# Countability in the history of English A first look

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### Introduction

### **Countability:**

The way we do(n't) refer to countable things

One table, four chairs, five #(pieces of) furniture

a.k.a. count—mass distinction

### **Research questions:**

To what extent has countability in English developed over time?

What can we learn from previous research and the OED?

### Main claim

### **Outline**

### **Background**

Countability/the count—mass distinction in Present Day English (PDE)

#### **Previous research**

Few and rarely used classifiers in Old English (Toyota 2009)

Continuous development of many and much (Marckwardt 2019)

Countability via the indefinite article in Middle and Modern English grammars (Tichy 2021)

#### **Current research**

The OED as a corpus (Allan 2011)

Countability environments in the OED

#### **Conclusion**

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#### Ten properties of the count—mass distinction in English (Chierchia 1998).

1. Availability of plural morphology

dogs; #muds

2. Distribution of numeral determiners

one chair; #one dirt

3. Obligatoriness of classifier and measure phrases for combining with numerals. #one item of chair; one pile of dirt

4. Some determiners occur only with count nouns

many coins; #many steel(s)

5. Some determiners occur only with mass nouns

#how much Euro; how much gold

6. Some determiners occur only with plurals and mass nouns

all children; all denim

7. Some determiners are unrestricted (neutral)

my coin(s); my gold

8. Independence of the distinction from the structure of matter

shoes; footwear

9. A (predominantly) count noun can be made mass

There is rabbit in the stew.

10. A (predominantly) mass noun can be made count

The nurse drew three bloods.

#### **Count nouns and mass nouns**

dogmudchairsandcoindirtEurorice

child offspring shoe footwear rabbit wildlife nurse staff

piano equipment

bottle glass

computermerchandisebookpackaging

spider fauna tool mail

plate dishware fork cutlery ear clothing phone electricity cup blood

### **Countability environments**

The determiners, quantifiers, etc. that distinguish count nouns and mass nouns

Categories by Allan (1980)

Environment	Subtype			
Plural morphology	regular (-(e)s)			
	irregular (zero, vowel change, -en, -ren, -i, -a, -ae, -ices, -im, -aux)			
Unit Denumerators	a(n)			
	one			
Fuzzy Denumerators	round numbers (100, 1000,)			
	approximative numbers (about 50, around 80,)			
	comparative values (more than 10, over 100,)			
	plural numerals dozens, hundreds,)			
	imprecise quantifiers (few, many, several)			
Other Denumerators	numbers (two, three,)			
	digits (2, 3,)			
	precise quantifiers (both, every, each, these, those)			
Antecedent	one			
	they, them, those, these, both, each (other)			
Mass Environments	all+N			
	imprecise quantifiers (much, little)			

### **Countability classes**

Rather than just count and mass, Present Day English has several classes of nouns

This depends on which countability environments they occur in.

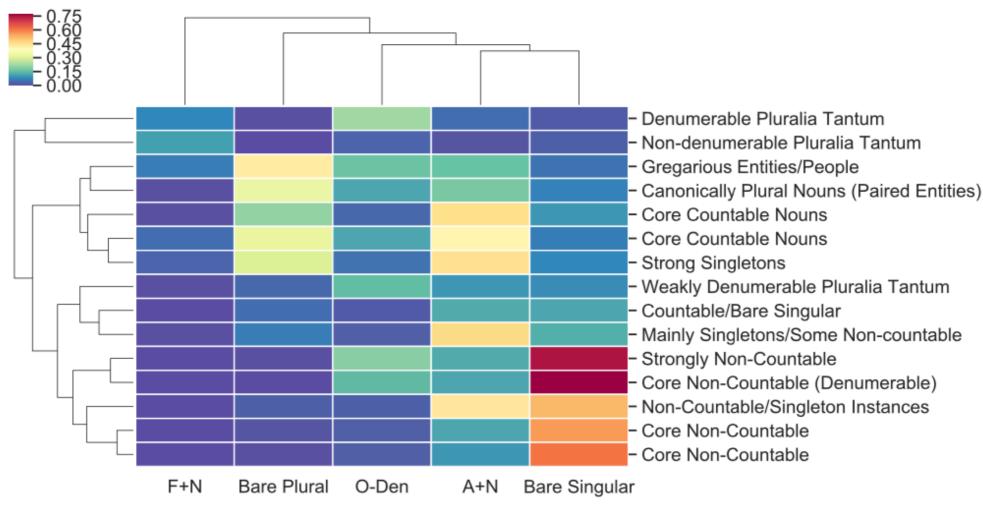
Acceptability judgments: (Allan 1980)

Morphosyntax	car	oak	cattle	Himalayas	scissors	mankind	admiration	equipment
N them	+	+	+	+	+	+		
a(n) N	+	+		+		+	+	
all N.SG	+		+	+	+			
about 50 N.PL	+	+	+		?			
many N	+	+						

- (1) Cars are not a great transportation solution because they cost a lot.
- (2) Sarah bought John a car.
- (3) #All car should be cleaned today.
- (4) About 50 cars were caught in the traffic jam.
- (5) Many cars are not properly maintained.

### Countability classes.

Corpus study of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Grimm & Wahling 2021)



Heatmap of noun clusters' distributional tendencies across countability environments (Grimm & Wahlang 2021)

### **Summary**

Countability in PDE is a complex phenomenon with many properties.

