

The Linguistic Persistence of Technology

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Starting Point: "Metaphoricity is Gradable"

Hanks (2006)

- Principal goals of lexical research is to understand
 - the relationship between word use and word meaning and
 - the mechanisms by which words change in meaning
- Availability of data from large corpora has improved dictionaries, but by and large has not changed many of their fundamental characteristics
- Methodologically, there is a place for case studies of a small number of words in corpus linguistics

Some characteristics of our view of the lexicon

- Words in isolation do not have meaning but rather meaning potential, which is borne out by corpus evidence.
 - As noted by M. Rundell, this poses a serious challenge to traditional dictionary representation.
- Words often have **secondary** patterns of use that may usefully be categorized as metaphorical.
- Conventional metaphorical patterns can be recognized in corpora and contrasted with other uses of these words that are not metaphorical.

Possible ways of how to recognize a conventional metaphor

1. Semantic class
2. Salient cognitive (or perceptual) features
3. Collocation
4. Register and domain
5. Frequency
6. Resonance
 - In linguistic metaphors, any metaphorical sense resonates with a literal sense

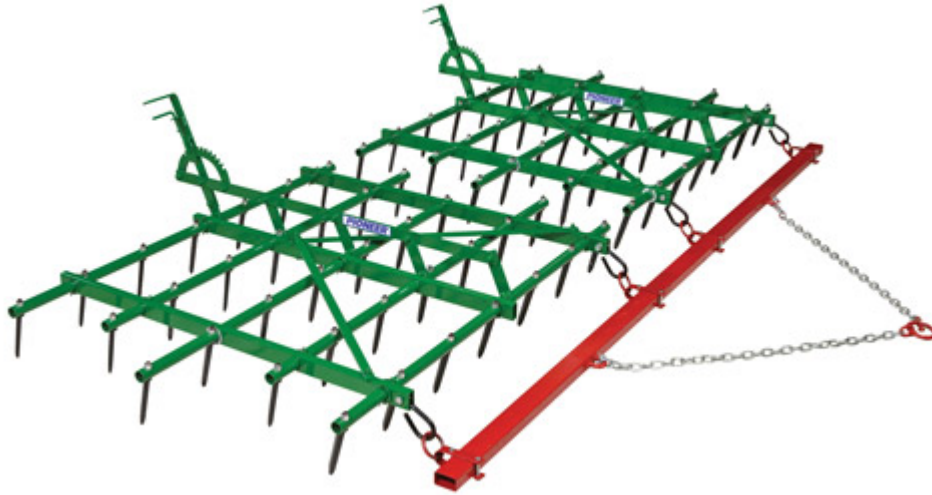
Contribution of traditional technologies the English lexicon

- Agriculture: *plough*
- Cloth making: *weave*
- Equestrian transport: *harness*
- Nautical transport: *know the ropes* and *be on the rocks*
- Etc.

Some agricultural terms that have yielded conventional metaphors

- *browse*
- *earmark*
- *harrow*
- *harness*
- *yoke*

harrow



harrow

- *American College Dictionary* (1959)

n. **1.a** a wheelless agricultural implement set with teeth, upright disks, etc., usually of iron, drawn over plowed land to level it, break clods, etc. —*v.t.* **2.** to draw a harrow over (land, etc.); break or tear with a harrow. **3.** to disturb keenly or painfully; distress the mind, feelings, etc. —*v.i.* **4.** to be broken up by harrowing, as soil, etc. [etymology] —**harrower**, *n.* —**harrowing**, *adj.* —**harrowingly**, *n.*

harrow

- *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1953) [includes a drawing of a harrow]

n. [etymology] a heavy frame with spikes or sharp-edged disks, drawn by a horse or tractor and used for leveling and breaking up plowed ground, covering seeds, rooting up weeds, etc. **v.t.** 1. to draw a **harrow** over (land). 2. to hurt; cut; wound; lacerate. 3. to make uncomfortable; distress; torment; vex. **v.i.** **to take harrowing:** as, this ground **harrows** well.

harrow in COHA (1810-2009)

- *harrow* [verb] all forms
 - 467 tokens (includes many tokens of *harrowing*)
 - 70 of which: agricultural implement or verb
 - 397 other senses

- *harrowing* all forms
 - 798 tokens
 - 37 of which are verb participles (use of agricultural implement)
 - 761 (95%) of which are examples of *harrowing* ‘agonizing’

harrow COCA (1990-2012)

- 258 tokens
 - 220 (85.3%) refer to the place name or school located there
 - 28 (10.9%) refer to the agricultural sense
 - 10 (> 4%) other, including clear references to earlier usage

“I could a tale unfold whose lightest word would harrow up thy soul” (*Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 5)

“Admittedly the ghost -- after telling Hamlet that he cannot repeat tales from beyond the world that might harrow a living ear -- presents himself as one who comes to correct the "forged process" that abuses the "whole ear" of Denmark.”

