 2014 (cf. appendix). Additional searches in other corpora increased the token frequencies for the present studies to 229 for *cruel/kind*, to 546 for *hoist/petard*, to 671 for *method/madness* and to 706 for *honoured/breach* (cf. section 8.3).

Second, to rule out coincidental similarity, the original size of the quoted passages had to be sentence-length so that the degree of formal and/or conceptual overlap helps distinguish quoted from freely combined or unrelated word choices on probabilistic grounds. The chosen examples are complex sentences consisting of either two clauses in a bipolar construction, or a short clause with an extended modifying participle phrase (*honoured/breach*).

Third, paradoxical expressions and contrasts are a characteristic trait of the original text (cf. Keller 2009, Greenblatt 1997, chapter 2). For this reason, systematic searches for contrasts and paradoxes were carried out during the preparations for this study. However, the systematic searches for paradoxes and contrasts revealed that paradoxical expressions from *Hamlet* are not nearly as widely quoted as was anticipated (cf. the lack of findings for Claudius' first speech, mentioned in chapter 2). Rather, the *conceptual bases* (Honeck 1997: 131 ff.) of all four frequently documented quotations are already attested in older sources such as the Bible (*hoist/petard* and *cruel/kind*), ancient literary sources

[1] Previous versions of the analyses are contained in Quassdorf (2009b and 2012b), Quaßdorf (2012a) and Quaßdorf /Häcki Buhofer 2010).

(*method/madness*) and proverbial wisdom (*honoured/breach*). It appears that familiar older concepts are more memorable for quotation and more transferrable to other contexts than those which are particular to the original text.

8.1 General comments on the analysed quotations

8.1.1 Comments on *For 'tis sport to have the engineer / Hoist with his own petard* (III, iv)

The quotation history of *hoist/petard* starts in 1752, according to the records in HYHA:

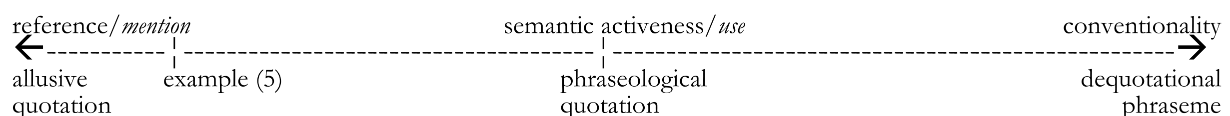
(5) I will now shew against this Author, That his Lordship's Opinion, with which Mr. *Ashton*'s coincides in every one of the Instances to which he has thought proper to object, stands upon the same foot of Credibility, in each of those Respects, as it did before the *Attack* made upon it by this *unfortunately learned* Author, That [sic] the Absurdities are of his *own creation*, and this *unwieldy Engine of Criticism*, instead of serving the Purpose for which it was invented, has, in the Trial, recoil'd back upon itself?

It is the Sport to see the Engineer
Hoist in his own Petard! and't shall go hard
But I will delve one Yard below his Mine,
And blow him to the Moon. Oh, 'tis most sweet
When in one Line two Crafts directly meet!"
Shakespear's Hamlet

(Ashton, Thomas (1752): Some observations on a book entitled An essay, etc.; source HYHA)

This lengthy quotation is properly marked by name and set-off. It occurs in a non-fictional text. Explicit marking and lengthier quotations are recurrent features of the early non-fictional quotation from the 18th and early 19th centuries. Conversely, early quotations in fictional texts, which often date from the 17th century, are typically unmarked and show heavy modifications (cf. chapter 2 and the data in HYHA).

The quoted passage in example (5) is relatively semantically active and would also be largely understandable without the reference to *Hamlet*. Yet the quotation is conspicuously long and explicitly marked; the author apparently calls for further implicatures of the proposition by the evocation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Hamlet's serious quest and his right to self-defence are to be transferred to the argument as being just as serious and righteous. The quotation is clearly used for authoritative purposes. Even the sarcasm expressed in example (5), which is also found in *Hamlet*, is sanctioned by the eminent source. Accordingly, the mentioning aspect is also important in this case. The clear intention to "direct the thoughts of the audience to some item associated with X other than its extension" (Saka 1998: 126), which becomes visible by the length of the quotation and the explicit markers, strongly points to *Hamlet's* meaningfulness in example (5). On the cline between allusive and phraseological quotations, example (5) should therefore be placed relatively close to the referential pole:



Shakespeare is said to have coined the warfare metaphor himself (cf. OED, Hibbard 1994: 361 and Dent 1981: P243.1), yet the underlying idea is much older, and several earlier variants are known, for example:

(6) Behold, he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood. He made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate. (King James Bible, Psalm 7, 14-16)

(7) The fowler is caught in his own net. (Tilley 1950: F626)

The human hope that vice may turn against itself is the *conceptual base* of the Shakespearan quotation (cf. Honeck 1997: 131 ff.). The specific paradox of *hoist/petard* and its variants in examples (6) and (7) is created by the unexpected coincidence of malefactor and victim.

The term *petard*, which denotes a little bomb that is no longer in use and rarely discussed, has presumably survived thanks to this Shakespearean quotation, which makes it almost equivalent to a cranberry morph (cf. Langlotz 2006: 219). COCA contains only 62 instances of *petard:* 50 tokens refer to the Shakespearean expression, and the rest denote either a family name or derive from historical accounts of warfare. Because of its rarity in everyday communication, many speakers of English in the 20th and 21st centuries no longer know what a petard is. This renders the semantics of the phrase semi-transparent. The verb *hoist* is also relatively rare, with only 1.6 occurrences per million words in COCA. In modern English, *hoist* mainly collocates with sails, flags and banners (apart from the odd bag, pack, trophy, cable, foot and hand, cf. COCA). Chapter 9 will show that the opacity of the head noun *petard*, as well as the typical complementation of *hoist* seem to affect the shape of the preferred quoted pattern of *hoist/petard* in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The mere co-occurrence of these two seldom-used lexical words make the Shakespearean source clear to a full-knowing reader.

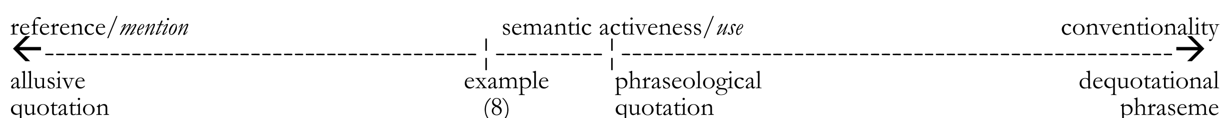
8.1.2 Comments on *Though this be madness, yet there is method in't* (II, ii)

The quotation history of *method/madness* starts as far back as 1672, that is, 80 years earlier than *hoist/petard*. Six further instances are attested in HYHA up to 1750*:*

(8) Don Gerardo: These Actions sure did seem a perfect madness.
Servant: It seem'd indeed a madness methodiz'd, / Like theirs who are Transported far with Passion. (Payne, Henry Neville (1672): The Fatal Jealousie. A Tragedy; source HYHA).

As has been mentioned already, early quotations in fictional texts are generally unmarked and strongly modified. Poetic language typically tries to find fresh ways of expression. In particular, the very early data from before the mid-18th century are often very creatively modified. At that time, it was customary for poets to use texts by other writers as inspiration for their own works, and the notion of copyright was not very strong (cf. also chapter 2).

In example (8), the meaning of the words is transparent in the given context and they need no further references or back-up to communicate their message. The quotation is *used* like a phraseme for its semantic meaning. Yet despite the lack of marking, allusive meaning need not be excluded. Philological experience suggests that the use of the keywords in such an early dramatic text is not incidental (cf. Hibbard 1994). This means it is categorised as a phraseological quotation with a slight shift towards referentiality:



The experience that, contrary to what common sense tells us, madness does not always preclude methodical action in practice is already attested as familiar in antiquity:

(9) In love these evils are inherent; war [one while], then peace again. If any one should endeavor to ascertain these things, that are various as the weather, and fluctuating by blind chance; he will make no more of it, than if he should set about raving by right reason and rule. (Horace [Quintus Horatius Flaccus] (-30): Satires: Damasippus, in a conversation with Horace, proves this paradox of the Stoic philosophy, that most men are actually mad; source HYHA)

However, the world apparently needed a Shakespeare to find a way of expressing the concept of rule-based irrationality that could be taken up for frequent quotation. Searches for *method NEAR madness* in texts which predate *Hamlet* did not yield a single result.

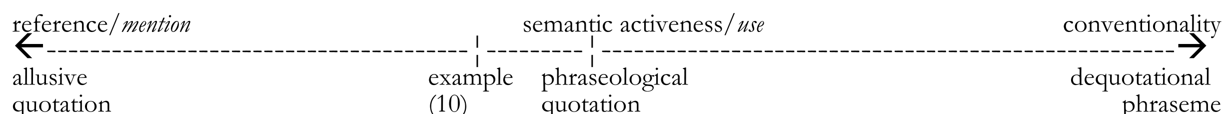
Polonius' aside about Hamlet's seeming madness is phrased as a bipolar concessive. The only two content words *madness* and *method* are linked by euphonic parallelism of the initial phonemes (bilabial + open-mid front vowels). The resulting rhetorical figure of paronomasia endows the conceptual combination with great formal salience: Even heavy modifications of the phrase do not affect the association with the quotation from *Hamlet*, as long as the concepts of *mad* and *method* are combined (including some occasional substitutions, such as *logic* for *method*). Similar to *hoist/petard*, the identification of the Shakespearean trace with respect to the *madness/method* paradox predominantly relies on the co-occurrence of the lexical keywords.

8.1.3 Comments on *I must be cruel, only to be kind* (III, iv)

The quotation history of the *cruel/kind* paradox starts in 1701 according to the data in HYHA:

(10) But th' Family's honour since concern'd I find, / I must seem cruel to thee, to be kind. (D'Urfey, Thomas (1701): The Bath; source HYHA)

The first quoted instance is again an unmarked quotation from a fictional text, yet the formal similarities are clearly identifiable and so is the paradoxical concept. The original constituents *I must*, *cruel* and *to be kind* co-occur in the original order, merely interrupted by the address to a person and an appeasing comment – the cruelty is not real, only "seemingly" so. The quotation in example (10) is clearly understandable without referring to *Hamlet*, hence it is *used* phraseologically. However, like the first quotation of *method/madness*, the genre generates some allusive undertones, especially as the original context in *Hamlet* also refers to "family's honour":



Similar to the *method/madness* quotation, two contrastive concepts are blended into one by alliterating lexemes so that they form the rhetorical figure of paronomasia. This rhetorical figure renders the phrase sufficiently salient. Memorability is further enhanced by the fact that the paradoxical concept is not an entirely new idea. It had been known for centuries from the Bible, as was the case with the concept of *hoist/petard*:

(11) For whom the Lorde loueth, him he chasteneth (The Bible, proverbs 3,12).

The expressed paradox consists in the generally perceived incompatibility of cruelty and kindness. Shakespeare created a more compact, and to some extent more ordinary formulation for the conceptual base of the proverb. The line is composed of two relatively common adjectives as keywords that are linked by simple auxiliaries and function words.

As such, the quotation can be integrated into ordinary language without necessarily marking a breach of style.

The keywords *cruel* and *kind* are very common and also co-occur in other contexts. The difficulty of distinguishing the Shakespearean trace from unrelated co-occurrences does not so much lie with fixed expressions like *a cruel kind of* (cf. LION) and *that's kind of cruel* (cf. COCA), which merely produce a lot of data noise during the searches. Rather, the search process raised the question of whether the co-occurrence of the two adjectives which express a simple contrast, as in example (12), must be counted as a trace from *Hamlet*.

(12) "I live in a zoo," she says. "They come and watch me. I am a caged animal. They have the freedom to come and go, to look or not look, to be kind or cruel. I have no freedom." (Hedges, Chris (2004): Life Against the Wall. *Mother Jones*; source COCA)

Searches in historical text collections reveal that cases which merely contrast *cruel* and *kind* are repeatedly found in texts which predate *Hamlet*, while only two cases of paronomasia are attested which are unlikely to have been widely familiar.[2] The LION search for authors born before 1550 retrieved six tokens of mere contrast (in addition to 21 tokens of the nominal *a cruel kind of*). The contrastive combination of the adjectives was apparently not Shakespeare's own linguistic invention. However, if the search in LION is extended to authors born around 1600, the adjectives *cruel* and *kind* co-occur more frequently from around the turn of the 17th century onwards. For that period, *cruel* collocates with the adjective *kind* over 50 percent of the time (48 out of 90 tokens). Consequently, one might hypothesize that the fame of *Hamlet* also gave that alliterating word combination a boost. However, the historical data also reveal that only the paradoxical expression is explicitly associated with Shakespeare through marking. Of the 11 very early paradoxes found in the Burney collection, 10 are explicitly marked for quotation, while simple contrasts are not:

(13) I shall trouble you again, Sir, and possibly but once more; yet as I have hitherto concluded with a dramatic quotation, I finish the present letter with an assurance that "I am only cruel to be kind;" (Anon. (1770): Article. *General Evening Post*; source HYHA)

(14) I reply, that a Whole is greater than a Part, and plead with Hamlet, that "I must be cruel only to be kind." (Anon (1772): Article. *Public Advertiser*; source HYHA)

(15) The Duke of Richmond […] wished not to employ Savages, who wantonly tortured our fellow-subjects […] and were then to be defended on the ground of having been "cruel only to be kind," (Anon. (1777): Article. *Morning Chronicle* and *London Advertiser*; source HYHA)

Examples (13), (14) and (15) are typographically highlighted by quotation marks. Example (13) is additionally marked metalinguistically by "a dramatic quotation", and example (14) by the name *Hamlet*. Accordingly, only examples – marked or unmarked – which express the paradox are assumed to derive from *Hamlet*. The paradox is mostly reflected by the co-occurrence of the keyword *cruel* with the fragment *to be kind*. Compared to *method/*

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[2] The two predating paronomasias are:
(1) For which he might both iustly kinde and cruell called bee. (Golding, Arthur (1567): From Ovid's Metamorphosis; source HYHA)
(2) Or be more cruel, love, and so be kind (Queen Elizabeth I (1568-1570): Poem; source HYHA).
The Ovid translation may have inspired Shakespeare, so Shakespeare is again a mediator rather than an inventor (cf. chapter 2). This would not be surprising, as classical texts were valued as models of artful poetry (cf. also example (9) above from Horace and Dante's *occhio della mente*, which reappears in *Hamlet* as *mind's eye*). Queen Elizabeth's paronomasia was published only much later, which precludes it from serving as an original model for widespread uptake.

madness, and despite the rhetorical similarity as paronomasias, the commonness of the keywords *cruel* and *kind* leads to a much more restricted range of admissible constructions. Again, context shapes the conditions of the pragmatic phenomenon quotation, not necessarily the original form and meaning.

8.1.4 Comments on *It is a custom, more honour'd in the breach than the observance* (I, iv)

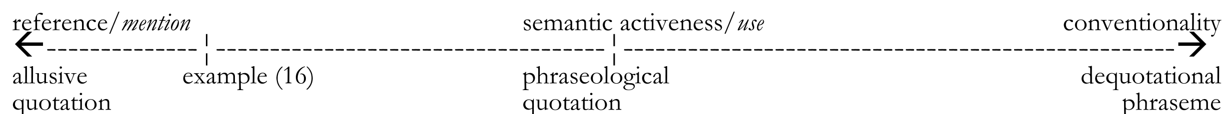
The *honoured/breach* quotation starts its quotation history in 1746 at the latest according to the data collected in HYHA:

(16) My Lord, I know, it is a custom to ask *leave* to dedicate, but chuse much rather to ask pardon for omitting it, and can't help hoping, that the *Earl of Chesterfield*'s opinion of that practice may be seen, in *Shakespear*'s, on a different occasion,

It is a custom, More honouring, by the breach, than the *observance*.

(Hill, Aaron (1746): Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield. 11 October 1746; source HYHA)

This first example occurs in a letter, that is, a non-fictional text. As it serves as an excuse for possibly unconventional behaviour, the authority Shakespeare has been called in for support. The quotation is thus properly marked by name and by typography. The quotation is semantically active but contains a strong allusive component, as a "different occasion" in *Hamlet* is insinuated. Example (16) has to be placed a closer to the referential end of the reference/conventionality cline:



The *honoured/breach* quotation stems from the beginning of the fourth scene in act I, when the audience expects Hamlet to meet the ghost. Perhaps it is the heightened general attention at such a tense moment in the play which facilitated the development of two frequently used quotations from a single sentence. The clause *It is a custom, more honour'd in the breach than the observance* follows directly on from *to the manner born* (cf. chapter 5):

But to my mind, though I am native here
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honour'd in the breach than the observance. (*Hamlet* I, iv)

According to Hibbard (1994: 181, footnote 15-16), *honoured/breach* may derive from the following proverb:

A bad custom is like a good cake, better broken than kept (Tilley 1950: C931)

Again, a paradoxical stance is implied. Common sense demands that rules, customs and traditions are to be kept and highly valued as they structure the social life of a community. Yet both the proverb and the Shakespearean line imply that breaking rules may be creditable. The authority of social norms is defied, and changing times and conditions are acknowledged. While *to be hoist with one's own petard* is a norm-consolidating maxim which implicitly moralises against the violation of rules, *a custom more honour'd in the breach* suspends this moral and instead calls for a critical attitude. Still, this critical stance also reflects a common experience, namely, that customs and traditions are not always appropriate and that exceptions to the rule may become necessary. Hence, the

paradoxical concept is familiar, it does not need to be learned anew, and a well-put phrase expressing this familiar concept is likely to be memorable.

In contrast to the proverb, Shakespeare's version lacks immediate rhetorical catchiness. The humorous, down-to-earth tone of the proverb – the image of a broken cake as an emblem for the right and proper – is transformed into sophisticated sarcasm. While the antithesis of the proverb is preserved, Shakespeare refrains from using the simile *like a good cake* and avoids the explicit value judgement of bad vs. good. The value judgment remains implicit by the direct combination of the positively connoted *honour* with the negatively connoted *breach*. By choosing an elaborate rather than a more popular register of language, Shakespeare identifies Hamlet as a man of learning who talks to his fellow student from Wittenberg, Horatio, about the disgraceful custom of carousing in his native country.[3] This elaborate style apparently influences the usage of the quotation. The data in HYHA indicate that *honoured/breach* is predominantly used in "learned" contexts, such as quality journalism, political and academic discourses, and reviews and essays on the arts (cf. chapter 9).

8.2 Finding the data – Search procedures and the range of variability

The data which will be discussed in this chapter were collected using the methods described in chapter 1. They will be briefly summarised here: In addition to findings in annotated editions, articles on intertextuality and further reading/browsing in the print media collected in HYHA, searches of several digital corpora retrieved the bulk of the data, especially the non-fictional data. Two types of digital searches – keyword searches and fragment searches – were used. Keyword searches involve pairing the lexical words of a line and searching for their co-occurrence in the corpora using proximity searches, such as *sport - engineer*, *sport - hoist*, *sport - petard*, within a span of original distance plus two. Fragment searches include functional words. Fragments of the original line are searched, such as *sport to have the, hoist with*, and *own petard*. This also means that strongly modified quotations can be discovered. In some cases, a combination of proximity and fragment searches proved to be very successful, as in the case of the search *cruel* and *to be kind*. Depending on the specific form of the quoted phrase, keyword searches or fragment searches differ in their efficiency. If the line contains conspicuous lexemes or lexical combinations, keyword searches are very efficient. Accordingly, keyword searches for *hoist/petard*, *method/madness* and *honoured/breach* are successful, while *cruel/kind* requires the fragment *to be kind*.[4]

The choice of the search strings also depends on the digital resource. The general language corpora COHA, COCA and the BYU version of BNC[5] offer straightforward

[3] Shakespeare repeatedly uses style to characterise people's standings. The most prominent example for Hamlet as a philosophically trained university student is the famous line *To be, or not to be*, whose structure was used in disputations on logical issues and must therefore have evoked the association with academic discourse for contemporaneous listeners before it turned into the most widely-known (and hackneyed) quotation ever (cf. Greenfield 2008). Also, the long-windedness of the original *method/madness* construction linguistically captures Polonius' general attitude.

[4] The proximity searches for *cruel* and *kind* produce a lot of data noise due to the homonymy of the noun *kind* and the adjective *kind*. For comparison, the lexeme *kind* is recorded 185,404 times in COCA, while *petard* only occurs 62 and *hoist* 735 times in that 450-million-word corpus.

[5] Mark Davies from the Brigham Young University (BYU), who developed COCA and COHA, also offers a more

proximity searches, wildcard searches, searches for fragments (phrases) and syntactical schemas by abstracted searches for parts of speech. They return the results listed in concordance views which are easy to survey. Valid hits can quickly be sorted from invalid ones, even if the search was relatively open and generated considerable data noise. The text collections (e.g. LION, HCPP, BritP, TDA and Brney) do not return their data in such a user-friendly way, nor do they offer such a rich variety of search options. For instance, the proximity search in TDA only works within the article or page, not within a sentence, paragraph or a specified span of words. Accordingly, one must use well-chosen fragment searches, such as *own petard*. The most successful searches – those that can retrieve a large amount of data while producing minimal data noise – are assumed to empirically reveal the formal core that most clearly distinguishes a specific quotation from other phrasal structures.

The following sub-sections briefly describe the individual search processes and indicate the most successful search string(s) for each of the Shakespearean phrases under discussion here. Some comments on the attested variability of the phrase complement each section.

8.2.1 Searching for *hoist/petard*

Having already remarked that the two lexemes *hoist* and *petard* are relatively rarely used in English and therefore conspicuous, it is no surprise that the keyword search *hoist* NEAR petard**[6] is the most effective search for the line *For 'tis sport to have the engineer / Hoist with his own petard* (III, iv). The searches for the more regular lemmas *sport* and *engineer* only retrieved the occasional quotation, mainly in older texts. Thanks to the near-uniqueness of *petard* in the 20th and 21st centuries, searches for this individual lexeme can be done in the modern corpora without generating unmanageable data noise (e.g. 50 out of 62 hits for petard* in COCA are valid).

	hoist NEAR petard**	*own NEAR petard**	*hoist* NEAR own*
BNC	18 valid hits (of 19 in total)	16 valid hits (of 16)	17 valid hits (of 20)
COCA	43 valid hits (of 43 in total)	44 valid hits (of 44)	40 valid hits (of 46)
COHA	44 valid hits (of 44 in total)	51 valid hits (of 52)	53 valid hits (of 74)

Table 1: Results of the most efficient search sequences for *hoist/petard* in the general language corpora BNC, COCA and COHA

The historical text collections had to be searched with fragment searches, the most effective of which was *own petard*. The combination with the reflexive pronoun reliably ruled out instances of literal petards (particularly in the texts from the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries) and frequent occurrences of the French family name *Petard*. The derived proximity search *own NEAR petar** and *hoist* NEAR own* were then also efficiently applied to the general language corpora BNC, COHA and COCA. They helped detect the odd additional variant, while the bulk of the retrieved data overlapped.

user-friendly interface and more efficient searches for BNC than the original (and older) XAIRA software from Oxford Computing Services.

6 As already mentioned in chapter 1, the LION syntax for proximity searches is simple and intuitive. Therefore, it is used throughout. Other corpora work with different codes, but this does not change the search principle.

Table 1 gives an overview of the best searches and their results in the general language corpora BNC, COCA and COHA. The numbers in brackets indicate the total number of retrieved hits. As table 1 shows, the searches *hoist* NEAR petard** and *own NEAR petard** do not generate much invalid data. However, while *hoist* NEAR own* is still effective, it is more open to unrelated hits, such as "away they sailed; hoisted a flag of their own" (COHA 1838) and "it is a part of Dr. v. Hoist's own reproach" (COHA 1876).On the other hand, this search string found spelling mistakes like *pitard* in example (17) and variants of substituted *petard* as in examples (18) and (19):

(17) We will go through the U.N. But you understand Saddam Hussein is about to be hoisted on his own pitard. (Anon. (2002): Interview with Boutros Boutros-Ghali. *CNN*; source COCA)
(18) If they do anything at all different than what you tell' em, you shoot' em, and so what he's really done is hoisted himself on his own rules by saying no one could do anything without central command (Anon. (1991): Interview. *PBS Newshour*; source COCA)
(19) "Don't you see how you are going to be hoisted with your own ammunition?" the little man went on spitefully. (Lynde, Francis (1907): Empire Builders; source COHA)

The search sequences *own NEAR petard** and/or *hoist* NEAR petard** retrieved cases of verb substitution and inserted modifiers:

(20) But Solmes, since he had fallen under the influence of Touchwood, was constantly employed in counteracting the schemes which he seemed most active in forwarding, while the traveller enjoyed (to him an exquisite gratification) the amusement of countermining, as fast as Bulmer could mine, and had in prospect the pleasing anticipation of blowing up the pioneer with his own petard. (Scott, Sir Walter (1824): Saint Ronan's Well; source HYHA)
(21) He said, Don't be boring... Don't hang yourself on your own petard – spit it out... Spit out what you can't chew. (Brodkey, Harold (1991): The Runaway Soul; source HYHA)
(22) If it is true that the publication of figures showing a deficit shortly before the election was a significant factor in Labour's 'last minute' loss of support, it is surely fitting – a case of Wilson being hoist by his own technocratic petard (Cottrell, A (1984): Social classes in Marxist theory; source BNC)
(23) But CBS was now hoist by its own equal-time petard (Mankiewicz, Frank (1976): What's wrong with the Democrats? *Harpers*; source COHA)

Example (20), a relatively early quoted token from 1824, substitutes the verb *hoist* by *blow up*, and the *engineer* by *pioneer*. Both substitutions occur occasionally. Example (21) illustrates a single modification. The substitution of *hoist* by *hang* disrupts the metaphor's image and probably indicates the semantic opacity of the lemma *petard* in 1991. The speaker may have formed the construction based on other typical collocates of the verb *hoist* (*sails* and *banners*), which are indeed *hung* on poles. *Technocratic* in (22) and *equal-time* in (23) point out the cause of the metaphorical *petard*, the self-reflexive harm which derives from new administrative rules or unlucky time-management in the specific context of the quoting text. These are cases of creative, context-bound modifications for topic-indication (cf. Langlotz 2006).

The search for *hoist* NEAR petar** finds examples where *own* is substituted by the indefinite article *a*, as in (24), and by the qualifier *same*, as in example (25):

(24) So the situation is that Dole, you know, Dole is hoist on a petard, that he did not know at the time was going to be a petard. (Dresang, Dick (1996): Interview. *CNN*; source HYHA)
(25) Yet I hoist myself by the same petard while camping, when I build a fire and stare into its lively lightedness for hours. (Daniel, John (2007): In Praise of Darkness. *Southwest Review*; source HYHA)

Sometimes the structure of the phrase is heavily transformed, while the keyword(s) unambiguously point out the model:

(26) In an environment of pure invention, heroes are twice as heroic, villains twice as villainous and life's follies doubly absurd. Toward the petard of such celebrated masters of adult make-believe as Jonathan Swift and Samuel Butler, Thomas Stanley Matthews has hoisted himself with a nightmare called *The Moon's No Fool.* (Anon. (1936): Indirect Nightmare. *Time Magazine*; source HYHA)

(27) What they're looking for is the bargain, and a bargain hunter sometimes falls on the petard of their own greed (Kee, Bryan (1995): Buyer Beware; Outlet Store Prices not always Indicator of Real Bargains. *CBS 48 Hours*; source HYHA)

The examples above illustrate the phrase's great potential for variability. Tense, aspect, mode and number can all be changed. Attributive insertions and additions do not affect the recognisability of the phrase, and neither does the occasional substitution of the main keywords. The singularity of *petard* and the relative rarity of the verb *to hoist* make this variational freedom possible. At the same time, the recorded variants demonstrate the quality of the searches, which retrieved a wide range of unforeseeable modifications. This variational range aside, chapter 9 will show that the original Shakespearean bipolar construction is regularly used as a participle phrase in four recurrent patterns.

