



Including and *included* as markers of exemplification: a diachronic study*

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This paper offers a historical account of the evolution of *including* and *included* as markers of exemplification from their first occurrences in the Early Modern English period until the present day. For my purposes, seven British English historical corpora have been used. The data obtained from the corpora reveal important structural and textual features of exemplifying constructions with the markers at issue. Moreover, these data provide some less prototypical instances where *including* and *included* are exemplifying markers but still keep some of their original

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verbal features, such as the possibility of being negated or combined with adverbs or conjunctions. These examples highlight the loosely grammaticalised status of *including* and *included* as markers of exemplification.

1 Preliminaries

The present paper is an attempt to trace the origin and history of *including* and *included* markers of exemplification in constructions like (1) below.¹

- 1) a. Many people, **including** my sister, won't forgive him for that.
 b. Many people, my sister **included**, won't forgive him for that.

(Quirk *et al.* 1985, p. 1308)

In order to carry out such a study, seven British English historical corpora have been used. These corpora allow a diachronic study of constructions with *including* and *included* as markers since they cover the whole existence of these two items, from Early Modern English (EModE) until the present day (PDE). Table 1 below shows the time-span covered by each corpus and the number of words which they have.²

CORPUS	PERIOD	NUMBER OF WORDS
ARCHER	1650-1990	1,700,000
CME	13-15th centuries	54 texts
PCEEC	1410-1696	2,200,000
Lampeter	1640-1740	1,100,000
CLECP	1770-1790	300,000
LOB	1960s	1,000,000
FLOB	1990s	1,000,000
Total		>7,300,000

¹ For more information about exemplification see Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Meyer (1992).

² The number of words from the *CME* is not available.

In the sections that follow, I will first discuss the main features which characterise exemplification. Then, I will take the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* as a point of reference in order to comment on the origin of *including* and *included* as markers of exemplification, but also on the first occurrences of the verb *to include* from which they ultimately derive. Then, I will contrast this information from the *OED* with the data obtained from the corpora used. The corpora will also be the basis of a deeper analysis in which structural and textual features will be considered.

2 Features of *including* and *included* as markers of exemplification

Before the analysis of exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* as markers, certain notions about these structures need to be clarified. Below is a list of the main features that the prototypical cases of exemplification fulfil (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985; Meyer 1992).

- i) The first unit in exemplification (henceforth General Element or GE) is more general, whereas the second unit (Exemplifying element or EE) is more specific and it provides an example of the GE.
- ii) *Including* and *included* are the markers which link the two units. Their use is obligatory and they have a fixed pattern of distribution: *including* before the EE and *included* after it.
- iii) Both units carry out the same syntactic function.
- iv) NP is the most common syntactic form of the units in exemplification.
- v) GE and EE are set alongside.
- vi) Only the EE can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the remaining construction.
- vii) GE and EE can be related by means of the verb *to include*.
- viii) The exemplifying construction resembles a reduced relative clause where its units can be expanded into a relative clause whose main verb is *to include*.

3 Including and included in the OED

According to the OED (*Oxford English Dictionary*) (s.v. *include*, v.), the verb *to include* derives from the Latin form *includere*. This Latin form consists of the prefix *in-*, which is usually combined with verbs to convey the meaning ‘into, within’, and the Latin verb *cludere* ‘to shut’. In accordance with this dictionary, the verb *to include* was used for the first time in English in the Middle Ages, around the year 1420, in the following example:

- 2) The flouryng tre, the trunke in leed **Enclude**. (OED, 1420, *Pallad. on Husband.*)
The flouring tree, the trunk in grass enclosed/shut.

Its original meaning in this early example was ‘to shut or close in; to enclose within material limits: to shut up, confine’ (s. v. *include* v. 1.a), a meaning that has remained relatively stable across time. The most significant development in the meaning of this verb is the change from an inclusion or enclosure within physical limits to an inclusion within a group or category where the limits are abstract, as in (3) below. It is this more general meaning the one which can be considered as the ultimate source of the exemplifying markers *including* and *included* since in all these constructions the inclusion takes place within a group, and not within physical limits.

- 3) Bot I suppose thir wemen ar **Include**... For to fulfill the number suspensive. (OED, 1560, *Rolland Crt. Venus*)

The first reference that the OED makes to the *-ing* form is found in an example dating back to 1598 (cf. example (4)), although it does not function as an exemplifying marker here, but rather as a noun with the meaning of ‘inclusion’. It is not until 1853 that the OED records the first example of this *-ing* form used as a marker of exemplification (see (5) below). In this example, *including* appears in its expected position, namely before the EE. It is used to link two NPs (*a large body of English landscapists* and *most clever sketchers from nature*), which is the most common form of units in exemplification. Nevertheless, these two terms do not appear next to each other, but some intervening material sets them apart (*come into this class*). From a semantic point of view, it should be noticed that this instance does not refer to a physical inclusion within

material limits, but to an inclusion within a group where the limits are abstract.

- 4) Inclusion, an **including**. (OED, 1598, Florio)
- 5) A large body of English landscapists come into this class, **including** most clever sketchers from nature. (OED, 1853, Ruskin Stones Ven.)

