

## Secondary Publication



Ramisch, Heinrich; Wynne, Kenneth (Eds.)

### Language in time and space. Studies in honour of Wolfgang Viereck on the occasion of his 60th birthday

Date of secondary publication: 21.05.2024

Version of Record (Published Version), Book

Persistent identifier: urn:nbn:de:bvb:473-irb-945224

#### Primary publication

Ramisch, Heinrich; Wynne, Kenneth (Eds.) (1997): Language in time and space. Studies in honour of Wolfgang Viereck on the occasion of his 60th birthday. Stuttgart: Steiner.

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# Language in Time and Space

Studies in Honour of Wolfgang Viereck  
on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday

Edited by

**Heinrich Ramisch and Kenneth Wynne**

**2nd, digital edition - Bamberg 2024**

ZDL  
Beihefte

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Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart

# LANGUAGE IN TIME AND SPACE

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF WOLFGANG VIERECK  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 60th BIRTHDAY

EDITED BY

HEINRICH RAMISCH AND KENNETH WYNNE



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART  
1997

Eine Veröffentlichung in Verbindung mit dem Forschungsinstitut für deutsche Sprache  
„Deutscher Sprachatlas“ der Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn.

Herstellung der Druckvorlage: Liesbeth Dietel

Redaktionelle Betreuung: Volker Harm

Zeichenarbeiten: Helga Krumpholz

Photomechanische Reproduktion: Wilfried Braun



## Editors' Preface

The *Oxford English Dictionary* informs us that a *festschrift* is "a collection of writings forming a volume presented to a scholar or savant on the occasion of his attaining a certain age or period in his career." (first attested in 1898). The word *festschrift* is rather special as it has joined other German words such as *angst*, *schadenfreude*, and *zeitgeist* in becoming accepted elements of English lexis. But not just the word is special. A *festschrift* in itself is a very special kind of publication – for someone special on a special occasion. In our case, this person is Wolfgang Viereck, who, as readers will be aware, is one of the most eminent and internationally renowned scholars in the field of linguistics today.

As a title for this *festschrift*, we chose 'Language in Time and Space'. This title, on the one hand, refers to Wolfgang Viereck's main areas of linguistic research. On the other hand, it is open to different interpretations so that contributions from other fields of linguistics could be incorporated. The summary of the contents of the *festschrift* below should amply illustrate the broad range of contributions which we received.

Even the most cursory glance at the names of the contributors to this publication reveals the extent to which Wolfgang Viereck facilitated our task as editors. Due to the international nature of both his research and his other scholarly activities outside of Bamberg, we had no difficulties whatsoever in inviting scholars from many different countries to contribute to the *festschrift*. The table of contents alone demonstrates that the spatial element of our title is a 'space' which stretches around the globe.

It will also become clear by reading the biography of Wolfgang Viereck published below that the two keywords 'space and time' are not only restricted to his research interests in linguistics. In a time period of sixty years, Wolfgang Viereck has occupied many 'spaces'. During his illustrious career, his activities in linguistics have taken him to many different places all over the world. The list of publications contained in these introductory pages also speaks for itself inasmuch as it represents the product of the years of research and scholarly engagement.

For reasons of clarity, we decided to group the contributions to the *festschrift* into three different sections. Part I (Studies Related to English) comprises 27 papers that, to a great extent, are concerned with topics which have played a central role in Wolfgang Viereck's own research, namely diachronic linguistics, regional/social variation in English and English in contact with other languages. Frequently, these three different aspects have been combined in various ways to complement each other.

Diachrony, regional/social variation and phenomena of language contact also form the basis for the 14 contributions in Part II (Studies Related to Other Languages). The languages examined in this section include Dutch, Brazilian Portuguese, Danish, Japanese, Norwegian, German, Kartvelian, Italian, Mari, Udmurt, Welsh, Breton, Basque, Irish and Scottish Gaelic. The four contributions in Part III

(Studies in General Linguistics) are not directly related to any one language, but deal with important topics of a more general nature.

Finally, we would like to express our sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Joachim Göschel (University of Marburg), who kindly accepted the festschrift in his series *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik - Beihefte* and who has always been extremely co-operative and understanding. Various colleagues and friends in Bamberg have also assisted us in the preparation of the festschrift. In particular, we would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Hans-Jörg Schwenk in clarifying various matters relating to Slavic languages and French. We also extend our warmest thanks to Mrs. Liesbeth Dietel - once again - for helping with the processing of the text and to Prof. Dr. Sebastian Kempgen for his computer expertise in converting Macintosh files. Thanks also go to Ms. Elisabeth Amon for helping us with the list of abbreviations and index of names.

Last but, of course, not least, as editors of this festschrift in honour of Wolfgang Viereck, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate him on the occasion of his 60th birthday and to extend our own best wishes for a long and happy 'temporal and spatial' future with us in Bamberg!

H. R. and K. D. W.

## Preface to the 2nd, digital edition

Since the first edition of this festschrift was published, time and space have inevitably moved on and, in the course of time, many contributors including the recipient of the festschrift Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Viereck himself are sadly no longer with us. Nonetheless, the interest in and validity of studies of 'language in time and space' continues unabated and, with this digital version, we would like to offer open access to the contributions that were written for the original printed version in 1997.

Wolfgang Viereck died on 4th September 2018 at the age of 81 and his legacy within the field of English Linguistics remains with us today. Fortunately, much of the material from the festschrift published on the occasion of his 60th birthday has been preserved electronically. We would like to thank Frau Liesbeth Dietel, Wolfgang Viereck's secretary of many years, for preserving the original files and thus allowing us to publish the festschrift in this format.

Bamberg, in March 2024  
H.R. and K. D. W.

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*Karin und Nina Viereck*  
Bamberg (D)

*Jüri Viikberg*  
Tallinn (EST)

*Herbert und Evelyn Voigt*  
Erlangen (D)

*Henriette Walter*  
Paris (F)

*Seosamh Watson*  
Dublin (IRL)

*Andreas Weihe*  
Bamberg (D)

*Antonius Weijnen*  
Malden (NL)

*Lore Weiler*  
Bamberg (D)

*Horst Weinstock*  
Aachen (D)

*Peter Wiesinger*  
Wien (A)

*Werner Winter*  
Preetz (D)

*Gaelan de Wolf*  
Victoria (CDN)

*Kenneth Wynne*  
Bamberg (D)

*Marianne and Jelle Yntema-Koster*  
Bussum (NL)

*Anna Zbierska-Sawala*  
Poznań (PL)

*Maria Zorina*  
St. Petersburg (RUS)

## Wolfgang Viereck – Mensch und Wissenschaftler

*Dr. Karin Viereck*

Ich freue mich über die Gelegenheit, das Vorwort dieser Festschrift zu schreiben. Wer kennt schon einen Menschen nach fast 25jähriger Partnerschaft besser als die eigene Ehefrau? Dieser Anspruch wird untermauert durch langjährige wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit meinem Mann. Zuletzt entstand, gemeinsam mit Heinrich Ramisch, der 1998 erscheinende *dtv-Atlas zur englischen Sprache*.

In dieser Festschrift widmen Freunde und Kollegen dem Jubilar ihre Beiträge, die dessen Verdienste, die weit über die Anglistik hinausgehen, würdigen. Beeindruckend ist neben der thematischen Breite der Beiträge auch die geographische der Beiträger - als Widerspiegelung des weltweiten Engagements des zu Ehrenden.

Als seine Frau sehe ich vor allem den Menschen Wolfgang Viereck. Ich schätze an Dir besonders Dein besonnenes, bescheidenes Wesen, Deinen Humor, Dein Pflichtbewußtsein, Deine Zuverlässigkeit und Zielstrebigkeit, einmal Begonnenes mit höchstem Einsatz zu Ende zu führen.

Dieses kurze Vorwort kann nicht Dein vielschichtiges Leben beschreiben. Daher sollen einige wichtige und charakteristische Ereignisse erwähnt werden: Geboren am 4. September 1937 in Berlin, verbringst Du, bedingt durch die Kriegsereignisse, seit 1942 viele Jahre auf dem väterlichen Anwesen in Nordhessen. Nach dem Abitur fällt die Entscheidung für ein Studium der Anglistik, Romanistik und der Politikwissenschaft an der Philipps Universität in Marburg.

Prägendes Vorbild unter den dortigen akademischen Lehrern ist besonders der Politologe Wolfgang Abendroth, der während des Naziterrors mehrere Jahre im KZ verbringen mußte und später aufgrund ständiger Attacken seinen SED-Partei-genossen den Rücken kehrte. Auch sein Verhältnis zur SPD war alles andere als problemlos. Abendroth hielt indes an seinen Prinzipien fest und bewahrte seine Unabhängigkeit. Keineswegs die politische Richtung, sondern Abendroths Standvermögen, gepaart mit seiner wissenschaftlichen Brillanz, rufen bei dem jungen Studenten Anerkennung und Bewunderung hervor, sind prägend für sein Leben. Abendroths Plan, der leider nicht völlig verwirklicht werden konnte, bestand darin, von jedem hessischen Landkreis eine wahlsoziologische Analyse anfertigen zu lassen. Mit Deiner Arbeit über den inzwischen der Gebietsreform zum Opfer gefallenen Kreis Wolfhagen, die - ergänzt - 1966 als Buch erschien, manifestierst Du Deine enge Verbundenheit mit der zweiten Heimat. In späteren Jahren hast Du diese Analyse wiederholt aktualisiert.

Schon als Student ist es Dein Bestreben, über den anglistischen Tellerrand Deines Hauptfaches hinauszublicken: Nach zwei Auslandsstudienzeiten am damals noch zur University of Durham gehörenden King's College in Newcastle-upon-Tyne und an der Universität in Montpellier entstehen Veröffentlichungen sprach-

praktischen Charakters, die von einem renommierten englischen Verlag und einem bekannten deutschen Schulbuchverlag herausgebracht und mehrfach aufgelegt werden.

Gleich zu Anfang des Auslandswintersemesters in Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1959/60 wirst Du von 24 deutschen Studierenden als Lektor ausgewählt. So wird aus einem Semester ein ganzes Jahr. Dein Aufenthalt im Norden Englands ist entscheidend für Deine wissenschaftliche Ausrichtung. In den Semesterferien der darauffolgenden Jahre bist Du bei Dialektuntersuchungen stets in Gateshead anzu-treffen. Die 130 Seiten starke 1963 in Marburg eingereichte Staatsexamensarbeit wird - ohne den historischen Teil - in Hamburg zur Dissertation ausgebaut und erscheint 1966. Es ist dies die erste monographische Studie, die einen Stadtdialekt Englands mit modernen sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschungsmethoden rein deskriptiv untersucht. Mit Deiner Dissertation erregst Du unter Anglisten und Dialektologen in mehrfacher Hinsicht Aufsehen, wofür hier nur die Anerkennung Barbara Strangs und Bohumil Trnka angeführt werden soll. Die einst wegweisende deutschsprachige Tradition auf dem Gebiet der anglistischen Dialektologie unter Alois Brandl (Berlin) und seinem Schüler Rolf Kaiser war nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Deutschland abgerissen. Nun erhebt sich auf diesem Gebiet mit Deiner Dissertation wieder eine deutsche Stimme.

Deine Dissertation öffnet den Blick aus der vorherrschenden Flächen-Dialektologie in die (außerhalb des Londoner Cockney) vernachlässigte Stadt-Dialektologie, in der soziolektale Aspekte in verfeinerter Abstufung mitspielen. Darüber hinaus vollziehst Du mit der Arbeit den Übergang von einer vormals fast ausschließlich "atomistischen" phonetischen zu einer stärker (aber wiederum keineswegs ausschließlich) strukturalistisch-funktionalistisch orientierten phonologischen Sicht.

Während Deiner Assistentenzeit in Hamburg kommst Du durch Auslandsstudien und Forschungsaustausch nachhaltig mit den bedeutenden angelsächsischen Schulen in Berührung, u.a. von Barbara Strang (Oxford - Newcastle-upon-Tyne), Harold Orton (Leeds) sowie mit den amerikanischen Forschungsprojekten von Hans Kurath (Ann Arbor) und Raven I. McDavid, Jr. (Chicago). Vor allem McDavid und Orton fördern Dein Habilitationsprojekt, nämlich die Herausgabe und Interpretation der Dialektaufzeichnungen, die Guy S. Lowman, Jr., in Mittel- und Südengland vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg angefertigt hatte. Beide Professoren bleiben Dir zeitlebens freundschaftlich verbunden. Später widmest Du ihnen als Zeichen der Wertschätzung einige Deiner Arbeiten.

Von Hamburg wechselst Du 1969 nach Mainz, wo ein Jahr später Deine - inzwischen auf zwei umfangreiche Bände angewachsene - Habilitationsschrift abgeschlossen wird. Mit dieser Arbeit wird einmal die Kenntnis britisch-englischer Dialekte vertieft und zum anderen ein Beitrag zum besseren Verständnis der wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen britischem und amerikanischem Englisch geleistet. McDavid, der das Vorwort schreibt, und der Nestor der deutschen Amerikanistik, der Mainzer Hans Galinsky, sprechen Dir in Rezensionen mit vielen anderen für diese Leistung ihre besondere Anerkennung aus.

Kurz nach Abschluß der Habilitation erreichen Dich mehrere Rufe auf sprachwissenschaftlich orientierte Lehrstühle - insgesamt sollen es sechs (!) werden - und Du entscheidest Dich für Graz, wo Du von 1973 bis 1978 als Vorstand des Instituts

für Englische Philologie tätig bist. 1975 und 1976 sind zwei wichtige Jahre: das erste aus beruflichen, das zweite aus privaten Gründen. 1975 erscheint Deine Habilitationsschrift, ferner Dein Lehrbuch über die regionalen und sozialen Erscheinungsformen des britischen und amerikanischen Englisch. Auch dies wird sehr gelobt. Es ist das erste Lehrbuch auf dem Gebiet der Varietäten des Englischen, das inzwischen einen festen Platz im akademischen Unterricht einnimmt. Schließlich fällt in dieses Jahr die Gründung der *Grazer Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, die später in die *Bamberger Beiträge zur Englischen Sprachwissenschaft/University of Bamberg Studies in English Linguistics* übergehen werden. Derzeit zählen sie bereits 41 Bände. Ein privates, einschneidendes Ereignis in Deinem Leben ist 1976 die Geburt unserer Tochter Nina, der Du ein liebevoller und vorbildlicher Vater bist.

Die nächste wichtige Station in Deinem akademischen Leben ist die Universität Bamberg, wo Du bis heute die Arbeit mehr als die Feiertage liebst. 1978 nimmst Du den Ruf als erster Professor auf den Lehrstuhl für englische Sprachwissenschaft und Mediävistik der damaligen Gesamthochschule Bamberg an, die später in Otto-Friedrich-Universität umbenannt wird und der Du trotz eines Rufes an eine andere Universität treu bleibst.

In Bamberg können weitere wichtige Projekte in Angriff genommen und abgeschlossen werden, wie z.B. *The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England*, vol. 1 (1991) und vol. 2 (1997). Zusammen mit Deinen früheren Leistungen auf dialektologischem Gebiet erwirbst Du Dir damit endgültig einen Platz an der Seite bedeutender Dialektologen, die es außerhalb ihrer Muttersprache zu wissenschaftlichem Ansehen brachten. Hier denke ich an den St. Petersburger Germanisten Viktor Schirmunski, von dem das Standardwerk der deutschen Mundartkunde stammt, an den Schweizer Eugen Dieth, der Grundlegendes zum schottischen Englisch und zum Survey of English Dialects leistete oder den Amerikaner William G. Moulton, der wichtige Beiträge zu schweizerdeutschen Dialekten verfaßte.

Des weiteren sind für Deine Bamberger Jahre bedeutsam die 1983 durchgeführte Ausstellung *Englisch - Formen und Funktionen einer Weltsprache*, an der sich auch die Universitätsbibliothek beteiligt und der internationale Dialektologenkongreß, der 1990 stattfindet. Mit der Ausstellung, zu der auch ein umfangreicher Katalog erscheint und die von einer Vortragsreihe begleitet wird, hast Du Neuland betreten. Nirgendwo sonst auf der Welt hat vorher eine thematisch derart ausgerichtete Ausstellung stattgefunden. Ein ebenfalls höchst positives Echo erzielt der Dialektologenkongreß mit seinen über 300 internationalen Teilnehmern. Inzwischen sind 4 umfangreiche Kongreßbände erschienen.

Zwar bist Du als Dialektologe am bekanntesten, doch das eindrucksvolle Schriftenverzeichnis macht deutlich, daß Du auch auf einer Reihe anderer Gebiete ausgewiesen bist wie der Soziolinguistik, der Geschichte der englischen Sprache, der Kontaktlinguistik, der Angewandten Sprachwissenschaft, Englisch als Weltsprache und - bereits seit 1967 - auf einem Gebiet, das heute vielfach mit *Ebonics* bezeichnet wird.

Deine wissenschaftlichen Aktivitäten im In- und Ausland, Deine Leistungen als Herausgeber/Mitherausgeber von wissenschaftlichen Reihen und Zeitschriften, Deine zahlreichen Ehrungen und Auszeichnungen und Deine weltweite Vortrags-

tätigkeit sind gleichfalls in den folgenden Übersichten belegt. Ich möchte aber doch auf einige Aspekte eingehen, die daraus nicht oder nicht unbedingt hervorgehen.

Die hohe Wertschätzung, die Du weltweit genießt, schlägt sich nieder in der Verleihung von zwei Ehrendoktoraten (1989 von der ältesten ungarischen Universität, der Loránd Eötvös Universität Budapest und 1996 von der ältesten Universität Skandinaviens, der Universität Uppsala), der Mitgliedschaft in renommierten ausländischen wissenschaftlichen Akademien, der Mitwirkung als Opponent bei habilitationsäquivalenten Dissertationen in Norwegen und Finnland, in Einladungen zu Gastprofessuren und zahlreichen Vorträgen im In- und Ausland und nicht zuletzt auch in der Wahl und Wiederwahl zum Fachgutachter der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Erst kürzlich wurdest Du in Amsterdam einstimmig zum Präsidenten der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Dialektologie und Geolinguistik gewählt.

Nicht unerwähnt bleiben darf Dein Einsatz in der akademischen Selbstverwaltung: 5 Jahre bist Du Vorstand des Instituts für Englische Philologie der Universität Graz, das bereits 1973 mit 1.200 Studierenden zu den großen anglistischen Instituten gehört. Als alleiniger Fachvertreter bedeutet dies Hauptseminare mit über 100 Teilnehmern und mitunter in einem Termin vierzehntägige Lehramtsprüfungen von morgens bis abends! In Bamberg folgen ebenfalls zeitaufwendige Aufgaben. Der Aufbau der jungen Universität und Deines Faches, das Du wiederum als alleiniger Fachvertreter in knapp 20jähriger Tätigkeit geprägt hast, macht eine Mitarbeit an Studienordnungen und in zahlreichen Gremien und Kommissionen erforderlich, auch als Dekan der Fakultät Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften.

Nach einem Jahrzehnt überläßt Du verständlicherweise derartige Tätigkeiten in Bamberg jüngeren Kolleginnen und Kollegen. Es rufen nun nationale und internationale Verpflichtungen: Du beteiligst Dich aktiv am Aufbau der Anglistik (der Sprachwissenschaft und der Literaturwissenschaft) sowie der Angewandten, der Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft mehrerer ostdeutscher Universitäten nach der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands, an der Evaluierung sämtlicher anglistischer Institute niederländischer Universitäten, in einer zweiten Kommission an der Evaluierung des Amsterdamer P.J. Meertens Instituts für Dialektologie, Ethnologie und Namenkunde sowie an der Besetzung eines Lehrstuhls Deines Faches an der Universität Uppsala.

Deine Verbindung mit dem Europäischen Sprachatlas (seit 1992 als dessen Vizepräsident und ab Ende 1997 als dessen Präsident) schlägt sich nieder in Deiner Vortragstätigkeit, in Veröffentlichungen und natürlich auch in der akademischen Lehre. Daß Du auch den akademischen Nachwuchs förderst, zeigen eine Reihe von an deutschen und österreichischen Universitäten tätige Kollegen, die bei Dir promovierten und/oder sich habilitierten.

Kürzlich hat der Hamburger Anglist Dietrich Schwanitz im *Spiegel-Special* Nr. 11/1996 eine Professorentypologie versucht. Er unterscheidet zwischen dem Forscher nationaler, gar internationaler Reputation und dem Lokalmatador. Erstere zeichnen sich auch dadurch aus, daß deren Arbeiten im *Arts und Humanities Citation Index* aufgeführt werden. Nach einer Kölner Dissertation aus dem Jahre 1993, die die deutsche Anglistik zwischen 1975 und 1988 quantitativ auswertet, nimmst Du unter 100 sprachwissenschaftlich orientierten Anglisten den 4. (!) Rang



ein. Ein exzellentes Ergebnis. Folgt man Schwanitz' Typologie, so bist Du also kein Lokalmatador!

Wenn Du heute auf ein Leben von sechs Jahrzehnten zurückblickst, darfst Du auf die Vielfalt des Erreichten sehr stolz sein. Nina und ich wünschen Dir, daß Du diese Zufriedenheit noch viele weitere Jahre in innerer und äußerer Harmonie und bei bester Gesundheit genießen kannst.

*Scholarly Activities:*

Board Member of Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik and Chair of Section 5: Sociolinguistics/Psycholinguistics, 1971-1973

Head of the English Department, University of Graz, Austria, 1973-78

Board Member of Österreichische Gesellschaft für Kommunikationswissenschaft, 1974-1978

Member of national committee of the 10th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, Salzburg 1976

Member of national committee and of reading committee of the 12th International Congress of Linguists, Wien 1977

Together with R. I. McDavid, Jr. Chairman of Section 'Varieties of English' at Tenth Triennial Congress of the International Association of University Professors of English, Poznań 1977

Initiator of the International Hugo Schuchardt Symposium, held at the University of Graz in 1977

External examiner for the Institute of Linguists, London, 1977

Board Member of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, 1977-81

Reviewer and first opponent of a doctoral thesis at the University of Bergen, Norway, 1978 (equivalent to a Habilitation in Germany)

Head of the Department of English Linguistics and Medieval English Literature, University of Bamberg, 1978-

Director of a study visit with members of staff and students to Roman and Christian sites in northern England, 1980

Director of the Exhibition "Englisch - Formen und Funktionen einer Weltsprache", University of Bamberg, 1983

Member of 'Habilitation Committee' at the University of Erlangen, 1984

Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Bamberg, 1984-86

Chairman of the committee conferring the degree of Dr. phil., University of Bamberg, 1984-1986

Chairman of ten committees for selecting candidates for professorships in several fields of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Bamberg, 1984-86

Director of research project "The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England", financially supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1986-95

Member of the Steering Committee of the conference series Methods in Dialectology, 1987-

Member of the Committee for the modification of the statutes of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics, 1990-91

Initiator of the partnership treaties between the universities of Bamberg and Poznań (1990), Bamberg and Loránd Eötvös University Budapest (1992) and - on the student

- exchange level - between Bamberg and Heriot-Watt Edinburgh (1991) and Bamberg and Tampere (1992)
- Reviewer and official opponent of a doctoral dissertation at the University of Helsinki, Finland, 1991 (equivalent to a Habilitation in Germany)
- External examiner of a PhD thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, 1991, of a second Ph.D. thesis, 1996
- At the invitation of the Rector of the Friedrich-Schiller-University, Jena, member of committee for re-organisation and new appointments to three chairs in English literature, American literature and English linguistics after unification of Germany 1991-92
- At the invitation of the Saxon Minister of Science and Arts member of the extraordinary committee for organisation and appointments to founding chairs in English literature and English linguistics and to professorships in American literature and in cultural studies at the Technical University of Chemnitz-Zwickau after unification of Germany, 1992-93
- At the invitation of the Saxon Minister of Science and Arts member of the special committee to evaluate the professional competence of those working in the field of languages at the Technical University of Chemnitz after unification of Germany, 1992
- At the invitation of the Saxon Minister of Science and Arts member of committee for appointments to founding chairs in Applied Linguistics and in General and Comparative Linguistics at the Technical University of Chemnitz-Zwickau after unification of Germany, 1992
- At the invitation of the Dutch Minister van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen member of the International Expert Committee on Modern Languages and Literature (Verkenning-commissie Moderne Letteren), 1992-95
- Member of Directing Board of the Atlas Linguarum Europae, 1992-
- Member of English National Committee of the Atlas Linguarum Europae, 1992-
- Director of Central Secretariat of the Atlas Linguarum Europae, 1992-
- At the invitation of the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen member of the International Committee to evaluate the P. J. Meertens Institute for Dialectology, Folklore and Onomastics in Amsterdam, 1993
- At the invitation of the Dean and the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Uppsala one of three international expert advisers and member of committee to fill full professorship of English Language at the said University, 1994-95
- Participation in the 'Days of Research' at the University of Bamberg with two projects ('The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England' and the 'Atlas Linguarum Europae') in November 1995 and with the 'Atlas Linguarum Europae' in November 1996
- Occasional expert adviser of the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (Bonn), of the Fulbright Commission (Washington D.C.), of the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington D.C.), of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Ottawa), of the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Wien), of the Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Bern), of The Leverhulme Trust (London) and of the Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen
- Reports and opinions on individual applicants for chairs of English linguistics and on the ordering of candidates on lists for such chairs for quite a number of German universities
- Occasional evaluations of foreign scholars for posts at foreign universities, for scholarships from foreign institutions and of monographs considered for publication by both German and foreign publishing houses.

*Editorial:*

Founder and Editor, *Grazer Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, 1975-79, and of its sequel *Bamberger Beiträge zur Englischen Sprachwissenschaft / University of Bamberg Studies in English Linguistics*, 1979-; 41 volumes to date  
 Co-editor, *American Studies / Amerikastudien*, 1976-81  
 Member of Editorial Advisory Committee, *American Speech*, 1986-88  
 Consulting editor, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 1969-1995  
 Member of Editorial Board, *English World-Wide*, 1980-1996  
 Consulting editor, *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 1984-  
 Member of Editorial Board of the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*, 1991-  
 Founding Editor, *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica. Journal of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics*, 1993-  
 Editor of the *Bulletin of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics*, 1993-  
 Member of Editorial Board, *Idéologies dans le Monde Anglo-Saxon*, 1995-  
 Member of Editorial Board, *Omnia*, 1997-  
 Member of Editorial Board, *ANUARIO del Instituto de Investigaciones Literarias y Linguísticas*, 1997-

*Scholarships and Grants:*

Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, 1966 (grant to cover publication costs of Ph.D. thesis)  
 Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1968-70 (D.Litt. scholarship; research at University of Leeds)  
 Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, since 1971 (many travel grants for research tours and for active participation in conferences)  
 Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1990 (grant for International Congress of Dialectologists)  
 Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht, Kultus, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1990 (grant for International Congress of Dialectologists)  
 Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, 1990 (grant for International Congress of Dialectologists)  
 Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1986-90 and 1991-95 (grant for project *The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England*, 2 volumes)

*Visiting Professorships:*

University of Haifa, Israel, 1980  
 University of Poznań, Poland, 1987  
 Loránd Eötvös University of Budapest, Hungary, 1991  
 University of Tartu, Estonia, 1993

*Honours:*

Fellow of American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1966-67  
 Medal of Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, 1985

University of Poznań Rector's Medal, 1987  
 University of Helsinki Medal, 1988  
 Elected as one of the two main expert advisers of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in the fields of English and American linguistics and member of the corresponding experts' committee, 1988-1991  
 Honorary Doctorate, Dr. phil. h.c., Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, 1989  
 Vice-President of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics, 1989-1993; reelected for a second period 1993-1997  
 President of the Organizing Committee and of the International Congress of Dialectologists, held at the University of Bamberg in 1990  
 Medal of Euskaltzaindia, Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca, Bilbao, 1991  
 Reelected as one of four expert advisers of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in the fields of English and American linguistics for a second and final period and member of the corresponding experts' committee, 1992-1995  
 Vice-President of the Atlas Linguarum Europae, 1992-  
 Medal of Merit of the University of Poznań, 1992  
 Research Fellow of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Tokyo, 1992  
 Research Fellow of the American Biographical Institute (coin in gold), 1994  
 Elected Member of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1994  
 Elected Member of the Royal Humanistic Academy of Sciences, Uppsala (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala), 1995  
 Elected Member of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy (Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien), Uppsala, 1995  
 Honorary Doctorate, fil. dr. h.c., Uppsala University, 1996  
 Lifetime Deputy Governor of the American Biographical Institute Research Association and Member of its Research Board of Advisors, 1996  
 Silver Medal of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy, 1996  
 President of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics, 1997-

*Lectures at Universities and Academies:*

Universität Marburg 1963, 1982  
 University of Chicago 1967  
 University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1969  
 Technische Universität Berlin 1971  
 Technische Universität Hannover 1971  
 Universität Graz 1971  
 Universität Hamburg 1972  
 Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen 1975, 1985  
 Universität Siegen 1976  
 Universität Zürich 1976  
 Universität Essen 1976  
 Linguistic Circle of Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague 1977, 1982  
 Linguistic Circle of Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno 1977

Loránd Eötvös University Budapest 1978, 1981 (2 lectures), 1985, 1987 (2 lectures), 1989, 1991 (2 lectures)  
 University of Bergen 1978  
 Universität Innsbruck 1978  
 Universität Bamberg 1978, 1979 (Inaugural Lecture), 1983 (Opening of Exhibition on Forms and Functions of the English Language), 1990 (Opening of International Congress of Dialectologists)  
 Universität Paderborn 1979  
 University of Haifa 1980  
 University of Debrecen 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991  
 Universität Stuttgart 1981, 1983, 1988  
 Emory University 1982

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| University of South Carolina, Columbia<br>1982                                                 | Institute of Linguistics of the USSR<br>Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1991 |
| Southern Illinois University, Carbondale<br>1982                                               | State University of Moscow 1991                                          |
| Southeast Missouri State University, Cape<br>Girardeau 1982                                    | University of Pécs 1991                                                  |
| Brown University 1982 (2 lectures)                                                             | University of Veszprém 1991                                              |
| Freie Universität Berlin 1982                                                                  | University of Catania 1992                                               |
| University of Leeds 1983                                                                       | Kyushu University, Fukuoka 1992                                          |
| University of Poznań 1984 (2 lectures),<br>1987, 1996 (2 lectures)                             | Sangyo University, Kyoto 1992                                            |
| University of Kraków 1984                                                                      | University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo<br>1992                             |
| Universität Köln 1985, 1990                                                                    | University of Latvia, Riga 1993<br>(2 lectures)                          |
| Universität Bayreuth 1986 (2 lectures)                                                         | University of Tartu 1993 (2 lectures)                                    |
| University of Warszawa 1987                                                                    | Universität Würzburg 1993                                                |
| University of Wrocław 1987                                                                     | University of Uppsala 1994 (2 lectures),<br>1996                         |
| Universität Freiburg i.Br. 1987, 1988                                                          | Universität Jena 1994                                                    |
| University of Szeged 1987                                                                      | University of Antwerp 1995                                               |
| Universität Gießen 1987                                                                        | Catholic University of Leuven, Leuven<br>1995                            |
| University of Helsinki 1988 (2 lectures)                                                       | Catholic University of Louvain, Louvain-<br>la-Neuve, 1995               |
| Universität Greifswald 1990                                                                    | University of Zulia, Maracaibo, Venezuela<br>1996                        |
| University of Tampere 1991                                                                     | University of Wellington, New Zealand<br>1997                            |
| University of Rome "La Sapienza" 1991                                                          |                                                                          |
| Institute of Dialectology of the Estonian<br>Academy of Sciences, Tallinn 1991<br>(2 lectures) |                                                                          |
| State University of Leningrad/St. Peters-<br>burg 1991                                         |                                                                          |

*Papers Read at International Conferences and Congresses:*

10. Internationale Neusprachlertagung, St. Andreasberg, 1968  
International Conference on Methods in Dialectology, Charlottetown (Canada), 1972  
(keynote lecture)
3. Arbeitstagung Österreichischer Linguisten, Graz, 1974
24. Wiss. Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, Mainz, 1977  
Symposium "Dialekt und Schule", Marburg, 1977
- International Seminar of English and American Studies, Debrecen, 1978
- 13th International Congress of Linguists, Tokyo, 1982
- Sixth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Poznań, 1983
- Symposium in Honor of Hans Galinsky, Mainz, 1984
- Annual Conference of Austrian Association for American Studies, Salzburg, 1985
- Sixth Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, St. Augustine,  
Trinidad, 1986
- Rassenbeziehungen und Rassenbegegnungen in der Karibik, Eichstätt, 1987
- Eighth International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora,  
Helsinki, 1987
- Sixth International Conference on Methods in Dialectology, Bangor, Wales, 1987 (keynote  
lecture)

- Annual Meeting of Verband Deutscher Anglisten, Tübingen, 1987
- Fourth International Symposium on Lexicography, Kopenhagen, 1988
- 12th Congress of Asociación Española de Estudios Anglo-Norteamericanos, Alicante, 1988  
(two lectures - one of which a plenary paper)
- International Association for the Study of Anglo-Irish Literature, Debrecen, 1989
- Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society, Chicago, 1990
- Tenth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Workshop on Medieval Dialectology, Amsterdam, 1991
- Nazioarteko Dialectologia Biltzarra - Louis Lucien Bonaparte Centenary, Bilbao, 1991  
(lecture at opening ceremony)
- Annual Conference of the Dialectological Circle of Japan, Oita, 1992 (main lecture)
- First Congress of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics, Budapest, 1993
- Twelfth International Tromsø Symposium on Language: "Historical Sociolinguistics", 1994
- XXVII Congresso Internazionale Della Societas Linguistica Europaea, Firenze, 1994
- Centre de Recherches d'Etudes Anglophones, Université Stendhal-Grenoble, Colloque 1995 (guest of honour)
- 29th Congress of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, University of Sydney, 1997
- 16th International Congress of Linguists, Paris, 1997
- 2nd International Congress of Dialectologists and Geolinguists, Amsterdam, 1997 (plenary lecture)
- Conference of the American Society of Geolinguistics, New York, 1997 (banquet dinner speaker)

## Publications by Wolfgang Viereck

[A = article, B = book, R = review]

1961

- B1 *Common German Idioms*. London: Edward Arnold 1961; repr. 1965, 78 pp.

1964

- B2 *Übungen zum Vokabular des Französischen*. Frankfurt: Diesterweg 1964; 2nd ed. 1969; 3rd ed. 1972; 4th ed. 1975, 56 pp. *Lehrerheft* 1964; 2nd ed. 1968; 3rd ed. 1973, 16 pp.
- A1 "Wortmischung im Englischen und Deutschen", *Englisch an Volkshochschulen* 7 (1964), 105-106.
- A2 "Der *English Dialect Survey* und der *Linguistic Survey of Scotland* - Arbeitsmethoden und bisherige Ergebnisse. Mit 6 Abbildungen sowie einer Übersichtskarte", *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 31 (1964), 333-355.

1965

- A3 "Specimen Passages of the Speech of Gateshead-upon-Tyne", *Le Maître Phonétique* No. 123 (1965), 6-7.
- A4 "Das Sprachlabor am Seminar für Englische Sprache und Kultur der Universität Hamburg", *Die Neueren Sprachen*. Beilage *Das Sprachlabor und der audiovisuelle Unterricht* 1 (1965), 18-24.
- A5 "English Comic Verse", *Idioma* 2 (1965), 210-212.
- A6 "Wortmischung im Englischen und Deutschen", *Lebende Sprachen* 10 (1965), 162-163.
- A7 "Zur Entstehung und Wertung des uvularen *r* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Situation in England", *Phonetica* 13 (1965), 189-200.
- A8 "Zur Entstehung und Wertung des uvularen *r* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Situation in England", *Jahrbuch des Marburger Universitätsbundes* 1965 (1965), 125-134 (more extended version of preceding item).

1966

- B3 *Die Entwicklung der politischen Parteien und der Wahlen im Kreis Wolfhagen: Eine wahlsoziologische Untersuchung*. Wolfhagen 1966, VI + 97 pp.
- B4 *Phonematische Analyse des Dialekts von Gateshead-upon-Tyne/Co. Durham*. Britannica et Americana 14. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co 1966, XII + 131 pp. (plus tape).
- A9 "Die Entwicklung der politischen Parteien und der Wahlen im Kreis Wolfhagen von 1918 bis 1965", *Heimathbuch Wolfhager Land*, 1. Teil. Hg. Pädagogischer Arbeitskreis Wolfhagen (1966), 45-52.
- R1 Rev. of Bertil Sundby, *Studies in the Middle English Dialect Material of Worcestershire Records*, *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 33 (1966), 85-88.

1967

- A10 "Student Slang", *Idioma* 4 (1967), 193-198.
- A11 "Zur Krise zwischen Schwarz und Weiß in den Vereinigten Staaten - ein linguistisches Problem", *Schulzeitung der König-Heinrich-Schule, Gymnasium* (Fritzlar 1967), 58-61.
- A12 "German Dialects spoken in the United States and Canada and Problems of German-English Language Contact especially in North America: A Bibliography", *Orbis* 16 (1967), 549-568 and 603-604.
- R2 Rev. of Hans Kurath - Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*, *Lebende Sprachen* 12 (1967), 58-59.
- R3 Rev. of W.H. Wolf-Rottkay, *An Advanced Learner's Phonetic Reader*, *Idioma* 4 (1967), 284-285.

- R4 Rev. of Axel Wijk, *Rules of Pronunciation for the English Language*, *Phonetica* 16 (1967), 235-238.
- R5 Rev. of H. Orton - M.F. Wakelin (eds.), *Survey of English Dialects, (B): Basic Material, Vol. IV: The Southern Counties, Part I, Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society Part LXVII*, Vol. 12 (1967), 45-46.
- R6 Abstracts in *Abstracts of English Studies* 10 (1967), 454-455.

## 1968

- A13 "Englische Dialektologie", in Ludwig Erich Schmitt (ed.), *Germanische Dialektologie. Festschrift für Walther Mitzka zum 80. Geburtstag*, Bd. 2. Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung. Beihefte NF 6 (1968), 542-564.
- A14 "Australian English", *Idioma* 5 (1968), 153-156 and 217.
- A15 "Bibliographie zum amerikanischen Englisch", *Lebende Sprachen* 13 (1968), 59-61.
- A16 "Guy S. Lowman's Contribution to British English Dialectology", *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, Pt. LXVIII, Vol. 12 (1968), 32-39.
- A17 "Drug Lingo", *Idioma* 5 (1968), 193-198.
- A18 "German Dialects spoken in the United States and Canada and Problems of German-English Language Contact especially in North America: A Supplement to the Bibliography published in *Orbis* 16 (1967)", *Orbis* 17 (1968), 532-535.
- A19 Contributor to "Bibliography Americana Germanica, 1967", *The German Quarterly* 41 (1968), 515-533.
- R7 Rev. of Hans Kurath, *A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English*, *Idioma* 5 (1968), 41-43.
- R8 Rev. of Peter MacCarthy, *A Practice Book of English Speech*, *Idioma* 5 (1968), 94-95.
- R9 Rev. of Niels Thun, *Reduplicative Words in English*, *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 35 (1968), 182-185.
- R10 Rev. of R.C. Alston, *A Bibliography of the English Language*, *Journal of English Linguistics* 2 (1968), 135-141.
- R11 Rev. of B. Hedevid, *The Dialect of Dentdale*, *Philologica Pragensia* 11 (1968), 184-186.
- R12 Rev. of G. Dietrich, *Englische Schulphonetik*, *Idioma* 5 (1968), 268-269.
- R13 Rev. of H. Walz, *Contemporary Britain*, *Idioma* 5 (1968), 269-270.
- R14 Rev. of B. Hedevid, *The Dialect of Dentdale*, *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 35 (1968), 185-187.
- R15 Rev. of B. Trnka, *A Phonological Analysis of Present-Day Standard English*, *Idioma* 5 (1968), 270-271.
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## 1969

- A20 "Die Revolution in der Grammatik und das amerikanische Schulbuch", *Praxis des Neusprachlichen Unterrichts* 16 (1969), 55-68.
- A21 "Zur Negersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten", *Idioma* 6 (1969), 55-60.
- A22 "Schulphonetik und Sprachwirklichkeit - Divergenzen und Konsequenzen", *Englisch an Volkshochschulen* 21/Juni 1969, 332-337.
- A23 "A Diachronic-Structural Analysis of a Northern English Urban Dialect", in Stanley Ellis (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Harold Orton on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Leeds Studies in English N.S.2 1968 (1969), 65-79.
- A24 "In Memoriam Daniel Jones (1881-1967)", *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 22 (1969), 396-399.
- A25 Contributor to "Bibliography Americana Germanica, 1968", *The German Quarterly* 42 (1969), 489-507.
- R17 Rev. of E. Kolb, *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region*, *Journal of English Linguistics* 3 (1969), 92-97.



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- R19 Rev. of D. Jones, *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, 13th ed. rev. by A.C. Gimson, *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 22 (1969), 313-318.
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## 1970

- A26 "The English Dialect Society and its Dictionary", *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, Pt. LXX, Vol. 12 (1970), 28-33.
- A27 Contributor to "Bibliography Americana Germanica, 1969", *The German Quarterly* 43 (1970), 579-597.
- R24 Abstracts in *Abstracts of English Studies* 13 (1970), 479-480, 490, 517, 528, 548 and in Vol. 14 (1970), 242.

## 1971

- A28 "Britische und amerikanische Sprachatlanten. Mit 4 Karten und 3 Faltkarten. Herrn Professor Hans Kurath zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet", *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 38 (1971), 167-205.
- A29 Contributor to "Bibliography Americana Germanica, 1970", *The German Quarterly* 44 (1971), 539-558.
- R25 Rev. of N. Chomsky - M. Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English*, *Die Neueren Sprachen* N.F. 20 (1971), 277-278.
- R26 Abstracts in *Abstracts of English Studies* 14 (1971), 551 and in Vol. 15 (1971), 102.

## 1972

- A30 "Regional Verb Forms in Southern England", in Lawrence M. Davis (ed.), *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of Raven I. McDavid, Jr.* University, Ala. 1972, 185-205.
- R27 Rev. of H. Pilch, *Altenglische Grammatik und altenglischer Lehrgang*, *Journal of English Linguistics* 6 (1972), 71-73.
- R28 Rev. of N. Chomsky, *Cartesianische Linguistik*, *Die Neueren Sprachen* N.F. 21 (1972), 490-491.
- R29 Rev. of J. Griffith - L.E. Miner (eds.), *The First Lincolnland Conference on Dialectology*, *Die Neueren Sprachen* N.F. 21 (1972), 491-493.
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- R31 Rev. of A.H. Marckwardt (ed.), *Linguistics in School Programs*, *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 17 (1972), 251-253.
- R32 Rev. of H. Fink, *Amerikanismen im Wortschatz der deutschen Tagespresse*, *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 17 (1972), 254-257.
- R33 Abstract in *Abstracts of English Studies* 15 (1972), 378.

## 1973

- A31 "Recent American Studies in Sociolinguistics", *Archivum Linguisticum* N.S. 4 (1973), 103-111 (with L. Baubkus).
- A32 "The Growth of Dialectology", *Journal of English Linguistics* 7 (1973), 69-86.
- A33 "A Critical Appraisal of the Survey of English Dialects", *Orbis* 22 (1973), 72-84.

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- A35 "International Conference on Methods in Dialectology: 19. - 26. Juli 1972, Charlottetown, Kanada", *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 40 (1973), 73-75.
- R34 Rev. of A.L. Davis - R.I. McDavid, Jr. - V.G. McDavid, *Compilation of the Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, 2nd ed., *Anglia* 91 (1973), 107-111.
- R35 Rev. of Johannes Bechert - Danièle Clément - Wolf Thümmel - Karl-Heinz Wagner, *Einführung in die generative Transformationsgrammatik*, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 210 (1973), 335-337.
- R36 Rev. of Joseph Nivette, *Principes de Grammaire Générative*, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 210 (1973), 335-337.

## 1974

- B5 *Common German Idioms and how to use them*. Graz 1974, 63 pp.
- A36 "The Growth and Present State of Dialectology", *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, Pt. LXXIV, Vol. 13 (1974), 19-45.
- R37 Rev. of Julius Fast, *Körpersprache*, *Die Neueren Sprachen* N.F. 23 (1974), 87-88.

## 1975

- B6 *Lexikalische und grammatische Ergebnisse des Lowman-Survey von Mittel- und Südengland*. München: Wilhelm Fink 1975, Vol. 1: 361 pp. and Vol. 2: 342 maps.
- B7 *Regionale und soziale Erscheinungsformen des britischen und amerikanischen Englisch*. Anglistische Arbeitshefte 4. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1975, XII + 144 pp. (plus tape).
- A37 "Die Erforschung des Black English in den USA - Sinn und Unsinn", *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 1 (1975), 102-118.
- A38 "Wie Englisch ist unsere Pressesprache?", *Festschrift für N. Denison*. *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 2 (1975), 205-226 (with K. Viereck and I. Winter).

## 1976

- B8 (Editor), *Sprachliches Handeln - Soziales Verhalten. Ein Reader zur Pragmalinguistik und Soziolinguistik*. Kritische Information 52. München: Wilhelm Fink 1976, 404 pp.
- A39 "Englisches in der österreichischen Pressesprache", *Der Sprachdienst* 20 (1976), 53-56 (with Karin Viereck and Ingrid Winter).
- A40 "Einige kritische Bemerkungen zu Philip Luelsdorff, 'Generative Dialectology: A Review and Critique', *Linguistische Berichte* 37 (1975), 13-26", *Linguistische Berichte* 43 (1976), 70.
- R38 Rev. of N. Dittmar, *Soziolinguistik: Exemplarische und kritische Darstellung ihrer Theorie, Empirie und Anwendung*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 1 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R39 Rev. of R.W. Fasold, "Two Models of Socially Significant Linguistic Variation", *Language* 46, 1970. *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 1 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R40 Rev. of W. Labov, "The Logic of Nonstandard English", Alatis (ed.), Georgetown Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics No. 22, 1970. *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 1 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
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- R42 Rev. of U. Ammon, *Dialekt und Einheitssprache in ihrer sozialen Verflechtung. Eine empirische Untersuchung zu einem vernachlässigten Aspekt von Sprache und sozialer Ungleichheit*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R43 Rev. of B. Badura, *Sprachbarrieren. Zur Soziologie der Kommunikation*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R44 Rev. of S. Jäger - J. Huber - P. Schätzle, *Sprache - Sprecher - Sprechen. Probleme im Bereich soziolinguistischer Theorie und Empirie*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R45 Rev. of W. Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
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- R47 Rev. of W. Wolfram - R.W. Fasold, *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R48 Rev. of R. Reichstein, «Etude des variations sociales et géographiques des faits linguistiques», *Word* 16, 1960, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R49 Rev. of H. Bühler, *Sprachbarrieren und Schulanfang. Eine pragmalinguistische Untersuchung des Sprechens von Sechs- bis Achtjährigen*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Pragmalinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R50 Rev. of U. Maas - D. Wunderlich, *Pragmatik und sprachliches Handeln. Mit einer Kritik am Funkkolleg "Sprache"*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Pragmalinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.
- R51 Rev. of D. Wunderlich (ed.), *Linguistische Pragmatik*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 2 (Sektion Pragmalinguistik). Dortmund 1976, n.p.

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- A42 "Arbeiten zur regionalen und sozialen Variation des amerikanischen Englisch: Anmerkungen zur Bedeutung der 'American Dialect Society'", *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 2 (1977), 153-156.
- R52 Rev. of H. Bausinger (ed.), *Dialekt als Sprachbarriere? Ergebnisbericht einer Tagung zur alemannischen Dialektforschung*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 3 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1977, n.p.
- R53 Rev. of I. Bock, *Das Phänomen der schichtenspezifischen Sprache als pädagogisches Problem*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch und Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 3 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1977, n.p.
- R54 Rev. of F. Hager - H. Haberland - R. Paris, *Soziologie und Linguistik. Die schlechte Aufhebung sozialer Ungleichheit durch Sprache*, *Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten*

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- R55 Rev. of G. Kieffer, *Analyse einer Kommunikationsbarriere. Ein diagnostisch-therapeutischer Beitrag der Psychologie zur Sprachbarrierenproblematik in der Orientierungsstufe, Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch and Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 3 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1977, n.p.
- R56 Rev. of W. Klein, *Variation in der Sprache. Ein Verfahren zu ihrer Beschreibung, Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Englisch and Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 3 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1977, n.p.
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- R59 Rev. of J. Sumpf (ed.), *Socio-linguistique* and J.-B. Marcellesi (ed.), *Linguistique et Société, Kritische Bibliographie zur Angewandten Linguistik, Fachbereich Französisch* - Lieferung 3 (Sektion Soziolinguistik). Dortmund 1977, n.p.
- R60 Rev. of D. Bähr, *Standard English und seine geographischen Varianten, Journal of English Linguistics* 11 (1977), 61-62.
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- R62 Rev. of H. Kloss, *Atlas der im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert entstandenen deutschen Siedlungen in USA. Atlas of 19th and Early 20th Century German-American Settlements, Amerikastudien/American Studies* 22 (1977), 332-334.
- R63 Rev. of Alan R. Thomas, *The Linguistic Geography of Wales. A Contribution to Welsh Dialectology, Orbis* 26 (1977), 182-184.

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- A44 "Sprachliche Variation im Englischen und ihre Erforschung", *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 45 (1978), 161-174.
- A45 "Afro-Amerikanische Aspekte der Mobilität: 'Black English' - eine kritische Auseinandersetzung", *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 23 (1978), 330-340.
- A46 Bericht über die 24. wissenschaftliche Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien in Mainz, 31. Mai bis 3. Juni 1977: Arbeitsgruppe: "Linguistische Aspekte der Mobilität in den Vereinigten Staaten", *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 23 (1978), 164.
- A47 "Zwei Neuerscheinungen zur Sprachvariation im Englischen", *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 4 (1978), 103-112 (with Margit Dobaj).
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- R65 Rev. of Harold B. Allen, *The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest*, *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 46 (1979), 108-113.
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## List of Abbreviations

|           |                                                        |           |                                                             |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| AAVE      | African American Vernacular English                    | CLAE      | <i>Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England</i>       |
| A.D.      | Anno Domini                                            | col.      | column                                                      |
| Adj, adj. | adjective                                              | COMP      | complementiser                                              |
| Adv, adv. | adverb                                                 | DB        | Domesday Book                                               |
| ae.       | altenglisch                                            | DEPN      | <i>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names</i> |
| afrz.     | altfranzösisch                                         | DG        | <i>Domesday Gazetteer</i>                                   |
| AH        | accessibility hierarchy                                | d.h.      | das heißt                                                   |
| ALE       | <i>Atlas Linguarum Europae</i>                         | dial.     | dialectal                                                   |
| ALF       | <i>Atlas linguistique de la France</i>                 | dim.      | diminutive                                                  |
| ALPb      | <i>Atlas Lingüístico da Paraíba</i>                    | DO        | direct object                                               |
| ALS       | <i>Atlas Lingüístico de Sergipe</i>                    | Du.       | Dutch                                                       |
| Am.E.     | American English                                       | E., Eng.  | English                                                     |
| AN        | Anglo-Norman                                           | EALMG     | <i>Esboço de um atlas lingüístico de Minas Gerais</i>       |
| AND       | <i>Australian National Dictionary</i>                  | ed.; eds. | editor, edition, edited; editors                            |
| Anm.      | Anmerkung                                              | EDD       | <i>English Dialect Dictionary</i>                           |
| ANS       | <i>Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst</i>                | EDG       | <i>English Dialect Grammar</i>                              |
| APFB      | <i>Atlas Prévio dos Falares Baianos</i>                | e.g.      | exempli gratia, for example                                 |
| Aufl.     | Auflage                                                | EL        | <i>English Linguistics 1500-1800</i>                        |
| B.C.      | before Christ                                          | EMI       | Early Modern Irish                                          |
| Bd.; Bde. | Band; Bände                                            | EMnE.     |                                                             |
| BL        | British Library                                        | EModE     | Early Modern English                                        |
| bzw.      | beziehungsweise                                        | EPNE      | <i>English Place-Name Elements</i>                          |
| C         | consonant                                              | EPNS      | English Place-Name Society Survey                           |
| c.        | century                                                | ESR       | Ex-slave Recordings                                         |
| c., ca.   | circa                                                  | et al.    | et alii, and others                                         |
| CD        | <i>China Daily</i>                                     | etc.      | et cetera, and so forth                                     |
| cf.       | confer, compare                                        | EU        | European Union                                              |
| CGEL      | <i>A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language</i> |           |                                                             |
| CH        | case hierarchy                                         |           |                                                             |
| ch.       | chapter                                                |           |                                                             |
| Chuv.     | Chuvash                                                |           |                                                             |

|             |                                                                   |            |                                                     |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| EWf         | <i>English Word-formation as Described by English Grammarians</i> | LALME      | <i>A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i> |
| f., ff.     | the following                                                     | Lat.       | Latin                                               |
| FEW         | <i>Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>                    | LME        | Late Middle English                                 |
| Fig.; Figs. | figure; figures                                                   | LPD        | <i>Longman Pronunciation Dictionary</i>             |
| FL          | Foreign Language                                                  | Mar.       | Mari                                                |
| fn.         | footnote                                                          | masc.      | masculine                                           |
| fries.      | friesisch                                                         | mdän.      | mitteldänisch                                       |
| FT          | <i>Financial Times</i>                                            | MDu.       | Middle Dutch                                        |
| GCE         | <i>A Grammar of Contemporary English</i>                          | ME         | Middle English                                      |
| GEN         | genitive                                                          | MED        | <i>Middle English Dictionary</i>                    |
| Gen.E.      | General English                                                   | Megr.      | Megrelian                                           |
| Georg.      | Georgian                                                          | mhd.       | mittelhochdeutsch                                   |
| germ.       | germanisch                                                        | MHG        | Middle High German                                  |
| Hb.E.       | Hiberno-English                                                   | MI         | Middle Irish                                        |
| hd.         | hochdeutsch                                                       | MLat       | Middle Latin                                        |
| hg.         | herausgegeben                                                     | MLG        | Middle Low German                                   |
| Hrsg.       | Herausgeber, herausgegeben                                        | mnd.       | mittelniederdeutsch                                 |
| Ibid.       | ibidem, in the same place                                         | mnf.       | mittelniederländisch                                |
| IDD         | Institut for Dansk Dialektforskning                               | Mod., mod. | modern                                              |
| i.e.        | id est, that is                                                   | ModE       | Modern English                                      |
| IJSK        | Institut for Jysk Sprog- og Kulturforskning                       | MS, Ms.    | manuscript                                          |
| inf.; inf.s | infinitive; infinitives                                           | n.         | note                                                |
| IO          | indirect object                                                   | nd.        | niederdeutsch                                       |
| IPA         | International Phonetic Association                                | ndl., nl.  | niederländisch                                      |
| Ir.         | Irish                                                             | neg        | negative                                            |
| Jh.         | Jahrhundert                                                       | NF         | Neue Folge                                          |
| JT          | <i>Japan Times</i>                                                | nnl.       | neuniederländisch                                   |
| K           | Konsonant                                                         | No., no.   | number                                              |
| Kap.        | Kapitel                                                           | NP         | noun phrase                                         |
| Kartv.      | Kartvelian                                                        | NWAVE      | New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English          |
| km          | kilometre                                                         | OBL        | oblique                                             |
| L1          | first language                                                    | OCOMP      | object complementiser                               |
| L2          | second language                                                   | ODan       | Old Danish                                          |
| LAE         | <i>The Linguistic Atlas of England</i>                            | ODEE       | <i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology</i>   |
| LAJ         | Linguistic Atlas of Japan                                         | OE, O.E.   | Old English                                         |
|             |                                                                   | OED        | <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>                |
|             |                                                                   | OFr        | Old French                                          |
|             |                                                                   | OG         | Old Gaulish                                         |
|             |                                                                   | OGotl      | Old Gotlandic                                       |
|             |                                                                   | OHG        | Old High German                                     |

|                 |                                                                                               |            |                                                     |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| OI              | Old Irish                                                                                     | SMED       | <i>Survey of Middle</i>                             |
| ON              | Old Norse                                                                                     |            | <i>English Dialects 1290-</i>                       |
| OS              | Ordnance Survey                                                                               |            | <i>1350</i>                                         |
| OScand          | Old Scandinavian                                                                              | SMP        | <i>Sveriges medeltida</i>                           |
| OSUJa           | <i>Obratnyi slovar'</i><br><i>udmurtskogo jazyka</i>                                          | SOSk       | <i>personnamn</i>                                   |
| OSw,            |                                                                                               |            | <i>Sveriges ortnamn.</i>                            |
| OSwed           | Old Swedish                                                                                   |            | <i>Ortnamnen i Skaraborgs</i>                       |
| OWScand         | Old West Scandinavian                                                                         | SU         | <i>län.</i>                                         |
| p.; pp.         | page; pages                                                                                   | s.v.       | subject                                             |
| PC              | politically correct                                                                           |            | sub verbo, sub voce,                                |
| p.c.            | personal communication                                                                        | Tat.       | under the word                                      |
| PD              | parallel drift                                                                                | TGG        | Tatar                                               |
| pers., Ps.      | person                                                                                        |            | Transformational                                    |
| PhTF            | <i>Philologiae Turcicae</i><br><i>Fundamenta</i>                                              | TI         | Generative Grammar                                  |
| PIE             | Proto Indo-European                                                                           | TI         | target item                                         |
| Pl., pl., plur. | plural                                                                                        | TLF        | <i>Times of India</i>                               |
| p.p.            | past participle                                                                               |            | <i>Trésor de la Langue</i>                          |
| PrGerm          | Proto Germanic                                                                                |            | <i>Française: Dictionnaire</i>                      |
| p.t.            | past tense                                                                                    |            | <i>de la langue du XIXe et</i>                      |
| relpro          | relative pronoun                                                                              |            | <i>du XXe siècle (1789-</i>                         |
| repr.           | reprint                                                                                       |            | <i>1960)</i>                                        |
| RI              | referring item                                                                                | TZ         | <i>Times of Zambia</i>                              |
| RIW             | Relativer Identitätswert                                                                      | u.a.       | unter anderem, und                                  |
| Russ.           | Russian                                                                                       |            | andere                                              |
| S'              | Standard                                                                                      | Udm.       | Udmurt                                              |
| s.              | siehe                                                                                         | ung.       | ungarisch                                           |
| S.              | Seite(n)                                                                                      | unpubl.    | unpublished                                         |
| sb.; sb.s       | substantive; substantives                                                                     | usw.       | und so weiter                                       |
| Sc. Eng.        | Scottish English                                                                              | v, V       | vowel, Vokal                                        |
| SE, StE         | Standard English                                                                              | vb.        | verb                                                |
| SED             | <i>Survey of English</i><br><i>Dialects</i>                                                   | vgl.       | vergleiche                                          |
| SEDDG           | <i>Survey of English</i><br><i>Dialects: The Dictionary</i><br><i>and Grammar</i>             | viz.       | videlicet, that is to say                           |
| SG              | Scottish Gaelic                                                                               | vol; vols. | volume; volumes                                     |
| Sg., sg.,       |                                                                                               | VP         | verb phrase                                         |
| sing.           | singular                                                                                      | vs.        | versus                                              |
| SIGTJa          | <i>Sravnitel'no-</i><br><i>istoričeskaja</i><br><i>grammatika tjurkskih</i><br><i>jazykov</i> | WGE        | <i>Word Geography of</i><br><i>England</i>          |
|                 |                                                                                               | W.Mar.     | western Mari                                        |
|                 |                                                                                               | WNT        | <i>Woordenboek der</i><br><i>Nederlandsche Taal</i> |
|                 |                                                                                               | z.B.       | zum Beispiel                                        |

## STUDIES RELATED TO ENGLISH

### ***Yankee: A Dutch Etymology Revisited***

*Mario Alinei*

I would like to present to Wolfgang Viereck, as an Anglicist, a specialist on the origins of American English, ALE Vice-President and a man with international interests, the following etymological remarks, concerning a widely-known English word which is deeply rooted in early American history and which has a likely Dutch origin.

#### 1. A survey of current explanations

The hypothesis that the English word *yankee* 'native of New England; hence of the U.S.A.' is a Dutch loanword has been advanced from the very beginning of research on the word and it is still given as the most plausible explanation in English etymological dictionaries. In my opinion, however, the explanations that are currently offered to derive the word from Dutch ought to be revised considerably, in order to increase the plausibility of the etymology.

According to the French historian Thierry, for example (quoted by Webster 1898 s.v. *yankee*), and cf. Skeat (1928 s.v. *yankee*) the word is "a corruption of *Jankin*, a dimin[utive] of *John*, a nickname given to the English colonists of Connecticut by the Dutch settlers of New York." Skeat adds: "Note that a Captain *Yanky*, commanding a Dutch ship, is mentioned several times in Dampier's *Voyages*, ed. 1699, i, 38, 39. Again a Dutch boat seems to have been called a *yanky* by Smollett, Sir L. Greaves, ch. iii (Davies)." He concludes:

Thierry may be right in supposing it to be a Dutch nickname. I accept the suggestion made by Dr. H. Logeman, that Yankee was formed (like *Chinee* from *Chinese* etc.) from the Du. *Jan Kees*, a familiar form of *John Cornelius*. Both *Jan* and *Kees* are very common Du. names, and both very familiarly used as a terms of contempt [...] The Efries. *kēs* also meant 'cheese'; and it is remarkable that Ascham uses *John Cheese* as a term of contempt.

All of this, with the exception of the suggested connection with the diminutive of John as a nickname given to the English colonists of Connecticut by the Dutch settlers of New York, should be rejected.

The ODEE states:

None of the proposed etyms. is convincing; most plausibly on formal grounds, spec. application of *Yankee*, *Yank(e)y* (XVII-XVIII) as a surname or nickname, and may be based on Du. *Jan* John and intended as a dim. form (= *Jantje*). *Yanky* was formerly the name of a craft of Du. build.

As to the last argument, the same comment as above applies.

Given the international character of the word *yankee*, the same etymology has spread to the etymological dictionaries of other languages. Among these, the various editions of Kluge (1934, 1960, 1989) seem to be the most well informed: Kluge/Mitzka (1960) summarized the question in almost identical terms as Kluge/Götze (1934):

Spotname des Nordamerikaners, so im Engl. seit 1765 [...], entwickelt aus der Verkl. des ndl. Vornames *Jan*, demnach urspr. Spitzname der holländ. Siedler. Ein nordamer. Seeräuber des 17. Jh. hieß *Dutch Yanky*. Der *Yankee Doodle*, 1755 von einem Offizier des Lord Amherst, ist urspr. eine Verspottung der Kolonialtruppen.

And Kluge/Seebold (1989) simplifies:

'US-Amerikaner', *sondersprachl.* Im 18 Jh. entlehnt aus gleichbedeutend ne. *yankee* 'Bewohner der amerikanischen Nordstaaten', dieses wohl zu ndl. *Janke*, *Jantje*, einem Diminutiv zu ndl. *Jan*. Ursprünglich wohl Spitzname für die niederländischen Bewohner der Neuenglandstaaten, dann verallgemeinert auf die Bewohner der Nordstaaten.

Dutch etymological dictionaries, when they include the word (Franck/Van Wijk 1949 does not), seem to rely on the already quoted sources: De Vries (1971), for example, states that the word "gaat terug op een verkleinnvorm van de nl. PN Jan, een spotnaam der oude hollandse kolonisten. In de 17de eeuw horen we van een zeerover met de naam Dutch Yanky."

## 2. A revision of the etymology

### 2.1. The formal basis and the semantic development

Both the identification of the Dutch name *Jan* 'John' and its diminutive *jantje* (and *janke*: both diminutive suffixes come from an earlier *\*-kîn*; cf. MDu. *-kijn*, Germ. *-chen*) as the formal etymon of *yankee*, and the Dutch early settlements of New England as the historical context for the loanword are plausible hypotheses.

Elaborating on the formal reconstruction, the diminutive form *jantje*, which is different from the standard *jannetje*, would have its origins in the dialects of North-Holland (where Amsterdam is), which show diminutives such as *baltje* 'little ball',

*snortje* 'little moustache', instead of standard *balletje* and *snorretje* (with regular *-etje* after *-l-*, *-r-*, *-n-*, *-m-*).<sup>1</sup>

The reconstruction of the original semantic motivation of the word, however, is in my opinion wrong, in that it gives too much weight to ad hoc arguments connected with historical episodes – such as the existence of a Dutch boat and a Dutch captain called *Yanky* – while entirely missing, at the same time, the general value of *Jan* and *jantje* in Dutch.

## 2.2. The general meaning of Dutch *Jan* and *jantje*

The relevant aspects of *Jan* and *jantje* for the etymology are to be sought elsewhere. First of all, *Jan* and *jantje* in Dutch are, besides proper names, also COMMON NOUNS, and with an enormous referential scope: they can apply not only to (categories of) people, but also to animals, plants and things. Most often, *Jan* and *jantje* are used in combination with other names (proper or common) to designate different categories of people and other referents. The Dutch lexical inventiveness and typical humour is shown by the following combinations, which can be syntagmatic – as in *Jan met de bellen*, *Jan Achterlam*, *Jantje Albedril*, *Jan Alleman*, *Jan van Allen*, *Jan de Bakker*, *Jan Bier-en-Brood*, *Jan Boezeroen*, *Jan Compagnie*, *Jan Contant*, *Jantje Content*, *Jantje Contrarie*, *Jan Kordaat*, *Jan Krediet*, *Jan Doet-er-niet-toe*, *Jan Doet'-et-maar*, *Jan Draag-an*, *Jan Duffel*, *Jan Durf-niet*, *Jan Ga-achter*, *Jan Galop*, *Jan Goedbloed*, *Jan Huisman*, *Jan(tje) Kaas*, *Jan Knol*, *Jan Lig-achter*, *Jan Perfect*, *Jan Pompoen*, *Jan Poppelap*, *Jan Pret*, *Jan Rechttuit*, *Jan Schoonpraat*, *Jantje Secuur*, *Jantje Stoot-je-teentjes-niet*, *Jan Tijdgenoeg*, *Jan van Verre*, *Jan de Wasscher*, *Jan Weet-nergens-van*, *Jan Zachtjes* etc., or lexical – as in *Janbaas*, *Janboel*, *Janbroer*, *Jangat*, *Janhagel*, *Janklaassen*, *Jankop*, *Janmaat*, *Janpleizier*, *Janrap*, *Jansalie* etc.

Most relevant for our problem, however, is the existence of *Jan* and *jantje* as ABSOLUTE NOUNS, and with the meaning of 'een matroos, inzonderheid: matroos van een oorlogsschip; thans nog zeer gewoon als benaming van de matrozen der Kon. Nederl. Marine' (WNT VII, s.v. *Jan* col. 191). That is 'seaman, navy soldier, in particular crew member of a warship, currently still very common as name of the sailors of the Royal Dutch Navy'. So that both in speaking and in writing one can have, for example, *onze jantjes* meaning 'the boys of our Navy, of our fleet' and the like. There is, in other words, absolutely no need to find Dutch ships or Dutch captains called *Yanky*, since the general meaning of *jantje* provides a sufficient, and indeed much stronger piece of evidence for the etymology.

## 2.3. The origins of the negative connotation of *yankee*

Moreover, there is another aspect of the word *yankee* that deserves attention and which can also be explained by using the same kind of Dutch evidence, namely its typically negative connotation. This is already evident in the earliest attestations of

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication from Antonius Weijnen, whom I thank.

the word, as for example in *Oppression*, an American poem of 1765, quoted by Webster and Skeat: "from meanness first this Portsmouth *Yankee* rose, and still to meanness all his conduct flows." Skeat (1928) also refers to the word as a "TERM OF CONTEMPT", and quotes Dr. Wm. Gordon, who in his *History of the American War* (ed. 1789, vol. i, pp. 324-25) wrote among other things that *yankee* was "a favourite cant word in Cambridge, Mass., as early as 1713" and that it "obtained currency in the other New England colonies, until at length it was taken up in other parts of the country, and applied to New Englanders GENERALLY AS A TERM OF SLIGHT REPROACH" [my emphasis].

It seems to me that the special connotations of the Dutch word *jantje* can also explain the negative connotation of the English word. For a negative aspect appears also in the Dutch usage of the word *jantje*, in the sense 'baas, bram, banjer, brani', further glossed by the WNT (s.v. 191) by "een kerel, een stoute, een felle." In fact all of these Dutch words, which are difficult to translate precisely because of their connotative value, have meanings that would fit a definition of *Yankee* perfectly, aiming at catching as precisely as possible the connotative value of the word: '(too) clever, bravado, bossy, troublemaker, bully, reckless, intense, impertinent, arrogant'.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.4. The generalization of the meaning: 'native of New England'

Another aspect of the etymology would become clearer by assuming the various adoptions of *jantje* as the starting point for the development of *Yankee*: namely its passage to mean 'native of New England'. To understand it, one has to remember that among the most common senses of the word *jantje* in Dutch are 'Hollander', 'het Hollandsche volk', i.e. 'Dutch person', 'the Dutch people' and more generally, 'man of jongen in het algemeen', 'de man uit het volk', 'de gemeene man' (WNT s.v. 183). Obviously, in the period of colonialization, 'our boys (of the fleet)' could easily become 'everybody', and 'a native of the area'.

#### 2.5. A line for future research : the connection between *Yankee doodle* and Dutch *Jandoedel*

There seems to be another connection between *Yankee* and Dutch *Jan jantje*, which would be worthy of further research. The name of the *Yankee doodle*, the popular song during the American Revolution, also has a formal equivalent in Dutch: *Jandoedel*, which seems to be a joking name of 'jenever' (WNT s.v. 197), the most popular alcoholic drink in Holland. As we have seen, Kluge/Mitzka mention – unfortunately without citing their source – *Yankee doodle* as "urspr. eine Verspottung

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<sup>2</sup> Gordon, in Skeat's quotation, also writes that the word *yankee* meant 'excellent'; as in *a yankee good horse, yankee good cider* etc. This interpretation, in my opinion, should be modified and replaced with 'damn' or 'jolly' (good horse, good cider)." Perhaps the explanation of this usage could also be found in the use of *Jan jantje* "In basterdvloeken, t.w. als opzettelijke misvorming van het woord *God*" (WNT s.v. 193), i.e. 'in softened cursing, a conscious misforming of the word *God*'.



der Kolonialtruppen". That alcohol might have played a role in such a nickname would be quite plausible. Moreover, the song *Yankee doodle* is played with pipes and drums, and Dutch *doedel(zack)* is also 'pipe'. So *Jandoedel* seems to have carried both the original meaning of 'pipe' and the newly acquired meaning of 'alcoholic drink'. Research on this line should encompass the words of the song, the possible existence of similar songs in Dutch, and a close scrutiny of the already known, early American texts, to look for relevant clues.

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## *If and Falls*

Wolf-Dietrich Bald

1. Few grammatical phenomena have received as much attention from linguistic, philosophical, and even literary quarters, as conditional sentences.<sup>1</sup> Since many, if not all, languages can express conditions upon which, at least in the opinion of a speaker or writer, certain consequences are based, conditional sentences easily lend themselves to contrastive analysis, too.<sup>2</sup> Greenberg (1963: 84, 103) seems to assume that all languages have conditional sentences.

English and German clearly have the kind of sentence in question. Applying the same label to both English and German structures already implies a *tertium comparationis*. The most fundamental *tertium* is the semantic equivalence of a consequence based upon a condition, which can be illustrated through the translational equivalence of the following examples:

- (1) (a) If you touch this switch the light comes on.  
(b) Falls du diesen Schalter berührst, geht das Licht an.

Since English and German are fairly closely related languages, far more equivalences or at least similarities are to be expected on a semantic or functional level of analysis than on the more superficial levels of syntax and morphology. Our subsequent discussion will first turn to syntactic observations in the two languages and then to functional or semantic characteristics of conditional sentences, with a brief excursion into the textual distribution of our sentence type.

Obvious limitations of space necessitate severe restrictions as to the number and detail of phenomena that may be analysed. We can only draw an outline of the whole area of conditional sentences, indicating our omissions in the appropriate places.

In view of an abundant terminology related to conditional sentences, it may help to point out at the very beginning that *conditional sentence* refers to the complete construction as illustrated under (1), consisting of an *if-clause*, which is a dependent or subclause, and a *main clause*. The *if-clause* represents the condition, the main clause the consequence.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the bibliographies in Lauerbach (1979), Fischer (1981), Smith (1983), Dudman (1984), Klein (1993); R. Kipling's *If* is well known.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Siljanovski (1968; English-Macedonian), Fisiak et al. (1978; English-Polish), Funk (1985; referring among others to English, Latin, Greek, Coptic).

2. The illustrations in (1) show that both English and German provide complex sentences in which the central conjunctions *if* and *falls* introduce the condition, with the consequence in the main clause, which may lack any overt indication of its particular role. The order of the sentence constituents exhibits the well-known differences between the two languages: in English, the surface order of SVO is found in the sub- and main clause, whereas the German subclause requires the finite verb phrase element in final position, and the main clause shows subject-verb inversion (as in (1c)).

(1) (c) Falls du diesen Schalter berührst, geht das Licht aus.

This inversion in German is linked to the position of the main clause – after the subclause:

(d) Das Licht geht aus, falls du diesen Schalter berührst.

If the main clause precedes, no inversion is possible inside it: this is a general phenomenon of German, as the sentences with *weil* 'because' demonstrate.<sup>3</sup>

- (a) Weil die Tür schlägt, bellt der Hund.
- (b) Der Hund bellt, weil die Tür schlägt.
- (c) Because the door is banging the dog barks
- (d) The dog barks because the door is banging.

Perhaps the sequence of subclause – main clause enforces inversion in the main clause as an explicit marker of a complex sentence structure which puts the verb into second position because of the preceding subclause. Perhaps the inversion in the main clause in second position is a consequence of the optional connectors which overtly relate the main clause to its subclause, which will further be discussed below:

- (3)
- (a) Falls du diesen Schalter berührst, (dann) geht das Licht an.
  - (b) Weil die Tür schlägt, (deshalb) bellt der Hund.
  - (c) Wenn es 12 Uhr ist, (dann) beginnt der Empfang.
  - (d) Ob er nach Hause kommt, (das) weiß ich nicht.
  - (e) If you touch this switch, (then) the light comes on.
  - (f) Because the door is banging, (that's why) the dog barks.
  - (g) When it is 12 o'clock, (then) the reception will begin.
  - (h) Whether he'll come home, (that) I do not know.

The verb in the main clause is overtly or covertly in second position and the subject is pushed behind the verb in German. The acceptability of these constructions seems to vary in both languages, but this issue cannot be pursued further here.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Drosdowski (1995: 760ff.), Kufner (1962: 9ff.).

The subclause conjunctions are members of a paradigm in their respective languages:

- (4) (a) *if; as long as; assuming (that); given (that); in case; in the event that; just so (that); on condition (that); provided (that); providing (that); supposing (that)*<sup>4</sup>  
 (b) *falls; angenommen, (daß); unter der Bedingung, daß; gesetzt (den Fall); sofern; vorausgesetzt; unter der Voraussetzung, daß; wenn; wofern*<sup>5</sup>

Numerous restrictions govern the use of these indicators of conditional clauses, which cannot be detailed here.<sup>6</sup> Neither can we deal with the intricate relationship between a conditional and a temporal interpretation in the case of *wenn*, which seems to be the most frequent subordinator in German, or in the case of *if*, *when*, *whenever*, nor with the relationship between a conditional and a concessive interpretation in the cases of *wenn auch*, *even if*, etc.<sup>7</sup> We have chosen *if* and *falls* in order to concentrate our analysis on the two subordinators most unambiguously used in conditional clauses.

The consequence in a conditional sentence may also be overtly indicated, as was mentioned above:

- (5) (a) well if she's /not 'acting for her bóss # then / who the devil ! is prompting 'her#. W5.3.63<sup>8</sup>  
 (b) / if you were 'going to embârk upón it # – . you / then 'can't be bôthered # S.2.2a.134<sup>9</sup>  
 (c) but / then if !other 'people can – be ! come 'red 'cross nûrses # / why not Î # S.6.6.20  
 (d) but / then we 'used to have 'fires ! lit in our 'room fôr us # / if we were 'ill in bèd # S.1.13.59<sup>10</sup>  
 (e) und falls sie noch kein genaues Reiseziel haben sollten, dann mögen sie sich in folgenden Orten und Genossenschaften sehen lassen ... BZK-D59-11006<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This list is supplied in Quirk et al. (1985: 1089).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Drosdowski (1995: 771) and Eisenberg (1994: 362ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the references in fn. 4 and 5, and also, e.g. Close (1975: 61ff.).

<sup>7</sup> König (1986) and König/van der Auwera (1989).