8.2.2 Searching for *method/madness*

The co-occurrence of *madness* and *method* can be considered just as unique as that of *hoist* and *petard*, even though the key nouns are far less conspicuous if they *come single spies*. Accordingly, the proximity search *madness NEAR method** proved to be most efficient, as it retrieved the bulk of the data without producing data noise. However, the wildcard search for *mad* NEAR method**, which was designed to capture all derivate terms of *mad*, returned innumerable hits of the participle *made* and was thus dismissed. Instead, searches were done for *mad NEAR method** and *madly NEAR method**, though it was with little success: COCA and COHA each retrieved only a single instance. Examples (28) and (29) illustrate two quotations that use the adjective *mad* rather than the noun *madness*:

(28) Now he could be mad with method, knowing it to be madness: then he was compelled to make-believe his madness wisdom. (Hardy, Thomas (1892): The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved. A Sketch of a Temperament; source HYHA)

(29) The man's no fool. He made a mess of things in the park, but it's the first time he's got it wrong. He might be mad, but he's also methodical. (Curtis, Jack [David Harsent] (1991): Sons of the Morning; source HYHA)

Example (28) from Hardy combines the forms *mad*, *madness* and *method* on the linguistic surface, but the meaning is changed and the paradox muted: *Method* becomes a *mad* obsession and therefore equals *madness*. Hardy thus illustrates how wordplay can create different meaning variants. Example (29) turns the original nominal construction into an adjectival one, and preserves the paradoxical meaning.

The results of the proximity searches for the two keywords show that the quotation is rarely quoted verbatim. Of the 298 English references in HYHA, only 9 are quoted exactly. The quotation is more often than not modified by substitution, omission, addition and/or permutation:

(30) Indeed, to a great extent they handle the very subject of their madness with orderly method, they treat it with seriousness and sound judgement. Thus there is often, it is said, a method in men's madness. (Keble, John (1844): Keble's Lectures on Poetry; source HYHA)

(31) But the producer had taken every chance offered him, and there was especial applause for the mirthless laughter of Sir Fretful, the raving of Tilburina, in white satin (Morcom), and the more methodical madness of the Confidante, in white linen. Tilburina scored a palpable but unforeseen

hit, in her more flowery speeches, by dropping into sundry inflexions of the voice that meant little to the visitor but for the initiated suggested the familiar accent of certain venerable models in the audience. (A correspondent (1933): "The Critic" at Repton. *The Times*; source HYHA)[7]

(32) But when a goods engine makes its appearance from the outer darkness, it is possible to realize that the shunters' apparent madness is nothing but the acme of method.(Richards, Jeffrey and John M. MacKenzie (1986): The Railway Station: A Social History; source HYHA)

(33) Antiabortion demonstrations seem, to the uninitiated, noisy, chaotic affairs. The Melbourne IMPACT training (which stands for Institute of Mobilized Prophetic Activated Christian Training) disclosed some recommended methods behind the madness. A private detective lectured on how best to obtain information about everyone associated with an abortion clinic. (Gray, Paul (1993): Camp for Crusaders. *Time Magazine*; source HYHA)

Example (30) contains two variants in which the bipolar structure has disappeared along with most of the functional words. It is also characterised by the substitution of the original preposition *in* by *with*, and the qualifier *orderly* has been added to *method* as a case of literal-scene manipulation (cf. Langlotz 2006). The uptake of the quotation in the following sentence is a case of word order change (permutation), as *method* is mentioned first, not last. Example (31) condenses the original bipolar clause into a noun-phrase construction, which preserves the paradoxical meaning. The noun is changed into an adjective and the word order is reversed. Example (32) modifies *method* by adding *the acme of*, and modifies *madness* by adding *apparent*. The bipolar concessive is sacrificed for the sake of a simile. Example (33) omits most of the original bipolar structure, adds the qualifier *recommended* to *method*, which is grammatically adapted and put into the plural, and substitutes the original preposition by *behind*.

A few cases of keyword substitution are also attested in the HYHA data:

(34) Three times I have read your letter, unable to make head or tail of the latter part till the third reading, and after discovering the sense (enigmatic as the prophecies of Delphi or the whore of Babylon) conclude with one of my new correspondents that you were all mad – by Gad – matter in madness says Shakespeare, but what was the matter? (Southey, Robert (1793): Letter to Grosvenor Charles Bedford; source HYHA)

(35) His desire to fall madly in love had a logic to it, that much he knew. (Pamuk, Orhan (2002): Snow; source HYHA).

Example (34) illustrates substitution by a phonologically similar noun – *matter* instead of *method*.[8] Example (35) is an instance of near-synonymic substitution – *there is method in't* is replaced by *had a logic to it*. Moreover, both these examples are marked. In the case of (34), it is direct, as Shakespeare is mentioned. In the case of (35), it is indirect, by context. The author Orhan Pamuk frequently alludes to *Hamlet* in his novel *Snow*, which means the reader is primed for further intertextual traces. The qualifier *madly* near *logic* is therefore likely to be a deliberate allusive wordplay. The direct search for the synonym logic* *NEAR mad(ness)* added five more valid references in COHA and COCA.

The quotations above show that almost any modification is possible as long the lexical roots of the two keywords *madness* and *method* co-occur, or as long as only one of the two key terms is substituted by a synonym or a similar sounding lexeme.

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[7] cf. also *Hamlet* (V, ii): A hit, a very palpable hit.

[8] This example is a case of a blended quotation. *Matter* is very likely to be an additional allusion to Gertrude's impatient reaction to Polonius' long-winded explanations about the reasons for Hamlet's strange behaviour in *Hamlet* (II, ii): More matter with less art!

	*madness NEAR method**	*mad NEAR method**	*madness NEAR logic**	*though this be*	*there is method**
BNC	13 (out of 16)	0 (out of 3)	0	1 (out of 2)	1 (out of 1)
COCA	108 (out of 110)	1 (out of 5)	4 (out of 10)	2 (out of 2)	6 (out of 6)
COHA	95 (out of 95)	1 (out of 2)	1 (out of 5)	0 (out of 23)	8 (out of 12)

Table 2: Results of the most efficient search sequences for *method/madness* in the general language corpora BNC, COCA and COHA

Searches like *though this be, though this be madness, this be madness, there is method* or there is NEAR in it* returned either no results, no new results or too many invalid results. The saliency of the co-occurring keywords entails (and is confirmed by the fact) that the open search string *method* NEAR madness* is effective and does not return much data noise (cf. table 2). The method-madness paronomasia has no further linguistic "competitors", the traces of the quotation can easily be found with the single string *method* NEAR madness*, so the core of the quotation consists in the mere co-occurrence of the two keywords. Nevertheless, as chapter 9 will show, recurrent patterns of quoting are discernible.

8.2.3 Searching for *cruel/kind*

In contrast to the two previous examples, the lexical words *cruel* and *kind* are very common, which means their co-occurrence does not necessarily evoke the association with *Hamlet*. As already mentioned, the proximity search for the keywords *cruel NEAR kind* returned many instances of unrelated constructions. For instance, COCA retrieved 41 instances of the phrase *a cruel kind of* out of 66 results for the search *cruel NEAR kind*. Free combinations were also attested. The results for the keyword searches in COCA, COHA and BNC could, however, be quickly checked thanks to the KWIC view lists. This meant that more specific searches like *cruel NEAR to be kind, must be cruel, cruel only to be kind* and *cruel to be kind* only had to be used for the large text collections (LION, TDA, HCPP, etc.) to keep the ratio of valid vs. invalid data manageable (cf. table 3).

	cruel NEAR kind*	*cruel* NEAR to be kind**
LION	37 (out of 398)	37 (out of 50)
BNC	8 (out of 19)	8 (out of 10)
COCA	9 (out of 66)	9 (out of 12)
COHA	13 (out of 146)	13 (out of 22)

Table 3: Results of the most efficient search sequences for *cruel/kind* in the text collection LION and the general language corpora BNC, COCA and COHA

The results quickly showed that the keyword *cruel* and the phrase *to be kind* form the distinctive core of the quotation. The phrase *to be kind* preserves the paradoxical meaning and thus distinguishes the Shakespearean paradox from other constructions which use the alliterative sound effect to express a simple contrast. Other additions, substitutions, omissions and permutations are then easily tolerable, as the following examples illustrate:

(36) I finish the present letter with an assurance that
"I am only cruel to be kind,"
And that your reformation will give much more pleasure than your disgrace, to
Wormwood.
(Wormwood (1770): To Robert Morris. *General Evening Post London*; source HYHA)

(37) Sometimes in life it is necessary to be cruel in order to be kind. (Baumgarten, C. (1904): Free Meals for Children. *The Times*; source HYHA)
(38) Cruel to be kind, it's a very good sign. Cruel to be kind means that I love you. (Gomm, Ian and Nick Lowe (1979). Cruel to Be Kind. *Labour of Lust*; source HYHA)
(39) Being Cruel to Be Kind: Don't Indulge Your Partner's Woes (Szalavitz, Maia (2005): Sweet Solace: 10 Mostly Pleasant Truths about Pain. *Psychology Today*; source HYHA)

Example (36) omits the deontic meaning component and changes the word order from *cruel only* to *only cruel*. Example (37) keeps the deontic meaning but uses the paraphrasing substitute *it is necessary to*. Furthermore, this example omits *only* but adds *in order* to reinforce the purpose. Example (38) omits everything from the periphery and only quotes the pure core. Example (39) preserves the copula but changes the grammatical aspect, as the original infinitive *be* is turned into the gerund *being*. As long as the form *cruel* and *to be kind* co-occur, or the paradoxical meaning is preserved in any other way, these types of modifications do not affect the recognisability of the quotation. The searches for *cruel/kind* had to be more restricted for the necessary fragment search in the text collection corpora, but they still captured some modifications. Despite the narrowed range of variational liberty, more than one variant occurred over the course of the 19th century. The 20th century, meanwhile, shows a clear preference for only the shortest possible form: *cruel to be kind* (cf. chapter 9).

8.2.4 Searching for *honoured/breach*

The most successful search, especially in the older corpora, was the fragment *in the breach than*, which was complemented by the efficient proximity searches of the keywords *breach NEAR hono*, breach NEAR observance** and *hono* NEAR observance* (cf. table 4). As *honour* was a much more important concept in the past than it is today, the proximity searches produced some data noise in the older corpora, with recurrent constructions such as *breach of honour* and, especially in HCPP, the formula *against the Honour, and in Breach of the Privilege, of this House.*

	in the breach than	*breach* NEAR hono**	*breach* NEAR observ**	*hono* NEAR observ**
LION	20 (out of 20)	23 (out of 24)	20 (out of 23)	18 (out of 23)
BNC	9 (out of 9)	12 (out of 13)	9 (out of 13)	7 (out of 13)
COCA	16 (out of 16)	30 (out of 30)	19 (out of 19)	13 (out of 61)[9]
COHA	18 (out of 18)	36 (out of 45)	25 (out of 27)	22 (out of 132)

Table 4: Results of the most efficient search sequences for *honoured/breach* in the text collection LION and the general language corpora BNC, COCA and COHA

The empirically successful sequence *in the breach than* is more like an *n-gram* than a meaningful phrase. Nevertheless, it is as an unmistakable element of the quotation even if the other keywords *custom*, *honour* and *observance* are substituted:

(40) He was sensible no doubt that summum jus was summa injuria; and that "some laws were better kept in the breach than in the performance." (Mr. Burke (1778): Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain: Fourth session; source HYHA)

[9] An invalid hit is, for instance, the sequence "…the consulate had supplied regular intelligence to Tokyo from what could be gleaned from Honolulu newspapers and casual observations." (Savela, Edward (2012): In Plain Sight; source COCA)

(41) There is an inevitable conflict between the observance of human rights and the wielding of arbitrary power. As a result, all across Africa these rights are respected more in the breach than in the observance. (Conteh-Morgan, Earl (1994): The Military and Human Rights in a Post-Cold War Africa; source HYHA)

In example (40), three of the four keywords are substituted without compromising recognisability. The replaced terms are not even clear synonyms, but rather adopt a near-synonymous meaning in the specific construction: *Custom* is replaced by *laws*, *honour'd* by *kept* and *observance* by *performance*. The trigger for the interpretation is the form *in the breach than*. In example (41), the two keywords *custom* and *honoured* are substituted by the near-synonyms *rights* and *respected*. In most cases, *custom* is replaced by other terms from the wider semantic field of norms, such as laws, rules, regulations, traditions and rights.

The proximity search *breach NEAR hono** also found cases of omitted comparison:

(42) A vile stage-custom, honour'd in the breach. (Lloyd, Robert (1762): The Actor Adress'd to Bonnell Thornton, Esq. *Poems*; source HYHA)

(43) And she continues to keep in touch with many of these friends, past and present [...] with invitations to come and stay; invitations, her correspondents quickly learn, best honored in the breach. (Schenkar, Joan (2011): The Talented Miss Highsmith: The Secret Life and Serious Art of Patricia Highsmith; source HYHA)

Cases of an omitted, substituted, unusually embedded or dislodged *breach* are reliably found by the proximity search *observ* NEAR hono**

(44) I however, may safely say, that it was in the observance, not in the breach of duty. (Smith Turner, Charlotte (2005): Preface. Desmond; source HYHA)

(45) George Barnwell has been acted as usual at both Theatres during the Christmas week. Whether this is "custom more honoured in the breach or the observance," we shall not undertake to decide. (Hazlitt, William (1815): George Barnwell. A View of the English Stage; source HYHA).

(46) Yet it should be remembered, that Right and Convenience may be often at variance; which is the case at present. We have many Laws yet unrepealed, the revival of which would cause infinite disturbances: we are therefore more to be honoured for the breach than the observance of them; they remain unexerted and dormant. (Draper, Sir William (1774): The thoughts of a traveller upon our American disputes; source HYHA).

(47) Unfortunately, even in structuralist work (e.g., recent theories of narrative) this teleological logic – so inimical to the typologist's instinct for orderly divisions and fixed pairings and neat symmetries – is more honored by homage than observance. (Sternberg, Meir (1982): Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse; source HYHA)

(48) I am sorry to say that I have myself deviated from this rule occasionally, under circumstances which I shall soon have to explain; but though I may perhaps succeed in showing that my offences have not been serious, I believe the rule itself to be one of universal application, always honoured in the observance, if not always equally dishonoured in the breach. (Conington, John (1882): Preface. The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace; source HYHA)

The first three examples deviate from the original embedding of *breach*. Instead of *in the breach than*, one finds *in the breach of* (44), *in the breach or* (45), and *for the breach* (46). Example (47) is a case of lexical substitution with *homage* instead of *breach*, and example (48) is a case of permutation. Despite the range of modifications, this quotation also develops clear recurrent formal and semantic patterns over time (cf. chapter 9).

8.3 Quantitative overview

The numbers in the previous section suggest that the distributions of the chosen quotations vary in the different corpora. The same applies to their overall frequencies of

occurrence. Therefore, the list of the source corpora used in the actual analyses is not necessarily the same across the selected quotations. For instance, the numerous data on *hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach* in HCPP deserve to be analysed separately, but this type of analysis would be pointless for the other quotations, which occur far less frequently in that text collection. Accordingly, the tables below list only those corpora and/or text collections in which the respective quotation is found in sufficiently large numbers. Additional data from HYHA, which stem from minor finds in other corpora and diverse printed sources, complement the following quantitative overview of the data.

The analysis of *hoist/petard* in chapter 9 will be based on more than 500 tokens, which mainly stem from the TDA and the HCPP text collections, as well as from COHA, COCA, BNC, LION and several other sources collected in the HYHA database (cf. table 5). The normalised frequencies in the source corpora range from around 11 per 100 million words in COCA to some estimated 30 instances per 100 million words in the TDA corpus.[10] The corpus size of HCPP and LION is indicated by numbers of pages and/or of texts, which vary considerably in size. A realistic extrapolation of the corpus size in terms of word counts is therefore not possible.

	absolute nos.	*normalised nos. per 100 million words*
TDA	320	< 32
HCPP	57	n.a.[11]
COHA	54	13.5
COCA	52	11.6
BNC	18	18
LION	13	n.a.
additional references in HYHA[12]	35	n.a.
Total	546	

Table 5: Sources and the respective token and normalised frequencies of *hoist/petard*

The relatively high token frequencies in TDA and HCPP for *hoist/petard* contrast with the relative rarity in the literary corpus LION. In fact, this Shakespearean passage appears to be the most quoted passage from *Hamlet* in *The Times*, and is the second most quoted sequence in HCPP. These exceptional raw figures suggest a preference for non-fictional texts about *world affairs*, as BNC aptly categorises discourses on politics, business and public social affairs. The discourse distribution of *hoist/petard* will be examined further in chapter 9.

The analysis of *method/madness* will be based on 671 tokens (cf. table 6). The normalised token frequency ranges from 13 per 100 million words in BNC to almost 25 per 100 million words in COCA. Compared to *hoist/petard,* the raw data in table 6 show that the *madness/method* paradox is more frequently found in the American corpora, while the British BNC and TDA give lower frequencies. In either case, the frequencies indicate a likelihood of general familiarity which is comparable to other conventional units; the

[10] As already mentioned in chapter 5, footnote 3, p. 105, the size of TDA has been extrapolated to at least 1,000 million words. It is likely, however, that the corpus is actually much larger. The given normalised numbers are therefore to be treated with caution.

[11] HCPP comprises more than 10 million pages with varying text density (between roughly 80 to 400 words according to spot checks of sample pages). The corpus is huge but not sensibly definable in terms of word quantity.

[12] *HyperHamlet* has a total of 108 datasets for *hoist/petard* in 2014; several items stem from BNC, COCA, HCPP and LION. These are listed separately in the table. HYHA thus only provides 35 additional datasets.

normalised frequencies lie within the range of other general idioms in English (cf. chapter 7). The literary corpus LION returned a much richer harvest of *method/madness* than *hoist/petard*, with the result that the differences in genre distribution are less strong: The HYHA data give a ratio of 1:2 for fictional vs. non-fictional data.

	absolute nos.	*normalised nos. per 100 million words*
TDA	203	< 20
HCPP	18	n.a.
COHA	95	23.8
COCA	112	24.8
BNC	13	13
LION	72	n.a.
additional references in HYHA[13]	158	n.a.
Total	671	

Table 6: Sources and the respective token and normalised frequencies of *method/madness*

The analysis of *cruel/kind* will be based on 229 tokens (cf. table 7). The normalised frequencies vary from 2 to 8 per 100 million words. The raw figures for this quotation seem to suggest that references to this line are more popular in British English.

	absolute nos.	*normalised nos. per 100 million words*
TDA	81	< 8
LION	37	n.a.
HCPP	25	n.a.
COHA	13	3.25
COCA	9	2
BNC	8	8
additional references in HYHA[14]	54	n.a.
Total	229	

Table 7: Sources and the respective token and normalised frequencies of *cruel/kind*

Corpus	*absolute nos.*	*normalised nos. per 100 million words*
TDA	286	< 28
HCPP	151	n.a.
COHA	36	9
COCA	39	8
BNC	13	13
LION	23	n.a.
additional references in HYHA[15]	158	n.a.
Total	706	

Table 8: Sources and the respective token and normalised frequencies of *honoured/breach*

The last example, *honoured/breach*, is comparably frequent. The analysis will be based on more than 700 tokens (cf. table 8).The normalised frequencies range from 8 per 100 million words in COCA to presumably 28 per 100 million words in TDA. The frequent occurrence in TDA and HCPP in particular points again to a preferred use in political

[13] *HyperHamlet* has a total of 312 datasets for *method/madness* in 2014, 298 of which are in English. Several English datasets stem from BNC, COCA, HCPP, LION and TDA. These are listed separately in the table. HYHA thus provides 158 additional datasets.

[14] *HyperHamlet* has a total of 143 datasets of *cruel/kind* in 2014; several items stem from COCA, COHA, TDA, HCPP and LION. These are listed separately in the table. HYHA thus provides 54 additional datasets.

[15] *HyperHamlet* has a total of 190 datasets for *honoured/ breach* in 2014; several items stem from COCA, COHA, TDA and LION. These are listed separately in the table. HYHA thus provides 158 additional datasets.

contexts. Many of the numerous additional data in HYHA derive from other non-fictional text collections on world affairs, such as ECCO, MOML and the Burney collection.[16]

The analyses in chapter 9 will be based on several hundred references. At first sight, this seems promising. However, these frequencies are still well short of any statistical significance threshold of about one per million words (cf. Moon 1998: 59). This comparison does not contradict the notion, mentioned in chapter 7, that it is better not to generalise significance thresholds (cf. Gries 2008). It should only be kept in mind that the data are not numerous enough to permit statistical relevance. If *honoured/breach* is found 151 times in the HCPP corpus, it is used only once every other year on average, and 300 instances of *hoist/petard* in TDA amounts to three quotations within a span of 2 years on average. Given the mass of texts in HCPP and TDA, this usage seems very occasional. Quotations from Shakespeare are, after all, not so very frequent in quantifiable terms, but they are apparently conspicuous enough to create the Shakespeare myth and the general perception of the Bard's ubiquity (cf. chapter 2).

As statistical relevance is excluded, the numerical data mainly serve two purposes. First, the counts indicate trends in the relative frequency compared to other lines from *Hamlet*. It has already been mentioned that of the 3,832 lines in *Hamlet*, only 14 have over 100 references in HYHA. Second, the relative token frequency allows generalisations about pattern formation by "internal" comparison: If a specific form or several forms of the quoted sequence are noticeably recurrent compared to other attested forms, conventionalisation can be assumed for the recurrent form, especially if it is attested in several corpora. Recurrent forms are interpreted as tell-tale signs of conventionalisation (cf. chapter 7). The next chapter will trace the diachronic development of the four quotations introduced here, and will pay particular attention to highlighting the patterns of use, be it of form and/or meaning, as well as their preferred discursive distribution. Along with the attested frequencies which correspond to the frequencies of comparable phrasemes such as proverbs and sayings, pattern formation and discursive variety are interpreted as tell-tale signs of conventionalisation.

[16] cf. chapter 1 for more details about these corpora.

9 Quotations from *Hamlet* in the English phrasicon II: Pattern formation and discourse distribution

The following empirical studies of pattern formation and discursive distribution follow the four quotations *hoist/petard*, *method/madness*, *cruel/kind* and *honoured/breach* from *Hamlet* on their path to dequotational phraseme. To become a dequotational phraseme, a quotation must first renounce pragmatic idiomaticity and should get rid of any clues which signal its status as replicated language with an attributable source. Second, it must develop fixed patterns of use which correspond to fixation processes as observed in ordinary language (cf. Burger/Linke 2000: 746 f.). Third, it should be used in a wide variety of discourses (cf. Sabban 2008b, Rodríguez Martín 2014). Accordingly, the following studies trace the four chosen quotations with respect to their marking history, their pattern formation and their discursive distribution.

Chapter 4 established that marking is a linguistic means of highlighting the referential dimension of quotations and for adding pragmatic idiomaticity. Through markers, the language user gives the interlocutor linguistic clues so that the latter can derive the intended implicatures of a quoted sequence. Markers thus code some degree of pragmatic idiomaticity. The absence of marking may, however, mean three things:

a) The quotation is so familiar that the author judges any marker to be superfluous.
b) The metalinguistic referencing does not play a role in interpretation, as the sequence is used as a unit of the object language.
c) The author does not know that s/he is using quoted words.

Differentiating between situation a), b) and c) is not always easy, as one may turn into the other over time. However, a *consistent* lack of marking over time is interpreted as a sign of situations b) and c). The source of the phrase is no longer relevant and the expression is used semantically as a unit of the object language, that is, it is used *like* a phraseme. Situation c) presupposes that the link to the source is entirely severed; the quoted sequence is acquired from prior unmarked usage events and independently from its original source. Consequently, it is possible to quote unknowingly.

9.1 Formal patterns

The formation of patterns is typically linked to some deviation from the source text. Recurrent patterns of deviation show that the majority of the tokens no longer derive directly from the original form, meaning and/or context. The "poor cousin" quotation spreads from one usage event to next and thus effaces its "family roots". The original source is no longer consulted and therefore loses its corrective potential. A synchronic view of quotations can point out that patterns and discursive variety exist, while a diachronic view can trace the changes. Such changes may be gradual and seemingly unidirectional, yet they may also appear to occur in leaps, as the following studies will show. After all, allusive quotations, phraseological quotations and dequotational phrasemes may co-exist as long as the source text and/or its author are still known among the speakers of a language.

It has already been mentioned that the attested quantity of the data does not allow for valid generalisations. One of the methodological solutions for overcoming this difficulty

is to analyse the data according to their source corpora. The data which are collected in *HyperHamlet* offer a good initial overview of forms, meaning and context of use. However, they come from different sources, are not exhaustive (and can never be) and are even somewhat unevenly distributed across time because preference was given to early data and data which are difficult to access. Therefore, in a second step, the quotations' progress is followed exhaustively within other corpora in which they frequently appear. If the observable data turn out to be similar across the various corpora, some generalisation seems permissible, especially as many corpus linguists have noticed that similar analyses in different corpora often yield very different results because of the different corpus compositions (cf. Moon 1998, Colson 2003, Philip 2008, Rodríguez Martín 2014).

9.1.1 Formal patterns of quoting: *hoist/petard*

Today, *hoist/petard* is generally quoted in a reduced form. The construction *For 'tis sport to have* … is only found in the occasional older quotation:

(1) In struggling for too much they would then lose all, and, indeed --
" 'Tis sport to see the engineer
" Hoist by his own petard !"
Your obedient servant, M. W.
(M. W. (1838): The New Roman Catholic Claims. *The Times*; source TDA)

Example (1) quotes the entire clause, but again shows that verbatim renditions are not mandatory even though careful quoting is suggested by its length and typography. The preposition *by* does not correspond to the original Shakespearean phrase, but constitutes a near-synonymous substitution. Moreover, the causative construction *to have the engineer hoist* is transformed to *to* see *the engineer hoist* – the writer puts himself in the position of a mere witness rather than that of an agent.

Example (1), and examples (8) and (9) below still contain all four lexical words of the Shakespearean line. The co-occurrence of the keywords *sport* and *engineer* clearly point out the quotation by extended similarity. The loss of those lexical words and the consistent shortening of the Shakespearean line from the late 19th century onwards constitute a lexical reduction with morpho-syntactic consequences (cf. Burger/Linke 2000: 746f.). As such, the quoted sequence develops in ways which are also observable in object-language phrasemes.