As far as *included* is concerned, the OED dates back the first occurrence of this *-ed* form to the year 1552, where it is mentioned as an equivalent to the form *inclusus* (OED s. v. *included* ppl. a.) (see example (6) below). However, there is not any reference in the OED to the *-ed* form functioning as a marker of exemplification.

- 6) Included, **inclusus**. (OED, 1552, Huloet)

4 Including and included in the corpora

4.1 First occurrences

The corpora used in the present paper reveal that the earliest examples of the verb *to include* and the markers *including* and *included* recorded in the OED are actually quite late. Indeed, my data offers earlier examples. Thus, the first occurrences of the verb *to include* date back to the fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries, although a precise date cannot be given since it is not provided in the corpora.

- 7) This Vitellius dredenge leste that Vespasian scholde reigne, did sle Sabynus, broper to hym; whiche **includenge** hym in a chambre for fere, was extracte by the noble men longenge to Vespasian.³

This Vitelius dreading/fearing in the same sense that Vespasian should reign, slew/killed Sabinus, his brother; which including him in a chamber for fear, was extracted by the noblemen belonging to Vespasian.
- 8) And if a member of either worlde be owte of his place naturalle, and a straunge thyng haue introite in to hit, the body is troublede anoon. As

³ Examples (7) and (8) were taken from the 14th century text *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden maonachi Cestrensis; together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteen century*, in the CME.

when the wynde is **includede** in the wombe of the erthe, a movenge of the erthe is made, and when hit is in the clowdes a thundre is causede and made by hyt, in lyke wise in the body of man.

And if a member of either world is out of place naturally, and a strange thing has entered in it, the body is troubled. As when the wind is included in the womb of the earth, a movement of the earth is made, and when it is in the clouds a thunder is caused and made by it, in likewise in the body of a man.

In both examples, the verb *to include* keeps its original meaning of confinement within physical limits. *Including* and *included* are unambiguously verbal forms in these instances. In (7), *includenge* takes a direct object (*hym*) and a place complement (*in a chambre*), whereas in (8), not only does *includede* take a place complement (*in the wombe of the erthe*), but it also takes a subject (*the wynde*) and functions as the main verb in the verb phrase *is includede*. We still have to wait some centuries to find these two items in exemplifying constructions. *Including* is identified for the first time functioning as a marker or exemplification in the corpora in the year 1586 (see (9) below), whereas *included* is not found with this function until 1704 (cf. (10)).

9) And whan the letters war redy written, came Poyntes from Mr. Hennadg, with letters from your lordship to me, **includyng** a letter to hir majesty, which I spedely delivered. (PCEEC, 1586)

10) In all this action, we lost not one ship, and the number of men (officers **included**) that were killed, 600, and wounded, 1536, or thereabouts. (ARCHER, 1704: poco.j3b)

Both are clear cases of exemplification where the markers appear in their expected position; that is, *including* before the EE and *included* after it. In these examples, the GE and the EE appear next to each other, and they are NPs (*letters from your lordship to me* and *a letter to hir majesty* on the one hand, and *men* and *officers* on the other).

4.2 Exemplification with *including* and *included* as markers

In order to analyse those examples where *including* and *included* function as markers of exemplification, all the instances where they are verbal forms (cf. (7) and (8) above) need to be ruled out. Table 2 below offers some quantitative information about both sets of forms.

VERBAL FORMS	EXEMPLIFYING MARKERS	TOTAL
<i>Including</i>	93	531
<i>Included</i>	326	334
Total	419	865

Once those verbal forms have been excluded from my study, only instances of exemplification remain. These forms constitute the core of the present study. The analysis of these items covers questions such as their evolution over time, their syntactic characteristics or their use in the different genres.

4.2.1 Diachronic overview

From a diachronic point of view, the use of *included* as a marker of exemplification slightly decreases from LModE to PDE, whereas *including* sharply increases in frequency in the course of time, PDE showing the highest number of constructions with this marker (cf. Table 3 below).⁴

	ME	EMODE	LMODE	PDE
<i>Including</i>	0 (0.0)	5 (0.15)	19 (1.63)	414 (17.58)
<i>Included</i>	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (0.34)	4 (0.17)
Total	0 (0.0)	5 (0.15)	23 (1.97)	418 (17.75)

⁴ Table 3 shows raw numbers and normalised frequencies per 100,000 words. The number of words from *CME* is not taken into account at this point since this information is not available.

The *-ing* form is preferred over the *-ed* form in any period. This may be explained on the basis of structure. *Including* appears at the beginning of the EE, clearly establishing where this unit starts. On the contrary, *included* may be potentially ambiguous since it occurs at the end of this constituent, and we only know that it is an exemplifying structure when we reach the end of the construction.