<sup>8</sup> English examples with such a classificatory number have been collected from the files of the *Survey of English Usage*. I am grateful to its late director, Sidney Greenbaum, for always having given me access to those data. The transcription system is most conveniently explained in Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 21ff.) in the column labelled 'slip'.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 431, tone units 896ff.) for the full context.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 338, tone units 481f.).

<sup>11</sup> German examples with such a reference number have been collected from the corpora of the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache Mannheim*; the first unit of the reference number presents the corpus, the medial one the text, and the third the line number. I am sincerely grateful to Sylvia

- (f) falls der Betrieb selbst sich vergrößern will ..., dann könne er Bankkredite ... aufnehmen. BZK-W69-29537
- (g) falls er eine Atmosphäre hat, so beträgt ihr Druck bestimmt nicht mehr als ... MKI-WGW-1534
- (h) fangen Sie aber an, ein Loch in die Wand zu schlagen, so kann Ihnen das – falls Sie Mieter sind – Ihr Vermieter untersagen. MKI-WUB-719

*Then* is available for English, called "[especially] formal usage" by Quirk et al. (1985: 638) and "emphatic use" in the OED 1986 supplement (vol. IV) to the OED (s.v. *then*), although the 2nd edition OED no longer contains this interpretation; in German *dann* or *so* may be used. *Then* is decidedly rare in the data I have analysed.<sup>12</sup> It seems to be emphatic in the sense of making the sequence of condition and consequence quite explicit, thus perhaps adding to the formality of the text. In some contexts this explicitness appears to be required for the sake of textual clarity; the *if* clause is far away from its consequence:

- (6) (SB) if in /five 'years' time # this /country is !pròsperous again #. which say is /quite likely going to 'happen # over the /North !Sèa # or
- (SA) \*/ $\bar{m}$ #<sup>13</sup>
- (SB) \* / pòssibly\* going to 'happen over the North Séa #
- (SA) /  $\bar{m}$  #
- (SB) then it /wòuld ((be 'something # that was)) /quite po'litically pòssible # S.2.8a.7f

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Dickgießer for supplying me with the required data. English or German examples without references to their sources are my own.

<sup>12</sup> In 958 conditional sentences of the *Survey of English Usage* 620 were of the type that would have allowed *then* to appear (i.e. essentially the sequence *if* clause – main clause was employed). Of these 620, only 72 in fact had a *then* in the consequence.

|                 | total | <i>then</i> | possible | <i>then</i> | occurring |
|-----------------|-------|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|
| Written English | 479   | 309         | 64,51%   | 26          | 6,41%     |
| Spoken English  | 479   | 311         | 64,93%   | 46          | 14,79%    |
| total           | 958   | 620         | 64,72%   | 72          | 11,61%    |

There was no distinction as to possible *then* occurrences between written and spoken English (about 64% of the total sentence number), but the actual occurrence of *then* was higher in spoken English. However, this result was skewed through one single text in the material that alone produced 22 instances of *then*. If this figure were discounted, again there would be no difference. The speaker of this particular text demonstrated various acoustic experiments and accompanied those with his explanations, which led to a very slow delivery of speech with many pauses, i.e. to keep his syntactic constructions intact after those long intervals, he or she almost consistently used the explicit marker *then*; a very clear pragmatic effect.

<sup>13</sup> The passages between asterisks are simultaneous. Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 574, tone units 52 ff.).

Whenever *then* introduces the main clause it is functionally unambiguous as the marker of the consequence. The position after the subject, but as the onset of the tone unit, in (5b) still allows the interpretation as being a consequence marker, whereas in (5c) *then* seems much closer to a listing function (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 634ff.),<sup>14</sup> although the juxtaposition with *if* points to *if – then*, and in (5d) the context suggests the additional meaning 'at that time.'

German has two overt markers of the consequence which seem to be interchangeable: *dann* and *so* (cf. Eisenberg 1994: 363). Again the data analysed so far do not allow generalizations, but their low frequency of occurrence can be stated as well.<sup>15</sup> As might be expected, however, German allows more positional variation of the consequence markers (cf. Eisenberg 1994: 364):

- (7) (a) Falls das Buch fehlt, [dann/so] müssen wir es bestellen.  
 (b) If the book is missing, we have to order it.  
 (c) Falls das Buch fehlt, müssen wir es [dann/\*so] bestellen.  
 (d) [Dann/so] müssen wir das Buch bestellen, falls es fehlt.  
 (e) Wir müssen das Buch dann bestellen, falls es fehlt.  
 (f) Wir müssen [dann/ ?so] das Buch bestellen, falls es fehlt.  
 (g) Dann, falls das Buch fehlt, müssen wir es bestellen.  
 (h) Wir müssen dann, falls das Buch fehlt, es bestellen.  
 (i) Wir müssen das Buch dann, falls es fehlt, bestellen.

*So* is far more restricted, perhaps because of a possible confusion with the adverbial *so* 'in such a way'. The consequence marker *so* seems to be unstressed everywhere, while the other *so* may easily carry stress in a sentence. If *so* in (7a) or (7d) is stressed, the meaning would be 'if the book is missing, this is the way we have to order it'. *Dann* in (7a) may be stressed without any change of function, but if it is stressed in (7c, d), the temporal-sequential meaning becomes more prominent. Stressed *dann* in (7e, f) sounds rather odd to me, whereas in (7g, i) the juxtaposition of *dann, falls* seems to make a stressed *dann* more acceptable, because its function is clearer, and because the embedded conditional clause suggests an intonational break before *falls*. It has to be admitted that the lack of examples from spoken German does not allow any more definitive statements. It seems clear, however, that the meanings of *then* and *dann* may vacillate in various positions.

It is already apparent that in the majority of our examples and in those found in reference grammars *then* or *dann/so* are omitted. Equally obvious are those structures in English and German that require the deletion of the subordinators *if* and *falls*:

- (8) (a) Had I known, I would have written before.  
 (b) Were she in charge, she would do things differently.

<sup>14</sup> It suggests a bracketing like *then* (*if* clause – main clause).

<sup>15</sup> The Mannheim corpora MKI and BZK yielded 249 conditional sentences of which 6 contained *dann* and 10 *so*.

- (c) Could she be interested, I'll phone her.
- (d) Might I but see my native land, I would die a happy man.

These instances have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1094) where they are classified as a relatively common type of inversion (8a), literary style (8b, c), and relatively rare (8d). The last example contains an obligatory *but*. Compared to earlier stages of English,<sup>16</sup> inversion in the conditional clause has become rare. German presents a larger variety of structures:

- (9) (a) Bellt der Hund, wird das Kind wach.
- (b) Fehlte das Buch, müßten wir es bestellen.
- (c) Hat der Hund gebellt, ist das Kind sicher wach geworden.
- (d) Hätte der Hund gebellt, wäre das nicht geschehen.
- (e) Kann er Klavier spielen, kennt er auch Noten.
- (f) Will er gesehen werden, fährt er im offenen Wagen.

Neither different tenses nor modals in the predicate present an obstacle to inversion. In each case the first clause is taken to be the conditional clause, thus  $a = a'$ , and  $a'' = a'''$  :

- (9) (a) Bellt der Hund, wird das Kind wach.
- (a') Falls der Hund bellt, wird das Kind wach.
- (a'') Wird das Kind wach, bellt der Hund.
- (a''') Falls das Kind wach wird, bellt der Hund.

In his universal no. 14 Greenberg (1963: 84) states that the condition precedes the consequence; thus unmarked sequences of sentences would be interpreted accordingly.

Since the main clause in English does not permit inversion, the reversed sequence of (8a), for instance, does not alter the functions of the clauses as illustrated for German in (9a) and (9a''):

- (8) (a') I would have written before, had I known.
- (a'') Had I known, would I have written before?
- (a''') Would I have written before, had I known?

Inversion in the English main clause perfectly regularly turns it into a question. If the clause functions in German are to be retained the inversion of the main clause has to be abandoned (cf. Eisenberg 1994: 362f.) when changing from sentence sequence (9a) to (9a'') :

- (10) Das Kind wird wach, bellt der Hund.

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. for example, Jespersen (1909-49: V, 374ff.), Visser (1963-73: II, 900ff.; III. 2, 2214ff.).

It seems, however, that (10) is rather odd unless the conditional clause *bellt der Hund* carries a rising nucleus (/ bellt der Húnd #) or is otherwise intonationally subordinate to the main clause (cf. Crystal 1969: 244ff.).

A further observation has to be added to this area of syntactic variation. Both English and German permit the occurrence of the consequence markers *then* and *dann/so*, if the conditional clause shows inversion, thus demonstrating again the basic functional equivalence of the inverted structure and the explicit conjunctive clause type:

- (11) (a) Had I arrived earlier, then I would have met him.  
 (b) Wäre ich früher gekommen, [dann/so] hätte ich ihn getroffen.

The final point of syntax to be discussed is related to the sequence of conditional and main clause. It may seem to be a matter of “logic“ to state the condition (the premise) first and then the consequence (the conclusion). In the English data analysed this sequence occurs most frequently:

(12) clause sequence in English

|                                              |              |                       |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>if</i> clause : main clause               | 521 (62,32%) | $\Sigma = 836$ (100%) |
| main clause : <i>if</i> clause               | 306 (36,60%) |                       |
| main clause : <i>if</i> clause : main clause | 9 (1,08%)    |                       |

This count is based on part of the data in the *Survey of English Usage* and confirms the assumption that the condition precedes the consequence (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1088). A closer analysis, however, indicates that there may be factors influencing the choice of clause sequence. A subsection of the conditional sentences has been examined as to their occurrence in spoken and written texts:

(13)

|                                    |   |                     |
|------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| <i>if</i> clause : main clause 297 | → | spoken 236 (79,46%) |
|                                    | → | written 61 (20,54%) |
| main clause : <i>if</i> clause 166 | → | spoken 113 (68,07%) |
|                                    | → | written 53 (31,93%) |

The sequence main clause : *if* clause tends to be more frequent in written English, although generally the other sequence is more frequent. More text analysis is needed in order to establish a clearer picture. Such an analysis could also clarify to what extent rhetorical strategy may influence the clause sequence. It seems to me that a fairly large number of the following kind of sentence appears:

- (14) (a) I would be grateful if you would look into this lady's problem and  
 see ... W.7.13.119



- (b) I recognize that our research may not have been as exhaustive as yours and I should very much appreciate it if you would let me know the authorities upon which you were relying. W.7.11.13
- (c) I should be /glád # . if you would / ásk him to téléphone 'me # . / thank you # S.9.3.63

It would appear that the positive consequence is stated first and then the condition on which it depends. This arrangement can perhaps be called more persuasive than the opposite order.

For German the distribution of the clause sequence is based on 336 conditional sentences containing *falls*, all from the corpora of the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache Mannheim*:

(15) clause sequence in German

|                                                 |              |                       |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>falls</i> clause : main clause               | 113 (33,63%) | $\Sigma = 336$ (100%) |
| main clause : <i>falls</i> clause               | 172 (51,19%) |                       |
| main clause : <i>falls</i> clause : main clause | 51 (15,18%)  |                       |

The distribution in German is clearly different from that in English: the second position of the *falls* clause is dominant, and there is a considerably higher proportion of *falls* clauses inserted into the main clause. However, a closer textual analysis may reduce the differences between the two languages. First, it has to be pointed out that the German data have been gathered from written texts only. In English, too, a larger percentage of main clause : *if* clause sequences has been observed in written data (31,93% vs. 20,54%). Second, the examination of individual text types reinforces the impression that the style of language chosen influences the clause sequence. Although the absolute figures are rather small, the tendency seems to be clear (*a* = main clause: *falls* clause; *b* = *falls* clause : main clause; *c* = main clause : *falls* clause : main clause)

(16)

|                                         | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> |
|-----------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| newspaper <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine</i> | 22       | 4        | 3        |
| novels                                  | 20       | 12       | 12       |
| newspaper <i>Mannheimer Morgen</i>      | 41       | 22       | 5        |
| newspaper <i>Neues Deutschland</i>      | 11       | 7        | 5        |
| newspaper <i>Die Welt</i>               | 63       | 45       | 24       |
| newspaper <i>Bildzeitung</i>            | 2        | 6        |          |
| popular science journal                 | 3        | 6        |          |

The more elevated style of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* or of novels is different from a more popular one in *Neues Deutschland* or *Die Welt*, and quite distant from the style of *Bildzeitung* or popular science journals. Although the absolute numbers are rather small here, the tendency is obvious. Further text analysis would be needed in order to find out more than mere tendencies. But if these are

correct, then style does influence the distribution in both languages. Obviously, style is in turn related to questions of discourse and information structure.

To conclude, one may point out that both English and German have complex conditional sentences in which the subclause expresses the condition and the main clause the consequence. In both languages the subclause conjunctions *if* and *falls* are members of a larger paradigm of conjoining expressions which exert various restrictions on the conjuncts (which has not been analysed here). In both languages inversion in the subclause leads to deletion of the conjunction, but the acceptable structures in English that permit inversion are fewer in number than in German. Both languages contain optional overt indicators of the consequence, *then* and *dann/so*, with a more complex system on the German side, as there are two indicators which are not, however, interchangeable in all syntactic positions. Contrary to English, German main clauses also show inversion if they follow the *falls* clause. If this clause order is reversed the main clause resorts to SVO again. (Further complications with adverbials in the main clause have not been discussed, because these do not only relate to conditional sentences). In both languages a more formal style seems to favour a sequence in which the main clause precedes the subclause.

3. When a speaker or writer formulates a conditional sentence, a link is suggested between condition and consequence which sometimes is obvious, sometimes is in need of interpretation (cf. Fischer 1981: 132, Dancygier/Mioduszevska 1984). In any case, a conditional sentence is hypothetical speech, imagining a condition and a consequence; it is not a statement of fact, a report, or the like. Because it is hypothetical speech, the speaker can easily express his opinion as to the degree of probability of the conditional sentence. It would appear that this constitutes the main semantic dimension of conditional sentences, because, different from other types of sentence, the speaker's opinion as to the probability is not regularly expressed by means of adverbials, verb meanings, or expressions like *I think*, *seem*, *appear*, *I believe*, etc., but by the tense forms of the two predicates involved, although adverbials, etc. may occasionally be employed to modify, confirm, or make explicit the speaker's judgement:

- (17) (a) / wèll # / if you're a chēmist # you /probably !under!stānd what's 'going 'on # S.2.9.90<sup>17</sup>  
 (b) For if they had not gone back it may well be all this would have been avoided. *The Times* 3/4/84, col. 4  
 (c) falls man dabei sogar aussteigen will, empfiehlt es sich vielleicht, das eigentliche Raumschiff als Satellit oben zu lassen ... MKI-WGW-1691  
 (d) in Bonn rechnet man damit, daß die höheren Postgebühren zum 1. April dieses Jahres in Kraft treten werden, falls der Verwaltungsrat ihnen zustimmt; an dieser Zustimmung wird nicht gezweifelt. KI-ZFA-8534

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 608, tone units 829 ff.).

In (17a) and (17b) *probably* and *it may well be* are lexical markers of probability, as are *vielleicht* and *an dieser Zustimmung wird nicht gezweifelt*.

The dimension of speaker's opinion as to the probability of the conditional sentences is central in both languages. It is perhaps best illustrated as a scale whose extreme ends are represented by the following two sentence types:

- (18) (a) oh they're /quick as a !flàsh # if you / make a mis'take with a  
": cǎr # . W.5.3.18  
(b) if / we were in a :foreign hôspital # we / wouldn't be res:ponding in  
: that wây # S.4.3.127  
(c) falls er dort für Attentate bekannt ist, erwartet ihn das Todesurteil.  
MKI-ZB7-530  
(d) falls der EWG-Haushalt von Frankreich nicht akzeptiert würde,  
stünde der Rat vor der Entscheidung ... MKI-ZFA-1961

Examples (18a, c) indicate that the speaker does not comment at all on the probability of the condition and its consequence; if the condition is realized, then the consequence will occur. In examples (18b, d), our speaker is certain that neither the condition, nor the consequence is realized, so that the probability of realization is nil, while the other could be called *one*,<sup>18</sup> or *real* and *unreal*, to use a common pair of terms.

Between these extremes different degrees of probability may be indicated by a variety of devices. One that is sometimes overlooked is represented by the meaning of the sentence itself and its appropriate context:

- (19) (a) if the / frëquencies # of the / twö # . / get to 'be . ! very dífferent # --  
-- then the / bëat 'note # -- / gets to 'be 'very ! fǎst # -- S.10.9a.42  
(b) if it's / pínk # I /paint it pínk # and / if it's gréen # -- I / paint it  
gréen # -- S.1.8.81<sup>19</sup>  
(c) əm / just ásk him # and if he / comes he còmes # S.7.1.b.4  
(d) falls wir einen derart freischwebenden Magnetstab in Rotation  
versetzen, dreht sich natürlich sein Spiegelbild in der gleichen Weise  
mit ... MKI-ZBW-3174  
(e) falls die Objekte aus mehreren Teilen bestehen, werden sie nach  
abnehmender Helligkeit mit kleinen Zusatzzahlen fortnumeriert. KI-  
WGW-1235  
(f) falls eine Giftschlange eine andere getötet findet, weiß sie noch lange  
nicht, wie und durch wen diese umgekommen ist ... MKI-WGS-  
2589

<sup>18</sup> Cf. for example Quirk et al. (1985: 1091), Drosdowski (1995: 157ff.), Fischer (1981: 128), Close (1975: 59).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 214, tone units 843 ff.).

These sentences state physical laws, habitual actions, or even truisms.<sup>20</sup> The meanings of these examples seem to exclude any opinions of the speaker as to the degrees of probability with which condition and consequence may be realized. As has often been pointed out, *if* may be replaced by *whenever* in these cases, and *falls* by *wann immer*. In some studies it has been suggested that this type of conditional sentence requires the present tense, but it will become apparent in our next section on time reference that this suggestion has to be widened.

More obvious ways of indicating different probabilities are based on different choices of tense forms and modals in conditional sentences:

- (20) (a) and / she said well !if we 'have it about :six I'll be 'able to 'eat something # S.4.3.81  
 (b) perhaps if I get her adress [sic] you might visit her ... W.7.32.10  
 (c) / if . your 'government dis'courages the “:Lions # from / going 'to . South ! Àfrica # – / it would be con ! sistent to show :some disapproval # . of / next week's 'visits by ði. 'Bolshoi Bället [ to / Lòndon # ] # – S.6.3.90  
 (d) but per “/ haps if I 'had a ! little : [/lànd #] # and a / little . ə :floral :gròwth # . my / little 'friend will :live # . /so I !wěnt 'out # – ... S.11.3.a.10  
 (e) it / might be :hàndier # . if we / could 'get it a 'little bit :quicker # – S.3.4.89<sup>21</sup>  
 (f) if / I could 'only just col ! lect that :sùit # I could " / chànge # . S.11.3.g.6

These examples present only a small subsection of the predicate combinations found in the *Survey* material. In (20a) the explicit future reference in the main clause carries with it the very amount of uncertainty the future implies. (20b) contains a rather tentative conclusion which is, pragmatically speaking, a suggestion. (20c) presents the interesting case of a high probability condition, because the government has in fact acted accordingly, linked to a nil probability consequence, because the speaker expects no such consistency from his addressees. (20d) is similar, although the probabilities of condition and consequence are reversed, since the speaker signals that in fact he or she has no land, but is convinced that "the little friend" will live with such a piece of land. (20e, f) supply further cases of tentative attitudes because of the modals employed.

In German, a comparable array of instances may be quoted:

- (21) (a) falls jedoch auch das zweite Gericht gegen Clay entscheiden wird, soll das Bundesgericht angerufen werden. MKI-ZB6-2571

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Nehls (1978: 49 ff.) or Close (1975: 58).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 841, tone units 811 ff.).

- (b) vor Weihnachten war in Bonn noch von manchem für eine Mehrheitsentscheidung ... plädiert worden, falls Frankreich sich einer Entschuldigung entziehe. MKI-ZFA-3801
- (c) auf lange Sicht hat dieser Standpunkt viel für sich, besonders falls sich der Mond als nützliche Rohstoffquelle erweisen sollte. MKI-WGW-1437
- (d) wer uns diese Adresse gab, ahne ich nicht mehr; falls dies durch das Kongreßbüro geschah, so hätte es wohl kaum geeigneterer und dankbarere Mieter aufreiben können. MKI-MHE-1363
- (e) die Massai würden die Esel holen, falls wir sie noch am Abend zu ihren Bomas zurückfliegen. MKI-WGS-4814
- (f) er sah ganz richtig voraus, daß man diese Schwierigkeiten überwinden könnte, falls es sich technisch lohnen würde, große Mengen flüssigen Heliums herzustellen. MKI-ZBW-3142

Example (21a) is more tentative than (18c) or any instance listed in (19) because of the future tense in the subclause and *soll* in the main clause. (21b) illustrates the use of the German subjunctive present in the condition signalling tentativeness, whereas the main clause reports a (nominalized) fact. (21c) supplies an instance of a fairly frequent combination of *sollte* in the condition and an indicative tense in the conclusion (with the inherent meaning of *sollen* plus the subjunctive form enhancing the tentativeness). In (21d) there is again a high probability condition with a far less certain conclusion, similar to (21e), while in (21f) the two subjunctive past tenses plus the inherent meaning of *können* create the nil probability.

Essentially, English and German provide for degrees of probability that the speaker may choose according to his judgement. Conditions and consequences can independently be modified as to their probability degrees. Those degrees are implemented by tense, modals, adverbials, as well as the meanings and contexts of the sentences themselves. German seems to offer a larger variety of forms, as it has retained a more fully developed system of subjunctive forms, and because of more periphrastic alternatives:

- (22) (a) Falls er rechtzeitig käme, würden wir den Zug noch erreichen.
- (b) Falls er rechtzeitig kommen würde, würden wir den Zug noch erreichen.

Strong verbs offer this alternation quite regularly, while in the case of weak verbs indicative and subjunctive past forms are indistinguishable (cf. 21e):

- (23) (a) \*die Massai holten die Esel, falls wir sie ... zurückfliegen.

Example (22a) sounds more formal and elevated than (22b), but whether there are other distinctions would need to be investigated with larger quantities of text.

The sentences in (22) also illustrate a major source of interference for German learners of English, who tend to follow (22b) and put *would* into the *if* clause without any intention, of course, of expressing volition.

4. A further dimension that has to be singled out as essential is that of *time reference*. As with other kinds of sentence, speakers may refer to the past, the present, or the future, and set up temporal relations within these broader distinctions.<sup>22</sup> The following instances may serve as illustrations:

- (24) (a) Anyway, we can sort that out at a later date – if I remember rightly, we have plenty of time before we need panic. W.7.31a.20  
 (b) if I /go out for 'dinner in the :ëvening # and /come back 'after sèven # they ( ( 've) ) /shut my !dòor # S.2.4a.33<sup>23</sup>  
 (c) be / cause you see ! when I've got 'you I 'know that if :mëdicine will 'save him # / he'll be ! sàfe # S.1.8.107<sup>24</sup>  
 (d) neither of them has expressed the view that if the transaction was a sham the consequences inevitably would follow. W.7.11.27  
 (e) / I'd . be ! mۆre im'pressed # if / they had . : made a 'more. dra:matic !stàrt # S.8.4j.37  
 (f) and if you / hadn't gone.: öut # / obviously it : would have been pretty !claustro"!phòbic # S.2.7.125<sup>25</sup>

Whereas sentences (19a-c) are "timeless" because of their particular meaning, (24a) obviously refers to the speaker's present. In (24b) the main clause event occurs earlier than the event of the second subclause. (24c) presents an instance of modal *will* in the condition and a future reference in the consequence. Example (24d) is not the case of a nil probability conditional sentence but rather a past time reference of *if the transaction is a sham the consequences inevitably will follow*. In (24e) the time reference of the subclause is past and that of the main clause is present of an overall nil probability conditional sentence, while in (24f) the same type of sentence has an overall past time reference. (24f) deserves a comment because in a number of studies and grammars this conditional sentence is called *impossible*, *counterfactual*, etc. One must take care not to misunderstand this kind of sentence as having a particularly low degree of probability, because lower than nil does not seem possible. It is the past time reference that lends the special significance to (24f): example (18b) has nil probability but has present or future time reference, and since things may change in the future there is always the possibility in the real world that the nil probability changes to a positive degree. Nil probability in the past, however, excludes any such implicit option of development, hence the notion of "impossibility", but the crucial factor is the time reference, not a special degree of probability. The interaction of the two dimensions of probability and time reference produce the particular interpretation of (24f).

In German similar distinctions may be observed:

<sup>22</sup> Cf. especially Lauerbach (1979: 174 ff.), Dancygier (1988).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 469, tone units 338 ff.).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 218, tone units 1095 ff.).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 566, tone units 1156 ff.).

- (25) (a) falls ich Helmut Haller nicht bekommen sollte, werde ich das Angebot vom FC Barcelona annehmen ... MKI-ZB2-2565  
 (b) aber das mußte er spüren, falls er ein "Politiker" war, daß diese so deutliche Abwertung der amtlichen Farben, ..., staatlich schwer erträglich war ... MKI-MHE-3120  
 (c) falls er eine Sekretärin hatte, dann war sie bei der Party nicht dabei gewesen. BZK-W54-16000  
 (d) denn er hatte sichs überlegt, daß die Burgl frühestens mit dem Mittagszug in Urbach eintreffen könne, falls sie nicht die Nacht in München zugebracht hatte. MKI -TJM-1549  
 (e) das Massaker ... hätte noch schlimmere Ausmaße angenommen, falls nicht die ... belgischen Fallschirmjäger auf der Straße erschienen wären. BZK-W64-21003

Example (25a) contains, apart from a modality change, an explicit reference to future time in the main clause. The earlier instance quoted in (21a) has future time reference in the subclause and *soll* in the main clause. Example (25b) refers to the past tense, while (25c) is fully past in the past. In (25d) the indicative past time reference in the subclause is connected with a subjunctive present in the main clause. (25e) is a subjunctive with past time reference.

Both English and German allow their speakers to refer to different times in the two clauses of their conditional sentences. But the two languages present numerous differences. It is important to note that German has a fully developed bipartite system of indicative and subjunctive time reference so that the kind of ambiguity which might arise in English is impossible in German or at least very rare. For instance:

- (26) (a) If he went to the Millers, he would be received like a son.

Out of context this could be interpreted as a nil probability sentence with present time reference, or as a high probability sentence with past time reference, relatable to the following present/future time sentence:

- (26) (b) If he goes to the Millers, he will be received like a son.

The German equivalents are as follows:

- (27) (a) Falls er zu den Müllers ging, wurde er wie ein Sohn empfangen.  
 (b) Falls er zu den Müllers ginge, würde er wie ein Sohn empfangen.

Example (27a) presents the indicative past time reference with high probability, and the second the subjunctive present time reference with nil probability. It should be noted that (27a) allows replacement of *falls* by *wann immer*. This substitution does not seem to be dependent on the tense but on a possible habitual interpretation of the high probability conditional sentence, comparable to the cases listed in (19). As

(21a) and (25a) show, German permits explicit future time reference in sub- and main clause, while in English a neutral future reference *will* in the *if* clause seems to be very rare.<sup>26</sup>

5. Special note should be taken of the considerable independence of the predicates in the subclause and in the main clause. The quotations in (20), (21), (24), and (25) provide ample evidence of the variation permitted by English and German, which goes far beyond the common textbook illustration, thus emphasizing the minute differentiations available to speakers. The very fact that some speaker combines a certain *if* clause with a certain main clause suggests that there must be a relationship which can be interpreted, although this may not always be easy.<sup>27</sup> Quirk et al. (1985: 1089, 1095 ff.) recognize degrees of such relationship between condition and consequence by introducing the notion of *indirect condition*. Both German and English provide examples:

- (28) (a) If you don't agree with the decision, you may be able to appeal against it. W.13.3d.15  
 (b) ( (/ so)) if you ! want to 'buy a , hòuse # / with !twò bédrooms # ... [6 tone units] / I've got " !òne # a ((e)) /leven and a hàlf # S.8.2a.7  
 (c) if / Bernard 'wants to call me or ànything # I'll / be hère all 'day # on / this nùmer # S.8.3i.4  
 (d) it was / funny how I : mèt him # – if / that's the wórd # he / picked me !ùp # in Tra /falgar !Square # S.2.7.84<sup>28</sup>  
 (e) eine Schadensersatzklage ist beim zuständigen Landgericht zu erheben, falls es nicht gelingt, sich mit der Schulleitung zu einigen. MKI-ZB2-2565  
 (f) Paar Tabletten laß ich Ihnen da, falls er Schmerzen hat und nicht schlafen kann. KI-LGB-6222  
 (g) ringsum gibt es leere Tische genug, ich meine, falls das Mädchen mich nicht leiden könnte. MKI-LFH-1195  
 (h) die fünf Stiegen der Kurfürstenstraße führten also nicht in den Berliner Literaturhimmel, falls es den überhaupt gab – sie endeten im württembergischen Bereich. MKI-MHE-762

Examples (28a) and (28e) are types of high probability conditional sentences in which there is a "normal" condition – consequence relationship, which could be called direct contingency; the condition as stated is directly contingent upon the consequence as stated. In (28b) and (28f) the contingency seems to be less direct. Pragmatically it is perfectly obvious that in (28b) the speaker has a house to offer,

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1009), Haegeman (1983: 153), Haegeman/Wekker (1984), and especially Nieuwint (1986).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Smith (1983) on a relevance-based interpretation; see also Fischer (1981: 132), Haegeman (1984).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Svartvik/Quirk (1980: 559, tone units 774 ff.).



whether the addressee wants to buy one or not, or in (28f) that the speaker will leave a few pills in any case.<sup>29</sup> In (28c) the consequence is a message to be reported back to "Bernard" mentioned in the condition, presumably by the addressee of the whole utterance; in (28d) a speaker linguistically comments on his or her own choice of words by means of the *if* clause, which constitutes a different textual level, while the consequence is missing, and the reformulation of *he picked me up* (rather than *I met him*) can be seen as the first level consequence of the higher level comment of doubt. Here the contingency is already highly indirect, crossing textual levels. In (28g) a speaker observes that there are plenty of unoccupied tables around, and then starts explaining the meaning of this observation, 'if the girl should not like me'. An immediately contingent consequence could be 'she can sit down elsewhere' – because of those unoccupied tables. (28h) matches the English example (28d), with introducing a higher textual comment level with 'if indeed it [the Berlin heaven of literature] existed' and leaving out the consequence altogether. Pragmatically, the consequence could be something like 'if indeed the Berlin heaven of literature existed, then my formulation may stand'.

6. The last aspect of conditional sentences that can be mentioned here concerns the use of the two dimensions of probability and time reference on yet another dimension, that of politeness, which is again a matter of degree (e.g. Drosdowski 1995: 158).

- (29) (a) but ə : . if you'd / like to ! give me a :rɪŋ # ... I'll / give you 'all the :  
dɛtəɪls # S.9.3.101  
(b) I recognise that our research may not have been as exhaustive as  
yours and I should very much appreciate it if you would let me know  
the authorities upon which you were relying. W. 7.11.13  
(c) if / I 'picked you [ʊp] at e:leven o !clɒk / how a'bout a 'picnic  
'lʌnʃ # somewhere on the / hills # W.5.3.26

In this type of sentence *would* in the *if* clause is quite frequent, clearly indicating the appeal to the willingness of the addressee. The forms found in the examples sound far more polite than *if you give me a ring* or *if you let me know* in (29a) and (29b), respectively. (29c), too, is far more tentative because of its nil probability *if* clause, than *if I pick you up* ..., and is thus more polite, because the formulation avoids putting any pressure on the addressee through its low degree of probability. German offers similar options:

- (30) (a) Falls Sie um 13 Uhr kommen würden, kann ich Ihnen die Unterlagen  
überreichen.  
(b) Wäre es nicht besser, falls wir erst nachmittags führen?

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<sup>29</sup> Some grammarians explained such types of contingency as elliptical constructions: if you want to buy a house *then I can tell you* I've got one ... – Paar Tabletten laß ich da, *so daß er welche bekommen kann*, falls er Schmerzen hat ...

(30a) is more politely suggestive than *Falls Sie um 13 Uhr kommen*, and the same holds true for (30b) compared to *Ist es nicht besser, falls wir erst am Nachmittag fahren?* The degrees of probability discussed in section 3 may also be used for degrees of politeness. Given the appropriate context, nil probability conditional sentences are the most polite as the speaker talks about non-realities, and thus holds back on his own wishes and intentions.

7. Although many aspects related to conditional sentences could not be discussed, the major similarities and differences have perhaps become clear. The dimensions of probability, time reference and politeness are relevant in both English and German. Probability is, as one could expect, a matter of degree in both languages, and can be finely graded with the help of modals or subjunctive forms and adverbials. Both languages allow independent probabilities in condition and consequence, which can be neatly exploited for expressing different degrees of politeness for condition and consequence. Time reference can again be independently formulated for condition and consequence so that in both English and German quite complex referential structures can occur, although the number of variant structures is higher in German because of the indicative, subjunctive, and periphrastic expressions available to the speaker.

The syntax of the conditional sentences is parallel in the two languages across many areas, but the morphology, as is to be expected, is rather different because of the subjunctive system of German, compared to which the interpretation of English sentences needs more context to counteract the syncretism of forms. Also, there is more positional variation in German through its regular inversion potential.

It would appear that the two cognate languages have the same fundamental system of conditional sentences,<sup>30</sup> although a closer statistical and textlinguistic analysis will discover more differences than those noted above.

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Funk (1985: 382f.)

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## Niederländisches im englischen Wortatlas, oder die hin- und hergeschobene Etymologie

*Jan B. Berns*

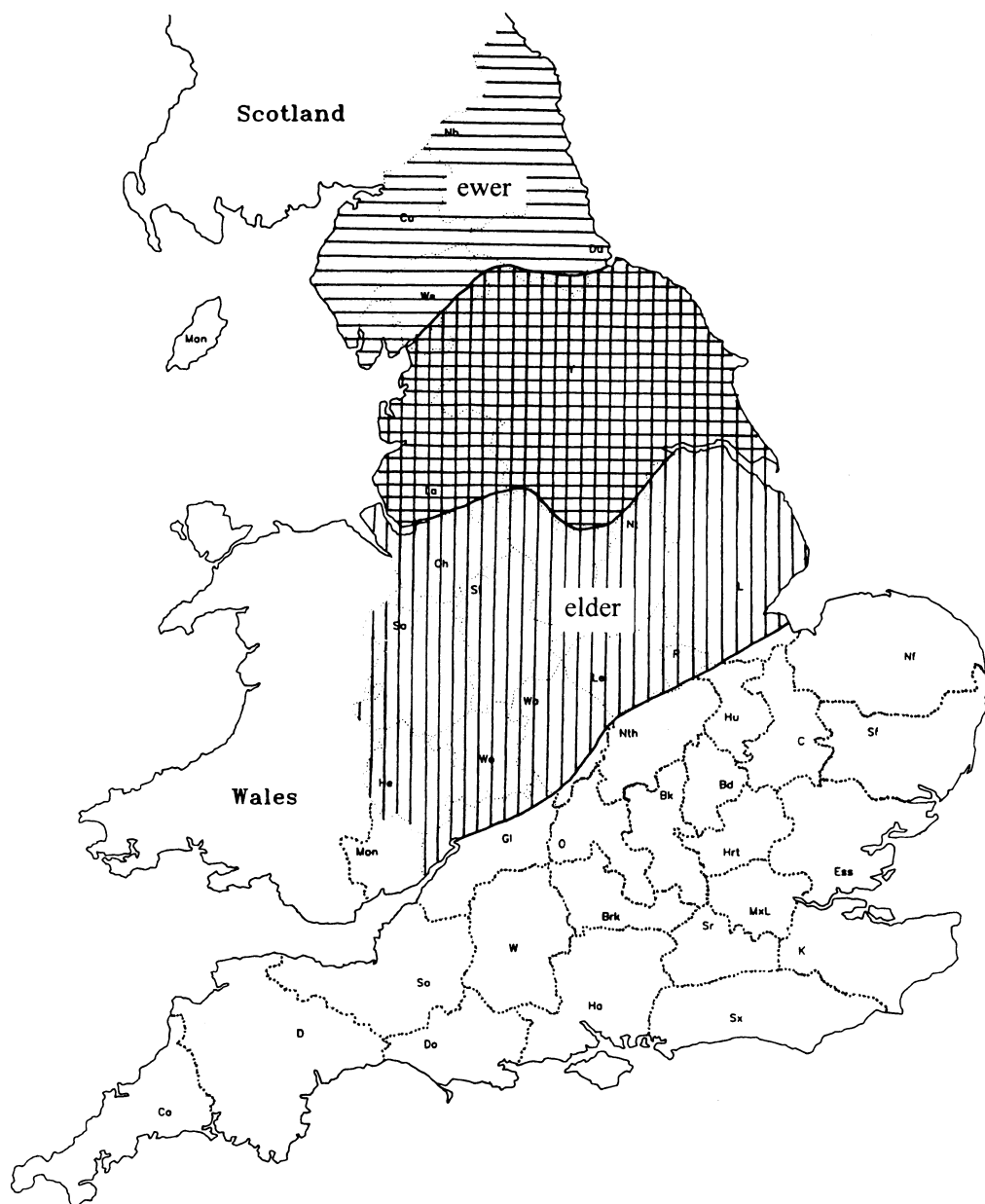
In der Einleitung und auch bei den etymologischen Angaben in den Legenden der einzelnen Karten schenken Orton/Wright (1975) in ihrer *Word Geography of England* (WGE) Lehnwörtern besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Es handelt sich dabei meistens um Lehnwörter skandinavischen Ursprungs, aber es kommen auch einige Entlehnungen aus dem Niederländischen und Niederdeutschen vor. Bei näherer Betrachtung ergibt sich, daß es sich dabei öfters um eine Art hin- und hergeschobene Etymologie handelt und daß die Forschung in diesem Bereich unterschiedliche Auffassungen vertritt.

Aus der WGE lassen sich die folgenden Fälle entnehmen; sie werden im folgenden kurz kommentiert (in den Klammern sind der Titel und die Nummer der WGE-Karten angegeben sowie die entsprechende Nummer aus dem SED-Fragenkatalog).

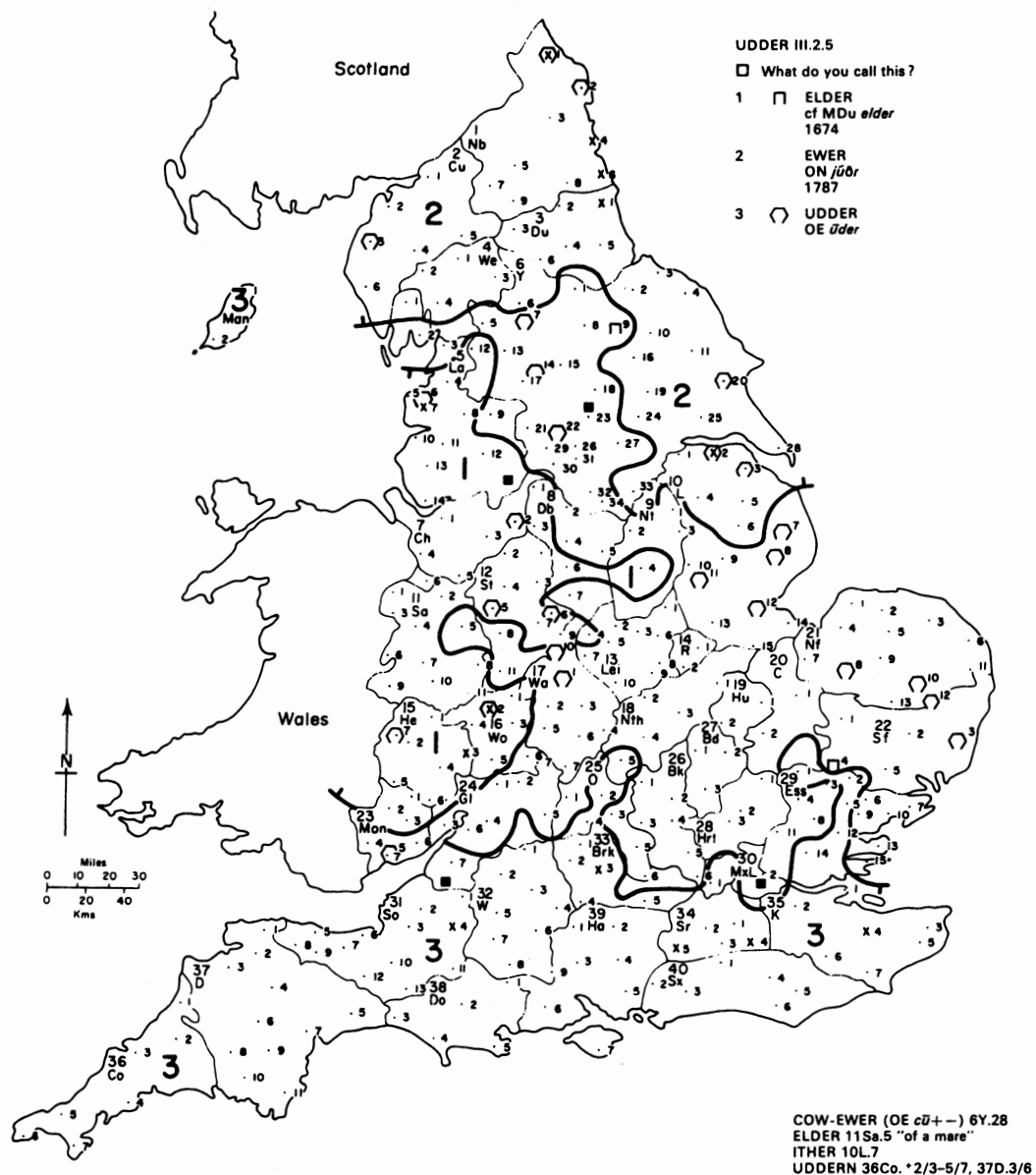
ELDER (Udder, 50A; III.2.5.)  
CLAMP (Clamp, 93A; II.4.6.)  
PLOAT (To pluck, 96; IV.6.21.)  
BLINKER (Blinkers, 106; I.5.2.)  
PUSHES (Boils, 107; VI.11.6.)  
FITCH (Pole-cat, 108; IV.5.7.)  
HAMES (Hames, 109; I.5.4.)  
NIBS (Handle [of scythe]), 110; II.9.8.)  
PAD (Path, 111; IV.3.11.)  
SLEAD, SLEDGE (Sledge, 112; I.9.1.)  
SLIP (Tethering-rope, 113; I.4.2.)  
SNAP (Snack, 115; VII.5.11.)  
SNOUT (Nose, 116; VI.4.6.)  
SPLINT, SPLINTER, (Splinter, 117; VI.7.10.)  
SPILE, SPILL, (Splinter, 117B; VI.7.10.)  
WAGON (Wagon, 118; I.9.2., Cart-shed, 199A; I.11.7.)  
SPOUT (Gutter, 123; V.I.6.)

### 1. ELDER

Das Wort *elder* mit der Bedeutung 'Euter' hat außer in den niederländischen und englischen Dialekten keine wgm. Entsprechungen. Aufgrund der Angaben im EDD zeichnete Heeroma bereits 1936 eine Karte des englischen *elder*-Raumes zur Erläuterung seiner 'Euter'-karte. Daß diese Karte nicht ganz mit der in der WGE über-



Karte 1: *elder* [Euter] nach Heeroma (1936: 21)

Karte 2: *udder* [Euter] in englischen Dialekten (Orton/Wright 1975: 101)

einstimmt, hängt damit zusammen, daß Wrights topographische Angaben generell gröber sind.

Das Wort *elder* begegnet im Niederländischen zum ersten Mal bei Jan Praet (Ende des 13. bzw. Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts). Hadrianus Junius (1567) verzeichnete es mit der speziellen Bedeutung 'uber ovili pecoris', die nach Angaben des WNT in die 3. Auflage von *Kiliaans Etymologicum* (1599) übernommen wurde.

Das Wort muß vor 1674 Eingang ins Englische gefunden haben, weil es bei John Ray, *A collection of English words not generally used* belegt ist (Bense 1939: s.v. *elder*). Nach Lerchner (1965: 73-74), der von einem "Küstenwort" spricht, nicht von einem "Ingwäonismus", oder von einem englischen oder niederländischen Lehnwort, "stellt das Küstenwort onomasiologisch eindeutig eine Neuerung dar, semasiologisch vielleicht im Sinne Heeromas zu begreifen als Bedeutungserweiterung von 'Schafeuter' zu 'Euter' allgemein." Dennoch bereitet die Etymologie, trotz der Vorschläge im OED (germ. Grundform *\*alipro*, zu *alan* 'nähren') – später von Weijnen (1996: s.v. *elder*) übernommen – Schwierigkeiten wegen des Fehlens eindeutiger Parallelen. Nach Weijnen (1975: 181) ist *elder* ein englisches Lehnwort, der Grund der Entlehnung ist die enorme Bedeutung Englands als Produzent von Schafswolle im Mittelalter. Im Gegensatz zu Lerchner betrachtet Taeldeman (1982: 284) *elder* als ein Beispiel für "Ingwäonismen in Flandern".

## 2. CLAMP

*Clamp*, 'Kartoffelmiete im Feld' ist nach Bense (1939) "probably (und nicht "possibly", wie im NED) identical with MDu. and Du. *klamp*, 'heap'". Das Wort begegnet im Englischen zum ersten Mal am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts (1596-7). Die Bedeutung 'Kartoffelhaufen' fehlt in den niederländischen Mundarten; dort hat das Wort eine allgemeinere Bedeutung: 'Stapel, Miete'. Crompvoets (1981: 325, 340) gibt die Bedeutungen von *klamp* in der Fachsprache der Torfgewinnung an.

## 3. PLOAT

*Ploat*, 'to pluck of feathers, wool etc.' ist nach Bense eine Entlehnung aus mittelflämisch *ploten*. Das Wort stammt aus der Fachsprache der flämischen Weber, die sich "after the Norman Conquest, but chiefly from the 14-16th c." in England und Schottland ansiedelten (Bense 1939: 290). Das Wort ist im Niederländischen relativ früh belegt (1273) – im Englischen erst 1825; die Ableitung *ploater*, *plotter* aber schon seit 1601. Die Etymologie ist schwierig. Neben *ploot(wolle)* und *ploten* gibt es Formen mit anlautendem *b-*: *bloot*, *bloten* und palatalisiertem (oder umgelautetem?) Vokalismus, wie *bleut* [blöt], *bleuten* [blöten], die von einigen für identisch gehalten werden, nach Meinung anderer aber unbedingt getrennt werden müssen (Berns 1983: 7-10). Nach De Tollenaere (1992) ist die Etymologie von *ploten* unsicher.

#### 4. BLINKER

Die Herleitung von *blinkers*, 'Scheuklappen' aus mnl. *blinken*, *blinker* ist formal problemlos, bereitet aber semantisch Schwierigkeiten, weil mnl. und auch nnl. *blinken* 'glänzen' bedeutet. Nach den Angaben im OED handelt es sich in diesem Fall wohl um eine innerenglische Bedeutungsentwicklung. *To blink* und *to blinker* bedeuten auch '(mit den Augen) blinzeln' und in der Fachsprache der Augenheilkunde gibt es einen Ausdruck *blink*, mit der Bedeutung 'a kind of spectacles for directing the sight in one direction only'.

#### 5. PUSHES

*Pushes*, 'boils' wird in der WGE einfach mit mnl. und mnd. *pûst* gleichgesetzt. Mnl. *puust* ist seit dem letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts belegt; im Englischen kommt das Wort erst seit 1533 vor. Das OED betrachtet *push* als "possibly a use of push" ('an act of pushing' usw.), mit der Bemerkung: "It is difficult to separate it entirely from MDu. und MLG. *pûst*, mod. Du. *puist*", was die eindeutige niederländische Herkunft des Wortes zumindest relativiert.

#### 6. FITCH

*Fitch* und *fitchock*, 'pole-cat' wird in der WGE gleichgesetzt mit "early Du. *fisse*, *visse*, *vitch*". *Fitch* ist belegt seit 1550; *fitchock* – das zweite Element ist ae. *-oc* – seit 1615. *Fitchew*, belegt seit 1418, ist französischen Ursprungs: afrz. *ficheau*. Aufgrund der kontinentalwestgermanischen Wortgeographie von 'Iltis' brauchen *fitch* und *fitchew* nicht getrennt zu werden. Der Kommentar zur Karte 2 im *Fränkischen Sprachatlas* faßt die ganze bisherige Forschung kritisch zusammen und macht vernünftige Vorschläge zur Etymologie (Goossens 1988). Das mittelniederländische (erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts) *fisse*, *visse* und ein älteres (letztes Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts) *vissau* sind romanischer Herkunft: *fisse*, *visse* gehen direkt zurück auf lat. *vissio* 'Gestank' zum Verb *vissire* 'Blähungen haben'. "Über diese frühe Entlehnung aus der Römerzeit schiebt sich dann als eine spätere Schicht das aus dem Pikardisch-Wallonischen entlehnte *fitsau* (besser *fichau*) mit seinen Varianten" (Goossens 1988: 49). De Tollenaere (1992) leitet eng. *fitch* über *fitchew* von afrz. *fich(e)au* ab.

#### 7. NIBS

Bei *nibs*, 'handle (of scythe)' verweist die WGE auf mnl. *nib* oder mnd. *nibbe*. Das Wort ist im Englischen erst seit 1673 belegt. Nach dem OED stimmt *nib* "in form and meaning" mit fries. *nib* und mnl. *nib* (*nyb*) überein. Das mag zutreffen für Bedeutungsangabe 1. 'Schnabel', aber nicht für Bedeutung 4. 'the two short handles projecting from the shaft or sned of a scythe'. In ihrer wortgeographischen Dissertation über die niederländischen Erntegeräte behandelt Van Vesselum ausführlich die Bezeichnungen für die Handgriffe der Sense (Van Vesselum 1956: 65ff.). Eine



Bezeichnung, die mit mnl. *nib* zu verbinden wäre, fehlt bei ihr. Auch die Metaphorik mit 'Schnabel' ist in den niederländischen und friesischen Mundarten unbekannt. Das EDD enthält aber folgende Definitionen von *knib*: 1. 'a small piece of wood at the end of a rope' und 2. 'the two projections on the 'snead' of a scythe'. In Bezug auf die zweite Bedeutung wird bei Kalkar (1881-1885) auf mdän. *knib*, 'the handle of a scythe shaft' verwiesen.<sup>1</sup>

## 8. SLIP

*Slip*, 'tethering-rope' im EDD mit der Bedeutung 26: 'A cord, strap or chain fastened to the neck of a horse or cow to keep it in its place in the stall' wird von MLG, Du. *slippen* abgeleitet. Bense (1939: 399ff) behandelt *slip* sehr ausführlich; als 6. Bedeutung gibt er 'a long and relatively thin and narrow piece or strip of some material', und betrachtet diese als eine englische Bedeutungsentwicklung des Lehnwortes, obwohl es sich hier nach seiner Meinung auch um ein niederländisches Lehnwort handeln kann aufgrund der Bedeutungsangabe 'Fetzen' unter *slip* (II, 6) im großen niederländischen Wörterbuch (WNT), das nicht nur im Bezug auf Kleider sondern auch für andere Sachen gebraucht werden kann. Es handelt sich dabei aber stets um einen bildlichen Sprachgebrauch, so daß sich die Bedeutung 'tethering-rope' nur schwierig an die niederländische anknüpfen läßt.

## 9. SNAP

*Snap* mit der Bedeutung 'mid-morning snack' ist "app[arently] MDU or MLG snappen". Das OED enthält *snap* in der Bedeutung 4. "a slight or hasty meal of mouthful; a snack" und vergleicht das Wort mit nl. *snap*, nd. *snap*, *snapp*; spät-mhd. *snap* und hd. *schnapp(e)*. Bense (1939: 421f.) ist über den Lehnwortcharakter zurückhaltend: "We cannot make out whether it is a loanword or not, especially, as the Eng. sb. is not used in the usual sense of the Dutch sb." Es gibt ein nl. Wort *versnapering* 'Leckerbissen, Erfrischung' und 'Süßigkeit'; die entsprechende englische Übersetzung ist *snack* (sic). *Versnapering* ist eine Ableitung vom Frequentativum (*ver*)*snaperen*; vgl. *snappen* 'naschen', das im Ablautverhältnis zu *snoepen* 'id.' steht und wovon *snappen* eine Intensivbildung mit *-pp-* ist. *Snappen* und (*ver*)*snaperen* kommen in der Standardsprache nicht vor, nur in einigen Mundarten. Die Gruppe *snappen*, *snoepen* hat außer niederländischen noch niederdeutsche und altnordische Entsprechungen, was den Lehnwortcharakter fraglich macht. Von den hier angeführten Beispielen ist *snap* das einzige, das im Lowman-Survey auf einer Karte verzeichnet ist (Viereck 1975: 231; Karte 187).

<sup>1</sup> Auch bei Van Vessel (1956) finden sich mit *kn-* anlautende Bezeichnungen wie *knaveles*, *knappen*, *knappen* und *knabben*, die etymologisch sicherlich mit *knib* verwandt sind.

## 10. SPOUT, SPOUTING

Bei *spout* und *spouting*, 'gutter' verweist die WGE auf mnl. *spouten*. Das Wort fehlt bei Bense (1939), bei ihm findet sich *spout-whale* 'Wal', dessen erstes Element auch von *spouten* abzuleiten ist. Das Mittelniederländische Wörterbuch (Verwijs/Verdam 1885-1929) verweist unter *spouten* auf *spoyten* (*speyten*), die nnl. Entsprechung ist *spuiten* 'spritzen'; die Schreibung *spouten* ist nicht die Übliche, sie stammt von Lanfranck. Auch hier besteht das Problem, daß die Bedeutung 'Dachrinne' sich nicht so einfach mit 'spritzen' in Verbindung bringen läßt.

## 11. HAMES, PAD, SLEAD, SLEDGE, SNOUT, SPLINT, SPLINTER, WAGON

Im Gegensatz zu den oben besprochenen Wörtern sind *hames* 'hames', *pad* 'path', *slead* und *sledge* 'sledge', *snout* 'nose', *splint* und *splinter* 'splinter' und *wagon* 'wagon' sowohl nach der Form als auch nach der Bedeutung echte niederländische Lehnwörter im Englischen.

*Slead* entspricht nl. *slede*; *sledge* einer regionalen Variante mnl. *sleedse*, mod. dial. *slees*. *Snout* entspricht nl. *snuit* 'Schnauze'. Ein Problem bilden nur die Formen *spile* und *spill* auf der Karte SPLINTER (WGE: Karte 117B), die mit mnl. und/oder mnd. *spi(l)e* gleichgesetzt werden. Hier gibt es wieder Bedeutungsprobleme. Mnl. *spil* 'Spindel' und *spile* '(Gitter)stab' lassen sich nicht ohne weiteres mit der Bedeutung 'Splitter' verbinden.

## Schluß

Seit Bense (1939), das noch immer ein Standardwerk ist, hat sich die Forschung fast ausschließlich auf englische Einflüsse im Niederländischen konzentriert. Eine kritische Betrachtung der Herkunftsangaben in der WGE zeigt, daß öfters allzuleicht niederländischer Einfluß angenommen wird. Etymologie ist nicht nur eine Sache der Form, auch die Bedeutungsentwicklung bzw. die Wortgeschichte spielt eine wichtige Rolle. Ungeklärt sind noch immer eine Anzahl von Wörtern, die außer im Englischen und Niederländischen keine Entsprechungen in anderen germanischen Sprachen haben.

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# ***There* in Space and Time**

*Leiv Egil Breivik*

## 0. Introduction

This paper will be concerned with existential *there* (*there*<sub>1</sub>) and deictic *there* (*there*<sub>2</sub>). The two types are exemplified in the following sentences:

- (1) There<sub>1</sub> are two cats in the garden.
- (2) The cat is over there<sub>2</sub>, behind the tree.

It has often been claimed that *there*<sub>1</sub> derives synchronically from a locative constituent. This hypothesis has been most fully dealt with by Lyons (1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1975, 1977: 722-723). In Breivik (1981, 1989, 1990), I argue that Lyons' hypothesis is false, because it fails to account for a range of grammatical phenomena. I offer an alternative analysis, attempting to show that present-day English *there*<sub>1</sub> is not what Lyons calls a non-proximal adverb, but rather an NP, inserted for syntactic and pragmatic reasons. I also cite historical and cross-linguistic data in support of this analysis. In my previous publications, I leave open the question as to whether *there*<sub>1</sub> is related to *there*<sub>2</sub> in present-day English.

In a paper that is often referred to by students of the existential construction, Kimball (1973: 262) writes:

The difficulties with the rule of *There* Insertion are, as with most known rules, insurmountable. It fails to explain why *there* is inserted and not, say, *chop suey*; or, whether the *there* that is inserted is the same as the deictic *there*, or what relation the two bear to each other.

In the subsequent pages, I shall address the issue raised by Kimball. An attempt will be made to gain insight into the nature of the relationship between the two *there*'s in present-day English by examining them in a synchronic-diachronic perspective. More particularly, I shall argue that although *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> have different categorial status today (at least in their prototypical uses), their formal identity is by no means accidental; both synchronically and diachronically the existential use can be shown to extend from the deictic use. Throughout the paper the focus will be on the interdependence of *langue* and *parole*. Thus the perspective taken is different from much other recent work on *there*.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 1 outlines the most important characteristics of *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences in present-day English, while Section 2 traces the various types of *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentence from the earliest texts up to Modern English.

Section 3 offers a tentative hypothesis about the origin of *there*<sub>1</sub>; it is suggested that *there*<sub>1</sub> originally split off from *there*<sub>2</sub> as a result of semantic/syntactic reanalysis. In Section 4, we return to the relationship between the two *there*'s in present-day English and discuss it in the light of the findings presented in the preceding sections. The concepts of grammaticalisation and subjectification are central to the account of *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> offered in this section. The main results of my investigation are summed up in Section 5.

Before turning to the use and non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub>, it is necessary to define two terms which will play a prominent role in the subsequent discussion. The term 'existential sentence', which was coined by Jespersen (1924: 155), is often applied with a certain vagueness in the literature both in import and extension. Here the term will be reserved to designate only sentences (and clauses) containing existential/locative *be* or an intransitive verb which has included in it the meaning 'be in existence' or 'come into existence'. Note that the presence of the morpheme *there*<sub>1</sub> is not taken to be a defining characteristic of existential sentences. Examples of existential sentences by this definition are the following:

- (3) a. An account book is on the table.  
b. *There*<sub>1</sub> is an account book on the table.  
c. On the table is an account book.  
d. On the table *there*<sub>1</sub> is an account book.
- (4) a. An account book lay on the table.  
b. On the table (*there*<sub>1</sub>) lay an account book.
- (5) a. In our department a serious crisis is developing.  
b. In our department *there*<sub>1</sub> is developing a serious crisis.

Since the *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentence in (6) contains a transitive verb in the passive voice, it does not qualify as an existential sentence. Such cases will be referred to as 'passive *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences'.

- (6) In 1995, *there*<sub>1</sub> was written a whole series of articles on existential sentences by a number of eminent linguists.

### 1. *There*<sub>1</sub> in present-day English

In both spoken and written English, the vast majority of *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences contain a form of lexical *be* (cf. Bolinger 1977: 96; Breivik 1990: Ch. 3). I shall therefore devote most of my attention to this category.

Consider again the examples in (3). These sentences are fully synonymous in that they express the same cognitive content, but they differ in the way this content is presented. In (3a) the message is coded in a marked way. This sentence violates what is sometimes called the *topicalisation principle*. According to this principle, there is a tendency for elements containing given information (i.e. the topic) to come first in the sentence, and for elements containing new information (i.e. the

comment) to come near the end. Sentences like (3a) are extremely rare in both spoken and written English. By contrast, (3b) represents the unmarked version.

It is a common observation that *there*<sub>1</sub> in many ways behaves like a subject-NP. Syntactically, it functions as a *dummy subject* in (3b); that is, when the logical subject is moved to post-verbal position for communicative reasons, *there*<sub>1</sub> is inserted in the vacated subject slot. In present-day English, which is a verb-medial (SVO) language, a finite verb cannot normally occur in initial position in declarative sentences.

We turn now to (3c-d). The only difference between these two sentences is that *there*<sub>1</sub> is absent in (3c), while it is present in (3d). Such sentences are not freely commutable in contemporary English. As we shall see below, the non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub> is subject to constraints. If my hypothesis about the syntactic status of *there*<sub>1</sub> is correct, it accounts for the fact that restrictions *do* apply to (3c): one would expect (3d), which under my analysis has the order subject-verb, to be the unmarked version in a verb-medial language such as English. (3c) has inversion of subject and finite verb, the finite verb being preceded by a locative adverbial. Note that both these sentences are in agreement with the topicalisation principle. This explains why (3c) sounds better than (3a) when presented out of context.

The above discussion does not imply that all *be*-existential sentences permit the pattern of (3a) and (3c). Note the following:

- (7) a. \*No sign of life was in the house.
- b. There<sub>1</sub> was no sign of life in the house.
- c. \*In the house was no sign of life.
- d. In the house there<sub>1</sub> was no sign of life.

My hypothesis is that *there*<sub>1</sub> is obligatory in *be*-sentences which fail to convey visual impact. In some of my publications, I have referred to this (pragmatic) constraint as the *visual impact constraint*.

Let us return for a moment to example (3a). When (3a) is presented out of context in informant-reaction tests, native speakers tend to characterise it as dubious, marginal or even unnatural. However, the same speakers find (3a) perfectly natural in the following context:

- (8) We are looking at an extraordinary picture painted by X. A middle-aged man and three boys are seated on chairs or stools at a spindly square table. *An account book is on the table.*

In order for sentences like (3a) to be acceptable, they must bring something - literally or figuratively - before our eyes.

The visual impact constraint also applies to *be*-sentences with a preposed locative. The fact that the sentences in (7) cannot make us visualise a concrete scene in the way described above explains why *there*<sub>1</sub> is necessary here. In this connection, one important point needs to be emphasised: the visual impact constraint stipulates that *there*-insertion is obligatory in examples such as those in (7), regardless of style; it does *not* stipulate that *there*<sub>1</sub>-insertion is blocked in cases like (8). In *be*-

sentences satisfying the requirement for visual impact, the use or non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub> seems to some extent governed by stylistic factors: *there*<sub>1</sub> is more common in informal than in formal English. The non-use of this particle is particularly common at the formal end of the register in written English.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have argued that *there*<sub>1</sub> can be dispensed with if the subject and the locative convey visual impact. So far, I have not commented explicitly on the pragmatics of *there*<sub>1</sub> itself. It is generally agreed that this morpheme is a non-referring expression in present-day English; it differs from *there*<sub>2</sub> in that it cannot refer to a concrete location. However, it would appear that it carries a kind of information which we may call *signal information*: *there*<sub>1</sub> functions as a signal to the addressee that he must be prepared to direct his attention towards an item of new information. If the introduction of new information consists in bringing concrete objects into the presence of the addressee, there is no need to prepare him in this way, and hence *there*<sub>1</sub> can be omitted in sentences like (3a) and (3c).

Sometimes it would appear that *there*<sub>1</sub> and *be* have become fused into a single presentative formula *there*<sub>1</sub>'s. Sentences like (9) occur quite frequently in spoken English. From such sentences, it is only a short step to sentences containing a post-verbal NP with definite reference, cf. (10).

- (9) There<sub>1</sub>'s two men here.
- (10) There<sub>1</sub>'s always George. (We might ask him.)

In (10), *there*<sub>1</sub>'s is more or less synonymous with 'I could mention', 'Don't let's forget' etc. In such cases, the formula *there*<sub>1</sub>'s seems to recall the referent of the post-verbal NP into the focus of attention. Although the subject in (10) is definite, it is contextually independent. *There*<sub>1</sub> would have been inappropriate if *George* had represented given information. The hypothesis that *there*<sub>1</sub> + *be* functions as a presentative formula, or signal, receives further support from such examples as (11):

- (11) A: Who's attending the meeting?
- B: Well, there<sub>1</sub>'s (\*are) John, Michael and Janet.

Note that in this example the plural form of *be* is disallowed.

We come now to existential sentences containing a verb other than *be*. This type is not subject to the same constraints as *be*-sentences, as shown by (12) and (13). Neither of these sentences conveys visual impact, and they both violate the topicalisation principle. However, if the whole of the subject-NP is shifted to post-verbal position, as in (14), *there*<sub>1</sub> becomes obligatory.

- (12) An unpleasant smell remains in the house.
- (13) Unicorns exist.
- (14) There<sub>1</sub> exist unicorns that are white in the winter, green in the spring, grey in the summer and black in the autumn.

In (13), the subject is not weighty enough to outbalance the verb, but in (14) the word order (logical) subject-verb would be unacceptable because of the discrepancy in length between these two constituents. In other words, (14) is consistent with the *heavier-element principle*, which states that heavier elements tend to come towards the end of the sentence. It is important to note that the logical subject in (14) represents new information. Thus, when *there*<sub>1</sub> occurs in sentences containing a verb other than *be*, it can be regarded as a presentative signal in these sentences too. However, it has not acquired the same pragmatic status here as in *be*-sentences.

There seems to be a unifying principle determining the multitude of verbs that can appear in *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences. In his discussion of non-thematic subjects in contemporary English, Firbas operates with a category of verbs which he calls verbs of 'appearance or existence on the scene': "These verbs or verbal phrases undoubtedly imply or even explicitly express 'appearance - a kind of coming into existence - on the scene' (i.e. the scene created by the narrow, *ad hoc* context at the moment of utterance) or simply 'existence' on this scene" (Firbas 1966: 243). It appears that the verbs which can co-occur with *there*<sub>1</sub> are precisely intransitive verbs of 'appearance or existence on the scene', i.e. verbs such as *appear*, *be*, *emerge*, *exist* and *remain*. The hypothesis that *there*<sub>1</sub> is a presentative signal also provides a natural explanation for its co-occurrence restrictions with respect to the verb. Example (15) contains a verb of appearance on the scene; hence *there*<sub>1</sub> can be used. This is not the case with (16). In (16), the person is not presented on the scene; he disappears from the scene. Consider also (17), which contains a transitive verb in the active voice.

- (15) *There*<sub>1</sub> appeared a man in front of us.
- (16) \**There*<sub>1</sub> disappeared a man in front of us.
- (17) \**There*<sub>1</sub> broke a girl a vase.

## 2. *There*<sub>1</sub> in earlier English

In the course of the preceding discussion, it has become apparent that the use or non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub> in contemporary English is conditioned by a complex interplay of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors. In Section 4, it will be claimed that this heterogeneous picture receives a plausible explanation within a framework which makes reference to both synchronic and diachronic parameters. In the present section, we shall trace the development of *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences from Early Old English up to Early Modern English. I have argued elsewhere that *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> are already differentiated in Old English, and that this differentiation in some important respects resembles that of contemporary English (cf. Breivik 1977, 1990: Ch. 4). In what follows, we shall distinguish between four main periods. Corpus examples will be given from each period:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The texts examined are listed in Breivik (1990: Ch. 4). In all, the source texts comprise 4,031 pages (Period I: 1,357 pages; Period II: 627 pages; Period III: 571 pages; Period IV: 1,476 pages).



- I. - 1070
- II. 1070 - 1225
- III. 1225 - 1425
- IV. 1425 - 1550

## Period I

- (18) Micel yfelnyss wæs on iudeiscum mannum 'There<sub>1</sub> was great evilness in Jewish men' (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints* 1 XI: 317)
- (19) On ðam ylcan dæge com sum bisceop helenus gehaten 'On that same day came a bishop who was called Helenus' (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints* 1 II: 57-58)
- (20) Wæs sum Godes þeow of þæm broðrum þære cirican æt Agostaldes ea, þæs noma wæs Bothelm 'There<sub>1</sub> was a servant of God among the brethren of the church at Hexham, whose name was Bothelm' (*Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English people* 156: 15-16)
- (21) *Þær* bið swyðe mycel gewinn betweenan him. 'There<sub>1</sub> is very much strife among them' (*King Alfred's Orosius* 20: 17-18)
- (22) ne bið *ðær* nænig ealo gebrowen mid Estum, ac *þær* bið medo genoh 'no ale is brewed among Estonians, but there<sub>1</sub> is enough mead' (*King Alfred's Orosius* 20: 18-19)

## Period II

- (23) An preost wes on leoden : Lazamon wes ihoten 'There<sub>1</sub> was a priest in the nation who was called Lazamon' (*Lazamon's Brut* 1)
- (24) Nu bien sume oðre ðat healden hem seluen wise and zeape 'Now there<sub>1</sub> are some others who consider themselves wise and crafty' (*Vices and Virtues* 1 79: 10-11)
- (25) *þer* is remunge iþe brune. ant toðes hechelunge iþi snawi weattres 'There<sub>1</sub> is shrieking in the flame, and chattering of teeth in the snowy waters' (*Old English Homilies* 1 251: 19-20)
- (26) *Þer* is iboren an luttel child: inne þere leoden 'A little child is born in the nation' (*Lazamon's Brut* 4551)

## Period III

- (27) Thanne is here necessite in the toon and in the tothir (Chaucer, *Boece*, Book V, Prosa 3: 60-61)
- (28) Whilom *ther* was a man that hadde assaied with stryvynges wordes another man (Chaucer/*Boece*, Book II, Metrum 6: 123-124)
- (29) Also is ordeined þat vche 3er *þer* schul four wardeines be chosen to reule þe fraternite þat 3er (*Book of London English*, London Guilds I: 83-84)

- (30) *Ther* may no man clepen it cowardye (Chaucer, *The knight's tale* 2730)

#### Period IV

- (31) And somme ben that can neuer kepe theyr tongue (Caxton, *The book of the knight of the tower* 184: 7)  
 (32) And in alle the world is no gretter treson/ than for to deceyue gentyll wymmen (Caxton, *The book of the knight of the tower* 12: 15-16)  
 (33) Now on a nyght *there* cam to her a Vysyon/ that she drewe and took oute of a donghyll a vessell/ lyke to a plater of syluer (Caxton, *The book of the knight of the tower* 21: 5-7)  
 (34) As for bevere, *þer* is promysid me somme (*Paston letters* 1 148: 10-11)  
 (35) And *þer* knoweth no man how soon God woll clepe hym, and *þer*-for it is good for euery creature to be redy (*Paston letters* 30: 11-13)

Old English prose is characterised by a word order norm that is best described by the verb-second constraint, i.e. the constraint whereby the finite verb must be the second constituent in a declarative main clause (see Breivik 1990: Ch. 4 and Stockwell 1977). My hypothesis is that in Old English constructions like (21) *there*<sub>1</sub> is inserted as an empty topic to move the verb into second position. Sentences like (18) and (19) satisfy this constraint without *there*<sub>1</sub>. Type (19) is the dominant pattern in Old English, constituting 56% of all the corpus sentences from this period. The proportion of this type is especially high in non-embedded contexts. Although verb-initial sentences like (20) occur, the vast majority have verb-second order. The percentage of *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences is 30, while only 14% have the pattern of (18).

As already stated, English is now a verb-medial language. I would claim that *there*<sub>1</sub> is syntactically reanalysed as a subject-NP when English develops from a verb-second into a verb-medial language. Reanalysis is not an uncommon phenomenon in the history of the English language. This is demonstrated by cases such as *Hem nedede no help* → *They needed no help*: here the old dative *hem* is reinterpreted as the subject, and the old subject *no help* becomes the object under the pressure of the SVO syntax. The quantitative data show that existential sentences like (19) are increasingly being ousted by sentences with a pre-verbal *there*<sub>1</sub> under the pressure of the SVO syntax. The longitudinal development of the three types of existential sentence is shown in Figure 1. *There*<sub>1</sub>-sentences represent a compromise in the conflict between pragmatic and syntactic structure: the initial subject slot is filled by a dummy subject, while the logical subject, the communicative core, is shifted to post-verbal position. As the presentative construction with *there*<sub>1</sub> becomes established, there is also a decrease in the proportion of sentences like (18). In view of the gradual nature of syntactic change, it is not surprising that we should find survivals of the verb-second stage in present-day English. Thus examples like (3c) illustrate the specialisation of a once general rule.

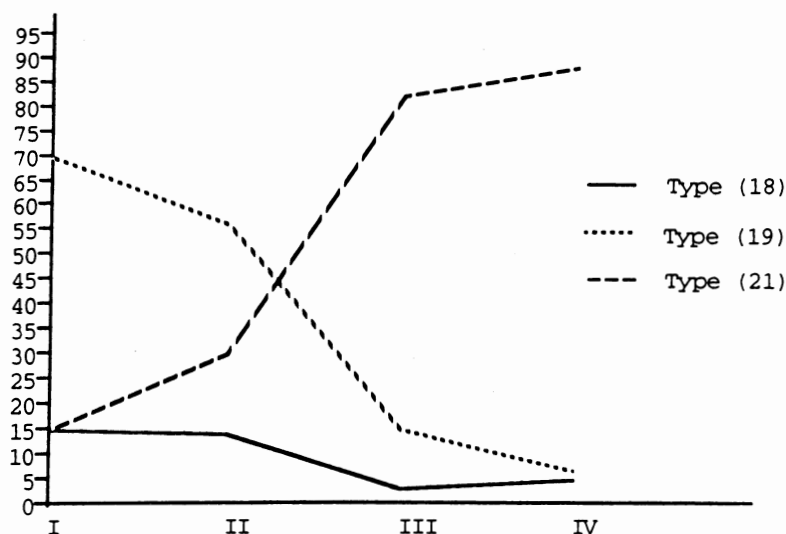


Figure 1: Percentage changes in the various types of existential sentence in Periods I - IV.

### 3. On the genesis of *there*<sub>1</sub>

I argued above that *there*<sub>1</sub> functions as an empty topic in Old English. However, I offered no hypothesis as to the origin of this dummy element.

Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are, genetically, closely related to English. The fact that these languages, just like English, have an existential particle that is formally identical with a locative adverb strongly supports the case that English *there*<sub>1</sub>/*there*<sub>2</sub>, Danish and Norwegian *der*<sub>1</sub>/*der*<sub>2</sub> and (Southern) Swedish *där*<sub>1</sub>/*där*<sub>2</sub> ultimately derive from a common source. A possible explanation for how *there*<sub>1</sub> splits off from *there*<sub>2</sub> is to be found in Western (1921). In his discussion of what he calls the *skinnssubjekt* 'sham subject' in Norwegian, Western (1921: 61) claims that *der*<sub>1</sub> (= *there*<sub>1</sub>) ultimately derives from the fully stressed locative adverb *der*<sub>2</sub>, as in (36). In order to make the referent of *der*<sub>2</sub> explicit, a co-referential locative adverbial is often added, as in (37). According to Western, the addition of a second locative leads to a semantic reanalysis of *der*<sub>2</sub>. *Der* becomes redundant as an indication of place; it loses its stress as well as its locative meaning. In Western's view, it is only a short step from the use of *der* as a deictic adverbial in (37) to its use as a dummy subject in (38).

(36) *Der*<sub>2</sub> bor en gammel mann. 'There<sub>2</sub> lives an old man'

(37) *Der*<sub>2</sub> bor en gammel mann, i det huset. 'There<sub>2</sub> lives an old man, in that house'

- (38) *Der*<sub>1</sub> bor en gammel mann i det huset. 'There<sub>1</sub> lives an old man in that house'

Western does not deal with the equivalents of *der*<sub>1</sub> and *der*<sub>2</sub> in other languages. However, *mutatis mutandis*, his hypothesis about Norwegian *der*<sub>1</sub> offers a plausible explanation for how *there*<sub>1</sub> comes to be employed as an empty topic/subject in English. It fits in very well with sequence of events hypothesised by Haiman (1974), Stockwell (1977) and Vennemann (1974). In Section 2, we saw that the development of *there*<sub>1</sub> is parallel to the gradual stabilisation of the SVO syntax. I now postulate the following stages in the development of *there*<sub>1</sub>:

- (39) Stage 1  
*There*<sub>2</sub> is semantically reanalysed in certain contexts and becomes a non-referring expression, i.e. *there*<sub>1</sub>.
- (40) Stage 2  
*There*<sub>1</sub> is inserted in pre-verbal position by linkage or topicalisation (vSO(V) → *there*<sub>1</sub> vSO(V)); that is, *there*<sub>1</sub> is inserted as an empty topic in Stockwell's (1977) TvX(V) structure.
- (41) Stage 3  
 This empty topic is syntactically reanalysed by topic = subject (TvX(V) → SvX(V)).

(S = subject; O = object/verb complements; v = auxiliary verb; V = lexical (main) verb; T = topic. Parentheses indicate that the element is optional.)