The reduction from clause to participle phrase is not the only recurrent pattern of the *hoist/petard* line. The concordance view of the data in HYHA in table 1 helps identify the typical patterns of use. The original preposition *with* is found alongside the synonymic *by* and alternative *on*. Moreover, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the regularised participle form *hoist*ed instead of the original *hoist* is repeatedly attested, meaning that the following forms are recurrent:

- hoist with one's own petard
- hoist by one's own petard
- hoist on one's own petard
- hoisted by/on one's own petard

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:ertain irony in that, I suppose.  Hoisted by my own petard.  [Joseph Digenova:] I think
 [Mrs. Featherstone (collapsed):]  Hoist with my own petard!     [Ethel (aside to Mrs.
:o do it for us. So I was landed,  hoist with my own petard , if you like. Landed with
:ok again) Oh, Rupert, touchÃ(c)!  Hoisted by my own petard.  (laughs, fades into sigh) I
:ough the days around here. Does  'hoist on your own petard'  apply, do you think?"
: - " "Enough," Stuinhurst said.  "Hoist with my own petard,  Inspector? Bravo." For W. H.
;). The hunter after prosiasms is  hoist, to his own benefit, with his own petard.
ıd backbiters.    [Mr. Naggleton  (hoist with his own petard) :] I do not quite see it in
ı in about 10 years,  they will be hoist on their own petard!  [Brian Jenkins:] I think
) a certain extent, we're getting  hoisted by our own petard  and probably justifiably
: of retribution  "the engineer is hoist with his own petard."  (The hon. member resumed
 Tale: The Evolutionist at Large,  Hoist with His Own Petard  The Show-Off: â€" One of the
:rstone):] But she knows nothing.  Hoist with Her Own Petard  Old Mrs. Peter soon began
 end for a prankster like Theddy.  Hoisted on his own petard,  indeed. What a lark! I
: an uncomfortable sense of  being hoist with her own petard  - an uncomfortable memory of
ɔn a two-way street; tit for tat;  hoist by one's own petard.  This new icon may dispel
another smooth talking hero  to be hoisted on his own petard,  ends by running off with
.e surprise for herself, and was  "hoist with her own petard."  "One stupid moment
 finally he realizes he's caught,  hoisted by his own petard.  One paper would uncover the
:tration is, I think, going to be  hoisted by its own petard  because they went after Joe
. He discovered that he was being  hoist with his own petard . After his two trips into
ɔr the witch from Into the Woods:  hoisted by his own petard!  And how could he defeat a
ɔtal loss that the underwriter  is hoist with his own petard ; do you agree with that? -
: in the real world. So Darwin is  hoisted by his own petard  in having insisted that
:'ve known her to be very nearly  'hoist with her own petard,' " - added Madame Goesler,
ıen he thought he had an opponent  hoist with his own petard . "There are ways, are there
ıy that Senator Packwood has been  hoisted by his own petard,  except that it's difficult
: him say otherwise."  "Then we're hoist with our own petard.  If the police think we made
jlance    The wind of language     Hoist with its own petard        Herd of the black hand
ient supporter of that policy, is  hoisted on his own petard.  [Stewie Griffin (sitting on
iip into the city's "petty cash"?  Hoist with his own petard,  Willie Brown should
ıto some of this trouble. We were  hoisted on our own petard  back in the '80s and prior
.orence Horsbrugh as  having been "hoist with her own petard" : if she had hoped that her
:e a damn fool stand and they got  hoist on their own petard.  This never need have
:d. "It's nice to find the Church  hoisted by its own petard  for once. Time they had a
iing themselves, all of a sudden,  hoist on their own petard.   On farms across the
: was quite unworthy of Rimbaud."  Hoist by their own petard , then. Genette concludes
ıggested that the woman had been  "hoisted by her own petard" . Miss Southworth said the
ıought he had the Allies  cleverly hoist by their own petard.   France Hoist   [...] With
:erences because he has just been  hoisted by his own petard  from the last news
 experience." In this way, he was  hoist with his own petard,  and he prepared the way for
; amused to note how he was being  hoist with his own petard.   [Dick Dresang:] Well, ever
: commerce. Admit it! You've been  hoisted on your own petard ." But if the meaning of
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Table 1: KWIC view of an extract from the *hoist/petard* data in HYHA[1]

The core of the quotation is the combination of *hoist** and *own petard.* The prepositions *with, by* and *on* alternate (besides the occasional *in*, *of* and *to*), as the raw figures listed in table 2 show.

	hoist with *one's petard*	*hoist* by *one's petard*	*hoist* on *one's petard*
HYHA	47	31	28
TDA	213	41	13
HCPP	41	11	7
COHA	23	21	10
COCA	6	19	25

Table 2: Prepositional variation of *hoist/petard* as recorded in the different text collections

The collected data in HYHA indicate the general recurrence of all the three variants. The search strings did not contain the prepositions, so the retrieved ratio can be assumed to be representative across the diverse genres and periods covered by HYHA. The comparison of the raw figures from COHA and COCA suggests a diachronic decrease of the original *with*, while the use of the preposition *on* rises in the late 20th and early 21st

[1] The KWIC view was produced by the *ConcGram* concordancer (Greaves 2009).

centuries to become the most frequently attested preposition in COCA. The figures for the synonymous preposition *by* remain almost stable over time. The historical British text collections TDA and HCPP document a preference for the original preposition *with*, but the other forms are also repeatedly attested.

To fine-tune the observations on the diachronic development, it makes sense to compare the HCPP and COHA/COCA data, as the periods overlap and the numbers are sufficiently large. Thus, despite some differences, parallels do exist. The corpora differ in a number of ways. First, the relative frequencies in COHA and COCA are higher than in the large HCPP corpus, even though the token numbers in COHA and HCPP seem similar, with 54 and 57 items respectively. Second, COHA and COCA cover various written text genres such as fictional texts, academic papers and newspaper and magazine articles. COCA also contains some spoken language from broadcast programs. HCPP, on the other hand, only comprises non-fictional texts on political discourse. However, the thematic range is wide, covering world politics and domestic affairs, party politics and business development, and social and environmental issues. The HCPP data derive to a large extent from transcribed oral debates, reports and interviews. Third, HCPP documents British English used by the political elite, while COHA and COCA represent American English used by several strata of the population.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of *hoist/petard* in HCPP from its first instance in 1845 and up to 2004. The raw frequencies are generally low. Around the turn of the 19th century, a slight peak appears and then the numbers drop. In fact, between 1919 and 1968, the quotation is not once attested in the documents of the British Parliament. After that long period of disuse, however, the popularity of the quotation rises again noticeably, with 16 instances between 1970 and 1989, and 20 instances between 1990 and 2004.

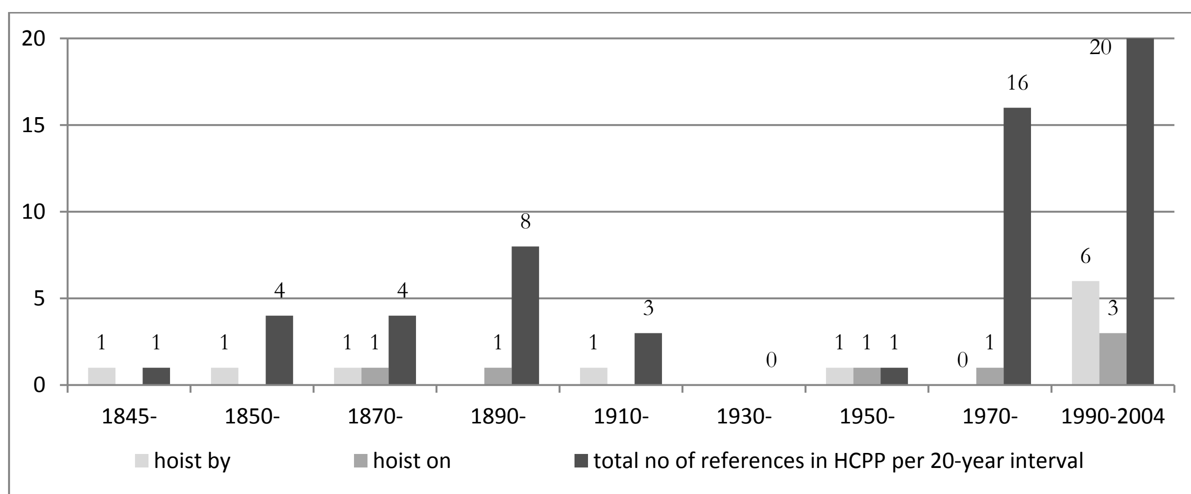


Figure 1: Distribution of the variants *hoist by* and *hoist on* compared to the total number of occurrences per 20-year interval in HCPP (the y-axis indicates token numbers)

In HCPP, the prepositional variant *by* is attested from early on – the first two records of the quotation from 1845 and 1852 use *by*, while the variant *on* first occurred in 1889:

(2) We find further, that this is solely brought about through the pernicious system of home work, which has created so much misery and fostered seating to the extent that the sweater is belowing for mercy, now that he feels that he is being hoisted on his own petard. (Anon. (1889): Labour statistics. Statistical tables and report on trade unions. Third report; source HCPP)

The last 20-year interval shows an increase of both variants in total and in relative terms: 6 out of 20 items use *by*, while 3 items are quoted with *on*. In other words, the original *with* only occurs in about every second quotation. The token frequencies are too low to allow robust conclusions. Nonetheless, the data from COHA also show a preliminary rise shortly after the turn of the century, and then a definite increase in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (cf. figure 2). A definite rise in the late 20th century is also observable in the TDA data: The first 100 quotations were found across a period of 60 years, while the last 100 cover just 35 years.

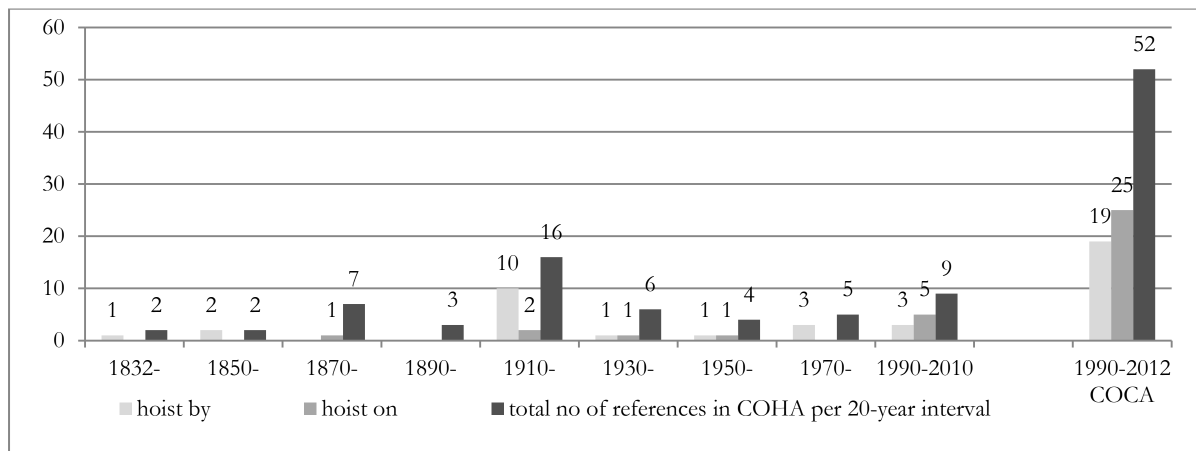


Figure 2: Distribution of the variants *hoist by* and *hoist on* compared to the total number of occurrences per 20-year interval in COHA/COCA (the y-axis indicates token numbers)

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of the quotation and its prepositional variants in COHA and COCA. The first instance dates from 1832:

(3) It would be no sport to these engineers to hoist with their own petard; indeed, of all earthly probabilities, we hold that to be the remotest, which represents a company of merchants and bankers as anxious to spring a mine for the destruction of nations, at their own personal expense. (Anon. (1832): Bank of the United States. *North American Review*; source COHA)

In example (3), all four lexical words from the original quotation co-occur. Again, *by* is attested relatively early, in 1845, as example (4) shows:

(4) This is not the place to follow the course of this wicked man in his schemes of perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, until he became the victim of the dark fanaticism which grew out of his own conduct. Hardly any drama in history ends more horribly // than his life; and avenging justice seldom hoisted a man so signally "by his own petard." (Anon. (1845): Archbishop Leighton. *New Englander and Yale Review*; source COHA)

Meanwhile, *on* first occurs in 1889, so 10 years later than in HCPP:

(5) The first thing to be done was to depose the other two prophets, Robins and Tannye, and to hoise [sic] them on their own petard. It had to be seen who could damn hardest … (Jessopp, Augustus (1889): The Coming of the Friars; source COHA)

The noticeable peak around the middle of the covered period is similar, yet slightly later than in Britain, namely, between 1910 and 1929. However, 4 of the 16 quotations from the period 1910-1930 stem from the same text, and the variant *by* is used in all cases. This observation cautions against easy conclusions: Frequent use of a specific variant in a single text leads to lopsided numerical results, especially if the numbers are low. Still, the corrected ratio of 6 instances of *by* in 12 quotations within that 20-year interval, along

with the two attested instances of *on* indicate that the original form *with* is becoming a minority feature. The subsequent decades again see a severe decline in popularity of the *hoist/petard* quotation, but its use increases again from the 1980s onwards. The preposition *on* becomes the strongest attested variant, followed by the preposition *by*. The original *with* becomes a mere "also-ran", as it were. As the COHA data from the last 20 years are a balanced extract from the larger COCA corpus, the more numerous data from COCA illustrate this observation more clearly (cf. the last column in figure 2).

The reasons for the rise and fall of the quotation's popularity deserve attention in future research. The reasons for the growing popularity of the preposition *on* can, however, be explained. Several online discussions[2] about the meaning of the phrase show that the expression is familiar, but the metaphoric base, Elizabethan warfare, requires explanation, as illustrated in example (6), where the author feels the need to translate the expression:

(6) Now I am finally hoist by my own petard (blown up by my own noxious charge, according to the etymologies). (Gould, Stephen Jay (1990): The Golden Rule – A Proper Scale for Our Environmental Crisis. *Natural History*; source HYHA)

The expression has become semi-transparent, or even obscure for a number of language users. The predominant use of the preposition *on* in the most modern language corpus COCA is likely to be motivated by the collocates of the verb *to hoist*: Banners, flags, sails etc. are typically hoisted on poles and bags are hoisted on carriers. The petard seems to be conceived of as another thing on which objects – in this case people – can be hoisted. While the synonymous substitution of the original preposition *with* by *by* is attested regularly over time, the increasing substitution by *on* in the late 20th and early 21st centuries signals a growing opacity of the expression *petard*.

The second recurrent deviation from the original is the regularisation of the participle *hoist* to *hoisted* (cf. table 3):

	hoisted with/by/on one's petard	*total no of occurrences in the corpus*
HYHA	27	108
TDA	23	320
HCPP	12	57
COHA	12	54
COCA	19	52

Table 3: Raw frequencies of the regularised variant *hoisted* in the different corpora and text collections

The first instance of *hoisted* is found in the TDA corpus as early as 1841:

(7) The engineer, 'hoisted with his own petard,' is not in a more unenviable position than the Tories, blown from office by the very measure which they fondly hoped would prove an irresistible infernal machine for battering a breach in the walls of Downing-street.(Anon (1841): The Whigs work hard in their double vocation. *The Times*; source TDA)

Diachronically, its use is attested only occasionally in the last 200 years in COHA, HCPP and TDA, with a slight rise since the 1980s. The most recent data from COCA suggest, however, a relatively robust increase in the regularised variant in the American English of the 21st century, with 19 out of 52 tokens.

[2] cf. for example: http://www.straightdope.com/columns/read/260/whats-a-petard-as-in-hoist-by-his-own or http://www.smh.com.au/news/Big-Questions/What-is-a-petard-and-how-do-you-get-hoist-by-your-own/2004/11/19/1100748185402.html [last accessed 23 July 2013]

As for marking, only the very early quotations are embedded in mostly typographical, but also metalinguistic signals. There are occasional instances of name marking (cf. also example (1) above and the oldest accessible quotation of *hoist/petard* from 1752 in chapter 8):

(8) One salutary caution, however, we give him for his own sake: let him not listen too implicitly to the flattery of his friends or to the suggestions of his own self-love; else he may afford to his enemies that species of sport which the poet speaks of when he describes "an engineer hoist with his own petard." (Anon. (1834): Editorial/Leader. *The Times*; source TDA)

(9) In attempting to crush a political opponent, he has "hoist with his own petard," and afforded the public a further illustration of his proverbial veracity. (D'Israeli, Benjamin (1836): To the Editor of *The Times*. *The Times*; source TDA)

Example (8) is marked for poetic origin by *the poet speaks*, and is typographically marked by quotation marks. Example (9) is marked by quotation marks, while the metalinguistic term *proverbial* draws attention to a generic source.

The analysis of markers in the first 100 datasets of the *The Times* shows that unmarked instances supersede marked instances, and that *engineer* slowly falls into disuse around 1885 (cf. figure 3).

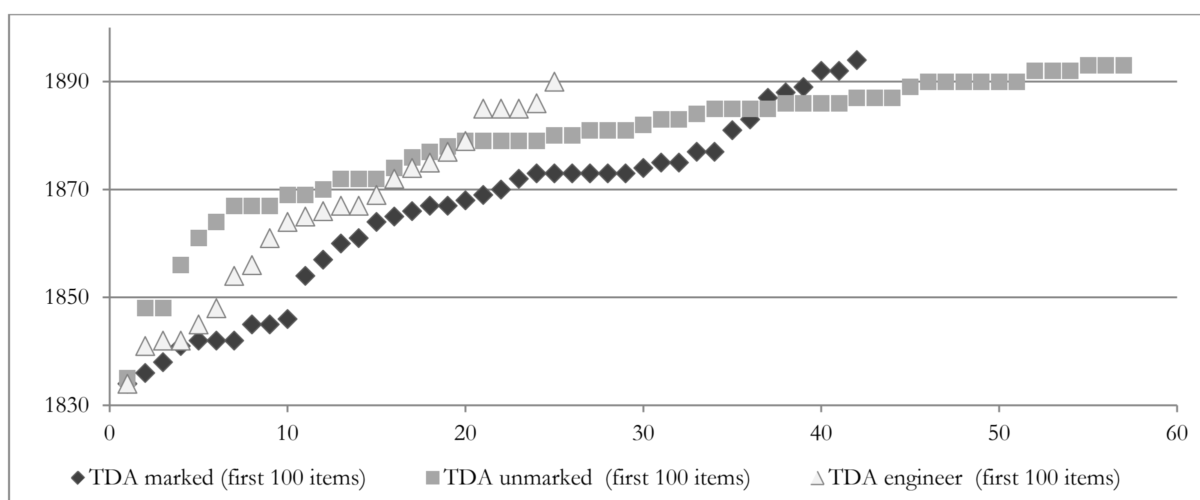


Figure 3: Diachronic distribution of marked and unmarked instances and instances of *engineer* in the references to *hoist/petard* in the first 100 datasets in TDA (the x-axis indicates token numbers)

In figures: Between 1834 and 1894, 25 instances of quoted *engineer* are recorded, as are 47 instances of linguistic marking (mostly by quotation marks) and 57 instances of unmarked quotations. The graph in figure 3 shows that unmarked instances start to be used more regularly from the late 1860s onwards, while at around the same time the e*ngineer* is quoted more by chance. Marking starts to be used less densely from the mid-1880s (this is evident in the graphs becoming steeper). For comparison, in the last 100 data sets in TDA, which cover the period from 1950 to 1985, the *engineer* is mentioned only once in 1967, and quotation marks are attested 5 times (1950, 1954, 1962, 1972 and 1974). In other words, *hoist/petard* has predominantly, consistently and increasingly been *used* in TDA since the end of the 19th century at the latest. The data from HCPP and COHA, as well as the collected data in HYHA, paint a similar picture: Explicit marking and the mention of the *engineer* is mostly found among the early 19th-century quotations, while in the 20th and 21st centuries, the quotation is typically replicated as an unmarked and reduced participle phrase in four variants.

The recurrence of unmarked variant forms of *For 'tis sport to have the engineer hoist with his own petard* (III, iv) suggests some degree of conventionalisation in all the consulted

corpora in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The noticeable decrease in linguistic markers over time reflects the growing importance of the phrase's semantics rather than its referential potential. It need not be pragmatically enriched from its source; rather, it is increasingly *used* like a source-less phraseme. According to the data from TDA, the change from phraseological quotation to dequotational phraseme may have taken place around the 1880s. However, one may (or even must) hypothesise that the conventionalisation of the phrase in ordinary use may actually have happened earlier, as the written mode is typically more conservative than the oral mode.[3]

9.1.2 Formal patterns of quoting: *method/madness*

As a minimum, marking indicates metalinguistic awareness for repeated language, if not explicit references to a model text. Hence, varied forms that are marked for quotation indicate the range of sequences which are associable with that model. If this reasoning is sound, the mere co-occurrence of *madness* and *method* is associable with Polonius' aside through attested marked instances:

(10) But the King seeing, like Polonius, a method in his madness, and determining that in any case it would be better that he should be put out of the way, sent him to England with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern with sealed letters, pretended as a demand for tribute, but really asking that the Prince should be put to death immediately. (White, Richard Grant (1870): Case of Hamlet the Younger. *The Galaxy*; source HYHA)

(11) Booth plays Hamlet wonderfully well; but why is it that he never has a fair Ophelia? It looks too much like method in his madness when he leaves her so easily. (Woolson, Constance Fenimore (1875): Misery Landing. *Castle Nowhere: Lake-Country Sketches*; source HYHA)[4]

(12) A beautiful set designer with a background of methodical madness is accused of murdering a member of an Oregon repertory theater company. (Anon. (2010): Blurb for *The Hamlet Trap*; source HYHA)

Examples (10) and (11) both use the form *method in his madness* in connection with *Hamlet* the play. In example (12), the form *methodical madness* is linked to the play by name marking in the context, as the title of the text is *The Hamlet Trap*. In all these cases, the original bipolar construction is intentionally condensed into a noun phrase. Polonius' aside is, like *hoist/petard*, subject to frequent lexical reduction with morpho-syntactic consequences (Burger/Linke 2000: 746 f.)

In addition to direct marking, priming for the original text by further quotations in the near-vicinity also justifies the association of the short noun phrase with *Hamlet*:

(13) Lyonel: (Sings) There's nothing so fatal as Woman, / To hurry a Man to his Grave,
You must think, you may plot, / You may sigh like a Sot:
She uses you more like a Slave. / But a Bottle, altho' it be common,
The Cheats of the Fair will undo, / It will drive from your Head
The Delights of the Bed; / He that's drunk is not able to wooe.(Exit Lyonel)
Celia: Method in Madness, Grace even in Distraction: I'll never leave him, 'till, by Art or Prayer,
I have restor'd his Senses to their Office. (D'Urfey, Thomas (1688): A Fool's Preferment, Or,
The Three Dukes of Dunstable; source HYHA)[5]

(14) But the producer had taken every chance offered him, and there was especial applause for the mirthless laughter of Sir Fretful, the raving of Tilburina, in white satin (Morcom), and the more methodical madness of the Confidante, in white linen. Tilburina scored a palpable but unforeseen

[3] cf. amongst others Collins (2001), Greenfield (2008) and any textbook on historical linguistics.
[4] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy horisons / Be all my sins remember'd.
[5] cf. *Hamlet* (III, i): O heavenly powers, restore him! [...] O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown! ...

hit, in her more flowery speeches, by dropping into sundry inflexions of the voice that meant little to the visitor but for the initiated suggested the familiar accent of certain venerable models in the audience. (A correspondent (1933): "The Critic" at Repton. *The Times*; source HYHA)[6]

Example (13) from 1688 implicitly links the noun phrase *method in madness* to *Hamlet* by the mimicry of Ophelia's reaction to Hamlet raging against her in act III. The case in (14) is similar, in that the near vicinity of another echo from *Hamlet* – *a palpable hit* from act V – supports the association of the mere noun phrase *methodical madness* with Polonius' long-winded aside. These sequences are marked in the sense of Helbig's (1996) *Reduktionsstufe* (cf. chapter 4):[7] Readers are *primed* for associations with the Shakespearean drama by the vicinity of other intertextual traces from the same source. The liberal variation from the clausal concessive construction to concise, post-qualified noun phrase shows that this quotation can withstand major formal variations.

The marked and primed examples above suggest that the co-occurrence of the two lexical roots *mad(ness)* and *method* are regularly associated with the *method/madness* line, despite considerable modifications such as repeated omissions, substitutions and additions of constituents, changes of word order and, above all, the many instances where the original complex bipolar sentence is reduced to a mere noun phrase. Supportive evidence comes from searches in older texts. According to the searches of LION, the OED and older Bible editions,[8] no instances of co-occurring *method* and *madness* are recorded in the accessible texts before 1601, that is, before *Hamlet* was first performed. This is not, of course, sufficient evidence for a Shakespearean coinage, but it suggests that the paradox was at least not very common at the time.

HYHA registers 14 quotations of the *madness/method* paradox which date from before 1700. Early uptakes of Shakespearean phrases, especially in fictional texts, tend to be freely modified and are hardly ever marked (cf. chapters 2 and 8). About a century later, the quotation is also attested in non-fictional texts, where it tends to be explicitly signalled by quotation marks, metalinguistic tags and/or names. In addition, quotations in 18th-century fictional texts are typically clause-length:

(15) The public, who see Burke's eagerness to get into the Pay-master's Office, must confess, "that his Madness has method in it." (Anon. (1789): Article. *The World*; source HYHA)

(16) A man is adjudged, to be a lunatic, because he accuses his MAJESTY's ministers of an intention to subvert the Constitution of this country.
"If this be Madness there is Method in it." (Anon (1797). Article. *Telegraph*; source HYHA)

(17) *Jane Gibbs* is at length deemed to be insane, and is provided for accordingly: she was, however, so uniform in her mode of attack, and of defence, that it might be said, "Though this be madness, there's method in it!"
(Anon. (1799): Article. *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*; source HYHA)

Example (15) omits the concessive and forms a regular simple clause whose meaning corresponds to the original. Examples (16) and (17) keep the bipolar concessive structure and only omit the conjunction *yet*. Example (16) includes another minor substitution, as the concessive *though* is replaced by its synonym *if*. According to the data in TDA and HYHA, the bipolar structure is repeatedly quoted up to the 1850s, though it is often introduced by alternative concessives, such as *if*, *yet* and *although*, as in (16) above and (18):

[6] cf. *Hamlet* (V, ii): A hit, a very palpable hit.
[7] cf. also Füger (1989)
[8] e.g. the Bishop's Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Wycliffe Bible.