4.2.2 *Including* and *included* as markers of exemplification

The use of *including* and *included* as markers in exemplifying constructions is compulsory. Thus, they cannot be omitted in any of the instances provided by the corpora. Otherwise, the meaning or grammaticality of the remaining construction would be affected. The position of these two markers is the expected one in all the examples; that is, *including* before the EE and *included* after it (cf. examples (9) and (10) above). However, there are some instances where the markers at issue show some special features, thus becoming less prototypical cases of exemplification. On the one hand, there are examples where the marker is negated by means of the negative particle *not* (cf. example (11) below) or reinforced by means of an adverb (see (12)) or a conjunction (cf. (13)). On the other hand, there are some cases where the GE is not clear or even not present at all. Thus, in example (14) we can derive from the sentence a meaning like ‘we should have heard news from them’, *news* being the GE. All these examples where *including* and *included* still keep some of their original verbal traits reveal the loose character of the process of grammaticalisation which they have undergone in order to become markers of exemplification.⁵

- 11) Any property (**not including** statutory narrower-range investments, but including statutory wider-range investments) which trustees are authorised to hold pursuant to such special powers, must be carried to a separate ‘special-range’ part of the fund. (LOB, J50: 157)

⁵ More information about grammaticalisation can be found in Heine et al. (1991), Trask (1996) and Hopper and Traugott (2003).

- 12) The people who saw Sunderland defeat Arsenal at Roker Park last Saturday **included probably** a preponderance of trade unionists.
(LOB, B18, p. 107)
- 13) In particular, the subject of Structure and Theme is discussed very fully, with frequent references to the play itself, **and including** brief comments on all the characters.
(LOB, C14, p. 120)
- 14) We should have heard from them last night ... **including** accidents.
(ARCHER, 1922: fagn.d7b)

4.2.3 Features of exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* as markers

The GE precedes the EE in all the exemplifying constructions found in the corpora, except in one instance where the EE comes first (see (15) below). Moreover, both components tend to appear next to each other in most of the examples (cf. (10) above), although there are some cases where they are split by some intervening material, as in (16) below where the GE (*all*) and the EE (*many of the 40 schools which will be merged*) are set apart.

- 15) **Including** the current outlay of 1,050 crores, the total outlay in the public sector will thus be of the tune of 7,250 crores. (LOB, G65, p. 25)
- 16) All have vowed to challenge the decision, **including** many of the 40 schools which will be merged. (FLOB, A31, p. 50)

Most of the exemplifying structures found in the corpora with *including* and *included* as markers function as subject, DO or complement of a preposition. As expected, the great majority of units in exemplification are NPs (as in (10) above). However, the corpora provide a few examples where the GE or the EE show a different syntactic form: there are three examples of nominalised verbs in their *-ing* forms (see (17) below), two examples of nominal relative clauses (cf. (18)) and two more instances of adjective phrases (cf. (19)).

- 17) Mr Roberts, 56, has had to resign from everything, **including** being a managing partner at Winter-Taylor's solicitors in High Wycombe.
(FLOB, A42, p. 61)

18) She stayed for just a year, but gained an insight into what was required, **including** recording techniques. (FLOB, E11, p. 38)

19) They also run short courses for special (**including** vocational) interest. (FLOB, H21, p. 26)

Finally, an analysis of the text-types used in the present paper reveals that there is not a homogeneous pattern of distribution of exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* as markers across the genres (see Table 4 below). These constructions are especially common in genres which are close to the oral speech: skills, trade and hobbies, popular lore or even news. However, there is another text-type which is close to the spoken variety but whose use of exemplification is very rare; that is to say, letters. Furthermore, a learned genre such as *belles lettres* also shows a high number of these constructions. The present state of my research does not allow for an explanation of these unexpected results. Further research needs to be carried out in order to account for such a variety across the genres.

Table 4 Classification of <i>including</i> and <i>included</i> as markers of exemplification according to genre				
	<i>Including</i>		<i>Included</i>	
	Total	NF	Total	NF
News	108	18.17	3	0.50
Miscellaneous	79	7.25	1	0.09
Science	72	7.85	1	0.11
Belles lettres, biographies, essays	63	16.80	0	0.00
Skills, trades and hobbies	37	19.84	0	0.00
Popular lore	37	17.17	0	0.00
Journal-diaries	10	6.52	2	1.30
Religious texts	9	2.47	1	0.27
Humour	6	13.62	0	0.00
Fiction	13	1.48	0	0.00
Letters	4	0.15	0	0.00

5 Conclusions

The present paper offers a general overview of the origin and evolution of constructions with *including* and *included* as markers of exemplification. Even though there is evidence of these constructions in the EModE period, it is in PDE when they are more common. The use of *including* as a marker of exemplification, which is the preferred marker in any period, increases in the course of time, whereas *included* slightly decreases in frequency from LModE to PDE. In all the examples, these two items follow the same pattern of distribution: *including* before the EE and *included* after it. Moreover, the tendency is for the GE to appear first, and only in one example the EE comes before the GE. Most of the units in exemplification are NPs, and they usually function as subject, DO or complement of a preposition. As far as genre is concerned, the markers at issue do not show a clear pattern of distribution. They are common in genres which are close to the oral speech (skills, trade and hobbies, popular lore and news) but also in some elevated text-types, especially *belles lettres*. The verbal origin of these two items is still visible in some examples where they are negated or they combine with an adverb or a conjunction, thus becoming peripheral or non-prototypical instances of exemplification.

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