#### 4. *There*<sub>1</sub>: a case of subjectification in grammaticalisation

We are now, at long last, in a position to address the question posed in the introduction to this paper: what relation do *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> bear to each other in present-day English? I believe that this question should be approached via the concepts of subjectification and grammaticalisation as defined by Traugott. Traugott has discussed the relationship between syntactic and pragmatic-semantic change in a number of publications (Traugott 1989, 1995, 1996; Traugott and König 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; *inter alia*). She defines (1995: 32) grammaticalisation as

the process whereby lexical items or phrases come through frequent use in certain highly constrained local contexts to be reanalysed as having syntactic and morphological functions, and once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions ...

An example of grammaticalisation is the development of *be going to/gonna* as a marker of prospective temporality in English. In certain contexts, the progressive form of the main verb *go* plus a subordinator introducing a clause of purpose came to function as an auxiliary. Subjectification has been defined in various ways. Traugott regards subjectification as a pragmatic-semantic process whereby mean-

ings become increasingly based in the speaker's belief or attitude towards the proposition. Subjectification in grammaticalisation, then, "is, broadly speaking, the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude to what is said" (1995: 32). In this connection, it should be mentioned that there is widespread agreement among linguists who study grammaticalisation from a pragmatic-semantic perspective that it tends to be accompanied by an increase in pragmatic significance and subjective expressiveness (cf. Heine et al. 1991; Andersen 1993; Pagliuca 1994).

If my hypothesis concerning the origin of *there*<sub>1</sub> is correct, the separation of *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> is an example of grammaticalisation. The change hypothesised in Section 3 illustrates many of the factors typically involved in grammaticalisation. (i) The change occurs in a very local context, that of (37). (ii) The shift from a locative adverb to an empty topic involves reanalysis. As pointed out by Langacker (1977) and Traugott (1995), reanalysis is the most usual mechanism leading to grammaticalisation. (iii) Although the process of grammaticalisation must have started very early, traces of the first stages are present in Modern English; *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> are still identical in their written form. (iv) Some of the original semantics is lost; *there*<sub>1</sub> can no longer refer to a concrete location. Semantic loss or bleaching is a characteristic feature of grammaticalisation.

We can be more confident about the history of *there*<sub>1</sub> from Old English onwards. On the basis of the data cited in Sections 1 and 2, I would claim that we here have a case of subjectification in grammaticalisation. First, it should be noted that material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts develops new grammatical functions; *there*<sub>1</sub>, which functions as a topic in Old English, is reanalysed as a subject. Once this reanalysis has occurred, *there*<sub>1</sub> is generalised to contexts which were unavailable before. For example, my corpus from Period IV contains examples where *there*<sub>1</sub> has undergone Subject Raising. It is also worth mentioning that present-day English *there*<sub>1</sub> resembles Traugott's prototypical example of grammaticalisation, *be going to*, in that it has undergone phonological reduction; while *there*<sub>2</sub> is usually pronounced /ðeə(r)/, the normal pronunciation for *there*<sub>1</sub> is /ðə(r)/.

Equally importantly, my data provide evidence in support of Traugott's hypothesis of unidirectional increase in subjectification over time. The development outlined in Section 2 suggests that the pragmatic and syntactic functions of present-day English *there*<sub>1</sub> do not have an arbitrary relationship to each other. It is arguable that the signal function of *there*<sub>1</sub> is a concomitant to, and a development from, its function as a non-referential subject-NP. Since this morpheme has come to be associated with the introduction of new information, it has itself acquired the status of a presentative signal. A scrutiny of my material reveals that by the beginning of Period IV, the use or non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub> is governed by virtually the same syntactic factors as those operative today. To judge from the historical data, however, Early Modern English *there*<sub>1</sub> has not acquired quite the same pragmatic status as it has in contemporary English. Thus it can be omitted freely in *be*-existential sentences which do not convey visual impact, as shown by the examples in (31) and (32). Note also that *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences like those in (10) and (11) crop up in the language long

after full-fledged existential sentences like (1) have become established; the former type is non-existent in my material from pre-1550 English.

It would appear, then, that through repeated use in local syntactic contexts, *there*<sub>1</sub> has increasingly come to serve pragmatic, interpersonal, speaker-based functions. Today, the speaker uses it as a signal to tell the addressee that he must be prepared to direct his attention towards an item of new information. This pragmatic function is especially pronounced in *be*-existential sentences, but it is also evident in sentences containing another verb of 'appearance or existence on the scene'.

Constructions like (6), where the whole of the VP occurs before the subject-NP, are exceedingly rare in the present-day language. Sentences like (42) are more frequent. Here, the VP *had been held* is split up, with *had been* coming before the subject-NP.

(42) *There*<sub>1</sub> *had been* a secret meeting held.

(43) \**There*<sub>1</sub> *had been held* a secret meeting.

The low frequency of passive sentences like (6) in present-day English is perhaps not surprising in view of the pragmatic role of the prototypical *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentence, namely that containing *there*<sub>1</sub> plus a form of existential/locative *be*. Sentences like (1) and (3b) may be regarded as devices for presenting new information: *there*<sub>1</sub> functions as a point of departure from which the utterance may be developed, by way of the communicatively weak item *are/is*, to the communicative core – the real subject. The data also suggest that *there*<sub>1</sub> + *be* is often regarded as a single presentative formula for a foregrounded NP (cf. the examples in (9)-(11)). In (6), the sequence 'presentative signal + *be* + foregrounded NP' is interrupted by a prominent element (*written*). In (42), on the other hand, the passive subject is brought into distinct relief by the preceding elements. Note that the subject-NP in (42) is relatively light. Most native speakers of English find (43) unacceptable. By increasing the communicative prominence of the subject, we can facilitate the use of the pattern in (43). In (6), the subject-NP is so heavy that it overshadows the preceding VP. The constraint discussed above is purely pragmatic, and does not seem to be operating in earlier English. (43) should be compared with the passive sentences in (29) and (34).

If we are correct in claiming that the pragmatic function of *there*<sub>1</sub> has become more and more prominent over the centuries, we also have an explanation for the decay of *there*<sub>1</sub>-sentences containing a transitive verb in the active voice, as in (30) and (35). In Section 1, it was argued that the presentative particle is disallowed in sentences containing a transitive verb like *break* or *hit* for pragmatic rather than syntactic reasons (cf. \**There*<sub>1</sub> *hit a man the boy*). Cases like (30) and (35) resemble the passive sentences attested in my material in that *there*<sub>1</sub> has apparently not acquired the status of a presentative signal but functions primarily as a syntactic device. This is of course different from claiming that the sentences in question do not have a contextually independent subject. According to Visser (1970: 52), sentences like (30) and (35) fall into disuse in the course of the 16th century. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in present-day German the dummy subject *es* functions as a purely syntactic device in sentences with a transitive verb, to keep

the verb in second position: *Es hat jemand gestern deine Schwester geküsst / Gestern hat (\*es) jemand deine Schwester geküsst.*

As stated repeatedly above, *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> have different categorial status in present-day English: the former functions as a subject-NP, while the latter is a full-fledged adverb. There are also important semantic and pragmatic differences between the two. Nonetheless, I would claim that the original bond between them has not been completely severed. Although *there*<sub>1</sub> has undergone desementicisation and can no longer refer to a concrete location, it still retains some of its original locative meaning. However, the location in question must be regarded as an abstraction and metaphorical extension. In the present-day English examples cited in Section 1, *there*<sub>1</sub> designates what Fauconnier (1985) calls a *mental space*, i.e. a space where conceptual entities are located. This is precisely why *there*<sub>1</sub> can be used as a presentative signal. We may recall in this connection the claim made in Section 1 that *there*<sub>1</sub> functions to bring something into the addressee's awareness. By contrast, *there*<sub>2</sub> in example (2) designates a concrete location in the presence of the speaker.

The semantic development of *there*<sub>1</sub> illustrates yet another factor which is often involved in grammaticalisation: "One kind of semantic-pragmatic unidirectionality often associated with grammaticalization is increase in abstractness" (Traugott 1996: 183). An example of this is *gonna*, which is less concrete than *go*.<sup>2</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

In the foregoing pages, I have examined the relationship between *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub>. My primary aim has been to find out whether *there*<sub>1</sub> retains some of its original locative meaning in present-day English. For this purpose, it was necessary to examine both synchronic and diachronic data. In Section 3, I also took a brief look at the equivalents of *there*<sub>1</sub> and *there*<sub>2</sub> in languages which are genetically closely related to English. My account, which makes crucial reference to the concepts of grammaticalisation and subjectification, offers a principled explanation for the use and non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub> in contemporary English, as well as for the historical development of the presentative function of this morpheme. On the basis of the data utilised for the present investigation, it appears that the conglomeration of factors underlying the use and non-use of *there*<sub>1</sub> today reflects an ongoing change which involves syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors. The two *there*'s play sharply distinct roles in the present-day language. For example, while *there*<sub>1</sub> functions as a subject-NP, *there*<sub>2</sub> in its prototypical use functions as a locative adverbial. None-

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<sup>2</sup> The above hypothesis about the meaning of *there*<sub>1</sub> is very much in the spirit of Bolinger's (1977) and Lakoff's (1987) proposals. Bolinger (1977: 93-94) maintains that *there*<sub>1</sub> designates the 'awareness' of 'bring into awareness' and that 'awareness' is 'abstract location'. A similar proposal is made by Lakoff, who substitutes the concept of mental space for awareness: "A mental space is a medium in which thoughts occur and in which conceptual entities are located" (1987: 542). It should be pointed out that neither Bolinger nor Lakoff examines existential constructions in a diachronic perspective.

theless, the available data suggest that the former has not undergone complete desemanticisation; both synchronically and diachronically it can be shown to extend from *there*<sub>2</sub>. However, the location which *there*<sub>1</sub> designates must be regarded as an abstraction and metaphorical extension. Or, to put it in cognitive terms, it designates a mental space where conceptual entities are located. Increase in abstractness is one kind of semantic-pragmatic unidirectionality which is often associated with grammaticalisation. It follows that *there*<sub>1</sub> itself does not convey new information; it is a backgrounded element which serves to direct the addressee's attention to an entity representing new information (the foregrounded logical subject). By contrast, *there*<sub>2</sub> typically directs the addressee's attention to a specific location.

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# Dialectal Aspects of the English Strong Verb System

*François Chevillet*

## Introduction

It is a well-known fact that a large number of originally strong verbs invariable displaying ablaut in Old English (OE) have changed over to the weak pattern – thereby acquiring weak past tense (p.t.) and past participle (p.p.) forms, i.e. the addition of a dental suffix – both in Standard English and in the dialects. As Wakelin reminds us, several distinct patterns clearly emerge in dialectal English (he takes the verbs *see*, *wear*, *bear*): "the simple addition of the weak *-d* ending to the present stem (e.g. *seed*), to the past stem (e.g. *wored*), to the strong p.p. (e.g. *borned*), and (once only, namely *woreded*) to a new weak formation of the p.t. There is thus a wide range of dialectal possibilities" (Wakelin 1977: 122f.). On the other hand, a principle of conjugation regularization has always existed in English: "There is a centuries-old tendency in English to level past tense and past participle forms" (Chambers 1995: 237). The gradation series OE *drīfan* (infinitive), *drāf* (p.t. singular), *drifon* (p.t. plural), *(ge)drifen* (p.p.), has been reduced to three forms, viz. *drive*, *drove* (p.t.), *driven* (p.p.): the past tense plural has been levelled out under the singular. Besides, one can note a great deal of morphological fluctuation in the dialects, as evidenced in the EDD. The data collected in the LAE and published in dictionary form by Upton et al. (SEDDG) reveal that present-day English dialects display far less variation than they used to do. The aim of this article is twofold: i) to show that the dialects of English reveal a vast array of morphologically complex forms; ii) to show that the tendencies mentioned above – the strong to weak shift on the one hand, and the analogical principle of conjugation regularization on the other – are still at work both in dialectal English and in contemporary Standard English, as a comparison between the GCE and the CGEL makes clear.

## The strong to weak shift

Between the Old English period and the 16th century, a good many verbs were shifted from the strong-verb pattern to the weak-verb pattern. A detailed analysis of the shift is presented with meticulous care in Krygier (1994). Krygier tries to find out whether there are any significant factors triggering off the shift. He points out that all the authoritative grammars of Middle English (J. & E. Wright 1928, Mossé 1952, Fisiak 1968) avoid answering the question of the cause(s) of the shift. They just mention the existence of shifted verbs without attempting to give an explana-

tion. Many historians of the language (among whom Brook 1958, Williams 1975, Bambas 1980) attribute the shift to analogy and do not try to go any deeper into the reasons why the mechanism operated at all. Krygier makes much of Michelau (1910). The latter does not try to play down the role of analogy but takes several other parameters into account: the existence of a parallel weak verb derived from the same stem as its strong counterpart, the presence of a root-final dental plosive in the verb,<sup>1</sup> the irregularity of ablaut patterns, the influence of a related Old Norse verb.<sup>2</sup> Strang (1970) has it that the Norman Conquest is primarily responsible for the shift.<sup>3</sup> According to Hogg (1992), the majority of strong verbs were relatively stable during the OE period, and shifted strong verbs were definitely in the minority.<sup>4</sup> Krygier (1994: 79) concludes his chapter on Old English by pointing out that out of 367 strong verbs, 61 already displayed shifted weak forms in OE, insisting on the resistance of Class IV verbs to the shift. He also reminds us that there is a clear tendency for Class VI verbs and Class VII verbs, which have only two alternating stem vowels, to undergo the shift, whereas Class II and Class IV verbs prove very resistant to the shift. About a quarter of the strong verbs attested in OE disappeared before early Middle English: "Only 271 strong verbs can be evidenced in English texts from the 12th century. Weak forms are displayed by 48 of them" (Krygier 1994: 110). According to Krygier (1994: 120), three shift-triggering factors play a significant role in the 12th century: the number of stem-vowel alternants, the presence of a root-final dental in the stem of the verb, and the "loosening of writing patterns".<sup>5</sup> For the 13th century, Krygier has listed 253 strong

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<sup>1</sup> Even though this suggestion is interesting, Krygier does not believe it is totally valid: "However, a number of strong verbs displaying this particular stem structure have remained unshifted until now, e.g. *bite*, *fight*, *ride*, etc., which casts some doubt on the accuracy of this assumption" (Krygier 1994: 21).

<sup>2</sup> "The fusion with similar weak verbs leads some strong verbs to adopt weak forms, as *lose* (OE *lēosan*), *cleave* (OE *cleofan*), *fare* (OE *faran*), *steck* (OE *stecan*), *let* (OE *lætan*), *hang* (OE *hon*), and *flee* (OE *flēogan*) through the influence of the OE weak verbs: *losian*, *cliofian*, *feran*, *stician*, *lettan*, and weak Old Norse verbs *hengia* and *flýja*. Weak forms are found chiefly in such verbs, or in verbs that do not conform to the regular ablaut pattern of Class II: *bow*, *lout*, *lock*, in the reduplicating verbs of Class VII: *dread*, *read*, *shed* by analogy with *lead*" (Long 1944: 267, quoted in Krygier 1994: 22).

<sup>3</sup> "In her opinion it was the disturbed balance between strong and weak verb systems because of the influx of French verbs into the weak category that triggered the shift. The Scandinavian invasions, on the other hand, served as a reinforcement for the strong verb class thanks to the similarity of verbal systems of the two languages" (Krygier 1994: 23).

<sup>4</sup> "At the same time, first indications of the shift entering the language are to be seen in the much more frequent transfer to the weak category in the Northumbrian dialect." (Krygier 1994: 25).

<sup>5</sup> "The emergence of the mute <-e> grapheme due to the dropping of the unstressed final /ə/, and the frequent doubling of consonants caused by the gradual disappearance of long consonantal phonemes were two developments which may have affected the strong verb system in the transition period. Their influence on 'regular' strong verbs was virtually non-existent, as <*sange*> was still recognizable as the preterite singular of *sīngen*, and <*roppe*> as the preterite singular of *rīpen*. On the other hand, the emergence of forms like <*badd*>, <*rode*> (OE pret. sg. *bæd*, *rād*) allowed for their reinterpretation as formed with the addition of the dental suffix. Whether or not they were really treated as weak will probably remain unknown, yet the parallel

verbs,<sup>6</sup> of which 99 displayed weak forms (Krygier 1994: 141), representing a massive transfer from the strong-verb pattern to the weak-verb pattern. A striking feature of the strong-verb pattern in the 13th century is the overwhelming reduction of the number of distinctive grades (from four to three), bringing about the well-known analogical levelling hinted at above: Class I verbs (*drīfen* < OE *drīfan*) and Class III verbs (*drinken* < OE *drincan*) extend the vowel of the past tense singular to the past tense plural, whence the present-day vocalic alternation. Besides, the distinction between Class IV and Class V becomes fuzzy: some Class V verbs take on a past participle vowel identical with that of Class IV (*breken* < OE *brecan*). The instability of the basic gradation types may then have contributed to the extension of the weak-verb pattern and paved the way for regularization. According to Krygier, the increase in the intensity of the shift in 13th-century English would be essentially due to external factors – viz. Norman influence, the Anglo-Norman variety of English being prestigious then –, as it seems to be totally free from any conditioning factors (Krygier 1994: 148f.).

Krygier's hypothesis is very interesting, but it rests on two fragile premises: the importance of bilingualism (what sort of 'bilingualism' was it?) in Anglo-Norman England, and the impact of the Anglo-Norman variety of English on the vernacular.<sup>7</sup> Krygier's study of the 14th century reveals that out of 233 strong verbs, 160 displayed weak forms (Krygier 1994: 194). The disintegration of the ablaut system, coupled with attempts at fitting the majority of strong verbs into the weak-verb pattern, is a patent fact in late Middle English. As Krygier (1994: 194) puts it, "All indications are that in the 14th century strong verbs were proceeding fast on the road to oblivion". A perusal of Chaucer's works confirms the data found for the 14th century: "33 out of the total of 118 strong verbs used by him appear as partially or wholly shifted" (Krygier 1994: 204). After the 14th century, the shift seems to have stabilized (Krygier 1994: 232), and in Thomas Malory's works, the number of shifted verbs is very low (Krygier 1994: 244).<sup>8</sup>

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development of regular weak forms in <-ed> alongside the ambiguous <-de>, <-te> ones seems to support their influence on the shift" (Krygier 1994: 120).

<sup>6</sup> Between the 12th and 13th centuries 19 strong verbs disappeared (Krygier 1994: 141).

<sup>7</sup> "Consequently, the so-called Anglo-Norman variety of English must have been exerting a growing influence over the English population, and particularly upon those of its members who were in more or less regular contacts with the Normans" (Krygier 1994: 148). But in a normal situation of bilingualism, it is more likely for L2 (the 'dominated language') to be influenced by L1 (the 'dominant language'), i.e. vernacular English, rather than the other way round. So after all, even though the influence of the Normans and their descendants is a possibility, it *cannot* explain everything.

<sup>8</sup> "On the one hand, no new developments indicating the further progress of the shift in the following centuries can be found. On the other hand, the number of shifted items diminishes substantially in comparison to the figures for the 15th century as a whole. It seems, therefore, that the process of shifting was decisively checked with the introduction of printing in the later part of the 15th century" (Krygier 1994: 245).

## A brief comparison between EDD and SEDDG

The data displayed below are inevitably patchy. No attempt at comprehensiveness has been made. The 17 verbs given below are those included in the SEDDG (p.t. indicative [SEDDG: 493] and p.p. [SEDDG: 491]). All of them are "irregular" verbs in present-day Standard English (SE), even though four of them, to wit *make* (1C), *bring/catch* (3B) and *hear* (3E), are morphologically weak. They have been classified according to CGEL's nomenclature (CGEL: 103-105):

$V$  = base vowel (infinitive);  $V$  -*ed* = inflected forms:  $V$  -*ed*<sub>1</sub> = past tense;  $V$  -*ed*<sub>2</sub> = past participle. NB: st = (OE) strong (verb); wk = (OE) weak (verb); subscript figures refer to OE verb classes. Besides, the geographical distribution of the forms, i.e. the abbreviated counties, has been deliberately left out to simplify the general presentation. Appropriate areal remarks (based on EDD/SEDDG) may occasionally be included in the comments.

CLASS 1C ( $V$  -*ed*<sub>1</sub> and  $V$  -*ed*<sub>2</sub> are identical; there is vowel identity in all parts:  $V$  =  $V$  -*ed*):

|                                     |                                |                 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| OE <i>macian</i> [wk <sub>2</sub> ] | <i>macode</i> – <i>macodon</i> | <i>macod</i>    |
| EDD                                 | ( <i>muək</i> )                | ( <i>makn</i> ) |
| SEDDG                               | <i>make</i>                    | <i>a-made</i>   |
| SE <i>make</i> [1C]                 | <i>made</i>                    | <i>made</i>     |

Comments:

A strong p.p., *makyn*, already attested in early Middle English (eME) (*Ormulum*), cf. EDD, is no longer attested in present-day dialects.

CLASS 3:

3A ( $V$  -*ed*<sub>1</sub> =  $V$  -*ed*<sub>2</sub>; change of base vowel: /i:/ ~ /e/):

|                                      |                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OE <i>crēopan</i> [wk <sub>2</sub> ] | <i>crēap</i> – <i>crupon</i>                                                    | <i>crope</i>                                                                                                                   |
| EDD                                  | ( <i>krap</i> , <i>krēp</i> , <i>krop</i> ,<br><i>krōp</i> ) ( <i>cropped</i> ) | ( <i>krōpn</i> , <i>krēpn</i> ,<br><i>krepn</i> , <i>kripn</i> )<br>( <i>krop</i> )<br>( <i>creeped</i> )<br>( <i>croped</i> ) |
| SEDDG                                | <i>creeped</i> ; <i>crope</i>                                                   | <i>creeped</i> , <i>crope</i> ,<br><i>croppen</i>                                                                              |
| SE <i>creep</i> [3A]                 | <i>crept</i>                                                                    | <i>crept</i>                                                                                                                   |

## Comments:

Earlier on, in dialectal English, *creep* was still massively strong, and an occasional weak p.p., *creeped*, was attested in Scotland and the West Riding in Yorkshire. Strong p.t. forms are attested in the OED from 1275 to 1883 (*crope* sg., *cropen* pl.) and from 1205 to 1795 (*crap*, northern: c. 1450, Henryson). The weak p.t. *creeped/creped/crepped* is attested from 1300 onwards (c. 1300: *King Alisaunder*); the form *crepte* seems to be regular in Chaucer (Krygier 1994: 181, 201). The strong p.p. forms (*croppen*) are still attested in northern English (Lancashire), but they may also be found in southern English (Dorset, Hampshire). Mixed strong-cum-weak forms of the *cropped* type (Somerset, Cornwall) have disappeared. The data confirm the two trends brought to the fore by Krygier, i.e., strong-to-weak shift and conjugation regularization (p.t. = p.p.).

3B (*V* -*ed*<sub>1</sub> = *V* -*ed*<sub>2</sub>; ~ /ɔ:/):

|                                                  |                                                |                           |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| OE <i>bringen, brengan</i><br>[wk <sub>1</sub> ] | <i>brōhte – brōhton</i>                        | <i>brōht</i>              |
| EDD                                              | ( <i>braŋ, broŋ</i> )<br>( <i>bruŋ, bræŋ</i> ) | ( <i>broŋən, bruŋən</i> ) |
| SEDDG                                            | <i>breng; bring</i>                            | unattested                |
| SE <i>bring</i> [3B]                             | <i>brought</i>                                 | <i>brought</i>            |

## Comments:

The SE forms reflect the OE ones; yet OE also displayed sporadically a strong p.p. (e.g. a 1000 *Genesis* 651 "He ða bysenc from Gode *brungen* hæfde"), taken over in northern English (EDD), apparently extinct today. Present-day dialectal *breng* (Kent) may be related to the alternative OE infinitive *brengan*.

|                                              |                                                                                              |                                     |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ME <i>cacchen</i><br>(cf. OE <i>læccan</i> ) | <i>cahte ~ cauhte</i>                                                                        | <i>caht</i>                         |
| EDD                                          | <i>læhte læhton</i><br>( <i>catched, ketched</i> )<br>( <i>cotch</i> )<br>( <i>cotched</i> ) | <i>læht</i><br><br>( <i>katʃn</i> ) |
| SEDDG                                        | <i>catch; catched</i>                                                                        | <i>catch; catched</i>               |
| SE <i>catch</i> [3B]                         | <i>caught</i>                                                                                | <i>caught</i>                       |

## Comments:

ME *cacchen* comes from Old Norman French *cachier* (Picard *cacher*). At a very early date it came to be used synonymously with *lacchen* (< OE *læcc[e]an* [wk<sub>1</sub>]) – whence the p.t. forms. The regular form *catched* was often used as both p.t. and p.p. until the 18th century: The OED gives quotes from Marvell, Hobbes, Bunyan (17th century) and Defoe (18th century: "I *catched* hold of Friday" [*Robinson Crusoe*, 1719]). It is interesting to note that Johnson gives to "catch: pret. I *catched*, or *caught*; part. pass. I have *catched*, or *caught*" (in that order). The 19th century dis-

played greater variation (see the EDD's vocalism and the extinct *-en* participle) than the 20th century: once again the two trends of strong/weak distinction (*caught* p.t. and p.p.) and conjugation regularization (extension of the base vowel to all forms) loom large.

3E (*V -ed<sub>1</sub> = V -ed<sub>2</sub>* /ɪə<sup>r</sup>/~/ɜː<sup>r</sup>/):

|                                 |                         |                |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| OE <i>hīeran</i>                | <i>hīerde – hīerdon</i> | <i>hīered</i>  |
| late West Saxon                 |                         |                |
| <i>hȳran</i> [wk <sub>1</sub> ] |                         |                |
| EDD                             | ( <i>heard</i> = iəd)   | (iən)<br>(iəd) |
| SEDDG                           | <i>heard; hearded</i>   | unattested     |
| SE <i>hear</i> [3E]             | <i>heard</i>            | <i>heard</i>   |

Comments:

The p.t. given by Wright in the EDD is still attested in the SED data, as Upton et al. (1994: 493) mention "first person singular *heard* with an apparently weak conjugation: [-d] suffixed to an unmutated stem". The dialectal forms found in both the EDD and the SEDDG are obviously related to OE *hīerde* and (ge)*hīered*, except p.p. (iən) found in northern English (EDD).

CLASS 4:

4Aa (*V -ed<sub>1</sub>* and *V -ed<sub>2</sub>* have the same vowel; *V -ed* = /əʊ/):

|                                                  |                                                                                                   |                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OE <i>brecan</i> [St <sub>4</sub> ] <sup>9</sup> | <i>bræc – bræcon</i>                                                                              | <i>brocen</i>                                                                                           |
| EDD                                              | ( <i>brak</i> )<br>( <i>bruk</i> )<br>( <i>broked</i> )                                           | ( <i>broked</i> )<br>( <i>brok</i> )<br>( <i>bruc</i> )                                                 |
| SEDDG                                            | <i>brack</i><br><i>brake</i> with [eː]<br>replacing stem-vowel<br>[ɛi];<br><i>breaked, broked</i> | <i>a-broke; a-broked;</i><br><i>a-broken;</i><br><i>brack, bracken</i><br><i>broke</i><br><i>broked</i> |
| SE <i>break</i> [4Aa]                            | <i>broke</i>                                                                                      | <i>broken</i>                                                                                           |

Comments:

Originally the vowels of the p.t. sg. and p.p. were short. In eME we find *bracc* (*Ormulum*), a form still found in northern English (EDD and SEDDG). In late

<sup>9</sup> "Breca exhibits pptc. forms characteristic of Class V (i.e. *breca*) beside proper Class IV ones. Formally, *breca* and *hleca* are Class V verbs (Campbell 1959: 312)" (Krygier 1994: 50).

Middle English (IME) the p.t. form *brake* is commonly attested (*Lazamon*) and it is found until the 17th century (*Authorized Version*, 1611). But *broke*, formed analogically on the p.p., started replacing *brake* as early as the 16th century, while the p.p. *broken* was often reduced to *broke*, in both written and spoken English. Johnson gives "to break: pret. I *broke*, or *brake*; part. pass. *broke*, or *broken*" (in that order). The p.p. *broke* is used adjectivally in SE (*to go broke*, *to go for broke*). Present-day dialect forms may result from a mixture of the strong-verb pattern and the weak-verb pattern: *broked* (Devon, Dorset). The p.t. *breaked* is exceptional (Essex), but its history is a long one, as one finds weak forms of *breken* in ME: *Peterborough Chronicle* ("sume ðær swiðe gebrocode wæron", 978. 123 [Krygier 1994: 88]), *Poema Morale* (13th century: "þo þe *breked* godes lese" [Krygier 1994: 137]) – even until the 15th century (*brokyd*, *Paston Letters* [Krygier 1994: 221]).

|                                      |                               |                 |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| OE <i>sprecan</i> [st <sub>5</sub> ] | <i>spræc – spræcon</i>        | <i>sprecen</i>  |
| EDD                                  | ( <i>spak</i> , <i>spēk</i> ) | ( <i>spōk</i> ) |
|                                      | ( <i>spiak</i> )              |                 |
|                                      | ( <i>spokt</i> )              | <i>æspōkt</i>   |
|                                      | ( <i>speaked</i> )            |                 |
| SEDDG                                | <i>spack</i>                  | <i>spacken</i>  |
|                                      | <i>spake</i>                  | <i>spake</i>    |
|                                      | <i>spaked</i>                 | <i>speaked</i>  |
|                                      | <i>speaked</i>                | <i>spoke</i>    |
|                                      | <i>spoked</i>                 |                 |
| SE <i>speak</i> [4Aa]                | <i>spoke</i>                  | <i>spoken</i>   |

#### Comments:

The original short vowel of the p.t. is to be found in 19th- and 20th century dialectal English, essentially in the north (the OED gives *spak* = "Sc. and dial."; see R. Burns, *Holy Fair* iv "Laughan as she *spak*"). The form *spake* was currently attested until the 18th century (cf. OED "now arch., dial., or poet."). Johnson gives "to speak: pret. *spake* or *spoke*; part. pass. *spoken*". Dialectal weak forms like *speaked* or *spaked/spoked* (resulting from a mixture of the strong-verb pattern and the weak-verb pattern) are in fact continuations of earlier usages: in ME, *speked* (infinitive *speken*) is attested in the 12th century (*Lambeth Homilies*) and in the 14th century (*Polychronicon* Ranulphi Higden: "After þat men *speked* many langages at Newprot his tour" [Krygier 1994: 186]).

|                                     |                                |                    |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| OE <i>stelan</i> [st <sub>4</sub> ] | <i>stæl – stælon</i>           | <i>stolen</i>      |
| EDD                                 | ( <i>stēl</i> , <i>stiel</i> ) | ( <i>stōl</i> )    |
|                                     | ( <i>stold</i> )               | ( <i>stealed</i> ) |
|                                     | ( <i>stealed</i> )             | ( <i>stoled</i> )  |
| SEDDG                               | <i>stealed</i>                 | <i>a-stealed</i>   |
|                                     |                                | <i>a-stole</i>     |
|                                     |                                | <i>a-stoled</i>    |
|                                     | <i>stoled</i>                  | <i>stealed</i>     |



|                 |              |                                       |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| SE <i>steal</i> | <i>stole</i> | <i>stole, stoled</i><br><i>stolen</i> |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|

## Comments:

*stole* for earlier *stal* (14th century) has been in current use since the 17th century. The OED underlines that the *Authorized Version* has two instances of *stale*, invariably rendered by *stole* in modern reprints. Regularized weak forms of the *stealed* type are unattested in ME: they are to be found from the 16th century onwards and have established themselves in dialectal English all over England, together with mixed (i.e. strong-cum-weak) forms like *stoled*.

4Ae (/aɪ/ ~ /eɪ/):

|                                     |                                      |                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OE <i>licgan</i> [st <sub>5</sub> ] | <i>læg – lǣgon</i>                   | <i>legen</i>                                                              |
| EDD                                 | ( <i>lied</i> )                      | ( <i>liən</i> )<br>( <i>lign</i> )<br>( <i>əlai</i> )<br>( <i>əlaid</i> ) |
| SEDDG                               | <i>layed</i>                         | unattested                                                                |
|                                     | <i>lied</i> (infinitive <i>lig</i> ) |                                                                           |
| SE <i>lie</i> [4Ae]                 | <i>lay</i>                           | <i>lain</i>                                                               |

## Comments:

The two stems have given SE *lie* and dialectal *lig* (southern *lidge*). The strong p.t. forms *læg* and *lǣgon* (pl.) have given *lay*. Johnson gives "to lie: pret. I *lay*; I have *lain* or *lien*" (cf. EDD). Weak forms are unattested until the 14th century – a period when we find *lyzed*, *liegen*, *liggeden* (*Wyclifite Bible, A stanzaic life of Christ* [Krygier 1994: 184]). Weak p.p. forms (*ligged*, *lied*, *lig'd*, Sc. *liggit*) are attested in the OED from 1560 to 1879: *lied* is still dialectal. Weak p.p. forms (*ligen*, *lyen*, *lien*) are attested in ME. The present-day dialectal p.t. *layed* may be a mixed (strong + weak suffix) form or may result from a confusion with *lay* (OE *lecgan* [wk<sub>1</sub>]), whose present form comes from the second and third person singular present tense (*legest*, *legeð*).

4Ba (V/V -ed<sub>2</sub> = /əʊ/):

|                                     |                        |                   |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| OE <i>grōwan</i> [st <sub>7</sub> ] | <i>grēow – grēowon</i> | <i>grōwen</i>     |
| EDD                                 | ( <i>growed</i> )      | ( <i>growed</i> ) |
| SEDDG                               | <i>growed</i>          | unattested        |
| SE <i>grow</i> [4Ba]                | <i>grew</i>            | <i>grown</i>      |

## Comments:

The strong-to-weak shift takes place across the board: The OED gives a list of forms with *growed* (mentioned 'dial.' and 'vulgar') for both p.t. and p.p. It seems to

have taken place in the 14th century (Wyclif *Gen.* xxi. 8: "The child *growide*" [OED]; Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale* 759: "That in his gardyn *growed* swich a tree" [Krygier 1994: 202]) and is obviously due to the lack of sufficient differentiation of the original ablaut pattern.

4Bb ( $V/V$  -ed<sub>2</sub> = /eɪ/):

|                                  |                                |                               |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| OE <i>tacan</i> < ON <i>taka</i> | Late OE <i>tōc</i>             | * <i>tacen</i>                |
| EDD                              | ( <i>tiək</i> )                | ( <i>tokn</i> , <i>tukn</i> ) |
|                                  | ( <i>tookt</i> )               | ( <i>teən</i> )               |
|                                  | ( <i>tade</i> , <i>taked</i> ) | ( <i>tuk</i> )                |
|                                  |                                | ( <i>tēd</i> )                |
|                                  |                                | ( <i>æteəkt</i> )             |
|                                  |                                | ( <i>tukt</i> )               |
| SEDDG                            | <i>taed</i>                    | <i>a-took</i>                 |
|                                  | <i>taen</i>                    | <i>a-tooked</i>               |
|                                  | <i>take</i>                    | <i>ta'en</i>                  |
|                                  | <i>taken</i>                   | <i>took</i>                   |
|                                  | <i>tooked</i>                  | <i>tooked</i>                 |
|                                  |                                | <i>tooken</i>                 |
|                                  |                                | <i>toon</i>                   |
|                                  |                                | <i>take</i>                   |
| SE <i>take</i> [4Bb]             | <i>took</i>                    | <i>taken</i>                  |

Comments:

Attested in late OE c. 1100, *tacan* may have been used in the Danelaw a century earlier. It ousted *nimen* (OE *niman*) in ME. The absence of /k/ in some dialectal forms (EDD and SEDDG) is typically northern (cf. *tane* in Scottish English, and poetic *ta'en*). The strong-to-weak shift is attested from the 13th century onwards (the OED gives examples from c. 1205 [*Lazamon*] to 1485). The p.p. *took* became common in the 16th century (conjugation regularization). Johnson gives "to take: pret. *took*, part. pass. *taken*, sometimes *took*." Mixed forms are not uncommon in nonstandard English: *tooken* (strong p.p. + strong suffix), already attested in John Donne, seems mostly northern, whereas *tooked* (strong p.p. + weak suffix) is southwestern (Dorset, Devon).

4Bf ( $V/V$  -ed<sub>2</sub> = /i:/):

|                                   |                                       |                                        |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| OE <i>etan</i> [st <sub>5</sub> ] | æt <sup>10</sup> – æton               | <i>eten</i>                            |
| EDD                               | ( <i>at</i> , <i>ēt</i> , <i>īt</i> ) | ( <i>etn</i> )                         |
|                                   | ( <i>eated</i> , <i>etted</i> )       | ( <i>et</i> , <i>īt</i> , <i>yēt</i> ) |
|                                   |                                       | ( <i>jetid</i> )                       |
| SEDDG                             | <i>eat</i>                            | <i>ate</i>                             |

<sup>10</sup> Or *æ̃t* (Krygier 1994, cf. OED s.v. *eat*).

|                     |              |               |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
|                     | <i>eaten</i> | <i>aten</i>   |
|                     | <i>aten</i>  | <i>atened</i> |
|                     |              | <i>eat</i>    |
| SE <i>eat</i> [4Bf] | <i>ate</i>   | <i>eaten</i>  |

## Comments:

The instability in vowel-length in OE accounts for the two present-day phonetic variants for the p.t. *ate*: [et] ~ [eit].<sup>11</sup> The *eat* forms (both p.t. and p.p.), lavishly attested in present-day dialectal English, reflect a long history of conjugation regularization; see Johnson: "to *eat* preterite *ate*, or *eat* ; part. *eat*, or *eaten*" (in that order). Pure weak forms may have been common in 19th-century dialectal English (EDD), but they seem to have been extinct when the *Survey of English Dialects* was carried out (but see the isolated occurrence of *atened* in Kent).

## 4Bg (V/V -ed = /i:/):

|                              |                                                                                             |                             |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| OE <i>sēon</i> ~ <i>sion</i> | <i>seah</i> – <i>sāwon</i> ~ <i>sǣgon</i>                                                   | <i>sawen</i>                |
| [st <sub>5</sub> ]           |                                                                                             | <i>sewen</i> , <i>segen</i> |
| EDD                          | ( <i>sī</i> )                                                                               | ( <i>sī</i> )               |
|                              | ( <i>siu</i> )                                                                              | ( <i>seed</i> )             |
|                              | ( <i>sawed</i> )                                                                            | ( <i>sawed</i> )            |
|                              | ( <i>seed</i> )                                                                             |                             |
| SEDDG                        | <i>sawed</i> , <i>seen</i> ,<br><i>seed</i> , <i>a-seed</i> ,<br><i>see</i> , <i>a-seen</i> | unattested                  |
| SE <i>see</i> [4Bg]          | <i>saw</i>                                                                                  | <i>seen</i>                 |

## Comments:

The strong-to-weak shift (*seed* both p.t. and p.p.), clearly attested in the EDD, has persisted in 20th-century dialectal English. The principle of conjugation regularization (p.t. = p.p. both *see* and *seed*), labelled 'vulgar' in the OED, is also patent. The OED does not give *sawed* but *saw* (labelled 'US coll. and dial.') for the p.p. As for the colloquial p.t. *seen*, it is a regular feature of all nonstandard varieties of English (attested from 1796 to 1976 in the OED).

## 4Ca (/aɪ/ ~ /əʊ/ ~ /ɪ/):

|                                    |                                                        |                             |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| OE <i>rīdan</i> [st <sub>1</sub> ] | <i>rād</i> – <i>ridon</i>                              | <i>riden</i>                |
| EDD                                | ( <i>red</i> , <i>rēd</i> , <i>riəd</i> , <i>rid</i> ) | ( <i>red</i> , <i>rid</i> ) |

<sup>11</sup> See LPD, where Wells writes: "*BrE poll panel preference*: et 55%, eit 45%. In *AmE*, however, et is considered non-standard." Cf. OED s.v. *eat*: "The pronunciation (et) is commonly associated with the written form *ate*, but perhaps belongs rather to *eat*, with shortened vowel after analogy of wk. vbs. *read*, *lead*, etc.; cf. dial. (bɛt), pa.t. of *beat*."

|                      |             |                     |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| SEDDG                | <i>rid</i>  | ( <i>rōd, rod</i> ) |
| SE <i>ride</i> [4Ca] | <i>rode</i> | unattested          |
|                      |             | <i>ridden</i>       |

## Comments:

The OED gives examples of p.p. *rode* until 1856 (attested in Shakespeare, *Henry V*, v. iii. 98: "Helter-skelter have I *rode* to thee"); both p.t. and p.p. *rid* were attested in the 18th century: see Johnson "to *ride*: preter. *ride* or *rode*: part. *rid* or *ridden*" (in that order). If the principle of conjugation regularization applies here, the strong-to-weak shift does not (no examples are found in Krygier 1994).

CLASS 5 (all three parts, *V*, *V* -*ed*<sub>1</sub> and *V* -*ed*<sub>2</sub> are identical):

|                   |                   |                             |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| ME <i>puten</i>   |                   |                             |
| EDD               | ( <i>putted</i> ) | ( <i>potn, putn, pētn</i> ) |
|                   |                   | ( <i>pitn</i> )             |
| SEDDG             | <i>pat</i>        | <i>a-put</i>                |
|                   | <i>putten</i>     | <i>putten</i>               |
| SE <i>put</i> [5] | <i>put</i>        | <i>put</i>                  |

## Comments:

The 12th-century infinitive *puten* is related to ME *pōten* (late OE *potian*) and OE *pȳtan*. The regular p.t. *putted* (cf. EDD) was attested regularly in ME and early Modern English. The strong forms *pat* (p.t.) and *putten* (p.p.) were in current use between the 15th and 19th centuries in Scottish English and in the northern dialects, and are still in existence in present-day dialectal English.<sup>12</sup>

## CLASS7:

7a (no suffix; *V* -*ed*<sub>1</sub> and *V* -*ed*<sub>2</sub> are different; change of base vowel:  
/ɪ/ ~ /æ/ ~ /ʌ/):

|                                        |                         |                         |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| OE <i>on-ginnan</i> [st <sub>3</sub> ] | <i>gan – gunnon</i>     | <i>gunnen</i>           |
| EDD                                    | ( <i>bəgun, bəgən</i> ) | ( <i>begūnen</i> )      |
|                                        | ( <i>begunned</i> )     | ( <i>bəgun, bəgən</i> ) |
|                                        |                         | ( <i>bəgiən</i> )       |
| SEDDG                                  | <i>beginned</i>         |                         |
|                                        | <i>begun</i>            | unattested              |
| SE <i>begin</i> [7a]                   | <i>began</i>            | <i>begun</i>            |

<sup>12</sup> See the OED s.v. *put*: "The differentiated put<sup>2</sup>, putt (pʌt), used in golf, and in Sc. also 'putting the stone', is conjugated *put, putted, putted*, and is thus quite distinct from *pit, pat, putten*, as well as from the ordinary Eng. *put, put, put*."

## Comments:

The standard p.t. *began* (i.e. the p.t. plural has been levelled out under the singular) was for a long time rivalled by *begun* (see Johnson: "to *begin*: *began*, or *begun* ; I have *begun*"), whence the 19th- and 20th-century forms displayed by the EDD and SEDDG. Regular weak forms are found in the 13th century (*Lazamon* [Krygier 1994: 138] and in the 14th century (*The English Charlemagne romances* 6 [Krygier 1994: 182].

7b:

|                                    |                                                                                                   |                                                     |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| OE <i>cuman</i> [st <sub>4</sub> ] | <i>cwōm</i> ~ <i>cōm</i><br><i>cwōmon</i> ~ <i>cōmon</i>                                          | <i>cumen</i> ~ <i>cymen</i>                         |
| EDD                                | ( <i>kam</i> , <i>kom</i> , <i>kum</i> )<br>( <i>comed</i> )                                      | ( <i>kumen</i> , <i>kēmən</i> )<br>( <i>comed</i> ) |
| SEDDG                              | <i>cam</i> , <i>cem</i> , <i>co</i> , <i>come</i> ,<br><i>comed</i> , <i>coome</i> , <i>comen</i> | unattested                                          |
| SE <i>come</i> [7b]                | <i>came</i>                                                                                       | <i>come</i>                                         |

## Comments:

The present-day dialectal *coome* (cf. Tennyson, *North. Farmer*, 1864) has kept the originally long vowel. The vowel change from /o/ to /a/ is of Northumbrian origin (*Cursor Mundi*, c. 1300) – which is why *cam* is attested in Northumberland and in Yorkshire. The p.p. (y)*cumen* is attested from the 13th century to the 17th century. The weak form *comed*, mostly Scottish and northern, seems to have been fairly stable over the centuries.

## Remarks on the CGEL

Quirk et al.'s classification is based on phonetic criteria (3.12). The distinction between 'regular' and 'irregular' may be flimsy: *earn* is generally considered as a regular verb (and spellingwise it is undoubtedly so) since its p.t. and p.p. are identical, i.e. *earned* (/ɜ:nd/); but as /ɜ:nt/ is a possible phonological variant, it is included in the list of Class 1 verbs (3.13), which massively displays the irregular/regular (cf. strong/weak) pattern: *burn*, *burnt* ~ *burned* (p.t.), *burnt* ~ *burned* (p.p.). The hesitation between the two patterns is also found in Class 2 (3.14) – *shear*, *sheared* (p.t.), *shorn* ~ *sheared* (p.p.) –, Class 3 (3.15) – *dream*, *dreamt* (p.t. = p.p. '< esp BrE >'), *dreamed* (p.t. = p.p. '< esp AmE >') –, Class 4 (3.16) – *weave*, *wove* ~ *weaved* (p.t.), *woven* ~ *weaved* (p.p.)<sup>13</sup> –, Class 5 (3.17) –

<sup>13</sup> NB: (a)*wake(n)* may be confused with the regular form (a)*waken*. The CGEL (p. 109) comments: "... there is some tendency to produce blends of the regular and irregular verbs, as in, 'You *waked* me too early.' " (instead of 'You *woke* me ...'). See Preston (1996) for a detailed study.

(*quit, quit* ~ *quitted* (p.p. = p.t.) –, Class 6 (3.18) – *light, lit* ~ *lighted* (p.t. = p.p.) –, but not in Class 7 (the basic verb is *begin*) though.

A close comparison between the GCE and the CGEL proves very rewarding, as many comments have been added in the revised version of the grammar, revealing that three trends seem to emerge very clearly:

i) conjugation regularization: for instance, *cleave, cleft, cleft* (Class 3A) and *weave, wove, woven* (Class 4a) are increasingly regularized to *cleaved, cleaved* and *weave, weaved* respectively.<sup>14</sup>

ii) the p.t. form is extended to the p.p.: *tread, trod, trodden* > *tread, trod, trod* (Class 4Ad). And we may have *beat, beat, beat* instead of *beat, beat, beaten* (Class 4D).<sup>15</sup>

iii) the p.p. form may be extended to the p.t.: 7 out of the 9 verbs making up Class 7A, namely *ring, shrink, sing, sink, spring, stink, swim* may have /ʌ/ instead of /æ/ in the past tense.<sup>16</sup>

## Conclusion

The tendencies foregrounded in the CGEL corroborate the age-old trends found in the earlier stages of the history of English and prove the cyclical aspect of linguistic change. Conjugation regularization has always been at work, and the basic principle of "making the two forms the same, regardless of the provenance of the form that endures" (Chambers 1995: 239), which may have originated because of the cognitive overload, is as much a feature of Standard English as of nonstandard varieties, even though the standard dialect "lags well behind" (Chambers 1995: 240).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *mow, prove* and *saw*, "all of which have weak past tense forms (*mowed, proved, sawed*) and historically had strong past participle forms (*mown, proven, sawn*). Very conservative speakers and some very old speakers still use the strong forms. But the strong past participle forms have receded to the point where it would take a hidebound purist to find anything objectionable in a sentence like *Sally has mowed the lawn, sawed down the tree, and proved the four-color hypothesis all in one morning.*" (Chambers 1995: 239).

<sup>15</sup> "*beat* is sometimes used as *V-ed<sub>2</sub>*, esp. in AmE" (CGEL, p. 111).

<sup>16</sup> The other two verbs, *begin* and *drink*, are apparently resistant to the change. But the opposite trend – i.e., extension of the p.t. form to the p.p. – may be attested in some varieties of American English: "Other variants generalize the past tense, as in *They 've took the teacher to the hospital, They 've went and changed the road signs on us, and They 've drank the worst wine first.* The latter form – *drank* for standard *drunk* – now occurs fairly widely in MC speech in North America (and perhaps elsewhere) and seems well advanced along the venerable pathway from the nonstandard into the standard, as an increasingly tolerable variant that will eventually become the accepted form" (Chambers 1995: 240). Cf. CGEL (114, note [a]): "In Class 7A, although the gradation series /ɪ/ /æ/ /ʌ/ is the one generally accepted as standard, *V-ed<sub>1</sub>* forms in /ʌ/ are commonly used (esp. in AmE) and accepted. *V-ed<sub>2</sub>* forms in /æ/ also have some currency."

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# **Towards a Corpus of Dialogues, 1550-1750**

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## **1. Introduction**

As is well known, change is mostly actuated in spoken language, but the researcher's paradox is that it has become possible to store speech for further study only relatively recently. Consequently, we can approach the spoken language of the past only through the study of speech-based records or literary texts that (as far as we know) can be thought to convey glimpses of the spoken idiom. Great caution is in order here, granted the possibility of the effects of scribal or narratorial intervention.

Direct evidence of the spoken English of the early periods is very scarce. Incidental records and constructed dialogue in verse or prose texts can be found already in the Middle English period. However, it is only from the 1550s onwards that we can hope to cover the various types of texts preserving the spoken idiom in any systematic way (for description of the textual background of the period, see Evans 1951, Barber 1986, Görlach 1991; for the scarce sources containing specimens of the colloquial idiom in pre-1500 texts, see Clark 1978).

## **2. Previous work**

Much of the research done on Early Modern English has been based on the language of literary and scholarly texts. Less emphasis has been put on the use of speech-based texts containing specimens of spoken language recorded from the mouths of speakers during authentic speech situations. Brief extracts of speech-based texts (e.g. trials and witness depositions) and scripts from texts intended to be spoken (such as plays or sermons) can be found in, for example, the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts and related corpora, but non-speech-based sources dominate in that and most other diachronic corpora (for instance, the ARCHER Corpus, in preparation).

There is an obvious need for a large computerized corpus focusing on speech related data, offering easy access to a structured and contextualised selection of texts drawn from reliable sources. The project launched by the authors of the present paper is aimed at filling this gap.

## **3. Aims of project**

The aim of our project is to construct a computerised corpus of dialogue texts for research purposes. Why dialogue texts? We focus on dialogue, at least to start with,



because we are interested in the role that impromptu speech and interactive two-way communication play in language change. We may consider such monologue texts as sermons and speeches later on, though, but only after compiling our dialogue corpus.

#### 4. Research prospects

To better illustrate the aims of our corpus, we have grouped some of the research topics or fields we have had in mind as follows: a. Variationist Studies, b. Historical Pragmatics, and c. Speech Presentation.

##### a. Variationist Studies:

Studies carried out on the basis of the Helsinki Corpus and related corpora have shown the power of structured multi-genre corpora but also pointed to the necessity of having access to further more specialized type of material. The computer makes it possible to retrieve data relatively easily, and the influence of extralinguistic and linguistic factors on the distributions of variant forms can be observed across centuries.

Our corpus will offer suitable material for investigating speech-based language versus written texts proper. Granted the Helsinki Corpus and other diachronic corpora, one can study the various lexical and morpho-syntactic phenomena within the strictly speaking variational framework or within, for instance, the framework of factor analysis and other such type studies (see Biber 1988, Biber/Finegan 1986, 1989).

Our corpus is structured in a way that allows a comparison between naturally occurring speech (supposedly recorded verbatim or nearly so) and constructed imaginary speech. A number of researchers have claimed that dramatic texts provide the best information on the colloquial speech of the Early Modern English period (e.g. Kopytko 1995; Brown/Gilman 1989). However, conclusions about naturally occurring conversation are necessarily circumscribed by the fact that dramatic texts are literary texts. Our corpus will enable people to investigate the literary versus non-literary dimension in speech-based Early Modern English texts.

##### b. Historical Pragmatics:

The corpus will offer the possibility for making substantial progress in the relatively new field of historical pragmatics (broadly speaking, the study of language use over time). As Jacobs/Jucker (1995: 6) put it in the landmark publication *Historical Pragmatics*: "Pragmatics is predominantly concerned with spoken language. The most prominent problem for historical pragmatics, therefore, concerns the availability of historical natural language data." Recent developments in cross-cultural pragmatics have been confined to the use of present-day material. The corpus would help promote a diachronic dimension to this work. More specifically, studies could be conducted on the following phenomena:

- Conversational structure, e.g. openings and closings, turn-taking.
- Speech acts, e.g. how particular speech acts – promises, apologies, compliments, oaths, etc. – are constituted, speech act sequences (for instance, preference organisation: responses to complaints or compliments; refusals to requests), speech act verbs.
- Communication principles, e.g. the application of Grice's maxims in particular situations.
- Politeness phenomena, e.g. linguistic strategies used to realise politeness (for instance, hedges), the sociological or contextual variables affecting politeness and how they are weighted, the relative mix of positive and negative politeness, the use of deference, the use of banter.
- Discourse phenomena, e.g. discourse markers, second person pronouns, terms of address.
- In a wider sense, we could test current frameworks of discourse analysis developed in relation to present-day language. Can these be applied to historical data, and, if not, how should they be adapted?

#### c. Speech Presentation:

An important feature of our corpus is that it is partly structured according to how speech is presented in writing. Half of the corpus has the format of prose, that is to say, a narrator or reporter explicitly mediates the speech through various modes of speech presentation (e.g. direct speech, free indirect speech, indirect speech). An increasingly weighty body of research has examined the techniques for presenting speech in prose (see Fludernik 1993, for a review of this work). This research has considered such issues as:

- The categorisation of different modes of speech presentation (including, for example, their formal linguistic characteristics, such as time and place deixis, the use of independent reporting clauses or of punctuation).
- The relationship of these modes of speech presentation to a cline varying from closeness to the original speech to narratorial interference.
- The stylistic and social implications of different modes of speech presentation.
- More recently, researchers at Lancaster University have used the corpus methodology to both test and refine a model of speech presentation, and to investigate text-type variation according to speech presentation (see Short et al. 1996).

However, virtually no publication has considered speech presentation from a historical perspective. Clearly, our corpus will be a valuable resource for the investigation of speech presentation in Early Modern English texts.

## 5. Main parameters and structure of the corpus

The provisional structure of the corpus is based on preliminary research done on source texts and is displayed here:

| Dialogue                                   | <i>Recorded</i>                                           | <i>Re-constructed</i>  | <i>Constructed</i>                      |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>Minimum of narratorial intervention</i> | Trial proceedings<br><br>Parliamentary journals (debates) | (History, biographies) | Drama<br><br>Handbooks in dialogue form |
| <i>Narratorial intervention</i>            | Witness depositions<br><br>Witness accounts               | History, biographies   | Prose fiction                           |

The **horizontal** parameter of the table has to do with the authenticity of the dialogue. We distinguish three main positions on this scale:

1. *Recorded* – Notes were taken down by an individual during the speech event with the intention of producing a record of the dialogue.
2. *Re-constructed* – The narrator<sup>1</sup> purports to present dialogue which actually took place (the speakers are known to have existed and in most cases the narrator was present at the speech event in question).
3. *Constructed* – The narrator constructs imaginary dialogue.

The **vertical** parameter has to do with the degree of narratorial intervention:

*Minimum of narratorial intervention* – The utterances of the speakers are presented as they were supposedly produced; the narrator's presence is confined to occasional comments (e.g. description of speakers' non-verbal behaviour, stage directions).

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<sup>1</sup> There are circumstances where the terms 'author' or 'reporter' may seem more appropriate than 'narrator', or circumstances where more than one term applies. For the sake of simplicity, we have adopted 'narrator' as the general term for the mediator of the dialogue, and make further distinctions only when necessary (e.g. we might use 'author', if we wish to focus on the 'producer' of the dialogue, particularly constructed dialogue). The term 'narrator' facilitates the use of the term 'narrative' to describe 'non-dialogue' parts of text – such as descriptions of people, places and events – or in other words, parts of the text for which the narrator is responsible, rather than a reported speaker.

*Narratorial intervention* – The utterances of the speakers are embedded in first or third person narrative; the narrator's presence is made explicit, usually in the form of reporting clauses.

## 6. Illustrating text candidates

Next we will give some illustrations of our text candidates and describe the criteria used to distinguish different text types.

### *Trial proceedings*

Trial proceedings consist of dialogue between two or more participants present at a court of judicature (civil, ecclesiastical or military). Either the clerk or somebody present in the audience made notes of the discussions during the session. These records often resemble play texts in form.

The example below is drawn from Hargrave's edition of 1730, but we are also likely to use other sources for this category (it seems Hargrave has modernized the text to some extent, but the edition is generally deemed to be reliable enough for the purposes of many types of linguistic studies). The extract is from, to cite the title, "The Trials of John Twyn Printer, for High-Treason; of Thomas Brewster Bookseller, Simon Dover Printer, Nathan Brooks Bookbinder, for Misdemeanours; at the Old-Baily, the 20th and 22d of February 1663/4". In the extract Joseph Walker, a compositor, appears as the witness examined by various authorities; notice the rapid exchange of utterances recorded in dialogue form (*italics follow the original text; explanatory comments given in square brackets are ours*).

#### Example 1:

Ld Hyde. Was there any body in the House besides you and your Master?

*Walker.* There was my Fellow-Apprentice, and the Woman that keeps the House.

Ld Hyde. Were there no Strangers there?

*Walker.* No, my Lord.

Mr. Recorder. Were they [= the composed sheets] printed in your Master's House.

*Walker.* Yes.

Serj. Morton. What Room?

*Walker.* In the Press-Room.

Serj. Morton. Did your Master work at the Press about this Work any part of the time?

*Walker.* Yes, I saw him beat some Sheets.

Ld Hyde. When you had printed one Sheet, were there not some Mistakes of the Letters to be mended?

*Walker.* Yes, there were Literals.

Ld Hyde. Who made the Amendment?

*Walker.* Upon my Oath I cannot tell.

Ld Hyde. Do you believe it to be your Master's?

*Walker.* I cannot tell that.

Ld Hyde. Have you seen you [= your] Master write heretofore?

*Walker.* I have seen him write, but because I have heard of them that could counterfeit Mens Hands, I dare not swear it was his Writing.

*Ld Hyde.* Were the Amendments that were brought back, like his Hand?

*Walker.* The Letters were something like them, but I cannot swear positively that they were his.

*Ld. Hyde.* No, that you cannot, unless you saw him write them; but was it like his Hand?

*Walker.* It was not much unlike his Hand.

(*State Trials*, II: 528)

### *Parliamentary diaries and journals*

Notes were also made of parliamentary debates in parliamentary journals by individuals who were present. These could be private diaries kept by Members of Parliament for their own purposes or records taken by official clerks or sub-clerks. Generally, the printed records present verbatim the words supposedly uttered, mostly with an indication as to the speaker's identity. The scribe's presence is apparent only in incidental remarks (e.g. on the speaker's behaviour; for details, see Nevalainen 1991: 113-116). In Example 2 we cite the parliamentary diary of Narcissus Luttrell, which covers the years 1691-1693 and survives as two bound volumes, "carefully written out in Luttrell's own hand" and "based largely on now-lost rough notes taken in the House and supplemented by copies of bills and other documents presented to the House" (Horwitz 1972: viii). In Nuttrell's recording style speakers' first person utterances alternate with minute-type of notes, in which the contents of the speech events are summarized briefly, sometimes under a joint speakership (see below, e.g., the entry for "Sir Joseph Tredenham and Mr. Comptroller Wharton"). The extract is drawn from the session of Saturday, 28 November 1691, and the debate concerns estimated costs of war, officers' pay and related issues (for lack of space, some entries are omitted in the middle of the extract).

#### Example 2:

*Sir Henry Goodricke:* I cannot but wonder at this debate. However, I think fit to acquaint you that the King himself has taken notice of your *Votes*. He pulled them out of his pocket in Council. And he has empowered us to say that he was resolved to make a descent in France, and withal that if you did strike off the number as proposed (and is done in Ireland by including the officers) you would spoil all His Majesty's designs and break all his measures and he can never go on further.

*Mr. Cary* to the same, and that the officers might not be included.

*Sir John Thompson* that they might.

*Sir Roert Howard:* I am for good husbandry as much as any but would not have our good husbandry ruin us. We had better give a little more rather than not do our work. I am not, therefore, for striking off so many men as the officers amount to, near 8,000 men.

*Mr. Bathurst* on the other side.

[Some entries omitted.]

*Paul Foley:* I never saw such things done in a House as has been done this day. To say if we do not comply we shall break the King's measures, this is wholly irregular.

*Mr. Francis Robartes:* I desire this matter may be referred to a committee. And since His Majesty has been more plain to us, I desire we may alter our minds and come up to what he thinks fit.

*Sir John Guise:* The question now is come to this – whether we shall be irregular (as some pretend) or else be unsafe. I believe no one will be against going on what is for our safety, and therefore I desire we may not strike off 6,000 or 7,000 men.

*Lord Ranelagh:* The number in dispute is 7,386 men, officers – the sum and charge whereof amounts to but £89,875, besides in which is above £5,000 for the officers' servants.

*Sir Thomas Clarges:* The method of bringing in this is very extraordinary, and therefore I am against it. This is a way to ask money when the King does not. As to the officers, it is pretended but such a number, which cannot be known now, for I hope we may bring our companies to be 100 effective men; they have been so formerly.

*Mr Bale:* I am for complying with the number desired.

*Sir Josph Tredenham and Mr. Comptroller Wharton* to the same, for that the eyes of all Europe are upon you and the fate not only of this kingdom but all Christendom depend thereon. (Horwitz 1972: 47-48)

Moving from private parliamentary diaries to those compiled by official clerks, we now have a look at an extract drawn from notes taken down by Thomas Bowyer and Henry Elsing, Clerks of the Parliaments at the House of the Lords in the 1620s. Though much of the texts runs in minute-style, instances of brief dialogues can be found in these documents. It is not always clear whether what we have in the record is "direct speech" proper, or merely a summary of the original utterance (cf. the utterances by Lincoln Epus and Devon, below). There are also sometimes marginalia in the documents, in which the clerk comments on the decisions made, or points out that he had not grasped what had been said. The extract below is from the session of 17 April 1628 (the marginalia are given under the extract).

### Example 3:

KEEPER. Touching a reporte of the conference yesterday: the begynninge may easily be reported; the matter concerning the precedents interloquutory, and soe very difficulte. And soe demaunded howe farre they shalbe directed in their reporte.

LINCOLN EPUS. By waye of dialogue.

DEVON. Not altogether ympossible.

CANTER[BURY]. In former tyme yf the substance was reported, nowe used to be more at large.

HERTEFORD. The buissines was lefte unperfected and unfynished.

To reporte all when yt is perfected.

CLARE. Accordinge to the desyre of the Commons yesterday, to sende unto them for another conference, to perfect the worke begunn.

Mr. Attourney. Yf you resolve to proceede, I will obeye. Yf not I shall shewe some reasons that yt shall not be needefull. He wylbe ready against the afternoone.

Mr. Attourney. Ready to attend p.m. to those points you directe. I declyne yt not, neither thynk yt fytt to deserte what I sayd to the rest, but not to aunswer to any new matter. They shall have this advantage which never any had before against the Kinge, *vizt.* to be herde laste. But is ready to speak to that which is knowen allready, and desyres tyme to aunswer any newe matter.

[A comment in the left hand margin, adjacent to the utterances by the attorney: "Denied to heare any thinge nowe contrary to the Conference."; a comment in the right hand margin: "Agreed.", adjacent to the words "But is ready to speak...".] (Relf 1929: 114-115)

The debates at the House of Commons are more colourful. Of one of the clerks, John Wright, who came to the House of Commons in 1614 with little note-taking experience, the editor says (Jansson 1988: xl-xli):

His handwriting in 1614 is smaller and neater than in his later parliament journals; it is the rapidly written nature of the manuscript with its faulty syntax and poor spacing on the page rather than the handwriting itself that makes reading the notes difficult. The debates were obviously hastily taken down while the Clerk hurried to keep pace with the speakers, and often words as well as punctuation are omitted. Frequently false starts and full lines are crossed out.

In many of the editions containing notes of the debates carried out in the House of Commons, the spelling and punctuation have been modernized, which means that we will need to restore the original text from the manuscripts.

### *Witness depositions*

Witness depositions were often recorded at judicial court hearings. However, unlike trial proceedings, they take the form of a monologue, explicitly mediated by the scribe who uses, for example, reporting clauses. Our reasons for including depositions in a corpus of dialogues are that they are in fact part of a broader dialogue taking place between the witness and the magistrates; moreover, we only include depositions in which the witness reports conversations he or she has heard. As a result, such depositions will include explicit narratorial intervention, either on the part of the witness or the scribe. By way of illustration, we cite the main part of the deposition submitted by "Anne Colson of Blackwell, aged about 23 years", included in the records of the courts of Durham from the year 1588.

#### Example 4:

... And then and there the said Alison, sittenge upp in her bedd wher she lay in the hall howse, by the fier syde, with her clothes on, did saye unto the said Henrie Stavelie, "Henrie, where is my brother John Chambers?" whereunto he aunswered that he was in the feld. Then she said, "Henry, I pray the beare witnes, yf there be any questions heereafter maid about my goods, I geve them to my brother John Chambers, and will that I be buried in Darnton church, as neare my father as conveniently may be; and I geve unto the poore of Darlington parishe 20s." And thus she, the said Alison, did speake of hir own mynd, without any question of any body, the said Elizabeth Chambers beinge at that tyme about some occasions of her own in the chamber nigh the hall, where she the said Alison lay sick; where upon the said Elizabeth said, "Lalle" (meaning Allison, the sicke woman), "now, seing thou art so disposed to make thy will, thou might do well to sett in thy sister and brother as well as my husband;" wherupon the said Alison maid aunswer that she wold geve them nothings, but wold geve all to hir brother John. And then the said Henry Stavele

asked her what she wold geve to him? She said, "Ya, marry, what gives thou me? I will geve the nought, for thou never gave me any thinge." And this examine thinketh that she was of perfect memory at that tyme, and all that weake beore, for any thinge that this examinat could perceave, savind that sometymes, by extremitie of sicknes, she wold speake idle words. (*Durham depositions*, pp. 329-330).

### *Witness accounts*

Accounts are similar to depositions in that an individual was present and made notes in a speech situation, and that the final document contains explicit features signalling narratorial intervention. However, the dialogue takes place not at a court, but in other formal situations (e.g. when noteworthy persons are met). The following account was made by John Aubrey of the discussion he had had with Thomas Tynedale in c. 1670 (for the sake of convenience, some examples are cited from *The Oxford Book of English Talk*, though other sources will need to be consulted for greater accuracy as to the spelling and other conventions of the some originals; the editorial notes found in *The Oxford Book of English Talk* are given in square brackets in the extracts cited below).

#### Example 5:

T.T., an old gentleman that remembers Queen Elizabeth's raigene and court, one of true gravity and prudence, not one that depends upon the grave cutt of his beard to be thought so. He hath seen much in his time both at home and abroad: and with much choler inveighes against things now: –

'Alas! O' God's will! Now-a-dayes every one, forsooth, must have coaches, forsooth! In those dayes gentlemen kept horses for a man-at-arms, besides their hackney and hunting horses. This made the gentry robust and hardy and fitt for service – were able to be their owne guides in case of a rout [= riot, disturbance] or so, when occasion should so require. Our gentry forsooth in these dayes are so effeminated that they know not how to ride on horseback. Tho [= at that time, then] when the gentry mett, it was not at a poor blind sordid alehouse, to drinke up a barrell of drinke and lie drunke there two or three dayes together – fall together by the eares. They mett tho in the fields, well-appointed with their hounds or their hawkes, kept up good hospitality, and kept a good retinue that would venture that bloud and spirit that filled their vaines which their masters' tables nourisht – kept their tenants in due respect of them. We had no depopulation in those dayes. ... (*The Oxford Book of English Talk*, p. 139)

### *History and biographies*

History and biographies contain dialogues re-constructed by the narrator who purports to present actual dialogue between speakers known to have existed. These dialogues are mostly presented with explicit narratorial intervention (e.g. reporting clauses). In so doing the narrator acknowledges his or her role in the presentation of the dialogue, a role which is fundamental given the narrator's distance from the actual occurrence of the dialogue and lack of notes. In example 6 we have an extract from the autobiography of Thomas Mountain: the narrator describes the adventures



that took place during his journey from London to Cambridge in 1553, imprisoned and charged with treason.

#### Example 6:

... Thys done, I layed me downe apone my bed, and slepte untyl five a clocke yn the mornynge; and then my Kepar came and opynynd the dore, bade me good morowe, and askyd me and [= if] I were redye.

'Wherunto?' sayed I.

'To suffer deathe,' sayd the Keapar.

'Whate kyend of deathe?' sayed I, 'and whan shall yt be?'

'Your tyme is neare at hand' sayed he 'and that ys to be hangyd and drawne as a trayetor, and burnde as an herytyke; and thys muste be done even this foorenoone. Loke well to yourselve, therfore, and saye that yow be frendly usyd.'

'Your frendshyp, Mr. Charlys, ys but hard and scares, yn gyvyng me thys Scharborowe warnynge' [= a proverbial expression meaning no warning at all] but gyve me leave, I praye yow frendly, to talke with you, and be not offendyd whate I shall saye unto yow. Thys tale that yow have tolde me, ys yt true yn deed?'

'Ye,' sayed he, 'and that yow are lyke for to knowe. Dyspache therfor, I praye yow with speed.'

'Contentyd I ham with all my harte so to doo. Where ys the wryte of excusyon? Let me see yt, I praye yow.'

'I have none,' sayed he; 'thys ys moore and nydyes [more than needs, superfluous], for I ham to be trustyd and [even if] yt were for a greater mater than thys.' ... (From *The Oxford Book of English Talk*, pp. 27-28, as based on the edition by J. G. Nichols [Camden Society, 1859]).

#### Drama

Drama consists of imaginary dialogue. Though constructed, drama texts, especially comedies, are generally regarded as bearing affinities to the spoken idiom of the past. This extract below is from Robert Armin's *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke*: the dialogue consisting of brief utterances is followed by a longer monologue. The edition is that of 1609, the only known edition (the original lineation is kept below).

#### Example 7:

Enter *Iames a cittizen, father to Humil.*

*Iames.* Good morrow sir.

*Humil.* A good one to thy selfe, to vs tis seasond,

*Iames.* A marriage sir?

*Hum.* I and a good one friend.

*Iames.* Because tis rich.

*Hum.* Good reach at starres, y'faith tis true.

*Iames.* In whom sir, if I may be bold.

*Hum.* A knight of *More-clack* to a London widow.

*Iam.* My burnded soule saies I, a Knight of *More-*

*clack* to the widow *Humil*, iust, tis she,

*Humil*. By this the blessing of the holy rights,  
Rellishes in them, they are married, at least  
Faire for it, I must witnesse to't, fare-well. *exit*.

*Iames*. How ignorance pleades nonage, in his eie  
He knowes me not, tis not the Lyons kinde,  
Whose nature challenges right property.

Of perfect being, if it were,

*Humil* would *Humill* know, that him begot,  
To be what now he is married againe,  
And her first husband liuing, blame her not,  
Tis my owne proiect, thanke my letters,  
That falsifide our deaths black funerall,  
Into her mornefull hearing, follow it,  
Thinke on thy soule, diuide that bitter band,  
Knit by the closure of a mutuall hand. *exit*.

(Armin, *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke*, A2)

### Handbooks

The handbooks to be included in the corpus consist of instructional material presented in the form of an imaginary dialogue. The narrator's presence is explicit only in possible speaker identification and stage directions. The following extract is from the opening of John Norden's *The Svrveiors Dialogve* from 1618, intended to be "Very profitable for all men to pervse, but *especially for Gentlemen, Farmers, and Husbandmen*, that shall either haue occasion, or be willing to buy, hire, or sell Lands". The dialogue character of the text is enhanced in the original where Farmer's words are rendered in black letter and the Surveillor's words in regular font (the marginalia are omitted from the extract cited below).

#### Example 8:

FARMER.

Sir, I am glad I haue so happily met with you, for if I be not mistaken, you are a Surueyor of Land.

*Sur*. Admit it so, Sir, what then?

*Farm*. I haue heard much euill of the Profession, and to tell you my conceit plainly, I thinke the same both euill and unprofitable.

*Sur*. You seeme to be but a young man in yeares, and are you so deeply seene in the abuse of this faculty, that you can so peremptorily condemne it?

*Far*. Call you it a Faculty; What meane you by that word;

*Sur*. Abilitie to performe a thing vndertaken.

*Far*. Then this facultie of yours, I say, is a vaine facultie, and a needelesse worke vnder-taken.

*Sur*. Speake you this by coniecture, by report of others, or by due experience of your owne?

*Far*. I speake indeede, as induced to the opinion I hold, by all the three reasons. ...

(John Norden, *The Svrveiors Dialogve* pp. 1-2)

*Prose fiction*

Prose fiction contains imaginary dialogue explicitly mediated by a narrator (e.g. through the use of reporting clauses). In the following extract from Thomas Deloney's *Thomas of Reading* (1623), Margaret, the daughter of the Earl of Shrewesbury, is looking for a servant's position after her father had been "driven into greate distresse" and banished. Notice how the group of maidens is treated as one collective speaker (for convenience, the extract is cited from the Everyman edition; for the corpus database, Lawlis' edition will be used).

## Example 9:

She had no sooner spoke these words, but she spied a couple fo Maidens more comming towards her; who were going to the faire: and bidding her good morrow, asked her if she went to the faire.

Yea mary (qd. she) I am a poore mans child that is out of service, and i heare that at the Statute, folkes do come of purpose to hire servants.

True it is (said the Maidens) and thither go we for the same purpose, and would be glad of your company.

With a good will, and I am right glad of yours (said she) beseeching you good Maidens, you will doe me the favour, to tell me what service were best for me: for the more too blame my parents, they would never put me foth to know any thing.

Why what can you doe (quoth the maidens) can you brew and bake, make butter and cheese, and reape corne well?

no verily (said Margaret) but I would be right glad to learne to doe any thing whatsoever it be: ... (Thomas Deloney, *Thomas of Reading*, p. 95)

The six main categories of our corpus and the text types within them have fuzzy edges; for instance, one text may contain varying degrees of narratorial intervention and may also vary internally with respect to authenticity. During the compilation process, an effort will be made to give priority to prototypical representatives of each category. For example, when selecting instances of prose fiction we will avoid extracts containing excessive amounts of narration, and give priority to extracts containing significant amounts of dialogue.

It goes without saying that the above classification will be constrained by the availability of suitable texts (see the period division below). Nevertheless, the classification will act as a set of guidelines in the selection and categorisation of texts.

## 7. Period division and size of the corpus

The span of two hundred years is represented by five clusters of material:

|    |           |          |
|----|-----------|----------|
| D1 | 1550-1570 | 20 years |
| D2 | 1590-1630 | 40       |
| D3 | 1640-1680 | 40       |
| D4 | 1680-1720 | 40       |
| D5 | 1730-1750 | 20       |

The even representation of each category across the period is unlikely (owing to the scarcity of material and limits in funding the project). The subperiodization reflects (a) the periodization of the Helsinki Corpus (and thus facilitating comparative work), (b) key periods of change (e.g. the Civil War), and (c) the availability of material.

The first division, 1550-1570, mirrors the first subperiod adopted for the Helsinki Corpus (1500-1570 = EModE1). The second division aims at pinning down the crucial period of change at the turn of the century. The beginning of the third subperiod coincides with the beginning of the third subperiod of the Helsinki Corpus (1640-1710 = EModE3). The fourth subperiod allows us to observe developments at the turn of the century. The two decades of the final subperiod round off the two centuries of the entire corpus. The three middle subperiods consist of forty years each, a span which has been associated with the life of a generation (cf. the Helsinki Corpus).

Provisionally, we shall aim at a corpus of around 1.5 million words. This figure is reached if we use a sample size of 10,000 words per text or group of related texts (e.g. depositions) and represent the subperiods and text types evenly. However, as we have already indicated, it may be difficult to find enough material for even coverage. In this event we will add to other categories, while bearing in mind how this may affect the overall structure of the corpus.