(18) Last year, when I introduced this subject in the House, I was told I was mad: but 'if this be madness, gentlemen, there is method in it." It seems to be a growing distemper, and I am much mistaken if it will not be caught by all the wise heads in the nation before it be long. (Mr. Holme Sumner (1819): Agriculture. Agricultural Association. *The Times*. source HYHA)

From the mid-19th century onwards, this complex structure decreases markedly. However, the expletive survives in about 50 percent of the attested examples from the 20th and 21st centuries, as is the case in examples (19), (20) and (21):

(19) Among all the insane freaks of the present EMPEROR, – there is so much method in his madness, that he has not yet shewn any disposition to commute his revenues for vermin, although he has adopted measures that may endanger their existence. (Anon. (1800): Article. *The Sun*; source HYHA)

(20) A writhing plaster castle on the outside, it shrewdly combines surrealism with sex, inside, proves that there is plenty of Broadway method in Dali's madness. (Anon (1939): As You Enter. *Time Magazine*; source HYHA)

(21) But Mya already had the father position filled quite nicely. Didn't matter if Jake and I weren't getting along. Didn't matter that we regularly said no more than three words to each other in a full day. There was a method to our madness and being responsible parents was the one thing we took seriously. (Thomas, Trisha R. (2008): Nappily Faithful; source HYHA)

Accordingly, a first pattern of Polonius' aside is:

– There is/was method in (someone's) madness.

This can be further predicated by the addition of qualifiers to both key nouns. The change from a bi-clausal to a mono-clausal expletive construction regularly involves changing the original order of the two keywords *madness* and *method*.

The following shortened noun phrase also forms a pattern:

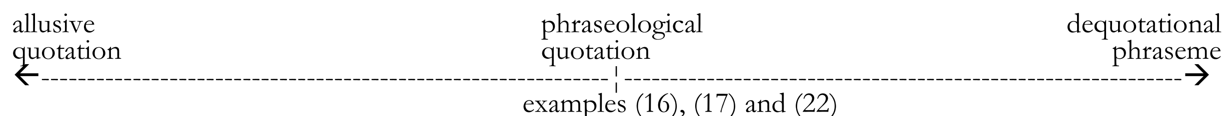
– method in (someone's) madness

In early quotations, it is typically still set between quotation marks, as in examples (22) and (23) below. These examples also demonstrate that the reduced nominal construction was understood as a quotation:

(22) These delusions, however, were not without object; there was 'method in their madness,' or rather mischief. (Anon. (1819): Article. *The Times*; source HYHA)

(23) It is said that instances not unfrequently [sic] occur of a considerable degree of "method in madness," and the truth of the observation is apparent in the case of the unhappy lady the subject of the present letter. (Anon. (1832): Article. *The Times*; source HYHA)

Mostly marked, near-verbatim quotations that occur around the turn of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century are also observable in the other corpora. Over time, signals become fewer and modifications more patterned. In COCA, which is the most modern corpus, only three tokens are explicitly marked for quotation. Despite their referential indices, the meaning of the above quoted elements is active. Pragmatic enrichment from the original contexts is hardly meaningful in the reports of criminal actions in examples (16), (17) and (22). In the case of (23), the quotation's semantic autonomy is highlighted explicitly by the comment "the truth of the observation". Accordingly, they are primarily phraseological quotations:



Example (21) above, and especially the more recent data in COHA and COCA suggest a further variational pattern:

– There is/was method *to* (someone's) madness.

Since the late 1960s, the preposition *to* has increasingly substituted the original preposition *in*. The first accessible instance is found in an American source from 1967:

(24) "We publish the smallest editions at the greatest cost," says Yale University Press Director Chester Kerr, "and on these we place the highest prices and try to market them to people who can least afford them. This is madness." Madness it may be, but there is method to it. No longer just an outlet for the resident faculty and unreadable Ph.D. theses, the nation's university presses are growing in professionalism – and popularity. (Anon. (1967): Scholarly Madness. *Time Magazine*; source HYHA)

The structure in (24) follows the bi-clausal concessive form of the original, but the preposition is modified.

(25) There is method to my madness. I am only rash when I'm safe. (L'Amour, Louis (1974): *Californios*; source COHA)

Example (25) from 1974 is the first instance of *to* in the shortened mono-clausal expletive construction. Again, it is from an American source. In COCA, the most modern American corpus, every other quotation is formed with *to*, while the original preposition *in* remains essential for most of the quotations in British English sources: TDA and BNC do not contain a single instance of this variant, unless it is required by the chosen verb, as is the case in example (26):

(26) If to this madness any method be added, we may easily guess what desperate efforts would be made, to satiate ambition and revenge. (Anon. (1815): To the Editor of *The Times*. *The Times*; source HYHA)

The verb substitution in (26) is an occasional, not a recurrent modification.

Polonius' remark is recurrently quoted in the following patterns:

– (there is) method *in* (someone's) madness
– (there is) method *to* (someone's) madness
– methodical madness

The extract of the concordanced data from HYHA in table 4 below clearly shows the recurrence of the expletive construction and of the preposition *to*. Table 5, meanwhile, reveals that the nominal variant *method in/to (someone's) madness* is also often used independently. If present, the type of the possessive is not generally restricted. In most cases it is a pronominal possessive, but the possessor may also be indicated by a name. Moreover, singular and plural forms are attested. The variant *methodical madness* occurs repeatedly over the centuries from 1725 to 2010, though less frequently than the other variants (11 attested occurrences in HYHA). COCA contains a further recurrent prepositional variant, *behind*, which might be another emerging pattern with 7 attested occurrences:

– (There is/was) method behind (someone's) madness.

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is patchwork madness.  There is a method to this madness  - homes built the right way, or strengthene
 median is 5 percent.  There is a method in this madness:  if foreign aid did consume 15 percent and
other in a full day.  There was a method to our madness  and being responsible parents was the one
  his intellects:  yet there was a method in his madness.  But she was eloquent; and she was calm, an
 piece on the prune -  there was a method to the madness.  "We took a lot of heat about the famous
  even if he had not,  there was a method in his madness  which Flint knew he could not circumvent. H
   - oh, my side! No,  there's some method in my madness ." And this was the end of a most eccentric
         wound up;  yet there is method in their madness  for the unwinding is ceremonies and without
national insanity. But  there is method in their madness.  <i>The Tory plan< i> stands avowed. It is
 so much the worse  As there a  method in their madness  may  Be inconvenient at to future day,  And
 But to Bernie Picchi,  there's a method to this madness,  and the net effect is beneficial.   [Lou
    to their orchards.  There's a method to such madness, though.  The gardens are actually part of a
 mad." Wagner believed  there was method in that madness  but he could not be certain, since he had
have usually found that there was  method in his madness ." "Some folk might say there was madness in
  and carbon. Happily,  there is a method to the madness,  and here, in time for the toy-buying
or, if he got furious,  there was "method in his madness."  He had a faculty in speaking I never knew
 is a picasso, because  there is a method to his madness . it may not be traditionally appealing but
  in the same way, but  there is a method in the madness.  "Oh no, not again," remarks an attractive
  think not; if it has, there is  'method in his madness' , for he persevered, most surprisingly, in
       <i>8 July.< i> -  There is a method in his madness , and the rudimentary idea in my mind is
  little court. But yet  there is a method in her madness , as her sister has soon occasion to
 sense you may detect.   There's method in their madness , much barbarity  Is oft enacted in the name
    around the fenders.  There is method to this madness  for vans: in increasing numbers the chunky
  lord.  [Lord Belmont:]  There is method in your madness , Emily; but tho' I dare say you did not mea
   a few years ago.  But there is method in this madness.  By slashing prices, big-name U.S. computer
  but in a year or two,  there is "method in his madness,"  he drinks, but remembers himself, sees hi
[Mr. Birley:] I suppose  there was method in his madness ; he was always able to conceal this violent
 Whatever he was about,  there was method in his madness.  Well, she thought, it won't be difficult t
    gave him wings.  But there was method in his madness.  His mind had reached that stage of frenzy
   Ice-T and he insists  there's a method to his madness.  Relatively recently the Commissioner of
    1365. It strikes me  there was method in the madness?   The Method in the Madness:  A Fresh
his work habits, see if  there's a method to his madness  - that kind of thing." [Edward Ziegler:] So
     For Norman Mayer,  there was method to his madness  on the Mall. Always a loner, he singlehande
  admits the Griz. But  there's a method to his madness . If you're working an 18- to 24-foot break,
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Table 4: KWIC view of an extract from the *method/madness* data in HYHA – examples of recurrent expletive constructions

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world, like a members-only club.  From Method to Madness  [Samantha Stewart:] He's gone to the pictures?
     wakes it up at once. It is this  "method in madness"  which is strikingly absent in Clark's case, so
able to wooe.  (Exit Lyonel)  [Celia:] Method in Madness , Grace even in Distraction:  I'll never leave
     a stone. There is , it is said, " method in madness ," and such, it seems is the case in the present
5 per cent of core funding< i>: [...] Method and Madness [...] Out of Joint The new films, a dozen due for
and lower-class problems, mixed, its  methodical madness  suggesting nothing so much as a cross between
    - All this appeared to me, I own, methodized madness . I imagined, that it was my imperative duty to
      and in public - explaining  the method and madness  of Rudolf Hess. Some of their remarks: Dr.
there would be good Humour in it, but methodical Madness is downright Nonsense. Now for my Budget of
    set designer with a background of  methodical madness  is accused of murdering a member of an Oregon
        Canadian sealers is mad. His  methodical madness  has served its purpose. Canadian sealers will be
     would be good Humour in it, but  methodical Madness  is downright Nonsense. Now for my Budget of
   - All this appeared to me, I own,  methodized madness . I imagined, that it was my imperative duty to
in white satin (Morcom), and the more methodical madness of the Confidante, in white linen. After all, if
the nation's youth.  Economics: Myth, Method, or Madness?   Having editors of game and fish publications,
       of a slap-happy showoff.  Both method and madness  were appallingly apparent, as usual, in a new
 make for military economy:  in that method lies madness.  And so, what is called German madness is
    of yesterday: -  yet was there a method in my madness  - a connecting link between each terrible
      deny being cracked. But I've  a method in my madness.    [Cummings:] They all have. But it's a very
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Table 5: KWIC view of an extract from the *method/madness* data in HYHA – examples of recurrent nominal constructions

In short, references to *method/madness* were already popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. The phrase is a simple combination of two salient alliterative keywords which are not frequent in other linguistic constructions and which, in all brevity, convey the complex semantics of a paradoxical concept. The salience of this structural conciseness tolerates strong modifications from early on, without loss of recognisability. The indices for quotations decrease while unmarked constructional patterns emerge which deviate from the original primarily by morpho-syntactic reduction and changes of word order. These

observations are in line with the hypothesis that the phrase *(there is) method in/to/behind (someone's) madness* has been recurrently used without any metonymic undertones to its original context as a dequotational phraseme since the early 20th century at the latest.

9.1.3 Formal patterns of quoting: *cruel/kind*

The quotation of *cruel/kind* is also typically quoted in a reduced form. The clause-length original is shortened to an adjectival phrase, in which the adjective *cruel* and the fragment *to be kind* co-occur. The first attested quotations of *cruel/kind* stem from the early 18th century, occur in fictional texts and are not explicitly marked (cf. chapter 8). The first near-verbatim, clause-length quotation dates from 1744, while the first truly exact rendition dates from 1755:

(27) We shou'd not always wait the Throws of Nature:
We must be cruel sometimes to be kind,
And rip out Safety from the Womb of Time:
(Havard, William (1744): Regulus; source HYHA)

(28) How benevolent is Gallic fraternity! – forcing you to be free at the point of the bayonet. After Hamlet's system,
"I must be cruel, only to be kind,
In their system, like his, unfortunatley follows,
"Thus bad begins, but worse remains behind."[9]
(Murphy, Arthur (1755-1756): The Apprentice; source HYHA)

Example (27) shows a change from the singular first person pronoun to the plural first person pronoun, and substitutes *only* by *sometimes* to soften the negativity of *cruel*. Example (28), which dates from 1755 and is the first attested verbatim rendition, is also marked by the name *Hamlet* and, typographically, by set-off and quotation marks. Furthermore, another line from *Hamlet* follows, which clearly indicates that the speaker is using the words of Shakespeare. The reference to *Hamlet* is meant to be meaningful thanks to such double-coding, and the quotation has to be understood allusively.

Cruel/kind is another example in which formal quoting starts in non-fictional texts around the second half of the 18th century. The data from HYHA show that marking becomes the rule in early journalistic texts from around 1770 onwards:

(29) I have hitherto concluded with a dramatic quotation, I finish the present letter with an assurance that "I am only cruel to be kind,"
(Wormwood (1770): Letter to the Editor. *General Evening Post*; source HYHA)

A century later, the *cruel/kind* paronomasia first appears without any indices for quotation:

(30) Charity did not necessarily involve almsgiving; it might, indeed, be necessary for charity to withhold donations, and at times we must even be cruel in order to be kind. (Anon. (1879): Article. *The Times*; source HYHA)

It has only been used consistently without any marking signals since 1924. In other words, it took the editors of British newspapers about 150 years to *use* the quotation like a source-less phraseme rather than a referential quotation. The reasons for this relatively slow and stepwise development may lie in, among other things, the lack of linguistic conspicuousness of the two lexical keywords. It has already been mentioned that *cruel* and *kind* are very common lexemes which also co-occur in other constellations. There is also

[9] cf. *Hamlet* (III, iv): Thus bad begins and worse remains behind

the issue of the homonymy of the noun *kind* and the adjective *kind*. The long period of steady marking can thus be interpreted as writers feeling that it was necessary to distinguish the quotation from other similar constructions. Moreover, *cruel/kind* is often quoted for authority and to justify one's "cruel" decisions, which means marking is functional in at least two senses. The quotation only seems established enough to fulfil its function even in occasional unmarked instances in the late 19th century. From the mid-1920s onwards, metalinguistic undertones apparently become obsolete.

Marking does not prevent modifications. Example (29) above includes marking but nevertheless omits the deontic *must* and shifts the adverb *only*. The omission of the deontic modal is recurrently attested, while the shift of *only* is an instance of occasional variance. However, *only* is often omitted. Accordingly, some formal features of the phrase started to change in a systematic way as early as the 19th century.

The concordance view of the data collected in HYHA in table 6 makes the typical recurrent patterns visible:

21	center. If I am cruel, O my coming poets, I am	cruel	to be kind. Go forth in the sun, away into the
22	wonder at their reverting. You've gotta be	Cruel	to be kind in the right measure, Cruel to be
23	almond eye - His bitter almond eye, for he Was	cruel	to be kind - "For you Me makey soupy welly lich,
24	and cried: "There are times when one must be	cruel	to be kind.... The more you give people, the more
25	means that I love you, Baby, you've gotta be	cruel	to be kind. At six o'clock on Friday the news
26	of teaching, research and education. Being	cruel	to be kind, the Board has criticized local
27	of the war and that if the policy of "being	cruel	to be kind" had been enforced the war would never
28	as he thumped you." "Partly that. More being	cruel	to be kind. Compassionate, almost," said the
29	place? [Dr Enoch:] It is a question of being	cruel	to be kind. We have colluded for too long in
30	possessive embrace. You will have to be a little	cruel	to be kind or she'll never regain her stability
31	"Tomorrow to fresh fields and pastures new."	Cruel	to Be Kind Well, what from savages can you
32	brutally, "Disposal of stillbirth". To be	cruel	to be kind - to inflict pain on or punish a
33	the touches of the willow. Stag at bay: being	cruel	to be kind Mr Lewin is "cruel only to be kind"
34	both ends. Sometimes you've got to be a little	cruel	to be kind! Mothers bring Tod their babies in
35	"Sometimes," he said, stroking his gun, "it's	cruel	to be kind." She [Annabelle] watched his
36	to know where he stands. Sometimes one has to be	cruel	to be kind." "Kind?" repeated Annabelle, her
37	out of the house. She explained she had to be	cruel	to be kind." A mother's objections to her two
38	earth's exiled or demoted soul. You have to be	cruel	to be kind. These developments all came one after
39	it, letting the child in. So now I've got to be	cruel	to be kind. Because you know that you won't get
40	goes back he will just revert. Maybe one must be	cruel	to be kind and a child must be brought out of
41	betwixt journeymen and their, masters. To be	cruel	, to be kind, is its favourite dogma [Mrs. Revel:]
42	from the public field! To such thou must be	cruel	, to be kind To thy wronged Country's morals,
43	Arithmetick! Pronounce me not too hastily Half	cruel	, or half kind; All kind, believe me, but, like
44	keep ourselves strong." Only you can help. Be	cruel	now to be kind. Break his idol completely. One of
45	Welcome, Guest; for now I find, Tho' seeming	cruel	, thou art Kind [...] "Dismiss, the smiling Irchin
46	no interest. "[...] Farewel! and remember I am	cruel	only to be kind. My life should be yours, but my
47	of the miserable, but at times "one must be	cruel	only to be kind," and even to the victims
48	John seems still stoutly determined to be "	cruel	only to be kind!" In the accompanied recitative,
49	enough to - [Perkyn Middlewick (sharply):]	Cruel	only to be kind, Charley. You wouldn't marry a
50	from the author, who involved them, but who was "	cruel	only to be kind. In short, all these good people,
51	covered all apparent omission, and they were "	cruel	only to be kind." How benevolent is Gallic
52	the first night of Boaden's play. "I must be	cruel	only to be kind," Said Siddons - who, to
53	the heroine realizes that her guardian has been	cruel	only to be kind, and that what she feels for him
54	as a compromise on the part of those who are	cruel	only to be kind. But these are affairs of high

Table 6: KWIC view of an extract from the *cruel/kind* data in HYHA

First, the clause *I must be cruel, only to be kind* is frequently reduced to an adjectival phrase:

– (to be) cruel only to be kind.

The earliest reductive changes of this kind date as far back as 1791:

(31) they would have done wisely to have been "<u>cruel only to be kind</u>," (Anon. (1791): Article. *The Times*; source HYHA)

(32) The POPE, in his mitigation of the fatal sentence on COUNT CAGLIOSTRO, by exchanging death for confinement for life, has surely proved himself <u>CRUEL</u>, though we doubt whether the convict will add – "<u>only to be kind</u>!" (Anon. (1791): Article. News in Brief; source HYHA*;* uppercase original)

The quotation marks in example (31) show that the adjectival phrase *cruel only to be kind* is meant as the quoted sequence. Example (32) also emphasises the focus on the adjectives, since *cruel* is separated from the rest of the quotation. However, the adjective is almost presented as a trigger for the quotation, as the speaker suggests that if one thinks of *cruel*,

one automatically wants to associate *only to be kind*. The core of the quotation is thus felt to lie more in the lexical words than in the original clausal construction.

Second, the modifier *only* tends to be omitted, which results in the following form being recurrently attested:

– (to be) cruel to be kind.

Moreover, the data from TDA suggest a further transitional variant which is attested between 1879 and 1924:

– cruel in order to be kind

	raw frequency in TDA	*total in TDA*	*first occurrence*
cruel only to be kind	27	81	1791
cruel to be kind	42	81	1860 / 1901*
cruel in order to be kind	9	81	1879

Table 7: Occurrences of the variational patterns of *cruel/kind* in TDA
* first unmarked in a header 1860, first unmarked instance in the body of a text in 1901, always unmarked from 1924 onwards

The three patterns listed in table 7 illustrate graded emphasis. The original *only* puts a strong and exclusive emphasis on the positive purpose of the cruel behaviour. The positive connotation of the kind purpose is present, but less strongly highlighted in the variant *in order to*, and almost disappears with the omission of the adverb.[10] As for their emergence, the two alternative variants are recorded markedly later than the original form – in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The shortest variant *cruel to be kind* has become the most frequently quoted form since its first emergence in 1860, with 42 out of 81 quoted instances. From 1924 onwards, it is no longer marked in TDA.

Third, the modal *must* is quoted less and less, and synonymous substitutes such as *have to*, and *got to* begin emerging in the second half of the 20th century in particular:

(33) […] in short, Mr. Wilson has to be cruel only to be kind. (Anon. (1967): Being cruel only to be cruel. *The Times*; source HYHA)

[10] There is a fourth structure, which may be connected: *Cruel kindness*. This expression uses the same keywords and turns the paradox into an oxymoron. *Cruel kindness* first appears in LION in the 1620s, i.e. after *Hamlet's* first performance; its first occurrence in *The Times* dates from 1819, i.e. almost 50 years later than the verb phrase variant. 78 out of 81 tokens of *cruel kindness* in TDA occur within the following 100 years. It was apparently a catchword that occurred in political discourse and parliamentary debates in the second half of the 19th century in particular. However, it is never marked for quotation in TDA. Moreover, the connotation has shifted. While the adjectival phrase normally denotes a sincerely meant positive purpose, the nominal construction *cruel kindness* conveys the contrasting idea, that is, a "cruelty" is wrapped in apparent "kindness". In other words, *cruel kindness* expresses conventionalised sarcasm as in the following example: "Looking at this map which you have put in, does not it appear that the State has done rather a cruel kindness to many of those tenants in turning them into landlords of such undesirable lots?" (Mr. Lynch (1870): Report from the Select Committee on Irish Land Act; source HYHA). Therefore, the link to Shakespeare remains hypothetical. There are only a few recent instances where a link to Shakespeare can be associated, and these may be *post hoc* attributions: "And thus I conclude that as a model for judge, lawgiver, or simply compassionate being, God leaves a lot to be desired. Mr. Novak fleetingly concedes as much. God acts 'in a manner cruel, unfair, and terribly trying,' he says. God warns us about 'how unjust, in the eyes of humans, his justice will seem.' (Hamlet's retort to his mother comes to mind here: 'Seems, madam? Nay, it is.') Yet Mr. Novak cannot long sustain the notion of a God who tolerates slaughter. And so he first tries Elizabethan paradox to soften God's image, invoking 'God's cruel kindness and … his empirically unjust justice.'" (MacDonald, Heather (2006): God and Man and Human Suffering. *American Spectator*; source HYHA). The theological discussion between Michael Novak and Heather MacDonald suggests that the author may have been primed for the expression *cruel kindness* from the explicit mention of *Hamlet* in the previous sentence. Furthermore, *cruel kindness* is called an *Elizabethan paradox*, which is congruent with *Hamlet's* origin. For this reason, a few examples of *cruel kindness* have been provisionally admitted to *HyperHamlet* (the first entry dates from 1867). On the other hand, the doubtful character of *cruel kindness* vs. *methodical madness* shows that isotopic phrase formation does not imply isotopic concepts, derivations and etymologies.

(34) Baby, you've gotta be cruel to be kind. (Gomm, Ian and Nick Lowe (1979): Cruel to Be Kind. *Labour of Lust.* Radar Records; source HYHA).

On the one hand, the emergence of such modal alternatives demonstrates that, semantically, the deontic aspect remains part of the conceptual base of the expression. On the other, it shows that its deviating form signals independence from the Shakespearean original. The deontic meaning is preferably expressed by more modern, natural-sounding forms in the 20th century. *I must be cruel, only to be kind* (III, iv) is therefore another example for the hypothesis presented in chapter 5, which states that quotations are easily subject to modernising tendencies if the implicatures created by stylistic marking are not functional. In other words, modernised forms indicate a decrease in the referential dimension of the quotation; the phrase is more inconspicuously *used* as part of the object language like any other linguistic unit.

Figure 4 gives an overview of the formal development over time according to the data collected in HYHA:

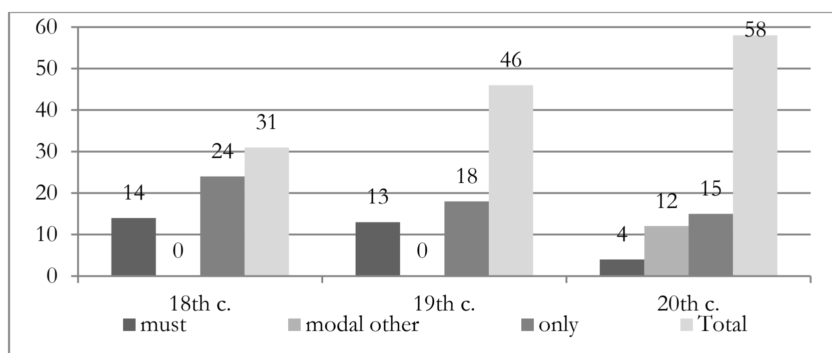


Figure 4: The formal patterns of *cruel/kind* as recorded in HYHA

Figure 4 shows that the use of *only* and *must* decrease both in relative terms and in terms of the raw numbers, while the total of the quotations increases over time. The modal *must* tends to be increasingly substituted by modernised modal forms in the 20th century.

The pattern formation of *the cruel/kind* quotation seems textbook-like, presumably because of its minor salience, which may have caused the relatively slow progress of its institutionalisation. At first, the paronomasia is almost always marked, but the recurrent reduction to the adjectival phrase *cruel (only) to be kind* indicates the start of a process of phraseologisation. The quotation is *used* semantically like a phraseme. Then, after some 100 years, the markers for quotations are gradually reduced. Finally, the shortest variant *cruel to be kind* becomes the most frequently attested variant in TDA and is no longer marked for quotations from 1924 onwards. The transition point from phraseological quotation to dequotational phraseme can thus be situated in the 1920s in TDA.

9.1.4 Formal patterns of quoting: *honoured/breach*

Quotations of *honoured/breach* are characterised by the relatively heavy post-modifying participle phrase. In most cases, the keywords *honour* and *observance* (or derived forms thereof) are linked by the fragment *in the breach than*. The keyword *custom* is attested in the very early quotations, but is increasingly replaced by other nouns from the same word-field.

The quotation has apparently been popular from early on. HYHA records 40 references between 1746, the date of the first accessible quotation, and 1785, when *The Times* was founded.

(35) 'Tis a barbarious Custom, reply'd the young Gentleman, and, as Hamlet says, More honoured in the Breach than the Observance. (Anon. (1750): A Comparison Between the Horace of Corneille and the Roman Father of Mr. Whitehead; source HYHA)

(36) But in the opinion of those who are in the secret of such motto's, the custom is, as Shakespear says, more honoured in the breach than the observance; a motto being generally chosen after the essay is written, and hardly ever having affinity to it through two paragraphs together. (Fitz-Adam, Adam (1753): Advertisement to the Wits; source HYHA)

Examples (35) and (36) above are comparably early references from non-fictional texts. They are marked by the *inquit formula* and by name. These examples also show that the head noun of the original main clause *custom* is easily separated from its post-modifying participle phrase. Easy separation and easy substitution seem to correlate. The substitution of *custom* is frequent and began early, as the following example shows (cf. also the examples in chapter 8):

(37) The Pitt and Galleries were unusually noisy on the Prince's entrance and departure, to the no small confusion of the Stage, which is generally deranged by this absurd practice of honest John Bull – a practice more honoured in the breach than the observance. (Anon. (1785): Theatricals. *The Times*; source TDA)

In example (37), *custom* is replaced by *practice* and the structure has been shortened to a post-modified noun phrase. Still, the semantic field of abstract concepts that can be breached is narrow. *Laws* and *rules*, *regulations* and *treaties*, *practices* and *principles*, *agreements* and *charters*, *fashions* and *conducts*, and *oaths* and *promises* are all associated with norms of behaviour:

(38) But the man of courtly manners often puts on a placid and smiling semblance, while his heart rankles with malignant passion." – When this is done with an intention to deceive or ensnare mankind, the conduct is perfidious, and ought to be branded with infamy. In that case, the law of courtesy is "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." (Anon. (1779): The advantages of politeness and disagreeable consequences of affected rusticity – short letter from Modestus. *The Mirror*; source HYHA)

(39) Custom in many cases is the law; but it is oftentimes the law of fools, and the law of tyrants. When a fashion is new, it may be rejected because of its novelty; when old, and the evils which attend it are known, we may honour ourselves in the breach of it! (Hanway, Jonas (1785): A sentimental history of chimney sweepers, in London & Westminster; source HYHA)

(40) I know that this House possesses great and important privileges; I know that the privileges of the House are daily broke in upon; but, as there are some rules "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," I have always supposed, that in a country the freest in the whole world, this House had consented to dispense with the rigid observance of some of its privileges, retaining, however, the full power to resume them; (Scott, John (1790): The speech of Major Scott in the House of Commons; source HYHA)

(41) The "rigour" of the law applies only to the mass, not to the elite. The regulation of monopolies, for example, is more honoured in the breach than the observance – as with the American antitrust laws. (Dunleavy, Patrick and Brendan O'Leary (1987): Theories of the State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy; source HYHA)

(42) For these oaths are said "to be more honoured in the breach than the observance." Beside, the forfeit of an oath, breach of trust, &c. &c. &c. are such trivial objects, as are determinable in the courts below, and, therefore, must be beneath parliamentary discussion. (Anon. (1784): Oaths. 103. Advice to a new Member of Parliament; *source* HYHA)

(43) We have already seen that the doctor may well honour this principle more in the breach than the observance if he is so minded. (Kennedy, Sir Ian McColl (1980): Treat Me Right: Essays on Medical Law; source HYHA)

In HYHA, for instance, 101 out of 190 references substitute *custom*, as is illustrated in examples (38) to (43) above. The HCPP corpus documents *rule* (47 items), *regulation* (15 items), *law* (11 items), *act* (7 items) and *practice* (5 items) as recurrent substitutions.