Example of *harrow*, COCA Martha Grimes, *The Case has Altered* (1997)

Chief Inspector Arthur Bannen of the Lincolnshire police was in his late fifties, but looked ten years younger. His age was as enigmatic as the rest of him. If he resented Scotland Yard's turning up in Lincolnshire, he didn't show it. **He was a man so soft-spoken one might wonder if anything could excite or harrow him.** He said what he said with a smile, a small one, even a hurt one sometimes, as if it pained him his listener didn't quite agree.

harrow [verb] Word Sketch from Sketch Engine® British National Corpus

- 69 tokens
88.4% of tokens in *-ing*
- most frequently modifies *scene* (3 tokens; MI 2.78)
(some other words identified as “object” are *depiction, discovery, journey, experience*)

harrowing COCA (1990-2012)

- 987 tokens
 - 3 observations:
 - 106 cases (10.7%), *harrowing* is a predicate
 - Two, possibly three semantic classes of nouns that are modified by *harrowing*:
 - Experience, retelling of event
 - *ride/journey*
 - Period of time

harrowing COCA (1990-2012)

Event / Retelling of event
229 tokens (23% of 987)

86 tokens (8.7% of 987)

*account, experience,
ordeal, scene, story, tale
journey, ride*

*day, moments, night, time,
week, year*

Period of time

harrowing [adj] Word Sketch from Sketch Engine® British National Corpus

- 88 tokens
- Most frequently modifies *experience* (MI = 3.52), but only 14 tokens
- Other words with higher MI scores are *portrayal*, *ordeal*

harrow Merriam-Webster's Unabridged Online

harrow *noun, often attributive* ˈhɑːrəʊ

plural -s

1 : a cultivating implement used primarily for pulverizing or smoothing the soil and sometimes for mulching, covering seed, or removing weeds — compare BOG HARROW, BRUSH HARROW, DISC HARROW, DRAG 1d

2 a : an implement that resembles a harrow, *specifically* : a toothed framework drawn over an oyster bed to clear it of seaweed

b : a formation that resembles a harrow

— **under the harrow** *adverb*

: under constant threat of penalty or suffering

<every manifestation of initiative in the educated public was kept *under the harrow*— Bernard Pares>

*harrow Merriam-Webster's Unabridged Online***harrow** *transitive verb* \ˈrɔ*inflected form(s): -ed/-ing/-s***1 a** : to cultivate with a harrow<plowed and *harrowed* and laid his rows — Russell Lord>**b** : to cultivate as if with a harrow<*harrowed* the ground for literature — Van Wyck Brooks>**2 a** : to cut into as if with a harrow<the whole thing looked *harrowed* in the pigment, rather than painted — F. J. Mather>**b** *archaic* : to wound or tear physically : LACERATE<*harrowing* his cheeks with a few scratches — William Beckford>**3** : to cause distress or suffering to : AGONIZE<has not set out to appall the reader with horrors nor to *harrow* him with miseries — Douglas Stewart>

harrowing Merriam-Webster's Unabridged Online

adjective

acute distressing or painful : **AGONIZING** <*harrowing* tales of unfortunates who had lost limbs or had been frozen to death — V. G. Heiser>

Learner's definition of HARROWING

[more harrowing; most harrowing]

: **very painful or upsetting**

She gives a *harrowing* account/description of her battle with cancer.

They managed to escape after several *harrowing* encounters with the enemy.

a *harrowing* ordeal/experience

harrow *Oxford Dictionary of English 3rd ed*

- ▶ *noun* an implement consisting of a heavy frame set with teeth or tines which is dragged over ploughed land to break up clods, remove weeds, and cover seed.
- ▶ *verb* [with *obj.*]
 1. draw a harrow over (land): *they ploughed and harrowed the heavy clay.*
 2. cause distress to: *Todd could take it, whereas I'm harrowed by it.*

— DERIVATIVES

harrower *noun*

harrowing *Oxford Dictionary of English 3rd ed*

► *adjective*

acutely distressing: *a harrowing film about racism and violence | it was a harrowing experience.*

– DERIVATIVES

harrowingly *adverb*

earmark

- *American College Dictionary* (1959)

n.