## 8. Conclusion

In the above discussion we have outlined the reasons why we consider it of vital importance to build up a computerized corpus of speech-related texts, a tool that will facilitate the systematic study of early English speech and the ways it has been represented in writing. The nut-shell corpus, our first target, currently consists of some 250,000 words divided between recorded and constructed dialogue, and covers the three subperiods in the middle, from 1590 to 1720.<sup>2</sup> Once we have completed our task in Old England, we will need to widen the regional perspective of our corpus by turning to the early records containing specimens of the spoken idiom in the transplanted varieties of English, along the paths shown, inspiringly, by Wolfgang Viereck in his work.

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# *Alway(s) and Algate(s) – From Space to Time*

*Xavier Dekeyser*

Specially siþen alle Christen men ... moten  
algatis sue Crist, and knowe His lore and his lif.  
John Wiclif: *De Officio Pastoralis*. Chap. xv.

## 0. Introduction

The title of the Festschrift to be presented to Wolfgang Viereck is *Language in Time and Space*. In this contribution I will deal with the transition from the concept of "space" to that of "time" in the Middle English adverbs *alway(s)* and *algate(s)*. However, before addressing this particular instance of semantic change, I would like to comment on prototype semantics, which is the underlying methodological paradigm used in this paper.

Prototype semantics was introduced in the mid 1970's mainly with the research of the psycholinguist Eleanor Rosch and several others, who reacted against the prevailing Aristotelian binary, all-or-nothing approach, which had been adopted by structural and even generative semantics (Geeraerts 1995: 8). The main tenet of this approach is that the semantic structure of a lexical item consists of more or less polysemous clusters of meanings. These are characterized by differences in salience: there are meanings that have a central or prototypical status, while others tend to be rather marginal or peripheral instances surrounding the prototype or core. Prototype semantics also strongly stresses the fuzziness of a category, as contrasted with the discrete Aristotelian categories, which will prove to be of crucial importance for the semantic development of the time adverbs *alway(s)* and *algate(s)* in Middle English. Again, for more details see Geeraerts (1995: 11-15), where the diachronic dimension of this theory is very aptly summarized. Let us now turn to the subject-matter of this paper: from space to time.

## 1. Continuity in time

1.1. To express the notion of 'continuity in time' German uses a specific adverb *immer*, less often *jederzeit*. By contrast, Dutch and French use adverbs which have to be considered as lexicalizations of phrases expressing time:

Dutch *altijd* 'all time' and French *toujours* 'all days'. The English language does not seem to have known such expressions.<sup>1</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary*, hence OED, does not mention any, while the *Middle English Dictionary*, hence MED, only has a few quotations of *altime(s)*, all of them from the 15th century; typically the *Helsinki Corpus* does not mention any example at all.

- (1) a1500 (1422) Yonge Ssecr. 121/7: Altymes desyrynge in cryste  
yowre honoure. (MED: A/230)

What we find in English are adverbs derived from phrases with an underlying spatial meaning: it is precisely this transition from space to time that will be highlighted here.

1.2. Middle English has adverbial compounds with *wey/way* and *gate* (= the way from one place to another); the latter is a loanword from Scandinavian, first attested in c. 1200 *Ormin* (MED: A/45):

- (2) He wass an off þa tweggen þatt comenn till þe Laferrd Crist þær  
he bi gate gede.  
(He was one of the two who came to the Lord Christ where he  
went by a path).

These two nouns have a dynamic potential: they suggest 'movement in space'; and in collocations with the quantifier *all*, they express 'movement from one place or point to another'.

*Alwei* derives from the Old English NP *ealne weg*, an accusative of extent, surviving in Southern texts as *alnewei* (MED: A/232). I came across one interesting example in King Alfred's *Orosius*, 19.33, quoted in Traugott (1972: 90):

- (3) þæt scip waes ealne weg yrnende under segle,

which she glosses as: that ship was all way running under sail.

The form *alwei(e)s* is marked with the adverbial suffix *-(e)s*; contrary to OED: A/375, MED: A/232 stresses that, strictly speaking, this is not the reflex of the genitival phrase *alles-weis*, which is only attested in early Southwestern texts.

Similarly, Middle English knows *algate* and its extended form *algates*. It is worth mentioning that the *Helsinki Corpus* has only 21 examples of these Scandinavian "synonyms" of *alwei(s)*, from which we can infer that their spread must have been limited. These are also adverbs which are chronologically confined to the

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<sup>1</sup> In Old English there is a time adverb *a* meaning 'always' and 'for ever' (Bosworth-Toller 1898: 1-2), which survives in Middle English as *a(a)* and *o(o)* (MED: 0/4-6), as in c. 1175 *Lamb. Hom.* 183: *Te engles a beholdeþ þe*. The OED: A/5 notes that it became obsolete in the course of the 13th century; it appears from the data in OED/MED that it was virtually lost by the end of the Middle English period (c. 1500). Is this an instance of lexical loss due to the emergence of the phrasal adverbs discussed in this paper?

Middle English period; the last examples in the OED: A/311 date from the 16th century.

1.3. As pointed out in the introduction of this paper, prototype semantics stresses the fuzziness or non-discreteness of semantic categories.

When verbs of movement are involved, the primary meaning of the adverbial phrases *alwey(s)* and *algate(s)* suggests a CONTINUUM IN SPACE, as in example (3) above. However, in such contexts this meaning easily shades into a CONTINUUM IN TIME: the ship is sailing all the way, and so also all the time. Other "fuzzy" examples include:

- (4) 1340 *Ayenb.* 84: Þe zonne ... alneway yernþ and ne is neure were.  
(MED: A/232)  
(The sun runs/moves always (? all the way) and is never weary)
- (5) 1375 BARBOUR *Bruce* vii.60: He ran on fut alwayis hym by, Till  
he in-till the wod wes gane. (OED: A/375)  
(He always (? all the way) ran on foot by him, until he had gone  
into the wood)

Even the quotation from Wiclif's *De Officio Pastoralis* (Sisam 1970: 118), preceding this paper, allows both a spatial and a temporal reading: we must follow Christ all the way in our lives, and consequently also all the time. It is the very fuzziness of these originally spatial expressions that leads to semantic reinterpretation, and so eventually to semantic change.

1.4. The next step is the use of these adverbs with verbs that are not associated with movement, so a spatial meaning is logically excluded. If we give a metaphorical interpretation to the verb *sue* in Wiclif's example, only continuity in time can be involved: we must follow or imitate Christ all the time. This holds for numerous other examples:

- (6) a1225 *Trin. Hom. Creed* 23: He aros of deaþe and wunede mid his  
apostles ... noht alegate, ac stund-mele. (MED: A/187)  
(He rose from death and lived with his apostles ... not always but  
sometimes)
- (7) c1390 Chaucer *CT. Mel.* B.2841: That man that ... wole algates han  
werre shal neuere haue suffisaunce. (MED: A/187)  
(That man who will always have war shall never have satisfaction)
- (8) 1513 MORE *Edw. V Ded.*: Laudable custome that hath alwaies  
been observed. (OED: A/375)  
(Laudable custom that has always been observed)



1.5. So far we have only dealt with *alwey(s)* and *algate(s)* expressing a continuum in time. This meaning gives rise to another extension: repetition or recurrence, or from *all the time* to *at every time* or *on every occasion*.

Initially this shift must have occurred in a twilight zone where continuity and recurrence overlap. Items (7) and (8) are, we believe, good examples in point. Here continuity is compatible with repetition within a (putative) time span: the pursuit of war can be continuous or be realized at more or less regular intervals, and the same holds for the observance of custom. In some other contexts, however, the notion of continuity is completely blurred, as in:

- (9) c1230 *Ancr. R.* 4: Ye schullen alles weis, mid alle mithe ... wel witen þe inre, & þe uttre vor hire sake. (OED: A/375)  
(You shall at every time, with all your power ... well know the ins and outs for their sake)
- (10) c1300 *SLeg. Magd.* (2) (Ld) 584: Godes Aungles euer-ech day habbe me here i-nome, An ibore me alne wey hwane ischolde come. (MED: A/233)  
(God's angels have taken me here every day, and carried me every time when(ever) I should come)
- (11) a1398 *Trev. Barth.* 148a/b: Some hennes haue alwey twynnes. (MED: A/233)  
(Some hens always have twins)
- (12) c1400 *Rom. Rose* 919: A bachelere, that he made alleweyes with hym be. (OED: A/375)  
(A bachelor, whom he always ordered to be with him)

1.6. A last cluster of meanings that we have to account for are, at least at first sight, not related to time: they include 'in any or every circumstance', 'in any event' or 'in any case', etc.; see OED: A/375 and MED: A/233. Yet, it is arguable that they all originate in the notion of recurrence. To prove this let us take the following instance:

- (13) 1565 *JEWEL Repl. Harding* (1611) 36: The Host once Consecrated of the Priest, is algates to bee receiued, whether of many together, or one alone. (OED: A/311)

Here there is clearly a notion of recurrence while, at the same time, the context suggests that the Host can be received in any circumstance, or in any case. When something can always occur or always be done, there is no constraint on it, which is precisely what is expressed in (13). Let us assume that in such examples *algatis* (and for that matter *always*) expresses unconstrainedness, admittedly coupled with, or perhaps based on recurrence. Also the following example shows an overlap of these two meanings:

- (14) a1500 (c1400) *Cleges* 227: But wethyr we haue more or less, All-  
waye thanke we God therefore. (MED: A/233).  
(But whether we have more or less, let us in any case (? always)  
thank God therefore)

Here the meaning of the adverb shades from 'every time' into 'in any case' or 'what ever happens'.

The next step is unconstrainedness as such, not linked with any notion of repetition:

- (15) c1330 *Orfeo*: 231: Bot his harp he tok algate, And dede him barfot  
out atte gate; No man most wiþ him go. (Sisam 1970: 20-21)  
(But he took his harp in any case, and went out barefoot at the gate;  
No man must go with him)
- (16) 1490 CAXTON *Eneydos* xxi. 76: How be it that he had grete pyte  
and compassyon of her ... alweyes he determyned hymself and  
went his way. (OED: A/375)
- (17) 1533 BELLENDENE *Livy* I.81: Alwayis he had ane brothir, eldare  
of yeris than he. (OED: A/375)

## 2. From space to time and beyond: metonymization and metaphorization

2.1. In what precedes we have briefly described the semantic paradigm of the adverbs *alway(s)* and *algate(s)* in Middle (and Early Modern) English. This is presented in the following cognitive schema, which, we believe, also has a diachronic dimension, at least in its broad outline.<sup>2</sup>

| OLD ENGLISH (---1100)                 | MIDDLE (and EARLY MODERN) ENGLISH<br>(1100-1600)                         |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Continuity in space (? time) →<br>(3) | (a) Continuity in time (? space): (4-5)<br>↓<br>(with verbs of movement) |
|                                       | (b) Continuity in time: (6-8)<br>↓<br>(without verbs of movement)        |
|                                       | (c) Recurrence (? continuity): (7-8)<br>↓                                |
|                                       | (d) Recurrence: (9-12)<br>↓                                              |
|                                       | (e) Unconstrainedness (? recurrence): (13-14)<br>↓                       |
|                                       | (f) Unconstrainedness: (15-17)                                           |

<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that all the examples we have chosen from both the OED and MED reflect a strictly chronological sequence.

Note that the bracketed meanings with (?) indicate possible overlaps (or non-discreteness). These data, and many more in the OED and the MED, suggest a gradual transition from SPACE to TIME (continuity and recurrence), as well as a variety of other meanings, which we have subsumed under the cover-term UNCONSTRAINEDNESS. In what follows we shall argue that (a) and (b) are instances of METONYMY, while (e) and (f) belong to the domain of METAPHORS, with recurrence as the "go-between".

2.2. In chapter 7 of his book, Taylor (1989: 122-141) presents an interesting and at the same time lucid survey of metonymy and metaphor as discussed in recent semantic studies. It should be stressed that he broadens the scope of metonymy, defined in traditional rhetoric "as a figure of speech whereby the name of one entity  $e^1$  is used to refer to another entity  $e^2$  which is contiguous to  $e^1$ " (Taylor 1989: 122) to any process of meaning extension based on possible co-occurrence in a given conceptual structure. In other words, metonymy is involved whenever two cognitive domains are associated. Metaphor, by contrast, is characterized by a transfer from one domain to another: it "consists in the mapping of the logic of one domain (usually, but not always, a more concrete domain) on to another (usually more abstract) domain" (Taylor 1989: 138).

One of the examples given is the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. To begin with, there is a natural association between vertical extent or height (i.e. UP) and quantity (MORE), which is an instance of metonymy. Taylor (1989: 138) observes that "only when the up-down schema is released from the piling-up image and applied to more abstract instances of addition (as when one speaks of *high prices*) does metaphor take over."

Both metonymy and metaphor have proved to be highly productive processes of semantic change in the history of English. In what follows I shall first draw on my data presented in other studies and articles. In Dekeyser (1994) it was demonstrated that the meaning of *multeity* in the Old English quantifier *mycel* historically derives from the (prototypical) notion of 'extent'; this extent-multeity schema is grounded in the association of two related domains, and so is an instance of metonymy, as in *mycel land* 'large (piece of) land', hence 'much land'. As soon as the meaning of the quantifier is transferred to other domains, metaphorical extensions come into play, as in *mycel wind* 'much' or 'strong wind', *mycel sciphire* 'large' or 'numerous fleet', etc. Another instance of metonymical change is found in the verb (and noun) *travel*, borrowed from French and/or Latin. Its original meaning is 'toil' or 'labour', to be compared with present-day French *travailler* 'work'. In the setting of late medieval England this notion becomes associated with a particular activity characterized by toiling, namely 'move from one place to another', i.e. 'travel'. For more details on this shift of meaning see Dekeyser (1995). See also Dekeyser (1996) for metonymical-metaphorical extensions of meaning in lexical items such as *haven*, *harvest*, *sell*, and others in Old and Middle English.

2.3. Middle English *alway(s)* and *algate(s)* provide further and new evidence of metonymy and metaphor as processes of semantic change. As demonstrated in this paper, prototypically these adverbs belong to the domain of 'space': *way* and *gate*.

With verbs of movement (3 and 4-5) there is a natural association between spatial and temporal continuity; here semantic change clearly originates in metonymy. The transfer to other domains, more loosely linked with the (historical) prototypical notion of 'space', sets in with continuity not connected with verbs of movement (6-8), and then with the notion of 'recurrence', possibly within a time span, as documented in (7-8) and (9-12). When 'unconstrainedness' (13-14 and 15-17) is expressed, full metaphorization has been reached. These data substantiate the claim that metaphorical extensions are often grounded in metonymy; see also Taylor (1989: 139). They also suggest that there can be a gradient from metonymy to metaphor, and that consequently these constitute fuzzy categories themselves: meaning (b), as presented in the schema in 2.1. above, is prerequisite for (c) and (d), and the notion of what we label 'unconstrainedness' is typically based on 'recurrence'.

2.4. By way of conclusion. The Middle English time adverbs discussed in this paper substantiate the claim of prototype semantics that lexical categories cannot be squeezed into straightforward (Aristotelian) definitions. On the contrary, the schema in 2.1. indicates that *alway(s)* and *algate(s)* constitute sets of interrelated and overlapping meanings. Metonymy and metaphor operate as conduits (another metaphor) in these intricate cognitive processes.

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## Did OE *stede* 'Place' also Have the Meaning '(Enclosed) Pasture'?

Lennart Elmevik

In his justly praised doctoral dissertation *English Place-Names in -stead* (1963) Karl Inge Sandred in Chapter 5 (pp. 115ff.) deals with a special type of habitative place-names, about 130 in number, containing OE *stede* as a second compound element. The first elements are, according to Sandred, 1) names of plants and trees and other words denoting vegetation, 2) names of animals (often domestic), 3) words describing the topography or the character of the ground, 4) adjectives, and 5) personal names. Nearly all of these place-names are found within a very limited area in the south-eastern part of England. Sandred argues convincingly that these names are of great age. He points out that a "considerable number are parish names" and that "in a few cases they have also become names of hundreds" (p. 116).

Sandred discusses two alternative ways to interpret the meaning of *stede* (PrGerm *\*staði-*) in names of this type. He rejects the supposition that *stede* originally had only a vague and general meaning and acquired the meaning 'dwelling-place' as a place-name element. He points out that the first elements of these names ending in *-stede* are only in a few cases personal names, whereas the compound type adjective + *stede* is common. Instead, Sandred shares the opinion of the earlier scholars Eilert Ekwall, Olof Arngart and Erik Tengstrand, that right from the beginning, *stede* had some other concrete meaning than 'place'.

One of Sandred's reasons for taking this position was that in the part of England in question there are not only habitative names ending in *-stead* but also field-names. Sandred examined these field-names, several of which were shown to have been so-called "open fields" (an indication of great age), in two counties, Essex and Hertfordshire. The number of names in the former county was 48 and in the latter 20.

Sandred arrived at the, no doubt correct, conclusion that the corresponding habitative names were originally field-names. On the basis of the meanings of the first elements, Sandred proposed the meaning 'pasture (probably enclosed)' of OE *stede* in these names, with, however, appropriate reservations: "other meanings like 'outlying area' or 'enclosure (for other purposes besides pasturing)' may also be considered" (p. 175).

Sandred's dissertation has been subjected to a detailed examination by Ingemar Olsson (1964: 3ff.). Like other reviewers, Olsson gives the book as a whole a very high rating. However, he is not convinced by Sandred's conclusion that OE *stede* meant, among other things, '(enclosed) pasture'. Olsson argues, and in this he is undoubtedly right, that since the meaning 'pasture' has not been found for PrGerm *\*staði-* in any Germanic language, whereas the meaning 'place, location' exists everywhere and is known from earliest times, it is necessary from a methodological

point of view to examine whether OE *stede* as a place-name element might not have had this original meaning of the word.

With this as a starting point, Olsson examines the material submitted by Sandred. He argues convincingly – with one exception, which is mentioned below – that the first elements in the names can be combined with the meaning 'place' of *stede*. There were, he points out, without doubt situations when names with meanings such as '(the) ash place', '(the) reed place', '(the) crane place', '(the) green place' and '(the) marsh place' might have been needed.

A strong indication that *stede* in the name-group in question had its usual meaning is, according to Olsson, the circumstance that *stede* is evidenced with certainty only as a second compound element. "Is it not curious that Sandred in the enormous material he has examined has not found more than one possible simplex *Stede* [...] and no name with *stede* as first element" (p. 21).

Furthermore, Olsson shows that it is probable that *stede* in the place-names in question had a vague, general meaning, almost on the verge of becoming a suffix. The important part was, according to Olsson, the first element, that is, the basic word. As an example he takes a name with OE *āc* 'oak' as a first element. He writes (p. 23):

An *ācstede* could, for example, be a meadow or a pasture with one or two oaks, a place where wood for masts was taken, a place with a holy oak, a point in a boundary clearing, an assembly place by an oak, etc. – those who used the name naturally knew what kind of place it denoted. [...] that many [of the *stede*-names] were names of pastures is simply to be expected in a country like England, where the keeping of cattle has been commonplace.

The reason why I want to draw particular attention to Olsson's more than 30-year-old paper, is that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, it has never been seriously considered in the still ongoing discussion of Scandinavian names ending in *-sta(d)*, *-sted*, *-stāde*, *-stādar*, continental Germanic names ending in *-statt*, *-stätt(en)*, etc. and English names ending in *-stead* (*-sted*).

As I mentioned above, I cannot agree with Olsson's reasoning on one point. This concerns his acceptance of Sandred's opinion that some of the English *stede*-names in question have a personal name as a first element.

Olsson (p. 7) supports – in my opinion rightly so, but in opposition to Sandred – the opinion stated by the Danish place-name scholar John Kousgård Sørensen that, in Denmark, a distinction must be made between *sted* in names denoting habitations (and which originally were plural names) and *sted* in field-names. In the latter names, *sted*, according to Kousgård Sørensen (1958: 218), denotes "areas, places, which are used for or in one way or another characterized by what is stated in the first element". *Stede* in place-names would thus denote 'place for something' or 'place characterized by something'. But from this point of view it becomes difficult to justify the existence of personal names as first elements in the name group under discussion. Is it then absolutely necessary to include first elements of this type?

Altogether it is a matter of eleven names, all nowadays used for places of habitation: *Cowstead*, *Ganstead*, *Harkstead*, *Instead*, *Luxted*, *Medstead*, *Saxted*,

*Stilstead*, *Walkingstead*, *Walstead* and *Winestead*. Sandred assumes that the first element in all of these names is a personal name. However, it must be noted that he does not make any categorical statement for this alternative; it is, he says, "the best interpretation" (p. 117). His choice of words is a hint that other possibilities exist – maybe due to the fact that no less than eight of the personal names in question are not evidenced in Old English. Sandred himself states that in "a few of these pl. ns., the first el. may alternatively be an appellative" (p. 118). In my opinion, this is the case for most of the names (see the literature to which Sandred refers when the names are discussed in further detail in "Part Two" of the book, pp. 177ff.). In some names it should be possible to consider a reduction already in the OE period of a compound containing a personal name + *hāmstede* 'farm, homestead' (about such cases, see Sandred 1963: 67, 259, with reference to Tengstrand 1940: 207f., and Sandred 1967: 72ff.). One such name could be *Winestead* (OE *Wīfe*-, *Wīue*-). Sandred, in agreement with Eilert Ekwall, assumes that this contains an OE personal name *\*Wīfa* or *\*Wīfe*. (The first element in *Winestead* has, by Hugh Smith, been seen as the genitive plural *wīfa* of OE *wīf* 'woman'; see, for example, EPNE 2: 264). *Harkstead*, which according to Sandred (p. 188) contains the OE personal name *Hereca*, might be another one. Therefore, I believe that I can claim that none of the place-names in OE *-stede* in which Sandred (and following him, Olsson), at least primarily, wants to see a personal name, can be definitely shown to contain such a name.

In the second part of his paper, Ingemar Olsson discusses a number of place-names ending in *-städe*, *-städar* (field- and farm-names) in Gotland, the Swedish island in the Baltic. That these place-name elements are closely related etymologically to the Old Gotlandic word *steþr* m. 'place, location' (in present-day Gotland dialect *städ*), identical to OE *stede*, is clear, but their meaning has been the subject of a lively discussion. One scholar, Lars Hellberg (1958), has vigorously maintained that they designated 'grassy meadow, field for haymaking'. Olsson shows that this idea cannot be correct. He considers that the explanation which is closest at hand, namely, that the meaning was 'place, location', has much to recommend it.

Like in the south-eastern English names ending in *-stede*, the Gotland ones ending in *-städe*, *-städar* contain tree- and plant-names, animal names, topographical features, adjectives and – according to the common view – personal names. In my opinion, there is not – anymore than in the case of the English names – any reason for supposing personal names as first elements.

Hellberg (1958) operates with personal names in a large number of Gotland place-names belonging to this category. It is clear, as pointed out by several scholars, that Hellberg has, in most cases, been guilty of misinterpretation. According to such a reliable judge as Ivar Lundahl (1961: 26), there are "only a small number of names which, with a probability bordering on certainty, contain personal names". In Olsson's opinion the certain cases are "extremely few": OGotl *\*Hagnastepar*, *Simstädar*, maybe also *Laivstäde* and *Skäggstäde* (p. 45). The last name has, by Hellberg (p. 53), been interpreted as containing the OSw male name *Skægge*. The first element could, however, also contain the word *skägg* 'beard' (or *\*skägge*, formed from *skägg*) in its original and well-known meaning in place-

names 'that which sticks out or protrudes, projecting part, tongue of land' (see, for example, SOSk 17, 1970: 105, 152). *Laivstäde* could – which Hellberg does admit (p. 33) – contain an OGotl word *\*laif* f., which corresponds to OSw *lev*, OWScand *leif* 'leavings, remnants'. However, he prefers to see the first element as a male name, OGotl *\*Laifr* or *\*Laifi*, corresponding to OWScand *Leifr*, *Leifi*, names that have not been evidenced in Old Swedish. The first element in *Simstädar* is, in my opinion, OGotl *\*sim(b)*- 'marshy ground', a word which has, as I have pointed out (see Elmevik 1971), counterparts in other parts of the Scandinavian language area. As reported (see Gustavson 1938: 26), the ground at Simstädar was earlier marshy.

I will give greater attention to OGotl *\*Hagnastepar*, formerly the name of a farm in the parish of Rone. The name, in runes, is evidenced in the dative plural *hangnastepu[m]* on a grave-slab (from the 14th century?) at the church of Näs (see *Gotlands runinskrifter* 1: 39). The farm is long gone, but its name appears in field-names such as *Hangstädåker* 1700 and *Angstäder* 1797 (see Olsson 1994: 45). The first element has generally been viewed as the genitive form of the OSw male name *Haghne* (OWScand *Hogni*); see, for example, Gustavson (1938: 21), *Gotlands runinskrifter* (1: 39), Hellberg (1958: 31), Olsson (1994: 45).

As I intend to show in greater detail elsewhere, the OGotl *\*Hagnastepar* (as well as three corresponding names on the Swedish mainland) does not contain the male name *Haghne* – the existence of which, in Old Swedish, can be questioned – but reflects instead an appellative, OGotl *\*haghnasteper* 'the place with the enclosure(s)'. I consider the first element *\*haghna-* to be the genitive singular or plural of a word, OSw *\*haghn* f. (OWScand *\*hogn*) < PrGerm *\*hazunō*, a side-form of, and with the same meaning as, OSw *hæghn* f. < *\*hazinō* 'enclosure, enclosed area', metaphorically 'protection'. It is, in my opinion, this *\*hogn* which is the basis for OWScand *Hogni* 'he who gives protection, the protector', OSw (with a westerly expansion) *Høghne*, ODan *Hoghni*, *Hughni*; see, for example, Janzén (1947: 136), SMP 2 (col. 581).

The main purpose of this modest little study has been to shed light on an essay – in my opinion important to the understanding of a certain type of English place-name ending in *-stead*, but disregarded or, in any case neglected – from 1964 by Ingemar Olsson, one of the most skilful place-name scholars in Sweden and the foremost expert on the Gotland place-name system. He has given convincing reasons for his view that the meaning of the name-element in discussion is 'place, location'. I have made the additional contribution that the meaning should be specified to 'place for something, place characterized by something'. This eliminates the possibility of a personal name as a first element. I believe that I have been able to show that it is not necessary, neither in the English nor in the Gotland place-names, to take into consideration a compound with a personal name as the first element.



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## OE *hyll* in the East Midlands in Early Middle English

*Jacek Fisiak*

The aim of this paper is to present the distribution of the reflexes of OE /y/ in place-names containing the element *hyll* in the East Midland counties in Early Middle English.

In 1993 Gillis Kristensson gave an interesting account of the distribution of OE /y/ in *hyll* in Late Middle English (the material was subsequently included in vol. 3 of his SMED in 1995). It would be interesting to see now to what extent the distribution changed from the earlier to the later period in Middle English on the one hand and on the other how much it differs from the accounts of earlier scholars such as Brandl (1915), Wyld (1913) and Moore/Meech/Whitehall (1935).

OE /y/ became unrounded to /i/ in Northumbria and most parts of the East Midlands beginning in the 10th and 11th centuries (Luick 1964:253-4). OE /y/ > /e/ in Kent around 900 and by the end of the 11th c. /e/ was extended to Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and even Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire (Ek 1972: 123, Fisiak 1990: 117); /y/, spelled <u> remained in the West-Midlands and the South-West.

The material used in our investigations consists of place-names and by-names. All the place-names have been plotted on the maps at the end of the paper. Unfortunately, we have not been able to plot a number of field-names and by-names in such counties as Norfolk, Suffolk or Cambridgeshire. This, however, should not have a negative effect on the discussion of the distribution of forms under investigation.

### Material

#### CAMBRIDGESHIRE:

*Amtehelles* 1300 (AMPTHILL (lost) in Haslingfield, EPNS<sup>1</sup> XIX, 78), *William del Hill* 1236 (HILL CROFTS in Weston Colville, EPNS XIX, 121), *Hellecroft* 13th c. (HILL FM in Litlington, EPNS XIX, 58), *John del Hil* 1279 (HILL FM in Castle Camps, EPNS XIX, 103), *Meggeshel* c. 1260 (MEGGS HILL in Babraham, EPNS XIX, 101), *Richard Attehill* 127 (HILL FM in Stretham, EPNS XIX, 238), *Swanesle(hul)* 1150, 1180, 1279 (SWANSLEY WOOD FM in Caxton, EPNS XIX,

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<sup>1</sup> EPNS = *English Place-Name Society Survey*. Roman numerals indicate volume.

157), *hylle*, *hill* 1170 et freq. to 1298, *helle* DB,<sup>2</sup> 1170 (HILL ROW in Haddenham, EPNS XIX, 232), *le Howeshil* 1300 (HOWHILL FM in Girton, EPNS XIX, 177), *Roueshil* 1221, 1251, 1277, *Roweshil* 13th c. (ROSWELL PITS in Ely Trinity Detached, EPNS XIX, 220), *Dedhil* c.1195 (DEAD HILLS FD, in Ely, EPNS XIX, 369), *Burnewrthehil* 1215, *-hel* 1225 (BURNT HILL in Witcham, EPNS XIX, 245), *Lauerechell* c. 1212 (LARK HILL in Steeple Morden, EPNS XIX, 358), *Stanhulla* c.1135, *Stanhille* c.1184 (STANNEL WOOD in Chippenham, EPNS XIX, 190), *Edok(k)eshel* c. 1250 *-hille* c. 1285 (EDIX HILL HOLE in Barrington, EPNS XIX, 71), *Cungrauewellenhill* c.1250 (CONGER'S WELL in Weston Colville, EPNS XIX, 122), *Foxhil* c. 1235 (FOXHILL PLANTATION in Stapleford, EPNS XIX, 89), *Euershel* c.1206, 1250 (EVERSDEN, EPNS XIX, 159), *Dreymere(hil)* 13th c. (in FOXTON, EPNS XIX, 361).

Uncharted field-names (EPNS XIX, 332f.):

*Wytehil* (1247), *Grenehil* (13th c. ), *Redhil* 1298, *Gorehil* 1230, *Kallewhil* 1260, *Rowehil* 1279, *Hongyrhil* 1297, *Stonhil* 1211, *Claihil* 13th c., *Pesehel* c. 1250, *Grashil* 13th c., *Brinbelhil* 1250, *Charlichil* 1300, *Hauerhil* 1228, *Foxhil* 1206, *Sughil* 13th c., *Rishil* 13th c., *Waytehil* 1290, *Aldermannehyl* 13th c., *Presteshil* 1250, *Dudewenehel* 1185, *Wrenthelle* 12th c.

#### HERTFORDSHIRE:

*Peter ate Hulle* 1294 (HILL FM in Ayot St. Lawrences, EPNS XV, 195), *Aselvehulle* 13th c. (CHELLS in Stevanage, EPNS XV, 139), *Herrieteshull* 1287 (HARRIETSEND FM in Northchurch, EPNS XV, 49), *Houndeshull* 13th c. (HOUNDWOOD in St. Stephens, EPNS XV, 100), *Philip atte Hyl* 1287 (HILLFIELD HO in Sawbridgeworth, EPNS XV, 195), *Keleshell'* 1200 (KELSHALL, Ek 35), *Keleshulle* 1210-12, 1229, *Keleshille* 1251, 1277, 1279, 1298 (EPNS XV, 159); *Thomas de la Hulle* c. 1200 (HILL FM in Great Berkhamstead, EPNS XV, 28), *Pep(p)esshull* 1258, 1278 (PEPSAL END FM in Flamstead, EPNS XV, 33), *John atte Hulle* 1294 (HILL FM in Wheathampstead, EPNS XV, 57), *Jacob de Hulle* 1296 (HILLGREEN FM in Wigginton, EPNS XV, 59), *John de la Hulle* 1294 (HILL FM in Abbots Langley, EPNS XV, 76), *Geoffrey ate Hulle* (HILL FM in Redbourn, EPNS XV, 79), *William ate Hulle* 1294 (HILL FM in Rickmansworth, EPNS XV, 82), *Alexander ate Hulle* (HILLEND FM in St. Michaels, EPNS XV, 93), *Thomas ate Hulle* 1294 (HILL FM in St. Stephens, EPNS XV, 99), *Adam ate Hulle* 1296 (HILLEND FM in Sandridge, EPNS XV, 101), *Hugo ate Hulle* 1294 (HILLMEADS FM in Watford, EPNS XV, 107), *John Attehille* 1251 (HILL HO in Bishops Hatfield, EPNS XV, 129), *Ralph ate Hulle* 1294 (SACOMBE HILL in Sacombe, EPNS XV, 137), *William ate Hulle* 1294 (HILL FM in Welwyn, EPNS XV, 145), *Catteshull(e)* 1296 (CAT'S HILL in

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<sup>2</sup> DB = *Domesday Book* (1086).

Stanstead Abbots, EPNS XV, 200), *Hokerhull(e)* 13th c. (HOCKERILL in Bishop's Stortford, EPNS XV, 202), *Symon ate Hulle* 1296 (HILLENDE FM in Essendon, EPNS XV, 224), *Cokeshullfeld* fn.<sup>3</sup> 1282 (COCK FD fn. in Ridge, EPNS XV, 278), *Hungerhulle* fn. 1259 (HUNGRY HILL fn. in Sandon, EPNS XV, 294), *Hungerhelle* fn. (HUNGRY FD fn. in Standon, EPNS XV, 304), *Purtewellehull* fn. 13th c. (PORTER MEAD fn. in Westmill, EPNS XV, 308), *Hulfurlang* fn. 1282 (in TRING, EPNS XV, 272), *Houndeshull* fn. 1283 (in SHENLEY, EPNS XV, 274), *Sandhill* fn. 1272-1307 (in HEXTON, EPNS XV, 283), *Farndunehille* fn. 13th c. (in BRAUGHING, EPNS XV, 301), *le Reyhel* fn. 13th c. (in STANDON, EPNS XV, 304).

Uncharted field-names (EPNS XV, 256):

*Thornhulle* (1259), *Waterhulle* (1259), *Ryhulle* (1259), *Astaneshulle* (13th c.), *Ordemareshulle* (13th c.), *Pinnokeshulle* (13th c.), *Stuterehella* DB (in Little Munden, DG<sup>4</sup>)

#### MIDDLESEX:

*Robert de la Hulle* 1281 (HILL HO in Edgeware, EPNS XVIII, 51), *Henry de Grenehulle* 1282 (GREENHILL in Harrow, EPNS XVIII, 52), *Chalchell'* 1199, *Chalehull* 1236, *Chalkhulle* 1242 (CHALKHILL HO in Kingsbury, EPNS XVIII, 62), *Sa(u)ndfordhull* 1294 (STAMFORD HILL in the Borough of Hackney, EPNS XVIII, 107), *Tothull(e)* late 12th c., 1256, 1257, 1294, *Tothill*, *Tothell* late 12th c. (TOTHILL in the City of Westminster, EPNS XVIII, 174), *Botushull* fn. 13th c. (BOTTS HILL fn. in Harefield, EPNS XVIII, 209), *Cornhell* fn. 1188 (CORNHILL in Greenford, DEPN<sup>5</sup>), *Upehulle* 1170-97, *Hylla* 1217, *Hilleend* 13th c., *Hull* 1222 to 1299 (ST.MARY AT HILL in the City of London, Bohman 196<sup>6</sup>), *Cornhillam* 1115, 1120, 1168-1300, *Cornhella* 1111-1130, 1293, *Cornhulla* 1125-30, 1165, 1168 to 1300 (CORNHILL in the City of London, Bohman 197), *Lamberdeshelle* 1281 (LAMBETH HILL in the City of London, Bohman 199).

#### BEDFORDSHIRE:

*Brickhull* 1276, 1287 (BRICKHILL in Little Staughton, EPNS III, 12), *Churchehulle* 1247 (HILL FARM in Little Staughton, EPNS III, 20), *atte Hulle de Clapham* 1276 (OAKLEY HILL in Oakley, EPNS III, 25), *Wadehelle* DB, *Wahelle* 1162, *Wahull* 1222, 1232 to 1287, *Wahille* 1240 (ODELL, EPNS III, 34), *Pikeleshill*

<sup>3</sup> fn. = field name

<sup>4</sup> DG = H. C. Derby and G. R. Versey, eds. 1975. *Domesday Gazetteer*. Cambridge: CUP.

<sup>5</sup> DEPN = E. Ekwall 1960. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>6</sup> Bohman = H. Bohman. 1944. *Studies in the Middle English Dialects of Devon and London*. Göteborg: Pehrsson.

1227, *Pykeshulle* 1227, 1235 to 1279 (PICTS HILL in Stevington, EPNS III, 46f.), *Ammetelle* DB, *Aunthille* c.1230, *Amethulle* 1202, 1227 to 1276 (AMPTHILL, EPNS III, 67), *Dunhull(e)* 13th c., 1276 (DENEL END in Flitwick, EPNS III, 73), *Hungerhyll* fn. 13th c. (HUNGERHILL FM fn. in Biggleswade, EPNS III, 73), *Hungirhill* fn. 13th c. (HUNGERHILL in Flitwick, EPNS III, 79), *Wrochishill* 1195, *Wrox(h)ill* 1240, 1247, *Wroxhull(e)* 1219, 1242 to 1287 (ROXHILL in Marston Moretaine, EPNS III, 80), *Hulle* 1276 (HILL HO in Old Warden, EPNS III, 98) *la Hulle* 1297 (HILL FM in Chalgrave, EPNS III, 117), *la Hulle* 1198 (HILL FM in Studham, EPNS III, 133), *Clopelle* DB, *Clophull(e)* 1227, 1240 to 1297, *Clop(p)hill* 1247, 1287 (CLOPHILL, EPNS III, 146), *Pollochessele* DB, *Pollokeshill* 1205, 1276, 1287, *Pollokeshull* 1214, 1228 to 1297 (PULLOXHILL, EPNS III, 160).

#### HUNTINGDONSHIRE:

*atte hyl* 1252 (HOUGHTON HILL in Houghton, EPNS III, 210), *Hilton* 1196, *Hulton* 1227 (HILTON, EPNS III, 261), *Pydelhille* 1252 (PIDLEY HILL in Pidley cum Fenton, EPNS III, 212), *Krowenisthill* 1216-30 (CROW'S NEST HILL in Keyston, EPNS III, 243).

#### NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:

*Foweleswellehul(l)* 13th c. (FOUSIL WOOD in Daventry, EPNS X, 20), *Chirchehil* 1304 (CHURCHILL HO in Welton, EPNS X, 31), *Smethenhulle* c. 1260 (SMANHILL COVERT in Aynho, EPNS X, 48), *Brakkelehil* c.1300 (HILL FM in Brackley, EPNS X, 51), *Khingeshil* 1184-9, *Kyngyshille* 1269, *Kyngyshulle* 1283 (KINGSHILL in Syresham, EPNS X, 60), *Mulnehyl* c. 1240 (WHITFIELD MILL in Whitfield, EPNS X, 64), *Ryenhull* 1295 (RYEHILL FM in Long Buckby, EPNS X, 66), *Mittelowehul* 1216-72 (MITLEY SPINNEY in Cottesbrooke, EPNS X, 68), *Cotehil* 1285 (COT HILL in Elkington, EPNS X, 70), *Dionis de Hulle* 1285 (HILL FM in Kislingbury, EPNS X, 87), *Pascelle* DB, *Pateshella* 1190, *Pateshille* 1154-89, 1176-81, 1200, 1220, *Patteshull* 1255, 1304 (PATTISHALL, EPNS X, 92), *Heikelundhill* 1199 (ECKLAND LODGE in Braybrooke, EPNS X, 111), *Bromhil well* 13th c. (BROOMHILL in Spratton, EPNS X, 136), *Brerehyll* 13th c. (BRIAR HILL in Hardingstone, EPNS X, 148), *Klyffordehyll* 13th c. (CLIFFORD HILL in Houghton, EPNS X, 149), *Scitershul* 1232 (SHOOTERS HILL in Addington, EPNS X, 177), *Sechelle* 1227, *Setehul* 1272-1307 (SETEHILL in King's Cliffe, EPNS X, 199), *Hochil* 1254 (YOKEHILL in Benefield, EPNS X, 212), *Hylhawe* 1239, 1298 (HILLY WOOD in Bainton, EPNS X, 229), *Kirkehill* 1272 (CHURCH HILL in Catesby, EPNS X, 275), *Milnhill* 1272 (WINDMILL HILL in Bainton, EPNS X, 275), *Othul* 1240 (OAK HILL in Everdon, EPNS X, 276), *Othul* 1240 (OAT HILL in Preston Capes, EPNS X, 276), *Blakepolehul* c. 1200 (BLACKPOOL in Eydon, EPNS X, 277), *Otehil* c.1200 (OATHILL in Eyden, EPNS X, 277), *Whitehull* c. 1200 (WHITEHILL in Eyden, EPNS X, 277), *Brerehull* c. 1200 (BRIAR HILL in Sulgrave, EPNS X, 277), *Lambyshill* 13th c. (LAMBEY in Sulgrave, EPNS X, 277), *Redewellehull* c. 1260 (RODDLE in West Haddon, EPNS

X, 279), *Ryehul* c. 1200 (RYE HILL in West Haddon, EPNS X, 279), *Catteswellehul* c.1260 (CATCHILL in West Haddon, EPNS X, 279), *Flithul* c. 1250 (FLITHILL in Braybrooke, EPNS X, 282), *Medhille* 13th c. (MEADLES in Haselbech, EPNS X, 283), *Butterlowehyll* 13th c. (BOTLOW in Brafield, EPNS X, 285), *Lutlehull* 1240 (LITTLE HILL in Grafton Underwood, EPNS X, 287), *Blodhil(l)* 1250 (BLOOD HILL in Oundle, EPNS X, 288), *Klaihil* 13th c. (CLEEHILL in Oundle, EPNS X, 288), *Reddehell* fn. 1227 (in Towcester, EPNS X, 282), *Dusthul* 13th c. (in Easton Neston, EPNS X, 282), *Havirhul* fn. c. 1250 (in Twywell, EPNS X, 287), *Stanithulles* fn. 13th c. (in Eydon, EPNS X, 277).

Uncharted field-names (EPNS X, 265):

*le Wouhill* 1275, *Sandhulle* 1240, *Hardhull* 13th c., *Rouhull* 13th c., *Hepehil* 1154, *Sinderehilles* 13th c., *le Brendehull* 1250, *Copthull* 1250, *Barlichhul* 1200, *Brakenhull* 1200, *Gostihull* 13th c., *Thornhull* 1200, *Erthnotehull* 1240, *Craneul* 13th c., *Nadrehull* 1250, *Slothill* 1216-72, *Haverhil* 1270, *Totehil* 1226, *Wardehyll* 13th c.

#### BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:

*Brickhell(a)e* DB, *Brikella* 1155, *-hella* 1221, *Brickille*, *-hille* 1152-8, 1160-5, 1257, *Bolle Brichulle* 1198, *Bollebrikehulle* 1237-40 (BOW BRICKHILL, EPNS II, 30-31), *Brichella* DB, *Brickhill* 1247 (GREAT BRICKHILL, EPNS II, 31), *Brichella* DB, *Parva Brichulle* 1198 (LITTLE BRICKHILL, EPNS II, 32), *p'iteshull*, *prattoshull* 1241 (PAGE HILL in Maid's Moreton, EPNS II, 46), *Furcenhull* 1255 (FURZENHILL in Hardwick, EPNS II, 79), *Dodereshell* 1167, *Dodereshille* 1207, *Doder(es)hull* 1227, 1235 to 1284 (DODERSHALL in Quainton, EPNS II, 109), *Burhella* 1072 (1225), *Bruhella* 1072, 1109-11, 1184, 1202, 1227, *Brunhelle* DB, *Bruhull* 1176, 1247, *Bruhull(e)* 1202, 1227 to 1262 (BRILL, EPNS II, 118), *Hixulle* 1255 (IXHILL in Oakley, EPNS II, 127), *Burnhull* 1276 (BURN HILL in Stone, EPNS II, 165), *Kingeshulle* 1196 (GREAT KINGSHILL in Hughenden, EPNS II, 184), *la Hul* 1301 (HILL FM in Chipping Wycombe, EPNS II, 202), *Coleshulle* 1279 (COLESHILL, EPNS II, 227), *Hungerhul* fn. 1236 (in Sherington, EPNS II, 258), *Buterhulle* 13th c. (in Thornborough, EPNS II, 258), *Othulle* fn. 13th c. (in Thornborough, EPNS II, 258), *Harenhulle* fn. 1255 (in Thornborough, EPNS II, 258), *Wethull* fn. 13th c. (in Boveney, EPNS II, 258), *Borihul* fn. 1280 (in Westbury, EPNS II, 258), *Stanethulle* fn. 1270 (in Thornborough, EPNS II, 258).

#### ESSEX:

*Bochel*, *Bochhille* 1108-18, 1216-72, *Bokenhull*, *Bokynhelle* 1270 (BEECH HILL PARK in Waltham Holy Cross, EPNS XII, 28), *Pottereshill*, *-hull* 1254, 1291 (POTTER STREET in Harlow, EPNS XII, 37), *la Hellemahd* 1270 (HILL HO in Netteswell, EPNS XII, 48), *la Blakehul(l)e* 1212, 1218 (BLAKE HALL in Bobbinworth, EPNS XII, 53), *Horshill'*, *Horshull'* 1203 (FOBBING HORSE in Corringham, EPNS XII, 151), *Winthelle* DB, *Windhull*, *-hill* 1200-3, *Windhull* 1272 (CRAY'SHILL in Ramsden Crays, EPNS XII, 168), *Runeshelle* 1189-99),

*Runeshull* 1248 (RUNSELL GREER in Danbury, EPNS XII, 249), *Gilbert de Stonhulle* 1278 (STONEHILL FM in Roxwell, EPNS XII, 265), *Walter atte Hille* 1280 (HILL'S FM in Great Waltham), *Margery de Tuomhull*, *Thawmill*, *Thamhull* 1285 (CHANNELS in Little Waltham, EPNS XII, 274), *Hervicus de Hell* 1206 (HILL FM in Layer de la Haye, EPNS XII, 318), *William del hel* 1216-72 (EPNS XII, 332), *German Attehull* 1272 (THE HILL in St. Osyth, EPNS XII, 350), *Peter del Hull*, *Hel* 1272, 1285 (HILL FM in Tendring, EPNS XII, 352), *Geoffrey atte Hull* 1272 (HILLHOUSE WOOD in West Bergholt, EPNS XII, 361), *Ailmar de Colnehel* c. 1220 (COLNEFORD HILL in Colne Engaine, EPNS XII, 380), *Simon de la Hulle* 1276 (HORKESLEY HILL in Great Horkesley, EPNS XII, 393), *Richard Attehulle* 1272 (HILL FM in Inworth, EPNS XII, 395), *Walter atte Hille* 1288 (HILL FM in Ashdon, EPNS XII, 504), *Cishelle* DB, *Overcheshelle* 1251, *Cheshill*', *-hull* 1199, *Chisshull(e)* 1212, 1234, 1269, *Chishill* 1222, 1248 to 1270 (GREAT and LITTLE CHISHALL, EPNS XII, 520-1), *John de Chishulle* 1282 (in High Easter, EPNS XII, 638), *le Sandhelle* fn. 13th c. (SANDAL COMMON fn. in Henham, EPNS XII, 644), *Willelmus de Hulle* 1230 (HILL FM in White Notley, EPNS XII, 294), *Gilb de la Helle* 13th c. (HILLSIDE in Lambourne, EPNS XII, 61), *Stangravehil* 1269 (STANGROVE in Latton, EPNS XII, 603).

Uncharted field-names (EPNS XII, 583):

*Bromhull* 1231, *Puttokeshill* 13th c., *Loshull* 13th c.

#### NORFOLK:

*Botelers hill* 1175-86, 1298, 1299 (BUTTER HILLS in Norwich, EPNS LXI, 68), *Gosehil* 1267, 1287-1306 (GOOSE HILL, lost street in Norwich, EPNS LXI, 110), *Helingetuna* DB, *Hellingeton* 1177, 1181 (HILLINGTON, DEPN 228), *Hethella*, *Hathelle* DB, *Hethill* 1250 (HETHEL, DEPN 226), *Snarehul* DB, *-hel* c.1095, 13th c., *-huelle* 1168 *Snareshill* 1202 (GREAT SNAREHILL, DEPN 408), *Tottenhella* DB, *Totehill* 1251 (TOTTENHILL, Ek 3<sup>7</sup>), *Alia Snareshella* DB (LITTLE SNAREHILL, DG).

Uncharted names:

(Ek 37): *Harehill* 1186-1210, *Alwineshill* 1200, *Asgereshil* 1202, *Erneskil* 1166-86, 'Godmaneshil' 1297, *Heuekeshil*' 1202, *Holegatehill* 1202, *Lanciswindmillehil* 1275, *Linghil*' 1202, 'le Millehil' 13th c., *Norhill* 1198, *Stanhil* 1198, *Stiterhill*' 1202, *Suthell* 1200, *Suthil*' 1202, *Wellehil* 13th c., *William de Wadhil* 13th c., *William de Hilles* 1243, *Will*, *Ric.*, etc. *de(l) Hil(l)(e)* 1198, 1202;

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<sup>7</sup> Ek = K.-G. Ek 1972. *The Development of OE y and eo in South-Eastern Middle English*. Lund: Gleerup.

(Carlsson<sup>8</sup> 60): *Thom. del Hyl* 1245, *Ric. del Hil* 1275, *Will. de Hil* 1275, *Barth. del Hil* 1295, *Rob. Atte Hill* 1295, *Rad. del Hyl* 1275, *Geoffr. Attehil* 1296, *Joh. atte Hil* 1299-1302, *Rog. del Hil* 1301, *Matild. ate Hil* 1295.

#### SUFFOLK:

*Hauerhella* DB, *Haverhell* 1158, 1190, 1228, *Haverhill(e)* 1228, 1272, 1287, *Hauerhull* 1229 (HAVERHILL, DEPN 215, Ek 36).

#### Uncharted names:

(Ek 36): *Robert de Ardereshull* 1265, *Matilde, Ralph etc. de Hardredeshulle* 1278, 1286, *Ralph de Hardeshull* 1293, *Walter de Pateshill* 1215, *Simon de Pateshill* 1240, *Okenhill* 1258, 1298, *Okenhell* 1258, *Joh. del Wyndhil* 1286, *Ric. de Wyndhil* 1286, *I. Wyndhel* 1302, *Joh., Ric., etc. de le Hel* 1216-72, 1283, *Ric., Thom., etc. del Hil(le)* 1228, 1283, 1287, *Thom., Will., etc. de(l) Hyl* 1219, *Will., Joh., etc. de(l) Hul(le)* 1199, 1281, 1286, *Joh. del Hulle* 1281;

(Carlsson 61): *Hub. del Hel* 1186-88, *Henr del Hul* 1198, *Huric del Hul* 1198, *Albreda Del Hille* 1227, *Wil. dil Hell* 1275, *Joh. del Hulle* 1280, *Thom. del Hil* 1283, *Ansel del Hill* 1286, *Walt. de le Hil* 1294-5.

#### RUTLAND:

*Bernardeshull(e)* 1202, 1208, 1256, 1263, *Bernardeshill'* 1201, 1286, 1298 (BERNSDALE HILL in Exton, EPNS LXVII-LXIX, 20), *Flithulle* fn. 1200 (in Oakham, EPNS LXVII-LXIX, 123), *Stanfordehill'* fn. 1212-38 (in Wing, EPNS LXVII-LXIX, 231), *robynlpit* fn. c. 1275 (in Barrowden, EPNS LXVII-LXIX, 238), *Redehille* fn. c. 13th c. (in North Luffenham, EPNS LXVII-LXIX, 265), *Stanhill hauedelond* fn. 1275 (in Stoke Dry, EPNS LXVII-LXIX, 302).

### Discussion

The material is fairly rich for the 12th century, less so for the 11th century. The *Domesday Book* material for the counties accounted for above includes twenty names occurring in almost every East Midland county (see Map 1).

According to Kristensson (1993) in the early 14th century Bedfordshire was a pure *hull* area, Norfolk the pure *i*-area, Rutland had the majority of *hull*-forms like southern Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. Northern Cambridgeshire was a clear *hill*-area. Huntingdonshire had the majority of *hill*-forms and a few *hull*-forms. Suffolk exhibited a substantial number of *hell*-forms, although *hill*-forms were slightly more numerous. Essex was dominated by *hell*-forms with a sprinkling of

<sup>8</sup> Carlsson = S. Carlsson. 1989. *Studies on Middle English Local Bynames in East Anglia*. Lund: University Press.



*hull*-forms. Kristensson (1993: 75) has suggested on the basis of this distribution of the reflexes of OE /y/ that there was a dialect boundary between the East Midland and South-Eastern dialects between Norfolk and Suffolk<sup>9</sup> (see Map 2). Kristensson has no definite information on the status of Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex since only four names have been recorded in his material for the three counties.

In our material from the 13th century (see Map 3) there are a few differences in the distribution of *hill/hull/hell*-forms in comparison with the 14th century. Rutland appears as a predominantly *hill*-area with two *u*-forms. Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire are definitely *hull*-areas. It is interesting to observe, however, the occurrence of single *e*-forms in those counties, which may testify to a larger *hell*-area at the end of the Old English period than has been so far admitted (cf. Fisiak 1990, Ek 1972). Southern Cambridgeshire has seven *hell*-forms, four *hull*-forms and ten *hill*-forms. Northern Cambridgeshire was a *hill*-area. Huntingdonshire and Norfolk are *hill*-areas (three *e*-forms occur in Norfolk). In Suffolk we find six *e*-forms, nine *u*-forms, and twelve *i*-forms. The situation, thus, is more complex than in Kristensson's material. Likewise, in Essex there are only seven *hell*-forms, fourteen *hull*-forms and four *hill*-forms.

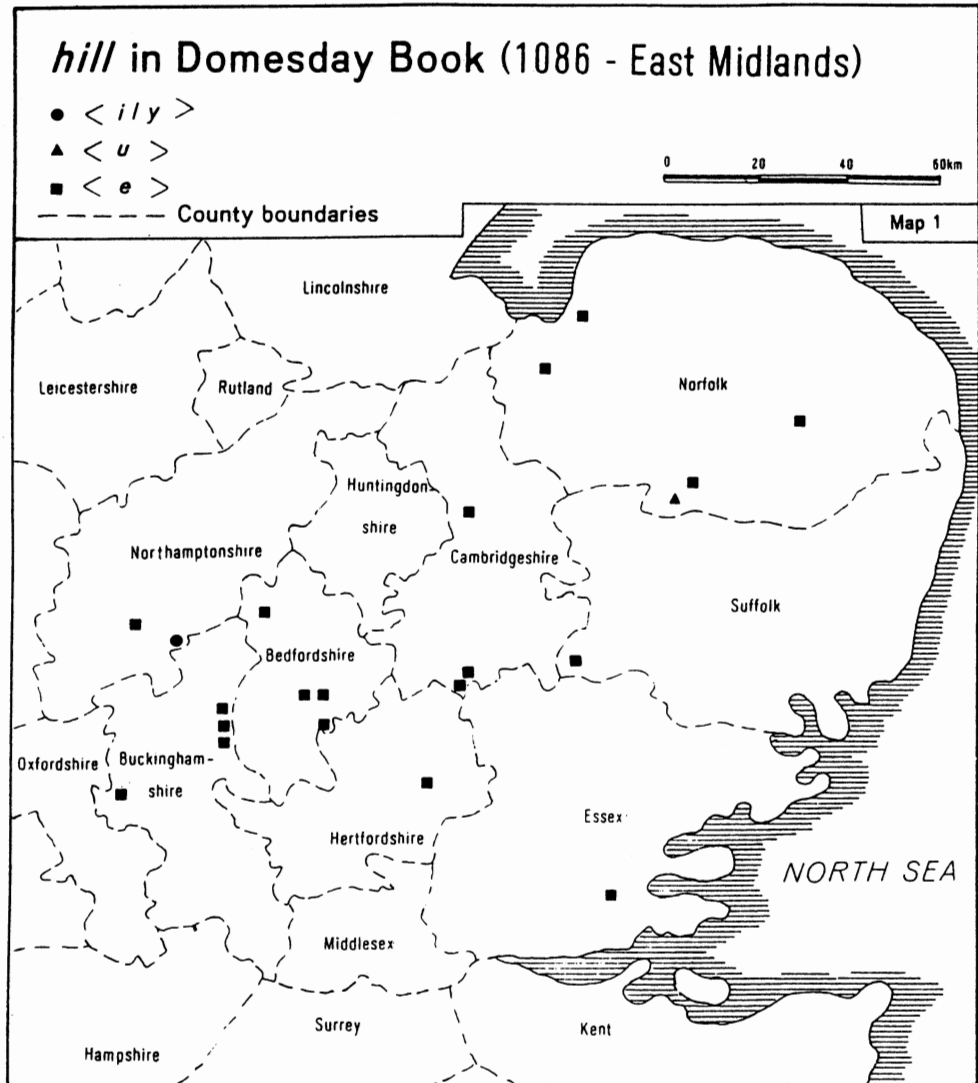
The number of forms recorded in the 12th century (see Map 4) is much smaller than in the 13th century and no generalizations can be made with the exception of three or four counties. The most interesting thing is the occurrence of *hell*-forms in four out of six names in Buckinghamshire and the preponderance of those forms in Middlesex (see my earlier comment on the distribution of *hell* in Late Old English).

In *Domesday Book* (see Map 1) all the recorded forms with the exception of two are *hell*-forms. I do not think that we can dismiss them as results of the Anglo-Norman influence (Fisiak 1990) since some of the *hell*-forms can still be found in the fourteenth century and later. More research is still necessary to establish beyond any doubt phonetic values of DB spellings.

The earlier studies by Wyld (1913), Brandl (1915) and Moore/Meech/Whitehall (1935) propose a different distribution of *hill/hell/hull* (see Map 5). Wyld's isogloss is closest to what our evidence demonstrates but does not agree with Kristensson as regards Southern Cambridgeshire. I find no support for Moore/Meech/Whitehall's isogloss which is too far to the west but this may be due to the material taken from several centuries and used in their analysis to illustrate the situation in Middle English as if the span of time of four centuries represented an unchanging unit (cf. Maps 1-4).

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<sup>9</sup> He makes a proviso, however, that "the distribution of *hull*, *hill*, *hell* is not altogether representative for the distribution of /y(:)/, /i(:)/, and /e(:)/ in other words containing the reflex of OE /y(:)"/ (Kristensson 1993:75).



## OE *hyll* in the East Midlands in Late Middle English

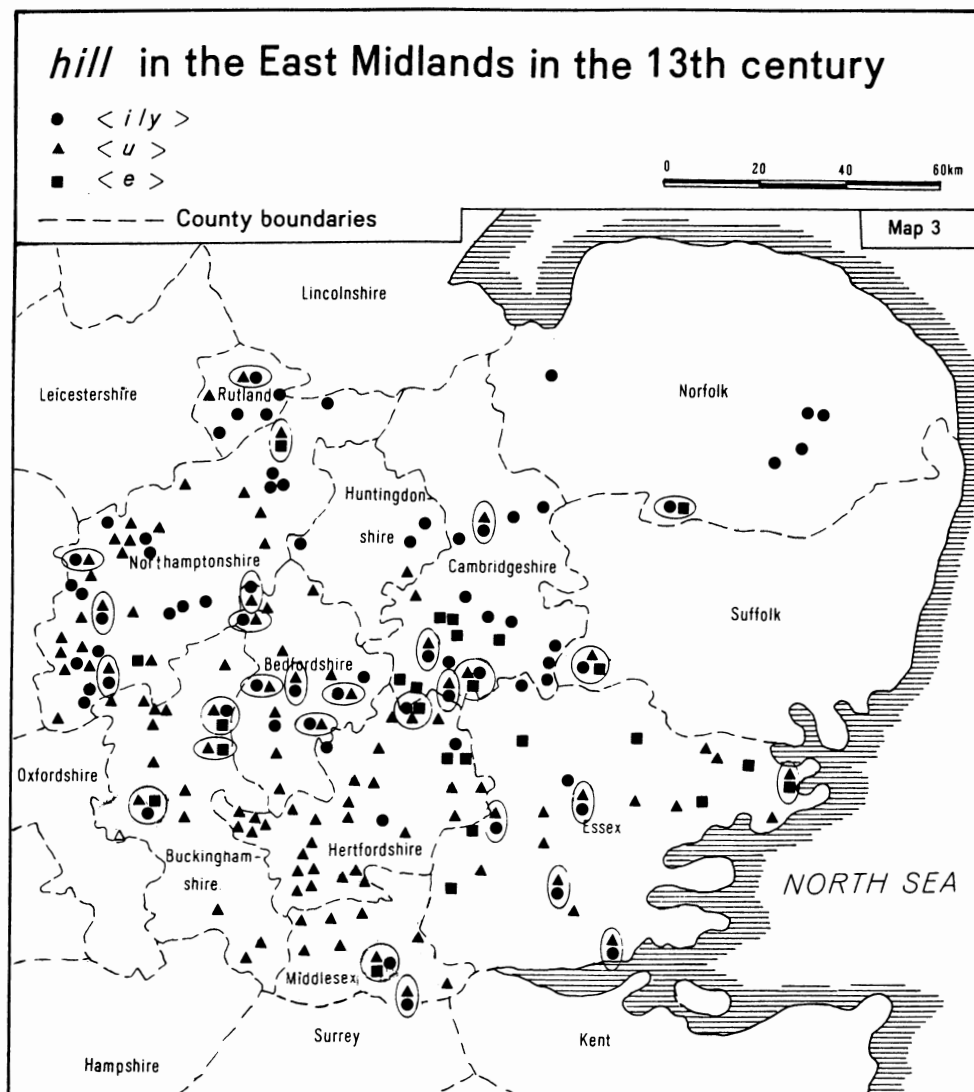
(reproduced from G. Kristensson 1995)

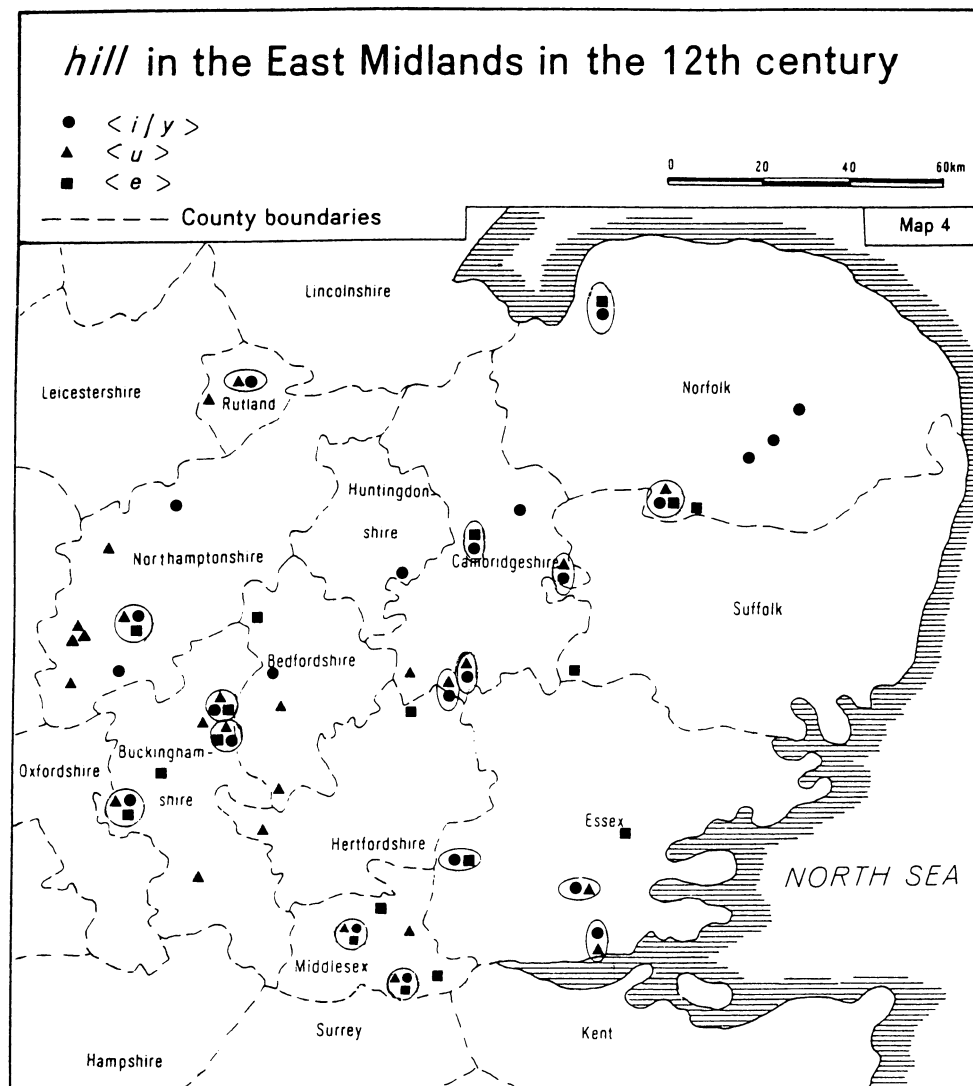
----- County boundaries

Map 2

- hill
- hull
- ⊗ hell



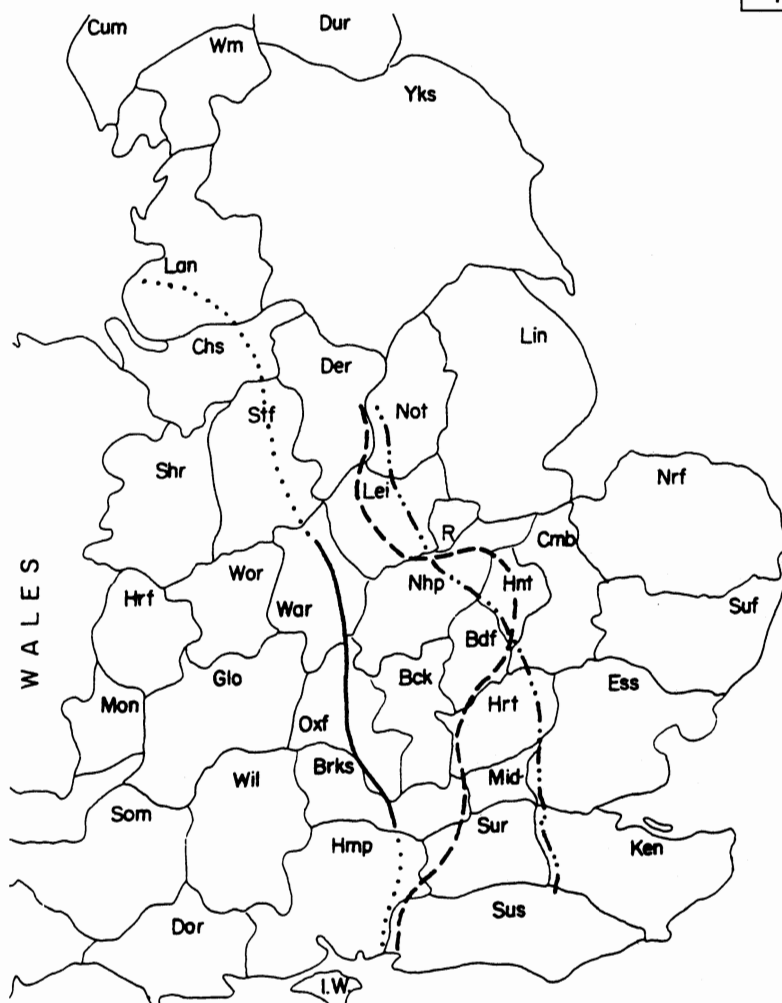




## E *hil*, *hel* / W *hūl* (repr. from MED)

- according to Moore, Meech, Whitehall (1935)
- - - according to A. Brandl, *Zur Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte* (1915), 66-75
- . . - according to H. C. Wyld, *English Studies* 47 (1913), 1-58 and 145-166 (as summarized by A. Brandl)

Map 5



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# **"Es kracht im Gebälk des CLAE ..."**

## **Dialektometrische Beobachtungen zu eigenartigen Polarisierungseffekten in sprachgeographischen Netzen**

*Hans Goebel*

### 1. Vorbemerkung

Der etwas knallige Titel dieses Beitrags bezeichnet einen im Grunde ziemlich verborgenen Sachverhalt, auf den ich – freilich anhand anderer sprachgeographischer Daten – vor etwa 20 Jahren gestoßen bin und den ich erstmals ausführlich in meiner Habilitationsschrift (Goebel 1984 I: 143-148, 164-166) beschrieben habe. Zehn bzw. dreizehn Jahre später wurde die Fachwelt erneut darauf hingewiesen (Goebel 1994, 1997a). Dem Jubilar, dem ich *fide dialectometrica* seit mehr als drei Lustren verbunden bin (Viereck 1980), verdanke ich die Zurverfügungstellung der EDV-lesbaren Daten von CLAE 1 und CLAE 2 und damit die Möglichkeit, die im Titel erwähnten Polarisierungseffekte nunmehr auch in englischen Sprachatlasdaten nachweisen zu können. Insofern ist dieses *donum natalicium* ein *antidoron dialectometrikón* besonderer Art.

### 2. Mustererkennung und Dialektometrie

Wie alle anderen Metrien ist die Dialektometrie zunächst eine rein mustererkennende und damit explorative Methode. Sie zeigt anhand gegebener Daten – worunter hier immer Sprachatlasdaten zu verstehen sind – eine große Anzahl von Mustern, Strukturen, Verkettungen, kurz: Ordnungsrelationen auf, die vorher meistens nur sehr vage oder überhaupt nicht bekannt waren. Die Dialektometrie tut das mit quantitativen Methoden (oder "Mitteln" im weitesten Sinn), wobei sie sich aber stets als eine im Dienste spezifischer Fragestellungen (hier: der Sprachgeographie im weitesten Sinn) stehende Disziplin versteht und damit immer besonderen Zielen bzw. Theorien zuarbeitet.

Da die formalen Voraussetzungen der Dialektometrie hinsichtlich der Struktur der Ausgangsdaten (N Ortsdialekte mal p Atlaskarten/Dialektmerkmale) und der verwendeten Analyse-Methoden auch für zahlreiche andere Metrien (und damit für deren Mutterdisziplinen) gelten, verfügt die Dialektometrie sozusagen per definitionem über zahlreiche interdisziplinäre Anbindungen und Parallelen.

Sie stellt andererseits aber für all jene Philologen und Linguisten, die mit Quantität und Mathematik individuell oder prinzipiell ihre liebe Not haben, eine harte Nuß dar; dabei hoffe ich doch sehr, daß Befürchtungen, wonach unter



Dialektologen und Sprachgeographen solche Probleme häufiger als anderswo vorkommen, falsch sind.

### 3. Ausgangsdaten und dialektometrische Testbatterie (Ähnlichkeitsmessung und Ähnlichkeitsmatrix)

#### 3.1. Ausgangsdaten

Es liegen die Daten von CLAE 1 und CLAE 2 zugrunde, und zwar in einer von mir in Zusammenarbeit mit Harald Händler (Marburg) und Erasmus Langer (Wien) in den Jahren 1992-1993 zur weiteren dialektometrischen Behandlung hergerichteten Form. Es mag sein, daß diese Daten in minimaler (jedenfalls aber vernachlässigbarer) Form von jenen abweichen, die in CLAE 1 und CLAE 2 publiziert vorliegen (cf. Goebel 1997).

##### 3.1.1. Zahl der Meßpunkte und Polygonisierung

Unser Netz hat 314 Meßpunkte: davon sind 313 originäre CLAE-Meßpunkte, 1 Meßpunkt entspricht dem Standardenglischen (de facto den Titeln der CLAE-Karten), liegt auf der Karte an der Stelle von London und trägt den Punktnamen "London". Die Polygonisierung der Karte wurde nach dem in der Dialektometrie seit 20 Jahren allgemein üblichen Voronoi-Delaunay-Verfahren erstellt (cf. Goebel 1984 I: 90-92).

##### 3.1.2. Zahl der Atlaskarten (bzw. der Merkmalebenen der Datenmatrix)

Die Legenden der CLAE-Karten zeigen in ihrer rechten Hälfte eine gröbere und in ihrer linken Hälfte eine feinere Typisierung (bzw. Zusammenfassung) der SED-Ausgangsdaten. Die Symbolvisualisierung in der Form einer ganzen CLAE-Karte erfolgt anhand der gröberen Typisierung. Wir verwenden für die gröbere Typisierung hier das Kürzel MACRO, für die feinere Typisierung das Kürzel MICRO.

Die hier vorliegende dialektometrische Analyse – welche überdies in Zusammenarbeit mit Guillaume Schiltz im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojektes zur Dialektometrie des österreichischen "Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung" durchgeführt wurde – beruht auf einer Vereinigung der beiden Korpora MACRO und MICRO. Dadurch werden gewisse in den CLAE-Daten vorhandene Grundstrukturen in nicht unerwünschter Weise verstärkt. Es ergibt sich damit die folgende Bilanz:

|       | lexikalische<br>CLAE-Karten | morphosyntaktische<br>CLAE-Karten | alle<br>CLAE-Karten |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| MACRO | 150                         | 171                               | 321                 |
| MICRO | 145                         | 131                               | 276                 |
| total | 295                         | 302                               | 597                 |

Die Gesamtmenge von 597 Karten ist allerdings im Vergleich zu anderen dialektometrischen Korpora (Oberitalien: 696, Nordwestfrankreich: 1468, Westschweiz: 1069) nicht besonders hoch, aber doch hinreichend mächtig (zu Oberitalien und Nordwestfrankreich cf. Goebel 1984 I: 41, 49; zur Westschweiz cf. Goebel 1985: 195).

### 3.2. Datenmatrix und Ähnlichkeitsmessung

Die Datenmatrix (N Meßpunkte mal p Atlaskarten) hat daher die Dimensionen 314 (=N) mal 597 (=p). Daraus wird nun anhand eines auszuwählenden Ähnlichkeitsmaßes eine Ähnlichkeitsmatrix mit den Dimensionen N mal N errechnet.

#### 3.2.1. Ähnlichkeitsmaß: RIWs

Im Prinzip handelt es sich um den altbekannten "Relativen Ähnlichkeitswert" (RIW), cf. Goebel (1984 I: 74-78). Da in den CLAE-Daten viele Mehrfachantworten (und damit Mehrfachbelege) vorkommen, mußte der RIW daran irgendwie angepaßt werden. Von den zahlreichen dafür tauglichen Möglichkeiten wurde die von Guillaume Schiltz vorgeschlagene "Standardisierung" (daher: RIW *standardisiert* – RIWs) übernommen. Diese besteht darin, daß von den in einer Matrizenzelle vorhandenen Mehrfachbelegen (Taxaten) nur jener berücksichtigt wird, der auch in der (bei der Messung berücksichtigten) Nachbarzelle vorkommt. Die Taxatmenge der beiden Matrizenzellen muß daher eine nichtleere Schnittmenge ergeben (cf. Schiltz 1996 I: 26-28; 32).

### 3.3. Von der Ähnlichkeitsmatrix zu den Karten 1 und 2

Die Ähnlichkeitsmatrix hat zwar theoretisch die Dimensionen  $N^2$ , enthält aber de facto nur  $N/2$  ( $N - 1$ ) verschiedene (und damit dialektometrisch brauchbare) Meßwerte. Dies deshalb weil von den  $N^2$  Meßwerten die folgenden Abzüge zu machen sind:

- alle N reflexiven Meßwerte ( $RIW_{s_{jj}}$ ) haben unterschiedslos den Wert 1 und sind daher wegen mangelnder Variation taxometrisch unbrauchbar;
- die verbleibenden  $N^2 - N$  Meßwerte ( $RIW_{s_{jk}}$ ) sind zur Gänze symmetrisch ( $RIW_{s_{jk}} = RIW_{s_{kj}}$ ). Die Hälfte davon ist daher redundant und damit überflüssig.

So verbleiben  $N/2$  ( $N - 1$ ) Meßwerte, die N Meßpunktvektoren zugeordnet werden können. Jeder der N (hier: 314) Meßpunktvektoren enthält einen spezifischen Prüfbezugspunkt und 313 weitere Meßwerte, die – da sie im Raum (i. e. im englischen Dialektgebiet) verteilt sind – entsprechend *visualisiert* werden können. Man erhält dabei die gut bekannten *Ähnlichkeitskarten* (cf. Goebel 1984 I: 100f. und Schiltz 1996 I: 54-59).

### 3.4. RIWs-Minima und RIWs-Maxima auf Ähnlichkeitskarten

Jede Ähnlichkeitskarte beruht also auf einer Verteilung von 313 Ähnlichkeitswerten (gemessen anhand von RIWs), die einsichtigerweise durch die Feststellung der üblichen statistischen Kennwerte (wie Minimum, arithmetischer Mittelwert, Median, Maximum, Standardabweichung, Schiefe etc.) näher beschrieben werden kann. Unser Problem besteht nun darin zu überprüfen, wo konkret die Minima und Maxima aller 314 (=N) Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen im Raum (d. h. im CLAE-Netz) liegen.