According to the data in HYHA*, custom* was used in every other quotation in the 18th and 19th centuries, but lost significant ground in the 20th century (cf. figure 5). For comparison, the data in HCPP, which is a text collection of non-fictional documents with a high degree of transcribed oral contributions, suggest that *custom* fell into disuse much earlier. HCPP records just 10 out of 65 instances of *custom* in the 19th century, which only equates to about 15 percent (cf. figure 6). This difference may reflect the general observation that changes primarily take place in the oral rather than the written mode. Genre specifics play a further role. Despite the differences between HYHA and HCPP, both corpora indicate a clear lexical reduction to a participle phrase without *custom* over a period of some 200 years.

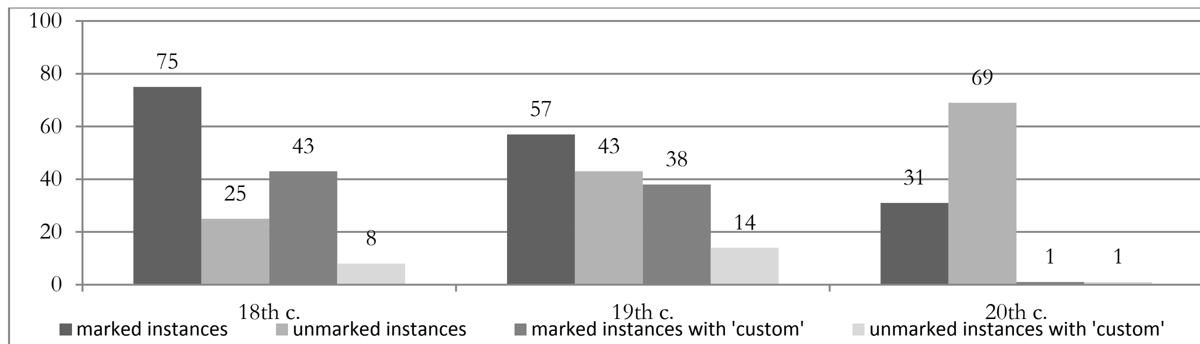


Figure 5: Normalised frequencies of instances with *custom*, and of marked vs. unmarked instances of *honoured/breach* per 100 items in HYHA (y-axis indicates the normalised token frequencies, which are equivalent to the percentage)

In addition to *custom* being increasingly replaced, explicit marking also decreases over time as figure 5 above shows. While the ratio between marked and unmarked instances in the 18th century is about 1:3 in HYHA, the ratio dwindles to almost 1:1 in the 19th century, and reaches 2:1 in the 20th century. For comparison, none of the tokens in BNC, which covers diverse genres of British English from the 1970s to the early 1990s, are marked.

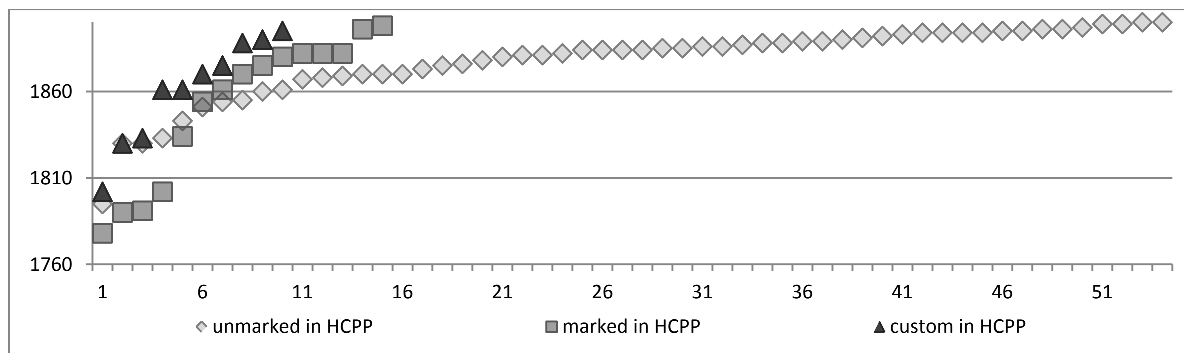


Figure 6: Diachronic overview of *honoured/breach* in HCPP: Appearances of the keyword *custom* and of marked and unmarked references between 1778 and 1900 (x-axis indicates token frequencies)

Figure 6 shows the diachronic disappearance of *custom* and of the markers for quotation in HCPP. The three oldest recorded quotations are marked, yet do not mention *custom*. The first unmarked quotation is attested as early as 1795, but both marked and unmarked instances occur rather by chance until the 1850s. The second half of the 19th century sees a strong increase of regularly unmarked quotations in HCPP. Thus, the quotation clearly loses the reference to its source; it is primarily used for its semantics. The HCPP data

suggest that *honoured/breach* has been used phraseologically since the 1870s, while the data in HYHA put the transition period in the early 20th century. This difference is primarily the result of the diversity of the two corpora with respect to genre variety and the different share of oral vs. written mode. The principal tendency towards institutionalisation by the formation of a recurrent participle phrase and the loss of marking is, however, traceable in both corpora.

The loss of *custom* and, with it, the reduction from clause to participle phrase is not the only pattern which develops over time. Despite the possibility of multiple substitutions without major repercussions (cf. chapter 8), the participle phrase is quoted verbatim in the majority of cases:

– more honoured in the breach than the observance

However, minor further changes, such as the insertion of a second *in* or the reversal of word order of *more honoured*, also regularly occur:

– more honoured in the breach than in the observance.
– honoured more in the breach than the observance.

The concordance view from HYHA makes the recurrence of these three patterns clearly visible (cf. table 8):

6	reminds us in Hamlet, "honour'd more in the breach than th' observance". [Ted Koppel:] "There was a
7	the division may be honoured more in the breach than the observance; the first Church
8	was something Trevor Kerr honoured more in the breach than the observance. In fact, many medical
9	crime-free zones. It may be honoured more in the breach than in the observance - I think Shakespeare caps
10	their life seemed to be honoured more in the breach than in the observance. In a real sense, the fact
11	century, although generally honoured more in the breach than in the observance. [Mr West:] "Most of the
12	though it was to be honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Edward I, considering
13	foods we consume - even if honored more in the breach than the observance - also reflects our deep
14	agreements with whites to be honored more in the breach than in the observance. Still, such a written
15	comedy writer's idea of God, honored more in the breach than in the observance, in which everyone in the
16	the reins, the charters were honored more in the breach than in the observance. In response to their
17	homosexuality, meanwhile, is honored more in the breach than in the observance. That would seem to
18	frequently those laws are honored more in the breach than in the observance. That frequent - what
19	It is a custom, More honouring, by the breach, than the observance. At worst, if my respect has
20	other special economy, more honourable in the breach than in the observance." And I confess that I am
21	we are therefore more to be honoured for the breach than the observance of them; they remain
22	and church wally! - this "more honoured in the breach than observance" farce, is what these cormorants
23	Whether this is "custom more honoured in the breach or the observance", we shall not undertake to
24	to please the multitude, More honour'd in the breach than th'observance. and as the great competition
25	is, as Shakespear says, more honoured in the breach than the observance; a motto being generally
26	place, - It is a custom More honour'd in the breach than the observance+. [...] *Macbeth. +Hamlet.
27	(to speak theatrically) more honoured in the Breach than the Observance. In Paris they never suffer
28	which certainly would be more honoured in the Breach than the Observance, is to me higly
29	it is in my mind "a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance." In all Italian words ending
30	Hamlet, that it would be more honoured in the breach than the observance. Patriots I do not deem any
31	more: a custom, I suspect, "more honoured in the breach than the observance," by many of his successors.
32	and, as Hamlet says, More honoured in the Breach than the Observance. The Effect, which this
33	subject, it is a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance. You will think me an odd
34	monopolies, for example, is more honoured in the breach than the observance - as with the American
35	detail of ordinances, often more honoured in the breach than the observance; which, if the tale will be
36	Hamlet says, I think) is more honour'd in the Breach than the Observance. I look upon wine as a
37	in your book would be "more honoured by the breach than the observance." Now, I demand, supposing
38	born, it is a custom More honour'd in the breach than the observance. (Act I, Sc. IV, lines
39	which like many others are "more honoured in the breach than the observance." I have chosen this sermon
40	these oaths are said "to be more honoured in the breach than the observance." Beside, the forfeit of an
41	as Hamlet says, 'it is more honoured in the breach than the observance.' There are other managerial

Table 8: KWIC view of recurrent variants of *honoured/breach* in HYHA

A comparison between the data in COHA and the most modern corpus COCA suggests an emerging further variant of lexical reduction: the omission of the comparison. While COHA only registers two minor deviations from the patterned fragment *in the breach than* in the 19th century (1853 and 1863), the 20th-century data omit the comparison more regularly (cf. figure 7).

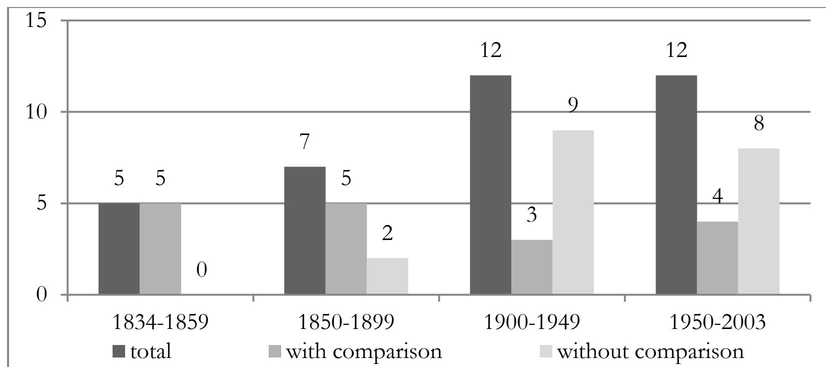


Figure 7: Formal variability with respect to the presence or absence of the comparison in *honoured/breach*, as documented in COHA (y-axis indicates token frequencies)

COCA provides further evidence for such a development in the 20th and 21st centuries, during which less than 50 percent of the valid hits (16 out of 39) preserve the form *in the breach than*. Nevertheless, the link to *observance* is apparently not necessarily severed, as the following example shows:

(44) Ancient tradition dictated that Klingons who had sexual relations then had to mate. It wasn't observed in the breach very often, in Klag's experience. (DeCandido, Keith R. A. (2008): A Burning House; source COCA)

The British sources are more conservative, yet also here the shortened variant of *something is more honoured / honoured more in the breach* is more often recorded in the second half of the 20th century and the early 21st century, as figure 8 shows:

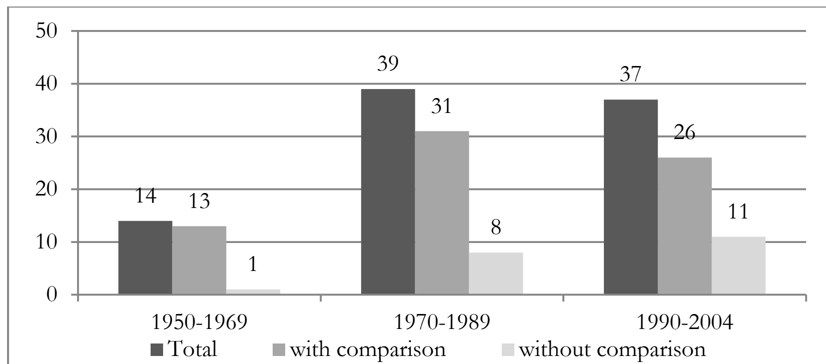


Figure 8: Formal variability with respect to the presence or absence of the comparison in *honoured/breach*, as documented in HCPP (y-axis indicates token frequencies)

In the 20 years between 1950 and 1969, only 1 in 14 quotations omits the comparison in HCPP, which equates to 7 percent. However, that figure rises to 20 percent over the following 20-year interval, and to almost 30 percent in the years between 1990 and 2004 (HCPP does not contain data from after 2004). BNC provides converging evidence, with 4 out of 13 recorded quotations that shorten the core fragment *in the breach than* to *in the breach*. Accordingly, the following forms are also recurrently attested:

– more honoured in the breach
– honoured more in the breach

The phrase undergoes lexical reduction with morpho-syntactic consequences, as is the case with many other expressions used in a phraseological way (cf. Burger/Linke 2000: 746 f.). According to the available data, the four documented participle-phrase patterns are indices for a process of conventionalisation over the course of the 20th century.

9.2 Semantic patterns

The development of recurrent semantic variants of a quotation is a further sign of its independence from its source and of the fact that it is *used* in language like any ordinary formulaic unit. In analogy to the formal variants which change constituents to suit their new contexts, the meaning of a quotation also changes when it is transferred to a new context. Sternberg (1982) gives a very vivid description of this effect:

> What this new mode of existence involves is not just formal restructuring but manifold shifts, if not reversals, of the original meaning and significance. For regardless of the formal relations between inset and frame […] the framing of an element within a text entails a communicative subordination of the part to the whole that encloses it. However accurate the wording of the quotation and however pure the quoter's motives, tearing a piece of discourse from its original habitat and recontextualizing it within a new network of relations cannot but interfere with its effect. […]The more so since the quotation itself is often less accurate, and the quoter less innocent than they might be. (Sternberg 1982: 108)

Such "interfering effects" of shifted meaning are comparable to the occasional, highly context-dependent formal modifications. The more appropriate, complex view of linguistic units as symbolic form-meaning pairs requires, of course, a dialectical understanding: formal modification as an echo of semantic modification and vice versa. The differentiation between form and meaning has therefore to be understood as a matter of heuristics. While formal "interfering effects" become visible through additions, omissions, substitutions and permutations, the "interfering effects" on meaning create a number of implicatures. If a specific implicature is noticeable in several contexts, one can – in analogy – speak of a semantic pattern. The implicature turns into a conventionalised implication, which becomes part of the "time-less meaning" of the phrase (cf. Grice 1991 [1957]). It is argued here that a semantic pattern which deviates from the quoted text is a strong sign of a phraseme-like *use* of the quotation. The phrase is subject to linguistic change because it is repeated and reused like an ordinary semantic unit in object language; to do so, it must have ceased to be an exclusively referential pragmatic entity.

Two of the quotations under scrutiny in this thesis, namely, *hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach*, show a clear semantic diversification, while the shades of meaning concerning *method/madness* and *cruel/kind* are more subtle. Therefore, the former will be described in detail below, while the latter will be only briefly sketched.

9.2.1 Semantic patterns of *hoist/petard*

According to the data analysed, the *hoist/petard* quotation relates to three meaning variants:

a) A scheme to gain advantage *by doing harm to others* hits the schemer him/herself
b) A plan to gain some advantage turns out to be disadvantageous for the initiator
c) One has lost control or is otherwise restricted in one's freedom of behaviour

The first meaning strongly implies mischievous intentions and the just punishment of the mischief. This meaning corresponds to both the imagery and the setting in *Hamlet.* The following examples clearly point out the person's stance through the use of the qualifier *deservedly* in example (45) and the exclamations *splendid* and *what a pretty picture* in example (46) to comment on acts of violence:

(45) Who but must weep at the indignities offered to the offspring of both the royal families; the vile superintendence of Simon over the Dauphin, and the vulgar scheme of binding the Duke

of Gloucester apprentice to a mechanic, and the Princess Elizabeth to a button-maker? Fortunately, the Princess died: the Prince was transported. They were indeed the levellers of both parties who proposed these last schemes. – For in revolutions things generally go from bad to worse. The engineer deservedly hoists with his own petard; and, by the vengeance of Heaven, their more furious successors cut off without remorse the earlier fomenters of disturbance (Ireland, John (1797): Vindiciae Regiae; source HYHA)

(46) I waited for Milo to reply. When he didn't I said: "He fell on Ahlward's knife. It went through his neck." "Splendid." Big smile. "*Literally* hoist on his own petard. What a pretty picture [...]." (Kellerman, Jonathan (1990): Time Bomb; source HYHA)

If the meaning of mischievous intentions and just punishment is implied, the expression adopts a self-righteous, and in some cases, as in example (46), even a sarcastic undertone.

The brutality of Shakespeare's metaphor is, however, no longer clear to everyone as already stated in section 9.1.1. Once the metaphor is opaque and the line is alienated from its context in the play, the focus of meaning is free to shift from the implied bad intentions to the resulting negative consequences: The blowing up of a bomb presupposes destructive plans, as the fuse must actively be lit, but the hoisting *per se* does not require a specifically negative purpose:

(47) Yes, but they have brought evil on themselves by interfering in a course of trade which should have been allowed to settle itself. Here they are hoist with their own petard. The law won't step in, and they cannot find a law in England to do it. (Dowdall, James Bernard (1901): Butter: Butter Substitutes: Regulations for Sale; source HYHA)

(48) In hurt tones, it quoted a series of excerpts from Canaday's columns. He had written, for example, that "the bulk of abstract art in America has followed the course of least resistance and quickest profit," that it "allows exceptional tolerance for incompetence and deception," and that "critics and educators have been hoist with their own petard, sold down the river. We have been had." He said that abstract expressionism's disciples at universities and museums are guilty of "brainwashing." and the whole situation is "fraud at worst and gullibility at best." (Canaday, John Edwin (1961): He Says It's Spinach; source HYHA)

(49) Genette provides a sublet analysis of the affair of *La Chasse spirituelle*, purportedly by Rimbaud: "Its authors had written it to prove that they were capable of writing like Rimbaud", but, by an ironic backlash, "it was eventually decided that they must indeed have written it, as it was quite unworthy of Rimbaud." Hoist by their own petard, then. (Redfern, Walter (1989): Clichés and Coinages; source HYHA)

In example (47), the interference in trade was not meant to destroy the trade, nor did the critics in example (48) mean to promote "incompetence and deception" by aiming for the "quickest profit". The imitators of Rimbaud in (49) wanted to prove their own competence but were shown their incompetence instead. The negative consequences are thus entirely unintended; they are mere tokens of failure. Meaning b) applies.

The meaning of *hoist/petard* can further be weakened to apply to statements about losing control or that imply other conditions which restrict one's freedom to choose and act:

(50) You go into a scene knowing what needs to be represented in order to tell the story. You begin to represent an emotion or a point of view. Suddenly, in the midst of representation, it becomes real. That is a real tear coming out of your eye. You really feel something emotionally. That's what's happening to Linus. In the midst of feeling those feelings, even falsely, he begins to give some value to those feelings, until finally he realizes he's caught, hoisted by his own petard. (Parks, Louis B. (1995): A Ford Classic; source HYHA)

(51) On farms across the Midwest and Great Plains and on ranch after ranch throughout the American West, blaring mercury vapor lamps on tall poles come on automatically at dusk and shine boldly all night. Marketed as security lights, and no doubt useful from time to time, these beacons chiefly secure residents and visitors from any possibility of experiencing true night.

One of my neighbors at home has two, which I am frequently tempted to shoot out. Yet I hoist myself by the same petard while camping, when I build a fire and stare into its lively lightedness for hours. (Daniel, John (2007): In Praise of Darkness; source HYHA)

(52) Israel came in and, at the end of the 1970s, beginning 1980s, the Israeli Supreme Court said "We are caught in our own petard; we are a democracy, we have laws, we cannot simply take lands from Palestinians and give them to settlers, you have got to find a way" (it told the army and the government ministries) "to equalise the law, to give us a basis for administering the occupied territories." (Halper, Jeff (2003): International Development Select Committee: Development assistance and the occupied Palestinian territories. Evidence; source HCPP)

In example (50), the actor is carried away by the feelings that he is supposed to "merely" perform, and loses control of himself. In (51), the narrator realises that he is caught in the same archaic patterns of behaviour which he dislikes in his neighbours. Example (52) shows that self-imposed rules and laws place limits on one's actions. These limits are considered to be obstacles as bad as petards. *Petard* is here conceived of as something that restricts one's freedom by either inherent traits of personality or mostly self-imposed rules and incorporated norms. Thus, the examples above highlight the self-reflective aspect of the constituent *one's own*. One's *own* impersonalised norms, aims and ideals restrict one's choice to act. The examples thus show that *one's own* also belongs to the conceptual core of this idiomatic quotation, rather than just to the formal one.

The *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* reflects the empirical observations concerning the first two meanings, namely, that doing harm and looking for advantages need not necessarily coincide, but both purposes may fail to achieve their intended effect:

> If you are hoist by your own petard, something that you did in order to bring you advantages or to harm someone else is now causing serious problems for you." (McCarthy (1998): 193)

Thus, the first two meanings have already been acknowledged as conventional by the lexicographer McCarthy. The third attested meaning of losing control over one's actions is a further semantic abstraction which seems to have been emerging since the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The meaning variants b) and c) presuppose some alienation from the original text. The expression becomes as literally "source-less" as other multi-word units. Therefore, and because of the opacity of *petard*, it is not surprising that the variants *to be hoist with/by one's own petard* are listed as idioms in a dictionary (though not yet *to be hoist on one's own petard*). It is, however, remarkable that McCarthy (1998) does not mention Shakespeare as the origin of the phrase. *Hoist/petard* apparently counts as an ordinary phraseme for the English lexicographer. The phrase is, in most contemporary cases, indeed *used* like a prefabricated multi-word unit which develops meaning variants as many other phrasemes before it.

9.2.2 Semantic patterns of *honoured/breach*

The Shakespearean line and the original proverb (cf. chapter 8) imply that the *custom* which is *honoured in its breach* is a bad one and should therefore be abandoned. The following complaint is a case in point:

(53) Sir, There is an abuse at both Play Houses, which, in my Opinion, demands your severest animadversion, and it would be worthy of your Pen to regulate the Management in this Point. The Thing I mean results from the Custom of sending Servants to keep Places in the Boxes, a Custom (to speak theatrically) more honoured in the Breach than the Observance. In *Paris* they never suffer any Servant to keep Places at any Rate; but if that cannot be accomplished here, I think it should be so ordered, that when most of the Company is seated, a Footman shall not

be suffered to sit next a fine Lady, or a Gentleman well dressed. (Decent, William (1754): True Intelligence. To Charles Ranger, Esq.; source HYHA)

(54) Indeed I cannot affirm that the Time I have mention'd for that Purpose is sufficient for a Child that is early put to the Grammar; I mean at the Age of Seven or Eight, which is very often the Custom; which Custom (as *Hamlet* says, I think) is more honour'd in the Breach than the Observance. (Girrard, J. (1756): Practical lectures on education, spiritual and temporal; source HYHA)

In example (53), the writer of this letter to the editor thinks that masters sending their servants to occupy good seats in the theatre until they arrive is abominable. In example (54), the author is of the opinion that starting to learn Latin grammar "at the age of seven or eight" is too early and should be swapped for better-suited subjects (as the wider context suggests). Both examples clearly stress that the described practices, the customs, are conceived of as bad and need to be changed.

However, another meaning variant becomes noticeable over time. As early as the late 18th century, text passages are occasionally found in which exceptions to rules are explicitly mentioned without such a strong critical undertone:

(55) yet it should be remembered, that Right and Convenience may be often at variance; which is the case at present. We have many Laws yet unrepealed, the revival of which would cause infinite disturbances: we are therefore more to be honoured for the breach than the observance of them; they remain unexerted and dormant. (Draper, Sir William (1774): The Thoughts of a Traveller Upon Our American Disputes; source HYHA)

(56) All general regulations, however, admit of particular exceptions, in which they are "more honoured in the breach than in the observance;" and in which the spirit of the law may be preserved, though its forms are neglected. (Logan, John (1788): A Review of the Principal Charges against Warren Hastings; source HYHA)

In example (55), the writer is describing the situation whereby some inconvenient laws are no longer followed in practice. Example (56) praises a certain degree of flexibility in rules, which are "honoured by exceptions" (note that in this example *honour* is not used ironically). In both cases, criticism is more implied rather than expressed, or at least the described *customs* are not particularly awful: While (55) mentions a certain inconvenience, (56) principally states that rules are sensible if they admit some exceptions. A schematic and strict application of rules is implicitly criticised, but there is no criticism of the rules *per se*.

The critical undertone becomes increasingly scarce in the second half of the 19th century. This can be traced using the data from HCPP, in which this quotation is exceptionally often found:

(57) On the front of his desk are printed the words, "silence," and "we are not allowed to speak while lessons are going on." This last order is, however, "more honoured in the breach than the observance," as classes were very disorderly. (Anon. (1853): The twentieth report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland; source HCPP)

(58) Year after year the law is becoming more and more honoured in the breach than in the observance – legal enactments are yielding to the public convenience. (Anon. (1859): The Selling of Grain By Measure or By Weight; source HCPP)

(59) […] indeed, of all these precise orders, of which the catalogue is not exhausted, having for their object the spiritual edification of members of the Church, how very few, til lately, within our own memory, have been obeyed, and how much more common has been the breach than the observance of them. (Anon. (1867): Royal Comm. on Rubrics, Orders and Directions for regulating Course of Public Worship according to Use of Church of England Second Report, Minutes of Evidence; source HCPP)

(60) The rule (No. 28) of the Company is positive as to the duty of a driver to stop at a distant signal at danger, and then draw gradually inside it until he sees the obstruction ahead. This, however, is a rule more honoured in the breach than the observance; and until companies see fit both to enforce its observance and to place their signals in such a position that it can be obeyed, accidents such as the present one must be liable to occur. (Anon. (1868): Reports of Inspecting Officers of Railway Dept. on Accidents on Railways, June-December 1868, London and North-Western Railway; source HCPP)

The examples above still criticise some states of affairs, but the criticism no longer concerns the customs, laws, rules or regulations. Instead, they address how they are handled in practice. The reasonable rule that pupils must be quiet during lessons is not obeyed in (57); laws, which are essential for the social organisation of a community, are only followed according to convenience in (58); orders meant to spiritually edify are not applied in (59); and safety regulations are not kept in (60).