Quantifiers, determiners, etc. can be grouped into kinds of countability environments that distinguish either a countable, or not countable property of nouns

Nouns can be categorized into one of several (2, 8, 16, ...) classes based on the countability environments in which they are used.

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### Previous research

#### Few and rarely used classifiers in Old English (Toyota 2009)

Evidence: counting constructions in the Helsinki corpus

(6) Nim anne sester wines & take.IMP.SG. one.ACC.SG sester.ACC.SG wine.GEN.SG and

twegen wæteres

two.ACC.SG water.GEN.SG

Before 1350	1350-1500	1500-1700	1700-1900	Total
1 (5.0%)	7 (35.0%)	9 (45.0%)	3 (15.0%)	20 (100%)
sester;	an ear of;	a block of;	an article of;	
	a grain of;	a blade of;	a bit of;	
	a loaf of;	a bunch of,	a drop of;	
	a piece of;	a cake of;		
	a sheet of;	a cut of;		
	a slice of;	a lot of;		
	a strip of;	a speck of;		
		a stick of;		
		a suit of;		

The appearance of classifiers in the Helsinki corpus (Toyota 2009)

Claim: Old English nouns were treated more uniformly; not really distinguished as count or mass (Toyota 2009)

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Take one sester of wine and two sesters of water.' (Quadrupedibus 151)

### Previous research

#### Continuous development of *many* and *much* (Marckwardt 2019)

Many, developed from monig, which generally occurred with plural nouns

Much, developed from mycel, which generally occurred with singular nouns

Evidence: a number of OE texts

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ohtere and Wulfstan, Beowulf, Maldon, Trinity Holmes, Generydes, Life of St. Editha, Seven Sages, Alfred's Orosius, Bede, Alfred, Boethius, Aelfric, Homily on St.-Gregor

- (7) Đā wæs on morgen mīne gefræge
  Then was on morning as.I.have.heard.said
  - ymb þā gif healle gūðrinc monig. (Beowulf, 837-38) around the gift hall warrior many
- (8) næfre swā mango gesceafta, ond swā micla, ond swa fægra never so much dispensation, and so many, and so fairly

Claim: The PDE distribution of many and much seems to reflect a continuation and development of OE uses

### Previous research

Countability via the indefinite article in Middle and Modern English grammars (Tichy 2021)

Early grammars of English seem to distinguish count and mass nouns

Count nouns get glosses with the indefinite article—e.g. anus, a narce—mass nouns don't.

Evidence: 50 prominent dictionaries and grammars from 1400-2000

e.g. The Treatise of Walter de Biblesworth, French-English word-list Nominale Sive Verbale, Metrical Vocabulary and Names of the Parts of the Human Body, A Latin and English Vocabulary, etc.

Eventually, more attention and environments distinguish count and mass nouns are noted

Claim: The PDE count—mass distinction developed, in part, due to the development and distribution of the indefinite article

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### The OED as a corpus (Allan 2011)

"the evolving OED still offers unparalleled access to a large amount of information about word histories, and alongside other data sources it presents an opportunity to interrogate current theories about semantic motivation and patterns of change" (Allan 2011, p. 37)

It is important to "to pay close and critical attention to the chronology of semantic change presented in OED entries, and to view this chronology as a starting point for further research" (Allan 2011, p. 37)

### Current research

### Methodology

Examine OED entries for:

- 1) Entry of a countability environment into English less came from Germanic
- 2) Initial use of present sense and other relevant senses less as a quantifier for amount since Germanic
- 3) Consistency of count/mass bias of environments

  less as a quantifier for *folk* ('folk', OE); people, nation, army, etc.

### Recall

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### Current research

### 1) Entrance of countability environments into English

The determiners, quantifiers, etc. that distinguish count nouns and mass nouns

Environment	Form			
	Germanic	OE	ME	ModE
Unit Denumerators				
a(n)		an	a(n)	a(n)
Fuzzy Denumerators				
few(er)	*	feoo	few	few
whon ('few')		hwon	whon	
many	*	mænig	many	many
several				severall
Other Denumerators				
bo ('both')	*bo-	bo		
both			both	both
each	*	aelc	eah	each
every		lpha fric	every	every
these	*	ðæs	these	these
those		ðás	those	those
tho/thae (Northern/Scots)		ðá	tho	thae
Mass Environments				
mickle ('much', Northern)	*	mycel	micel	mickle
much			much	much
little	*	litel	little	little
less	*	laessa	less	less

### Current research

#### 2) Initial use of present sense and other relevant senses

Few: "not many; amounting to a small number", early Old English

As both determiner and predicate

Several definitions related to number

Used with mass nouns, particularly broth, gruel, and porridge

Whon: "few, a few"

Many: "designating a large indefinite number"

As predicate, pronoun, and noun

Early uses included singular nouns (now obsolete)

Several: A: "existing apart, separate", incl. as a vague numeral (chief current sense)

B: "Pertaining to an individual person or thing"

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Countability has changed a bit, but probably not very much since Old English.

A bit of change

Classifiers were few and rarely used in Old English (Toyota 2009)

Several did not enter English until Modern English

But not very much

Many and much show consistent development since Old English (Marckwardt 2019)

Countability developed with the indefinite article (Tichy 2021) [~Old English]

Most environments have existed in similar form since (before) English

### Conclusion

### **Future work**

Continue review of words and senses

Bo(th), each, every, these, those, tho/thae, mickle, much, little

Consistency of count/mass bias of environments

To what extent do count/mass nouns occur in each environment?

### Thank you!

### **Any questions?**

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