Dabei stellt man – durchaus im Einklang mit einer sich sozusagen von selbst einstellenden Vorerwartung – zweierlei fest:

- *Maxima* liegen in der Regel in der geographischen Nähe des Prüfbezugspunktes;
- *Minima* liegen in der Regel davon weit entfernt (und zwar meist "am anderen Ende der CLAE-Welt").

Doch damit nicht genug: bei dieser Überprüfung ergibt sich aber auch eine weitere und keineswegs vorhersagbare Besonderheit: Während weit mehr als die Hälfte der N (hier: 314) Meßpunkte die Chance haben, einmal das *Maximum* einer Ähnlichkeitsverteilung zu tragen, ist die Zahl jener Meßpunkte, welche die *Minima* der Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen auf sich ziehen, um vieles kleiner. Und damit erneut nicht genug: diese wenigen Meßpunkte sind zudem – so wie die dazugehörigen Prüfbezugspunkte – räumlich überaus prägnant verteilt (vgl. hierzu die Karten 1 und 2).

### 3.5. Interpretation der Karten 1 und 2

Die vom jeweiligen Prüfbezugspunkt weit entfernte Lage des Minimums der betreffenden Ähnlichkeitsverteilung kann auf den Karten 1 und 2 anhand je eines Beispiels überprüft werden.

Auf Karte 1 sieht man, daß das Minimum der Ähnlichkeitsverteilung zu Punkt St 1 an Punkt Nb 1 liegt. Metaphorisch kann der Punkt Nb 1 als "wenigstgeliebter" (i. e. minimal affiner bzw. "meist gehaßter") Meßpunkt des Meßpunktvektors von St 1 sozusagen als dessen "Prügelknabe" bezeichnet werden. Demnach käme dem Meßpunkt St 1 die Rolle des "Prüglers" zu. Der Pfeil zwischen den beiden Meßpunkten symbolisiert die Richtung des "Prügelausteilens" (bzw. der Aversion, Feindschaft, Antipodenschaft etc.).

Auf Karte 2 sieht das Demonstrationsbeispiel folgendermaßen aus: das Minimum der Ähnlichkeitsverteilung zu Punkt Y 23 liegt an Punkt Wo 5. Demnach wäre der Punkt Y 23 in der metaphorischen Rolle des "Prüglers", während Punkt Wo 5 die Rolle des "Prügelknaben" inne hätte.

Bei einer systematische Untersuchung der Lage aller "Prügler" und aller von diesen aggrelierten "Prügelknaben" ergibt sich nun eine interessante Zweiteilung – und damit Polarisierung – des CLAE-Netzes. Die im Süden Englands liegenden CLAE-Meßpunkte haben in ihrer Funktion als Prüfbezugspunkte ihre jeweiligen Minima allesamt im Nordteil (siehe Karte 1) und umgekehrt (siehe Karte 2).

Jene 216 Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen, deren Prüfbezugspunkte kompakt im Süden (die Insel Man eingeschlossen) liegen, haben ihre jeweiligen Minima an nur 14

Meßpunkten, welche ihrerseits im Norden liegen. Dabei dienen einige davon besonders oft (bis zu 73 Mal) als Minima (bzw. als "Prügelknaben"), andere dagegen nur einmal (siehe erneut Karte 1).

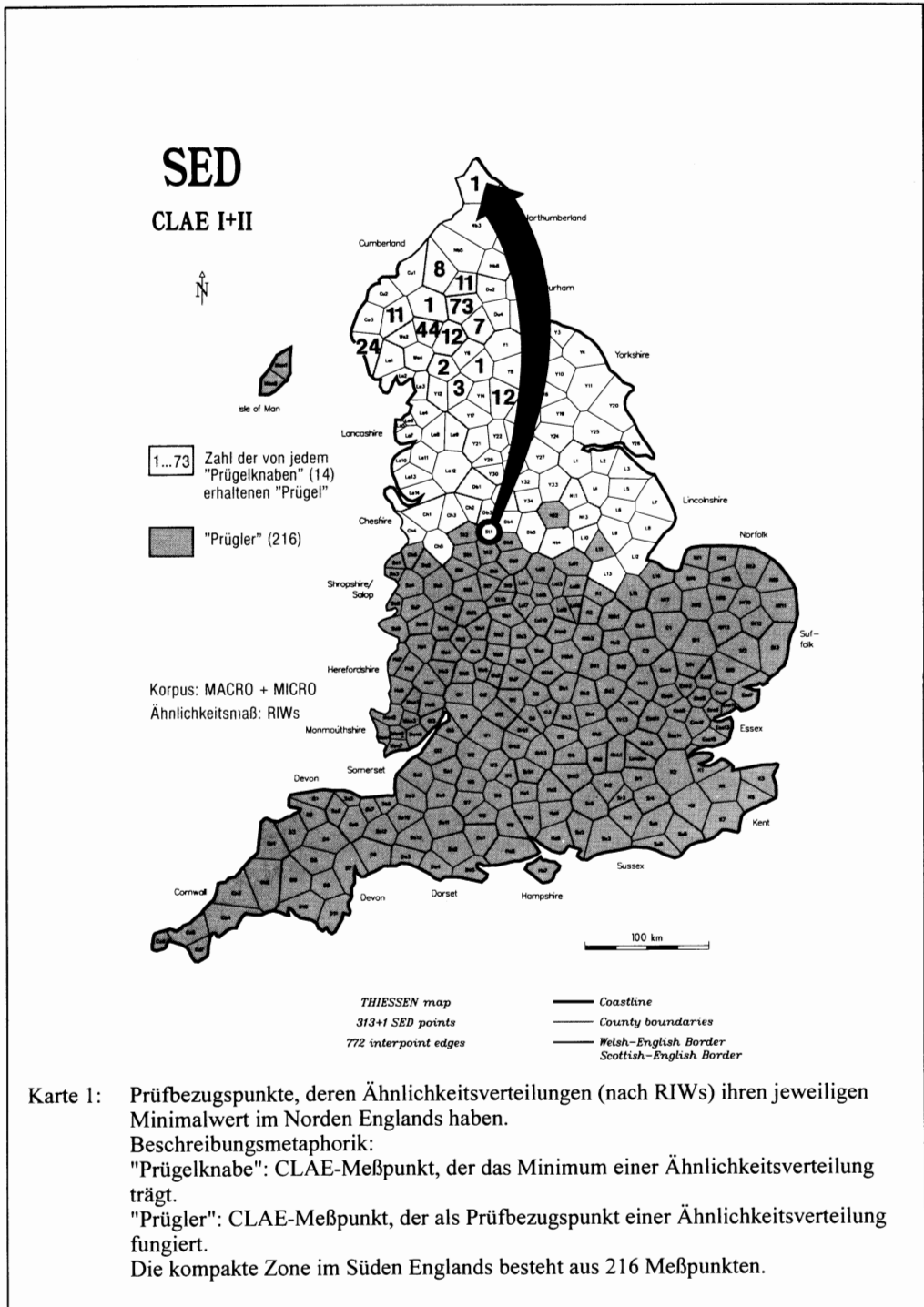
Umgekehrt haben die 98 kompakt im Norden Englands liegenden Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen (bzw. deren Prüfbezugspunkte) ihre Minima im Süden, und zwar an nur 17 CLAE-Meßpunkten, wobei – wie bereits einmal festgestellt – einige darunter besonders oft das betreffende Minimum (d. h. die "Prügel") auf sich ziehen. Im Falle des CLAE-Punkts Do 3 erfolgt das sogar 39 Mal (siehe Karte 2).

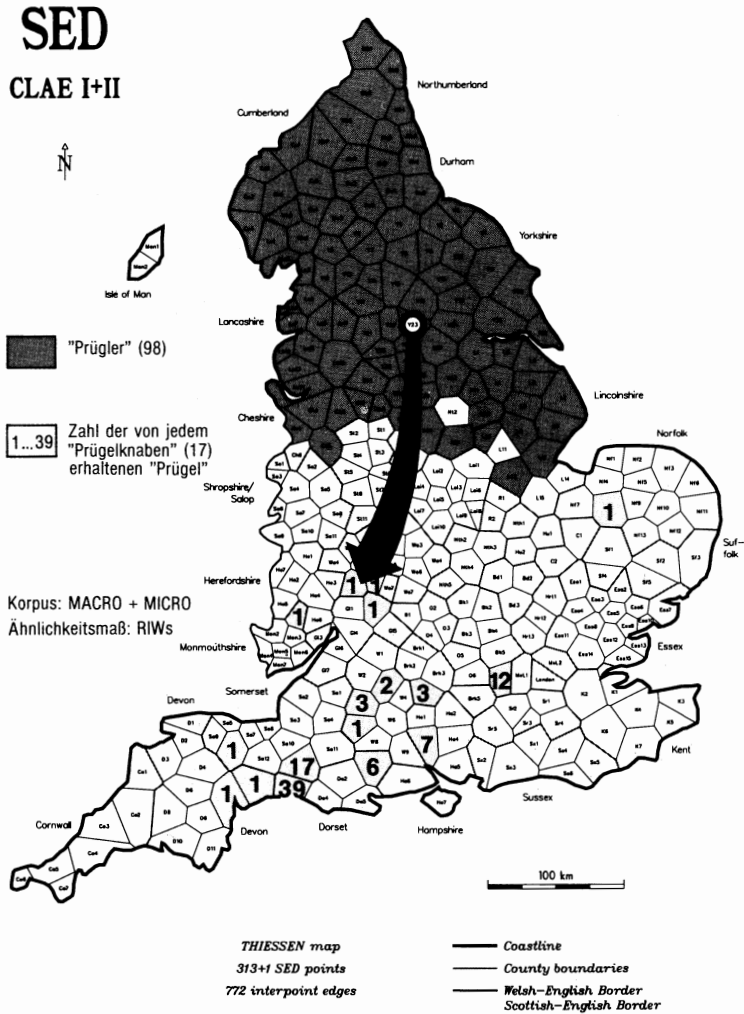
Zwar ist die sich solcherart ergebende Zweiteilung Englands bzw. des CLAE-Netzes aus anglistischer Sicht nicht unerwartet, doch erstaunt immerhin die räumliche Präzision dieses Schnitts. Es liegt gewissermaßen an dieser Stelle im Gefüge der Dialekte des CLAE-Netzes eine Soll-Bruchstelle vor, an der es "kracht". Ähnlich klare Partitionen der jeweiligen Untersuchungsnetze haben sich bereits bei meinen oberitalienischen und französischen Untersuchungen gezeigt. Es scheint hier also ein Proprium – ich zögere noch zu sagen "Universale" – geolinguistischer Netze vorzuliegen.

Es ist natürlich naheliegend, diesem Proprium inhaltlich und methodisch näher-zurücken. In Goebel (1984 I: 147-148) und Goebel (1994) habe ich dazu mehrere Hinweise gegeben, die sich auf Graphentheorie, Konflikttheorie und Netzwerktheorie beziehen. Vor allem die graphentheoretische Interpretation scheint besonders ertragreich zu sein. Mein eingangs bereits zitierter Projektmitarbeiter Guillaume Schiltz hat diese Spur mit Erfolg aufgegriffen und wird sich an anderer Stelle dazu äußern.

Ich füge noch zwei Klarstellungen hinzu:

- a) Die in den Karten 1 und 2 sichtbaren räumlichen Strukturen hängen natürlich vom bei Testbeginn gewählten Ähnlichkeitsmaß ab (cf. hier 3.2.1). Beim Einsatz anderer Ähnlichkeitsmaße ergeben sich klarerweise andere Ähnlichkeitsmeßwerte, damit eine anders strukturierte Ähnlichkeitsmatrix und auch andere Minima-Relationen. Nur halten sich die solcherart auftretenden Variationen – wie unsere Beobachtungen gezeigt haben – in überaus engen Grenzen.
- b) Gleiches gilt überdies auch für die dem jeweiligen Minimum der Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen (mehr oder weniger eng) benachbarten Werte. In diesem Beitrag wurden nur die absoluten Minima ( $MIN_{abs}$ ) diskutiert. Man kann dieselben Diskussionen allerdings auch mit den zweitkleinsten ( $MIN_{-1}$ ), drittkleinsten ( $MIN_{-2}$ ) etc. Werten vornehmen. Guillaume Schiltz hat anhand der CLAE-Daten festgestellt, daß die hier auf den Karten 1 und 2 enthaltenen Strukturen bis zur Verrechnung von etwa  $MIN_{-30}$  ziemlich stabil bleiben und erst danach allmählich "zerbröckeln". Damit wurde erneut eine Beobachtung gemacht, die (experimentierfreudigen) Dialektometern gut bekannt ist: nämlich, daß in geolinguistischen Netzen gewisse Grundstrukturen vorhanden sind, die sich – unter welchen Meßbedingungen auch immer – dem beobachtenden Auge des Dialektometers immer wieder zeigen.





Karte 2: Prüfbezugspunkte, deren Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen (nach RIWs) ihren jeweiligen Minimalwert im Süden Englands haben.  
Beschreibungsmetaphorik:  
"Prügelknabe": CLAE-Meßpunkt, der das Minimum einer Ähnlichkeitsverteilung trägt.  
"Prügler": CLAE-Meßpunkt, der als Prüfbezugspunkt einer Ähnlichkeitsverteilung fungiert.  
Die kompakte Zone im Norden Englands besteht aus 98 Meßpunkten.

#### 4. Schlußbemerkung

Hier wurde nur die räumliche Lagerung der Minima der Ähnlichkeitsverteilungen und der dazugehörigen Prüfbezugspunkte diskutiert. Eine analoge Untersuchung der Maxima – deren graphische Umsetzung hier nicht gezeigt werden kann – hat ergeben, daß von den 314 CLAE-Prüfbezugspunkten nur 171 die betreffenden Maxima tragen können. Diese Zahl ist bedeutend höher als die vorhin (in Kapitel 3.3) näher beschriebene Zahl der Minima (31 – davon 17 im Süden und 14 in Norden Englands). Vor allem dieser in allen unseren Untersuchungsanordnungen beobachtbare numerische Unterschied wäre zu erklären.

Da das Maximum einer Ähnlichkeitsverteilung einem maximalen Ähnlichkeitsbezug zwischen einem Prüfbezugspunkt und den verbleibenden 313 "Mitgliedern" der (insgesamt 314 "Mitglieder" umfassenden) "Gesamtgruppe" entspricht, kann für den den Maximalwert tragenden CLAE-Meßpunkt auch die Metapher des "besten Freundes", "Busenfreundes" etc. (des betreffenden Prüfbezugspunktes) verwendet werden.

Eine graphische Darstellung der räumlichen Verteilung dieser 171 "Busenfreunde" würde eine gleichmäßige, sozusagen "leopardenfellartige" Verteilung dieser "Busenfreunde" über das ganze CLAE-Gebiet zeigen. Doch stellt man auch hier fest, daß unter den 171 "Busenfreunden" eine relativ kleine Zahl (nämlich 37) mehr als zweimal (nämlich 3-9 Mal) in die Rolle des "Busenfreundes" kommen. Ein Blick auf die Karten 1 und 2 zeigt, daß dasselbe Phänomen auch bei den Minima existiert. Dieser eigenartige Umstand erinnert stark daran, was man aus menschlichen Sozietäten auch kennt, nämlich daß nur relativ wenige Individuen als universelle "Sündenböcke" (etc.) oder als "Traumpartner" gelten.

Diese Analogie zwischen sozialen und geolinguistischen Netzen scheint mir nun keineswegs zufällig zu sein, sondern ihre Ursache in für soziale und dialektale Netze gleichermaßen geltenden Grundvoraussetzungen der menschlichen Interaktion zu haben.

Jedenfalls ist es sicherlich lohnend, diesen hier nur sehr summarisch aufgezeigten Problemen mittels verschiedener formaler Verfahren (wovon die Graphentheorie ein besonders interessanter Weg zu sein scheint) auf den Grund zu gehen.

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# English Stock Market Metaphors – Worldwide

*Axel Hübler*

## 1. Setting the frame

Stock market affairs usually do not hit the front page in the newspapers. An exception was the so-called 'big crash' of 1987, which started at the New York Stock Exchange and subsequently spread to all major bourses in the world. It came about – as I understand it – as a result of too many people trying to sell their stocks and too few people willing to buy them. This disproportion of supply and demand reduced the market value of the shares considerably. People reacted with panic and wanted to sell more, for fear that the stock prices would go down further. This created a downward spiral, which led to the crash. It gained world-wide attention in the press. Some of these press reports from all over the world written in English serve as the source for my investigation on stock market metaphors.

Treating English stock market metaphors on a worldwide scale amounts to analyzing and comparing the impact of two antagonistic principles on the formation and usage of metaphors, namely internationalism and culture-specificity.

Metaphors, on the one hand, tend to be culture-specific. If we employ the well-known terms of Richards (1936), who ascribes two interrelated parts to the (linguistic) metaphor, namely the *topic*, or *tenor* (i.e., the concept metaphorized), and the *vehicle* (i.e., the image used for metaphorizing), we can determine the locus where the metaphor tends to become culture-specific as the vehicle employed for metaphorization. This holds true at least where the notion of metaphor is released from its link to literature and is applied to ordinary language phenomena. It has recently been shown in such contexts that linguistic metaphors have correspondents in cognitive metaphors, defined as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 5). The claim, however, that "the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture" (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 22), has general as well as specific readings and is thus open to a wide range of data. In the given context, the data to be considered are the metaphors relating to the stock market crash. They could be culture-specific either in the sense of a professional culture (i.e., the world of the bourse) or in the sense of a country's specific culture.

The institution of the stock market, on the other hand, can well be considered an international phenomenon. It is not restricted to just a few countries, and wherever the institution exists, it shows a similar organizational structure, due to the fact that the economy in general has increasingly become international and interdependent. However, it does not lack culture-specific features. The stock market as an institu-

tion is a capitalist phenomenon. Thus its operation is restricted to countries and cultures that show certain capitalist features; such features may, nowadays, be shown by the majority of countries, though not by all – even if the institution as such may be well-known among the better informed people all over the world.

English as the language under consideration represents yet another aspect relating to both internationalism and culture-specificity. As a whole, the newspapers published in English reflect all systematically possible roles that English can acquire, from English as the first language or mother tongue (L1) via English as a second language (L2) to English as a foreign language (FL). The corresponding types of varieties show the same characteristic (and precarious) ambivalence between sharing what Quirk et al. (1985: 16 ff.) have called the 'common core' and exhibiting individual features that depend on cultural and – in the case of L2 and FL varieties – on linguistic conditions of the country at issue.

As far as the medium 'newspaper' itself is concerned, we have to take into consideration that reports may derive from different sources. On the one hand, we have original press articles written by journalists from the country where the newspaper in question is published; that is where culture-specificity is most likely to be encountered. On the other hand, we have the reports issued by international news agencies such as *Associated Press* or *Agence France Press* or *Reuter*; their publications establish a common ground across cultures. But even here it would be rash to exclude the possibility that some traits of individuality (and consequently culture-specificity) will nevertheless occur. There seems to be space enough for the single paper, viz. the editor and the staff, to leave their mark on the product prefabricated by the press agency.

In order to find out in how far English stock market metaphors are culture-specific I shall first collect such metaphors from a selection of newspapers, see whether the individual sets show internal coherence conveying a vision, and then compare them with one another; in the final part I shall try to interpret/discuss the findings in terms of their cultural significance/load.

## 2. Stock-taking

### 2.1. Data sources

The newspapers chosen are the British *Financial Times*, the *Japan Times*, the *China Daily*, edited and published in Beijing, the *Rising Nepal*, the *Times of India*, the *Times of Zambia*, and the *Standard* appearing in Nairobi, Kenya. Each newspaper has been examined for (the same) ten consecutive days, viz., from 20/10/1987 to 29/10/1987; the articles analyzed thus refer to the same event (even though it happened at different stock market locations around the world).

Aiming at a qualitative rather than a quantitative analysis, I have limited my attention to the variety of metaphors used in each paper and neglected the frequency with which a single metaphor reoccurs within one and the same paper. The papers selected cover the main systematic variants: (a) the papers examined are from countries with decidedly different cultures and (b) they are from countries/cultures in which stock markets have a different significance: the *Times of Zambia*, the

*Rising Nepal* and the *China Daily* are from countries with no stock market (China being a particular case, though, because of its vital interests in Hong Kong and its Stock Exchange), the *Times of India* and the *Kenyan Standard* are from countries with a protected stock market, and the *Japan Times* and the *Financial Times* from countries with a free stock market.

## 2.2. The data sets and their comparison

Starting out from the relatively most familiar, I begin with the *Financial Times* (FT), a paper from a country with a 'bourse culture' and the same Western cultural background that I have.

We find metaphors that conceive the crash as a 'typhoon' or as a 'ravaging storm'

- (1) Yet the floor of the exchange was like the calm in the middle of a typhoon (FT 24.10. p. 26)
- (2) the ravaging storms sweeping larger international exchanges (FT 20.10. p. 1B);

the enormous amount of selling is metaphorized in terms of 'gusts' or a 'deluge'

- (3) That day's selling gusts from New York make things even worse (FT 21.10. p. 50)
- (4) The deluge of orders delayed the opening of trading (FT 23.10. p. 50).

Examples such as

- (5) Aggressive selling sent share prices broadly lower (FT 21.10. p. 60)
- (6) a bankrupting blitz of selling orders (FT 21.10. p.50)

combine the motif of destruction with the motif of war. Consequently, stocks are 'hurt' or 'slaughtered'

- (7) High-tech issues were hurt on a wide front (FT 20.10. p. 40)
- (8) that stocks should be slaughtered again (FT 23.10. p. 50);

they 'plunge' and 'plummet', as in

- (9) Lucas industries plunged 66 to 699 p (FT 20.10. p. 36)
- (10) The Dow Jones Industrial Average had plummeted more than 370 points (FT 20.10. p. 1);

certain stocks show 'resistance'

- (11) Other financials showed some resistance (FT 23.10. p. 50),

they 'struggle to hold on to their ground'

- (12) European bourses struggled to hold on to their ground (FT 28.10. p. 46),

'climb back' and 'find a foothold'

- (13) Zwick climbed back ... finding a foothold on the firmer dollar and lower US and UK interest rates (FT 21.10. p. 50)

or 'escape'

- (14) Sri Lanka stocks escape the storm (FT 28.10. p. 46).

Correspondingly, investors surrender by 'stranding'

- (15) Some traders were stranded with huge unwanted stock positions (FT 21.10. p. 26)

or they struggle for survival by manoeuvring for a better position by land or by sea

- (16) Investors took refuge in fixed-income securities (FT 23.10. p.1)
- (17) Holdings were also hauled back (FT 23.10. p. 50).

Periods of rest, collapse and medical care for the wounded as well as general health conditions are also taken into metaphorical consideration

- (18) A still nervous market paused for breath (FT 24.10. p. 11)
- (19) share prices collapsed in a wave of selling (FT 20.10. p. 1)
- (20) The central bank repeatedly injected liquidity at 3.7 to 3.8 per cent (FT 20.10. p. 24).

In short, the metaphors evoke a spectacular vision of the bourse debacle as a battle between the elemental forces crashing down from the skies and breaking in from the seas and their victims desperately fighting for survival, a vision of "doom and gloom" – to quote the *Financial Times* again (27.10. p. 50). The vision is not limited to the overall topic 'crash' but extends over all its aspects/sub-topics, e.g. stocks and their prices, selling, places, traders, and investors.

Remarkably enough, the *Financial Times* offers still another set of metaphors that seems to be incompatible with the vision reconstructed so far. Some of the metaphors that do not fit the picture are the following ones:

- (21) The majority of investors are still new to the share game (FT 28.10. p. 46)
- (22) "It's working like a yo-yo" said Mr. U. Ramm (FT 23.10. p. 50)
- (23) Dealers in Hong Kong braced themselves for a roller-coaster day yesterday (FT 28.10. p. 46)
- (24) The second concern was about the health of market players (FT 21.10. p. 50)

The metaphors conceive the stock market and the crash in terms of a fun-fair or a casino. Instead of the existential, life threatening interpretation of the crash that the previously expounded metaphorical material entails we find here a light-hearted attitude expressed: losses are downs in a series of ups and downs, they are bad luck, but better luck may be just around the corner.

The repertoire conveying this vision is certainly less richly elaborated than the vision of a tempest. It nevertheless makes it necessary to look for an interpretation

that explains the co-existence of the two competing concepts; we shall come back to this question in the final section of this paper.

Flicking through the articles of the other papers selected, we observe that no other metaphorical concept has been employed. On closer inspection we find that the metaphors in each of these papers represent merely subsets of what we have found in the *Financial Times*. There are, however, differences among the subsets of the papers and these differences seem worth a closer inspection. In fact, if we take 'resemblance' to the metaphorical set of the *Financial Times* as a measure we can use it as criterion for a graded list and order the papers and their (sub-)sets accordingly from weakest to closest resemblance.

Disregarding the *Rising Nepal* for not paying any attention whatsoever to the crash, we find that it is the *Times of Zambia* (TZ) which shows the weakest resemblance with the metaphorical conceptualization of the *Financial Times*. Besides its limited range of topics metaphorized, it is the only paper which provides metaphorical expressions that (due to their limited number) do not show any considerable degree of coherence. Eleven of the twelve expressions found pertain to only one topic, viz., the change in the price/value of stocks, and the vehicles vary widely. The majority relate to (vertical) movements associated with water, as in

(25) The Tokyo exchange ... took a record dive (TZ 21.10. p. 2),

or with the ground, as in

(26) share values slumped (TZ 21.10. p. 2).

Some movements appear as autonomous as in (26), some as caused by something, as in

(27) ... fear-driving stock prices still down (TZ 22.10. p. 2).

Besides images of movement, there are also images of physical disappearance, in part conceived as a natural process, as in (28), in part as an act of violence, as in (29):

(28) \$ 500 billion evaporated (TZ 22.10. p. 2)

(29) the new fall stripped 9.9 % off the value (TZ 21.10. p.2).

We cannot but ascribe a very limited function to these metaphors: at the most, they represent a stylistic-affective device for rendering the reports more palpable here and there.

The metaphors of Kenya's *Standard* and of the *Times of India* show at least in some parts a certain degree of systematicity. In the *Standard* (S) the concept of 'battle' gains some prominence. The corresponding imagery is not only restricted to one topic (as turned out to be the case with the *Times of Zambia*). It not only relates to stock prices, as in

(30) ... Tokyo share index ... clawing back more than one third  
(S 22.10. p.9)

(31) ... started to climb back (S 22.10. p. 9),

but extends to other topics as well, e.g. to the over-all market condition, as in

(32) whether the Wall Street rally will be maintained (S 23.10. p. 9)

(33) The world stock market rout continued today (S 27.10. p. 8),  
and to the effect the crash has on investors, as in

(34) South African investors got bruised (S 22.10. p. 8)

The *Standard* includes images of physical state:

(36) from the international collapse (S 22.10. p. 8)

(37) ... index ... before recovering to ... (S 22.10. p. 8).

The core concept is explicitly formulated:

(38) after yesterday's crash slashed 1/3 from the values of shares  
(S 28.10. p. 8)

(39) a day of stock exchange carnage (S 20.10. p. 8).

Seen together, the metaphors found in the *Standard* outline an agonistic scenario, and in this respect their usage comes close to that of the *Financial Times*. What the *Standard* does not convey, however, is a metaphorical indication as to the 'origin' of such a battle, which the metaphors of the *Financial Times* characterized as lying in bad weather conditions.

This exactly is the field from which the vehicles of the metaphors found in the *Times of India* (TI) are taken. They mainly serve for metaphorizing the enormous amount of selling, which had triggered the crash.

(40) a new wave of aggressive zaitek (high tech finance) speculation  
(TI 22.10. p. 8)

(41) a week that saw ... an avalanche of shares trading hands  
(TI 25.10. p. 10)

(42) Hong Kong's stock market ... hoping the panic would abate  
(TI 27.10. p. 21)

But they are used for other topics as well:

(43) Tokyo shares have so far weathered the global market crisis  
(TI 29.10. p. 1)

(44) the turbulence that shook the world's stock exchanges last week  
(TI 27.10. p. 17 - sect. II).

We not only find images containing the feature 'destructive' or 'aggressive' (as the attribute in (40) explicitly puts it), but also some with the complementary notion of victim.

(45) foreign investors are fleeing from the American market  
(TI 21.10. p. 1)

(46) Beijing's Bank of China then joined two big banks ... to throw  
another \$ 2 billion lifeline to the ailing futures exchange  
(TI 28.10. p. 1).

What the metaphors of the *Standard* highlight forms a minor part of the metaphorical set to be found in the *Times of India*, which has shown to have its metaphorical centre in the imagery of bad weather. Each paper thus provides mainly

one component of the complex conceptualization of the crash that the *Financial Times* offers, i.e., the crash as the battle between the elemental forces of destruction and their victims fighting for protection. The *Financial Times'* second, competing concept, however, which conceptualizes the bourse in terms of a fun-fair or casino, remains inactivated in either paper.

The vision of the bourse as fun-fair/casino is fully brought to the fore by the *China Daily* (CD). The metaphor extends over four topical areas: investors, selling, the price-development of stocks and overall market situation.

- (47) In Hong Kong tens of thousands of non-professional investors play the market (CD 27.10. p. 1)
- (48) You can see clerks playing the roller coaster stock index futures market (CD 27.10. p. 1)
- (49) a selling spree in the markets (CD 26.10. p. 2)
- (50) In Tokyo ... stocks bounced back (CD 28.10. p. 2)
- (51) The Hong Kong Stock Exchange rebounded yesterday (CD 28.10. p. 1).

Though not richly elaborated, it does not fall behind the corresponding set of the *Financial Times*. In the *China Daily*, however, the employment of the fun-fair/casino concept goes at the expense of the other one, which is only fragmentarily used; this, in effect, represents the main difference between the *China Daily* and the *Financial Times*, where we find metaphors of natural disaster in abundance.

Both metaphorical concepts are employed by the *Japan Times* (JT), which therefore comes closest to the *Financial Times* as our chosen point of reference. A few illustrations must suffice. While (52) - (54) belong to the fun-fair/casino conceptualization

- (52) It may be fun and games for the programme traders, but ... (JT 20.10. p. 7)
- (53) Yet, with investors taken on a roller-coaster ride, last week was wild (JT 27.10. p. 11)
- (54) under a hectic selling spree (JT 21.10. p. 7),

examples (55) - (64) represent instances of a well-developed coherent set of metaphors interpreting all possible crash-related topics in terms of a battle against natural forces.

- (55) ... markets still wobbly from the historic collapse earlier this week (JT 23.10. p. 1)
- (56) selling fever struck Wall Street again (JT 28.10. p. 1)
- (57) The trading floor was flooded with massive sell orders (JT 20.10. p. 10)
- (58) ... as investors sought a safe haven in government securities (JT 21.10. p. 1)
- (59) while share prices took a severe beating on the Tokyo Stock Exchange (JT 27.10. p. 10)
- (60) the blood letting on the big board (JT 20.10. p. 9)

- (61) Wall Street, buffeted by more than a week of turmoil  
(JT 29.10. p. 1)
- (62) Tokyo shares have so far weathered the global stock market crisis  
fairly well (JT 29.10. p. 1)
- (63) the Dow suffered its second-worst plunge in history  
(JT 28.10. p. 1)
- (64) share prices tumbled across the board in the morning  
(JT 20.10. p. 1)

The point, however, where the *Japan Times* seems to fall behind the metaphoric conceptualization of the *Financial Times* consists in the following: We do not find metaphors (or I, at least, could not) that would pinpoint the underlying tempest concept, as does, for instance, example (1) from the *Financial Times*; consequently, no anthropomorphic reinterpretation of the natural forces as aggressors, which would effect the linkage between the two partial concepts, as in (1) and (2), is fully established.

### 3. Functional interpretations

The functional possibilities of the metaphorical sets encountered vary. We can draw a distinction between sets of a merely descriptive and sets of an explanatory character. The battle-metaphors as such are descriptive. However, they acquire more significance by supporting the tempest-metaphors, which, in turn, exert an explanatory function in that they highlight the chance nature of the crash. This (explanatory) characteristic is also conveyed by the competing vision based on the casino-concept. There is, however, one important difference. In the conceptualization of the crash as a natural catastrophe, humans merely appear as victims, whereas in its conceptualization in terms of playing/gambling, they appear as victims and culprits at the same time.

The data found and the significance attached to them may be considered to reflect quite well the different degrees to which the institution 'stock market' is embedded in the general culture of the countries concerned. The scattered metaphors found in the *Times of Zambia* fit well with the fact that Zambia has no stock market at all. The partial actualizations of the full metaphorical concept 'battle against elemental forces' by the Kenyan *Standard* and the *Times of India* may be taken as an appropriate correlate with the limited role the stock markets play in Kenya and India respectively. The confinement of the *China Daily* to just one of the two metaphorical concepts, i.e., fun-fair/casino, goes together well with the fact that China is soon going to take possession of Hong Kong again with one of the world's most important stock markets. And that the *Japan Times* shows a metaphoric profile almost identical with that of the *Financial Times* appears in accordance with the equal stance the bourse has in Tokyo and in London. These parallelisms can hardly be of an accidental nature. For that reason, I think, we are allowed not to attach too much weight to the fact that the newspapers chosen are quite disparate and thus may have variables that have neither been controlled nor adequately taken account of.



The findings can also be shown to serve the particular communicative needs in the papers' countries of origin. This, again, supports the view that we may not, after all, have neglected variables which should not be neglected even in such a large-scale investigation.

Even in countries with a prototypical stock market culture such as Britain, the bourse is a world of its own. How exclusive it is, is not only evidenced by the ignorance of the average citizen (who may know even less about the stock market than I do by now), but also by the arrogance which people from the market show. They classify people as "insiders" and "outsiders", as Smith (1968) writes, who considers himself an insider. And outsiders are not only those who do not invest at all, but also the average private investor, the "little people", as insiders call them. The way the stock market is organized allows them only to give their selling or buying orders to some intermediary who does the job for them, and whether they decide the right thing or not depends "on somebody smart at the other end of the phone" (Smith 1968: 97).

This leads me to the view that reporting on stock market affairs in the *Financial Times* may also involve an act of intercultural mediation, the journalist being the mediator between the world of the bourse and the world outside.<sup>1</sup> The metaphorical tempest concept contributes to these mediatory ends. It addresses the little people among the stock holders and the general lay-public and helps them to better understand what happened.

Moreover, the concept conveys an interpretation of the crash that may be of particular attraction to the little investors. Many of them may have experienced the crash similarly to the family about whom we can read in *Time International*:

The Lindenhurst, N.Y., couple watched helplessly last week as their \$ 300,000 portfolio of stocks sank in value by 20 %. Said Berenice: "We have been investing in the market for 22 years. Now this happens, and it threatens what you have worked for over a life time." (2.11. p. 21)

For them and the likes of them, it may be easier to cope with what has befallen them if they can interpret the crash as a fate coming over them like a tempest for which they are not responsible. For this group of outsiders then, the tempest concept appears to be more than just a means for intercultural mediation; it also exerts a consoling function, the conceptual metaphor being one that these people *c o u l d* live by – to vary the title of Lakoff/Johnson (1980). Or, to give it yet another turn, it is a metaphor these people *s h o u l d* live by. After all, the *Financial Times* is a Conservative paper. And it was the privatisation programme of Britain's Conservative government that had led millions of ordinary British people, who had never before held shares, to buy stocks.

The casino concept, on the other hand, seems to have no such intercultural function; that may be why it does not assert itself against the predominance of the

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<sup>1</sup> This view seems to be all the more plausible, despite the seemingly specialized format of the *Financial Times*, as we encounter the same concept in the *Times* as well.

tempest concept. It seems to be addressed to the insiders, to the big shots in business, to the people who know that they are playing a gambling game and appreciate the risk as part of what makes gambling so exciting – similar to the following stance expressed by one of the fathers of Western economic theory and an enthusiastic 'gambler' himself, J. M. Keynes:

The game of professional investment is intolerably boring and overexacting to anyone who is entirely exempt from the gambling instinct: whilst he who has it must pay to this propensity the appropriate toll. (quoted from Smith 1968: 9)

As far as the other newspapers are concerned, we can assume different communicative needs, which, in turn, could account for their departure from the metaphorical conceptualization found in the *Financial Times*. The role which the English language plays in the respective countries will be an important determinant.

Where English is a foreign language, as in Japan and China, an English-written newspaper is pre-eminently meant to be for an international public. The purpose of intranational intercultural mediation, important as it is for the *Financial Times*, does not apply therefore to the *Japan Times* and the *China Daily*. In the case of Japan, this task falls to Japanese papers written in the Japanese language; in the case of China, there is not (yet) even the need for it. This could explain why the tempest concept of the *Japan Times* does not (quite) come up to the fully-fledged version of the *Financial Times*, and why it does not gain prominence in the *China Daily*. That the casino concept, on the other hand, is no less developed in either paper than in the *Financial Times* is in line with my functional interpretation of the concept: it is meant for the international community of insiders, the Japanese professionals and the Chinese initiated included.<sup>2</sup>

The findings pertaining to the *Times of India* and Kenya's *Standard* can be accommodated accordingly. In India as well as in Kenya, English is recognized as an official language, i.e., it also serves intranational purposes. We can therefore assume that there is a general readership for a national English newspaper. We thus find a situation favourable for the use of metaphors as a means of intranational intercultural mediation. The metaphoric concept of a battle ending in carnage which the *Standard* offers fulfils, I think, this purpose adequately, presupposed that there was no need, as in Britain, to assist little investors in overcoming their shock. A similar reasoning would apply to the findings in the *Times of India*. Why the Indian paper employs prevalently metaphorical expressions relating to the tempest concept is hard to tell; but why it conveys the concept in fragments only can be explained with India's somewhat ambiguous attitude toward capitalism. Finally, that neither

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<sup>2</sup> The ideological reservation that such a concept must nevertheless evoke from the Chinese point of view becomes manifest in the following quote:

"It [the crash] is a result of the casino economy practised by the United States", Pu Shan, director of the Institute of World Politics and Economy under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said. (CD 21.10. p. 1)

one of the two papers shows metaphorical expressions pointing toward the casino/fun-fair concept seems to be coherent with my interpretation of it: in neither country do we have a stock market such as to attract powerful people to play it.

The conceptual rudiments that we encounter in the occasionally occurring metaphors of the *Times of Zambia*, finally, correspond to the lack of any functional load that such a concept could exert in this country. Though serving the informative needs in a general sense, the articles on the crash do not have to meet any other more specific communicative requirements.

#### 4. Concluding remark

The analyses show that, on a world-wide scale, English stock market metaphors appear almost like a picture puzzle: we can understand/see them either in their international or their culture-specific significance. The determining factor for understanding them as an international phenomenon is, on the one hand, the focus on the shared imagery and, on the other hand, the focus on the international role of the bourse together with its separation from ordinary life. The determining factor for understanding them as a culture-specific phenomenon is, on the one hand, the focus on the varying degrees in which the metaphors form a complex and coherent network and, on the other hand, the focus on the different role the bourse has in the individual countries. All other variables, whether mentioned or not, seem, relatively speaking, of secondary importance.

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# The Entanglements of English Personal Pronouns

*Atsushi Iwamoto*

## 1. Introduction

When we look into their history and dialectal usage, the personal pronouns are full of fusion and confusion in their form and usage, in the categories of case and number, and even the person itself. In Indo-European languages, we also see such entanglements as:

- a) syncretism of ablative, locative and instrumental to genitive, dative or accusative;
- b) syncretism of dative/accusative to objective case;
- c) syncretism of nominative/accusative to a common case;
- d) number confusion of the singular and plural;
- e) person confusion among the first, second and third persons.

In English we have the typical example of *thou/you* which made drastic changes from objective to nominative and from plural to singular. And beside this, we see interesting examples as noted in Trudgill/Chambers (1991: 7-9):

- 1) Possessive *me* (e.g. *I've lost me bike.*)
- 2) Possessive *us* (e.g. *We like us town.*)
- 3) Singular *us* (e.g. *Give us a kiss.*)

They comment on the second person singular *thou/thee* and the singular *you* as follows:

[...] the historical loss of the second person singular/plural distinction that went with the loss of *thou/thee* has been repaired by the introduction of new second person plural pronouns, such as *youse*, which is found in North America, Australia, Scotland, England and especially Ireland. The American South, [...] has *y'all*, and, less widely and less well known, *you'uns*. The traditional dialects of East Anglia, England, have *you ... together*, in this function: *Come you on together*.

Trudgill/Chambers (1991: 8)

In this article, such entanglements (syncretism and confusion) of the English personal pronouns are examined, especially in the first and the second person and in the reflexive pronouns. In reality, however, these pronouns have their own systematic order synchronically and some basic principles function there.

## 2. The Variation of the first person pronoun *I*

### 2.1. The diachronic development of *I*

OE. *ic* became *ic*, *ik* in the Northern dialect and palatalised *ich* in the Midland and Southern dialects. In the 12th century, linked with the initial consonant of the following word, it lost its consonantal part and became *i* in the Northern and Midland dialects. The full vocalic *i* is thought to have appeared after the year 1400 in the Northern and Midland dialects.

The vocalic *i* in the Northern dialect diphthongized through the Great Vowel Shift to [ii, əi, ei, ai] in stressed forms. And the weak form lost the second element of the stressed form and became [ə, e, a] (spelled as < eh, a > ) or long [ə, a, o] (spelled as < ah, aa, aw, oa >). These forms survived in the Northern counties.

On the other hand, Southern *ich* lasted longer (until the 16th century), when *ch*- appeared as a compound with the succeeding word: for example, *cham*, *chave*, *chill*, *chot*. *Che vor ye* (= *ich am for ye*) in *King Lear* is a good example of Southern dialect. And this consonantal form survived until the 18th or early 19th century in South-western counties as *ich* [itʃ], *utch* [ʌtʃ], *ch*- [tʃ-], *che* [tʃə], *utchy* [ʌtʃi]. In fact, this consonantal form survived in dialects until the mid-20th century. This will be referred to below in 2.2.

In short, OE. *ic* was divided into two parts: the initial part, i.e. the vocalic part surviving in the Northern and Midland dialects, and the latter part, the consonantal part in the Southern dialect (cf. Iwamoto 1990).

### 2.2. The occurrence of *utch* forms in dialects

The *utch* forms were thought to have already disappeared, even in their dialectal use. Some reports and grammars described this disappearance. However, by chance, the *utch* form was tape-recorded in the mid-twentieth century.

#### 2.2.1. Bonaparte's description of the *I* forms.

According to Bonaparte (1875-76: 579), the pronoun *utch* for *I* was already very rare well before the end of the 19th century. *Utch* was found in two isolated small areas of Somerset and was used only by elderly speakers.

#### 2.2.2. *The English Dialect Grammar*

J. Wright in his *English Dialect Grammar* (1905: 271) reports that the forms *ich*, *utch*, *utchy*, and the contracted form *ch*, as *cham* (= *I am*) were formerly used in Wxf. Dor. Som. and Dev. and that these forms are still used by old people in a small district of Somerset close to Yeovil on the border of Dorset.

### 2.2.3. No records of *utch* in the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED)

There are no records of *utch* in the SED (the survey was carried out from 1950-61, and the full data was published as *Survey of English Dialects. The Basic Material* in 4 volumes, that is, 12 parts, with an *Introduction* in 1962). Upton et al. (1996), whose data are taken from the SED, do not mention this *utch* form either.

### 2.2.4. *Utchy* recorded on tape

However, the researchers of the SED happened to tape-record an old informant using *utchy* in his private speech, although he responded with *I* [ai, ɔi] during the interview. This response was recorded in a village in Dorsetshire. That district, which covers Somerset and Dorset, has been called, since the time of J. Wright, "the land of *utch*, *utchy*" (Wright/Rohrer 1968: 11).

## 2.3. Cognate words of *I*

In Germanic and Indo-European languages, the words for *I* are: Skt. *aham*, OSl. *azy*, Lit. *as*, Hit. *uga*, Gk. *ego*, Lat. *ego* (PIE.\**eghom*); Got. *ik*, G. *ich*, LG. *ik* (Pgmc.\**ik*). Thus, our Southern *ch*- form of today corresponds to the consonantal part of these cognate words on the Indo-European level.

### 2.3.1. Case and Number confusion in the first person

In dialectal usage, there is the following confusion in case and number. The data are taken and quoted from the *English Dialect Grammar* (EDG), the *English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD), the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) and Trudgill/Chambers (1991) etc.:

#### a. Objective singular *us* for *me*: number confusion

Give us a few. (EDG)

Send us some of them. (EDG)

He tripped us ... (EDD)

Give az yan ... (EDD)

Will you lend us yours? (SED)

Give us a kiss. (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7)

He hit us in the face. (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7)

These are the number confusions in the singular and plural. The forms are found in most dialects in Scotland and Ireland; in England *us* is used for the indirect object *me* (EDG); and in Nh. Cum. Yor. Ch. Lin. Nhp. War. Oxf. Brk. w. Midl. (EDD); in all counties except R, Brk (SED VIII.2.2, IX.8.2/4, V.8.8); notably in the North-east of England (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7).

#### b. Objective *I* for *me*: case confusion

Let I have a turn. (SED)

The SED states that this occurs in the stressed objective singular in He, Gl, O, Ess, So, W, Brk, D, Do, Ha, Sx (VII.5.8, IX.8.2-4, VII.2.3). This nominative form for

the objective in the first person, mainly in the Southern dialect, may have the function of an emphatic; cf. the plural form in f. below.

c. Objective *waz* for *us*: case confusion or contamination

The EDG comments on the objective case of the first person plural. The unstressed forms are [əs, əz]. But in the Shetlands and the Orkney Islands the stressed form [wiz] and the unstressed form [wəz] is used (Wright 1905: 273). The *w*-form in these islands corresponds to the nominative *we*. These forms sound like a hybrid of *w-us*.

d. Possessive *me* for *my*: case confusion

*I've lost me bike.* (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7)

This is very common in many parts of Britain, and even in Colloquial Standard English speech (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7).

e. Possessive *us* for *our*: case confusion

*Let's be off t'l us dinner.* (EDD)

*We like us town.* (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7)

This form is found in Yor. Lan. Wi. Che. Not. Li. Lei. Nhp. War. (EDD); and in the north of England (Trudgill/Chambers 1991: 7).

f. Emphatic *us* for *we*: case confusion

*Should us tell th'yung shantledurt?* (La.) (EDD)

*Us was theer, me an' Jane.* (Der.) (EDD)

*it is us; it's only us.* (SED)

The EDD states that these forms are found in Yor. La. Ch. Stf. Der. Not. Lin. Lei. Nhp. War. Wor. Glo. Oxf. Brk. w. Midl. Nrf. Suf. Sur. Wil. Dor. Som. Dev. Cor.

Normally we find stressed *we* and unstressed *us* in dialectal usage, where *we* has an emphatic function; but these cases of the stressed *us* in the SED are just the reverse. The French emphatic case is *moi* and not *je*, as in *C'est moi*. The distinction in this respect is clear in French. But here we have emphatic *us* in place of *we*.

g. First person *he, her* for *I*: person confusion

The EDG remarks: "In Suffolk, *he* (ī) is used for the first person singular when the speaker wishes to be particularly respectful. And in Highlands *her* is in regular use for the nominative *I*." (Wright 1905: 271). Is this a periphrastic usage of the third person to express politeness or a mere *h*-hypercorrection to [i, ə]?

Thus we have seen examples of number confusion (cf. a. above), case confusion in nominative/objective (b., c.), case confusion in genitive/objective (d., e.), emphatic case confusion (f.), and person confusion (g.).

### 3. Second person pronouns

They are called the pronouns of address, pronouns denoting some other person(s) whom one talks to. They are probably the most frequently used words in everyday life, reflecting the sociological and psychological situation between interlocutors.

And they provide us with interesting problems from a sociolinguistic point of view. In fact, there have been made drastic changes in usage, in case and number throughout the history of English.

### 3.1. Second person singular

The employment of *ye/you* for the singular seems to have been influenced by the Normans. However, its usage in English literature was seen in Northern works such as *Havelok* in c. 1300 (cf. Brunner 1960: 480).

The first usages listed in OED are:

*ye* nominative singular: Robert of Gloucester's *Metrical Chronicle* (1297),

*you* nominative singular: *Cursor Mundi* (1300).

Today we see the dialectal distribution of the second person singular: *thou* in Northern dialects, *thee* in Southern, and *ye* in Northumberland (Orton et al. 1978: M67). The forms vary in dialects in case and number.

### 3.2. Expansion of plural forms

3.2.1. In OE. the pair of *thu (thou)/ye* was used for the second person singular/plural. And in ME. syncretism between nominative and objective in the second person occurred, with both *thou/thee* and *ye/you* being used in the singular and plural. In Shakespeare we see the distinction of *thou/you* with the criteria: informal/formal, familiar/non-familiar, and the psychological distance between the interlocutors (cf. Iwamoto 1983).

3.2.2. Trudgill/Chambers (1991: 8) describe the dialectal forms for the nominative of the second person in the following way:

Many traditional dialects in the north and west of England retain forms descended from *thou* and *thee* as second person singular pronouns addressed to friends and intimates. [...] In these dialects, *you* functions as the second person singular formal and plural pronoun.

3.2.3. In modern standard English, we use *you* for both singular and plural. This causes confusion as to whether *you* means you-alone or you-plural. In the United States, speakers of Southern dialects use *you-all*, *y'all*, *you'uns* and Irish English has *youse*, each of which signifies the plural.

3.2.4. In Horwill's *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1935), a good example of the aforementioned confusion is described. In 1903 in the Southern part of the United States, a journalist understood this *y'all* to signify the singular *you*, but in this case the speaker seems to have meant some sort of politeness. And for those people a new form for plural *y'all's* was needed.



3.2.5. The process of singular/plural opposition is as follows: a) *thou/ye, you*; b) *thou, you/you*; c) *you/you*; d) *you/y'all, you'uns, youse*; e) *y'all/y'alls*.

3.2.6. Here we have the principle of pluralisation. In order to express respect or politeness, the plural forms are used, as in the European languages: G. *du/Sie*; Fr. *tu/vous*; Lat. *tu/vos*. Here the psychological focus of address and the distance of the interlocutors underlie the usage of the plural forms.

#### 4. Reflexive and emphatic pronouns

##### 4.1. The forms of the reflexive pronouns

In the reflexive pronouns, *self* was originally a noun. Therefore the determiners occurred in the possessive/genitive case as *my self, thy self, our selves, your selves*. In the course of time, they became compounds. And with *herself* as a pivot between the genitive and objective, the reflexive took the objective elements in the third person as *himself, themselves*. That is the historical explanation which we have so far in traditional grammar.

In English dialects, however, we have a variety of forms, such as the following (SED data taken from Upton et al. 1994: 488f.):

|                            |        |                                                                                  |
|----------------------------|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1st person singular:       | [Obj#] | <i>wash me</i> ;                                                                 |
|                            | [Gen-] | <i>wash mysel; wash mysen</i> .                                                  |
| 2nd person singular:       | [Obj#] | <i>sit thee down</i> ;                                                           |
|                            | [Gen-] | <i>sit thysel down; sit thyself down; sit thysen down</i> ;                      |
|                            | [Obj#] | <i>sit you down</i> ;                                                            |
|                            | [Gen-] | <i>sit yoursel down</i> .                                                        |
| 3rd person masculine:      | [Nom#] | <i>he killed he</i> ;                                                            |
|                            | [Obj-] | <i>he killed himsell; he killed himsen</i> ;                                     |
|                            | [Gen-] | <i>he killed hisself; he killed hisse(l)n; he killed hissell</i> ;               |
|                            | [Obj#] | <i>he killed self; laid him down</i> .                                           |
| 3rd person feminine        | -----  | <i>she killed hersell; she killed herseln; she killed hersen</i> ;               |
|                            | [Obj#] | <i>laid her down</i> .                                                           |
| 3rd person singular neuter | -----  | <i>it ownsel</i> .                                                               |
| 2nd person plural:         | [Gen-] | <i>help thyself; help thyselfes; help thysens</i> ;                              |
|                            | [Gen-] | <i>help yoursel; help yourself; help yoursen; help yoursels; help yoursens</i> . |
| 3rd person plural:         | [Obj#] | <i>they play(en) them</i> ;                                                      |
|                            | [Gen-] | <i>they play(en) theirsens</i> .                                                 |

Here the first elements are nominative, possessive, objective as in *me/my-; thee/thy-/you-/your-; he/his-/him-; her-* and are followed by the second elements:

*-sel/-sen/-seln/-self*. The plural forms have an *-s* suffix, and there is a discontinuous form *thy- -s*.

#### 4.2. The forms of the emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronouns in the dialects have both genitive and objective forms:

|                       |        |                                                                                         |
|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1st person singular:  | [Gen-] | <i>mysel, -seln, -sen</i> .                                                             |
| 2nd person singular:  | [Gen-] | <i>thysel, -seln, -sen; yoursel, -sen</i> .                                             |
| 3rd person masculine: | [Obj-] | <i>himsel, -sen;</i>                                                                    |
|                       | [Gen-] | <i>hissel, -self, se(l)n; his own self</i> .                                            |
| 3rd person feminine   | -----  | <i>hersel.</i>                                                                          |
| 3rd person neuter:    | -----  | <i>itsel.</i>                                                                           |
| 1st person plural:    | [Gen-] | <i>oursels.</i>                                                                         |
|                       | [Obj-] | <i>ussels.</i>                                                                          |
| 2nd person plural:    | [Gen-] | <i>yoursel.</i>                                                                         |
| 3rd person plural:    | [Gen-] | <i>'eirself, theirself, -sel, -seln, -sels, -sen, -sens, -selves; their own selves;</i> |
|                       | [Obj-] | <i>'emselves, themsels, -sens, -self, -selves.</i>                                      |

#### 4.3. Genitive/objective forms

In the third person masculine of both reflexive and emphatic pronouns, the objective forms, such as *himself*, are seen only in Man, Ch, Sa, St, Lei, He, Sr: almost in the West Midland district; while the other districts have genitive forms, such as *hissel*. In the plural the same is true. We have objective forms, such as *themselves*, in La, Y, Man, Db, St, Lei, Wo, Mon: mostly in the West Midland district. In the Northern area we have all genitive forms, such as *my-self, thy-self*.

The data show that the genitive forms of *-self* are still dominant in the English dialects, and only in the low Southern and West Midland dialects are the 'new' objective forms used. Besides, the objective reflexives are used in these districts as in *wash me* (SED IX.11.1), and *sit thee down* (SED VIII.3.3).

These usages must be related to each other. And the genitive/objective case confusion here has some linkage with the dialectal distribution and with the related usages.

#### 4.4. Number Confusion

Here we also see the number confusion. The usage of *y*-forms (such as *you, yoursel*) in the singular in the Northern dialect: as in *sit you down* (Y, Ch, Sa, St, He, La, Lei, Bd); *sit yoursel down* (Nb, We, La). In contrast, we find *t*-forms (such as *thyselves*, etc.) in the plural in the South-western areas (Co, Wo, St). The latter have the devices marking plurality with *-s* or *-n* suffixes.

## 5. Conclusion

We have seen the entanglements of the personal pronouns in case, number and person. As was once justifiably said, "Language is established diachronically and functions synchronically." The entanglements in forms and usage at a glance, however, have some principles in their deep structure: such as the historical split of *I*, the devices to express singular *you* and politeness. Weak stressed forms will cause syncretism or confusing forms. But a system of language in each age or dialect will make its own rules to distinguish the signifié required for clearer expression.

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# On Unconventional Metaphors as a Source of Misunderstanding

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"Philosophy is the wallpaper of the mind"  
(anonymous)

## Introduction

The present paper is concerned with aspects of unconventional (open) metaphors. My main interest here is in how open metaphors are understood. In the study reported on below, the working hypothesis was that open metaphors generate significantly different meanings to different language users. Such different meanings may be seen as an important source of misunderstanding. A claim related to that observation is that our understanding of misunderstanding may be enhanced by our understanding of how open metaphors come about and, especially, of how they are understood. The present considerations of metaphors are carried out within the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics; cf. for example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Aitchison (1994), Gibbs (1994), Ungerer and Schmid (1996). There follows a set of what may be seen as some of the most important theoretical assumptions of cognitive linguistics which are relevant to my study. This set includes both standard formulations which are commonly shared by many cognitive linguists, and those which are my own interpretations and additions, which are not necessarily acceptable to all in the wide group of cognitive linguists; cf. for instance, Janicki (1990, 1992, in press).

## Theoretical framework

Word meaning is largely open. Words do not have essential, fixed meaning. Meaning is understood in terms of concepts. Concepts are understood as mental images or typical mental descriptions of things. Concepts are best understood as prototypes. Concepts may be exemplified by typical cases and by non-typical ones. Concepts have fuzzy edges. Individual examples of concepts may not be assignable to one concept only. Word meaning is best understood as 'concept' standing behind the word. The latter in turn is best understood as 'prototype', which may be further thought of as 'typical mental description'. Concepts are experientially grounded.

Word meaning differs for different users to the extent that their experience involved in grounding the pertinent concept differs. Word meaning is similar (note: never exactly the same!) for different users to the extent that their experience involved in grounding the pertinent concept is similar. All words in natural language are ambiguous to some extent. This is because there is no such a thing as a precise concept. The fuzziness of word meaning is a question of degree. The more abstract the word the higher the degree of ambiguity involved (compare: table - leisure - ratiocination).

#### Some assumptions concerning language users

Language users normally agree about the meaning of words exemplifying prototypical cases. Language users often disagree about the meaning of words exemplifying border-line cases. People understand each other to the extent that their concepts (grounded in their experience) standing behind words are similar. Most people believe that words have or should have one meaning, and that theirs is the meaning in question.

#### Metaphors

Metaphor is conceived here as a linguistic expression which makes us understand one word in terms of another one, or which makes us experience one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The two words or things belong to different domains: the source and the target domains. In *Time is money*, for example, *Time* (target domain) is understood in terms of *money* (source domain). In the cognitive linguistics view, metaphor may be also conceived as "the use of a word with one or more of the 'typicality conditions' attached to it broken" (Aitchison 1994:148).

#### Open (unconventional) metaphor

An unconventional (open) metaphor (as opposed to a conventional/closed one) is one which involves a connection between source and target domain words which is normally not made. While conceptualizing time in terms of money gives rise to the conventional metaphor *time is money*, conceptualizing people in terms of vehicles gives rise to the unconventional metaphor *people are vehicles*, examples of which might be: 'She is a real Mercedes', 'He is just a Fiat', 'She is like a truck', 'He is like a double-decker', etc.

Open metaphors are not only commonly found in poetry, as is often thought. They are present in everyday language, both spoken and written. While conventional metaphors are commonly and easily understood, the mapping of domains, concepts, images and experiences involved in open metaphors significantly enhances the degree of ambiguity of the target domain word, and thus impedes understanding. In, for example, *philosophy is the wallpaper of the mind*,

the high ambiguity of the word *philosophy* is increased by the connections made among *philosophy*, *wallpaper*, and the *mind*. Some connections made in open metaphors are so unusual that an explanation on the part of the speaker may have to be provided in order that any understanding can be reached.

Since open metaphors significantly increase the level of ambiguity of a linguistic expression, the use of open metaphors at the same time increases potential misunderstanding between interlocutors. As most people take **their** understanding of a linguistic expression to be **the** meaning of the expression (cf. for instance, Janicki 1987, Tannen 1986), we can conjecture that the openness of metaphors may be conceived of also as a significant source of a potential conflict. When speaker A assumes that his/her understanding of the open metaphor in question is the correct one, and when speaker B assumes that his/her understanding of the open metaphor in question is the correct one (with the two understandings being in fact very different), a serious misunderstanding may result. Such a misunderstanding may lead to a language induced conflict. In other words, the line of reasoning that I propose in this paper is the following: the more ambiguity, the more misunderstanding; the more misunderstanding, the higher the likelihood of a conflict; the more frequent the use of open metaphors, the higher the likelihood of a conflict.

## Study

Type of study: qualitative

## Goal

The study was intended to show how open metaphors are interpreted by different language users. It was hypothesized that the different informants would provide significantly different interpretations of the metaphors they were exposed to. The study also intended to show in which directions the various interpretations would go.

## Method

A native speaker of Canadian English was requested to browse through several issues of *Newsweek* (especially the articles on politics) and to pick out what she thought were open metaphors. The original number of metaphors that the native researcher labelled as open and preliminarily selected for the study was extensive. Subsequent screening led to eliminating several earlier metaphors. The final number of metaphors selected for the test proper was thirty.

The thirty open metaphors were each listed in their context (usually several sentences; cf. Appendix). The metaphors were then presented (by the same native speaker of Canadian English) to eight other native speakers of English (6 speakers were native speakers of American English, 2 were native speakers of British English, 5 were women, 3 were men). All the respondents have either completed or

were about to complete their university education. All the 8 respondents were familiar with *Newsweek*, and they all occasionally or regularly read the magazine. The eight native speaker respondents met with the native researcher for eight separate interview sessions during which the researcher-interviewer gave each respondent a brief introduction to the study and subsequently asked him/her to interpret the listed metaphors and give his/her evaluation. The researcher took detailed notes while each respondent was trying to give his/her interpretation of the metaphors. Each interview lasted for about 1 hour. If a respondent could not make any sense of a metaphor, the researcher helped him/her by providing definitions of the terms (included in the metaphor) that the respondent did not know. The respondent was then again requested to provide his/her interpretation of the metaphor.

## Results

The results can be summarized in the form of the following 6 points:

1. In many cases respondents were unable to make any sense of the metaphor that they were asked to interpret. Responses such as 'I really don't know what point they are trying to make here!', 'I just don't understand that at all', 'This is not clear to me', and 'I haven't a clue', are frequent.
2. In quite a few cases a respondent would first say that s/he had no idea what the metaphor to be interpreted meant, and subsequently s/he nevertheless (being encouraged by the researcher) offered some interpretation.
3. On the whole, respondents differed significantly in how they interpreted the metaphors in question. Importantly, even though in some cases (for example, metaphors 2 and 5) some informants gave similar general interpretations, when details of the metaphors were further discussed, differences emerged, that is, there was more variation in shades of meaning in each reading.
4. Although the respondents' primary task was to interpret the metaphors (and it was only secondary to comment on them and evaluate them), most respondents preferred to evaluate the metaphors rather than interpret them. The respondents would often start off with an evaluation, and only after the researcher's persistent encouragement would they attempt some sort of interpretation. Sometimes respondents provided an evaluation only and no 'reading' of meaning (the 'literalising' task that was set) was ever carried out. Some respondents really seized on the evaluative part of the exercise, despite the fact that the researcher reiterated the 'meaning' and the 'unpacking of the metaphor' task before the interview began. Respondents differed to some degree as to their evaluation of individual metaphors (cf. for instance, responses to metaphor 7 below).
5. The interviewer let the respondents proceed at their own pace. Sometimes this meant that they had moved on to the next metaphor before giving a complete comment on the meaning of the one before. The interviewer tried not to let them do this, but not always successfully. The interviewer had the feeling that there was something about open metaphors that irritated people, or put them on the defensive slightly. There were many comments about the manipulateness of

some of the metaphors and the editorialising they seemed to achieve. Most respondents thought this inappropriate in a newsmagazine.

6. Men seemed the most defensive of their own readings of the metaphors, whereas all the women except for one entertained a number of possibilities for many of the open metaphors.

The following section of the paper includes three examples of how the eight (a-h) respondents interpreted and evaluated the metaphors (metaphors 2, 7, and 27) included in the list:

- 2a. "Is that a metaphor? It's dehumanizing the Chinese - they are depicted here as mindless animals, and it's reducing them to very little. I guess they're just being depicted here as consumers."
- 2b. "'Heads, feet and gullets'! It must have some kind of link to the businesses involved. It makes the Chinese sound like animals because 'gullet' is a word I associate with animals. I suppose he's referring to specific types of goods they're used to having."
- 2c. "I just don't understand that at all. It means there are mouths to feed and markets to exploit, I suppose. I think of chickens when I think of 'gullets', or is that gizzards? Anyway I don't really get it."
- 2d. "Well, it's either very offensive or I don't understand it. They're compared to animals I suppose. Just so many people to be thought of as customers. I don't know how convincing this is as writing, though."
- 2e. "'Heads, feet and gullets', I'm a little unsure about that ... makes them sound like they're on the chopping block. But 'gullet'- I think of chickens, and gizzards. The Chinese need help, food, but - no I don't really know what that means."
- 2f. "I haven't heard that one before! My first guess is they're implying that as customers the Chinese are buying things for their heads, feet and gullets. To me it implies a lack of intellectual sophistication though - people are buying computers now, not that other stuff. I don't like it - it's archaic and banal."
- 2g. "I really don't know what point they're trying to make here! Is it the Taiwan thing? (the interviewer concurs) I almost feel like the metaphor here is - I don't know if there's not enough context here or, but I don't really get it! It almost seems like an inside joke - not for the general reader who doesn't know all the details."
- 2h. "This is a case of the parts should equal the whole! And people don't have 'gullets', that's chickens."
- 7a. "I haven't a clue!"
- 7b. "The 'plastic overlay' must be a metaphor for any kind of rational, cerebral solution to an emotional type of problem."
- 7c. "I like it. It's - I mean we use an overlay on something we're doing, something with - what's underneath should respond to what's on top - they're trying to make what's under submit to the overlay, but it isn't likely to - it's likely to change, regardless of what's on top."



- 7d. "Metaphor has negative connotations of 'artificial' - Americans playing around with the Balkans. Though this is what has happened all over the Middle East, etc. 'Plastic' and 'American' seem to go together though! Artificiality is the focus here."
- 7e. "When I think of this 'overlay' - I think of 1950s furniture covered in plastic covers to preserve it. Also saran wrap - you can still see things but you can no longer feel them. The 'rational' refers to the American's status as bridge builders. But 'overlay' - it's not going to penetrate, or help the situation. Can this be imposed on the 'bitter feuds' - what it's overlaying is not static - will it be able to do any good? That is the question implied in the metaphor."
- 7f. "I don't like this next one. It's overdone. They're implying that the American attitude is that all can be done easily in the Balkans - not taking account of a complex situation. But the metaphor doesn't work - it's too artificial, too clever."
- 7g. "'Rational plastic overlay' - that's awkward. They're playing off the first line, but that phrase doesn't make much sense to me. How can you 'impose' rational plastic overlays? What is a rational plastic overlay? The philosopher in me reacts to that! It's one metaphor that can work, but you sort of have to stretch your interpretation. The main point is the American rationality, or the rationale that they're using - can they impose it on the situation in the Balkans? But the way the plastic overlay connects with the 'rational' part, that's confusing. You read some of these and you wonder what triggers them. How do they connect it to what they're writing about. But aren't they just deflating their own purpose? Obscuring what they mean by using too 'open' an image?"
- 7h. "What rubrics are imposed on the 'overlay'? A clear plastic has nothing imposed on it. This doesn't make sense."
- 27a. "(Laughs) I have no insight into the habits of a turtle, so I can't say!"
- 27b. "I'm trying to judge on the basis of context here. I guess he's got a hard shell. Things don't penetrate. But turtles have all kinds of other qualities you could spin off on here. It's not possible to say what the author really intends here."
- 27c. "'The perfect turtle'? Is that something to do with ninja turtles? What is a turtle renowned for? I don't know, the turtle reference eludes me rather."
- 27d. Well, I don't know - I guess he hides in a shell in order to survive - to move on and survive. Just basic turtle stuff I suppose. Doesn't mean a lot to me.
- 27e. "I think of the tortoise and the hare race - the tortoise pokes along but gets there in the end."
- 27f. "I guess he's perfect as a turtle in his consistency. His consistency is admirable because he's like a turtle."
- 27g. "The consistency of the turtle - Achilles and the tortoise. Zeno's paradoxes. You have to have a reference point like that to understand it. It's awkward to throw it in here. You have to read 'admirable consistency' before you know what it means."
- 27h. "I have no idea what they are talking about. Hard shells, go slowly - maybe it's consistency? I don't know."

## Discussion

The results summarized in 1-6 above indicate, among other things, that the respondents were quite often "in trouble", that is, they could not figure out what the metaphor that they were supposed to interpret meant. As is commonly known, most people are not willing to admit their fallibility and ignorance. This is perhaps why, in order to save face and not to disclose what they may have thought to be their ignorance, respondents tried to say something. In spite of having first admitted that they did not understand the metaphor, in some cases respondents would then nevertheless offer some vague interpretation. In other cases, they directly resorted to evaluation, which may have been seen as a replacement of interpretation and at the same time a form of saying something.

The respondents may have thought (in accordance with one of my assumptions about language users; cf. page 129) that they should know the one meaning of the metaphor that they were expected to provide. Not being able to do so may have made them feel incompetent or ignorant. Therefore they may have been dissatisfied and given the interviewer the impression of irritation.

Responses to metaphor 2 (cf. above) illustrate how surface similarities in interpretation may blur differences disclosed only when further and deeper interpretation is requested. While most respondents report that the Chinese are compared here to animals, which have gullets, attempts at further unpacking of the metaphor (low level interpretation) result in differences. Note that 2a's low level interpretation is that the Chinese are seen here as consumers, 2b's low level interpretation is that reference is made here to types of goods that the Chinese are used to having, 2e's low level interpretation is that the Chinese need help (basically food), and 2f's low level interpretation is that the Chinese lack intellectual sophistication. While these four instances of low level interpretation may be seen as derivable from *the Chinese are animals* (animals are consumers, they are used to having certain types of goods, they need food, they lack intellectual sophistication), a different aspect of the animal domain is highlighted in each case. It is very likely that low level interpretational differences contribute to misunderstanding in interaction in ways comparable to those generated by immediately recognizable high level surface differences, except that the former are more difficult to detect.

With reference to point number 6 of the results section above, one may speculate that while people in general do not like to disclose their ignorance or their being in doubt, men (more than women) feel more reluctant to exhibit their doubt or hesitation. Obviously, given the paucity of the data analyzed, this hypothesis remains weak.

## Conclusions

Given their high level of ambiguity, open metaphors may indeed be a significant source of misunderstanding, which in turn may lead to conflicts. Caution must be taken and the risks considered whenever open metaphors are used. This conclusion applies to all kinds of situations including casual everyday interaction. It must be

realized that when open metaphors are used in the realm of politics (as referred to in the *Newsweek* articles providing the data for this study), discrepancies between the intended and the perceived meaning of an open metaphor may bring about serious consequences on an international scale.

This paper is not meant to discourage people from using open, unconventional metaphors. On the contrary, the positive aspects of the use of open metaphors should be emphasized. Open metaphors contribute to our creative use of language, which for many people is a value in itself. Open metaphors can be viewed as an expression of linguistic variation and freedom, which, again, many people, including the present author, value highly. Open metaphors are a spice of our linguistic behaviour. Open metaphors let us breathe linguistically with full might! On the other hand, however, the potential danger of serious misunderstanding that open metaphors carry must be kept in mind.

#### Appendix (Open Metaphors)

1. "To date, the Clinton administration's China policy had been one of 'comprehensive engagement' - but the reality was as muddy as the term. **The policy seemed to have been sold into franchises: many different players pursuing competing agendas, with little coordination from above.**" ("Special Report: China on the Move", *Newsweek*, April 1, 1996: 19).
2. "'Pulling out in a crisis and then wanting back in is the worst kind of signal to the Chinese.' And when the crisis blows over, those 1.2 billion customers - **and their heads, feet and gullets** - will be waiting." ("The Big Game", *Newsweek*, April 1, 1996: 23).
3. "'With guests so weird, so bizarre,' says Young, 'They can't have a positive effect.' She describes the American shows as a kind of **multiple guest collision course between dented couples and their steamy stories piling up onstage.**" ("Bigger than Oprah! Hotter than Geraldo!", *Newsweek*, April 1, 1996: 30).
4. "There was a pause and another silence. Finally, the puzzled guest inquired, 'The last of what exactly?' Kohl sighed, 'The last true European.' The sense of weary struggle, **of one very large man carrying an entire continent's water**, was everywhere in the room then, the visitor recalls." ("The True Believer", *Newsweek*, April 1, 1996: 32).
5. "Majority Voting: Code for no more single country vetoes: Europeanists want it for more and more issues. **Major says it's spinach, and he won't be having any.**" ("Forward Lurch, or Fall Over", *Newsweek*, April 1, 1996: 39).
6. "Washington says a Chinese invasion would threaten its interests and carry 'grave consequences', but it never specifies how it would respond - a stance that has come to be known as 'strategic ambiguity'. The Clinton administration resents the label. **It's 'like the Energizer bunny - it keeps going and going', Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord complained last week. 'We need to stamp it out.'**" ("Gunboat Diplomacy", *Newsweek*, March 25, 1996: 25).
7. "In one of (the rooms), littered with half empty coffee cups, negotiators used felt-tip markers to sketch boundaries on plastic overlays of Bosnia - and erased them with one swipe of the cloth ... **can the rational plastic overlay of the Americans be imposed on**

**the bitter feuds of the Balkan map?"** ("Last Chance for a Deal", *Newsweek*, November 27, 1995: 14-15).

8. "There's no recent precedent for these geopolitical whatchamacallits. University of Chicago law professor Gidon Gottlieb calls many of them 'the conclusions of despair.' On a scale of viability, **the new-formed entities would be at the very bottom: junk states, like junk bonds, whipped up to meet specific problems, for a short term, with dubious backing. And like the junk bonds of the 1980s, these junk states carry a lot of risk.**" ("Junk Nations", *Newsweek*, November 27, 1995: 22).

9. "As a portent of the 1996 election, **the 'flat tax' is the political equivalent of pulp fiction. It's an escapist evasion of the real choices about the size and role of government that Americans face.**" ("Call it the Flaky Tax", *Newsweek*, January 29, 1996: 19).

10. "Shenzen is like a 'Road Warrior city consecrated to business, the quintessential city of the future', says Orville Schell, who has written extensively about China under Deng. 'There are no cathedrals. There is nothing to do but eat, buy sex and do business.' ... City officials proudly compare their city to neighbouring Hong Kong, paler and more ramshackle though the Chinese model may be. **Shenzen stands as a shining Oz compared with the abject poverty and isolation that had oppressed Southern China before Shenzen's rise ... Arguably, Shenzen is like turn-of-the century New York or Industrial Revolution England, passing through a necessarily evil stage in rapid development. In factories and dormitories, Dickensian conditions prevail. In all its glitter, Shenzen stands as a monument to both the soaring hopes and the terrifying emptiness of a modern China in search of itself.**" ("Empty Riches", *Newsweek*, February 26, 1996: 16).

11. "Call it 'in-your-face-capitalism'. You lose your job, your ex-employer's stock price rises, the CEO gets a fat raise. Something is just plain wrong when stock prices keep rising on Wall Street **while Main Street is littered with the bodies of workers discarded by big companies like AT&T and Chase Manhattan and Scott Paper.**" ("The Hit Men", *Newsweek*, February 26, 1996: 22).

12. "Firing people has gotten to be trendy in corporate America, in the same way that building new plants and being considered a good corporate citizen gave you **bragging rights** 25 years ago. Now you fire workers - especially white collar workers - **to make your corporate bones ... Instead of keeping payrolls lean and helping employees to prepare for their next careers, lots of CEOs have messed up big time. They let their payrolls get bloated. Then to recoup, they offer up employees as human sacrifices to Mammon, God of Wall Street, hoping to get their stock price up. When the price rises, it's like Wall Street spitting on the victim's bodies.**" (Ibid: 22-23)

13. "When Buchanan flashed his campaign's 800 number last year on 'Crossfire', 'there was no longer much difference between the talk-show world and the political battlefield,' writes Howard Kurtz ... **The media, once inmates in the political structure, had taken over the asylum.**" ("The Beltway Populist", *Newsweek*, March 4, 1996: 14)

14. "Buchanan represents instability, anger. 'He looked pretty angry when I passed him in the hall last night,' Dole said. 'Can't figure out why. He won.' **Worse, Buchanan represents a kind of casual, drive-by intolerance that truly grates on the senator.** 'We wouldn't get a single Jewish vote (if Buchanan won the nomination)', he said." ("Dole Finds His Mission", *Newsweek*, March 4, 1996: 18).