According to these data, in addition to the original concept of

a) it is good not to observe a bad rule,

honoured/breach has also developed a weaker, bleached meaning:

b) rules are not observed.

The second variant of meaning – rules are simply not followed, irrespective of whether they are good or bad – again constitutes a shift towards the result. The original presupposition of the badness of the rule is lost, just as the badness of intentions was lost in *hoist/petard.* According to the data, the second meaning becomes predominant in the late 20th century. None of the examples found in COCA imply a negative attitude towards the rules, only towards their treatment.

Occasionally, however, a new presupposition seems to sneak in:

(61) Handwriting today is a skill "more honored in the breach than in the observance" as Shakespeare put it, in another context, while writing, of course, with a quill pen. (Emblidge, David (2007): The Palmer Method: Penmanship and the Tenor of Our Time; source COCA; source HYHA)

(62) As the committee that made this decision surely knows, software-engineering techniques are honored mostly in the breach. In other words, business practice, as much as a lack of technical know-how, produces the depressing statistics I have cited. (Anon. (2005): The Software Wars. American Scholar; source COCA)

(63) As my own tennis was winding down ever more quickly over the past three decades, tennis in general was taking the world by storm. Television brought the greatest players, playing in the most important tournaments, to every home screen; amateur tennis, once honored, if only in the breach, ceased entirely to exist, and was replaced by the big money – and the florid behavior – so endemic in professional sports. (Lipman, Samuel (1991): Tennis days. American Scholar; source COCA)

The examples above imply that the practice in question cannot be followed because it is unknown or not mastered. In (61), people cannot produce beautiful handwriting anymore, as they lack practice and no longer need it in these days of keyboards and computers. Example (62) implies that the latest software-engineering techniques are not applied because people are not familiar with them and lack the expertise to handle them without extra training. In example (63), the reference to *breach* makes semantic sense only if it is paraphrased by "amateur tennis was respected among a few cognoscenti, yet the great majority of the people did not know much about it and did not take notice of this sport." Hence, a third meaning seems to be emerging:

c) things are not observed because they are unknown.

At this stage, it cannot be said with certainty whether examples (61), (62) and (63), above are occasional "misquotations" or whether they will indeed form a new semantic pattern. In general, however, "misquotations" indicate a separation from the source text. The phrase is used as a phrase to draw attention to its extension (cf. Saka 1998: 126), and as such it is subject to linguistic change. The phrase is used to communicate semantic meaning, and its pragmatic function of reference – be it to the original text or simply to its metalinguistic qualities – is negligible. The full-knowing reader recognises the origin and thus sees the referential potential, but the quotation is *used* for its own semantics. And semantics can change as soon as the original source is no longer the reference point, but earlier instances of phraseological quoting.

9.2.3 Semantic aspects of *method/madness* and *cruel/kind*

The two contrasting concepts of *method* and *madness* are typically combined to express a paradox. Only occasionally are the concepts merely contrasted. In other words, while a mere contrastive meaning of *method vs. madness* is possible and is also attested in a few cases, as in (64):

(64) New York Cartier clocks: method or madness?
Prices have wildly exceeded estimates for second rate pieces (Anon (1993): New York Cartier Clocks: Method or Madness? *The Art Newspaper*, source HYHA)

the conventional meaning remains that of the original paradox, namely, that madness can have a systematic element to it. Deviations from the paradox are, in this case, the semantic equivalent of occasional formal modifications. Recurrence cannot be diagnosed.

With regard to *cruel/kind*, the meaning in *Hamlet* may be paraphrased by

- I have to be aggressive to establish justice

which evokes the biblical paradox that chastisement is a sign of love and meant to have a positive effect. The entry from the *Penguin Dictionary of English Idioms* provides the following semantic account of the expression:

(65) To be cruel to be kind – to inflict pain on or punish a person in order to rid him or her of a distressing habit or fault. (Gulland, Daphne M. and David Hinds-Howell (2001): 124)

This definition also stresses physical aggression as a means of achieving good. A more abstract but germane notion can be found in the *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms*:

(66) You have to be cruel to be kind.
something that you say when you do something to someone that will upset them now because you think it will help them in the future. (McCarthy (1998): 85)

Example (66) interprets the clause metaphorically. The aggression is meant as a help rather than a punishment, especially not a physical one. However, it is often not possible to distinguish between physical or psychological cruelty and the varying degrees of aggression. The expression preserves a certain vague meaning that shifts between the more or less physical, the more or less psychological and the more or less severe to achieve an educational goal. Hamlet's statement already comprises all these dimensions, in that it has a bodily interpretation towards Polonius (Hamlet utters the words after accidentally stabbing him) and a more abstract one in terms of his quest.

In crime fiction, however, a positive intention is recurrently questioned. According to the data in HYHA, a sarcastic undertone prevails, as examples (67) and (68) show:

(67) "This is hurting me as much it hurts you, you mean?" said Dalziel. "We had an old sod at school used to say that as he thumped you." "Partly that. More being cruel to be kind. Compassionate, almost," said the doctor. (Hill, Reginald (1987): A Killing Kindness; source HYHA)

(68) "Sometimes," he said, stroking his gun, "it's cruel to be kind." (Kellerman, Jonathan (2001): Time Bomb; source HYHA)

A sarcastic tone cannot be excluded from the Shakespearean original – especially not in view of Polonius' fate. Still, the recurrence of sarcasm in crime fiction may indicate a genre-related semantic variant: Sarcasm rules out the positive element of the intentions. As with *hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach*, the attention is again directed at the clearly perceived result, the cruelty, while any circumstantial notions of intention and future outcome are shoved away.[11] This ties in with the omission of *only* over time, as described above, which also reflects a weakening of the positive intention. However, outside the genre of crime fiction, there is no evidence of a regular shift of focus towards the cruel side of the method applied to achieve some good.

The analysis of *I must be cruel, only to be kind* has not revealed a diachronically traceable formation of semantic patterns that clearly deviate from *Hamlet*, as it is not always semantically feasible to differentiate between psychological and physical cruelty. In general, the individual context specifies the balance of badness and goodness. The increasing omission of the mollifier *only* may have had repercussions on the genre of crime fiction, where a prevalence of sarcastic meaning is noticeable.

9.3 Discursive distribution

The tell-tale sign of institutionalisation, *discursive distribution*, can follow two directions, as already mentioned in chapter 7. On the one hand, there is the diversification of the contexts in which a quotation is used. Diversification indicates the wide applicability of a quotation, and if a certain frequency is attested, general familiarity can be assumed. On the other hand, specialisation in specific contexts – especially if they have little in common with the original text – also indicates a severed link to the original text and thus an independent, "source-less" usage of the quotation. These apparently opposing directions of discourse distribution are shared with ordinary phrasemes. While some phrasemes, such as *to use a sledgehammer to crack a nut*, can be used in almost all discursive contexts, others are exclusively used in very specific settings – most famously o*nce upon a time*. Both observations – generalisation and specialisation – are signs of conventionalisation, be it on the level of common linguistic use or within a specified context.

The quotations discussed in the following sections are all increasingly used in several discursive contexts, while more or less strong preferences can also be made out. The data from HYHA offer a good synchronic overview of the discursive range. HYHA annotates entries according to genre and discourse topics. As the conventionalisation of the quoted sequences is of major interest here, the analysis focuses on the non-fictional data (which in itself constitutes a major discursive change). Discursive preferences may, however, change over time and new thematic contexts may be "conquered". This type of diachronic development of discursive distribution can be traced in the data from the *Times Digital*

[11] cf. footnote 10 above, p. 218: In TDA and HCPP, the possibly related and often-used expression *cruel kindness* is generally used to express sarcasm in public discourse. A derivative link between *cruel to be kind* and the nominal expression *cruel kindness* cannot be verified with absolute certainty.

Archive. TDA contains a relatively high number of quoted tokens, covers 200 years of quality British journalism (1785 – 1985) and is subdivided into several thematic sections. In other words, the data from TDA will diachronically fine-tune the general overview from HYHA within the journalistic genres.

9.3.1 Discursive distribution of *hoist/petard*

Most quotations which derive from *hoist/petard* are found in the discourses which BNC succinctly categorises as *world affairs*, that is, discourses on politics, business and public social affairs. The comparably high frequencies of the quotation in TDA and HCPP, as well as its comparable rarity in LION are symptomatic (cf. chapter 8). In HYHA, 75 references stem from non-fictional contexts, and 33 are fictional entries. Figure 9 shows the distribution of the quotation across the different genres as recorded in HYHA.

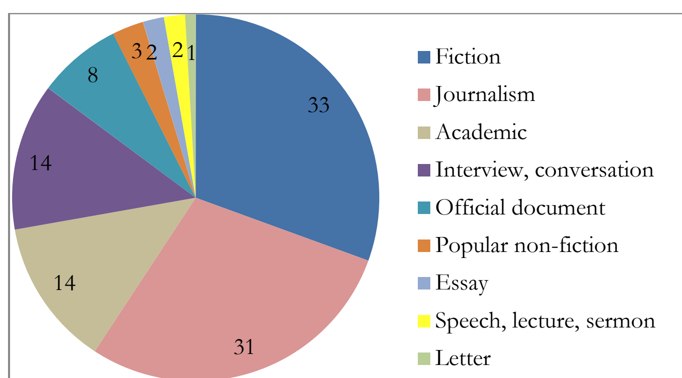


Figure 9: Genre distribution of *hoist/petard* in HYHA

The ratio between fiction and non-fiction is 1:2. Written and spoken JOURNALISM (including INTERVIEW, CONVERSATION)[12] is the major source of the non-fictional data, followed by OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS from the government or other public institutions. As this thesis has paid little attention to the fictional genres so far, two examples will now illustrate the use of *hoist/petard* in fiction:

(69) "That's all very well, but your enemies won't stay above ground. Is that newspaper man above ground? And for a little job of clever mining, believe me, that there is not a better engineer going than Lady Glen; – not but what I've known her to be very nearly 'hoist with her own petard,'" – added Madame Goesler, as she remembered a certain circumstance in their joint lives. (Trollope, Anthony (1874): Phineas Redux; source HYHA)

(70) If William Pitt had been living now, he'd have done the same; for what did he say when he was dying? Not 'O save my party!' but 'O save my country, heaven!' That was what they dinned in our ears about Peel and the Duke; and now I'll turn it round upon them. They shall be hoist with their own petard. Yes, yes, I'll stand by you." (Eliot, George [Mary Ann Evans] (1864): Felix Holt; source HYHA)

Examples (69) and (70) both use *hoist/petard* in a conversation, that is, in an assumed oral setting. In fact, 18 out of 33 quotations occur in dialogues between fictional characters. This may count as another sign of the phraseological usage of the quotation. Writers usually have a good ear for how people speak, and even though they invent the dialogues, the words are only convincing if their invention seems authentic.

Within the non-fictional domain, the data in HYHA paint the following picture of their discursive distribution:

[12] Genre and thematic categories are given in small caps.

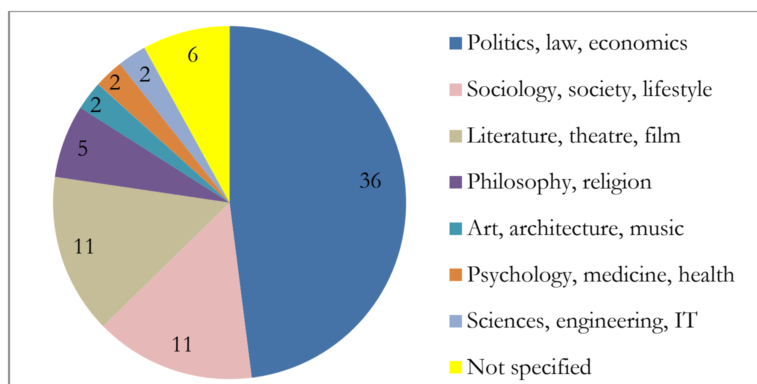


Figure 10: Non-fiction – distribution across discourse subjects of *hoist/petard* in HYHA

Figure 10 clearly shows the preference for the subject domain POLITICS, LAW, ECONOMICS. Along with SOCIOLOGY, SOCIETY, LIFESTYLE, the data covering the BNC domain of *world affairs* amount to 62 percent. Only 14 percent of the quotations are found in theatre or book reviews, and some 7 percent appear in academic treaties on philosophy or religion. The label NOT SPECIFIED in figure 10 comprises quotations found in letters or similar private documents, for which no specific subject can be made out.

The preference for *world affairs* may not be coincidental. First, since public affairs have to deal with norms in society, the norm-enforcing moral of the quotation – evildoers will be punished – is semantically motivated. Second, the expression is an instance of Lakoff/ Johnson's conceptual metaphor *argument is war* (Lakoff/Johnson 2003 [1980]: 4 ff.) that fits the competitive style in business and politics. Third, despite the self-reflective apparel of the phrase, agency may be external. Note that it is *Hamlet* who *hoists the petard* in the original text. Thus, this specific construction puts true agency out of focus and helps manipulate the perspective on a given affair, which is advantageous when waging argumentative wars.

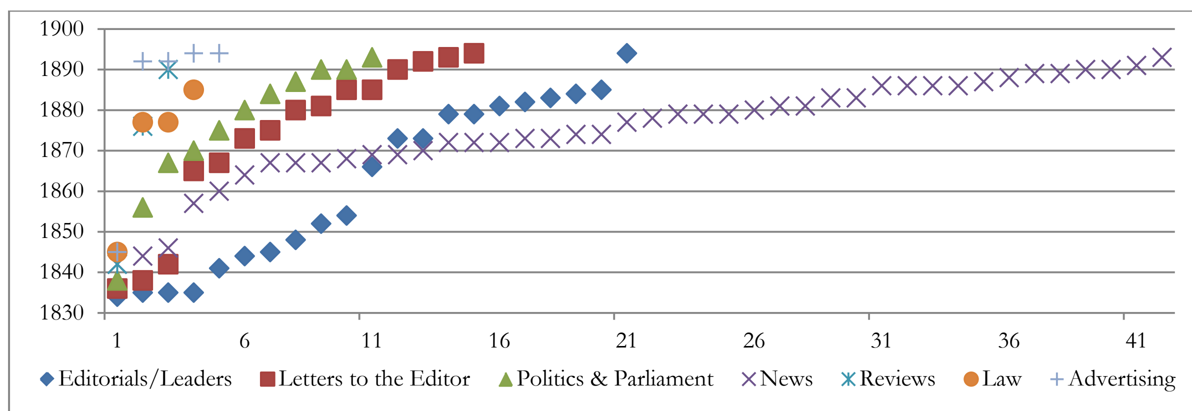


Figure 11: Diachronic view of the spread into different subject domains of *hoist/petard* in TDA up to 1900 (the x-axis indicates token frequencies)

Figure 11 shows the diversity and order of appearance of *hoist/petard* in the different sections of *The Times* up to 1900. The quotation was first used in an EDITORIAL in 1834, followed by a LETTER TO THE EDITOR in 1836, and a report in the POLITICS & PARLIAMENT section in 1838. The relative frequency in POLITICS & PARLIAMENTS is noteworthy. The quotation first appears in the NEWS section in 1842, where it is regularly used from the mid-1860s onwards. The first appearance in a *review* also dates from 1842, followed by the LAW section in 1845 and in an ADVERTISEMENT in the same year. In

other words, within 11 years, the quotation was used in 7 different domains, while the preference for *world affairs* remained stable.

A brief comment on the contents of the various sections in TDA is, however, necessary. In terms of themes, NEWS comprises reports on political affairs at home and abroad, visits by major public figures such as the pope, inaugurations of important buildings and institutions, and society gossip. As such, reports on legal, political, economic and cultural affairs are partly grouped under NEWS, and partly given a separate section. Hence, the news section is a kind of mixed bag and the general high frequency of all examples is of limited informative value. EDITORIAL and LETTERS TO THE EDITOR are almost as thematically broad. Occurrences in the letter section are interesting because they reflect usage among the readers. Despite the low token frequencies, the specific thematic sections are discursively most informative.

If one compares the discourse distribution of the first 100 references in TDA to *hoist/petard* with the distribution of the last 100 references, one can clearly see that the thematic expansion of *hoist/petard* continues. Figure 12 and figure 13 demonstrate the augmented range of discourse topics in which *hoist/petard* is used: While the first 100 tokens are distributed over 7 different sections in TDA, the last 100 are spread over 9 different sections.

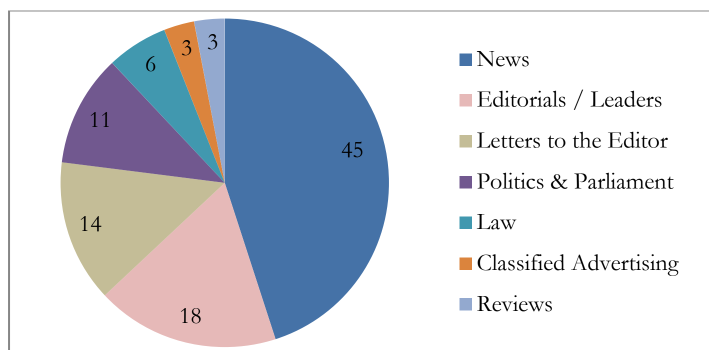


Figure 12: Distribution of *hoist/petard* in the TDA corpus: first 100 references (1834 – 1894)

Figure 12 illustrates that NEWS, EDITORIALS/LEADERS, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR and the other *world affair* domains were the preferred contexts for using *hoist/petard* in *The Times* of the 19th century. The REVIEW section only occasionally contains the phrase.

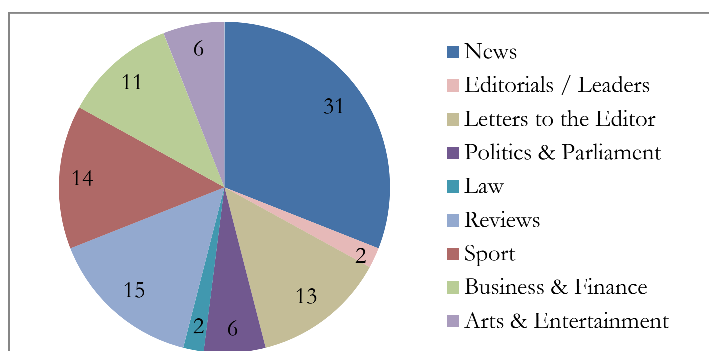


Figure 13: Distribution of *hoist/petard* in the TDA corpus: last 100 references (1950 – 1985)

Figure 13 still shows a predominance of *world affairs*, with 52 tokens (NEWS, POLITICS & PARLIAMENT, EDITORIALS/LEADERS, LAW and BUSINESS & FINANCE taken together). However, occurrences in the cultural domains, such as REVIEWS, SPORTS and ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT have noticeably increased during the second half of the 20th century. The ratio in LETTERS TO THE EDITOR remains stable over time, which means that, across

the covered time spans, readers have known and used the phrase to the same degree.

It may come as a surprise that quotations from *Hamlet* are not most and first used in the domains of literature, theatre and the arts before spreading to other discourses (especially as Hemmi [1994] revealed correlations between source and quoting environment). The discursive preferences apparently do not depend on the original genre so much as on the semantics, temporary fashions and many more individual and arbitrary factors, as Compagnon (1979: 23 ff.) observed with his concept of *solicitation*.

The diachronic comparison between the first 100 and last 100 references to *hoist/ petard* in *The Times* shows that the second half of the 20th century saw an expansion into further discursive domains, which Rodríguez Martín (2014), among others, interprets as an indicator of conventionalisation: A "wider readership foreshadow[s] a natural move into naturally-occurring conversation" (Rodríguez Martín 2014: 11). Today, dictionaries such as the OED, *The Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* and LEO also list the derived verb phrase *to be hoist with/by one's own petard* as an idiomatic expression. Thus, the conventionality of two patterns of the quotation is already lexicographically established, while the present account has traced a section of the path from first attested quotation and has also revealed other formal and semantic patterns which are spread over a variety of discourses. This behaviour is conspicuously similar to that of other source-less phrasemes.

9.3.2 Discursive distribution of *method/madness*

HYHA records a ratio of 1:2 between fictional and non-fictional genres. FICTION and JOURNALISM are the main sources, and together account for 75 percent of the data. The remaining 25 percent is distributed across 10 other genres, including ACADEMIC texts, POPULAR NON-FICTION, and LETTERS (cf. figure 14):

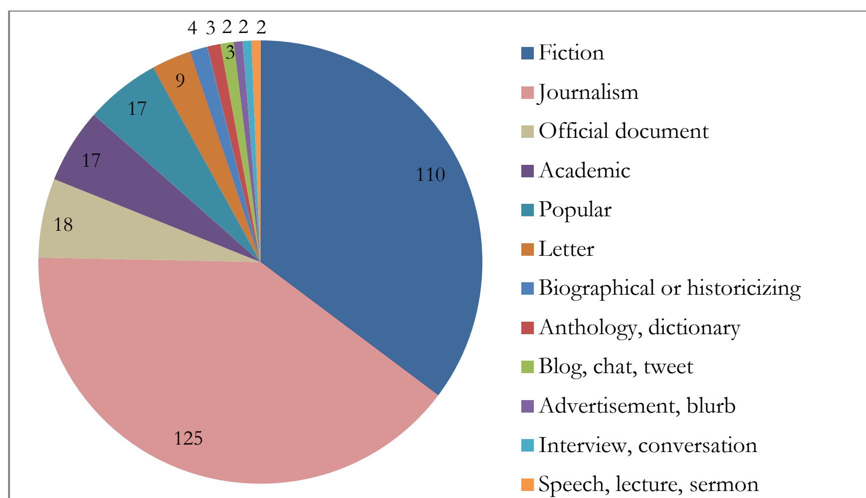


Figure 14: Genre distribution of *method/madness* in HYHA

The discursive distribution within the non-fictional domain shows a relatively large share of cultural topics, even though *world affairs* are again predominant. Figure 15 shows a share of 44 percent for POLITICS, LAW, ECONOMICS, a share of 21 percent for LITERATURE, THEATRE, FILM, a share of 18 percent for SOCIOLOGY, SOCIETY, LIFESTYLE, and a share of 5 percent for ART, ARCHITECTURE, MUSIC. Within the non-fictional genres, subjects in the humanities account for almost a third of the data.

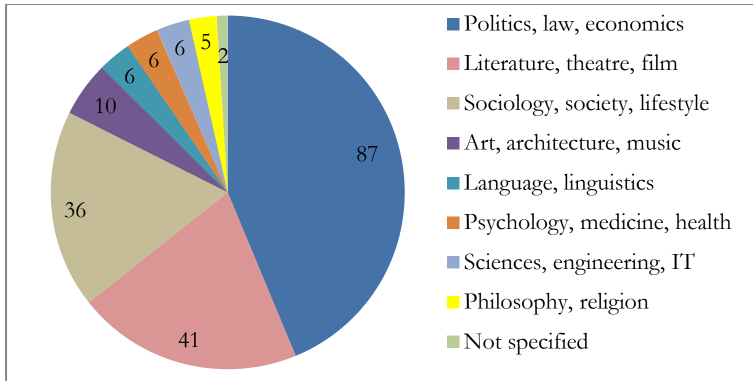


Figure 15: Discursive distribution of *method/madness* in HYHA

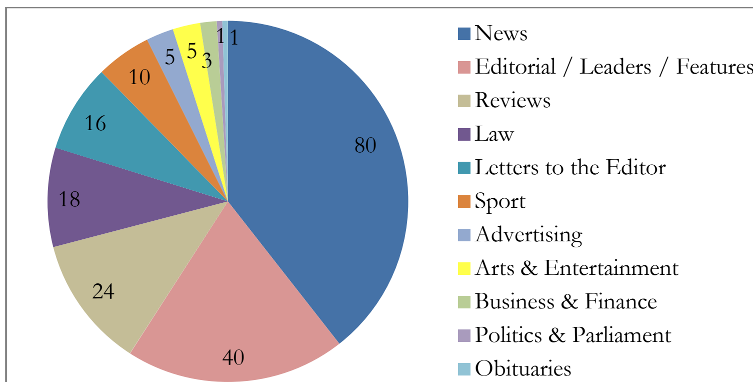


Figure 16: Discursive distribution of *method/madness* in *The Times*

The TDA data again provide a more fine-tuned view of the thematic applicability of *method/madness* within journalism. The TDA search returned 203 valid hits. As can be seen from Figure 16, *method/madness* appears in 12 different thematic sections in TDA. The bulk of the data is again found in the NEWS section, followed by EDITORIAL, REVIEWS, and LAW. The wide variety of subject domains is not surprising, as the phrase echoes the general human trait of recurrent and/or intentionally irrational behaviour, and can therefore be found and expressed in politics, academia, arts, sports and general social affairs. Figure 17 shows the discursive expansion over time:

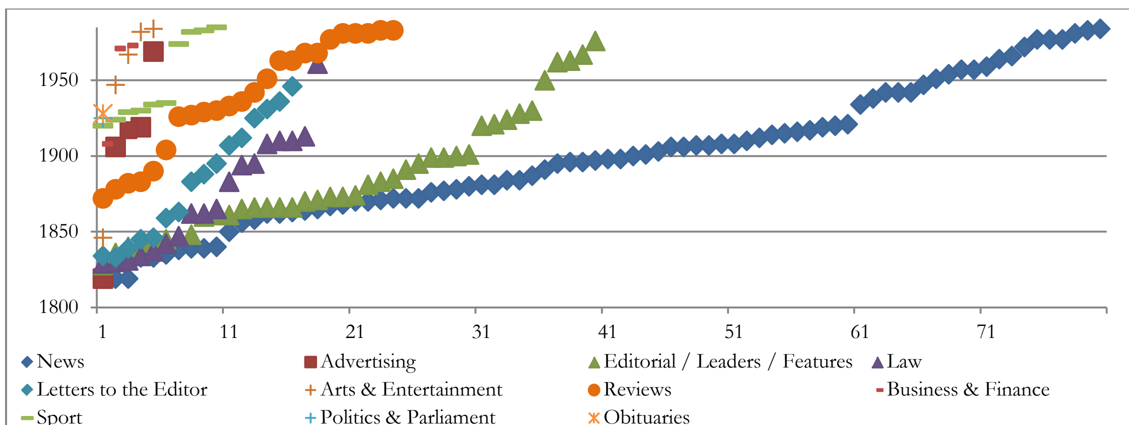


Figure 17: Diachronic spread of *method/madness* into new subject domains in TDA (the x-axis indicates token frequencies)

The first two *Times* references to Polonius' aside date from 1819 in the ADVERTISING and NEWS sections. EDITORIALS and LAW follow in 1828 and 1829 respectively. The lines for NEWS and EDITORIALS are almost parallel until the 1870s, which indicates an equivalent

frequency of usage in both the sections. However, the more elaborate style of an EDITORIAL possibly avoids the cliché-like aspect of the quotation, while the more functional NEWS section may continue valuing the succinctness of the paradox. The occurrences in LETTERS TO THE EDITOR from 1832 onwards imply that the expression belonged to the active phrase stock of at least some readers from early on. The usage in this section remained stable until the late 1940s – the points on the graph form an almost even line. Findings in the ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT section follow in 1846, and occur in REVIEWS as late as 1872. SPORTS reporters eventually begin using the paradoxical expression in 1920. Again, the comparably late occurrence in the cultural section REVIEW is noticeable.