1. a mark of identification made on the ear of an animal. 2. any identifying or distinguishing mark or characteristic. —***v.t.*** to mark with an earmark. 4. to set aside for a specific purpose or use: *to earmark goods for export.*

earmark

○ *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1953)

n. 1. an identification mark or brand put on the ear of a domestic animal to show ownership; **hence**, 2. an identifying mark or feature; characteristic; sign. **v.t.** 1. to mark the ears of (livestock) for identification; **hence**, 2. to set a distinctive or informative mark upon; identify. 3. to set aside or reserve for a special purpose: as, *earmark* these supplies for the army.

earmark

Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)

- Noun
 - 1,122 tokens

- Verb
 - 1,153 tokens

- No examples of the agricultural sense

earmark in COHA

- Noun
 - 189 tokens
 - Only 2 examples of the agricultural sense

- Verb
 - 556 tokens
 - Only 1 example of the agricultural sense

earmark Word Sketch from Sketch Engine® British National Corpus

- 370 tokens
- Semantic classes of direct object:
 - funds / money / revenue / grant / budget / cash
 - land / site / space /

earmark Merriam-Webster Unabridged online

ear·mark *noun* \ˈir-,märk\
 1 : a mark of identification (such as a cropping or slitting) on the ear especially of a domestic animal

2 : a distinguishing or a characteristic mark : an indicative sign
 <all the *earmarks* of poverty>

<a book with the *earmarks* of a doctoral dissertation>

3 : a provision in congressional legislation that allocates a specified amount of money for a specific project, program, or organization

<Congress endorsed 11,735 special-interest *earmarks* worth \$16.9 billion in fiscal 2008, yet thousands of these weren't even written into the actual budget bills. — *Wall Street Journal*, 28 Jan. 2008>

<Often it is difficult to discern even who is receiving the funds: *earmarks* are itemized in bills but generally without disclosure of the direct recipient—just a dollar amount, destination, and broad purpose. — Ken Silverstein, *Harper's*, July 2005>

— **under earmark**

: EARMARKED
 <gold *under earmark* for a foreign account>

earmark Merriam-Webster Unabridged online

ear·mark *transitive verb* \ˈir-,märk\
 ⓘ

- 1 a** : to mark (something, such as livestock) with an earmark
b : to mark (something) in a distinguishing manner especially as one's property
 <dissipation *earmarks* a man>
 <Satan *earmarks* his own>
- 2 a** : to designate or set aside (funds) for a specific use or owner
 <the part of income that is *earmarked* for financing expansion>
 <a gift *earmarked* for a new dormitory>
 — used especially of gold held by one central bank for and as the property of another central bank or government
b : to designate, hold, or recognize as the property of another
 <the postmastership is traditionally *earmarked* for a leading politician>
 <goods *earmarked* for future delivery>

earmark American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 5th ed.

n.

1. **a.** An identifying feature or characteristic: *a novel with all the earmarks of success.*
- b.** An identifying mark on the ear of a domestic animal.
2. An item or provision in a legislative bill that allots money for a project or institution in a specific locale, usually written or sponsored by a representative from that area.

tr.v. **ear·marked, ear·mark·ing, ear·marks**

1. To reserve or designate for a particular purpose. See Synonyms at **allocate**.
2. To mark the ear of (a domestic animal) for identification.
3. To specify or allocate (funds) to be spent in a legislative earmark.

earmark, Oxford Dictionary of English, 3rd ed.

► *verb* [with *obj.*]

1. designate (funds or resources) for a particular purpose: *the cash had been **earmarked for** a big expansion of the programme.*

■ designate a particular outcome for (someone or something): *the yard has been **earmarked for** a complete overhaul.*

2. mark the ear of (a domesticated animal) as a sign of ownership or identity.

► *noun*

1. a characteristic or identifying feature: *this car has all the **earmarks** of a classic.*

2. *US* a congressional directive that funds should be spent on a specific project.

3. a mark on the ear of a domesticated animal indicating ownership or identity.