15. "Across the country last week, the **national soap opera that had been the O. J. Simpson trial suddenly turned into a racial Rorschach test.**" ("Special Report: Decision ...", *Newsweek*, October 16, 1995: 12).
16. "Above all the 'European Project' has been in trouble before, during de Gaulle's 'empty chair' policy of the early 1960s, or in the years of 'Euroclerosis' in the early 1980s. Yet, in those transportation metaphors beloved of Eurocrats, the train, or the bus, or the bicycle, lumbers on. Gradually, more and more powers are acquired by the authorities in Brussels; gradually, the process of European integration continues apace, until one day, it will be possible - oh bliss! - to detect that 'ever-closer union' to which the nations of the EU are supposed to be committed. **This optimistic view - it will all blow over - garners support from the incoherence of today's dyspepsia.**" ("Don't Spoil a Success", *Newsweek*, November 27, 1995: 40).
17. "The danger in this absorption of Honk Kong talents into the maws of Hollywood is homogenization. **In the cuisine art of big studio production, will the wild flavors of Hong Kong survive?**" ("Hollywood East", *Newsweek*, February 19, 1996: 37).
18. "What all this means is that (Rupert Murdoch) is changing the rules of the media game, perhaps forever. **'He's made the tectonic plates move,'** Murdoch's sometime rival John Malone, the CEO of TCI told *Newsweek*. 'He has changed the perception of what you have to be to be really successful in the future of the media - entertainment business.'" ("Special Report: Setting Course", *Newsweek*, February 12, 1996: 10).
19. "After the horrors and madness of World War II, it became fashionable, for a brief while, to hope that these humdrum concerns would reveal that the people of the world had a lot in common - so much, indeed, that war between them would be unthinkable. It wasn't realistic; it didn't last. **The Cold War froze the aspiration of a global community into stubble.** International relations became, once more, about high politics ... **or the alphabet soup of arms control.**" ("Opinion: The Things That Matter", *Newsweek*, January 15, 1996: 2).
20. "A year ago he led the victorious legions of the Republican revolution into Washington. America's capital sniggered. **Long a sort of favorite mad scientist, Newt Gingrich would self-destruct, wouldn't he?**" ("Periscope", *Newsweek*, January 1, 1996: 9).
21. "Though the peace accords presupposed the existence of a single Bosnian state, the wish was removed from the reality. Bosnia will be divided into 2 parts; one a 'Serb republic', one a Muslim-Croat federation - **the latter like a specimen from some medieval bestiary whose forelegs and hind legs move to different rhythms.**" ("1995: Was There Much to Clap About?", *Newsweek*, January 1, 1996: 14).
22. "Tucked in the back of a low-slung building off a highway service road in Mountain View, California, is one of the **few physical epicenters of the virtual monster that ate 1995: the Internet.**" ("The Year of the Internet", *Newsweek*, January 1, 1996: 22).
23. "If you look at the numbers they're quoting, with 'the Web doubling every 53 days, that's **biological growth, like a red tide or population of lemmings,**' says Kevin Kelly, executive editor of *Wired*." (Ibid.:23).
24. "For all this, many people, including some experienced Net riders, don't have a good grasp of what the Internet really is. **It's sort of a virtual embodiment of Gertrude Stein's description of Oakland, California: there's no there there.**" (Ibid.: 23).

25. "Bill Clinton says the era of big government is over and then **he proposes a federal dress code. He wants to take the good clothes off our children so no one will attack them for their clothes.**" (Phil Gramm, campaign speech; "Public Lives: Lame Steers in the Corral", *Newsweek*, February 5, 1996: 23).
26. "But listening to Forbes remains a painful, awkward stultifying experience: debate night at Mensa. And his ideas, especially the flat tax, **are the political equivalent of cold fusion - laboratory fantasies, destined to be torn apart by his opponents** (and shredded by Clinton in the fall, should he make it that far)." (Ibid.: 23).
27. "(Phil Gramm) **is a perfect turtle.** He may have made a fool of himself trying to rebut Clinton's masterful State of the Union, but he shows an admirable consistency on the stump." (Ibid.: 23).
28. "For Mrs. Clinton, Madison and its flamboyant and erratic owner, MacDougall, **must have looked like Banquo's ghost. She had already tried to make the stain go away.**" ("Road to Subpoena", *Newsweek*, February 5, 1996: 26).
29. "It will take a fair amount of blab to calm things down. **That is the essence of leadership in a wired, combustible culture**, and the blab is a skill far more common to Clinton's generation than to Bob Dole's." ("Clinton vs. Dole", *Newsweek*, March 18, 1996: 26).
30. "For good reason, the Boomers were, and are, a generation afflicted by the luxury of choice. Choices want discussing: **choice is the mother of ambiguity.**" (Ibid.: 26).

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## ***Though it is Tough: On Regional Differences in the Development and Substitution of the Middle English Voiceless Velar Fricative [x] in Syllable Coda Position***

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In syllable coda position, Old English (OE) and Middle English (ME) /h/ was realized by the voiceless velar fricative [x] after a back vowel (+ /r, l/).<sup>1</sup> Its origin in Middle English is Germanic /x/ and late OE [x] from /xx/, /g/ (and /k/ in unstressed position), also in Scandinavian loanwords (cf. n. 36 below); its phonotactic positions are word-final after a vowel (*tough* < OE *tōh*) or a liquid (*borough* < OE *burh*), syllable-final before /t/ of the following syllable (*slaughter* < Old Norse [ON] \**slagtr*) and in a complex coda before /t/ (*bought*, past participle < OE (*ge*)*boht*) (cf. Lutz 1991: 39f., 72). From the Middle English period onwards, there is evidence that coda [x] has been gradually disappearing from the language. Today, it is still retained in the pronunciation of Standard English (StE) in Wales and Ireland, and in Scots.<sup>2</sup> The *Survey of English Dialects* (SED: I.3.6, I.3.18, III.8.4a, III.9.3, VII.6.20) records a few remnants of ME coda [x] on the Isle of Man and sporadic instances only as an obsolete feature in Southwest Yorkshire<sup>3</sup> and East Lancashire (cf. also Hedevid 1967: 8:46).<sup>4</sup> When coda [x] vanished, it did not do so without leaving a trace. It produced a u-glide and was silenced, as in StE *daughter* /'dɔ:tə/ and *plough* /plau/ (henceforth: 'vocalic result'), or for /h/ ([x]) the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ appeared, as in StE *draught* / draft /draʊt/, with later lengthening of the vowel (cf. Lutz 1991: 43, n. 69) and *tough* /tʌf/ (henceforth: 'consonantal result'). The name of the town *Loughborough* /'lʌfb(ə)rə/ in Leicestershire, in fact, shows both results in one word. Here are StE examples for the two results from different southern ME vowel combinations (cf. Jordan 1968: §§ 121-25):

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<sup>1</sup> On the allophonic status of OE and ME [x] cf. Lutz (1991: 39-45, esp. 39, n. 60).

<sup>2</sup> In the Celtic countries [x] is also a loan from Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic; cf. Wells (1982: 190, also 389f., 396, 408, 433). For the Isle of Man cf. Rydland (1972: 319), for Ireland cf. Adams (1981) and Harris (1985: 59f.).

<sup>3</sup> In this article the names of the counties refer to the old county divisions.

<sup>4</sup> In present-day Standard English, the voiceless velar fricative is a peripheral sound. It may actually be heard from educated speakers, but only in loanwords such as Scottish *loch* [lɒx], or *chutzpah* ['xʊtspə] from Yiddish in American English (cf. Wells 1982: 180, 189-91). It is interesting to note that both [ç] and [x] have developed anew from different sources. Thus, the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] has re-entered Standard English via the combination aspiration + /j/ in cases of accented /p, t, k, h/ + /j/ + /u:/, uə/, e.g. in *human* and *pure* (cf. Cruttenden 1994: 191; Lutz 1991: 59). Hughes/Trudgill (1996: 93) remark that in Liverpool speech the voiceless stops /p, t, k/ are heavily aspirated and in final position may be realized as fricatives [ϕ, s, x].

| ME combination             | StE vocalic result                                         | StE consonantal result    |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ax > aux                   | ɔ: ( <i>taught</i> )                                       | ɑ: ( <i>laugh</i> )       |
| (OE •x >) •x > ɔux         | əʊ ( <i>dough</i> )                                        | [no example]              |
| ox > ɔux                   | əʊ ( <i>though</i> ) / ɔ:t ( <i>brought</i> ) <sup>5</sup> | ɒ ( <i>cough</i> )        |
| •x > ɔux > •x <sup>6</sup> | aʊ ( <i>plough</i> )                                       | ʌ ( <i>enough</i> )       |
| ux                         | aʊ ( <i>drought</i> ) <sup>7</sup>                         | [no example] <sup>8</sup> |
| •x                         | [no example]                                               | ʌ ( <i>rough</i> )        |

There is some disagreement in scholarship as to the question of which process was instrumental in the change of [x] to /f/. It will be shown that if the two models of explanation (cf. section 1. below) are assigned their proper roles in the sound change, assumptions concerning the dating of the weakening of [x] in the different parts of England and the explanation of rare forms can be more fruitfully handled. Fresh material from an investigation of place-name material will be included.<sup>9</sup>

# 1. On the nature of the change [x] > /f/: sound development or sound substitution?

Two opposing views on the nature of the process have been put forward – and some confusion has also arisen. These points are discussed in detail by Nieuwint (1981: 445-55). The two extreme positions hold that all cases of /f/ for [x] are due to either sound development (Nieuwint) or sound substitution (Brunner); Luick's assumptions for Northumbria will be discussed separately, in section 3.2 below.

As to the first view, i.e. sound development, Luick (1914-40: § 513 A.3) has offered a plausible phonetic explanation of the successive stages by which ME [x] disappeared. The process can thus be imagined to have set in with a lip-modified pronunciation of [x] (labialized [x], henceforth: 'rounded [x]'), rendered by Nieuwint as [x̥]. A u-glide between the back vowel and [x̥] developed (giving [u x̥]).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the coalescence of ME [ɔux] and [aux] before /t/ cf. the discussion in Nieuwint (1981: 461f.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. n. 16 below.

<sup>7</sup> On this lengthening of /u/ cf. Luick (1914-40: § 403.1) and Hasegawa (1963: 18f.).

<sup>8</sup> But cf. n. 22 below.

<sup>9</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Carole A. Hough, Glasgow University, for kindly giving me useful information on place-name research.

<sup>10</sup> On the view that labialization of [x] occurred before the u-glide developed, cf. the brief discussion in Nieuwint (1981: 446, 456). Alternatively, it has been argued that the first step was a rounding of the vowels before [x] (cf. Bonebrake 1979: 39, and also Lauttamus 1981). Jones (1989: 145f.) explains that the second half of the vowel space became u-coloured because [x] can be "rather u-like" in its acoustic characteristics. For the argument developed in this article, it is important that there is a close connection between the lip-modification of [x] and the development of a 'u-glide' (or '[w]-glide' in Fisiak's [1968: § 2.48] terminology). This u-element will be regarded as a property of rounded [x] (cf. also Lutz [1991: 40] on the notion of 'partial vocalization of [x]') rather than of the preceding vowel, as long as there is velar friction.



According to Luick, the further weakening of [x<sub>w</sub>], that is, the reduction of friction, resulted in a breathed sound with lips and tongue in /u/-position (*h<sup>u</sup>* in his notation, termed by him 'voiceless /u/'; this sound can be viewed as voiceless /w/ [ʍ], cf. Vachek 1976: 187f., Nieuwint 1981: 449). This then was the decisive stage in which both the vocalic and the consonantal developments (terms by Nieuwint 1981: 440) could have set in (on restrictions cf. section 2. below). In the case of the vocalic development, the vocalic factor of [uh<sup>u</sup>] prevailed (> [uu], or *h<sup>u</sup>* was simply lost; cf. Nieuwint 1981: 449) and combined with the preceding vowel as a complex vowel. The consonantal development can be explained by the preponderance of the consonantal factor which devoiced the preceding u-glide, thus giving *h<sup>u</sup>h<sup>u</sup>* in Luick's notation. With the greater articulatory pressure, there was friction at the still rounded lips, resulting in a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] (cf. also Mowrey/Pagliuca forthcoming) which was subsequently replaced by the usual labiodental fricative /f/.<sup>11</sup> Or, as Nieuwint (1981: 457) argues for final [x] in stressed position, only the voicelessness of [x] was imparted on the preceding /u/, and "a devoiced /u/ almost automatically becomes /f". The u-glide was thus abolished and originally long vowels were shortened, e.g. OE *tōh* > ModE *tough* /tʌf/ (cf. Lutz 1991: 42, n. 68, on Luick's notion of 'long *f*'). Luick's theory of sound development may be summarily represented thus (*h<sup>u</sup>* = Luick's 'voiceless /u/'; V = vowel):

$$Vx > V \underset{w}{x} > Vu \underset{w}{x} > Vuh^u \quad \begin{cases} \text{vocalic development: } [Vuu >] Vu \text{ (complex V)} \\ \text{consonantal development: } Vh^uh^u > \check{V} \phi > \check{V} f \end{cases}$$

The theory of sound substitution as it has been put forward by Brunner (1960: 319, 389), which assumes that the glide vowel vanished when /f/ appeared, is based on the 'parallel' substitution of the ME voiceless palatal fricative [ç] by /f/, as in dialectal [flɛf] for *flea* (< OE *flēah*) and [saif] for *sigh*, a backformation from ME *sight* (past tense), in western Yorkshire and Cheshire. Brunner has rightly been criticized by Nieuwint (1981: 449-51) for the assumption that a direct jump is phonetically more plausible than sound development, and, more importantly, for not being able to explain the shortening of original long vowels before final /f/ < [x]. On the other hand, Nieuwint is unwilling to accept the possibility of sound substitution in general (cf. also his remarks 1981: 456 and 462f.) and so he tries hard to explain the two cases of replacements mentioned by Brunner by the influence of forms with [x], *flough* (dialectal form of *flea*) and *sough* (< OE *swōgan* 'to sound, roar, howl'), respectively. However, the place-name *Sefter* (< OE *seohtre* 'drain, ditch'), which Smith (1956: II, 119) finds in Sussex, and rhymes recorded by Ekselius (1940: § 197) also indicate that ME [ç] could be replaced by /f/. It is very important in this connection that voiceless fricatives are auditorily similar. Thus a

<sup>11</sup> The transcription [xf] which was employed in the SED for Harwood, Lancashire, in word-final position (cf. III.8.4a, III.9.3, V.6.3, VI.8.2, VI.8.3, VIII.8.7, IX.11.5) probably shows an intermediate stage of the development – not just a labialized velar (thus Bonebrake 1979: 41) but a velar pronunciation with strong labial friction. On this stage cf. also a description from the year 1712 mentioned by Horn (1901: 77).

number of regionally restricted replacements are on record, for example /f/ for /θ/, /θ/ for /f/ (cf. Luick 1914-40: § 796) or even /θ/ for [ç] in *Keighley* (< OE \**Cyhhānlēah*) in the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, velars and labials such as [x] and [f] are acoustically similar and are thus also susceptible to confusion and exchange (cf. Hickey 1984; Lutz 1991: 41f., n. 67). The acoustic and hence auditory similarity of [x] and [f] went hand in hand with articulatory variation (on articulatory features of the change cf. Mowrey/Pagliuca forthcoming) and auditory confusion in English. This is particularly true when the velar [x] was rounded but still strong (as in German *auch* 'also' or *Buch* 'book') and confused with the existing labial /f/ (cf. Bonebrake 1979: 210).<sup>13</sup>

Sound development, therefore, is not the only explanation for the change of [x] to /f/ (cf. also Lutz's remark 1991: 41f., n. 67, and Samuels 1972: 160). In particular, it is suggested here that the theory of sound development is able to explain the shortening of original long vowels in the case of the consonantal development, to account for ME spellings which indicate rounding of [x] and the emergence of a u-glide, such as *lauhwen* in *Ancren Riwe* (from Worcestershire, first half of the 13th century; cf. Jordan 1968: § 196), and may also help to explain why the emergence of /f/ from [x] is not always regionally restricted, as other fricative substitutions are. The possibility of sound substitution, on the other hand, can account for cases of retention of long vowels before /f/ < [x] in some dialects (see below, section 3.2) and moreover it is the likely reason for ME <f>-spellings found in regions where rounded [x] was not yet weakened. This view of a bi-causal process of the change [x] > /f/ (sound development took place when [x] was weakened and sound substitution could already happen at the stage when [x] was rounded) and its consequences will be taken up again after a brief look at the conditions for the emergence and retention of /f/ from [x].

## 2. Conditions for the vocalic and consonantal results

A number of factors have been adduced to account for the two results, among them the avoidance of homophony, paradigmatic pressure and phonaesthetic reasons, but above all phonetic conditions including syllable structure and stress or emphasis. The main tendencies will be briefly considered, taking into consideration the place-name evidence.

<sup>12</sup> *Keighley* could be explained better by substitution of [ç] by /θ/ (cf. also Luick 1914-40: § 768.2.c) rather than by Gelling et al.'s (1970; cf. also Horn 1901: 89, 91) suggestion that OE [x](!) became /f/ (by development, hence <gh>) and then /θ/ (by substitution).

<sup>13</sup> Labial-velar changes have been observed in a number of languages (cf. in particular Hickey 1984; Nieuwint 1981: 462f.). Thus, [f] > [x] before [t] occurred in Dutch and has been described in detail by Bonebrake (1979: part IV). Also, to cite only a few more instances, [x] became [f] in West Flemish, in initial position in Latin (cf. Stotz 1996: § 225, who considers this change to be a sound development), and Hickey (1984: 347, stressing the factor of acoustic similarity) reports German children pronouncing *Buch* 'book' [bu:f] instead of [bu:x] ([bu:<sub>w</sub>x]).

In final position in stressed words, it has been suggested that weakened [(u)x] always developed to /f/ (cf., for example, Nieuwint 1981: 440), and Luick (1914-40: § 512; cf. also Horn 1901: 88) even thinks it probable that this happened with the regularity of a sound law. Forms which show the vocalic result, such as StE *bough*, are usually explained by the influence of the inflected cases where, between vowels, the velar fricative was voiced (to [ɣ]) and vocalized.<sup>14</sup> Original [xx] in *laugh* and *cough* did not develop [ɣ] in intervocalic position (cf. Luick 1914-40: § 512 A.1, and also Lutz 1991: 43, n. 70), and the consonantal result is in fact attested all over England (cf. SED: VIII.8.7, VI.8.2.; cf. also Kolb et al. 1979: 216, 188; Wright 1905).<sup>15</sup> For all other words which have survived in Standard English, both the vocalic and the consonantal results are attested in modern dialects. Evidence of the use of the forms *enow* /aʊ/ for the plural and *enough* /ʌf/ (< late OE *genōh*) for the singular in some dialects are still recorded in Ellis (1889; cf. Horn 1901: 67f.). Furthermore, English place-names show an overwhelming majority of /f/ for old [x] if not followed by /t/. Table 1, with 139 place-names, shows the result of an investigation of Forster's *Pronouncing Dictionary of English Place-names* (1981), Ekwall (1960), Mills (1991) and Smith's *English Place-name Elements* (1956). In names formed from a simplex and in the second part of compounds, if stressed, final [x] quite regularly became /f/ in the north of England. In medial position, that is, at the end of the first element of a compound, there seems to have been less interference from inflected cases of common nouns in the South, and we find quite a number of instances of /f/ there as well. Some vocalic results are also attested, sometimes as alternative pronunciations. Thus, factors such as the influence of common nouns, weak stress and syllable boundaries in compounds as well as spelling pronunciation (either way) must be taken into account.

There is thus certainly a strong tendency for final [x] to become /f/ in accented syllables. However, it cannot be positively excluded that final [x] could follow the vocalic development as well, that is, that vocalic forms developed without the influence of inflected cases. Thus, *dough* (< OE *dāh*) shows the vocalic development in Standard English although the plural form was probably rare (cf. also the distribution of the forms in Kolb et al. 1979: 89; on the form *duff* 'dumpling, dough' cf. Jordan 1968: § 123 Anm.). In Lutz's view (1991: 42f., esp. n. 68) there were more vocalic and more consonantal variants of vowel + /h/, [VVh] and [Vvh] in her notation, when [x] was weakened. The variants probably depended on careful pronunciation, stress and emphasis. It is thus possible that there were two alternative forms to choose from, as it is usually assumed for the development of the

<sup>14</sup> "Die lebenden Mundarten zeigen heute beide Entwicklungen, und zwar im Auslaut vorwiegend die erste [consonantal development], vor *t* vorwiegend die zweite [vocalic development]; wahrscheinlich ist im Auslaut starktoniger Formen die erste lautgesetzlich und was an *f*-losen Formen sich zeigt, einem Ausgleich entsprungen: neben me. *bough* stand ja *bōwes* > *bōwes* [...] und danach konnte auch ein Singular *bōw* gebildet werden." (Luick 1914-40: § 512)

<sup>15</sup> Some instances of the vocalic result in *cough* in the south of England (cf. SED: VI.8.3) and in Northwest Yorkshire (cf. Wright 1905: s.v. *cough*) might be due to the probably weaker stress on the form in *whooping cough*.

combination [xt], but since the vowels seem to have developed alike before [x] and [ɣ], this cannot be proved.<sup>16</sup>

*Table 1: /f/ for ME [x] if not followed by /t/ in English place-names*

The numbers in brackets refer to the number of occurrences. Information on pronunciation is mostly from Forster (1981). Etymologies follow Ekwall (1960) if not specified otherwise. The entries are ordered according to the relevant place-name elements; ModE = Modern English

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OE <i>beorg</i> 'hill, mound' – ModE <i>barugh</i>                                                                                                                                                                              |
| - simplex: NRY (1); Wo (1; <i>Burf</i> [Smith 1956: I, 29]); WRY (1)                                                                                                                                                            |
| - 1st part of compound: Ess (1; [ <i>West</i> ] <i>Bergholt</i> , OE <i>-holt</i> 'copse')                                                                                                                                      |
| - 2nd part of compound / combination (1 or 2 words): NRY (2)                                                                                                                                                                    |
| OE <i>*Breahha</i> (personal name)                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| - 1st part of compound: Hrt (1; <i>Braughing</i> , OE <i>-ing</i> 'people')                                                                                                                                                     |
| OE <i>burg</i> , <i>burh</i> 'fortified place, fort' – ModE <i>brough</i>                                                                                                                                                       |
| - simplex: Cu (1; also: <i>Burgh</i> ); Cu (1); Db (1); ERY (2); Li (1); NRY (4); Nt (1); We (2)                                                                                                                                |
| - 1st part of compound: Sa (1; <i>Broughall</i> ); Sf (1; <i>Broughall</i> )                                                                                                                                                    |
| - 2nd part of compound: Cu (2); ERY (2); Nb (1)                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| - 2nd part of compound: Cu (1) – ModE <i>burgh</i>                                                                                                                                                                              |
| - 2nd part of compound: NRY (3) – ModE <i>borough</i>                                                                                                                                                                           |
| OE <i>clōh</i> 'clough, ravine'                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| - simplex: Chs (1); St (1); WRY (2; cf. also Hedevid 1967: §§ 0:30, 8:9,2)                                                                                                                                                      |
| - 1st part of compound: Cu (1; <i>Cloffocks</i> , OE <i>-hōh</i> 'spur of hill'); La (2; <i>Clough-fold</i> or <i>Clough Fold</i> , OE <i>-fald</i> 'fold'; <i>Clogha</i> , OE <i>-hōh</i> 'spur of hill' [Smith 1956: I, 257]) |
| - 2nd part of compound / combination (1 or 2 words): Chs (4); Db (1); La (2); Nb (1; <i>-cleugh</i> ); WRY (7)                                                                                                                  |
| OE <i>dweorg</i> , <i>dweorh</i> (Anglian <i>dwerig</i> , <i>dwerh</i> ) 'dwarf'                                                                                                                                                |
| - 1st part of compound: Wa (1; <i>Dwarfholes</i> , OE <i>-hol</i> 'hollow' [Smith 1956: I, 140])                                                                                                                                |
| OE <i>fealg</i> , <i>falh</i> 'ploughed land'                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| - simplex: Cu (1; <i>Faugh</i> [Smith 1956: I, 164f.])                                                                                                                                                                          |
| - 1st part of compound: Sx (1; <i>Felpham</i> , OE <i>-hām</i> ; first element possibly OE <i>felg</i> 'rim [of the sea]')                                                                                                      |

<sup>16</sup> The only exception might be StE /au/ from ME [o:x], such as in *plough*, *bough* and *enow*. If Jordan is right (1968: §§ 115 with A.1, 125; cf. also Fisiak 1968: § 2.48 R.2 and Dobson 1968: II, § 171), ME [u:x] developed from [oux] < [o:x]. Then it would indeed be likely that [x] was simply lost (cf. also Faiß 1989: § 1.5.51.11), that Lutz's 'more vocalic variant' survived, rather than to propose a mixed form, which shows the vowel from ME [o:x] > [u:x] and the loss of [x] from ME [o:ɣ] > [ou] (cf. Jordan 1968: § 125 Anm.). Luick (1914-40: § 407.2), on the contrary, holds that ME [u:] developed from ME [o:ɣ] > [ou], and not from ME [o:x], in which case it is acceptable that the vowel was taken over from the inflected forms.

- OE *galga* 'gallows'  
 - 1st part of compound: WRY (1; *Galphay*, OE *-haga* 'enclosure')
- OE *haga* 'enclosure' or *halh* 'haugh' – ModE *haugh*  
 - simplex: La (1; *Haulgh*); Li (1; now *Hough*); WRY (1)  
 - 2nd part of compound: Cu (1); Du (2); La (1; *-halgh*); Nb (11)
- OE *hēah* 'high'  
 - 1st part of compound: ?K (1; *Haugham*, OE *-hām*); Li (1; *Haugham*, OE *-hām*)
- OE *Hereca* (personal name)  
 - 1st part of compound: Nf (1; *Hargham*, OE *-hām*)
- OE *hōh* 'spur of hill' – ModE *hough*  
 - simplex: Chs (8); Cu (1); Db (2; once *Howgh*, field name); Du (1; *Heugh*); Li (1); Nb (1; *Heugh*)  
 - 1st part of compound: Db (1; *Houghpark*); Du (1; *Houghall*, OE *-halh* 'haugh'); K (1; *Hougham*, with early change of *ō* > *ū*; more likely *Huhha* as first element,  
 OE *-hām*)  
 - 2nd part of compound / combination (1 or 2 words): Chs (2); Db (1); Du (1; *-heugh*); Nb (2; *-heugh*); WRY (1)
- OE *hwamm* 'corner, angle'  
 - 2nd part of compound: Nb (1; *Ulgham*, OE *ūle-* 'owl'; difficult development)
- ON *laukr* 'leek'  
 - 1st part of compound: We (1; *Loughrigg*; ON *-hryggr* 'ridge')
- OE *luh* (from British) 'lake, pool' (Smith 1956: II, 27)  
 - 2nd part of combination: Nb (1; *Crag Lough*)
- OE *Luhha* (personal name)  
 - 1st part of compound: D (1; *Luffincott*, OE *-ing-* 'people', *-cot* 'cottage')
- OE *Luhhede* (personal name)  
 - 1st part of compound: Le (1; *Loughborough*, OE *-burh*)
- Old Welsh *Merchiaun* (personal name)  
 - 1st part of compound: Cu (1; *Maughenby*, OE *-by* 'village')
- OE *Pohha* (personal name)  
 - 1st part of compound: Co (1; *Poughill*, possibly *pohha* 'pouch', OE *-wella* 'spring' [Mills 1991]); D (1; *Poughill*, possibly *pohha* 'pouch', OE *-hyll* 'hill' [Mills 1991])
- OE *rāh* 'roe-deer'  
 - 1st part of compound: Sx (1; *Roffey* [*Roughey*], OE *-hege* 'enclosure', possible association of ME *Roughey* with the adjective *rough*)
- OE *rūh* 'rough'  
 - simplex / 1st part of combination: We (1; *Rough Hill*, OE *-hol* 'hollow' [Smith 1967])  
 - 1st part of compound: La (1; *Roughlee Booth* [Ekwall 1922: 81], OE *-lēa(h)* 'lea'); Nf probably (1; *Rougham*, OE *-hām*); Sf probably (1; *Rougham*, OE *-hām*); Sr (1; *Ruffet[t]*, OE *-et* 'piece of ground' [Smith 1956: II, 88]); Sx (1; *Ruffet[t]*, OE *-et* 'piece of ground' [Smith 1956: II, 88])
- OE *salh* 'willow'  
 - simplex / 1st part of combination: Bd (1; *Salph End* [Smith 1956: II, 96])

|                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ON <i>skógr</i> 'wood' – ModE <i>-sceugh</i>                                                                                                                                                         |
| - simplex: Cu (3)                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| - 2nd part of compound / combination (1 or 2 words): ?Chs (1; <i>Wychogh</i> ); Cu (7); La (1; <i>Cunscough</i> , spelled in one word only, 1190 spelled <i>-scofh</i> ); ?Nb (1; <i>Ratcheugh</i> ) |
| OE <i>slā(h)</i> 'sloe'                                                                                                                                                                              |
| - 1st part of compound: Sx (1; <i>Slaugham</i> , OE <i>-hām</i> )                                                                                                                                    |
| ME <i>sogh</i> , <i>swogh</i> 'a bog, a swamp' (Cameron 1959: 54; Dodgson 1970-71: IV, 65)                                                                                                           |
| - simplex: Db (1; <i>Sough</i> [Smith 1956: II, 134])                                                                                                                                                |
| - 1st part of compound: Chs (1; <i>The Soughan's</i> , OE <i>-hyrne</i> 'secluded' [Dodgson 1970-71: IV, 65])                                                                                        |
| - 2nd part of combination (2 words): Db (1)                                                                                                                                                          |
| OE <i>prūh</i> 'water-pipe, conduit'                                                                                                                                                                 |
| - 1st part of compound: Gl (1; <i>Througham</i> , OE <i>-hām</i> )                                                                                                                                   |
| OE <i>Weohha</i> (personal name)                                                                                                                                                                     |
| - 1st part of compound: Sx (1; <i>Offham</i> ; possibly <i>wōh</i> 'crooked' [Mills 1991], OE <i>-hām</i> )                                                                                          |
| OE <i>Wrhe</i> (river name)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| - simplex: Sa (1; <i>Worf</i> )                                                                                                                                                                      |
| unexplained                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| - 1st part of compound: Nb (1; <i>Troughend</i> , possibly a British name, 1242: <i>Trocquen</i> )                                                                                                   |
| complex development                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| - 1st part of compound: Cu (1; <i>Aughertree</i> , OE <i>(e)ald</i> 'old' - <i>cot(e)</i> 'cottage' - <i>(v)rā</i> 'corner' [Armstrong et al. 1950-52]; cf. spelling 1580: <i>Alkatre</i> )          |

In the final position of unaccented syllables, it is generally assumed that weak stress accounts for the vocalic result. The forms in question are words which became bisyllabic after a liquid, and *through*, *(al)though*. After /r/ or /l/, such as in late OE *dweorh* 'dwarf', *burh* 'borough', *seolh* 'seal', *sealh* 'sallow', it is likely that the loss of [x]<sup>17</sup> is the normal development after the forms had become bisyllabic (cf. ME *burugh*, StE *thorough* < OE *purh*; thus Lutz 1991: 43f. with n. 71). The changes of the fricative to /f/, /k/ or even /θ/ (cf. Luick 1914-40: § 769 A.4) then go back to sound substitution: *dwarf*, ME also *dwerf*, dialectal *dwerk*, *selk* 'seal' or *salf* 'sallow'.<sup>18</sup> Nieuwint (1981: 442) cannot prove his statement that /f/ developed from [(u)x] in these cases. Also the place-name *Barugh* (< OE *beorg*) in Yorkshire (see Table 1), variously pronounced /bɑ:f/, /bɑ:k/, /bɑ:rə/, indicates the possibility of (two) sound substitution(s) on the one hand and the usual vocalic development on the other. It seems that the consonantal segment in the unstressed syllable of bisyllabic words was not strong enough to trigger off the consonantal development.

<sup>17</sup> Luick (1914-40: § 768.1) assumes a more middle articulation of /h/ between palatal [ç] and velar [x] in this position; cf. also Jordan (1968: § 197) for the combination palatal vowel + /r, l/ + [x].

<sup>18</sup> Horn/Lehnert (1954: 857; cf. also Nieuwint 1981: 442) suggest that the rise of /f/ in *dwarf* was furthered by distant assimilation to /w/, which would explain why this form is the only one with liquid + /f/ that is not regionally restricted. For ME forms cf. MED (s.v. *dwergh*).

Likewise, the preposition *through* (< OE *þurh*), which is an example for both weak sentence stress and ME [x] in unaccented syllable (cf. StE *thorough*), usually shows the vocalic result with early Modern English lengthening in weakly stressed position, while the ME forms *þurf* in the manuscript London, British Library Harley 2277 (West Somerset, from around 1300)<sup>19</sup> and *thorffe* (Devonshire, cf. LALME IV: 96-101; also the mixed form *thowffe* is recorded in the same manuscript) would go back to sound substitution. Furthermore, the forms *throf* (*Paston Letters*, 15th century) and modern *þruf*, *þrif* in northern and Midland counties (cf. Wright 1905: s.v. *through*) probably show sound substitution. They are explained by Bonebrake (1979: 25) as forms which show metathesis after [x] was labialized. Early change of the fricative and metathesis is shown by the ME mixed form *trowffe* (Devonshire, cf. LALME IV: 99). These forms could also show sound development in final position after the stem vowel was syncopated and the form was reduced to one syllable, such as in *brough* 'halo' (< OE *burh*) in northern England and parts of southern Scotland (cf. Glauser 1974: 143-45; Wright 1898-1905: s.v. *brough*; cf. also place-names with the element *brough* in Table 1). The conjunction (OE *þēah*) ON *\*þōh* (*\*þoh*) developed to StE *though*, for which the preponderance of the vocalic factor, maybe due to low sentence stress, is responsible (cf., for example, Dobson 1968: II, § 4). A number of ME (and Modern English) *þof*-forms are also on record, which are discussed in detail in section 3.3 below.

In the position before /t/, syllable-final before /t/ of the following syllable as well as in a complex coda, /f/ for [x] appears much less frequently than in stressed word-final position. The three StE exceptions are *laughter* (< OE *hleahtor*), *waft* (a back-formation from ME *wa(u)ghter* < Dutch *wachter*; cf. Nieuwint 1981: 442) and *draught* / *draft* (< early ME *draht*). Occasional historic forms with /ft/ for [xt] are mentioned in Horn/Lehnert (1954: 859-62), Dobson (1968: II, §§ 28 and 34), Horn (1901: 82-89) and Bonebrake (1979: 48f.). The form *laughter* is usually explained by the influence of the verb *laugh*. *Draught* without /f/ is recorded in the 20th century only sporadically in Yorkshire and Shropshire (cf. SED: V.3.11), and by Wright (1905: s.v. *draught*) in Gloucestershire and South Somerset. Bonebrake (1979: 38f.) thinks that /f/ was chosen here to distinguish this word more clearly from *drought* (< OE *drūgoð*). Nieuwint (1981: 442f.) offers a phonaesthetic explanation: in his view *draft* and *waft* were better 'at home' with words such as *shaft* and *raft* rather than with *taught*, *ought* (pronoun) or *naught*. The place-name evidence (see Table 2) also shows how rarely /f/ before /t/ occurred: only about one tenth of all the names are affected. In some of these compounds, OE /k/ became [x] before /t/ of the following syllable ("innerer Lautersatz" according to Horn/Lehnert 1954: § 502).

Nieuwint (1981: 459) and Luick (1914-40: § 512) consider it possible that /f/ could have *developed* from [ux] before /t/. Such a development might have been due to sentence stress in the individual cases ("satzphonetische (satzmelodische?) Scheideformen"; Luick 1914-40: § 512 A.1, cf. also § 513 A.3) which decided

<sup>19</sup> Cf. LALME (III: 441). Jordan (1968: § 197 A.1) localizes the manuscript in Gloucestershire. Cf. also MED (s.v. *thurgh*), where four occurrences of *þurf* in this manuscript are mentioned.

whether the consonantal factor was strong enough for the consonantal development. Nieuwint (1981: 459) calls these cases "sporadic deviations ('voicelessness taking the wrong way out')" from the rule that the voicelessness which remained of [x] "was [...] absorbed by the following, voiceless /t/" (1981: 457). There are also other reasons why /ft/ from [xt] is rare – thus, in terms of dependency phonology, Lodge (1986: 274) shows that the move from /VCC/ to /VVC/ avoids an "extrametrical" structure, for the past tenses of weak verbs Cooley (1976) argues with the greater similarity of the stem in *bring* - *brought* as opposed to *bring* - *broft*, and semantic reasons are discussed in Bonebrake (1979: 47-60). From the historic data it does not seem possible to decide with certainty whether before /t/ sound development of [(u)x] to /f/ or sound substitution took place. Originally long vowels were shortened before [xt] anyway. The topic will be taken up again with regard to the dialectal distribution in section 3.4 below.

Table 2: /ft/ for ME [xt] in English place-names

Abbreviations: E = Ekwall (1960, ME pronunciations); F = Forster (1981); M = Mills (1991)

| Name                           | Co. | Modern Pronunciation           | Early spellings                                                                                           | Place-name elements                                                                     |
|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Aughton</i> (nr. Lancaster) | La  | af-, æf-, a:f- (F);<br>ǣf- (E) | 1212 <i>Acheton</i> (M),<br>c.1330 <i>Aghton</i> (E)                                                      | OE <i>āc</i> 'oak' + <i>tūn</i> (E, M)                                                  |
| <i>Claughton</i> (nr. Caton)   | La  | -af-, -æf- (F);<br>-ǣf- (E)    | 1086 <i>Clactun</i> , 1208<br><i>Clahton</i> (E)                                                          | ON <i>klakkr</i> 'a lump (small hillock)' + <i>tūn</i> (E); OE <i>*clacc</i> 'hill' (M) |
| <i>Claughton</i>               | Chs | -ɔ:- (F); -ǣf- (E)             | 1260 <i>Clahton</i> , 1282<br><i>Clauhton</i> (E)                                                         | ON <i>klakkr</i> 'a lump (small hillock)' + <i>tūn</i> (E)                              |
| <i>Cofton</i>                  | D   |                                | 1282 <i>Coctone</i> ; 1289<br><i>Cofton</i> (E)                                                           | OE <i>cocc</i> 'heap, hillock, clump of trees' + <i>tūn</i> (E: "probably")             |
| <i>Crafton</i>                 | Bk  |                                | 1086 <i>Croustone</i> , 1200<br><i>Croftona</i> , <i>Crofton</i> ,<br><i>Croxton</i> (E)                  | OE <i>croh</i> 'saffron' + <i>tūn</i> (E)                                               |
| <i>Crofton</i>                 | Li  |                                | 1204 <i>Crohcton</i> , 13th c.<br><i>Crocton</i> (E)                                                      | OE <i>croh</i> 'saffron' + <i>tūn</i> (E: "very likely")                                |
| <i>Doughton</i>                | Gl  | -ʌf- (F); -ǣf- (E)             | 775-8 <i>æt Ductune</i> , 1301<br><i>Dughtone</i> (E)                                                     | OE <i>dūce</i> 'duck' + <i>tūn</i> (E, M)                                               |
| <i>Draughton</i>               | WRY | -af-, -æf- (F);<br>-ǣf- (E)    | 1086 <i>Dractone</i> , 1275<br><i>Drahton</i> (E)                                                         | OE <i>dræg</i> or ON <i>drag</i> 'portage' + <i>tūn</i> (E, M)                          |
| <i>Laughton</i>                | Sx  | -a:f-, -æf-, -a:-,<br>-ɔ:- (F) | 1086 <i>Lestun</i> , 1229<br><i>Lacton</i> , 1240ff. <i>Lehton</i> ,<br><i>Lehton</i> , <i>Lecton</i> (E) | OE <i>lēac</i> 'leek' + <i>tūn</i> (E, M)                                               |



|                                                |    |                                          |                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Laughton</i><br>(nr. Gainsborough)          | Li | -ɔ:-, -ɔfn (F)                           | 1086 <i>Lactone</i> , <i>Lastone</i> , c.1115 <i>Lactuna</i> , 1212 <i>Lactun</i> , 1209-35 <i>Lecton</i> (E)                                      | OE <i>lēac</i> 'leek' + <i>tūn</i> (E)                                                                      |
| <i>Lufton</i>                                  | So |                                          | 1086 <i>Lochetone</i> , 1227 <i>Luketun</i> , 1340 <i>Luketon</i> (E)                                                                              | OE <i>Luca</i> (personal name) + <i>tūn</i> (E)                                                             |
| <i>Raughton</i><br>and<br><i>Raughton Head</i> | Cu | -af-, -a:f-, -ɔf-, -a:hw- (F); -ahf- (E) | 1182 <i>Ragton</i> , 1186 <i>Rachton</i> , 1202 <i>Rahton</i> (E); 1367 <i>Raughtonheved</i> (M)                                                   | ON <i>rā-ā</i> (< <i>rā-ah</i> ) 'boundary stream' + <i>tūn</i> (E); OE <i>ragu</i> 'moss' + <i>tūn</i> (M) |
| <i>Tufton</i>                                  | Ha |                                          | 1086 <i>Tochiton</i> , 1198 (1260) <i>Tokinton</i> , c.1270 <i>Tokington</i> (E)                                                                   | OE <i>Tucca</i> or <i>Toc(c)a</i> (personal name) (+ -ing-) + <i>tūn</i> (E, M)                             |
| <i>Ufton</i>                                   | Wa | ʌf- (F)                                  | 1043 <i>Hulhtune</i> , c.1050 <i>Olufton</i> , 1043 (1267) <i>Ulfton</i> , 1086 <i>Ulchetone</i> , 1221 <i>Hulugton</i> , 1291 <i>Olughton</i> (E) | apparently OE <i>wulle</i> 'wool' + <i>uht</i> 'abounding with woolgrass' or the like (E) + <i>tūn</i>      |
| <i>Woughton-on-the-Green</i>                   | Bk | -u:f-, -uf- (F)<br>-ōōf- (E)             | 1086 <i>Ulchetone</i> , 1163, 1167 <i>Wocheton</i> , 1183 <i>Woketon</i> , 1197 <i>Wuketon</i> , 1199 <i>Weketun</i> (E)                           | OE <i>Wēoca</i> (personal name) + <i>tūn</i> (E, M)                                                         |

### 3. On dating the rounding, weakening and loss of [x] in English dialects and its consequences, with particular regard to ME *þof*

On the basis of the discussion in section 1. above, it is suggested here that for the dating of changes of [x] two phases must be distinguished: 1) the rounding of [x] and the development of a u-glide (possibly followed by sound substitution) and 2) the weakening of rounded [x], which either led to the consonantal development or to the emergence of a complex vowel and loss of [x] in the case of the vocalic development.

As ME orthography does not reflect all changes of [x], the dating and localization of the rounding, weakening and loss of [x] is difficult, leaving aside the problems with dating and localizing ME manuscripts in general. Five types of ME evidence can be used, none of which, however, is unproblematic. 1) The graphemic representation of u-glides seems to be a reliable criterion for the dating of rounded [x]; problems, however, are caused by the spellings of <u> only after /a/ in some parts of England, particularly in the North. 2) Spellings without a sign for [x] (usually <h>, <ɜ>, <ɜh> and, from the 15th century, <gh>; cf. Scragg 1974: 23, and Fisiak 1968: § 1.65) might indicate the loss of [x] but are before /t/ possibly due to Anglo-Norman influence on the spelling (cf. the discussion in Ekselius 1940: §§ 13-21). 3) Unetymological spellings such as *ouȝt* for *out* 'out' are the most reliable signs for the loss of the voiceless velar fricative, but these spellings are not very frequent.

4) <f>-spellings for <gh (etc.)> or, conversely, <gh> for original /f/ do not unequivocally indicate that [x] was weakened because these spellings can also reflect sound substitution of /f/ for rounded [x]. 5) Rhymes such as *moght* : *loft* are likewise possible cases of sound substitution, or they may not be pure rhymes (assonances; cf. Jordan 1968: § 196 Anm., Luick 1914-40: § 513 A.1, Nieuwint 1981: 460).

The evidence found in the literature is presented according to what is here interpreted as areas of early weakening (3.1) and longer retention (3.2) of rounded [x]. An attempt will then be made to specify these findings in a discussion of ME *þof*-forms for 'though' (3.3). Lastly, the consequences of and influences on the dialectal variation will be discussed (3.4).

### 3.1 The central southern and southern Midland areas

U-glide spellings first occurred in the South in the twelfth and early 13th centuries (cf. Luick 1914-40: § 403 A.1). Within the areas in question here, Ekselius in his study of the combinations *axt/oxt* in Middle English (1940: esp. §§ 182-213) discovers the first u-glide spellings in Essex and the City of London (c.1200), then in the western and middle South (Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire; 13th century), the East Midlands (end of 13th century) and the Southwest Midlands (around 1350). In the combination [xt], the u-glide must be imagined to have been weaker than in stressed word-final position, and it is highly likely that the consistent spelling of u-glides in these combinations indicates that [x] was already slightly weakened. At any rate, in the light of the fact that the western Southwest and Kent do not show consistent u-glide spellings at such an early stage (see section 3.2 below), Jordan's (1968: § 121) and Luick's (1914-40: § 403 A.1) statement that (possibly weak) u-glides or even diphthongs with a weak second element (Jordan) became a common Southumbrian feature in the course of the 13th century appears too general. It cannot be said with certainty when rounded [x] was further weakened and the different sound developments set in. It seems, however, that in the areas under discussion here the change was well on its way in the 14th century (cf. Jordan 1968: §§ 196f., 294, for the Southwest Midlands), and, for the whole Southumbrian area, the dates 15th century (Jordan) and 15th to 16th centuries (Luick 1914-40: § 512f.) are given. According to Nieuwint (1981: 458), consistent <ou>-spellings before [x<sub>w</sub>] indicate that the velar fricative was already weakened. Unetymological spellings such as *ouȝt* for *out* 'out' suggest that already by the end of the 13th century, [x] had been very much weakened before /t/ in the Southwest (but not in western Somerset, Devonshire and Cornwall) and the East Midlands (Ekselius 1940: §§ 191f., 206f.), and between 1350 and 1450 the same is true south of a line from northern Norfolk to northern Herefordshire, particularly in the East Midlands – but note again that these spellings do not occur in western Somerset, Devonshire and Cornwall nor in central and eastern Kent (cf. LALME IV: 319 for the southern corpus). Furthermore, spellings without a sign for the fricative might indicate a tendency of [x] to become mute before /t/ by 1350 in parts of the West Midlands (Ekselius 1940: §§ 185, 197; cf. also Kristensson 1987: 188f.) and more strongly so in South Lincolnshire in the early 14th century and Norfolk (and Suffolk) from 1350

on or earlier.<sup>20</sup> It is thus suggested here that rounded [x], at least before /t/, weakened early in central southern England in common speech (cf. also Ekselius 1940: § 234, but § 209; Nieuwint 1981: 458). It must be added that there was some reluctance to give up [x] in educated speech. Grammarians still taught the (conservative) pronunciation of the voiceless velar fricative well into the 17th century. There was considerable variation, and forms with /f/ for [x] were in Dobson's view gradually taken over from "dialectal and vulgar speech" into the standard language (Dobson 1968: II, §§ 371, 424).

### 3.2 The northern counties, the western Southwest and Kent

With regard to the Northumbrian area, Luick's theory on the nature of the change will be looked at first. He suggests that where [x] weakened at all in Northumbria, the developmental series as described above accounts for the vocalic and consonantal results only in the combinations [ax] and [u:x], but [x] in the combinations [a:x, ox, o:x] became /f/ or a u-glide by a 'purely consonantal change' (1914-40: § 512 A.2),<sup>21</sup> which for the consonantal result means that strong [x] was *replaced* by /f/. This theory is based on three observations which deserve discussion:

1) One way of telling sound substitution from sound development is, according to Luick, the retention of long vowels before /f/ < [x]. He refers to the East Yorkshire pronunciations /diəf/ from OE *dāg* (late OE *dāh*) 'dough' and /biəf/ from OE *bōg* (late OE *bōh*) 'bough'. Nieuwint, who completely relies on the developmental theory, fails to account for these forms. Further reflexes of unshortened vowels before final /f/ < [x] can be found in some northern parts of England in the twentieth century. According to the forms in Wright (1905: § 167 and s.v. *dough*), such reflexes of [o:x] cluster roughly in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Southeast Northumberland and South Durham, those of [a:x] (the only test word is *dough*) in Yorkshire, Lancashire, West Westmoreland, Cheshire and North Derbyshire, although considerable mixing of forms, particularly in Yorkshire (but also in Cheshire and West Westmoreland), must be taken into account. Some Yorkshire and Lancashire forms of *though* with final /f/ might also point to a development of the unshortened vowel (< ON \**bōh*) and sound substitution.

2) Luick's assumption that in Northumbria [u:x] developed as it did in the South (with a short vowel resulting) is based on reflexes of *rough* (< OE *rūh*) with final /f/ which are generally short. But in this word, rounded [x] might have been replaced

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kristensson (1969: 216) and LALME I: map 722 (*doughter(s)*) and IV: 161f. (*enough*), both for the northern corpus only; IV: 55-59 (*though*); but note that the picture is blurred by influences of inflected cases on *enough* and of weak stress on *though*. Unfortunately, LALME does not give information on the southern forms of *doughter(s)* and *enough*. The merits of LALME are discussed and some disadvantages of the selection of features and areas covered are noted by Viereck (1992; 1995: 300).

<sup>21</sup> Luick writes: "In den Folgen āχ, ōχ, ȝχ wurde χ [auf nordhumbrischem Boden] durch einen rein konsonantischen Lautwandel entweder zu *f* oder zu *u* [...]."

by /f/ after short /u/ since some (OE and) ME variation of /u/ and /u:/ before gutturals and labials is attested.<sup>22</sup>

3) Northern ME spellings with vowel + <u> are usually found in combination with [ax] only and are held by Luick (1914-40: §§ 403.2, 512 A.1) and Jordan (1968: §§ 127-29) to indicate that a u-glide had developed in late Middle English (LME) in the combination [ax], but not in [a:x, ox, o:x]. When a u-glide is represented in the combination [o(:)x], it is attributed to southern influence. The case of [a:x] is difficult to judge because the only test-words are *dough* (< late OE *dāh*) and *low* (< OE *lāh*), where, however, influences of a ME variant *dūgh* (cf. Jordan 1968: § 123 Anm.) and of *slow* (< OE *slāw*; cf. Nieuwint 1981: 442), respectively, must be taken into account. On the basis that Luick's proposed 'purely consonantal change to a u-glide' does not appear logical in itself and that it is questionable whether the development of a u-glide should depend on the quantity and quality of the preceding vowel, Ekselius's (1940: § 213) and Nieuwint's (1981: 447, 458) explanation is to be preferred. Both suggest that where [x] weakened it followed the same development as is maintained for the South, and that u-glides had developed in the North as well but were less audible after [o(:)] and hence less frequently represented in writing. In connection with northern [a:x] Jones (1989: 147) suggests that <au>-spellings would show the second element of the vowel "'coloured' by the contiguity of an [x]/[ɣ] to produce some kind of [au] diphthong" (italics mine). It was thus probably a weak u-element which belonged to rounded [x] (= [u<sub>w</sub>]) rather than to the vowel and was the less audible between [o(:)] and *strong* rounded [x].

Interestingly, before [xt] Ekselius (1940: § 203) observed very rare u-glide spellings in the 'Kildare Poems' (from the beginning of the 14th century),<sup>23</sup> and preponderant <o> but rather common <au>-spellings in a manuscript of *Sir Ferumbras* from the end of the 14th century, Devonshire (Ekselius 1940: §§ 93-96, 191). He compares these findings to Scottish, where strong [x] must be assumed,<sup>24</sup> and it is, of course, similar to the northern English situation. Furthermore, maps 197, 202 (*though*), 720, 721 (*daughter(s)*) and 748, 749 (*enough*) in LALME I indicate that <ou>-spellings were also infrequent in both the western and eastern parts of the

<sup>22</sup> This is not at all certain. However, there could well have been long and short forms of *rough* on account of shortening before the guttural in the inflected cases (Orm, ca. 1200, Lincolnshire, has *ruh*) in the West Midlands and parts of the North before the 13th century; cf. Luick (1914-40: § 389) and Jordan (1968: § 55 A.3). Early Modern English reflexes of *rough* are discussed by Dobson (1968: II, § 39(a)). Jespersen (1909: §§ 10.23, 8.24) wrongly parallels all the shortenings of complex vowels before /f/ < [x] with the shortening of /u:/ before labials. On shortening in *shove* and *dove* cf. Dobson (1968: II, § 39, n. 2-4).

<sup>23</sup> These texts were written by English people who had emigrated to Southeast Ireland, and since they show features of the Somerset dialect, they are usually discussed with southwestern texts (cf. Jordan 1968: § 4).

<sup>24</sup> The development of vowel + [x] in Scotland is outside the scope of this article. Ekselius (1940: §§ 31-34) argues that u-glides also existed in (Southern) Middle Scots (cf. also Wright 1905: § 358). This u-element was too weak between /o/ and [x] to form a diphthong (cf. Faiß 1989: § 1.5.51.4). [x], however, did not weaken in Scots at all (see also the account in Jones 1995: 46, 208-11) and n. 2 above. My thanks go to Dr. Inge Milfull, Eichstätt, for information on Scottish phonology.

North Midlands. In the western Southwest, particularly in Devonshire, spellings for *though* without a u-glide are attested in LALME. Ekselius (1940: §§ 188, 208) further reports that u-glides were not represented in writings from the Northwest Midlands and Kent before the 15th century. In the northern texts, *pof*-forms and rhymes (cf. Ekselius 1940: § 182) indicate that [x] had been rounded in the 14th century, but given the possibility of sound substitution, there is no need to conclude that rounded [x] was weakened as well. Ekselius does not report any consistent u-glide spellings in both the combinations [axt] and [oxt] in the northern texts (*Pricke of Conscience*, first part of the 15th century; *Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS, turn of the 14th and 15th centuries) well into the 15th century.

The development of the diphthongs /au/ and /ou/ before [x(t)] – which also indicate weakening of rounded [x] – in Northumbria, or at least (for /au/) in the Northwest is dated by Hedevid (1967: §§ 4:34, 4:40) to the early Modern English period (from c.1450). Non-monophthongized forms for ME [axt] which show the vocalic development are also found in the North and Northeast (Northumberland, Durham and Southeast Yorkshire), which might point to a later development of the complex vowel there as well (cf. Wright 1905: s.v. *aught*, *taught*, *slaughter*). Anderson (1987: 122, 125 with maps 98A and 98B) shows that ME [oxt] developed differently from ME /ou/ or /au/, with a later emergence of the diphthong before [xt], in the North (type 1A) and the North Midlands (types 1B and 2A). Rounded [x] does not seem to have weakened at all in the Northumbrian area before the early Modern English period.

In sum, [x] appears to have been rounded rather late in the Northwest Midlands and in Kent, but rounded [x] seems to have still been strong and the u-glide weak in the North, the northern Midlands (without Norfolk), the western Southwest and Kent by 1400 at least but then it weakened much more quickly in the southern than in the northern areas.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.3 Emergence and regional distribution of ME *pof*

The forms for *though*, which are presented in LALME (IV: 55-59, I: dot maps 191-208, II: item map 32/1-6) for the years 1350 to 1450, emerge as a fruitful test-case for findings and hypotheses concerning the date and regional distribution of the rounding (and weakening) of [x] and also for the discussion of sound development versus sound substitution. *Though* is exceptional in that spellings with final <f> are attested rather early and extensively. Table 3 shows that in late Middle English about one fifth of the <o>-forms (246 occurrences) end in the labiodental fricative. The 626 occurrences of the <o(u)>-forms with a sign for the velar fricative (see

<sup>25</sup> This regional distribution of the rounding of [x] is similar to the labialization and vocalization of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (cf. Jordan 1968: § 186: from 1200 in the Southwest Midlands, somewhat later in the North Midlands and in the North, around 1400 in Kent). Ekselius (1940: § 233) considers the labialization of [x] somewhat later than that of [ɣ], Nieuwint (1981: 457-59, 463) suggests that both took place at the same time. Since, however, the change of [x], as opposed to the change of [ɣ], which subsequently weakened very quickly, is not evidenced in writing, Nieuwint's suggestion remains hypothetical.

Table 3) are distributed over the whole of England, but they are rare in the northern *þof*-area (cf. Map 1 and LALME I: maps [196,] 197, 202, 203). However, the fact that the modern northern dialects have forms with the vocalic ending, too (cf. Wright 1905: s.v. *though*), suggests that *þof* was not the only alternative in ME there.

*Table 3:* Frequency of vowels and final sounds in forms for 'though' between 1350 and 1450 according to LALME (IV: 55-59), including elements of compound forms

|                      | -vowel | -3, -h | -f, -fe | -þ, -th | -t   | -... | TOTAL  | %      |
|----------------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|------|------|--------|--------|
| o(u) <sup>26</sup>   | 318    | 626    | 246     | 24      | 23   | 1    | 1238   | 66,28  |
| a(u)                 | 36     | 149    | 1       | 5       | 8    | —    | 199    | 10,65  |
| ai                   | 7      | 2      | —       | —       | —    | —    | 9      | 0,48   |
| e(i)                 | 144    | 72     | 1       | 1       | 1    | —    | 219    | 11,73  |
| u                    | 1      | 2      | 1       | 1       | —    | —    | 5      | 0,27   |
| i, y                 | 5      | 1      | 1       | —       | —    | —    | 7      | 0,37   |
| 'if'                 | /      | /      | 188     | /       | /    | /    | 188    | 10,06  |
| others <sup>27</sup> | —      | —      | —       | —       | —    | 3    | 3      | 0,16   |
| TOTAL                | 511    | 852    | 438     | 31      | 32   | 4    | 1868   | 100,00 |
| %                    | 27,36  | 45,61  | 23,45   | 1,66    | 1,71 | 0,21 | 100,00 |        |

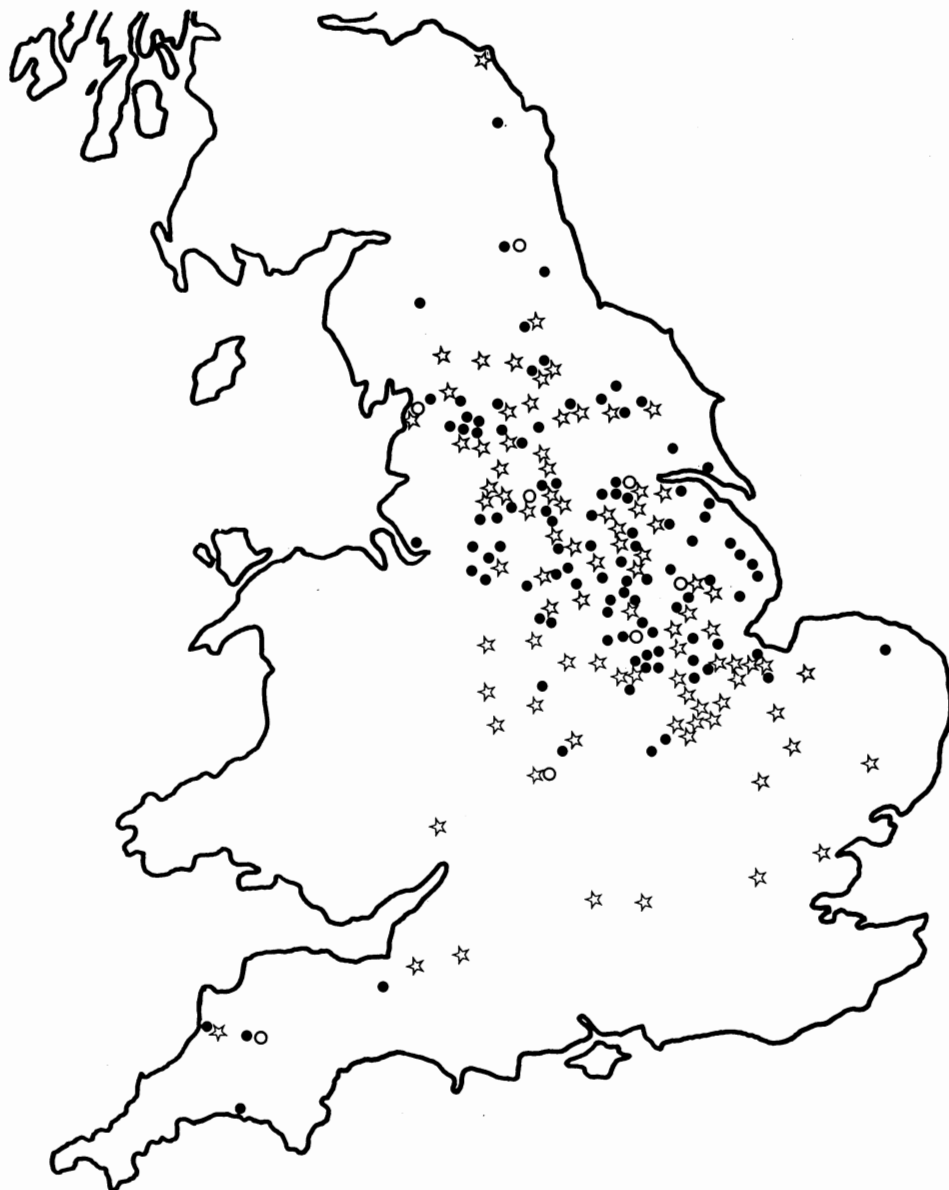
Listed in Table 3 are also the much rarer LME forms with <e(i, y)> (LALME I: maps 200, 201), <i, y>, <ai, ay> (map 199) and <a(u)> (maps 195, 198). These go back to OE *þēah*. The ME spellings <e(i, y)> and <i, y> derive from the form *þēh* (cf. Jordan 1968: § 97.2) which resulted from smoothing in all dialects (cf. Campbell 1959: §§ 225, 312, 314), <e(i, y)> and <ai, ay> reflect shortened OE *þeh* (cf. Brunner 1965: § 121 A.1; Jordan 1968: § 96), and <a(u)> shortened Mercian and Northumbrian *þæh* and Northumbrian *þah* (cf. Campbell 1959: §§ 225, 357; Jordan 1968: § 63). The shortened forms are probably due to low sentence stress. The native forms disappeared from literature before 1500 (cf. OED: s.v. *though*).

The forms with ME <o> derive from the ON loan *\*þoh*<sup>28</sup> which must have been adopted before the end of the tenth century when ON lost final [x] (cf. references in

<sup>26</sup> The forms 'of' (16 times), 'al-of' (6 times) and 'of-al' (6 times) are included with the 'o(u)'-forms. The forms 'if-though' (once) and 'though-if' (once) are included according to their first elements.

<sup>27</sup> The other forms are 'al' (twice) and 'al-be-it' (once).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Jordan (1968: § 63 A.2); Luick (1914-40: § 382.1); Brunner (1960: 104). The OED (s.v. *though*) explains that the long vowel of ON *\*þōh* (intermediate to *\*þauh* and the contracted form *þō*) was shortened: Orm has *þohh*. A minority of Southumbrian forms could have had the long open vowel /ɔ:/ derived from the OE variant *þāh* (cf. Bosworth/Toller 1882-98: s.v. *þēah*) but both the chronological evidence in the MED (s.v. *though*) and the very few OE <a>-spellings listed in the *Microfiche Concordance of Old English* (Healey/Venezky 1980) (against 3373 occurrences of <ea>) suggest that the ON loan was by far the most important form. Faiß (1989: § 1.5.51.12) is thus mistaken in developing ModE *though* from OE *þāh*.



- 'though' with *-f(f)* or *-fe* (*al-þof*, *yoffe* etc.) and 'þof-al'-type (*thof-al*, *yoff-alie* etc.);  
LALME I: maps 203 and 208
- ☆ 'al-if'-type (*al-ȝyf*, *all-gif*, *alle-yfe* etc.) and 'if-al'-type (*gif-all*, *yf-alie*, *ȝef-al* etc.);  
LALME I: maps 191 and 193
- 'al-of'-type and 'of-al'-type; LALME I: maps 192 and 194

Map 1: Final *f* in forms for '(al)though' (1350 - 1450) according to LALME

Lutz 1991: 72). The first <o>-forms are found in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (?1160, cf. MED: *pob*) and Orm (cf. n. 28). Their wide LME distribution indicates that the loan must have been exported from the focal area of Scandinavian influence some time before or around 1350, as the MED (s.v. *though*) records only sporadic instances of <o> in the Southeast and Southwest Midlands and none in the Southwest and in Kent before 1350.

How did these unusual phonetic *f*-spellings come about and by which process did final /f/ emerge in this case? The fact that the modern dialects have forms of 'though' ending in /f/ almost exclusively in the LME *pof*-areas<sup>29</sup> proves that the ME and LME *pof*-forms represent the actual pronunciation of the time.

An influence of 'if' (OE *gif*) on the emergence of final /f/ (and <f>) in ME *though* is very likely. In general, a close relationship between the concessive and the conditional ideas cannot be denied. In Old English, however, *though* was still mainly restricted to the concessive and *if* to the conditional sense (cf. Mitchell 1985: §§ 3387, 3390-94, 3674), but already in early ME the use of the forms started to overlap to a certain extent (cf. OED: s.v. *though* B.4, *if* A.4.a and MED: s.v. *though* 2a., *if* 2). For emphasis ('even though, even if'), *al* was added from the first quarter of the 13th century onwards and usually preceded the conjunctions (cf. OED: s.v. *all* C.10, Visser 1972: 905-07 [*eal(l)* following *peah* is also found in Old English], and Table 4). In the combination with *al*, but not on its own, *if* was used rather frequently in the concessive sense in late Middle English, about as frequently as *al* with *pough* and *pof* (cf. Table 4). Forms of *pough* on their own, however, remained most frequent. Now it is striking that in late Middle English we find *pof*-forms alone or in combination only in those areas where *al-if* and *if-al* forms are used to emphasize the concessive notion (see Map 1). It can thus be concluded that there was some connection between the two forms. That the *pof*-forms were influenced by the *if*-forms and not vice versa is probable for the following reasons. Firstly, as Map 1 shows, combinations with *if* were used where *pof*-forms were not. Secondly, whereas the first records of *pof* (c.1340 and in the *Cursor Mundi*), *pof-al* (c.1330), *al-if* (1340) and *if-al* (1366) occurred at more or less the same time, *al-pof* (1440) is not only the last but also the least frequent form on record (cf. OED: s.v. *though* A.δ.4, *all* C.10., *although*). If the *pof*-forms had brought about the use of the *if*-forms, the late and infrequent *al-pof* form would have been expected to occur much earlier and more frequently in order to give rise to the early and frequent *al-if* forms. It is, however, the *al-pough* form which appeared early and frequently (c.1325; cf. OED: s.v. *although*). The forms in a manuscript from Devonshire (Harley 2386) indicate the extent to which mixing of 'though' and 'if'-forms could have led: *thoff*, *thouff*, *thuff*, *theff*, *thyff*, *they3*, *thogh*, *thruhh*, *of-all*<sup>30</sup> (cf. LALME III: 82). On the basis of these arguments it is suggested here that both with regard to the pronun-

<sup>29</sup> The LME *pof*-areas are shown on Map 1. Unfortunately, forms for *though* are not elicited in the SED. According to Wright (1905: s.v. *though*), forms with final /f/ were still found in all parts of Yorkshire (except the western part), central South Lancashire, South Lincolnshire, West Somerset, South Devonshire, and also in central South Hampshire, at the beginning of our century. Cf. also the evidence in Ellis (1889) summarized by Horn (1901: 70).

<sup>30</sup> The *of*-forms are apocopate forms of *pof* (cf. OED: s.v. *of*).



ciation and the spelling, the concessive use of the conjunction *al-if* formed the decisive impact on the emergence of *pof*, which might have possibly at first, like *al-if*, been used emphatically.

Table 4: Frequency of types of compound forms for 'though' between 1350 and 1450 according to LALME (IV: 55-59)

|           | 'al'- <sup>31</sup> | -'al' | -'th'- <sup>32</sup> | -... | TOTAL  | %      | % of 1868 |
|-----------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|------|--------|--------|-----------|
| o(u)      | 139                 | 52    | 21                   | 4    | 216    | 46,85  | 11,56     |
| a(u)      | 24                  | 2     | 1                    | –    | 27     | 5,86   | 1,45      |
| ai        | –                   | –     | –                    | –    | –      | 0,00   | 0,00      |
| e(i)      | 20                  | 2     | 5                    | –    | 27     | 5,86   | 1,45      |
| u         | –                   | –     | –                    | –    | –      | 0,00   | 0,00      |
| i, y      | 2                   | –     | –                    | –    | 2      | 0,43   | 0,11      |
| 'if'      | 143                 | 43    | –                    | 1    | 187    | 40,57  | 10,00     |
| others    | 1                   | –     | –                    | 1    | 2      | 0,43   | 0,11      |
| TOTAL     | 329                 | 99    | 27                   | 6    | 461    | 100,00 | 24,68     |
| %         | 71,37               | 21,47 | 5,86                 | 1,30 | 100,00 |        |           |
| % of 1868 | 17,61               | 5,30  | 1,45                 | 0,32 | 24,68  |        |           |

Concerning the regional distribution of the *pof*-forms, it is unlikely that [x] should have weakened in stressed forms and undergone the consonantal development in areas where it was otherwise retained for a very long time. Thus, in parts of the Northwest Midlands (rounded) [x] in final position was still pronounced in the 20th century (see section 1. above). Evidence that in the 19th century coda [x] in some words was still extant in parts of Lancashire and Southwest Northumberland (weak [x] before /t/), that it was at least in living memory in Cumberland and even in Northwest Derbyshire (*rough*), East Staffordshire (*cough*, *rough*) and Northwest Lincolnshire (*bough*, *plough*) is listed by Horn (1901: 66-74), mainly based on Ellis (1889). Furthermore, Forster (1981) records the 19th-century pronunciation /ɑ:hw/ for the Cumberland place-names *Maughenby* and *Raughton Head*. For the late retention of [x] in western Yorkshire cf. Hedevid (1967: §§ 8:46, 4:34). These facts together with the observation that *pof*-forms – if *al-if* forms co-occur – appear in the dialects for which there is further evidence of longer retention of rounded [x] (cf. section 3.2 above) and the fact that the *al-if* forms did not influence forms of *though* in the other areas warrant the conclusion that the *pof*-forms are typical of areas where rounded [x] was retained longer. They thus seem to go back to *substitution* of unweakened, rounded [x] by /f/ – probably influenced by *al-if* – rather than to a development of weakened [x] to /f/ (cf., for example, Nieuwint 1981: 444f.) in stressed position. The distribution of *pof* together with other evidence

<sup>31</sup> Included are the forms *as-bei*, *as-bey*, *a-bey* and *au-pough*.

<sup>32</sup> The combinations are with 'that' and 'than'.

mentioned above also indicates that rounded [x] remained strong for somewhat longer not only in the Northwest Midlands but also in the Northeast Midlands.

### 3.4 Areas of longer retention of [x]: consequences and influences

The reviewed dating of the retention of rounded [x] also sheds some new light on the nature of the change to /f/ in the different regions of England and on both the historic and modern distribution of forms with /f/. In the central part of the Southumbrian area, [x] was rounded and weakened early and /f/-forms, apparently mainly (or only) in word-final position, *developed* from [(u)x] in the way that Luick suggests. The same development, only later, was possible in the remaining regions where rounded [x] did not weaken for a longer time. It is in these regions that *sound substitution* of strong rounded [x] by /f/ was most likely to occur.<sup>33</sup> It can thus be inferred that if there are indications of the labiodental instead of the velar fricative in regions where [x] had not yet weakened and complex vowels, through combination with the u-glide, had not yet arisen, sound substitution was at work. This is true for the *pof*-forms discussed above. Likewise, for example, the form *ofðufte* (past tense of OE *offbyncan*) in the *Poema Morale*, MS *e* (early 13th century, Wiltshire), considered by Ekselius (1940: §§ 75, 217) as a "sporadic development", and *safgte* (for *sagte*; *Genesis and Exodus*, c.1300, East Midland) (1940: § 117), which both appear in manuscripts where u-glides are not written, should rather be viewed as cases of sound substitution, and even of some subsequent confusion in the latter case. These are the only <ft>-spellings found by Ekselius. The same is true for the rhymes *moght* : *loft* and *thurh* : *skurf* in the *Cursor Mundi*, which date back to around 1300 (cf. Jordan 1968: § 196 Anm.; Ekselius 1940: § 182), if these are not the only cases of assonances in the poem. These examples are interpreted by Nieuwint (1981: 445) as showing slight weakening of [x] but it is highly unlikely that these sporadic forms are instances of early sound development. They are rather cases of substitution for strong [x] (which was apparently rounded earlier before /t/ and in final position of unstressed words). On the other hand, the rhyme *wrouzhte* : *ofte* in the *Southern Legendary* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 108 part I, c.1280-90, Gloucestershire), just like *betauȝt* (\**betaft*) : *wichcraft* in the 'Kildare Poems' (cf. Ekselius 1940: §§ 191, 203 and n. 23 above), if pure rhymes, could easily be the result of sound development.

Modern dialectal forms with final /f/ in stressed syllables are found in the northern part of England in particular (cf. the list of dialectal words in Nieuwint 1981: 463-65 and Kolb et al. 1979: 27 [*plough*], 79 [*shoe*], (82 [*enough*],) 89 [*dough*], 146 [*trough*])). Nieuwint (1981: 461, cf. also Luick 1914-40: § 402.2) explains these by sound development which was aided by the early silencing of final [ɔ] and hence less interference of vocalic endings in inflected forms. Sound substitution, however, particularly in areas where rounded [x] was retained longer,

<sup>33</sup> Note further that in these areas (apart from Kent) other fricative substitutions are found, thus /θ/ and /f/ for /ç/ (cf. Luick 1914-40: §§ 768.2.c and 796).

cannot be ruled out altogether (as also forms with unshortened vowels suggest; see section 3.2 above).

For the southern corpus, LALME (IV: 319f.; cf. also I: map 1170) records <f> for older [x] and reverse spellings (<gh> for /f/) before /t/, for example *dafter*, *dofter* 'daughter' and *oughte* 'oft', almost exclusively in the Southeast (Kent, East Sussex) and the Southwest (Somerset, Devonshire, Cornwall). Evidence from the same southwestern counties in the 16th century is provided by Wakelin (1988: 638f.). These correspond roughly to the southern areas which retained strong rounded [x] longest. In Nieuwint's list (1981: 463-66 from the SED and Wright 1905 and 1898-1905, and cf. *ibid.*: s.v. *laughter* 'brood')<sup>34</sup> we find /ft/-pronunciations in Cumberland for: *drought*, *slaughter*, dial. *laughter* 'brood'; Northumberland: dial. *laughter* 'brood'; Durham: *slaughter*; Westmoreland: *drought*; Yorkshire: *drought*, *daughter*, *slaughter*, *fought*, dial. *bought* 'a bend, a curve', dial. *laughter* 'brood'; Lancashire: *drought*, *slaughter*, dial. *waught* 'to drink copiously', dial. *laughter* 'brood'; Norfolk: *daughter*; Kent: *thought* (past tense and past participle); London: *drought*; Somerset: *brought* etc.; Devonshire: *daughter*, *thought* (noun; cf. Horn 1901: 75f.), *brought* etc.; Cornwall: *daughter*, *brought* etc. The distribution of the ME southern *f*-forms, just like the distribution of modern dialectal forms with /ft/ < [xt] is mainly restricted to regions which retained strong rounded [x] longest. It is thus suggested here that *sound development* of /f/ < [x] before /t/ was indeed rare, if it took place at all, especially in the combination [ox] where a u-element was hardly audible and only a very small percentage of the place-names show /ft/ (see Table 2). The /ft/-forms in general can, however, conveniently be explained by *sound substitution*.<sup>35</sup>

Horn's assumption (e.g. 1901: 89) that /ft/-pronunciations are dialectal and that their spread is due to dialect mixing has often been refuted (cf., for example, Luick 1914-40: § 769 A.4; Ekselius 1940: § 216). The place-names (see Table 2) show that /ft/ from [xt] could indeed occur in all parts of England. But while sound development could take place in the whole of England, there were centres where rounded [x] was not weakened early and was thus more likely to be subject to fricative substitution. This might help to explain the main dialectal differences in the distribution of pronunciations with /f/.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also Bonebrake (1979: 48f., Table 11) for earlier forms, and Kolb et al. (1979: 35 [*drought*], 134 [*slaughter*]). The form *waught* 'sickly taste' is a misspelling of *waugh* in Nieuwint.