Compared to *hoist/petard*, *method/madness* is attested some 20 years earlier in the *Times*. However, it took longer for *method/madness* to extend over seven subject domains – it amounts to some 50 years instead of "only" 11 years. The spread into the different genres clearly does not follow a fixed schedule for every quotation.

9.3.3 Discursive distribution of *cruel/kind*

The data in HYHA range from FICTIONal genres to POPULAR NON-FICTION, from OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS to LETTERS, and from JOURNALISM to ACADEMIC texts and ANTHOLOGY ITEMS. Almost 40 percent of the data derive from fictional texts, followed by newspaper and magazine articles, whose share amounts to 32 percent, and OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS from the government or other public institutions, which account for 19 percent (cf. figure 18):

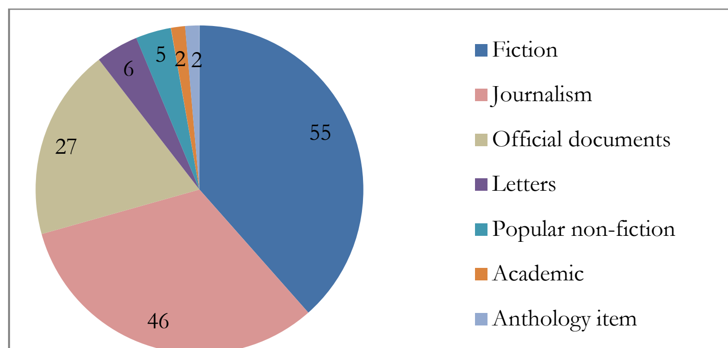


Figure 18: Genre distribution of *cruel/kind* in HYHA

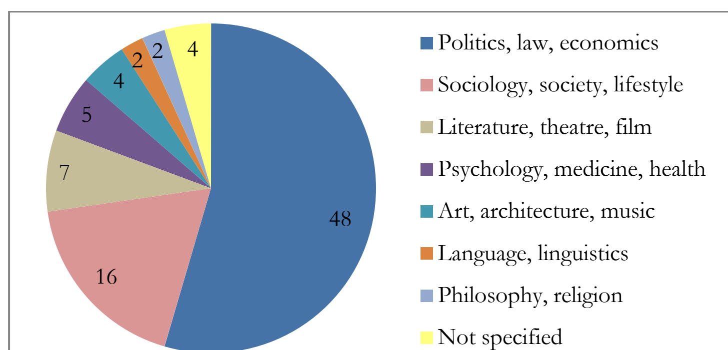


Figure 19: Discursive distribution of *cruel/kind* in HYHA

The distribution across the subject areas in which the quotation is used again demonstrates the diversity of discourses. The data selection from HYHA suggests a share of 55 percent for the public-affair domains of POLITICS, LAW, ECONOMICS, a share of 18 percent for SOCIOLOGY, SOCIETY, LIFESTYLE, and, much further down the scale, a share

of 8 percent for LITERATURE, THEATRE, FILM. The life science disciplines PSYCHOLOGY, MEDICINE, HEALTH account for 6 percent, and the cultural subjects ART, ARCHITECTURE, MUSIC have 4 percent (cf. figure 19).

The journalistic data from *The Times* offer a somewhat different picture (cf. figure 20):

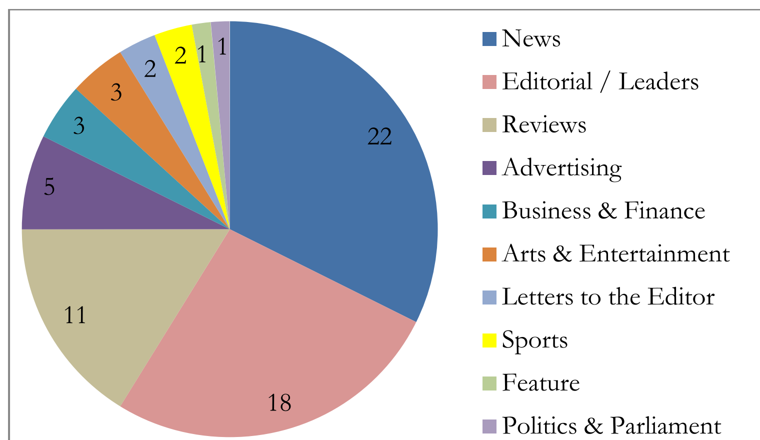


Figure 20: Distribution of *cruel/kind* in TDA[13]

NEWS and EDITORIAL/LEADERS are, as usual, the sections in which Shakespeare is most quoted. REVIEWS come next and account for 16 percent in TDA. With SPORTS, ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT and FEATURE, the cultural topics take up 24 percent, compared to 12 percent in HYHA.

The apparent difference in distribution between HYHA and TDA is due to two main reasons. First, and most obviously, the nature and composition of the corpora differ: HYHA is a non-exhaustive selection of data from many periods, genres and cultural spheres, while TDA is an exhaustive collection of articles from a single, influential, high-quality British newspaper. The TDA data zoom in to quality journalism and echo the distribution of the quotations within that genre, while HYHA spreads out and aims at a broad picture, the representativeness of which is necessarily uncertain given the vast number of texts that exist. Second, HYHA and TDA are organised differently in their discursive categorisation. HYHA covers a greater genre variety. It separates subjects such as science and philology, and arts and social affairs. TDA groups these under NEWS, REVIEWS or EDITORIALS. Conversely, economic and legal matters are grouped with political subjects in HYHA, while TDA tends to separates these, unless they are grouped under NEWS. Despite these differences, the public-affairs domain amounts to some 75 percent in both corpora, and only the share of high-culture topics differs. Nevertheless, the *cruel/kind* paradox is recurrently attested in several different contexts.

Diachronically, *cruel/kind* was first used in the NEWS section of *The Times* as early as 1791. Over a period of about 70 years, *cruel/kind* continued to be used in NEWS only, and very occasionally – less than once per decade. This was followed by occasional appearances in SPORTS, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR and ADVERTISEMENTS. A more regular use is visible from the early 20th century onwards in the domains of NEWS, EDITORIAL/LEADERS and REVIEWS (cf. figure 21):

[13] The advertisements for a play called *Cruel to be kind* of 1860 appeared in total 13 times and that of 1906 twice. The diagram only counts different usage events. Therefore the total is below 81 as indicated in the general overview in chapter 8.

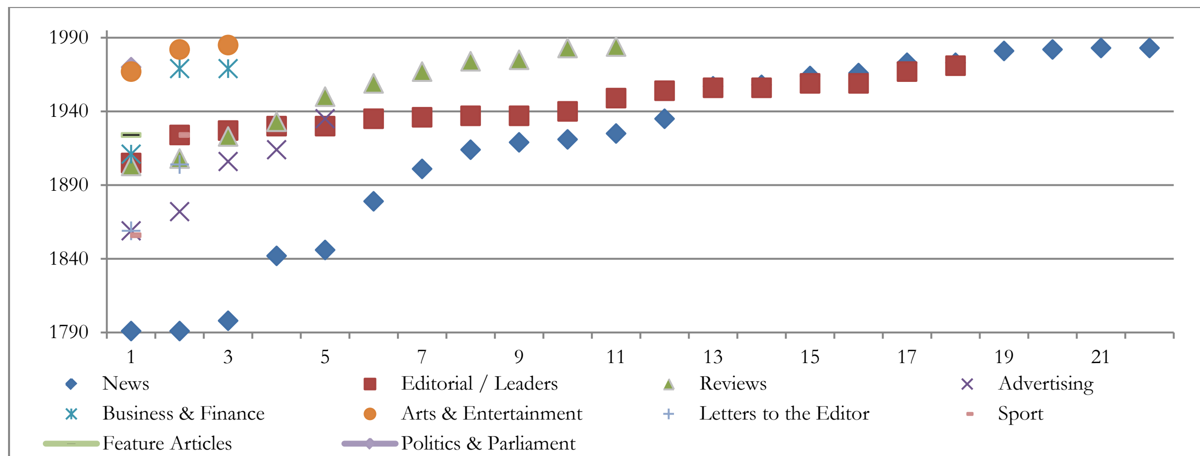


Figure 21: Thematic distributions over time of *cruel/kind* in TDA (the x-axis indicates token frequencies)

Again, one might not have anticipated that *cruel/kind* would appear in REVIEWS – the cultural discourse *par excellence* – until 1903. It was not only preceded by the mixed-bag sections NEWS and EDITORIALS, but also by the literally "eccentric" domain of SPORTS. The *cruel/kind* data are less dense over time than the other quotations, but the phrase nevertheless appears gradually in very diverse subject domains, which is one of the signs for emancipation from the origin and consequently for conventional use as a multi-lexical unit. The noticeable increase in usage in the second half of the 20th century further supports the interpretation of *cruel/kind* as a conventionally used expression in contemporary English.

9.3.4 Discursive distribution of *honoured/breach*

Hamlet's comment *a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance* is meant to denounce carousing. If one looks at the quotations of that phrase, however, carousing is not normally the topic of the criticism. Examples (71) and (72) illustrate the rare exceptions:

(71) I look upon wine as a medicine, when taken moderately; but, like most other medicines, it becomes a poison if taken to excess. I act contrary to the custom of our island it is true; but, as *Hamlet* says on the same subject, it is a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance. You will think me an odd kind of man; when I tell you that I never give any one an opportunity of being drunk twice in my house. (Anon. (1757): A letter to the Gentlemen of the Army; source HYHA)

(72) The custom of drinking healths appears to have been first introduced into England by Rowenna, the daughter of Hengist, the first Anglo-Saxon king, in Kent, which at that time was drank [sic] from large wassail cups, filled with spiced wine or ale. [...]This custom, from the time of its introducing up to the present, appears to have been one great cause of perpetuating drunkenness, and would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance. (Dearden, Joseph (1840): A brief history of ancient and modern tee-totalism: with a schort account of drunkenness and the various means used for its suppression; source HYHA)

In accordance with Steyer's (1997) observation that a quoted sequence is rarely restricted by its original context,[14] a multitude of different behaviours are commented on, as the examples from the previous sections illustrate. Hence, the quotation is typically context-shifted rather than pragmatically enriched (cf. Recanati 2001).

[14] Original text: "Charakteristisch für alle referentiellen Relationen diesen Typs ist, daß die Originalumgebung des Ausdrucks, auf den referiert wird, in den seltensten Fällen übernommen wird. Das bedeutet, daß die Texte, in denen der Ausdruck bzw. seine Wiedergabe vorkommen, schon miteinander in Beziehung stehen, die Textwelt des Referenzobjekts aber nicht unbedingt in die Wiedergabe einfließt." (Steyer 1997: 88)

The data for *honoured/breach* in HYHA reveal a relatively distinctive picture of genre distribution compared to the previously discussed quotations (cf. figure 22):

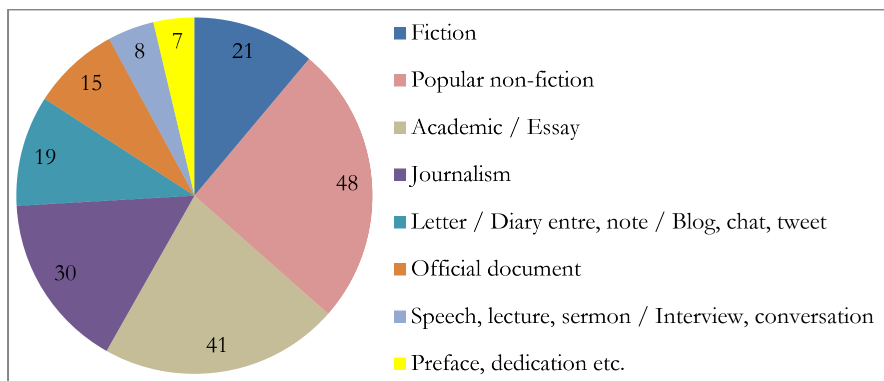


Figure 22: Genre distribution of *honoured/breach* in HYHA

The share of fictional texts is very small, accounting for just 11 percent. This is similar to *hoist/petard*. However, the line is used exceedingly often in thematically specialised books and articles which are either addressed to a general public (POPULAR NON-FICTION) or an academic audience (ACADEMIC/ESSAY). Taken together, they account for almost 50 percent of the data, followed by JOURNALISM with 16 percent, private communication (LETTER/DIARY, etc.) with 10 percent, and official communication in governmental or other institutional documents (OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS) with 8 percent. SPEECH, LECTURE, SERMON and PREFACE AND DEDICATION (4 percent each) are other genres which deal with specialised subjects and require some learnedness, either in the spoken or written mode. Possibly because of the quotation's preference for specialised contexts and its comparable rarity in fictional contexts, its conventionality was not anticipated prior to this study.

Figure 23 shows the preferred thematic discourses in which the phrase is recurrently documented:

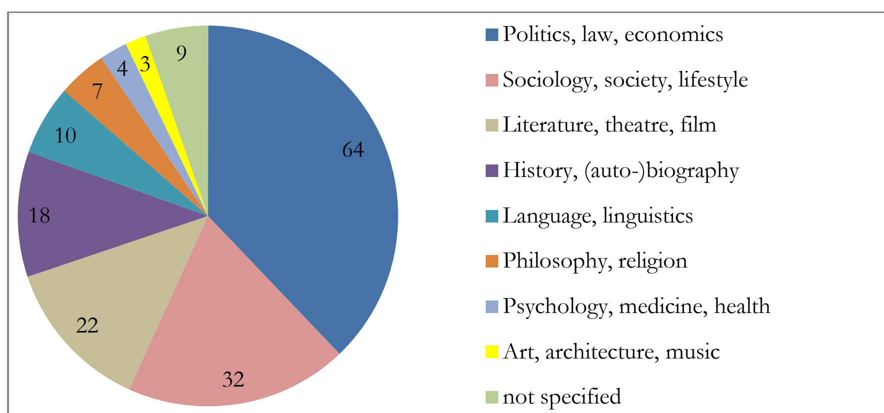


Figure 23: Distribution of *honoured/breach* across subject domains in HYHA

World affairs again takes the lion's share. It accounts for two-thirds of the data in HYHA if the annotated subject categories POLITICS, LAW, ECONOMICS (38 percent), SOCIOLOGY, SOCIETY, LIFESTYLE (19 percent) and HISTORY, (AUTO)BIOGRAPHY (11 percent) are taken together. A similar picture is found in the TDA data, as figure 24 and figure 25 show:

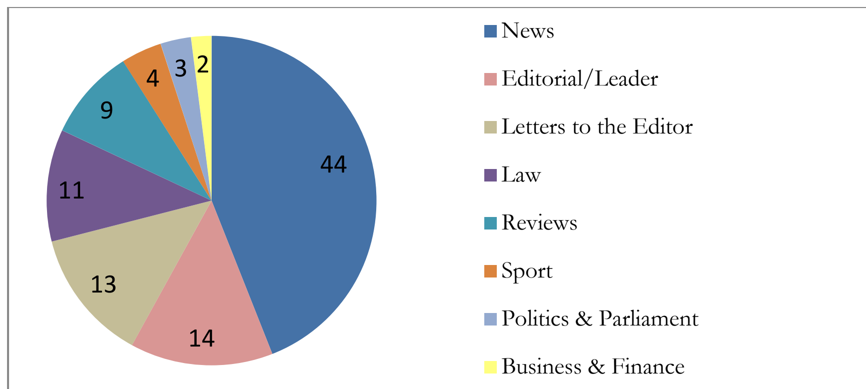


Figure 24: Discursive distribution of *honoured/breach* in TDA: first 100 references 1785-1884

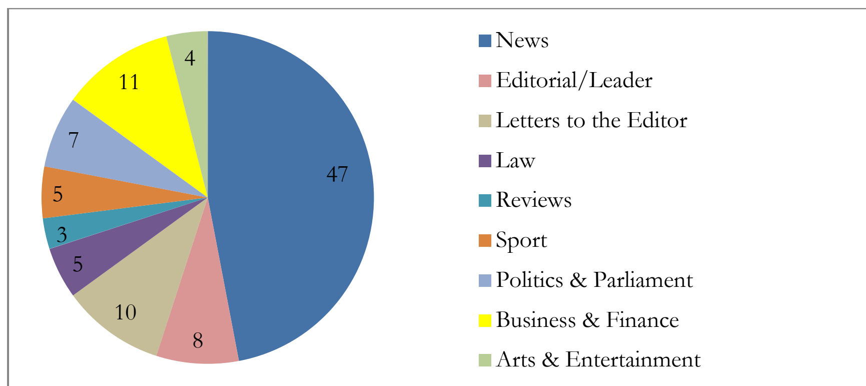


Figure 25: Discursive distribution of *honoured/breach* in TDA: last 100 references 1927-1985

The comparison of the first and last 100 tokens of *honoured/breach* in TDA shows only a subtle increase in the number of subjects over time – the addition of ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT – and a slight tendency towards balance in the sections other than NEWS. However, the share of *world affairs* increases slightly (from 60 to 70 percent) if the sections NEWS, LAW, POLITICS & PARLIAMENT and BUSINESS & FINANCE are grouped together. The diachronic development in TDA is schematised in figure 26:

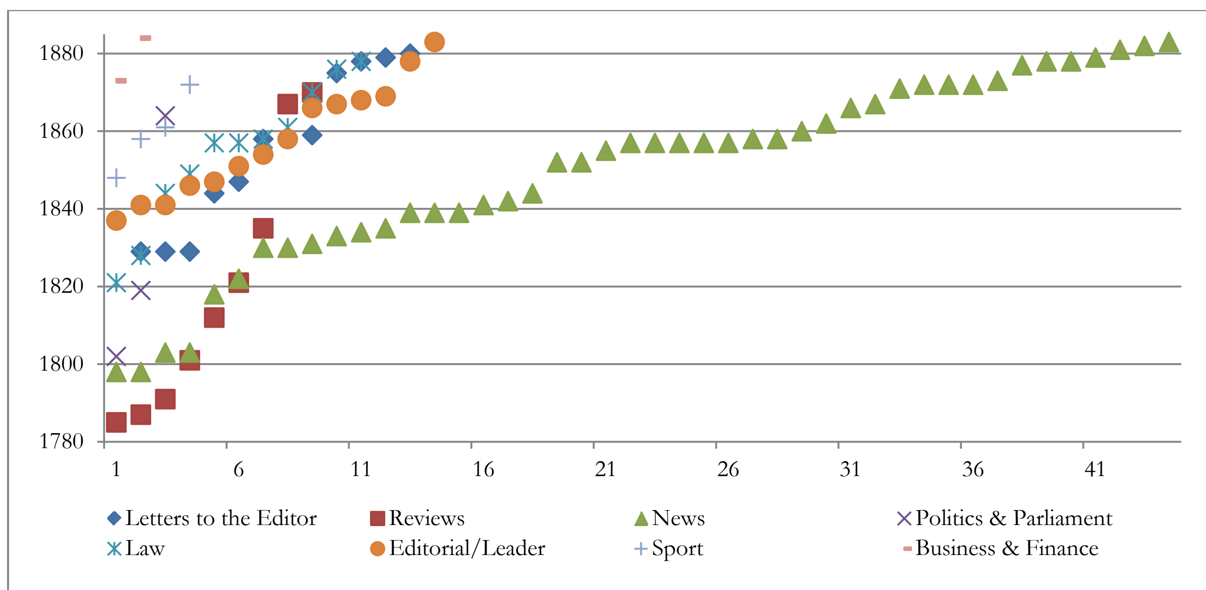


Figure 26: Diachronic distribution of *honoured/breach* in TDA discourse domains: 1785-1884 (the x-axis indicates token frequencies)

In the case of *honoured/breach*, the quotation appears first in a REVIEW and then in a LETTER TO THE EDITOR as early as 1785, before it is used in NEWS from 1798 onwards. The phrase only appears in an EDITORIAL/LEADER about 40 years later, in 1837, after having already been used in POLITICS & PARLIAMENT (1802) and LAW (1821). *Honoured/breach* starts its TDA "career" 50 years earlier than *hoist/petard*, but takes longer to be used as frequently and as widely.

9.4 Summary

The question of phraseological usage and conventionalisation processes of quotations formed the bottom line of this chapter in order to approach the phenomenon of inadvertent quotation from an empirical perspective. To trace phraseological usage and conventionalisation processes, several hundred references to four selected and frequently quoted lines from *Hamlet* were retrieved and synchronically and diachronically analysed according to formal, semantic and discursive patterns of use. The analyses focused on non-fictional texts, but did not exclude fictional texts altogether. However, according to genre norms and expectations in literature, the share of patterned language in fictional texts is typically reduced (cf. Zima 2000, among others).

Early quotations in non-fictional texts tend to be allusive, linguistically marked and rendered near-verbatim, while the first references found in fictional texts are modified and unmarked. With the exception of *method/madness*, which is attested as early as the 17th century, the other quotations discussed here start their phraseological "careers" in the 18th century. They typically start gathering momentum in the second half of the 19th century and develop particularly strongly in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. However, the increase need not be steady (cf. especially *hoist/petard*), it may take more or less time, and the number of quoted tokens may vary across the different corpora.

The presence, but also the recurrent absence of overt marking for quotation provides informative clues about the status of the referential aspect of the quotations in use. The overt signals for marking are typically lost during the 19th or early 20th centuries, sometimes more, sometimes less gradually. The loss of signals for quotations indicates that marking has become negligible, be it because the quotation is very well-known or because the knowledge of its quotative properties does not affect the proposition of the communicated message. In the latter case, the major distinctive feature of quotations, i.e. reference, has become as obsolete for the given context as knowledge about the etymology of any other linguistic item in ordinary communication.

Davidson (1976) and other philosophers (cf. chapter 3) noticed that *mention* and *use* are not mutually exclusive, which means people may quote explicitly while *using* the semantics of the quoted sequence to express its proposition. *Cruel/kind* in the 19th century is an example of a frequently marked, yet *used* quotation. The quoting contexts signal semantic activity, but the referential aspect is preserved: The quotation is properly discernible as a quotation, but pragmatic enrichment from the source text is rarely required. Rather, the referential markers serve to justify or mollify the clearly expressed unpleasant measures by authority or deferred authorship. Hence, *cruel/kind* seems to pass through a clear stage of semantic usage as a *phraseological quotation*, before a consistent loss of marking indicates the next stage of definite obsoleteness of the referential aspect, and renders the adjectival phrase as "source-less" as any other phraseme. During the 20th

century, the linguistic behaviour of *cruel/kind* becomes indistinguishable from that of other conventional multi-word entities such as proverbs and sayings. Only the full-knowing reader can identify it as *dequotational* due to its formal and/or conceptual similarity to the familiar source text. Others, however, will simply use the phrase and thus quote inadvertently.

Hoist/petard, *method/madness* and *honoured/breach* do not follow such clear stages of allusive and phraseological quotations on the one hand, and dequotational phraseme on the other. *Method/madness* and *honoured/breach* are quoted without linguistic marking from early on, while *hoist/petard* passes through a longer period of almost equal numbers of marked and unmarked instances in the 19th century. On the other hand, the quoted passages of *method/madness*, *hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach* are more resilient to lexical reduction, while the change from clause to adjectival phrase in *cruel/kind* was rapid. *Hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach* do not finally lose their clausal construction and the vicinity to the original *engineer* or *custom* until the late 19th century. Moreover, *honoured/breach* keeps the comparison until the early 21st century, with signs of atrophy beginning to emerge only very recently. *Method/madness* still frequently occurs within the original expletive *there is* construction, even though two short nominal variants are also attested: *methodical madness* and *method in (someone's) madness*.

The observation of resilient larger patterns may seem to contradict an assumption made in the previous chapters, namely, that the most successful search strings for a given quotation in the various digital corpora are interpreted as the empirically retrieved core constituents of a quotation. To be more precise, the empirically retrieved core constituents are the most distinctive constituents relative to the general linguistic environment. They differentiate the quoted forms from other linguistic constructions and serve as the minimal scaffold or the *gestalt* for the recognition of variants despite modification. Concordance views make patterns visible which are a product of linguistic practice, not necessarily of distinction, and may comprise larger parts of the quotation. In the cases of *hoist/petard*, *method/madness* and *honoured/breach*, several patterns co-exist until the early 21st century. The variants show parallels with ordinary phrasemes with respect to noticeable fixation processes (cf. Burger/Linke 2000). In particular, lexical reduction, word-order changes and morphosyntactic substitutions are observable. *Cruel/kind* is today mainly quoted in a single, short, fixed form, but people in the 19th century still knew two or three variants. *Cruel/kind* can thus also be interpreted as an example of *fixation of morpho-syntactic structure* (cf. Burger/Linke 2000: 727). In other words, the use of attested patterns is subject to change over time, just as those of ordinary linguistic items are.

Another type of pattern formation as a result of frequent and recurrent use was noted in *hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach*. Both quotations have developed three meaning variants over time, while the two paronomasias *method/madness* and *cruel/kind* show relatively little semantic variance. The rhetorical make-up of the latter two quotations is likely to entail a stronger conservatism in order to avoid a possible reduction from paronomasia to mere alliteration. *Hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach*, however, are structurally participle phrases in which agency is effaced and the results are visible. It is therefore not surprising that a shift from purpose to result is noticeable.

Finally, the four lines from *Hamlet* were also analysed with respect to their occurrence in different discourses. The rich data in HYHA are annotated for genre and subject. The

better accessibility of public non-fictional texts implies a certain bias towards *world affairs*, which was evident in all four cases. Nevertheless, differences can be identified. HYHA shows that *method/madness* and *cruel/kind* occur more often in fiction than *hoist/petard* and *honoured/breach*, which have a strong preference for non-fictional texts. The rhetorical and semantic properties of the chosen quotations may also have a share in this observation: The rhetorically sophisticated paronomasias maintain a stronger link to the fictional genres, which are most likely to exercise the sophistication of language. The discursive distribution of *honoured/breach* also suggests some influence of original rhetoric on usage practices. The quotation is markedly used in expert or educated contexts, presumably because of its sophisticated rhetorical complexity, which reflects Hamlet's intellectual background. Moreover, *honoured/breach* and *hoist/petard* express attitudes to social norms which are typically addressed in public discourses. The TDA corpus makes it possible to trace the quotations exhaustively with respect to thematic preferences over a period of 200 years. The first non-fictional occurrences of quotations from a canonical poetic work are not necessarily bound to theatre reviews or the cultural sections, as might be expected. Only *honoured/breach* is first found in a review, but in the same year it also appears in an editorial. The others first appear in the news or editorial sections, and do not surface in culture discourses until a good deal later. Despite individual differences, the quotations are found recurrently in a variety of contexts and, as Rodríguez Martín (2014) puts it, "a wider readership foreshadow[s] a natural move into naturally-occurring conversation" (Rodríguez Martín 2014: 11), that is, conventionalisation.