<sup>35</sup> It is thus not necessary to follow Nieuwint (1981: 459f.) in attributing the /aft/ and /uft/-forms to sound development and the /oft/-forms to hypercorrection, the etymologically wrong insertion of an /f/ in the southwestern area, where original /f/ had been lost between /o/ and /t/. (The Kentish past tense *thoft* 'thought' Nieuwint ascribes to an influence of a form of *thuht* with /f/.) Furthermore, the place-name *Crofton* in Lincolnshire (see Table 2) shows that /oft/ could arise from [ox]. *Crafton* in Berkshire appears to be a similar case of ME [ox] > /aft/ as dialectal *dafter* 'daughter'. It was thus not the alternation of, for example, *soft* with and without /f/ which brought about the choice between, for example, *brought* with and without /f/, but rather the choice of forms such as *brought* with sound development (vocalic and maybe even consonantal result) or sound substitution, respectively, which caused the loss of original /f/ in other words. This is in accordance with Luick's (1914-40: § 513 A.1) explanation of the alternation of *after* with and without /f/, which Nieuwint also regards as a case of hypercorrection.

In her very well argued discussion of the eight stages of the loss of the phoneme /h/ in English, Lutz (1991: 19-73, esp. 39-45, 67-73, cf. also 157-59) shows that loss of coda [x] (stage 5) marks the turning point in the leading position of the North, which it has never resumed subsequently. For the northern Midland and northern dialects, Lutz argues that Old Norse had an influence on the phonotactic structure of these dialects (1991: 281) and that Scandinavian influence was responsible for the break in the loss of /h/ (1991: 71-73).<sup>36</sup> It is in fact remarkable that the northern *pof*-forms, which have above been interpreted as having arisen from strong rounded [x], cluster in 'The Great Scandinavian Belt' (Samuels 1989), and fewer <ou>-spellings are found there – although this is decidedly not true of Norfolk. LALME (II: map 32/1-2) does not elicit forms for 'though' in all dialects to the same extent, which explains the (apparent) lack of *pof*-forms in northwestern regions and large parts of Lancashire and Cheshire on Map 1. It has been discussed above that rounded [x] was also retained longer, but subsequently lost rather quickly, in the western part of the Southwest and in Kent. More importantly for the matter under discussion now is that [x] was given up rather late north of the Great Scandinavian Belt. Thus, while an influence from Old Norse is quite possible in (particularly the southern part of) the Great Scandinavian Belt, it is questionable whether it was the decisive factor for the late loss of [x] in the whole north of England. How carefully one must tread in order not to attribute too many features of the development of English to Scandinavian influence has been shown by Viereck (1995), who discusses the history of forms of the definite article starting from their distribution as shown in Viereck et al. (1991: map M1), and by Ramisch (1997) with regard to the palatalization and assibilation of the voiceless velar stop.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

An attempt has been made in this article to show that, in the change and loss of ME [x] and the emergence of /f/, both sound development (with the vocalic and the consonantal results) and fricative substitution played their parts. Some important topics connected with the change of ME [x] could not be discussed and others, among them the place-names, have only been passed over quickly. Emphasis was placed on the dating and regional distribution of the rounding and weakening of [x] in England, and it was argued that in areas where rounded [x] remained strong for a longer time, fricative substitution was more likely to happen. It can account for the appearance of /f/ where [x] was not yet weakened and for the retention of long vowels before /f/ < [x]. Sound development, however, was possible wherever [x] was weakened. Since [x] weakened quite early in the central part of southern England and the South Midlands, sound development can be assumed to have been more important there, particularly for [x] in the final position of stressed syllables. It is questionable whether the combination [xt] developed into /ft/ at all, and the regional distribution suggests that we should probably think of sound substitution in

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<sup>36</sup> After [x] had disappeared in Old Norse between c.800-1000, it developed anew from final /g/, weakly stressed /k/, and also from /gt/; cf. Lutz (1991: 72).

these cases. Labov (1994: 539, 543) regards the change of [x] to /f/ in English, like other consonant changes in place of articulation such as metathesis and haplology, as a discontinuous, abrupt process which is spread by lexical diffusion. However, in the light of the role of sound development in the transition from ME [x] to /f/, which Bonebrake (1979: 167f.; cf. also Samuels 1972: 159) describes as the gradual change of articulatory components, and also concerning the data Labov himself reports (1994: 541), this classification requires further discussion.

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# ***As Smart as a Carrot: Proverbial Similes in English Dialects***

*Gunnel Melchers*

## Introduction

Ever since the autumn of 1966, the time of my very first contact with the Survey of English Dialects, Wolfgang Viereck has been an inspiration and something of a mentor to me in any work I have undertaken within the field of dialectology. I first benefited from his pioneering work on the phonemic analysis of a variety of non-standard English, which served as a model for my own studies of Yorkshire dialects, based on SED recordings; more recently, his monumental, continued work on structuring and computerising the SED data has been invaluable for my current project on dialects in contact. I therefore find it appropriate that my contribution to this festschrift should make use of data from our common source of research – the SED.

Whereas considerable attention has been paid to the SED Basic Material as a source of information on phonology, vocabulary and grammar, little use appears to have been made of less straightforward, discourse-oriented data that – at least to me – seem to signal different attitudes and cultural assumptions in a number of responses. Consider, for example, Question VIII.2.10: *And if you don't know certain people at all, you say they are ... (strangers)*, yielding responses such as *foreigners*, *fremd bodies*, *shiresmen*, *uncouth*, *undercreepers*, and VIII.9.1: *A strong and healthy child who is never content to be still, but must always be doing something, you say is very ... (active)*, resulting in more than 60 different tokens, such as *always on the move*, *a raddle-head*, *a tear-down*, *brave*, *frisky*, *upstrigolous*, *wiggle-arsed* ...

In the present study, I have chosen to focus on the responses to one particular question, viz. VIII.9.4, from a sub-section of the questionnaire labelled *Qualities*. This particular question, which has to be viewed as a follow-up to VIII.9.3: *A man who is always doing ridiculous things and behaving stupidly, you say is quite ... (silly)*, runs: *And you can add: He's as [using his word] ... (as) ....* It is not quite clear what the primary aim was in setting the question whose 'key word' is simply *as*; the primary significance of the responses, however, is clearly that they have provided us with tokens of the active knowledge and use of proverbial similes in regional varieties.

Even disregarding the use or non-use of the introductory adverbial modifier *as*, which may well be regionally variable but whose status is somewhat uncertain in this data (cf. below), the number of different responses is impressive: there are 25



different examples or 'types' of the first element, the 'tenor', i.e. the concept of *silly*, and 71 of the second element, the 'vehicle' (or 'referent'), i.e. the object, concept or phrase to which silliness is compared (for definitions of the terms *tenor* and *vehicle*, cf. Wales 1989). Since many of the '*silly*-words' may combine quite freely with the object/concept of comparison, the total number of different responses amounts to well over a hundred. In addition, proverbial similes with other meanings have been elicited (cf. for example, the title of this paper, selected in honour of the object of the festschrift) and included in the Basic Material; these will also, to some extent, be considered in the present study. Not surprisingly, none of this data has been included in the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (Orton et al. 1978), nor does it surface in the recent publication *Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar* (Upton et al. 1994), which does, admittedly, include responses to VIII.9.3.

The aim of the study is to present this rich – "illustrative" as described by Harold Orton himself in his commentary to the entry in the East Midland volume – and somewhat unwieldy material, to analyse it structurally as well as semantically, and to consider its cultural implications.

#### The data – some general characteristics

The exact wording of Question VIII.9.4, as quoted above, implies that if the field-worker stuck rigidly to the questionnaire, the informant would logically neither introduce the premodifier *as* in his response, nor the word for *silly*. Yet, as found in a note to the edited responses in the West Midland volume (Orton and Barry 1971, Vol. 2: 953), some informants nevertheless repeated the *as*. In view of this way of structuring the question and editing the responses, it is impossible to state to what extent the use of the premodifier is variable. It is, however, worth mentioning that one informant in Somerset introduced the simile by *so*; additional material found in the Southern volume confirms this usage: *he's so lousy as the Devil, so clean as a daisy, so weak as a wren*. A further complication in interpreting the responses is that editorial practice seems to have changed over time. In the East Midland and especially the Southern volume, the whole response is represented by *as* only, i.e. neither supplying the tenor nor the vehicle, in a number of localities, which suggests a shift in the interpretation of the actual purpose of the question.

A more interesting issue, however, is whether the informant actually accepted the fieldworker's repetition of the word provided in the preceding question, supplying only the vehicle (referent) word. In other words: if the informant had given *barmy* in answer to VIII.9.3, would he then automatically accept/use the same word as the tenor word in the simile? A comparative scrutiny of the responses immediately reveals that this is not always the case. For one thing, certain items elicited in VIII.9.3 are conspicuous by their total absence in all localities in VIII.9.4, such as *dateless* in the Northern material (Yorkshire 29, Golcar), *noggen* in the West Midland material (Cheshire 6, Hanmer), and *queer* in the Southern material (Somerset 11, Horsington), substituted by *daft*, *dopey*, and *stupid* respectively. Another type of response to VIII.9.3 – which for obvious reasons cannot be used for the second question – takes the form of nominalisation: *a dafty, a fool, a lunny* (various

examples in the Northern material). Incidentally, such word-class substitution is often found in the SED data, i.e. nouns or noun-based phrases are produced instead of the expected adjectives (cf. Melchers 1995, investigating all adjectives in the Basic Material). When the tenor word is not spelled out in the response to the simile question, I have taken it to be identical with the response to the first question, although it occasionally seems unlikely, as in *got a kink, a bit short*, supposed to collocate with *a fiddle* (Sussex 1, Warnham).

It cannot be denied, however, that the general pattern is characterised by a fair degree of correspondence. It is difficult to tell to what extent the 'enforced' character of the line of questioning has played a part here. There are, however, numerous instances of 'swaps', especially among the most common tenor words, such as *daft*, *stupid* and *barmy*, suggesting that – whereas the choice is open in responding to the first question – the similes are perceived as 'frozen' or 'pre-fabricated'.

## Structures

"A simile is a figure of speech whereby two concepts are imaginatively and descriptively compared, e.g. *My love is like a red, red rose; as white as a sheet*, etc." (Wales 1989:421). The responses to VIII.9.4 are, indeed, referred to as similes by Orton himself (cf. Note 2 in the Northern volume). They should, however, be distinguished from 'open' comparisons like Wales' first example and be labelled 'proverbial similes'; this is also the term used in the OED. The sheer number of responses and the collocational variability in the data for the present study suggest, however, that the choice of the vehicle word is not 'minimal' but 'limited' (cf. Cowie et al. 1983: XXIII).

Structurally, Cowie et al. classify similes of the *as* – *as* type as adjective phrases. The SED example used in the title of this paper, for example, would be analysed as follows: *as* (adverbial modifier) + *smart* (adjective) + *as a carrot* (prepositional phrase). In an alternative type, the vehicle is expressed through a clause; the example given in Cowie et al. is *as happy as the day is long*.

As stated above, the first slot (adverbial modifier) will be disregarded in the analysis of the SED data. With the exception of the noun-based responses discussed above, the second slot offers no surprises from a purely structural point of view, in that the tokens are generally straightforward adjectives: *awkward, barmy, cakey, crackers, cranky, crazy, daft, dibby, dimmy, dopey, dotty, dozy, feckless, fond, gaumless, mad, mazed, numb, potty, silly, simple, soft, stupid, touched (in the head), wet*. The most frequent word is *daft* (well over 200 tokens), collocating with a variety of vehicles, whereas many types are only exemplified once, such as *crazy* (*as crazy as a battle-twig*), *dotty* (*as dotty as they maken 'em*), *dozy* (*as dozy as they make 'em*), *fond* (*as fond as a mule*), *numb* (*as numb as an ox*), *mazed* (*as mazed as a brush*), *wet* (*as wet as a dishcloth*).

As already indicated, it is – not surprisingly – in the third, 'vehicle' slot that we find the greatest variation, particularly with reference to the lexical range, but to some extent also structurally. The most frequent type conforms to the pattern provided in the title of this paper, i.e. *as* + indefinite article + noun (countable): *a*

*besom, a brush, a cuddy, a donkey, a gate, a goat, a goose, a grindstone, a lunatic, a scuttle, a turnip...* . The article is sometimes realised according to nonstandard usage: *a ass*. The noun may be substituted by a noun phrase, with a pre- or post-modifier: *a March hare, a scrubbing brush, a dying duck, an old donkey, a newborn bairn, old Harry (Nick), Latheron's dog, a lump of wood, a halfpennyworth of soap, a wagon-load of monkeys, a gate that opens both ways*. In one case (Staffordshire 3, Alton), the vehicle is introduced by an indefinite determiner: *as cakey as any fool* and in another (Worcestershire 3, Hanbury) by a possessive determiner: *as daft as my arse*. Uncountables are, however, not infrequent, nor are indefinite plurals: *barm, buggery, dishwater, grease, hell, muck, shit, soap; arse-holes, blazes, clarts, lights, washings*. There are also examples of nouns preceded by the definite article: *the devil, the wind*. Occasionally, the vehicle is expressed exclusively through the indefinite pronoun *anything*, or its nonstandard counterpart *aught*.

The alternative type of structure, i.e. where the vehicle is expressed through a clause, is also found in the material; whether these examples can be truly characterised as similes will be discussed in the following section of this paper. In most of the examples, the semantic weight is carried by the main verb, especially *make*: *as they make (maken; makes) 'em, as you (can) make 'em*. Other examples include: *as can be, as he can be, as he is high, as he looks*.

The above listing will have demonstrated that the SED data in this case does not deviate substantially from Standard English usage with reference to the actual structure of the simile (cf. e.g. *as white as a sheet, as stupid as they come*). It would appear to be in the lexical representation and semantic content that the data are more 'exotic' and significant.

## Semantics

In the following analysis an attempt is made at viewing the data from different angles, such as: the situational context in which the informants were interviewed, including the implication of the question(s); the representation of lexical fields, especially in the 'vehicle' words; etymology (for the purpose of clarifying some unusual nonstandard lexical items); collocations; the character and adequacy of the similes.

As already observed, the 'follow-up' model seems to have caused some uncertainty, which is reflected in the actual wording of the similes; in particular, for various reasons the adjective elicited in the preceding question has not always been repeated, although this was the original idea and instruction to the fieldworker, judging by the SED Questionnaire. In retrospect, the procedure does, in fact, seem to be unnatural: if the aim was to elicit proverbial similes, why start off by restricting the informant's linguistic repertoire and imagination by tying the 'tenor' element to a particular lexical item?

What is, then, the semantic content of the lexical item solicited in VIII.9.3, to be repeated in the following question? According to two modern dictionaries, the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* and the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary*, the key word *silly* stands for 'showing a lack of thought or judgement'; 'foolish', but

also, according to the latter reference work, 'childish', 'ridiculous'. *Roget's Thesaurus* gives the following synonyms for silly: *credulous, absurd, foolish, fool, gullible*. Curiously, the key word given for the follow-up question is just *as*; thus there is no indication of a 'prototypical' simile. Drawing on my own knowledge of proverbial similes in Swedish, Dutch and some other languages, it seems to me that stupidity, i.e. 'lack of thought' is what we should really be after here, at least if the thrust is to provide rich lexical variation. However, the fill-in question put to the informant, i.e. *A man who is always doing ridiculous things and behaving stupidly, you say is quite ...*, suggests awkwardness rather than stupidity. In particular, this interpretation is signalled by providing the semantic content through verb phrases indicating activities: *doing ridiculous things, behaving stupidly* rather than stating a mental property. Curiously, the SED contains another two questions, VI.1.5 and VI.7.14, with the key words *stupid* and *clumsy*, whose phrasing in both cases suggests awkwardness. The responses to these questions are, however, disregarded in the present study.

Indeed, judging by the character of the responses, it would appear that the informants have gone for 'stupidity' rather than 'awkwardness', at least in the simile. If 'stupidity' had been highlighted in the first, 'open' question, the elicited responses ought to have been more numerous, considering that a recent dictionary of Stockholm slang (Kotsinas 1996) lists well over 150 different expressions for this concept, whereas only one example relates to awkwardness, and Andersson/Trudgill (1990: 88f.) account for a study, in which 55 English children aged 13-14 were asked to list expressions meaning 'stupid person'. As many as 129 words were found to be produced by more than one child. It should, however, be borne in mind that in a rural society, the concepts of awkwardness and stupidity may well have been conflated. In my own work on Shetland dialect, for example, I have found that there are countless expressions for awkwardness, which appears to be the most contemptible quality in a human being.

The 25 tenor words collocate with the vehicles in the following way:

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AWKWARD  | <i>a devil</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| BARMY    | <i>a boat-horse; a brush; a coot; a cuckoo; a duck; hell; a jackass; Latheron's dog; a pig; you can find</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| CAKEY    | <i>any fool; an idiot; can be; they make(n) 'em</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| CRACKERS | <i>a goose</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| CRANKY   | <i>old Nick</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| CRAZY    | <i>a battle-twig</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| DAFT     | <i>adder; my arse; arse-holes; anything; aught; ass, a bat; a besom; blazes; a boathorse; a brick; a broom; a brush; a scrubbing brush; a bullock; clarts; a coot; a cow; a cuckoo; a cuddy; the devil; Dicky Docket; dishwater; a donkey; an old donkey; a door; a door-nail; a doorpost; a fiddle; a fool; a gate; a gate that opens both ways; a gate-post; a goat; a goose; a grindstone; a halfpennyworth of soap; he can be; he is high; he (looks) looked; hell; the hills; lights; a lunatic; a March hare; a monkey; a wagon-load of</i> |

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|             | <i>monkeys; a mop; a mop-rag; muck; a mule; old Harry; a(n) owl; a pig; a post; a scuttle; a shovel; a stone; a swill; (they) can be; they be made; you make 'em; they make (maken, makes) 'em; a scrubber; a wagon-horse; washings; a wheelbarrow; a wheelhead; the wind; a wisket</i> |
| DIBBY       | <i>cuckoo</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| DIMMY       | <i>demi-devil</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| DOPEY       | <i>soap</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| DOTTY       | <i>a goose; they maken 'em</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| DOZY        | <i>they make 'em</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| FECKLESS    | <i>a newborn bairn; buggery</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| FOND        | <i>lob; a mule</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| GAUMLESS    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| (GORMLESS)  | <i>a dying duck; a goat; a hadstock; a lump of wood; a pig</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| MAD         | <i>a brush; a March hare</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| MAZED       | <i>a brush</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| NUMB        | <i>an ox</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| POTTY       | <i>can be; hell</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| SILLY       | <i>anything; an ass; a boat-horse; can be; a cuckoo; a donkey; an old donkey; a duffer; a gate; a goose; he is high; a madman; a rook; a sheep; a tree; a wagon-horse</i>                                                                                                               |
| SIMPLE      | <i>can be</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| SOFT        | <i>barm; a barm-dumpling; a (boiled) cabbage; grease; they maken 'em; muck; shit; a (boiled) turnip</i>                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| STUPID      | <i>a(n) ass; a cuddy; a donkey; a mule</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| TOUCHED     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| IN THE HEAD | <i>a rook</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| WET         | <i>a dishcloth</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

In order to understand the motivation behind the connection between tenor and vehicle, the 'ground' of the analogy (cf. Wales 1989: 456), it will be necessary to take a closer look at the semantic features of the tenor words as well as try to suggest what properties the vehicle words may signal.

The matrix below sets out the dimensions of meaning related to the 25 tenor words, drawing on information from the *English Dialect Dictionary* as well as Standard English dictionaries (cf. the list of references). The SED Dictionary (Upton et al. 1994) has not been consulted here, since it draws exclusively on meanings suggested in the Basic Material; searching for definitions of meaning there would consequently be a circular procedure. Most of the items are, in fact, to be found in Standard English dictionaries, although some are marked as 'informal'. The subtlety of emotive adjectives in this category is brought out by the frequent occurrence of qualified definitions, such as *slightly strange*. Items marked with an asterisk are not found in Standard English dictionaries.

The 'meanings' indicated are to be seen as prototypical, and I have tried, as far as possible, to avoid using the actual tenor words. All the same, some of the definitions

will come out as somewhat circular. In addition, it has to be pointed out that the 'success' of the simile (metaphor) is often derived from the interplay between the etymological or 'real' meaning and the transferred meaning; cf., for example, the case of *wet*.

|          | clumsy | impractical | weak,<br>worthless | slow-<br>witted | un-<br>intelligent | foolish | strange | crazy |
|----------|--------|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------|---------|-------|
| AWKWARD  | x      | x           |                    |                 |                    | x       |         |       |
| BARMY    |        |             |                    |                 | x                  | x       | x       | x     |
| CAKEY*   |        |             |                    |                 | x                  |         |         |       |
| CRACKERS |        |             |                    |                 |                    | x       |         | x     |
| CRANKY   |        |             |                    |                 |                    |         | x       | x     |
| CRAZY    |        |             |                    |                 |                    | x       | x       | x     |
| DAFT     |        | x           |                    |                 | x                  | x       | x       | x     |
| DIBBY*   |        |             |                    |                 | x                  |         |         |       |
| DIMMY*   |        |             |                    |                 | x                  |         |         |       |
| DOPEY    |        |             |                    |                 | x                  |         |         |       |
| DOTTY    |        |             |                    |                 |                    | x       | x       | x     |
| DOZY     |        |             |                    | x               | x                  |         |         |       |
| FECKLESS |        | x           | x                  |                 |                    |         |         |       |
| FOND     |        |             |                    |                 |                    | x       |         | x     |
| GAUMLESS |        |             |                    | x               | x                  | x       |         |       |
| MAD      |        |             |                    |                 |                    | x       |         | x     |
| MAZED*   |        |             |                    |                 |                    |         | x       |       |
| NUMB*    | x      |             |                    |                 | x                  |         |         |       |
| POTTY    |        |             |                    |                 |                    | x       |         | x     |
| SILLY    |        |             |                    | x               | x                  | x       |         |       |
| SIMPLE   |        |             |                    | x               | x                  | x       |         |       |
| SOFT     |        |             | x                  |                 |                    | x       |         |       |
| STUPID   |        |             |                    |                 | x                  | x       |         |       |
| TOUCHED  |        |             |                    |                 |                    |         |         | x     |
| WET      |        |             | x                  |                 |                    | x       |         |       |

It goes without saying that these dimensions of meaning should not be seen as logically ordered. Nevertheless, in all its confusion, the diagram will suggest the following points:

- the most frequent meanings are *unintelligent*, *foolish*, *crazy*;
- *daft*, the most frequent lexical item in the data, also has the widest meaning;
- there is general dominance of meanings suggesting 'lack of thought' rather than 'awkwardness', although the latter concept was signalled in the question.

The next task, i.e. trying to establish the properties of the 'vehicle' and searching for the 'ground' of the simile is a great deal more complex, and many of the suggestions will have to be viewed as subjective and tentative.

A general feature is the linking up of two concepts where negativeness to the degree of condemnation appears to be the only common denominator. As can be seen from the list of collocations, the Evil One is often conjured up in various linguistic forms: *a (the) devil, demi-devil, old Nick*, although not many would agree that he is characterised by awkwardness or stupidity. The name of his dwelling is also frequent and collocates with three different items: *barmy as hell, daft as hell, potty as hell*.

Another category of 'vehicle' words, which is even less helpful in establishing the 'ground', can be described as 'empty'. This is where we find indefinite pronouns (*anything, aught*) but in particular the clause structures described above (*can be, you can find, they make 'em*). In fact, these can hardly be said to function as metaphors. There are, however, some borderline cases, such as *he is high, he looks*, where the referent may have been physically present. Direct reference to the environment in the interview situation is, in fact, often a factor that has to be considered in interpreting the Basic Material data (cf. for example, the elicitation of demonstratives). On the other hand, the examples with *he* might exemplify an interesting generic use of this pronoun. In discussing the character of similes/metaphors these examples are, however, of little interest.

Not surprisingly, 'tenor' words that may carry the meaning of 'mad, crazy' frequently collocate with words for 'a mad person/creature': *a fool, an idiot, a lunatic, a madman, a March hare* (during March, the breeding season, hares tend to be wilder than at other times).

Lexical fields that are particularly well represented include animals, household articles, farm implements, any objects made of stone or wood. A general characteristic is that certain 'vehicles' tend to collocate with an enormous variety of 'tenor' words, sometimes signalling totally contrastive meanings; this data, for example, contains examples such as *daft as an owl*, whereas owls are generally connected with intelligence (admittedly often with the implication of underlying stupidity, as in *Winnie-the-Pooh*), *daft as a bat*, derived from *blind as a bat*, and *daft as a fiddle*, carried over from the better-known *fit as a fiddle, daft as the hills* (cf. *old as the hills*). This suggests the 'pre-fabricated' character of the similes.

In addition to *bat*, wild animals are exemplified in the data by *adder*, collocating with *daft* and probably suggesting some general evil with a possible element of shiftiness, *cuckoo*, a common actor in proverbial similes (*as scabbed as a cuckoo*) and for some reason, which is not clear to me, connected with stupidity, *coot*, derived from a Middle Dutch word with vague, generic reference but now used about the 'foolish guillemot' (a species of *Fulica*), also widely used in similes, and *rook* (birds of this species are unjustifiably often connected with stupidity in Swedish proverbial similes). *Monkey* probably suggests some generally negative attitude.

Domestic animals are, not surprisingly, represented by *donkey* (with a rich array of synonyms), *goat, goose and sheep*. The occurrence of *pig* could have to do with the association to *muck* (cf. below). Of particular interest is the reference to horses,

especially *boat-horses* (used for transports along the canals) and *wagon-horses*. Since this noble animal is rarely connected with stupidity, I would suggest that the connotation is rather that of stubbornness, thus linking up with the many tangible 'vehicle' words representing solidity, immobility (*gate, gate-post, a doorpost, a lump of wood, stone, a tree*).

Another aspect worth considering with regard to the words representing everyday tools and implements could be the irritation that easily develops when 'things work against us'. It is not difficult to imagine scenarios when *grindstones, wheelbarrows, wheelheads* are seen as enemies. In the case of *doornail*, the 'explanation' is probably of another kind. Its most common collocation is with *deaf*, which easily carries over to *dumb, dour, daft as a doornail*, so it would seem that alliteration is at play here, as so often in proverbial expressions (cf. also examples of half-rhyme and assonance, as in *dopey as soap, dimmy as demi-devil*). Incidentally, *doornail* probably refers to the big nail which knockers strike, thus also linking up with solidity, immobility.

*Brush*, together with its near-synonyms *besom, broom* and *mop*, is well represented in the data, collocating with several tenor words. It is difficult to come up with a plausible reason. Since it collocates with *mazed*, it might have something to do with a tangled mess, confusion. It could also simply be viewed as a wooden object in both a real and transferred sense. It could be noted that in Swedish the term for a person manufacturing brushes is used in a variety of similes: to swear, drink etc. like a 'brush-maker'. In the additional SED data, we find *drunk as a besom*.

A dimension of meaning often connected with stupidity has to do with wetness, softness, soft substances (especially of a refuse character). The only tenor words that clearly exemplify this appear to be *wet* and *soft*, but etymologically, *barmy* would qualify as well (note also the collocations *soft as barm, soft as a barm-dumpling*). Vehicle words in this category include *muck, clarts* ('mud', 'mire'; 'wool with droppings'), *swill* ('liquid waste'), *dishwater, washings, grease, shit, boiled cabbage (turnip)*.

The only vehicle word that truly suggests awkwardness is *lob* (a Dutch or Frisian loanword meaning 'something heavy, clumsy').

A brief look at the 'additional' material, i.e. the similes with other meanings collected in some localities, in all some 70 tokens, reveals that there are few examples with positive connotations. The only properties surfacing in the material that could qualify as positive are related to smartness, quickness, and toughness; yet there seems to be an undertone of something unattractive or self-sufficient about them. A few examples: *lish* ('lithe') *as a cat, sharp as a pea, as lightning, sharp as a carrot, wick* ('quick') *as an eel, tough as ling, as white-leather*.

### Concluding remarks

It has not been possible, within the framework of this paper, to exhaust the data, and the origins of many expressions and lines of thinking are hidden in obscurity. Although the general character of the material reflects certain attitudes about life in



general, human and animal nature, and society, it is hard to say whether this data provides an insight into regional variation in cultural assumptions. The only thing that can safely be claimed is that the vehicle words tend to reflect what is important in an area, such as turnips in the East Midlands, or boathorses in the industrial North. It is also striking that the Southern localities approximate most to Standard English, which includes showing little variation.

A way towards a deeper understanding of the similes would be to explore local folklore with reference to animal myths, superstitions, etc. In this study, I have restricted myself to attempts at outlining the structures and implications of the similes; yet they remain evasive and mysterious, 'as wick as eels'.

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# Irish Influence on American English?

*Herbert Pilch*

## 1. The problem

Is there Irish influence on American English? It appears plausible to expect such influence – notably in view of the substantial share of Irish immigration in North America. By *Irish influence* we mean, of course, the influence of the Irish language, not of Hiberno-English (which we use as a cover term for the English language as spoken in Ireland).

By *American English* we mean the English language as spoken both in the United States and in Canada. It is a well-known fact among specialists that there is no linguistic boundary between the United States and Canada (Bähr 1981: 29f.). The notion (which is widespread in Europe) to the effect that Canadian English is somewhere halfway between British and American English is a fallacy based on Noah Webster's spelling reform of 1828 – *ll* vs. *l* in *traveling* etc., *-our* vs. *-or* in *honor* etc., *-re* vs. *-er* in *theater* etc., *-ise* vs. *-ize* in the deadjectival suffix, as in *real-ize*. True, Canada has not generally accepted this spelling reform. However that may be, it concerns the spelling, not the English language.

The evidence of Irish influence which we wish to share with the reader is, we feel, too strong to ignore. At the same time it is too weak to warrant a verdict of "proven beyond reasonable doubt". This is the sort of situation we have to live with much of the time when we are dealing with cross-language contacts, and it is our situation at the present juncture. The evidence is suggestive, but inconclusive – no more, no less. At the outset, let us note certain kinds of supportive evidence which we will ignore – for various reasons.

### 1.1. Irish Names

Irish family names are legion in North America, e.g. *Kennedy*, *Reagan*, *Haig*, *Gillesby*. So are Irish place names such as *Dublin* (Georgia), *Derry*, *Dunmore* (Pennsylvania), *Killarney* (Manitoba), *Killeen* (Texas). They do not present us with a serious linguistic problem.

### 1.2. Irish Elements in General English

Apart from names, there are also some lexical borrowings from Irish in General English, not specifically in American English – for instance the loanwords *galore* (< Ir. *go leor* 'ample'), *cant* (< Ir. *caint* 'speech'), *trous-ers* (< Ir. *tríus* 'tight pants'),

*whisky* (< Ir. *uisce* 'water'), *smithereen-s* (< Ir. *smidirín* 'small fragment' with Ir. /d/ interpreted as though it were the Hiberno-English diaphone [D] of English /ð/, cf. section 1.3 below. In fact, the opposition /dr/ ≠ /ðr/ is generally neutralized under /Dr/ in Hiberno-English, Pilch 1994: 260f.), *playboy* (loantranslated from Ir. *buachaill báire* 'champion'). We skip such borrowings into General English, as we are focusing specifically on American English.

### 1.3. The Newfoundland-Ireland Language Federation

The contribution of Hiberno-English to Newfoundland English is obvious to the casual listener in the streets of St. John's or in the fishing villages of Avalon Peninsula. For instance, the double fricatives [T D]<sup>1</sup> are widely heard, both in Ireland and Newfoundland, as diaphones of the General English spirants /θ, ð/, an [o]-coloured diaphone is heard in both countries for Gen.E. /ə/ (< ME. /u/), as in *luck*. This vowel is different, in Hiberno-English, from /ʊ/ (< ME. /o·/), as in *look* (Pilch 1994: 171, 486).

The double fricatives are, in fact, carryovers from Donegal Irish into Hiberno-English. They are the Donegal Irish diaphones of the 'broad' /t d/ of Irish.<sup>2</sup> The [o]-coloured /ə/-diaphone sounds very much like a carryover of Ir. /u/ as in *luch* /luχ/ 'mouse' = *loch* 'lake'. Pending in-depth investigation, we would indeed accept as plausible a hypothetical "language federation" between Ireland and Newfoundland across the Atlantic Ocean – but it is one which probably concerns Hiberno-English rather than Irish.

### 1.4. Conservative Features

American English and Hiberno-English share certain conservative features which have undergone innovation in British English. A notable instance is the "conservation of the final /r/"<sup>3</sup> as in *car*, *cart*. This is heard as 'retroflexion'<sup>4</sup> of the preceding vowel both in Hiberno-English and in American English (except in the "r-less" dialects of North-Eastern New England, Conservative New York City speech and in the Deep South), but it has been vocalized into /ə/ (as in *Leah* = *Lear*

<sup>1</sup> On their acoustic properties as double fricatives, see Pilch (1959: 421).

<sup>2</sup> The Irish consonant inventory has a pervasive timbre correlation between 'broad' and 'slender' consonants which is isomorphic to (but does not sound the same as) the correlation between the 'hard' and 'soft' consonants of Russian and of Rumanian (Pilch 1994: 149). In the transcription of Irish, the 'slender' consonants are marked by the comma /,/, the 'broad' ones are unmarked.

<sup>3</sup> We use the term "final /r/" to include "preconsonantal /r/" (as in *third*), as /r/ is in the C<sub>2</sub>-position of the syllable type C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> in both instances. True, both consonantal positions of the C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> syllable type can be filled either by single consonants or by clusters. We are speaking of the C<sub>2</sub>-position regardless of this detail.

<sup>4</sup> We place distinctive features between single quotation marks (as above), in order to distinguish them from the homophonous phonometric (articulatory, acoustic, auditory) parameters.

/lɒ/) or totally disappeared (as in *lore* = *law* /lɒ/, *spar* = *spa* /spa/)<sup>5</sup> in those parts of the United States which we have just singled out as "r-less", as well as in most of England (though not in South-West England), in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand (though not at the southern tip of the South Island). The vocalization is of fairly recent date (18th to 19th centuries).

A retroflex /r/ is also generally heard in Donegal Irish and in Hiberno-English. This is, obviously, NOT a feature which could plausibly be attributed to Irish influence on American English, but it is a typical "relic area" phenomenon: American English and Hiberno-English have both "conserved the final /r/" under the guise of retroflex vowels, while England, the (former) "focal area", has undergone innovation.

### 1.5. Idiosyncratic Features

In one of Nathaniel Hawthorne's short stories, a young husband saying farewell to his wife, puts it this way: "What, my sweet pretty wife, dost thou doubt me already, and we but three months married?"<sup>6</sup>

This text represents a construction which is odd in General English, but quite common in the Celtic languages, in Hiberno-English and in "Highland English" (i.e. English as spoken in those areas of the Scottish Highlands which border on the Gaelic speech community). Its constituents are two predicative syntagms a and b linked by the conjunction E. *and*, Ir. *agus*, and omitting the nuclear finite verb of b, for example:

Hb.E. (a) "I'd know his way of spitting – (b) and he astride the moon".<sup>7</sup>

Ir. (a) "biodh cumha ina ndiaigh ar Lir – (b) agus iad imithe uaigh".<sup>8</sup>

The meaning of the group 'a *and* b' can be paraphrased as 'a is surprising in view of b' for Hiberno-English (and for Hawthorne's example), but it is much less specific generally in Irish.

It is, we take it, quite conceivable that Hawthorne borrowed this construction from the speech of Irish immigrants in New England – maybe in order to suggest his protagonist had an Irish background. Even so, it remains an isolated ("idiosyncratic") instance. The construction is not, by virtue of this occurrence, a linguistic feature of American English. Nor would it be, even if we collected a dozen or so further instances. We could surely collect them both from British and American English, if we tried long and hard enough (the odd example can always

<sup>5</sup> We use the equality sign /=/ to indicate homophony, the colon /:/ to indicate rhyme, the inequality sign /≠/ to indicate opposition.

<sup>6</sup> "Young Goodman Brown", in: *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Norman H. Pearson, New York 1937: 1033-1042, quotation p. 1033.

<sup>7</sup> John Millington Synge, *The Playboy of the Western World*, Act III, ed. Micháel Mac Liammóir, London 1941: 152.

<sup>8</sup> *Oidhe clainne Lir*, narrated by Pádraic Ó Conaire, Indreabhán 1982: 4.18.

be found)<sup>9</sup> – but this would not change matters. Linguistic phenomena are, by definition (Pilch 1994: 8, 20; Pilch 1995: 214), such phenomena as can be observed over and over again – not just a limited number of times in a specific corpus.

## 2. The Evidence

### 2.1. The Diphthong /əɪ/

Even though the 'retroflex' vowels as such are a feature shared by American English, Hiberno-English and Irish (see section 1.4 above), their actual timbre is remarkably different in Ireland vs. North America. The typical American 'retroflex' vowel has the dark, orotund timbre of an [ɑ]-like resonance, the typical Hiberno-English 'retroflex' vowel has the 'slender', [ü]-like resonance of the Irish 'slender' /r,/. The two sounds are obviously different even to the casual listener.

I have observed a similar 'slender', metallic r-resonance in the Canadian Maritimes, notably in the 'retroflex' vowel /əʳ/, as in *first* – quite possibly a carryover from Irish and/or Hiberno-English. In Brooklynese and in the speech of New Orleans, the 'diphthong' /əɪ/ takes the place of the 'retroflex' vowel /əʳ/, as in *first*, *third*, *church*, *murder*.<sup>10</sup> This [əɪ], plausibly, presupposes the same 'slender' timbre of the earlier /əʳ/ from which it has developed. It is noteworthy that "the same sound change" of final /r, / > /j/ has happened in Donegal Irish, as in *deartháir* /d,arəhəj/ 'brother', *máthair* /mɑ·həj/ 'mother', *air* /aj/ 'on him', *Gaoth Dobhair* /gi·dow·j/ (place-name).

The fact that certain varieties of American English reproduce this sound change under the same conditions does suggest an Irish (not Hiberno-English) substratum influence. The Irish immigrants (a substantial portion of whom must have been native speakers of Irish with only a smattering of English – witness the emigration from the Blasket Islands) who learned the English /əʳ/, conceivably, substituted the same sound sequence for it as they did for Irish /əʳ, / at a period when the new "diphthong" /əj/ had not yet been established in Donegal Irish as an entity distinguishable from the old /əʳ, /.

### 2.2. Medial /t/

The instability of medial (and partially of final) /t/ is a general feature of English today. In England and in Scotland, it is generally replaced by glottal friction /ʔ/,

<sup>9</sup> Carstensen (1962: 80), quotes one (possibly) such example from George Eliot, *Silas Marner*: "I shouldn't like to fix about the garden and her know everything from the first". One more (possibly) pertinent example is in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*: "though the catalogue of his endowments had been tabled by his side and I to peruse him by items" (1.4). In the absence of open commutation classes for the presumed constituents, we have no way of telling whether or not they should be analyzed in terms of the Celtic construction.

<sup>10</sup> Usually spelled *oi* in dialectal spelling.

notably so in the preconsonantal position, for example, in *I got that much butter* /agʊʔ ðæʔ mʌʔʃ bʌʔr/.

In Australian English, /t/ is stable except finally in enclitic "syllables", as in *courted* /-əʔ/. In American English, medial /t/ is generally replaced by /ʔ/ only before /n/ (as in *kitten* /kɪʔn/, *sentence* /sɛʔs/), and finally in enclitic "syllables" (as in *edited* /edɪdʔ/), in New York City the same happens before /l/ (as in *settle*, *bottle*, *cattle*). In all other positions, medial /t/ has coalesced with /d/, as in *latter* = *ladder*, *kitty* = *kiddy*.

Hiberno-English generally substitutes /h/ for medial and final /t/, as in *get* /geh/, *getting* /gehəŋ/ (Pilch 1994: 245, 256). This medial and final /h/ is equivalent to initial /h/ in the phonemic system, and it sounds different from the Gen.E. /h/ in all positions. The Hiberno-English diaphone concerned has some weak local friction noise in the prepalatal region (Pilch 1959: 420). In fact, it reproduces the sound of the 'slender' Donegal Irish /χ/,<sup>11</sup> as in *theacht* /χ,art/ 'come', *itheamh* /iχ,ə/ 'eat', *maith* /maj/, = /maj/ 'good'.

I have observed the same /h/ as a substitute for medial /t/ in the Canadian Maritimes and in some country districts of Ontario. This is quite conceivably the sound substitution for English medial /t/ which Irish-speaking immigrants would prefer to either /ʔ/ or /d/ when learning English. This hypothesis is supported by two considerations:

- (i) The "same sound change" of medial and final /t/ > /h/ is general in Irish. It is indeed highly productive today as a morphophonemic alternation, as in *tuigim* 'I understand', *ní thuigim* /n,i· hug,əm./ 'I don't understand'.
- (ii) The (unmodified) medial /t/ of Modern Irish goes back to geminate /tt/ historically, as in *litir* /l,it,ər./ 'letter' < lat. *littera*, so that we infer a chain shift in Irish: /tt/ → /t/ → /h/.<sup>12</sup> The modern medial /t/ of Irish still has a long closure phase. It sounds so different from the flap heard for medial /t/ in American English that it is not a very plausible choice as a substitute for medial English /t/ by the Irish natural learner.

One serious problem remains, however: The Irish sound change /tt/ → /t/ → /h/ (which is just one item in a paradigm of isomorphic changes known as "lenition", Martinet 1956: 257) has been generally dated very early in the history of Irish (Pedersen 1909: 436, Lewis/Pedersen 1937: section 217, Martinet 1956: 262, MacEoin 1993: 103), i.e. long before the emigration to America began and, for that matter, long before the language change from Irish to English in Ireland. Should this dating require revision? Should lenition, perhaps, have continued to be operational much more recently? Such a hypothesis would be supported at least by those numerous Irish (and Welsh) toponyms borrowed into English with unlenited consonants, witness E. *Ballyferriter* from Ir. *Baile an Fheirtéaraigh* /bal,ənt,erə/ (with

<sup>11</sup> As far as I have been able to determine, there is no separate *h*-phoneme in Donegal Irish. Indeed what is spelled *h* coalesces with either /χ χ,./ or /ɣ ɣ,./.

<sup>12</sup> The subject has been explored in depth by Martinet (1956: 269f.).

earlier Ir. /f/, which has been lenited away in Modern Irish). Such borrowings should be dated after the English conquest of Ireland (which started in the 12th century). The hypothesis would also be supported by the intervocalic lenition Ir. /p/ → /f/ in the word *taephota* /tʰe·fʰʊtə/ (borrowed from EMnE. *teapot*). The borrowing cannot antedate the introduction of tea into Europe from overseas. The first OED record of the word *teapot* is of 1705. The isomorphic lenition /p/ → /b/ is seen in the Welsh word *têbot* 'teapot'. If intervocalic lenition was no longer operational in Irish and Welsh at the time, how do we account for these sound substitutions?

### 2.3. Flapped /l n/

The opposition between medial /lt/ ≠ /l/, /nt/ ≠ /n/ is generally neutralized, in American English, under a 'flapped l' and 'flapped n' respectively, for instance in: *halter* = *holler* /həlɹ/, *bunting* : *punning* /-ənɹŋ/ (Pilch 1994: 260, 637).

The Irish 'broad' /l n/ are similarly realized as flaps in the medial position after 'short' vowels, as in *codladh* /kulə/ 'sleep', *fola* /fulə/ gen. sg. 'blood', *caladh* /kalə/ 'harbour', *bealadh* /b,alə/ 'road', *dona* /dunə/ 'bad'. There is, however, no comparable neutralisation /lt/ ≠ /l/, /nt/ ≠ /n/ in Irish. Still, the analogy between American English and Irish is striking in this instance, as it concerns just these two languages, but not Hiberno-English. Nor are flapped l's and n's particularly common in other languages of the world, as far as I am aware. The analogy is weak as proof of Irish influence, however, as it involves isolated articulations, not their integration into the respective phonemic systems.

NB: The *medial position* is defined, both for English and Irish, as the position C<sub>2</sub> in the shapetype /C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>ə/ (where /ə/ stands, as far as English is concerned, for the class of enclitic vowels, Pilch 1994: 218). Consequently, the /t/ of the phonologically "compound" word *N.A.T.O.* /nei+tou/ is not in the medial (but in the initial) position, the second /t/ of *potato* /pəteito/ is. The two t's sound remarkably different in American English. This "allophonic" difference is entirely determined by the respective positions (Pilch 1994: 220).

### 2.4. The Southern Drawl

This is a phenomenon of the "Deep South" (roughly the territory of the former Confederacy). The typical dialect speaker of that area<sup>13</sup> has all stressed vowels (including the diphthongs) of impressionistically equal duration. Notably, the high vowels /i/ (as in *bit*), /u/ (as in *foot*), /ə/ (as in *cut*) etc. sound as long as the low vowels /æ/ (as in *cat*) and /a/ (as in *cot*). Consequently, the narrow transcriptionist takes note of the continuous timbre change of these vowels from beginning to end, transcribing them as polyphthongs with [y]'s, [ə]'s and [w]'s scattered all over the place. These are indeed the artefacts of narrow transcription. As they do not

<sup>13</sup> The dialect is receding today before the onslaught of Network English. The Southern Drawl is widely (but mistakenly) taken to belong specifically to "Black English".

commute with anything (not even with *zero*), they are not phonetic segments. What commutes are the vocalic nuclei as monophthongs or diphthongs just the same as in the Northern and Western varieties of American English. Some examples are:

|                                   |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>egg</i> [e <sup>i</sup> g]     | <i>brought</i> [bra <sup>u</sup> t] |
| <i>flesh</i> [fle <sup>i</sup> ʃ] | <i>hall</i> [ha <sup>u</sup> l]     |
| <i>five</i> [fa <sup>ə</sup> v]   | <i>water</i> [wa <sup>u</sup> də]   |
| <i>nine</i> [na <sup>ə</sup> n]   | <i>four</i> [fo <sup>u</sup> ə]     |
| <i>ten</i> [tɪ <sup>ə</sup> n]    | <i>Georgia</i> [dʒoudʒə]            |
| <i>six</i> [sɪ <sup>ə</sup> ks]   | <i>two</i> [t <sup>ə</sup> ɪ]       |

Very similar polyphthongal artefacts show up when Irish is narrowly transcribed. This is because:

- (i) The number of Irish vowels is small (Pilch 1990: 281-284), so they have much room to scatter in phonetic space (Martinet 1956: 47).
- (ii) Their exact timbre is largely determined by the surrounding consonants. For instance, an /i·/ between 'broad' consonants (as in *saol* /si·l/ 'kind of life' < Lat. *saeculum*) sounds, to the narrow transcriptionist, like [w<sup>e</sup>i], an /u/ between 'slender' consonants (as in *mise* /m,us,ə/ 'I') sounds like [üi] or [üe], between 'broad consonants' (as in *dona* /dunə/ 'bad') it sounds like [w<sup>o</sup>].
- (iii) The vowels of no language sound like those homogeneous "cardinal vowels" which serve as our reference in distinctive feature analysis. For the most familiar languages, we have been taught to ignore the physical heterogeneity and pretend they sound homogeneous. In fact, the physical heterogeneity shows up as soon as we subject the vowels to physical analysis – such as oscillography or high-speed x-ray photography.
- (iv) It is notoriously difficult to categorize the vowels of either Irish or English in terms of distinctive features. Reluctantly, we have been forced to recognize that the vowel triangle/quadrangle is not a good frame of reference, neither for Irish nor for English vowels (Pilch 1994: 160). Indeed under x-ray observation, the implicit cavity divisions show up for the "extreme" vowels /i u æ ɑ/ of English, but not for the others (Perkell 1969: fig. 3.48).
- (v) The "diphthongal" timbre of Irish vowels in the ears of the outsider is confirmed by the fact that Irish vowels have been borrowed into English as "falling" and "rising" diphthongs respectively, for example:

- Ir. *Maire* /mɑ·r,ə/ 'Mary', borrowed into English as *Moirā* /moirə/.  
*Dail* /dɑ·l, / 'meeting place' [name of the Irish Parliament], borrowed into English as /doil/.  
*uisce* /us,k,ə/ 'water', borrowed as *whisky* /wiski/.  
*Gaoth Dobhair* /gi·dɔ·r, / (placename), borrowed as *Gweedore* /gwidor/.  
*Suili* /sɣ·l,i· / (river name), borrowed as *Swilly* /swili/.

What remains noteworthy is the fact that the vowels both of Irish and of the Southern drawl of American English evoke similar responses both from the naïve



listener (who, presumably, did the borrowing) and from the observer trained in narrow transcription (who chooses to ignore the fact that single vowels are discrete just as linguistic abstractions, i.e. phonemes and such like, not as physical entities).<sup>14</sup> As we all know, neither Irish nor English vowels owe their phonetic status as monophthongs to physical homogeneity, because no such homogeneity exists. The Irish influence hypothesis would, of course, be strengthened if substantial Irish settlement could be shown to have occurred in the Deep South. I understand, however, that the settlement was predominantly Ulster-Scots, i.e. presumably by non-Irish speakers. So the coveted support is less than straightforward.

## 2.5. Apostrophe

General English and Irish agree in using only a single second person pronoun to address individuals, namely E. *you*, Ir. *tú*. This is a fairly recent innovation in English. Shakespeare still distinguishes between *thou* for familiar address, *you* for polite address to people of higher social standing (Finkenstaedt 1963: 91-173), and *thou* survives today as a liturgical address to God (as in "hallowed be Thy name").

This much is General English. What is specific, however, to just Irish and American English is the ubiquitous mode of address by first name even on casual acquaintance. This has been general in Irish for a long time. It did not become general in American English until the second half of this century, and it is rapidly spreading across the Atlantic Ocean now at the end of the century. Though it has, by this time, reached much of Europe (even of non-English speaking Europe), the focal area of this innovation clearly is North America. Did those numerous Irish immigrants carry over their Irish usage into English?

## 2.6. *Who he? Who she?*

This mode of phrasing the question is commonly heard in American English (with a slightly facetious connotation). It is isomorphic (both syntactically and intonationally) to the normal Irish way of putting the same question *cé hé? cé hí?* (no particular connotation). In Irish, these are just two instances of a very common construction. In English "omitting the copula *is*" is odd, to say the least. Should this be chance convergence? Or should *who he?* etc. be loan translations from Irish? The facetious connotation is, of course, typical of such "romantic" borrowings, witness the similar connotation of Am.E. *mañana*, *squaw*, *fresh* (with the meaning of German 'frech', Pilch 1976: 153f.).

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<sup>14</sup> Physically, the signal changes its composition continuously, not just between transcription units however broad or narrow (Pilch 1994: 568-570).

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## **"Candy no Witch, Barbados": Salem Witchcraft Trials as Evidence of Early American English**

*Matti Rissanen*

In many of his papers Wolfgang Viereck has emphasized the importance of the intensive study of Colonial American English (Viereck 1982, 1985, 1986). American English, indeed, offers an excellent topic for observing the rise of a new regional variety. There is plenty of written material of varying kinds available, from the first half of the 17th century onwards. Many of these writings were produced by people with little formal education, for purposes which did not require a high level of literacy or stylistic sophistication. There are also early texts which record the spoken utterances of people: court records, minutes of church meetings, transcripts of sermons, etc.<sup>1</sup> This corpus allows us to describe and analyse the development of American English from its very beginnings, through a variationist approach which combines the internal processes of linguistic change with sociolinguistic and textual considerations, contact factors, and the opposite effects of isolation and integration typical of immigrant communities.

The colonial American text material allows us to tackle the most acute problem of all language historians, namely the lack of evidence of the spoken language of the past. It is obvious that no written text can accurately reproduce speech, but it is possible to create hypotheses concerning words and structures typical of spoken expression by comparing texts which can be posited at different points on the literacy-orality scale. The relationship of the text to spoken language must, of course, be defined by extralinguistic criteria such as the topic and purpose of the text, the discourse situation and the social and educational background of the speaker/writer (see Kytö and Rissanen 1983). The increase in the number and size of computerized text corpora in recent years has decisively improved our opportunities to carry out extensive studies based on this comparative method, which combines quantitative observations with qualitative analysis.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of these texts and a discussion of their usefulness in studying the rise of American English, see, for example, Kytö and Rissanen (1983), Rissanen (1986), Kytö (1991, 1993). A thorough survey and assessment of the very rich literature on the development of American English is included in Viereck's articles referred to above. I am indebted to Bernhard Rosenthal for valuable comments on this paper.

<sup>2</sup> For recent developments in English historical corpora, see, for example, Rissanen et al. (1993) and forthcoming (a) and (b), Meurman-Solin (1995), Taavitsainen and Pahta (1995) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996). More general surveys are presented in Kytö et al. (1994) and Hickey et al. (1997).

In the present paper I will briefly survey the openings offered by the Salem witchcraft papers for the study of Colonial American English. Superficially, the genre of this collection of documents, the language of law and legal procedure, is highly specific. In actual practice, the papers offer a wide spectrum of the types of the English language as used in New England at the end of the 17th century, not only by native speakers but also, although only in tantalizing fragments, by people whose English was deficient.<sup>3</sup>

From the linguistic point of view, the most valuable texts among the Salem papers are the records of the examinations of women and men accused of witchcraft. Many of these records contain long dialogues written down in the form of direct speech utterances. The participants are, typically, the examiner and the suspect; the change of the speaker is often, although not always, indicated by the letters Q[uestion] and A[nswer], or by the names or initials of the participants. The scribe writing the examination down may shift from direct to indirect recording of the utterances, summarize parts of the discourse or add his own comments. In spite of this inevitable scribal interference, the distancing effect of the change of medium from speech to writing, and the highly marked discourse situation, a survey of the examination records gives us a great deal of information of expressions typical of late 17th century spoken American English.

The beginning of the examination of George Jacobs, Sr. offers a good example of the colloquial tone these dialogues may have:<sup>4</sup>

- 1    Here are them that accuse you of acts of witchcraft  
       *Well, let us hear who are they, and what are they.*  
       Abigail Williams – Jacobs laught.  
       *Because I am falsely accused.*<sup>5</sup> – *Your worships all of you do you*
- 5    *think this is true?*  
       Nay, what do you think?  
       *I never did it.*  
       who did it?  
       *Dont ask me.*
- 10   Why should we not ask you? Sarah Churchwell accuseth you, there she is.  
       *I am as innocent as a Child born to night, I have lived 33. yeares here in Salem.*  
       What then?  
       *If you can prove that I am guilty, I will lye under it,*  
       ...

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<sup>3</sup> The best edition of the Salem papers is Boyer and Nissenbaum (1977). Boyer and Nissenbaum (1974, 1993), Hansen (1969) and Rosenthal (1993) give a vivid picture and interpretations of the tragic events in Salem at the end of the 17th century and offer a good survey of the abundant earlier literature on this topic. The language of these papers is described, in general terms, by Alexander (1928). Hiltunen (1996) competently discusses the discourse features of some of the documents.

<sup>4</sup> For the sake of clarity, the utterances of the suspects are printed in italics.

<sup>5</sup> This is obviously a reply to an unrecorded question to the effect of "Why are you laughing?" The examiners interpreted laughter as a sign of contempt and consequently as a proof of guilt.

- 15 *Pray do not accuse me, I am as clear as your worships; you must do right judgments.*  
 ...  
 Look there, she [Sarah Churchill] accuseth you to your face, she chargeth you that you hurt her twice. Is it not true?  
*What would you have me say? I never wronged no man in word nor deed.*
- 20 Here are 3 evidences.  
*You tax me for a wizard, you may as well tax me for a buzard I have done no harm.*  
 (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 474-475)

Note, in particular, the pragmatic *Well* (line 2) and *Look there* (17), the intensifying *all of you* (4), the examiner's puzzled response *What then?* (12) to Jacobs's unexpected and seemingly irrelevant *I have lived 33. yeares here in Salem*, the purely discorsal *What would you have me say* (19), and the word-play with *wizard* and *buzzard* (21). These linguistic features give the dialogue of the record a touch of immediacy and genuineness; it is difficult to imagine that they would be scribal additions to the original discourse. The use of the deictics *here* (1, 11, 20) and *there* (10) add to the impression of the accuracy of the recording.

It is of course impossible to know how accurately the records reproduce the spoken utterances of the examinations, but the scribes certainly had little or no motivation to alter the wordings. It is worth keeping in mind that in the Salem trials, particular attention was paid to every word and turn of phrase uttered by the suspects. The scribes were probably urged to write the answers down as verbatim as possible. The concern about the accuracy of the record can be seen in the scribe's (the Rev. Samuel Parris) comment added to the end of Rebecca Nurse's examination record:

This is a true account of the sum[m]e of her examination but by reason of g[r]eat noyses by the afflicted & many speakers, many things are pretermitted.  
 (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 587)

In the three volumes of Boyer and Nissenbaum (1977) there are more than thirty examinations which follow the pattern of the extract quoted above, although not all of them give as life-like an impression as this.

The next step on the scale of closeness to spoken expression in the Salem documents is the depositions of the witnesses and suspects. Most of them were written down from oral statements, and they often take the form of first-person narratives. Understandably, however, the scribe's role is more prominent on these occasions and his interference more noticeable. As in the case of the examinations, there seems to be a lot of variation in the relationship between the transcripts and the underlying spoken testimony. The following extract from John Allen's deposition against Susannah Martin shows how different discorsal elements and levels of language can be found in one and the same document:

The deposition of Left John Allen of Salsbury aged 45 years testifying sayth That in or about the year [ ] this deponent was haling timber for mr Georg Car for building a vesell at Amsbery at mr Goodins building place & haveing don & about to go home Susana martin then wif of Georg martin desired this deponent to cart staves for them

- 5     which this deponent refused to do because of his oxn which wear weake & needed  
       now to gett flesh but shee seemed to be discontent (and as Jams freez and others then  
       present told this Deponent (that shee sayd) I had [had] ben as good I had (for my oxn  
       shoold never do me much more servis) upon w'ch this deponent sayd dost thretn me  
       thou old wich or words to that efect resolving to throw her into a brook that was fast  
 10    by: which to avoyd she flew over the bridge & so escaped.  
       (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 569)

This deposition shows the influence of the language of law adopted by the scribe (despite his rather homespun spelling): *this deponent* (line 2 etc.), *or words to that efect* (9), *which to avoyd* (10). But the brief dialogue in lines 7-9, although partly recorded in indirect speech, gives us a glimpse of the colloquial spoken level of Colonial American English. The phrase *I had ben as good I had*, meaning "I had better have done that", the use of *dost* with subject pronoun deletion, and the marked singular form *thou* in the same context are worth special attention.

The other documents of the Salem papers are of more formal and literary character and more markedly specimens of the language of law, but they are various enough to offer a solid comparison with the examinations and depositions. There are first-person petitions and confessions, but most of them have certainly been composed by scribes rather than by the individuals involved, as can be seen in the following extract:

The humble petission of Rebecca Nurse of Salem Village Humbley sheweth That whareas sum Women did sarch your Petissioner At salem, as I did then Conceive for Sum Supernaturall Marke, and the one of the s'd women which is known to be, the Moaste Antient Skillfull prudent person of them all as to Any such Concernd: Did Express hirsselfe to be: of A contrary opinion from the Rest And Did then Declare, that shee saw nothing In or Aboute yo'r Honors poare pettissioner but what Might Arise from A naturall Cause: And I then Rendered the said persons asuficient knowne Reason as to My selfe of the Moveing Cause thereof: which was by Exceeding weaknesses: decending partly from an overture of Nature and difficult Exigences that hath Befallen me In the times of my Travells: And therefore Yo'r pettissioner Humbley prayes That ...

(Rebecca Nurse's Petition, Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 606f.)

Another type of first-person discourse is represented by documents written in defence of a person accused:

Concerning my beloved wife Mary Bradbury this is that I have to say: wee have been married fifty five yeare: and shee hath bin a loveing and faithfull wife to mee, unto this day shee hath been wonderfull laborious dilligent & Industryous in her place and imployment, about the bringing up o'r family (w'ch have bin eleven children of o'r owne, & fower grand-children: shee was both prudent, & provident: of a cheerful Spiritt liberall Charitable: She being now very aged and weake, and greived under her affliction may not bee able to speake much for herselfe, not being so free of Speach as some others may bee: I hope her life and conversation hath been such amongst her

neighbours, as gives a better and more reall Testimoney of her then can bee exprest by words.

(Thomas Bradbury's testimony for his wife, Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 117f.)

The language of documents of this type represents organized literacy in comparison to (many of) the examinations and depositions in which the scribe seems to write down more or less spontaneously what he hears and simply adorns the result with legal jargon. Thomas Bradbury's letter, quoted above, possibly written by the "Captain and Gentleman" himself, is a good representative of the unadorned and effective early New England standard.

Legal language at its most typical is, not surprisingly, found in the indictments, warrants, summonses, recognitions and mittimususes whose expression is formalized and stereotyped in the extreme. The indictment of Bridget Bishop may serve as an example of the early American English formulaic language of law:

The Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord & Lady the King & Queen pr'sent that Bridgett Bishop al[ia]s Olliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the Country of Essex Sawyer – the Nyneteenth Day of April – in the fourth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King and Queen Defend'rs of the faith &c and Divers other Dayes & times as well before as after, certaine Detestable Arts, called Witchcraft & Sorceries, Wickedly and feloniously hath used Practised & Exercised, at and within the Township of Salem in the County of Essex afres'd in an upon and ag't one Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village in the County aboves'd and divers other dayes, and times as well before as after was & is hurt tortured Afflicted Pine Consumed, wasted and tormented ag't the Peace of our s'd Sovereigne Lord & Lady the King and Queen, and ag't the forme of the Statute in that Case made and Provided.

(Indictment vs. Bridget Bishop, Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 89)

After this brief survey of the variety of styles and types of expression in the Salem papers, let us have a look at the evidence given by the documents which most closely represent spoken expression, namely the examination records. Although space does not permit a thorough discussion leading to far-reaching conclusions, I hope to show that a careful comparison of the examinations of individuals representing different groups of New England inhabitants, both native and non-native speakers of English, may give new impetus to the study of Colonial American English. I will quote passages from the examinations of the negro slave Candy, Tituba the Indian woman, who was an intriguing and central character in the Salem drama, the beggar woman Sarah Good, and the 'gospel woman' Martha Corey. Their utterances can be compared with those of George Jacobs, Sr., whose examination record was quoted at the beginning of this paper.

In addition to impressionistic observations of the language of these five people, I will refer to simple language profiles which are based on one-line concordances produced by the WordCruncher retrieval program. Only the utterances of those examined are, of course, included in these profiles.

Candy's examination is short but gives a vivid picture of the English proficiency of this black slave brought from Barbados. The dialogue part is worth quoting in its entirety (Candy's utterances are printed in italics):

Q. Candy! are you a witch? A. *Candy no witch in her country. Candy's mother no witch. Candy no witch, Barbados. This country, mistress give Candy witch.* Q. Did your mistress make you a witch in this country? A. *Yes, in this country mistress give Candy witch.* Q. What did your mistress do to make you a witch? A. *Mistress bring book and pen and ink, make Candy write in it.* Q. What did you write in it? – She took a pen and ink and upon a book or paper made a mark. ...

(Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 179)

The record continues as the scribe's account of what went on; no further words by Candy are quoted. Candy's language shows, indeed, typical pidgin characteristics: highly reduced vocabulary, and the lack of the copula, third person indicative ending -s, articles, personal pronouns, prepositions and clause links. Candy uses four verbs: *give* in the sense of 'make', *make* in the not surprising sense of 'command', 'order', and *bring* and *write* in their ordinary meanings. Her mastery of everyday nouns is no doubt sufficient for her needs: *mother, mistress, book, pen, ink, country, Barbados*, and, most importantly, *witch*. Her erratic use of *give* is interesting; she does not even follow the clue given by the interrogator in *Did your mistress **make** you a witch*. It would be interesting to check whether there is any synonymy between 'giving' and 'making' in some African language that might have been Candy's mother tongue. Although the record may only offer a rough approximation of Candy's speech, it certainly reflects the impression a seventeenth-century English speaker had of one variety of Barbados pidgin.

The origin of Tituba, the slave of the Rev. Samuel Parris, has always been something of a mystery.<sup>6</sup> In the Salem papers she is referred to as 'the Indian woman' and her husband as 'John Indian'. It has subsequently been claimed that she was a negro, or possibly half-Indian, half-negro. This is not the context in which to embark upon a discussion of Tituba's origin, and her language, in the record of her examination, does not provide solid information about her birth. One thing is certain, however: Tituba's mastery of English is far superior to Candy's, as can be seen from the following extract:

Q. What Covenant did you make w'th that man that Came to you? What did he tell you.

A. *he Tell me he god, & I must beleive him & Serve him Six yeares & he would give me many fine things.*

5 Q. how long a gone was this?

A. *about Six weeks & a little more fryday night before Abigall was Ill.*

Q. w't did he Say you must doe more? did he Say you must write anything? did he offer you any paper?

A. *yes, the Next time he Come to me & showed me some fine things,*

10 *Some thing like Creatures, a little bird something like green & white.*

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<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Tituba's origin, see for example, Hansen (1974), Breslaw (1992, 1996).



- Q. did you promiss him then when he spake to you then what did you answer him  
 A. *I then sayd this I tould him I Could nott believe him God, I tould him I ask my maister & would have gone up but he stopt mee & would nott lett me*
- 15 Q. whatt did you promiss him?  
 A. *the first tyme I beleive him God & then he was Glad.*  
 Q. what did he Say to you then? what did he Say you must doe?  
 A. *then he tell me they must meet together.*  
 Q. w'n did he Say you must meet together.
- 20 A. *he tell me wednesday next att my m'rs house, & then they all meet together & thatt night I saw them all stand in the Corner, all four of them, & the man stand behind mee & take hold of mee to make mee stand still in the hall.*  
 Q. where was your master then?  
 A. *in the other Room.*
- 25 Q. What time of Night?  
 A. *a little before prayr time.*  
 Q. What did this man Say to you when he took hold of you?  
 A. *he Say goe & doe hurt to them and pinch them & then I went in, & would nott hurt them a good while, I would nott hurt Betty, I loved Betty, but they hall me & make me*
- 30 *pinch Betty & the next Abigall & then quickly went away altogether & I pinched them.*  
 ...  
 Q. did you write?  
 A. *yes once I made a marke in the Booke & made itt with red Bloud.*
- 35 Q. did he gett itt out of your Body?  
 A. *he Said he must gett itt out the Next time he Come againe, he give me a pin tyed in a stick to doe itt w'th, butt he noe Lett me bloud w'th itt as yett*  
 (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 753-754)

Tituba is a good narrator and able to include vivid and imaginative details in her account. Her vocabulary is remarkably correct although extremely simple: no errors like Candy's *give* for 'make' can be traced. Her syntax is simple, too: there are few clause links and hardly any subordination. Her grammar has, however, non-native features, perhaps the most revealing errors being the omission of the copula in line 3 (*he Tell me he god*) and the formation of the negation in line 37 (*he noe Lett me bloud w'th itt*). In most instances she drops the third person -s and her use of tenses is faulty, but usages of this kind may well occur in the utterances of native non-standard speakers as well. She also uses the *do* + noun combination for the simple verb, *doe hurt to them* (28), another language-learner's characteristic. The Salem papers thus seem to give evidence of at least two levels of non-native English, which would also suggest that Tituba's ethnic origin is different from Candy's.

In Tituba's utterances in her second examination,<sup>7</sup> from which the above extract is taken, there are some 700 words and 170 types (not counting the different forms

<sup>7</sup> Tituba was examined twice. There are two versions of the record of the first examination. The record of the second examination seems more original and less polished than either of the versions of the first, perhaps owing to the scribe's desire for maximum accuracy.

or spellings of the same word). Of these, nine can be regarded as 'learned' or stylistically elevated: *creatures*, *examin[e]*, *intended*, *magistrates*, *mentioned*, *monster*, *remember*, *strange*, *strangers*. Most of these words Tituba probably picked up from the utterances of the examiner.<sup>8</sup> Tituba's language can be compared with the ways of expression of Sarah Good and Martha Corey, two white women examined. Sarah Good is described as a beggar and she could hardly have had any formal education, but her mother tongue was certainly English:

- ...  
 (H) why doe you hurt these children  
 (g) *I doe not hurt them. I scorn it.*  
 (H) who doe you imploy then to doe it  
 (g) *I imploy no body,*  
 (H) what creature do you imploy then,  
 (g) *no creature but I am falsely accused*  
 (H) why did you go away muttering from mr Parris his house  
 (g) *I did not mutter but I thanked him for what he gave my child*  
 (H) have you made no contract with the devil  
 (g) *no*  
 ...  
 (H) Sarah good doe you not see now what you have done why doe you not tell  
 us the truth, why doe you thus torment these poor children  
 (g) *I doe not torment them,*  
 ...  
 H who do you imploy then  
 (g) *I imploy nobody I scorn it*  
 (H) how came they thus tormented,  
 (g) *what doe I know you bring others here and now you charge me with it*  
 (H) why who was it.  
 (g) *I doe not know but it was some you brought into the meeting house with you*  
 (H) wee brought you into the meeting house  
 (g) *but you brought in two more*  
 (H) Who was it then that tormented the children  
 (g) *it was osburn*  
 (H) what is it that you say when you goe muttering away from persons houses  
 (g) *if I must tell I will tell*  
 (H) doe tell us then  
 (g) *if I must tell I will tell, it is the commandments I may say my commandments*  
*I hope*  
 (H) what commandment is it  
 (g) *if I must tell you I will tell, it is a psalm*  
 (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 356-357)

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<sup>8</sup> *Magistrates* and *examin[e]* occur in a context in which Tituba quotes somebody else's words: *yes a litle in the morneing & he tell me the Magistrates Come up to Exam~in mee* (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 754).

Sarah Good's language gives the impression of being almost as simple as Tituba's; she is much less cooperative than the Indian woman and answers as briefly as possible. The following 'stylistically elevated' words occur in her answers: *accused, charge, commandments, creature, falsely, imploy, psalm, torment*,<sup>9</sup> and the record contains no grammatical errors or non-native usages.

In the early Puritan society, Martha Corey represents a different social class from Sarah Good. We do not know much about her education – it was probably not substantial – but she was a church member, 'a gospel woman', and the wife of a well-to-do farmer and land-owner (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974: 146). Her higher social status can be seen even in her utterances.

- Mr Hathorn You are now in the hands of Authority tell me now why you hurt these persons
- Martha Kory *I do not.*  
who doth?
- 5 *Pray give me leave to goe to prayer*  
...  
We do not send for you to go to prayer But tell me why you hurt these?  
*I am an innocent person: I never had to do with Witchcraft*  
*since I was born. I am a Gospel Woman*
- 10 Do not you see these complain of you  
*The Lord open the eyes of the Magistrates & Ministers: the Lord show his power to discover the guilty.*  
...
- 15 Well tell us w't you know of this matter  
*Why I am a Gosple-woman, & do you think I can have to do with witchcraft too*  
...
- 20 How came you to know that the children would be examined  
what cloth you wore  
*Because I thought the child was wiser, than any body if she knew*  
Give an answer you said your husband told you  
*He told me the children said I afflicted them*
- 25 How do you know w't they came for, answer me this truly, will you say how you came to know what they came for  
*I had heard speech that the children said I [afflicted them] troubled them & I thought that they might come to examine*  
(Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 248-249)

Martha Corey is naturally highly defensive, too, and does not offer much independent comment, but the greater variability of her syntax and vocabulary can be easily seen. She uses the pragmatic expressions *pray* (5) and *why* (15) and sentences with varying types of linking, as in lines 8-9, 20, 25-26. Amongst her utterances (c. 450 words in total), the following 'stylistically elevated' words can be found:

<sup>9</sup> As with Tituba, some of these words echo the examiner's vocabulary. Sarah Good's examination is very short, her utterances totalling only c. 130 words, as against Tituba's c. 700.

*accuse, afflicted, almighty, appear, because, benefit, confess, discover, distracted, examine, gospel, improve, innocent, jehova, magistrate, minister, person, power.*

The language of George Jacobs, Sr., quoted at the beginning of the present paper, is not syntactically or lexically highly sophisticated; he declares himself illiterate (– *Why do you not pray in your family? – I cannot read.* Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977: 476). But, as pointed out above, the expressiveness and vividness of his speech is conspicuous.

The purpose of the present paper has been to show that a survey of written evidence, even when found in a highly specific genre of writings, can give us interesting information on the variability of the language of the past and even offer hints about the spoken expression of both native and non-native speakers of English. A careful study of the Salem documents can help us towards a description of the early stages of American English which takes into account the textual, social and regional aspects of variation and change. An annotated database of these invaluable texts would considerably contribute to our knowledge of the birth of a new regional variety of English – an event almost as exciting as the birth of a new baby.

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# **A Pre-Linnean Swedish Botanico-Philological Tract and an Early English Analogue**

*Mats Rydén*

## **Introduction**

Although human beings, not least academics, are, for obvious reasons, interested in "firsts" and "beginnings", human thought and human development operate in continua rather than in precisely datable junctures and discoveries (apart from dates of first publication of written documents). In other words, novelties are normally part of clines and processes, systemic and non-systemic.

In botanical study, one such process is the one from herbalistic/speculative to floristic/systematic study in the early modern period, i.e. the 16th and 17th centuries. The pioneer scholars in Sweden and England are here Johannes Franckenius and William Turner.

## **Johannes Franckenius and the significance of *Speculum botanicum* (1638)**

Johannes Franckenius was Sweden's first professor of botany.<sup>1</sup> He was born in Stockholm in 1590 and died in Uppsala in 1661. He studied at various German universities such as Rostock, Helmstedt and Wittenberg (from which he received a Master's Degree in 1622) and in 1628 he was appointed to a Chair in botany and anatomy at Uppsala University, as "Botanicus et Anatomicus Ordinarius".

As a professor, Franckenius lectured on *inter alia* botanical and chemical pharmacology and on the names and "virtues" of plants. He was an adherent of the Paracelsian Doctrine of Signatures, i.e. the putative relation between the characteristics of plants and their healing properties, which is mirrored, for instance, in his first botanical work *Signatur*, a "herbal" published in Rostock in 1618. In *Botanologia* (not printed until 1877) he elaborates at length on the "vires & facultates" of some 500 plants, as based on the early and contemporary continental herbal tradition.<sup>2</sup> He also worked for a botanical garden in Uppsala, a project which was realized by Olof Rudbeck the Elder, one of Franckenius' pupils.

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<sup>1</sup> On Franckenius and on the history of botanical study in Sweden, see Eriksson (1969); cf. also Lindroth (1975).

<sup>2</sup> See Fristedt (1877). The 17th century was still a time of active herbalism. In the same year as Franckenius was appointed professor of botany, one of the most famous and most widely read Swedish herbals appeared, namely Arvid Månson's *Örta Book* (1628).

Franckenius was responsible for a great number of academic dissertations, the best-known of which is *De praeclaris herbae Nicotianae sive Tabaci virtutibus* (1633), the earliest Swedish monograph on a specific plant with a comparatively detailed description of the plant (Eriksson 1969:66). Another famous dissertation of his is *De oculo* (1651), the first Swedish work on the structure of the eye. In two dissertations, problems related to alchemy, which was another of Franckenius' interests, were treated.

In his *Flora lapponica* (1737) Linnaeus praises Franckenius as "Primus e Suecis in Botanicis clarus" and in his *Flora svecica* (1745 and 1755) as the one who "Primus plantas Sueciae enumerat". He named a genus, *Franckenia*, after Franckenius.

Apart from some dissertations published under Franckenius' guidance, Franckenius is best known as the author of the book or "tractatus" *Speculum botanicum*, published in 1638 and reissued in a revised edition, as *Speculum botanicum renovatum*, in 1659. Linnaeus' statement in his *Flora svecica*, as quoted above, refers to this work.

Franckenius' *Speculum* has sometimes been styled the first Swedish Flora, a designation which it, however, only marginally deserves.<sup>3</sup> Rather, it can be characterized, virtually in its second edition, as the first floristically oriented book published in Sweden.

The short work is basically a Latin-Swedish alphabetical list of the names of "the most important herbs, trees, shrubs and suffrutices",<sup>4</sup> as stated on the title-page of the book.<sup>5</sup> The first edition comprises 47 quarto pages, the second 40. Although written from an essentially Swedish perspective, it includes both wild and cultivated (and even some tropical or subtropical) plants, over and above the traditional herbal plants, in an unsorted mixture. It also lists some non-flowering (cryptogamic) plants.

Although *Speculum*, which was "composed for the benefit of students of medicine and other friends of botany" (as stated on the title-page), is essentially a list of plant names, scientific and Swedish, meant as a nomenclatural guide for students of medicine and pharmacology, Franckenius' prefaces to the two editions reveal pedagogical and scholarly ambitions reaching beyond the scholastic/herbalistic attitudes of his day. Franckenius emphasizes that "if you want to make progress in the knowledge of plants, candid reader, you will need both a very good knowledge

<sup>3</sup> On the concept 'flora', see Rydén (1992). On early Swedish Floras, provincial and national, see Eriksson (1969) and Rydén (1992). On early continental Floras (which may have inspired Franckenius), see Rydén (1992). The study of Swedish flora (in terms of field botany) had its modest beginnings in Franckenius' time, see Eriksson (1969: 61 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> For *suffrutices*, cf. OED *suffrutex* (< *sub* + *frutex*) and *suffruticose*, where raspberry is given as an example of this type of plant. In a work from 1567 a *suffrutex* is characterized as "a mean betwene the Herbe and the shrub" (OED *suffrutex*). A relevant source of information, contemporary with Franckenius' *Speculum*, is Alsted (1630).