Four lines from *Hamlet* were discussed in terms of their synchronic and diachronic developments. Their link to *Hamlet* was verified, their variability discussed, their key features determined, their usage patterns attested and their spread into diverse discourses documented. The evolution of usage patterns and the transferral of phraseological bits from *Hamlet* into other discourse domains by context-shift are interpreted as tell-tale signs of conventionalisation processes. As such, these quotations may count as phrasemes, or *de-quotational phrasemes*. They have blended in well with their phraseological "cousins", and the original "family roots" seem no longer of importance (something which Mother Literature is likely to deplore). As such, quotations can become "unattributed and unattributable" (Moon 1998: 22) and the ordinary language user can quote without knowing.

10 Conclusions and outlook

This thesis was dedicated to quotations, the "poor cousins" of linguistics which have only occasionally been acknowledged as members of the family. It is quotation's "misfortune" to be primarily conceived of as depending on a non-linguistic criterion, namely, its attributability to a specific earlier text (text in a broad sense that includes speeches, songs, slogans, etc.). If ordinary linguistic items can get by without communicating their origins, why can't quotations? In fact, quotations can actually get by without communicating their origins. However, this option does not improve anything because then the tricky situation arises whereby quotations become "unattributed and sometimes unattributable" (Moon 1998: 22). The simple OED definition of a "passage from a book" is apparently not sufficient. If quotations are "unattributed" and "unattributable", they become a paradox. Why does one still speak of quotations? What, then, is a quotation? And how can quotations be recognised if they are neither attributed nor attributable?

The global approach to quotations

The present thesis approached these two questions from a global and a local perspective. The global perspective draws on existing scholarly work on quotations, which has mainly been done in the philosophy of language and in literary studies. The philosophy of language contributes at least three useful concepts. First, a corollary of Quine's (1981 [1940]) discussion on quotation's "anomalous feature" is that quotations form multi-lexical units which behave like a single syntactic entity. Moreover, the entity's meaning may be opaque. This syntactic behaviour is reminiscent of that of other multi-lexical items in language use, i.e. ordinary phrasemes, and the opacity of meaning is reminiscent of phrasemes in the narrow sense, i.e. idioms (cf. Burger 2003 [1998]). In other words, the *what is* question can also be approached from the linguistic branch of phraseology, which then raises a third question: What is the relationship between phraseology and quotations? Second, the philosophy of language has contributed the insight that quotations are a pragmatic phenomenon – they rely on intended meaning and interpreted meaning, which are contextually dependent. Third, the dimensions of *use* (the semantic activity of a quoted sequence in a statement) and *mention* (its non-linearised meaning) have offered a rewarding way of describing quotation's pragmatic implications. In short, quotations depend on the situated circumstances of their use and perception. They are not so much the fixed ontological entity that a *what is* question suggests – no wonder, then, that philosophers refrain from definitions – but rather something that is produced in communication, and one has to ask how quotations work and how they can be recognised.

Literary intertextuality studies expand philosophy's contributions and add a historical dimension which creates scope for seeing an ontological materiality in quotations. On the one hand, literary studies spell out the circumstances of quotation's use and perception. First, quotations can be accompanied by added or inherent linguistic signals, here called markers, which make the quoting intention visible and guide the perception of the quotation. The quoting party gives clues of different degrees of explicitness so that the quotation's attributable referent emerges. In such cases, general linguistic knowledge is sufficient for making out a quotation. Second, resemblances between the quoted and the

quoting passage can self-referentially indicate a quotation. In these cases, textual knowledge is necessary. The quotation no longer needs to be "attributed", but it remains attributable thanks to the perceived similarity. In other words, quotations require knowledge – linguistic knowledge to interpret the clues given by linguistic markers, and textual knowledge to find clues in perceivable similarities. Knowledge of cultural traditions, genres, authors, history and other related subjects, not forgetting quantitative considerations, complement the pragmatic interpretation of the presence or absence of a quotation. The interpretation is pragmatic because knowledge is not equally distributed among a community of speakers and thus inferences about the presence/absence of a quotation may differ.

On the other hand, literary intertextuality studies conceive of quotations as a kind of materialised history. In a trivial sense, quotations are transferred from an earlier text to a later text. Hence, the mere repetition of some elements from one context in another always implies a historical dimension. Repetition results in similarities which can be traced across time. As such, literary studies do not only take the pragmatic horizontal relationship between writer and reader into account, but also the vertical relationship between existing texts from different times. The tokens of similarity between those texts constitute discernible ontological entities that document interrelationships, that is, *inter-text*-uality. To objectify the recognition of such ontological entities from other texts, the construct of a *sujet connaissant* (Kristeva 1969b) or a *full-knowing reader* (Pucci 1998) has been introduced which covers the objectively given potential for identifying quotations mainly on the basis of linguistic and textual clues.

These global theoretical considerations lead to the understanding of quotation as a pragmatic device for communicating meaning that is not linearised in the linguistic code. Quotations may convey meaning through their words, but they mainly convey meaning through their source or the implications connected with that source. Pragmatic communication need not always be successful, and readers/listeners tend to entertain a variety of associations, even unrelated ones, so that they can adapt their initial understanding, or simply because free association is fun (cf. Nerlich/Clarke 2001; Attardo 2005). The understanding of the presence or absence of a quotation can differ between speaker and listener, or writer and reader. This means one party might think a sequence is ordinary because it is "unattributable" for him/her, while the other might detect a quotation. Such apparently "unattributable" quotations are detectible because the historical practice of quoting leads to an additional ontological concept which is characterised by repeated similarities. As the perspectives of both these concepts differ, the interpretation of something as a quotation may also differ. The paradox of quoting comes about through the pragmatics of quotations as well as through the different understanding of either a pragmatic or an ontological phenomenon.

The empirical approach to answering the questions above also began with a global strategy. The *what is* question needed to be approached from an inclusive perspective, which Wray (2008) fittingly describes as "to err on the side of including too much […] rather than too little, on the assumption that it is better to examine and discard something than to overlook it" (Wray 2008: 4). Accordingly, anything which either refers to some source and/or shows similarities to an assumed source was included as admissible data. As similarity is understood to have come about by repetition, *reference* and *repetition* were taken to form the two main dimensions alongside which the admissible

data may freely vary (*reference* and *repetition* were also extracted as fundamental dimensions from the various definitions of quotations in literary studies, cf. chapter 3).

For it to be manageable, however, the empirical approach required some focusing. The data all derive from a single famous text: Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The decision to approach quotations from their source text was taken from Engler/Hohl Trillini/ Quassdorf (2010), as have the majority of the data used in this thesis. By focusing on one source text rather than on a number of quoting texts, a wide variety of quoted forms had to be expected, as the quotations were not restricted in form and function by the genre and period of the quoting text. The fame of *Hamlet* guaranteed quotations in very different genres across a period of 400 years. In fact, the traces of *Hamlet* range from text-length to single-word references; from line, motif and scene references to character and author references; from clearly intended to accidental replications; from highly allusive to purely semantic uptakes; and from obvious to unobtrusive forms that are associable with the source text. Quotations are, indeed, very heterogeneous. Engler/Hohl Trillini/ Quassdorf (2010) therefore developed a multidimensional database design, in which quotations are annotated for some 15 categories, including date, genre, narrative voice, textual function, intertextual relationship, discourse of quoting, language, length, type of reference, and changed and stable elements (cf. www.hyperhamlet.unibas.ch). Due to space restrictions, this thesis could not examine all the features. However, after the broad concept of quotations was established as

> anything that constitutes a trace of a text *in absentia* in a text *in praesentia* and thus establishes a link between two or more texts, which may or may not be intended and, if intended, which may or may not be additionally indexed by the author,

the focus could again be narrowed by looking at the data afresh and extracting characteristics that could help bring order to the apparent heterogeneity.

The local approach to quotations

First, the two main required knowledge bases offer themselves as a basis for description and, consequently, as a basis for a principal differentiation between types of quotations. Linguistic knowledge identifies marked quotations, and textual knowledge detects similarities. While marking answers the implied question regarding represented reference, and different types of markers with various degrees of explicitness can be classified, similarity offers an ordering principle via the question *what has been repeated*: words, motifs or names? Marking expands the range of the possible variety and variability of quotations, but only includes about 50 percent of the broad concept of quotations (according to the data from *HyperHamlet*). Similarity alone may be too formally restrictive, yet it offers a useful framework for classifying quoted items as verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations. The two dimensions of *reference* and *repetition* complement each other as guidelines for grasping the concept of quotation in its entirety.

Second, the principal distinction between verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations can be generalised for most potential source texts, with a certain caveat for onomastic quotations. Yet the characteristics of verbal, thematic and onomastic quotations and, consequently, their further sub-classifications differ in terms of quality. Thematic and onomastic quotations are conceptually orientated and highly dependent on the character of the chosen source, while verbal quotations are formally defined and their sub-

categorisation will hold across diverse genres. Verbal quotations are describable in linguistic terms concerning scope (syntactic phrase structure) and similarity. Formal similarity may be perfect or partial, it may be detectible through mere keywords and/or the grammatical structure. Sometimes similarity is only conceptual, as in paraphrase, and cases of anagrams are even rarer. The sub-category paraphrase shows that the primarily formally defined verbal quotations and the primarily conceptually defined thematic quotations form a cline. The two categories are distinguishable by their scope, i.e. by whether they refer to global concepts in the source texts, or to local passages.

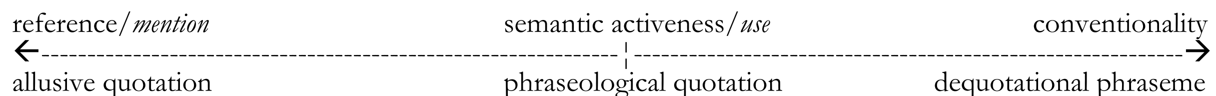
The third and last step in narrowing down the concept of quotation to a manageable size involves concentrating on verbal quotations, more specifically, on verbal quotations up to clause-length. Since verbal quotations can be described by linguistic categories, the main characteristics of ordinary multi-lexical linguistic items according to the literature were compared with the observable characteristics of the data that quote from *Hamlet*. The main characteristics of ordinary phrasemes are their polylexical fixed form, their different degrees of non-compositional meaning, and their grammatical status as frequently and widely used conventional linguistic units. Moreover, conventionalisation implies a language-historical dimension. This comparison between quotation and phraseological items is meant to explore the "family resemblances" that exist between the "cousins" and have so often been postulated by linguists who did not pursue the path any further. In addition, the conditions under which quotations can best mix with their phraseological relatives were theoretically discussed and then empirically tested.

Similarities between verbal quotations and ordinary phrasemes mainly consist in their formal behaviour. They are multi-lexical units which are recognisable by a fixed, *gestalt*-like verbal constellation. Most phrasemes and most quotations allow for variation and modification. In the case of quotations, marked quotations in particular show a great deal of creative formal flexibility. The main difference between quotations and phrasemes on this formal plane is that quotations have a definable fixed form which is given by the concrete source text, while the form of phrasemes is an abstraction from usage data and has developed over time. This difference in origin appears to have no observable repercussions. Phrasemes and quotations are both used in language to express some meaning in the given context of use, and consequently offer a meaningful formal scaffold which can be varied according to communicative needs.

Meaning, i.e. the question of its transparency, is the area in which the differences between many verbal quotations and phrasemes are most clear. The aspect of reference to the source text or to related implications creates pragmatic idiomaticity in quotations. While phrasemes in the narrow sense are characterised by semantic idiomaticity, quotations in the narrow sense are characterised by pragmatic idiomaticity. However, *mention* and *use* are not either-or qualities. While reference may be evoked, the semantic meaning of the repeated words can also be active to express a proposition. The share of each component varies along a cline and may shift from a strongly mentioning reference to a strongly semantic *use*. If the meaning of the repeated words is decisive for the uttered proposition in the given context, quotation and phraseme behave semantically alike (and knowledge of their etymologies does not produce any related implicatures). In other words, if a quotation is primarily *used* for its semantics, a pragmatic distinction between phrasemes and quotations no longer holds.

Grammatical status is another dimension of difference between most quotations and phrasemes. The institutionalised grammatical status is regularly described as a matter of frequency, observable recurrent pattern formation (which implies a certain frequency of use as well as a historical dimension) and regular usage in either a specific discursive context or in a wide variety of discursive contexts. Many quotations are not very frequent, do not form patterns, and nothing can be said about their recurrent applicability in diverse discourses. Many of the almost 4,000 lines from *Hamlet* are quoted only occasionally, and *HyperHamlet* records a mere handful of references, if any at all, despite extended searches in the database. Only 14 lines in *HyperHamlet* have more than 100 references, and they typically cover a quoting history of some 300 years. In other words, a Zipfian distribution becomes visible: Very few lines are quoted very frequently, while many more lines are only found occasionally. Despite this major difference in grammatical status, some quotations do show the tell-tale signs of institutionalisation and thus succeed in becoming indistinguishable from phrasemes in terms of usage. Only a *sujet connaissant* can recognise the roots and qualify it as a *dequotational* phraseme. However, this insight matters as much or as little as knowledge of the etymology of other linguistic items matters in actual communication.

Verbal quotations may thus principally be more or less phraseologically used and more or less conventionalised, as the degrees of difference between quotations and phrasemes form a cline:



The differentiation according to the proportion of mention/use on the one hand, and the degree of conventionalisation on the other is thus offered as a framework for describing the "oscillating character" of quotations between occasional reference at one extreme and conventional polylexical units at the other (cf. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 56). Structurally, quotations can at most be distinguished from ordinary phrasemes by accompanying markers. Yet the "oscillating" relationship between the "cousins" quotations and phrasemes can be described pragmatically and semantically by the degree of a quotation's referential aspect and the presence or absence of signs for conventionalisation (such as increased, phraseme-like frequencies, pattern formation and discursive variety), which are related to the dimension of repetition.

The studies in chapters 5, 8 and 9 complement the local approach to verbal quotations by empirical means. In total, this thesis studied 7 frequent quotations from *Hamlet*. The focus of attention in chapter 5 differs to that in chapters 8 and 9. Frequencies comparable to ordinary idioms and proverbs were attested in all cases, as well as formal patterns of use as tell-tale signs of conventionalisation. Notes on discursive distribution and historical development are implicit in the studies in chapter 5, and are the centre of attention in the cases of *hoist/petard*, *method/madness*, *cruel/kind* and *honoured/breach*. The four sequences investigated in chapters 8 and 9 demonstrate that quotations can develop noticeable characteristics that are entirely comparable to those of ordinary phraseological units, especially idioms and proverbs. The quotations were historically traced from their initial allusive use, typically in the 18th century, and through

periods of decreasing marking with increasing semantic independence, which signals the gradual loss of their referential aspect. Finally, over time, they develop patterns which may even deviate from the form and meaning they have in the original text. Especially divergent patterns imply recurrent usage without reference to the source, in other words, "source-less" usage. The case of *cruel/kind* even showed a reduction from several co-existing patterns to one fixed form, which is an often-attested historical observation concerning the fixation processes in ordinary phrasemes. Furthermore, the distribution of the chosen quotations across different discourse domains was traced synchronically and diachronically. This shows that language users have many opportunities to encounter and learn these verbal sequences independently from their source.

The focus on the quotations studied in chapter 5 shifts to a particularity of the text *Hamlet*. *Hamlet* is written in Early Modern English and abounds with linguistic elements which are no longer in use today. Such archaisms were categorised as text-inherent markers in chapter 4, as they signal to the addressee that the phrase has not been created *ad hoc* from one's own idiolect and is likely to be part of a replicated unit from an older text. Some quotations regularly replicate these older structures, while others do not. In the case of *protest/too much*, an archaic element has even be added and is shown to be increasingly used in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Accordingly, the occurrence or non-occurrence of archaic structures cannot be influenced by the original form alone. To find out what else might influence the occurrence or non-occurrence of archaisms, their presence or absence was, in a few example cases, correlated with their functional effects in communication. As a result, archaisms appear to be active in communication rather than mere frozen bits of language. The commonly assumed ideal of verbatim quoting (which is suggested by the existence of the term *misquotation*) is not only muted by the attested linguistic practice of frequent modification, but also by an underlying requirement for the functionality of the quoted structures, especially the more they are *used*.

Furthermore, the empirical studies tie in with Burger's (2003 [1998]) hypothesis that quotations are "modern" proverbs. On the one hand, archaisms may indicate the authority of old wisdom as proverbs do. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that these frequently attested sequences from *Hamlet* generally express concepts which have been known since antiquity. They are proverbs in new clothing, as it were. In addition, the issue of the intrinsic qualities of quotations as raised in chapter 2 has continued to be implicitly followed – known concepts are apparently easier to remember for later quoting than original ones are.

At this point, one may question whether the patterned, widely used and unmarked sequences which derive from *Hamlet* are still quotations. The slightly cumbersome term *dequotational phraseme* appears to succinctly denote the actual state of affairs. From a pragmatic point of view, they are phrasemes, while their history identifies them as former quotations. As long as the construct of a full-knowing reader and a number of actual knowing readers can establish the connection to a source text, the term quotation is still applicable. After all, the answer to the question *what is a quotation?* principally covers the space opened up by reference and repetition, and quotation may shift from one extreme to the other.

The possibility of defining and evaluating quotations from the two perspectives of pragmatic communicative phenomenon on the one hand, and the ontological

understanding based on similarity and historical lineages on the other leads to a discrepancy and thus the seeming paradox of unattributed and unattributable quotations or their inadvertent quoting by some communicators. In short, the paradox of inadvertent quoting is a product of mixing the different communicative perspectives of speaker/ writer vs. listener/reader, of mixing synchronic with historical considerations, and of mixing a functional with a formal approach. The perspective decides what is what, while the knowledge-based perspective of *how to recognise* specifies the various possible approaches. The comparison between quotations and phraseology ultimately spells out the conditions under which the "cousins" verbal quotations and phrasemes behave or do not behave alike. Given the wide range of options for the "poor cousin", linguistics should definitely revise its verdict and start treating quotations more like a rich relative.

Outlook for further research

Global approaches necessarily imply a lack of detail. Much has been brought together to begin paving the way for a fundamental understanding of quotations. However, much has only surfaced to be explored further, and much has been left entirely unsaid. This thesis' local description of verbal, clause-length quotations and its few empirical analyses should be complemented by further studies of other quoted sequences and/or other source texts to verify the generalisability of what has been said here.

Generalisations are a vexed question with regard to the available data. There is not enough data to provide statistically significant results; they are "merely" recurrent. Statistical significance is unlikely to be ever reachable with the chosen approach of starting from a single source text. Yet similar to Lennon (2004), one could search for quotations in one or several text corpora, derive their density in actual use and see what types of quotations are quoted where, how and for what. Alternatively, if one had the technical resource of a crawler that could search one or more given corpora for entire source texts, one could achieve more certainty about the actual quoting preferences from that text/those texts in a given corpus. The present approach and that of Engler/Hohl Trillini/Quassdorf (2010) largely rely on *bounded rationality* as described by Gigerenzer/ Selten (2002). Bounded rationality typically includes decision-making based on a limited number of experiences, while *logical rationality* would try to analyse and compute all the possible factors that affect a decision. A future crawler approach would provide more certainty about the representativeness of the available data according to logical rationality.

The local approach of the present thesis focused on frequent, easy-to-identify, clause-length verbal quotations from *Hamlet*. Yet the roles and forms of thematic and onomastic quotations also deserve further attention. The author can imagine that thematic and onomastic quotations can equally be described in terms of decreasing specific referentiality and increasing conventionalisation as oscillating between occasional thematic/onomastic quotations, discursive quotations and general topoi or stereotypes. Moreover, this thesis only briefly addressed the form and function of thematic and onomastic quotations. A more detailed comparison between recurrent or less-recurrent thematic and onomastic quotations promises further insights into *how* and possibly also *why* people quote. The reasons for the different text-world references between *motif* and *play* and their implications should also be explored further.

Quotations can also be compared with respect to their different scope. The most frequently attested verbal quotations are noun phrases and clauses, according to the data in *HyperHamlet*. Are they used differently? A future focus on noun phrases could provide a broader data base from which to answer the question of quotation's use and function. Moreover, marked vs. non-marked quotations should be explicitly compared to explore in more detail the differences between these two principal options and their conditions of use. The results may deliver further clues on which users draw in unmarked cases, or may show which further clues signal conventional understanding. As for conventionalisation, empirical studies of language users could reveal more insights from a user-based perspective.

A main aspect which surfaced is the functional aspect of quotations. This requires a greater in-depth analysis of the quoting co(n)text than was possible with the available data. The functional hypotheses presented in the previous chapters with respect to the "survival" or disappearance of archaic forms, or to the proverb-like function of quotations need to be tested further. More than the presented data speak in their favour, yet the empirical basis does not yet allow for generalisations. In more general terms, linguistic function is essential in communication, especially as it has been argued that quotations are a pragmatic phenomenon. Accordingly, the question of *why do we quote?* deserves some attention in follow-up studies. The author suspects that quoting is something fundamental in language which becomes visible, like the tip of a linguistic iceberg, in quotations. On the one hand, referential quotations convey non-linearised meaning and thus demonstrate most clearly that meaning does not only rely on the linguistic code but also on a great deal of interconnected contextual knowledge (cf. Sperber/Wilson 2007 [1995]). Accordingly, the understanding of how non-linearised meaning works could be enriched by studies on what happens in quoting and interpreting quotations. On the other hand, quotations reveal most consciously that one is *referring* to something by linguistic tokens, which creates meaning, and that repetition is the typical way of consolidating this meaning (cf. Tannen 1987 and Carter 2004). Thus, similar to the insights of Lakoff/Johnson (2003 [1980]) and Panther/Radden (1999), who revealed that metaphor and metonymy are not just salient rhetorical devices but also stand for fundamental cognitive mechanisms, or (somewhat more modestly) similar to Dietz's (1999) research results which show that rhetorical figures are not only developed for a specific elaborated style, but are also typical in ordinary phraseology to ease communication (cf. Dietz 1999), quotations – the metalinguistic device *par excellence* – may stand for fundamental mechanisms in language formation. Not only has imitation (repetition) been found to be basic in humans,[1] but the role of polylexicality in language evolution and the advantages for language production and processing have also become increasingly clear in the past two decades (cf. esp. Wray 2002 and 2008). Quotation is in fact imitated multi-lexical language. What can be drawn from this must be left to future research.

Quotations can also be further studied through specific genres, periods, authors, textual functions, etc. – in other words, via any annotation feature *HyperHamlet* offers. The list of possible routes for future research is long and certainly not exhaustive. Before

[1] The role of imitation in early childhood is described in several publications by, for instance, Gerald Hüther and René Girard.

concluding, one more aspect for further research will be addressed which touches on the cultural dimension of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. It has repeatedly been mentioned that the choice of *Hamlet* as the source text has repercussion on its quotations. Without its fame, the perceived ubiquity would certainly not have been achieved, and quoting has further promoted its fame (a statement which also requires further empirical validation). *Hamlet* is not only famous in English-speaking countries, but also worldwide. As such, it would be most interesting to study quotations from *Hamlet* in other languages and/or to do a contrastive analysis between the data from another European and/or non-European country.

The "poor cousin" quotation is not as "poor" as it seems at first sight. The present thesis has offered a first glimpse of its riches. Much is still to be done to explore its true wealth.

Appendix

The 50 most frequently quoted lines from *Hamlet* in HYHA as of March 2015

	line	**act**	**scene**	**count**
1	To be, or not to be: that is the question:	3	1	587
2	[Aside] Though this be madness, yet there is method in't	2	2	328
3	More honour'd in the breach than the observance.	1	4	191
4	The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,	3	1	153
5	I must be cruel, only to be kind:	3	4	147
6	To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;[1]	3	1	144
7	And to the manner born, it is a custom	1	4	126
8	Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,	3	1	117
9	In my mind's eye, Horatio.	1	2	116
10	Hoist with his own petard: and 't shall go hard	3	4	112
11	[Aside] A little more than kin, and less than kind.	1	2	111
12	Which have solicited. The rest is silence.	5	2	108
13	The undiscover'd country from whose bourn	3	1	108
14	Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.	1	4	102
15	That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation	3	1	93
16	The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,	1	5	90
17	Let me not think on't--Frailty, thy name is woman!--	1	2	87
18	There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,	1	5	85
19	O my prophetic soul! My uncle!	1	5	84
20	When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,	3	1	80
21	When sorrows come, they come not single spies	4	5	80
22	And each particular hair to stand on end,	1	5	79
23	Angels and ministers of grace defend us!	1	4	68
24	Armed at point exactly, cap-a-pe,	1	2	63
25	Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,	1	3	62
26	be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the	3	2	62
27	The lady protests too much, methinks.	3	2	61
28	Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep;	3	1	61
29	But in battalions. First, her father slain:	4	5	60
30	Words, words, words.	2	2	56
31	This above all: to thine ownself be true,	1	3	55
32	out-herods Herod: pray you, avoid it.	3	2	54
33	Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;	3	1	50
34	What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason!	2	2	50
35	A countenance more in sorrow than in anger.	1	2	50
36	Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio: a fellow	5	1	49
37	How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable,	1	2	48
38	There's rosemary, that's for remembrance; pray,	4	5	47
39	Therefore, since brevity is the soul of wit,	2	2	45
40	By indirections find directions out:	2	1	45
41	Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,	1	5	44
42	Neither a borrower nor a lender be;	1	3	44
43	O, reform it altogether. And let those that play	3	2	43
44	I will speak daggers to her, but use none;	3	2	43
45	He was a man, take him for all in all,	1	2	42
46	For in that sleep of death what dreams may come	3	1	42
47	Than are dreamt of in your philosophy. But come;	1	5	41
48	The insolence of office and the spurns	3	1	41
49	A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye.	1	1	41
50	caviare to the general: but it was--as I received	2	2	39

[1] This line produces two different quotations: a) *to sleep, perchance to dream* and b) *there's the rub*.

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Index of authors

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Quotations "oscillate between the occasional and the conventional" as Burger/Buhofer/Sialm (1982) once succinctly formulated. Developed from a PhD thesis, this book explores precisely this "oscillating" character of quotations: It discusses the nature of quotations and the relationship between common quotations and phraseology from a theoretical and an empirical perspective. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was chosen as a canonical text whose frequently quoted traces can be followed across centuries.

Scholarly work from various disciplines leads to an understanding of quotations as moving in a space created by the two dimensions of reference and repetition: Quotations are definable by a horizontal communicative axis (reference) and a vertical, intertextual axis of manifest lineages of use (repetition). Empirically, the data led to a categorisation of quotations as verbal, thematic and onomastic, based on the question "what has been repeated: words, themes or names?" Case studies further corroborate the proposition that verbal quotations may become (almost) ordinary multi-word units if the following conditions are met: a) they lose their referential dimension, b) they develop formal and/or semantic usage patterns and/or c) they are no longer limited to their original, literary discourse.

The author, Sixta Quassdorf, holds a PhD in English Linguistics and a Lizentiat (M.A.) in English, general linguistics and philosophy from the University of Basel. She has a broad interest in linguistics ranging from philosophical, historical, formal-theoretical to pragmatic and usage-based issues. She was co-editor of the *HyperHamlet* project and collaborated on a similar project with respect to German sayings and proverbial collocations: *Oldphras – Online Lexikon zur diachronen Phraseologie*, among others. Her PhD thesis was supervised by Professor Annelies Häcki Buhofer and Professor Heike Behrens at the University of Basel. Most data derive from the *HyperHamlet* database, a richly annotated collection of quotations from and allusions to *Hamlet*.

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