<sup>5</sup> The Latin originals have been translated by Dr. Hans Helander, Uppsala University. This also applies to Turner's *Libellus*.



## P A R S I.

De

## H E R B A R U M N O M E N.

claturis in Latina &amp; Syetica lingua.

## A.

|                                            |                          |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Abrotanum.                                 | Abrott.                  |
| Abūntium vulgare.                          | Malörtt.                 |
| Abūntium Ponticū vel Ro-                   | Römisk Malörtt.          |
| Abūntium Marinum (manū                     | Strandz Malörtt.         |
| Acanthus Italicus. Branca                  | W clst Biörnaskloo.      |
| Urtina Romana.                             | Biörnaskloo/ Biörnaramt. |
| Acanthus Germanic⁹, Branca                 |                          |
| urtina G. Sphondylium.                     | Syra.                    |
| Acetosa, Oxalis                            | Lille Syra.              |
| Acetosella, Oxalis minima.                 | Höfegräs / Höfört.       |
| Accipitrina, Hieracium.                    | Höfört / Höfört.         |
| Achillea, Millefolium nobile.              | Höfört / Höfört.         |
| Stratiotes, herba militaris.               | Soldatendört.            |
| Aconitum.                                  | Blsgiff / Blsroot.       |
| Aconitum salutiferum, herba                | Blsbäär.                 |
| Paris, solanum Tetraphyllum,               |                          |
| Uva lupina.                                | Drmebårsört / Drmebårs / |
| Aconitum racemotū, baciferū,               | Christophersgräs.        |
| Chritophoriana.                            |                          |
| Acorum verum, Calamus aromaticus vulgaris. | Kelmus.                  |

A 2

A 601



of them and of their true and correct denomination", but admits that "from the present tract you will now [...] learn [only] their bare names, in the Roman tongue, as well as in our vernacular language". He adds, quite correctly, that

as far as I know, no one before me has divulged the names in our maternal tongue so abundantly and so accurately as I have. In the common word-lists only the names of a few herbs are to be found, so faultily, and so corruptly printed, however, that it is a disgrace.

More importantly, however, Franckenius maintains that plants should be studied in their natural habitats:

An acquaintance with the herbs you will get partly from herbaria, partly - *and to be sure primarily* [my italics] - from the live demonstration of the same before your own eyes, which is performed annually by a conscientious Botanicus.

The second edition of *Speculum* comprises some 860 main entries in terms of scientific names or formulae, but it is difficult to say how many plant species or taxa it includes in terms of modern taxonomy. However, the second edition lists more plants than the first, or as stated by Franckenius in the preface to the second edition:

After the publication of the first edition more species of plants have been brought to me from various provinces, and to some extent have also been discovered by me and others. (For every region does not produce all plants). Hence, I decided to enlarge and enrich this tract also with these.

The main "systematic" division made in *Speculum* is the one between herbs and trees/shrubs (forming Part I and Part II of the tract, respectively), a division which is, however, not entirely consistent. Otherwise, "systematic" information is supplied only occasionally (in the Latin text), as with "Hypericon" (*Hypericum*): "Cujus duae adhuc sunt species cognata: Ascyrum, Androsaemum". There are also in the Latin text vague traditional distinctions in terms of "major" and "minor", colour variation, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The second edition sporadically includes descriptions of plants not to be found in the first edition, as with "Allium alpinum, angvinum" (*Allium victorialis*), "Filipendula aquat. minor" (*Utricularia vulgaris*), and "Polygonum minimum montanum" (*Scleranthus perennis*).<sup>7</sup> It should also be noted that many of the

<sup>6</sup> For example "Lysimachia purpurea spicata, major & minor"; "Origanum vulgare flore purpureo & albo"; "Anagallis rubra mas" / "Anagallis caerulea femina".

<sup>7</sup> For example (s.v. "Polygonum minimum montanum"): "At the roots of this herb there grows a very neat berry, full of blood-coloured juice, and it is gathered between 10 and 12 at mid-day on the very day of John the Baptist. And it vanishes after this day (which is strange), as I have often empirically established, together with others, in Rostock. It is also dug up by the common people

scientific names or formulae (which are often supplied with references to botanical authorities) are descriptive in themselves, as with "*Pulmonaria aspera latifolia folio Borriginis*", as are some Swedish "names", such as "J. Marie hand/som wexer i Engien" ('Our lady's hand which grows in the meadow', an orchid).

In the second edition, two phytogeographical notices are given, one referring to an orchid ("*Orchis bifolia magna*"; cf. Lyttkens 1904-15:1261), as growing "in promontoriis Holmensibus" (on promontories near Stockholm), the other to "*Alnus alba*" (*Alnus incana*), as growing in the provinces of Östergötland and Småland.

For later scholarship, Franckenius' *Speculum* has its greatest value as a source of information on Swedish plant names, popular and professional, which have not, however, so far been studied in great detail (see Fries 1994:92 and cf. Fries 1975:23-28). Many of the Swedish names adduced in *Speculum* are first evidenced there.

As stated by Fries (1975:23), Franckenius' *Speculum* comprises "a surprisingly great number of Swedish plant names", for both wild and cultivated plants. However, neither in the first nor in the second edition is there any information on the regional provenance or status of the popular Swedish names, though according to Fries (1994:92) the majority of these names are central Swedish ("svealändska"). Franckenius grew up in Stockholm and at Falun in Dalarna (Dalecarlia). In view of the fact that students came to Uppsala from many parts of the country and that Franckenius taught botany during a considerable period of time, he probably learnt about plant names from many parts of the country. In the preface to the second edition he says that the book had been well received

especially since they [students of medicine and other friends of botany] noticed that certain special names were indicated by me in our native tongue, just as the plants are named by our common people ["a vulgo"] *in the various provinces of our country* [my italics].

In the preface to the second edition Franckenius states that

since plants are not given one and the same [scientific] name by all botanists, but are named in various ways by different scholars, for this reason I determined to add the principal and more frequently used synonyms to the [scientific] names of many of the plants (printed, however, in small type); the purpose of this being that the readers, having read either the works of botanists or practical men [in this area], should not become confused on account of the diversity of names, thinking that they have to do with different plants.

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in large quantities on that very day. The Poles gather it carefully to colour their white horses with this red colour, which is very popular." In the Swedish text, which is somewhat different, it is said that "our common people call these berries *S. Johannis blodh* (St. John's blood); cf. Linnaeus 1755 [1986], s.v. "*Scleranthus perennis*".

The number of scientific synonyms and of references to authorities are on the whole far greater in the second than in the first edition. Most plants are also provided with more than one Swedish name, to a maximum of eight names ("Nymphæa alba" in the 1638 edition). The second edition does not always give more synonyms than the edition of 1638, which may reveal a growing critical attitude to the information Franckenius received. To secure identification of a plant with his students, Franckenius gave presumably all the provincial names he knew (and accepted), together with professionally determined Swedish names, in the form of translation of the scientific name(s) or otherwise.

### William Turner and the significance of *Libellus de re herbaria novus* (1538)

Like Johannes Franckenius, William Turner had a university education, but, unlike Franckenius, Turner did not, as far as we know, teach medicine or botany at university level. Although Turner was well versed in many disciplines, he was a practical man rather than a theorist. Throughout his adult life he practised as a physician. Turner, however, had a critical mind and he can be characterized as the first scientific English naturalist in terms of his critical attitude to authority, especially as regards the naming of plants and animals.

Turner's life spans a period when medieval botany and herbalism was being supplemented by descriptive/floristic studies and by an increasing interest in the "correct" naming of plants and by a nascent interest in the popular naming of plants, including the geographical and social spread of plant names. These interests were chiefly evidenced in the great herbals of the 16th century, both in England and on the Continent. In England, Turner was the pioneer, notably in his *Libellus de re herbaria novus* (1538) and *The Names of Herbes* (1548) but also in his more traditional great herbal (Turner 1551-68).

William Turner was born at Morpeth, Northumberland, around 1510 and died in London in 1568.<sup>8</sup> He read theology and medicine at Cambridge University in the late 1520s and early 1530s. Turner was an adamant Protestant and his indomitable religious views forced him into exile on the Continent in two periods, 1540-47 and 1553-58.<sup>9</sup> These twelve years in exile were to prove most important for his development as a botanist and naturalist. He met outstanding personalities and scholars such as Luca Ghini, Leonart Fuchs (whose *De historia stirpium* was published in 1542) and Conrad Gessner, with whom he formed a life-long friendship (see Rydén 1994b). In the early 1540s he took a Doctor's Degree at either Ferrara or Bologna. He travelled widely, especially during his first sojourn on the European continent, visiting countries like Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Friesland and the Netherlands. Turner was also an ornithologist and, whilst on the Continent, he published, in 1544, a book (in Latin) on birds, the first book written by an Englishman which is entirely devoted to birds, English and European.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> On Turner's life and work, see Jones (1988); cf. also Rydén (1991).

<sup>9</sup> On Turner's religious activities and writings, see Jones (1988).

<sup>10</sup> For a modern edition, with a translation into English, see Evans (1903).

## ABSINTHIUM.



**A**bsinthium ab ἀσινθεαί quod tantum ire significat nomen habet, ex aduerso nomen greci deflexerūt: quod nullū aī al hac herbam ob insignem amaritudinem attingat. Absinthij tria sunt genera, Ponticum: marinum & santonicum. Ponticum est uulgare hoc quod uocamus **Wormewod**. Marinum scriphiū, uocatur, huius anglicum mihi nomen non occurrit. Santonicum quod a santonibus gallie uomen traxit puto esse **Lauander cotton**.

## ABROTONVM.

**A**brotonū latini, greci ut infirmatas alias uoces debent, hanc herbā galli auronum germani **Stubbwurts** angli **Sothernewod** nominant.

## ACANTHVS.

**A**canthi duo sunt genera. **Leue** & **aculeatum**. **Leuem** acanthum **peaderota**, & **melamphillon** eruditi nomināt, officine brancā ursinam, uulgus **Blank hyspe** appellat. Porro sordē hallucinantur qui putant brancam ursinam esse **Bearefote** quum illud potius sit **helliborus niger**. **Aculeatum** & **crispum** dioſcorides syluestrem acanthum uocat.

## ACORVM.

**A**corum aut xiphion, officine gladiolū uocant. angli pro uarietate soli & regionis uarie nomināt Northumbrienses a **leg eliensēs** & in palustribus locis, propter etiam habitantes a **lug**, tritissima nō a sunt **gladon** & a **flag**, & a **pelowre flower delyce**.

## ALISMA.

**Alisma** dioſcoride, est recentioribus fistula pastoralis, officinis & herbarijs **plantago aquatica** aliquibus herba syluana nostratibus **water plantane** or **water waybride**.

## ALTHEA.

**Althea** aliqui ebiscum, siue ibiscum nominant. officine maluā **bismala** uam nostrates, **Holp oke**.

## ALLIARIA.

**Alliaria** est herba passim in sepibus proueniens circinato solo allium odore mire referens. Hec est (ut coniectura faller) saure alone, aut ut alij uocant **Jak of the hedge**.

## ASINE,

A.ij

When Turner was an undergraduate at Cambridge, the first two English herbals, both written in the traditional medieval vein, appeared, namely *Banckes's Herbal* (1525) and *The Grete Herball* (1526).<sup>11</sup> They proved very popular (going through several editions in the 16th century), but were severely criticized by Turner in his herbal (cf. Franckenius' critique of "the common word-lists" of his day in the preface to the first edition of *Speculum*).

Although Turner was not completely alone in botanical study in England in the early 16th century, his *Libellus* of 1538, published before his European sojourns, represents, as does his *Names of Herbes* of 1548, something really new. It is the earliest non-herbalistic botanical work published in England. It focusses not on the virtues and medical properties of plants, but on identification and naming, professional and popular.

*Libellus* should, like Franckenius' *Speculum*, be characterized as, essentially, a nomenclatural guide for students of medicine or, as stated on the title-page of the book, "as a help for the studying youth". It is basically a tool of identification on a critical basis. Realizing the general lack and negligence of nomenclatural accuracy and precision in his day, Turner "thought it would be a better idea boldly to attempt such a difficult task than to let the studying youth (who hardly knows three herbs by their right names) continue to be blind" (preface to *Libellus*).

*Libellus*, a booklet of 20 quarto pages, is organized roughly alphabetically in 148 sections, in terms of the scientific designations. Some 175 plants (including a few cryptogams), native, naturalized and foreign, are referred to, with some 250 English names, popular or professionally determined (cf. Stearn et al. 1965 and Rydén 1994a). English synonyms are often supplied, to a maximum of five.<sup>12</sup> In all his botanical works Turner was eager to submit all the names he knew, to secure plant identification. If he did not know a name, he often coined one, some of which are still with us as official names, such as *soapwort*, for *Saponaria*, and *water plantain*, for *Alisma* (see Rydén 1994 a).

Turner lived at a time when self-confidence in the potentials of the English language arose, both in terms of standard and dialectal usage. In *Libellus*, as in his other botanical works, Turner supplies the provincial or local plant names he was familiar with, which were chiefly names from his native Northumberland or Cambridgeshire<sup>13</sup> or, more generally, from "the South" or "the North". *Libellus* was the first work printed in England to provide such information. Most interestingly,

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<sup>11</sup> See Larkey/Pyles (1942) and Rydén (1984). The herbal of 1525 (named after the printer) is the first book exclusively devoted to plants to be printed in England.

<sup>12</sup> For example, "It is called *Horstayle* by some, *Hallywaterstryncle* and *Dysshewasshynges* by many, perhaps because this herb may be used for cleaning dishes and pans" (s.v. "Hippuris" or "Shauyngegyrs", *Equisetum*); "The common people call it *Alleluya* [...] *Wodsore* and *Cuckowes meat* (s.v. "Oxys", *Oxalis acetosella*); "The most widely used names are *Gladon*, a *Flag* and a *Yelowefloure delyce*" (s.v. "Acorum", *Iris pseudacorus*). On plant-name synonymy in *The Grete Herball* (1526), see Rydén (1984: 49 ff).

<sup>13</sup> For example, "The inhabitants of Northumberland call it a *Seg*, those who live in Ely and in the swampy places near Ely call it a *Lug* (s.v. "Acorum", *Iris pseudacorus*).

*Libellus* contains a great number of terms of usership, as *angli*, *vulgus*, *rustici*, *nostrates mulieres*, *officinae* and *herbarii* (see Rydén 1994 a).

Plant habitats, which are more or less precise, are given repeatedly, though less often than in his later botanical works.<sup>14</sup> The 16th century saw a rising interest in floristic detail, for instance in plant localization and distribution. Precise plant localities are often given in Turner's later botanical works, but in *Libellus* this kind of information is restricted to one case, namely to the garden of King's Hall, Cambridge (s.v. "Mercurialis"). Turner had no plans to write an English Flora, but he was particular about having floristic information from as many parts of England as possible.<sup>15</sup> He is the earliest authority for some 300 "species" of British plants (see Rydén 1991 and 1994 a).

Although basically a non-herbalistic work, *Libellus* now and then offers information about the use of plants, as with "Cyanus" (*Centaurea cyanus*, 'cornflower') and "Githago" (*Agrostemma githago*, 'corncockle'), of which plants children are said to make wreaths on the Baptist's day. Under the entry "Bryon Thalassion", an alga, it is stated that "Poor people whose money is not sufficient for the purchase of fish readily during the Fast eat this herb well cooked."

Although Turner was not a taxonomist in the modern sense of the term, he was of course anxious to find distinctive plant characteristics, not least for practical purposes, making distinctions in terms of "species" or "kinds" on account of size, habit of growth, flower colour, "wild" versus "cultivated", etc.<sup>16</sup> His descriptions vary from one sentence to a minor essay, as with "Narcissus". In terms of classification or naming, Turner is often critical of earlier and contemporary authorities (see Rydén 1994 a), not rarely in drastic language, as s.v. "Buglossum": "Those who maintain that this herb is our English *Langdebefe* are in need of Helleborus" (a plant used as a remedy for insanity). Turner was a good stylist, both in Latin and English.

### The two tracts compared

Although there are a hundred years between Franckenius' *Speculum botanicum* and Turner's *Libellus de re herbaria novus* they represent, due to the lagging behind of

<sup>14</sup> For example, "It grows on the surface of pools or in other stagnant and motionless waters like ditches and in some fishponds and wells" (s.v. "Lens palustris", *Lemna minor*); "This very dense bush grows nowhere else but on trees, it never springs out of the ground" (s.v. "Viscum", *Viscum album*).

<sup>15</sup> His ambition was to show "in what place of England euery herbe may be had and found in" (preface to the 1551 edition of his herbal). He was also particular about finding out differences between the flora of England and that of "other nations", as professed in his preface to *The Names of Herbes*; for early English Floras, see Rydén (1984: 24) and Rydén (1992).

<sup>16</sup> For example, "Centaurii duo sunt genera, maius et minus"; "Acanthi duo sunt genera, Leue et aculeatum" ('There are two kinds of Acanthus, smooth and thorny'); "Multa sunt ranunculi genera. Primum genus ab herbariis Pes corui, a nostris *Crowfote* dicitur. Eius flos uocatur *Kyngcuppe*, aut *a Golland*" ('There are many kinds of Ranunculus. The first kind is called Pes corui by herbalists and *Crowfote* by our people. Its flower is called *Kyngcuppe* or *a Golland*').

Sweden in these matters, the same stage in the development of botanical science in Europe, i.e. the transition from herbalistic/speculative to floristic/systematic study. Both works were innovative in their respective national context.

They are written with the same pedagogical-educational aim, that is, as nomenclatural guides for, especially, students of medicine, with the ambition to give as many scientific and native synonyms as possible, to secure the identification of the plants adduced. In both books the plants are listed in (roughly) alphabetical order, in the sequence of the scientific names.

Franckenius' work lists far more plants and supplies far more vernacular names and synonyms (referential equivalents) than *Libellus*, but whereas the latter tract specifies some native names in terms of provincial or social usage and in terms of relative frequency, *Speculum* is devoid of such information.

As regards floristic and descriptive/systematic detail and traditional herbalistic information (the use of plants), *Libellus* is far more generous than *Speculum*, which very occasionally and only in its second edition supplies such information. None of Turner's critical attitudes to classification and naming is to be found in Franckenius' work, although Franckenius was a professional academic.<sup>17</sup> His prefaces to the two editions of *Speculum* reveal, however, interesting perspectives on botanical study and teaching.

Neither *Speculum* nor *Libellus* can be characterized as a Flora in the modern sense of the word, but they have a floristic slant, on a national basis, which sets them apart in their historical and contemporary contexts. Both Franckenius and Turner were explicitly aware of the significance of their works.

## Conclusion

In a modern, authoritative history of international botany (Morton 1981) Johannes Franckenius is not mentioned at all and William Turner only marginally so. However, although Franckenius' contributions to botanical study had no international significance, Turner's *Libellus de re herbaria novus* was a true pioneering work, also from an international perspective, as a nomenclatural guide or manual for university students. Although, essentially for practical reasons, nomenclatural awareness had been part of medieval herbalism, Turner's *Libellus* was, in its critical attitudes, the first of its kind and in certain respects a more original work than his great and more famous herbal of 1551-68.

Undeniably, Sweden had long been lagging behind in botanical scholarship, not least in descriptive/floristic study, but Franckenius' *Speculum botanicum*, notably in its second edition, became the vitalizing starting-point for a long and glorious Swedish floristic tradition and for nomenclatural awareness. This tradition was first

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<sup>17</sup> It should, however, be noted that Turner's critique had a practical rather than a theoretical bias. As a naturalist he wanted to *teach* the "correct" names of plants and animals and as a physician and herbalist he wanted to *help* "al the sicke folke of thys Realme" (preface to *The Names of Herbes*) by securing the identification of the healing plants.

brilliantly materialized, in a nation-wide perspective, in Linnaeus' *Flora svecica* in the mid-18th century. It is still in vogue today.

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## The Value of Onomastic Boundaries in Dialect Studies Focus on Some Medieval Norfolk Field-Names of Scandinavian Origin

Karl I. Sandred

The geographical distribution of dialect features as established in dialect research often does not agree with the distribution of the same features in place-names. This can be illustrated with several lexical items, for instance *kirk*, well-known as a northerly Scandinavian variant of *church*. The distribution of *kirk/church* in Middle English (1350 - 1450) was mapped by McIntosh et al. (1986) for their dialect atlas (Vol. I 384-388) and published before the atlas appeared by Jones (1972: 196f.). This shows that *kirk* is a Danelaw word. The southern boundary runs through Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, southern Lincolnshire, northern Cambridgeshire and Norfolk (of which only the western and northern parts are included in the *kirk* area). In the ongoing survey of the place-names in Norfolk, *kirk* has turned up in local documents also south of this border, in the eastern and southern parts of the county. Notable examples among major names are Kirby Bedon and Kirby Cane (from OScand *kirkju-býr*), both recorded in Domesday Book (*Kerkebei*, *Kerkeby* 1086 Sandred 1987: 319f.). An identical place-name in the southernmost part of the Danelaw is Kirby-le-Soken in Essex, evidenced as *Kirkeby* from 1181 onwards (cf. Ekwall 1960: s.v., Reaney 1935: 340).

A similar observation was made by Kolb (1965: 144), when he studied the distribution of Scandinavian *beck* in ModE dialects. He found that the southern boundary of the ModE dialect word *beck* runs further north than the boundary that can be established from the occurrence of *beck* in place-names. Kolb draws the conclusion that *beck* has receded northwards from areas which now have the Midland word *brook*. The Northumberland and Scots word is *burn*. The distribution can be seen on a map in Orton/Wright's *Word Geography* (M39), where the southern boundary of *beck* runs from the northern part of Lancashire in a south-easterly direction through south-western Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk (except the eastern part). In early field and minor names, *beck* is also well evidenced in eastern Norfolk.

Another Scandinavian word which had a wider distribution earlier is *wath* 'ford' (OWScand *vað*, OSwed *vab*). In ModE dialects it has only been found in a fairly small area consisting of parts of Cumberland, Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire, clearly a relic area, as Kolb (1965: 145) has shown, for the place-name element *wath* occurs much further south, in the rest of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, where it has been replaced by *ford* in the local dialects. To these we can now also add Norfolk, where we find for instance *Wath meadow* 1421 (Sandred 1996: s.v. *Ashby*).

The county surveys undertaken under the auspices of the English Place-Name Society nowadays include as much of the early field-name material as possible, since it provides useful evidence for earlier dialectal vocabulary and dialect boundaries and thus makes valuable additions to our knowledge of the English language. In the survey of Norfolk many of the lost field-names prove to be Scandinavian and give evidence of Scandinavian influence in areas where this is not apparent in the modern dialect and toponymy. Most of the medieval field-names are lost today. The field-names of the 19th century can be studied in the Tithe Awards, which were drawn up for most parishes in the period 1830 - 40. These documents are easily available in the county record offices and, although they contain repetitive names of lesser value, they also provide occasional gems, not to mention the great variety of family names of former owners and occupiers. But the majority of the medieval field-names did not survive into the 19th century. They seem to have disappeared with the 18th-century enclosures.

Fortunately England has a vast amount of local manorial documents from earlier centuries; like the Tithe Awards they are mostly in the keeping of the county record offices (manorial court rolls and court books, account rolls, glebe terriers, manorial surveys, estate maps, some cartularies, field books, sale catalogues, etc.) very often starting in the Middle Ages. With the help of these, much of the old local toponymy can be recovered. In the following survey the toponymic items have been collected from such documents. Whether the examples noted were fully-fledged field-names or whether they were designations given by a scribe with local knowledge on the spur of the moment cannot always be determined and is of no importance in the present case.

As might be expected in an area which is a part of the Danelaw, the Scandinavian impact on the early field-nomenclature is considerable. I pointed out and demonstrated a long time ago (Sandred 1972: 41-52, Sandred 1979: 98-122) that this can also be the case in Danelaw areas in which Scandinavian major names are scarce or non-existent. The Scandinavian examples found are almost all common everyday words: *beck*, *braken*, *brigg*, *busk*, *carr*, *dale*, *dike*, *gate*, *heyth*, *holme*, *how*, *kirk*, *lyng*, *marram*, *ness*, *sco*, *sike*, *sty*, *thorp*, *thwaite*, *toft*, *wath*, *whin*, *wong*, *wro*, *wrong*.

The number of examples of individual elements varies considerably. In Sandred (1979: 98-122) I published lists of medieval field-names with Scandinavian elements from the parish of Flitcham in north-west Norfolk. On comparing these lists with corresponding groups of Scandinavian field-names recently collected for East and West Flegg (in east Norfolk) in the Norfolk Record Office in Norwich, one finds that the same groups turn up but the proportions between the groups differ considerably. The element which supplied the largest group of examples in Flitcham is *wong* (47), in Flegg it is *gate* (49). In Flitcham *gate* came second (18), in Flegg *toft* (37). *How*, as number three, forms a fairly large group in both Flegg (27) and Flitcham (17). In Flegg *wong* comes fourth (23). These differences are of course due to the different sizes of the areas, the variation in the landscape itself and the survival of the medieval sources. There is thus no point in using statistics at this stage.

### Variation of Lexical Items

A point to be noted is the occurrence of variation between a Scandinavian and an English lexical item in the medieval toponymy. This rivalry between two traditions would seem to throw an interesting light on the historical dialectal development in the area. It must be remembered that we are here talking about Scandinavian linguistic *influence*, which cannot be used as direct evidence of Scandinavian *settlement*, as has been done occasionally. The material indicates such settlement, but more detailed conclusions about the latter will have to await further analyses and comparative studies of much larger areas.

The two traditions can be seen in the medieval spellings for three modern names found on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map for Flitcham (the early spellings are from the Norfolk Collection, The Institute of Place-Name Research, Uppsala).

#### Denbeck in Denbeck Wood

*Dentonebroc* t. Hy3,  
*Dentonebrok* t. Hy3, 1340, 1359

*Dentonebeck* 1309, *Dentonebek*  
1374, 1375, *Denton Beck* 1572,  
*Denbeck* 1839

Although not of frequent occurrence, the Scandinavian word *beck* (from ODan *bæk* 'stream') is well established in medieval Norfolk documents. The first component (*Dentone*) was originally a farm-name, from OE *denu* 'valley' and OE *tūn*. The modern form shows reduction of the middle element in a three-linked compound, not unusual in such items.

#### Norman Road

*Nomanswaye* c. 1500

*Nomanesgate* t. Hy3, 1289, 1316,  
1328, 1336, 1348, *Nomannisgate*  
1338, *Nomannesgate* 14th c., 1348

The modern form of the name is recent. The earliest spellings end in Scandinavian *gate* 'way, road'. About 1500 a variant form ending in English *way* turns up, probably because *gate* was ambiguous after the spread of Standard English *gate* 'opening'. The first component was no doubt originally *Noman* and the meaning 'no man's road', being appropriate for a boundary road or land claimed by more than one parish. Field (150) gives several examples of such field-names, and he informs me that he has also found *Norman* as a corruption for *Noman* in other field-names.

#### Peddars Way

*Pedderes lane* 1425

*Peddersty* 1423, *Pedderesty* 1425,  
1431, 1435, 1462, *Pedderysty*  
1450, 1458 *Pedderstey* 1512,  
*Pedderstie* 1561

This prehistoric trackway, later improved by the Romans, runs through several parishes besides Flitcham. The variation here might be between the two English words, OE *lanu* and OE *stīg* 'track, road', although Scandinavian *stig* (ON *stígr*, ODan *stig*) must also be reckoned with in this area. On the modern OS map they have been replaced by *way*. The first element is ME *pedder* 'peddler' (according to MED, from MLat *pedarius* 'one who goes on foot'). This road, or a part of it, also went by another name, later lost, in which Scandinavian *gate* varies with Eng. *way*:

*Stretegate* c. 1508, 1510, 1523,  
*Streatgate* 1512, *Stretgate* 1512

*Stretewey* 15th c.

As a compound it appears tautological or perhaps epexegetic and would seem to refer to the fact that the road was at one stage a Roman road (OE *strǣt*, *strē*). The type of variation shown here in the old forms of names which are still being used occurs frequently in names which are now lost. Several such examples with variation *gate* – *way*, *sty* – *way*, *gate* – *sty* have been quoted in Sandred (1979: 116f.).

When *gate* was ambiguous or had become unsatisfactory because of the spread of Standard English *gate* 'opening', need for an explanatory element arose. This can be seen in the following complex example of *Grenegate*, where *way* and *sty* serve as explanatory additions:

*Grenegate* 14th c., 1328, 15th c., 1443,  
1504, 1521, 1528, 1574, *Grengate* 1367

*Grenegatway* t. Hy3,  
*Grenegateweye* 1423, 1435, 1436

*Grenegatesti* 1324,  
*Grenegatesty* 1437

The alternative use of an English and a Scandinavian item is nicely shown by the following variation *church/kirk* as the first element of the names of two topographical features, a *wong* and a *gate* (referring to a road) in Flitcham.

*Chirchewong* 1386, *Chirchewonge*  
1468, *Churchewonge* 1512, 1574,  
*Churchwonge* 1521

*Kyrkewong* 1434, *Kyrkewonge*  
1443, *Kyrkwong* c. 1508

*Churchegate* 1569, 1571,  
*Chirchegate* 1572

*Kirkegate* 1348, 1392, 1431, 1439,  
*Kyrkegate* 1443

### Phonological Variation

The variation which we have seen so far has concerned lexical items. So does the following example from Clippesby in Norfolk, but it will also bring a phonological feature into focus, the Middle English *ā/ō* boundary. The forms of early field-names

in Norfolk parishes quoted in this section can be found in Sandred (1996). As indicated, some examples are from Lindkvist (1912).

*Meynardesdele* 1237-51

*Meynardes Dale* c. 1240

This name is lost today but it referred to the share of a man called *Meynard* (OFr *Mainard*, *Meinard* < OG *Meginard*) in a common field, which is expressed by OE *dāl* (< \**dailaz*) or OE *dāel* (< \**dailiz*). The ME spelling *dele* is from OE *dāel*, which often varies with ME *dole*, from OE *dāl*, found in the following Norfolk field-names:

*Belesdole* 15th c. (Lindkvist), *Bondesboydole* 1214-29 (Potter Heigham), *Haraldchildredole* 15th c. (Lindkvist), *Northdole* 15th c. (Lindkvist), *Seynt Edmundesdol* 15th c. (Lindkvist)

Spellings with the *i*-mutated variant are equally common:

*Braysdele* 1237-51 (Ludham), *le Dele* (*in campo de Catfield*) 1699, *Manhoudele* 1202 (Clippesby), *Oxendelis* 1368, *Oxendeles* c. 16th c. (Potter Heigham)

The variation *dole/dele* for 'somebody's share in a common field' is to be expected. As shown by *Meynardes Dale* above, in Norfolk we occasionally also find the variant form *dale*. This looks like the OScaand word *dalr* 'valley', but the context in which many such examples occur, i.e. in a landscape with common fields and personal names as first elements, suggests with reasonable probability that the *a*-spellings are mostly variant forms for *dole/dele*. Lindkvist (1912: 32) points out that ME *dale* occurs in variation with *dole* in Norfolk. The following examples are from Norfolk:

*Dalelond* 1443 (East Somerton), *Foldisdale* 1466 (Repps with Bastwick), *Reynerchildredale* 15th c. (Lindkvist), *Sparwedale* 15th c. (Swafeld), *Stonedale* 1649, 1687 (Hempstead with Eccles), *Wulfyndale* 1466 (Repps with Bastwick), More uncertain are: *Crosshowdale* 1572 (Repps with Bastwick), *Makelcroftdale* 14th c. (Mautby), *Wellesdale* 1466 (Repps with Bastwick)

This immediately brings up the old question of the Middle English  $\bar{a}/\bar{o}$  boundary, to which Ekwall returned in several articles. It has long been known that *a*-spellings turn up in toponymic material much further south than the southern limit of OE long  $\bar{a}$  as established, for instance, by Moore/Meech/Whitehall and MED. Ekwall (1923: 199f., 1926: 157, 1929: 33, 1938: 162f.) drew attention to the preservation of ME *a* in Lincolnshire. He had found such spellings in the whole of Lindsay and parts of Kesteven. Ekwall (1938: 163) first suggested as an explanation for the *a* spellings in Lincolnshire that OE /a:/ was originally retained. But on second thoughts, he found this idea "rather startling" and suggested alternatively that  $\bar{a}$  was shortened before

the change /a:/ > /ɔ:/ and then again lengthened, certainly a theoretical possibility, but hardly so in all cases. Additional evidence for Ekwall's first theory has been found by Kristensson (1967: 30ff.).

This spelling *dale* for 'somebody's share in a common field' is sometimes found in corresponding names in Lincolnshire, as can now be seen in Cameron's recently published survey of the wapentake of Walshcroft (Cameron 1992):

*Assfrondale* 1231-40 (Croxby), *Liteldale* 1231-40 (Croxby), (two closes called) *the Dales* 1825 (Kirkby cum Osgodby), *Ouerdale* 1327 (South Kelsey), *a dale of meadow called South dale* 1660 (Toft Newton)

In his dialect survey based on Lay Subsidy Rolls Kristensson (1995: 14) says about the East Midland counties, "there is no doubt that OE  $\bar{a}$  had become /ɔ:/ in the whole area examined." Although it may be discussed how far the Lay Subsidy Rolls represent the local dialect, it would be "rather startling" to draw any far-reaching conclusions about Norfolk as an  $\bar{a}$  area. According to Insley, spellings in *o* for  $\bar{a}$  seem to be normal in Norfolk although they may have been introduced slowly. For instance for ON *Áki* they first occur in the late 12th century and do not become frequent until after 1220 (Insley 1994: 6). It seems that in the present situation we simply have to be content if we can only find an explanation for the spellings *dale* in the cases under examination here.

It should be noted that, in ME Lincolnshire field-names, in addition to other spellings, we also frequently find *daile*, *dayle*, *deile*, apparently spellings for the OScand counterpart *deill*. Lindkvist (1912: 32ff.) quotes a great number of such ME spellings. The following examples are found in Cameron's survey (1992):

*Haverdayle* 1638, *hauerdale* 1662, *Haverdale* 1679 (Binbrook); *langdale* 1577-80, *langdayle* 1638, *Langdale* 1664 (Binbrook); *Gosedaile* e. 13th c. (Kirkby cum Osgodby); *West dail* 1314 (Linwood); *Litteldale* 1313, *lyteledaill* 1577 (Toft Newton)

With reference to Lincolnshire, Ekwall (1929: 33f.) says that the preservation of /a:/ is quite common in names of Scandinavian origin and suggests that this is the result of anglicization, for instance, when OE /a:/ corresponded to OScand /ei/. Björkman (1900-1902: 10) and Ekwall assume this development to have taken place in ME *Swan* for OScand *Sveinn*. The examples quoted here seem even more appropriate than the personal name *Swan* for a discussion of Ekwall's hypothesis. Anglicization of OScand *deill* to ME *dale* would seem to be worth considering as an explanation of these Norfolk spellings. It was no doubt facilitated by the co-existence of both variants for some time after the Danish settlement.

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## Field Methods and Non-standard Grammar<sup>1</sup>

*Graham Shorrocks*

From 1972-1980, I carried out intensive and extensive work on the traditional urban vernacular of a part of the Greater Bolton area in Greater Manchester County (formerly Lancashire)<sup>2</sup> in the North-West of England.<sup>3</sup> Since 1980, I have carried out more work in and around this area, which confirms earlier impressions as far as the features described in this paper are concerned – as well, of course, as establishing their distribution over a wider area. My method was to make tape recordings of free (i.e., spontaneous<sup>4</sup> or unscripted) conversation, which served well for phonological purposes; and also, within certain limits, for grammatical purposes, in that this earlier study was a monograph devoted to a single locality, so that the requirement was not to elicit a few essentially known items for purposes of comparison, but rather to observe, record and analyze whatever grammatical forms and constructions were used by the informants. Obviously, since many features occur only infrequently, the tape recordings had to be supplemented by observations made whilst living in the area. Nevertheless, even from the tape-recorded material alone, certain grammatical features and subsystems emerged quite clearly, including a four-term system of affirmative and negative particles; a system of question tags that differs in one quite fundamental respect from that of standard English; highly distinctive second-person-singular-interrogative forms of auxiliary verbs; a definite

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<sup>1</sup> This paper in some measure draws upon seminars given at the University of Helsinki and the University of Joensuu in November 1992, as part of a lecture tour of Finland to promote dialectology. I am grateful to the following for funding the tour: The Academy of Finland; the Faculty of Arts and the English Department, University of Helsinki; the Department of Foreign Languages and the Department of English, University of Joensuu; the German Department, University of Oulu; and the Rector, University of Tampere. Further work has been possible as part of a larger research project on the dialects of the North-West of England, thanks to grant # 410-92-1137 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The article in its present form owes much to this generous funding. An earlier draft was read at Methods VIII: International Conference on Dialectology/Colloque international de dialectologie, University of Victoria, B.C., Canada.

<sup>2</sup> The county boundaries were redrawn in 1974 in accordance with the Local Government Act of 1972 (based upon the recommendations of the Maud Commission).

<sup>3</sup> See Shorrocks (1981), where details of the area, fieldwork, and corpus are given, as well as a phonology and grammar of the traditional urban vernacular.

<sup>4</sup> My understanding of spontaneous speech interviews and their appropriateness is explained more fully in Shorrocks (1981: section 1.2.1.3). Copies of the tape recordings are deposited in the Tape Archive of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield, and in the author's personal collection.



article that is different in both form and distribution from its standard counterpart;<sup>5</sup> and much else besides.<sup>6</sup>

By way of examples, I want to consider here the syntactic subsystems of affirmative and negative particles, and question tags. The dialect has a four-term system of affirmative and negative particles, as opposed to the two-term system of standard English (*yes – no*).<sup>7</sup> Standard English answers *yes* or *no* according as the polarity<sup>8</sup> of the situation is positive or negative, and regardless of the polarity of the preceding statement or question. In the dialect, by contrast, when the situational polarity is positive, one answers /aɪ/ *aye* 'yes' if the polarity of the preceding utterance is positive, but /jaɪ/ *yigh* 'yes (contradictory)' if it is negative.<sup>9</sup> Thus:

- A. /dʌst laɪk ðat/  
'Does thou like that?'
- B. /aɪ/  
'Aye.'

But, when one informant said that she could not find the scissors (i.e., a negative proposition), her sister replied:

- /jaɪ ðə(r) ðɪə(r)/<sup>10</sup>  
'*Yigh* (yes, oh but) they're there.'

Similarly, an informant asked his wife if it had been four shillings that they had received in welfare benefits when he had once been out of work. She replied:

- A. *I don't know.*
- B. /jaɪ wən mi: ɒn 'tɒmɪ 'blɜːwə(r) wɛnt dɛːn/  
'*Yigh*, (yes, you do know), when me and Tommy Blower went down  
[to collect the money]'

<sup>5</sup> See Shorrocks (1992) on the definite article.

<sup>6</sup> See Shorrocks (1981: 488-679).

<sup>7</sup> These particles were discussed in rather less detail in Shorrocks (1982a).

<sup>8</sup> Terminology here as in Catford (1965: 40f.).

<sup>9</sup> According to the OED, *aye* appeared suddenly ca. 1575. It is etymologically obscure. First written *I*, it is not obviously derivable from *ay* 'ever', though it could be a dialectal form thereof; equally, it is not obviously a phonological variant of *ya* 'yea, yes' (OED, s.v. *aye*). *Nay* (to be discussed, below) is from O.N. *nei* (= *ne* + *ei* 'ever'). The OED comments: "In older usage, *nay* (like *yea*) was usually employed when the preceding statement had no negative word in it; when a negative was expressed, the usual answer was *no* (or *yes*)"; and further that it is used to "introduce a more correct, precise, or emphatic statement than the one first made" (OED, s.v. *nay*). Dialectal *yigh*, *yoi*, etc., being derivable from O.E. (Northumbrian), are cognate with standard *yea*, "an affirmative particle having forms corresponding more or less exactly in all the other Teutonic languages" and "used to express affirmation or assent: now ordinarily replaced by YES" (OED, s.v. *yea*). Standard *yea* is also used "as an ordinary adverb directly qualifying a clause or word: Even; truly, verily. *Obs.*" and "to introduce a statement, phrase, or word, stronger or more emphatic than that immediately preceding: = 'indeed'; 'and more': = YES 4". The OED meaning 1c reads: "Rarely in answer to a negative question [...], or in contradiction of a negative statement" (OED, s.v. *yea*).

<sup>10</sup> /ə, ɜ:/ are typically more rounded, front and tense than R.P. /ə, ɜ:/.

*Yigh* may also follow upon a negative in the speaker's own directly preceding utterance, as when one informant changed his mind or corrected himself. This happened after I had suggested to the informant that he was asking me to remember something that had happened too long ago. He replied:

/æ:m nɒt 'gʏ:m bak ɔ: ðat lɒŋ [LAUGHS] ||| jaɪ 'ɪtl bɪ ɔə(r) 'twenti jə(r)  
wə:n ɪt/  
'I'm not going back all that long! [LAUGHS. PAUSE] *Yigh*, it'll be over  
twenty years, won't it?'

Other straightforward instances of *yigh* might be adduced; but the tape recordings of the dialect also contain an interesting case of *yigh* in answer to a "positive" question. An informant was relating a story about a woman in another part of the country, who – to his dismay – could not make a potato pie: "I said, 'Well, you can make a pie-crust, can't you?'" There was evidently some doubt about this. He continued:

/o: jaɪ ə(r) kəd me:k wən ə ðəm/  
'Oh *yigh*, her (she) could make one of them (those).'

Now *yigh* characteristically follows a negative question and not a negative tag. However, the question was almost certainly couched in positive terms as a matter of politeness, as it is clear from the narrative that there was some doubt as to whether the woman could indeed make a pie-crust. *Yigh* contradicts the implication that she (perhaps) could not make a pie-crust. The wider co-text is clearly indispensable to our proper understanding of this instance of *yigh*.

The use of the particle *yigh* after negative propositions and questions in contrast to the more widely distributed *aye* is comparable to distinctions made in other languages such as German and French. Compare the German *doch* – *ja* and the French *si* – *oui* distinctions:

- German: A. *Du kommst nicht, oder?*  
'You're not coming, are you?'  
B. *Doch (ich komme).*<sup>11</sup>  
'Oh yes I am.'
- French: A. *Tu ne viens pas, n'est-ce pas?*  
'You're not coming, are you?'  
B. *Si (je viens).*  
'Oh yes I am.'

Additionally, however, the dialect of the Greater Bolton area has two negative particles. The distributionally-less-restricted particle is variously pronounced /nɜʏ, næ:, nɛ:/ *now* 'no'.<sup>12</sup> This would be used in answer to a straight yes-no question:

<sup>11</sup> I am intentionally disregarding here the less common and less forceful *schon*. See Stopp (1966: 58, section 51(d)).

<sup>12</sup> The diphthong in *now* is sometimes pronounced with a lowered first element. There is sometimes a trace of post-vocalic /r/ in the monophthongal pronunciations. The particle has various respellings in non-standard dialect literature.

- A. /ast sin im/  
'Has thou seen him?'  
B. /nɜʔ/  
'No.'

The second negative particle is /ne:/ *nay* 'no (contradictory)'. When a judge told an informant (in the dialectological sense of the word!) that he knew more than he would tell, the informant responded indignantly:

- /a si ne: bai gəm || a seʔ am nɔt 'avɪn ðat/  
'I say (said): "*Nay* (no) by gum!" I says (said): "I'm not having that!"

Again, one may use the contradictory particle when changing one's mind or correcting oneself:

- /o: aɪ || ne: ɪt 'dɪdnt/  
'Oh *aye* – *nay* it didn't!

But, of course, both *yigh* and *nay* operate typically across sentence or utterance boundaries between two speakers, as:

- A. /a kɔnt dɪ: ɪt/  
'I can't do it.'  
B. /jai ðe kɔn/  
'*Yigh* (oh yes) thou can!'

They are text-grammatical or discourse features, and, in the example just given, *yigh* is formally predictable from the negative statement preceding it. But there are yet other uses of *yigh* that are dependent upon the pragmatic context rather than the preceding co-text. For instance, an informant wanted to show me a photograph of a horse that he had once owned. His son went to look for the photograph on a nearby piece of furniture, but, when the son did not immediately locate the desired photograph, the informant exclaimed:

- /jai ɪt ɪz ɪts ɔn ðɪə(r) 'sɔmwɪə(r) 'gɔə(r)dən/  
'*Yigh* (yes), it is, it's on there somewhere, Gordon.'

In this case *yigh* contradicts the failure to find the photograph. It is as if the son had said: *I can't find it*, or *It's not here*.

In another instance, an informant observed to a young child in respect of the fieldworker (myself):

- /i:z ə 'tɛttʃə(r) || jai i: ɪz/  
'He's a teacher. – *Yigh* (oh yes) he is.'

Despite silence from the child, *yigh* is used by the informant because the child looked very doubtful about the validity of the initial proposition. The expression on her face, i.e., paralanguage, is crucial here. It is as if the child had said: *He's not*, or *I don't believe you*.

One informant sometimes used *yigh* as a narrative device. For instance, he related a story about tantalizing an old cat with a piece of pluck dangled from a length of string. The cat jumped up, seized the pluck, would not let it go, and lost its

teeth in the pluck. Having narrated the part about the cat's teeth coming out, the informant added: *Yigh, he [cat] jumped up and it [cat] wouldn't let go*. Now this, of course, is not dissimilar to older standard *yea* or *yea, verily*, which were used to introduce or emphasize; but emphasis is perhaps achieved here *by virtue of* the fact that *yigh* counters, or seeks to pre-empt, any incredulity on the part of the listener or interlocutor. Again, it is as if the latter had said, or – more likely – might have been thinking: *It didn't*, or *I don't believe you*.

From the foregoing cases, it will be clear that *yigh* can be used to counter implied negation, paralanguage, or aspects of the pragmatic situation, in addition to explicitly negative statements or questions. Similarly, use of *nay* is sometimes dependent on context. A dialect speaker who had noticed that one was undertaking or contemplating a course of action of which he/she disapproved might contradict this (intended) course of action by saying:

/ne: ne: || ðæt næ:(r) bɛ:nt ɡʏ:/

'Nay! Nay! (No! No! Surely) thou art never (not) *boun* (going) to go!'

\* \* \* \* \*

I now want to turn very briefly to the syntactic subsystem of question tags used in this dialect.<sup>13</sup> Lester (1971: 161) is representative of grammars of standard English in furnishing the following examples of question tags:

- |                          |                   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>It is hot</i>      | <i>isn't it?</i>  |
| 2. <i>It isn't hot</i>   | <i>is it?</i>     |
| 3. <i>It rained</i>      | <i>didn't it?</i> |
| 4. <i>It didn't rain</i> | <i>did it?</i>    |

and then commenting: "In short, given the main sentence we can always predict exactly what the tag will be" (164). In the dialect of the Greater Bolton area, this is not the case. There are two types of negative tag, the one of which obligatorily follows an affirmative proposition and the other of which optionally follows a negative proposition. In the Bolton equivalents of sentences 1 and 3, above, a negative tag is used, the tag taking the form:

- |                      |                                            |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1'. <i>It's 'ot</i>  | /ɪnt, 'ɪznt, ɪn/ + /ɪt/<br>'isn't it?'     |
| 3'. <i>It rained</i> | /dɪnt, 'dɪdnt, dɪn/ + /ɪt/<br>'didn't it?' |

i.e., a contracted negative form is used in the tag.<sup>14</sup> In sentences 2 and 4, we get:

- |                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 2'. <i>It's not 'ot</i> | /ɪz ɪt/<br>'is it?' |
|-------------------------|---------------------|

<sup>13</sup> This subsystem is discussed in a wider consideration of affirmation and negation in Shorrocks (1985).

<sup>14</sup> See further Shorrocks (1981: section 6.8.4).

4'. *It didn't rain*                    /dɪd ɪt/  
                                              'did it?'

i.e., an affirmative tag, as in standard English; or, at least as likely:

2'. *It's not 'ot*                        /ɪz ɪt nɒt/  
                                              'is it not?'  
4'. *It didn't rain*                    /dɪd ɪt nɒt/<sup>15</sup>  
                                              'did it not?'

This latter type of tag is pronounced with a 3 1 ↓ intonation contour.<sup>16</sup> More importantly, we should note that the negative tag that optionally follows a negative proposition *must* take the form:

verb + subject pronoun + /nɒt/ 'not'

Thus it is kept entirely distinct from the contracted negative tags that obligatorily follow affirmative propositions. For the Greater Bolton dialect, then, we cannot "predict exactly what the tag will be" after a negative proposition, but rather that it will take one of two forms.

\* \* \* \* \*

Despite the fact that these and many other grammatical features emerge fairly clearly from the tape-recorded corpus (and would presumably emerge just as clearly from any other decent-sized corpus of spontaneous conversation), and despite their not being peculiar to the Greater Bolton area for the most part, they have not been well described. Existing descriptions of the dialects of pre-1974 South-East Lancashire barely scratch the surface as far as syntax is concerned: some features have been described, but not fully;<sup>17</sup> others have been misapprehended;<sup>18</sup> and yet

<sup>15</sup> The dialect makes extensive use of multiple negation or negative concord. In some contexts, this is perhaps cumulatively emphatic in function, as researchers in English dialectology and the history of the English language have often asserted; on other occasions, it seems more a question of pattern or agreement. I will not labour what is clearly a moot point here.

<sup>16</sup> Contrast the rising terminal in standard *It's hot, is it not?* — a pattern that I take to be impossible in the dialect, where a negative tag must involve a contraction after an affirmative proposition. (Even if such a tag *were* produced, say, in quoting direct speech or in irony, it would be distinguished by its intonation contour from the negative tag that optionally follows a negative proposition.)

<sup>17</sup> For instance, in an account of the syntax of relative clauses, I reported finding all of the features appropriate to the area according to Wright (1905), and more besides; see Shorrocks (1982b: 431). My study of dependent pronouns (1984) revealed far more than Wright (1905) or the linguistic geographers had uncovered. Similarly, the account of the definite article in Shorrocks (1992) is instructive by virtue of its length alone. Contrast the accounts consisting of a short paragraph or two in other monographs. Even if we step outside of South-East Lancashire, we shall probably find in all the monographs of the School of Wright nothing fuller than the page-and-a-half in Hedevind (1967: 226f.) on the definite article.

others not described at all.<sup>19</sup> – This after considerably more than one hundred years of British English dialectology! And, to widen the implications, the same would have to be said of descriptions of other dialects of English, too.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the focus in English dialectology has *never* been on grammar. Early work was primarily lexical, and then phonological and dialect-geographical. The phonology was lexis-based, and dialect geography, not surprisingly, concentrated on lexis and phonology. In the local monograph, an overriding concern with diachronic phonology only very gradually gave way to synchronic phonology under the influence of structuralism. And recent work within the transformational-generative and sociolinguistic paradigms has again been chiefly phonological. Whilst monographs of the School of Wright, following his *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1892), have typically included a section on grammar, this has tended to be given over to inflectional morphology (it is traditionally headed *Accidence*) and a historical categorization of the verb; and to be quite short. Neither of these facts is surprising, for Wright's paradigm gave precedence to diachronic phonology (with lexis automatically covered, at least to a degree, in the process<sup>21</sup>); the Classical paradigm placed emphasis on inflectional morphology; and most of the monographs were dissertations, so that the time available for their completion was presumably limited. Understandable, then, though the brevity of these grammatical sections is, it is also potentially misleading, in that the unwary might think that these grammatical treatments were exhaustive! In that connection, it is sobering to recall that there is more grammar in the pre-Wright monographs by Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873) and Elworthy, *An Outline Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset* (1877) than in monographs of the School of Wright. In sum, the trends in dialectology so scantily outlined here have left us singularly short of work on syntax, and especially modern work on syntax, with it not being at all unusual for dialectologists to assert that English dialects do not vary greatly at the morphological and syntactic levels. The view that English dialects do not vary much grammatically is one that I take to be wrong – demonstrably wrong. The two subareas of grammar that have been presented in this paper – one of them

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<sup>18</sup> For instance, the subsystem of affirmative and negative particles, described above. The infinitive phrase has also suffered from wrong, as well as incomplete, description. On the latter, see Shorrocks (1990).

<sup>19</sup> For instance, the negative question tags after negative propositions, as described above, or certain second-person-singular-interrogative forms of auxiliary verbs. Unfortunately, these latter forms would require a separate paper to themselves, and cannot be included here except by way of a supporting reference. For further details, see Shorrocks (1981: 595-620).

<sup>20</sup> This comment is not meant to disparage or neglect the valuable work that *has* been done on non-standard English syntax by a number of researchers. Those same researchers would, I think, be the first to acknowledge that only a small beginning has yet been made. Also, it must be granted that some important initiatives have been taken in the description of the syntax of Scots.

<sup>21</sup> In Wright's own monograph, and some others, a glossary is included by way of what is essentially an index to the phonology.

previously undescribed, and the other barely and wrongly described – are examples of such demonstration.

\* \* \* \* \*

The syntactic subsystems treated here have implications for our methods and fieldwork:

1. To start with the epistemologically obvious, the unknown is not likely to be elicited by the questionnaire techniques that have been so prevalent in modern dialectology.
2. At the level of syntax, even the known is unlikely to be reliably elicited by questionnaire techniques. This (like the first point) is, I think, generally accepted by dialectologists, and I need hardly rehearse here the pertinent arguments. See, by way of a quite specific example of a failure to elicit even single words/particles reliably, the *Survey of English Dialects* responses for Lancashire 12, Harwood, (which falls within the Greater Bolton area), to question VIII.8.13, which seeks to elicit affirmative and negative particles. The responses are erroneous and misleading, and so, in turn, are the maps based upon them.<sup>22</sup>
3. Significant stretches of speech are required. Whole "sentences" (themselves questions rather than responses) are needed to understand question tags, while the affirmative and negative particles are *suprasentential* phenomena. *Yigh* in *Oh yigh, 'er could make one o' them* requires most of the preceding co-text for its interpretation.
4. Both syntactic subsystems described here occur typically in *conversation* rather than narrative, so that a free exchange of views between informant and fieldworker or between two (or perhaps more) informants is to be encouraged. Question tags, and such features as Greater Bolton's second-person-singular-interrogative forms of auxiliary verbs, emerge fully *only* if the informant is free to question the fieldworker (or another informant). Interviews in which the fieldworker asks all the questions, and the informant simply provides answers, should be avoided, not only because this fails to elicit interrogative forms, but also because it makes the conversation unnatural, and may intimidate the informant. It is, of course, possible to elicit the syntactic features under discussion here in a more narrative or "folkloristic" style of interview, which seems to have been used quite often in the past by dialectologists who were looking for tape-recorded samples of speech but were not using questionnaires, since narratives sometimes contain reports of conversations in direct speech, but the two areas of grammar described here are most characteristically associated with conversation. It is also worth remarking that not everyone finds it easy to narrate stories, i.e., to perform. Conversation is probably more ordinary, and a less inhibiting task, for most informants. And it is from conversation that we most readily secure a

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<sup>22</sup> I have discussed questionnaires, and given a number of examples of the difficulties involved in trying to elicit grammar with them, in Shorrocks (1981: section 1.2.1.1).

sufficient array of examples to account for these grammatical phenomena in a basic sense. Unusual, marginal, or specialized uses, such as *yigh* as a narrative device, are then more easily understood as extensions of basic patterns. Clearly, however, the use of *yigh* in narration without a preceding negative is a warning not to exclude narratives altogether from dialectological fieldwork. Narrative is a distinct oral style, and it warrants investigation as such.

5. The choice amongst affirmative and negative particles can be constrained by paralinguistic or pragmatic considerations as well as by co-text. Whereas the latter shows up on the sound record, the former do not. There are several implications here for fieldwork: (a) the fieldworker must be alive to paralinguistic and pragmatic features, and not come to rely exclusively on the recording device. Relevant notes should be made after each interview, and a copy deposited with the tape recordings in the event that these are archived – for only the fieldworker knows that the young child looked incredulous when told the interviewer's profession, and that it was this facial expression that triggered *yigh*; or that the informant's son had *not* said something out of microphone range to provoke the frustrated exclamation, *Yigh! It's on theer somewheer, Gordon!* (b) It is dangerous to work from tapes made by others, unless detailed field notes are available. Ideally, fieldworker, transcriber and analyst should be one and the same person. (c) Some dialectologists have recommended that the fieldworker should let native speakers interview one another, and leave the room while they do it. Whilst this is a well-intentioned attempt to get around the observer paradox, it would have a number of unwelcome consequences. One of them, as we have seen here, is that a sound record alone is sometimes not enough.

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Whilst dialectologists have generally recognized that questionnaires do not elicit syntax effectively, they have been slow to advocate the methodological corollary: namely, that monographs be written based upon prolonged fieldwork in a locality and a large corpus of tape-recorded conversation. Some, perhaps influenced by the monographs of the School of Wright, have obviously felt that there was little to describe at the syntactic level;<sup>23</sup> at any rate, most have preferred to carry out work within the dominant paradigms of diachronic phonology, synchronic phonology, dialect geography, transformational-generative grammar, or sociolinguistics, and, as Wakelin (1977: 125) observed, "have fought shy of" investigating the syntax of non-standard speech – a domain that is known to be difficult, if not downright messy.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> There is also a perceptual problem here. Strang (1974: 60) remarked: "Grammar deals with observed rules of a middle degree of generality. The rules of grammar are more numerous than those of phonology and less specific than those of lexis; consequently they are difficult to spot and formulate [...]."

<sup>24</sup> Great opportunities to investigate the syntax of the traditional vernaculars of McIntosh's (1961: 85f.) more resistant types, i.e., people born and brought up before the first world war, have been lost. It is to be hoped that some of the tape recordings that *have* been made (largely for other



To conclude, the received wisdom within English dialectology, as far as one may ascertain, is that English dialects do not vary greatly at the morphological and syntactic levels. The work that I have carried out in Greater Manchester County shows that the established view of grammatical variation is incorrect. The dialect of the Greater Bolton area differs appreciably from standard English at the grammatical level – and there is no reason at all why that particular dialect should be unique in this respect. Rather, it is the theoretical preconceptions and associated methods of dialectologists that have led to the misconception that English dialects do not vary much at the grammatical level, and to a concomitant lack of work at that level. The notion itself becomes inhibiting; it is what Chaurand (1972: 241) referred to in respect of French dialectology as "cette illusion paralysante". Non-standard morphology and syntax will only ever be satisfactorily described, if appropriate methodological strategies are adopted.

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## The Description of Compounds in Early English Grammars

Bertil Sundby

The space allotted to word-formation in English grammar-books from c. 1600 to 1800 varies a great deal. Some grammarians omit it altogether, others treat it selectively or unsystematically, but those who discuss it at some length are probably in a majority. Terminologically, word-formation exhibits the same lack of uniformity. It goes unnamed e.g. in Gough (1754), whose 'etymology' covers word-provenance as well as derivation and composition, Fisher (1750), where inflection joins derivation and composition under 'etymology', and Elphinston (1765). In Martin (1748) word-formation is referred to as 'compounding' (including derivation and composition), in Fogg (1792) as 'explanatory derivation' (as distinct from 'inflective derivation'), in Collyer (1735) and Carrol (1795) as 'composition', and in Greenwood (1711) and Priestley (1761) as 'derivation'.

Although the use of the term 'composition' ('compounding') is largely congruent with the usage of modern linguists, it has emerged from the above survey that its range of meaning is not fixed, and the question arises: what do the old grammarians in fact understand by a compound and how do they describe it? As a key-term in any treatment of word-formation, it deserves to be studied in its own right. But at the same time this paper will serve as a demonstration of how the detailed information parcelled out in my recently published *English word-formation as described by English grammarians 1600-1800* (hence EWF) can be used in addressing a specific problem. For the data presented above see EWF s. *composition* and *etymology*.

The tradition that describes word-formation in terms of *species* (primitive vs. derivative) and *figura* (simple vs. compound) is examined by Vorlat (1975: 104-09), who traces the scheme from Donatus to Saxon (1737). By 1750, the two terms have dropped out, and when Lowe (1755) sees fit to revive them, he wrongly applies 'figure' to derivation and 'kind' to composition (EWF s. *kind:shape*). But the four subordinate terms are a standard feature of grammar-books throughout the 18th century, and the discrimination between derivatives and compounds in particular is a recurring problem that comes to the fore in the discussion of 'semi-suffixes' like *-ful*, *-less*, *-like* (see these entries in EWF). However, definitions of a 'compound', or 'double word' (Price 1665: 35), naturally depend on its contrast with the 'simple' word:

A compound is either, 1 when two simple words are joyn'd together, as *hereof*, *wherein*, *safeguard*, and the like, or 2 when prepositions are added to beginnings of words, as with (*dis.*) *disjoyne*, *circum*, &c. (Hunt 1661: 86)

A Compounded Word is, when two or more Words goe to the making up of one. Words in English are compounded, either with a Preposition, or with some other Part of Speech. (Greenwood 1711: 195)

A compound word is formed of two or more simple words [...] or of a simple word and a preposition; as, *over-come*, *with-draw*, *dis-engage*. (Webster 1784: 8)

Compounded words must be traced into the simple words of which they are composed; as *good-ness*, *grace-ful*, *over-power*, *rest-less*, *never-the-less*. (Murray 1795: 16)

The last citation is frustrating inasmuch as Murray seems to be treating *-ness* as well as *-ful*, *-less* as 'simple words', and to stretch the meaning of composition (cf. above). Turning to the first three quotations we find that Hunt, Greenwood and Webster, like our sources in general, recognize two kinds of compound (though they do not give them a name): (1) *prepositive compounds*, which include forms beginning with a preparticle (*down-*, *over-*, *up-*) or a prefix (*a-*, *mis-*, *re-*), and (2) *non-prepositive compounds*, that is, forms made up of words other than preparticles (*birthday*, *godfather*).

### 1. Prepositive compounds

English words whose constituents are a prefix and a simplex do not, by definition, rank as compounds today. Round the turn of the century however, scholars dealing with English and German define the term 'prefix' (and hence compounds) variously according to whether they include or exclude preparticles (cf. Marchand 1969: 129). The terminological problem is also reflected in "the traditional use in French of the term 'composition' to cover not only compounding but also prefixation" (Bauer 1983: 37). As for the early English grammarians, the evidence available (EWF s. *prefix*) certainly does not suggest that they had settled for the precise meaning that the word has now acquired. In fact, the term currently used is 'preposition' (as in the quotations above), and the main reason why our sources generally treat prefixes as well as preparticles as 'compounders' (for that term see EWF) must be sought in the analogies they draw from classical languages (EWF: 90-92). To Latin grammarians, prefixes as well as free forms like *apud* are 'prepositions', and this view is taken over by English grammarians in their analysis of the vernacular. So is the corollary that (Latin) prepositions have a case-governing and a compounding function; cf. Mayne (1799: 89): "Common prepositions, so called because they may be used as prepositions of apposition or composition". By analogy with *on*, *over*, which remain 'prepositions' when used as preparticles, that name is transferred to prefixes. Trinder (1781: 93) concludes that "inseparable Prepositions [...] are not so much Prepositions in the English language, as they are in the languages from whence they are borrowed". It should be added, however, that although 'separable' vs. 'inseparable' usually corresponds to the free (preparticle) vs. bound (prefix) dichotomy, some

sources, using semantic criteria, treat preparticles and prefixes alike as 'inseparable' (see EWF s. *inseparable* 2-3). Thus Hodgson (1783: 91-94) includes *out* (*outdo*), *over* (*overjoyful*), *up* (*upland*), *with* (*withstand*) in his list of prepositions "used only in Composition", implying that the meaning of each as part of a compound ("*Out* denotes excess, superiority, or excellency", "*Over* signifies [...] excess", etc.) deviates from that of the form used by itself. The semantics of prepositive compounds is examined in detail in EWF (s. *meaning* 4).

In contrast to the tradition, Fogg (1792, 1796) restricts the term 'compound' to forms made up of 'entire words', lumping prefixes, preparticles and suffixes together (EWF s. *composition* 3, *derivation* 3). Actually, Fogg seems to be the only early grammarian to do so unequivocally, and his "by some" in the observation, "Words formed with prepositions are by some termed compounds, I think with little propriety" (Fogg 1796: 97) must surely be an understatement.

The problems experienced by the grammarians in determining the status of prefixes and of preparticles in particular are hinted at by Elphinston (1765: I 339), who refers to the two categories as 'prepositive syllables' and 'prepositive words' respectively.

## 2. Non-prepositive compounds

It is by no means always clear whether a decision to treat a given two-word segment as a compound rests on usage objectively observed, on underlying, mainly semantic, criteria, or on mere impressions of the degree of cohesion stipulated. Some of our sources try to establish correspondences between (a) the use of hyphen and capitals, (b) stress, (c) meaning, and other aspects as well. Hence, although *a*, *b*, and *c* are treated separately below, it was hardly possible, or even desirable, to avoid overlap and repetition between the three sections.

### a. Hyphen, capitals (see EWF under these entries)

With reference to spacing, hyphenation, and solid writing, three types of compound can be identified, viz. 'open compounds', 'half-compounds' or 'occasional compounds', and 'absolute compounds'. If the use of capitals is brought in, four degrees of cohesion should be considered.

#### Open compounds

The status of spaced two-word segments is uncertain. On the one hand there is Priestley (1768: 140), who explicitly treats forms in which the two elements involved are written separate (*city gates*, *country gentleman*, *grammar school*) as compounds. So does Fisher (1779: 66): *a Turkey Voyage* as well as *Apple-Pye* are 'compound Names', and Harrison (1777: 47): *gold ring*, *London merchant* are instances of "two Names compounded together". But none of the grammarians mentioned take up the question of how to discriminate between compounds and attributive combinations. On the other hand, the following observation in Wallis

(1653: 82-83) implies that only hyphenated words and forms written solid are compounds:

[It] is often joined up with the following word by a hyphen, as if to form a compound word. For example, *a wine-vessel, a sea-voyage, a gold-ring* [...].

By setting 'absolute separation' against 'absolute composition', Elphinston (1765: I 345-46) is, logically speaking, committed to the view that forms written separate are not compounds, and the same inference may be drawn from the concept next to be discussed.

### Half-compounds

Comments on the hyphen and its use as a compound marker are a stock feature of our sources:

joins two words into one; as in *foot-stool*. (Browne 1700: 16)

used also to join, or compound, two Words into one; *Ale-house, Inn-keeper*, &c. (Fisher 1750: 42)

employed in connecting compounded words; as, *Lap-dog, tea-pot, pre-existence, self-love, to-morrow*. (Murray 1795: 172)

Most grammarians fail to make out a difference in function between the use and non-use of the hyphen in compounds. But exceptions occur:

When we compound two or more Words, without putting them under one Accent, we only join them with a Hyphen or mark of Union, and such may be called Half-Compounds, as a *Water-Spider*. (Lane 1700: 19)

There are a Sort of Half-compounds, when two Words are tack'd together by a short line [...] thus; *self-love, short-liv'd, sun-shine*. (Turner 1710: 6)

A Hyphen connects the parts of half-compound words [...]. (Lowe 1737: 3)

While Turner and Lowe introduce 'half-compounds' without further comment, Lane, the first grammarian to use the term, links hyphenation to stress (cf. below, *b. Stress*). Elphinston (1765: I 345-46) reserves the hyphen for his semantically defined 'occasional compounds' (see below, *c. Meaning*), which represent "a middle state between absolute composition and absolute separation", or "a half-composition". The expression 'middle state' re-appears in Priestley (1768: 140). After mentioning compounds written solid, he points out that there are "terms" that "remain in a kind of middle state" and which "are usually joined by a hyphen". Recognition of the 'middle state' of hyphenated forms is also implicit in the terminology of Hunt (1661: 119): "united, but not compounded", Jones (1701: 125):

"new unusual Compounds", and Brittain (1788: 29), who says that the "hyphen-patchwork" of compounds such as *bedrid*, *birthright*, *court-day*, *water-rat* "being awkward, and deforming the writing, grows deservedly into disuse". He goes on:

the hyphen is now retained, only till a compound becomes familiarly known; after which, the two words coalesce, without danger of obscurity, as in *dew-drop*, formerly *dew-drop*. (Brittain 1788: 29)

In support of the view expressed by Brittain and, before him, by Priestley, it may be mentioned that the following compounds, now normally written without a hyphen, are hyphenated in Fisher (1750) and/or Baker (1770):

|                  |                    |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>alehouse</i>  | <i>jackass</i>     | <i>plaything</i>   |
| <i>backbone</i>  | <i>lamplight</i>   | <i>staircase</i>   |
| <i>horseback</i> | <i>mantelpiece</i> | <i>sunbeam</i>     |
| <i>innkeeper</i> | <i>masterpiece</i> | <i>weathercock</i> |
|                  | <i>newspaper</i>   |                    |

Phrasal verbs are often referred to as compounds in the early sources (EWF s. *phrasal verbs*), and their component parts are occasionally joined with a hyphen. Thus Lowe (1737) writes *came-in*, *takes-away*, *left-out*, etc., which suggests that he is treating phrasal verbs as half-compounds – 'semi-compounds' is actually the term used by Kruisinga (1932; cf. Adams 1973: 9).

### Absolute compounds

With the dropping-out of the hyphen, the compounding process has come to an end. The 'occasional compounds' described by Elphinston are hyphenated, but his 'absolute compounds' are 'inseparable' and written solid. The formal relationship corresponds to a semantic one (see EWF s. *inseparable* 4, *meaning* 3), but the examples chosen by Elphinston suggest that some of his occasional compounds were drifting into the (formally defined) absolute category without any appreciable change of meaning. Thus he gives solid forms as an alternative to *arm-chair*, *jaw-bone*, *rose-bud*, *sea-side*, *sky-lark* (Elphinston 1765: I 356); see further below under *c. Meaning*.

Hyphenation interacts with the use of capitals in grammarians who spell common nouns with an initial capital (see EWF s. *capitals*). Fisher (1750: 42) lays down the following rule for compounds formed of two words:

the [second Word] must never begin with a Capital, except Names of Countries, Towns, or Offices [...].

The following examples show how the rule operates:

|                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Fisher (1750)           | Fisher (1779)           |
| <i>Fellow Creatures</i> | <i>Fellow-creatures</i> |
| <i>News Paper(s)</i>    | <i>News-paper</i>       |
|                         | <i>News-writers</i>     |
| <i>Weather Cock</i>     |                         |
| <i>Weather-cock</i>     |                         |
| <i>Writing-books</i>    | <i>Writing Books</i>    |

Turning to Baker (1770), we find that his relevant material (forms written solid and open compounds apart) is pretty evenly divided between forms that Fisher would have approved (*News-paper*) and forms representing an intermediate stage (*News-Paper*). To what extent the two conventions match underlying stress patterns is not clear, but a scrutiny of Baker's grammar yields *Candle-Light*, *Lamp-Lights* on the one hand and *Candle-light Piece* on the other; *History-Painting* (alone) but *History-painting and Sculpture* (or the expression might have been misunderstood as implying 'history painting and history sculpture'). The question whether initial capitalization is the author's doing or the printer's cannot be discussed here (but see EWF: 27-28).

The tendencies noted above are discernible in other source texts and suggest a four-point compounding scale: *News Paper*, *News-Paper*, *News-paper*, *Newspaper*.

#### b. Stress

As far as accentuation is concerned (see EWF s. *stress*), the early grammarians normally do not distinguish between hyphenated two-word compounds and disyllables written solid. The implication of, for example, the following statement is clear:

The Hyphen [...] is used when two Words are joined together, and are pronounced like a single Word; as *Bird-cage*. (Hallifax 1765: XXIV)

However, at least three grammarians note a difference of stress between the two types of compound.

According to Lane (1700: 19), non-hyphenated compounds have initial stress and hyphenated ones ('Half-Compounds') have level (double) stress ("as a *Water-Spider*"), and he warns his readers that

if the Custom of the language has put them under one Accent, we must write them in one Word without a Hyphen, as a *Shoomaker*, not a *Shóo-maker*; a *Highlander*, not a *High-lander*.



But he is not consistent, for in spite of the hyphen he puts the accent on the first syllable in *Book-seller*, *Watch-man* (Lane 1700: 19). Manson (1762: e1v), too, double-stresses hyphenated compounds, each of the two elements having "a distinct accent; as *above-board*". Elphinston contrasts absolute compounds (written solid) with occasional compounds (hyphenated):

noun's occasional compounds have the stress on the latter part, whereas the absolute draw it to the former. Thus we say *hind-head*, as well as *hind-foot*, and the *hind-head* as well as *forehead*; so *fore-side* and *fore-foot*, *foreside* and *backside*, &c. (Elphinston 1765: I 352)

In the same vein he states that

[the accent in] *gold-watch*, *sea-side*, and other occasionally specified objects, lies upon either side as the thing or the kind is in question. (Elphinston 1765: I 162-63)

Elphinston's views seem to clash with those held by Lane and Manson. However, more recent findings suggest that the conflict is an imaginary one. In reality, the first element of double-stressed compounds bears a secondary accent (Gimson 1980: 229-30), and according to Jones (1948: 238-39), level stress is used when "the second element of a compound is felt to be of special importance". There is good reason to think that what Elphinston describes as terminal stress covers the same range of facts that 'level stress' currently does. If so, he is not at odds with Lane and Martin after all.

### c. Meaning

A reference to meaning is sometimes incorporated into the definition of compounds:

Compound Words are either two Names, &c. joined in one with a Hyphen, as *Ale-house*, *Inn-keeper*, in which each Word keeps its proper Signification, or else [...]. (Gough 1754: 98)

What is a hyphen? A short line, placed [...] between two words, when they seem to have but one signification; as *watch-man*, *sea-water* [...]. (Meilan 1771: 35)

A compound word is made up of two entire words, and partakes of the meaning of both [...] *God-head*, *heaven-born*, *manhood*. (Wood 1777: 1)

According to Priestley (1762: 142-43), the component parts of, for example, *vain-glorious* "have separately a distinct signification [...] which they retain in conjunction". The reason why Gough and Priestley bring in meaning is not obvious, as their description would have been equally valid for a syntactic group. Meilan on the other hand expresses himself in terms very similar to Bally's definition of

compound as "a syntagma expressive of a single idea" (Bally 1944: 94). Wood's statement ("partakes of the meaning of both") is slightly ambiguous.

The interdependence of meaning, stress and spelling is particularly in evidence in Elphinston, who draws an orthographic-prosodic-semantic distinction between 'absolute' and 'occasional' compounds. Absolute compounds typically have initial stress, are written solid, and are inseparable in the sense that they do not lend themselves to syntactic paraphrase; by contrast, occasional compounds are hyphenated and separable and have a different stress-pattern. The component parts of *blackbird*, *gentleman*, *holiday* are "combined in a peculiar idea" (Elphinston 1765: I 358). Contrasting the two types Elphinston (1765: I 356) mentions *oxeye* ('the Corn Marigold') vs. *ox-eye*, and in Elphinston (1790: 117) *bookseller* vs. *book-seller* ('hoo professionally, or occazzionally, sels it'), *Indiaman* ('India-ship') vs. *India-man* ('man ov India'). Further, he makes the shrewd observation that the 'transposition' (see EWF q.v.) behind compounds like *godfather* ('father to (towards) God'), *watchmaker* ('maker of watches') (Elphinston 1765: I 357, 359) is not universally applicable:

But the indirect or prefixed specification finds no place in denominations of form or solemnity: as *term of art*, *father in law* [...] *cat-of-nine-tails*: never *art-term*, &c. (Elphinston 1765: I 359)

By the mid-18th century, the compounding system which is most fully described by Elphinston had begun falling apart. The hyphen was losing its distinctive functions, and this leads Elphinston, and other grammarians as well, to regard some (formally defined) absolutes as (semantically) more absolute than others. First, if there was a difference of meaning between *rose-bud* and *rosebud* (cf. above, 2.a, *Absolute compounds*), it must have been very slight. Secondly, the meaning of *godfather* is not self-explanatory, but as we have seen, the word is resolvable (transposable). Thirdly, there are "absolute compounds that combine a peculiar meaning, as *husband*, *coxcomb*, *woodpecker*" and "cannot be resolved, without losing the appropriated term in the general phrase" (Elphinston 1765: I 357).

### Summary

*Prepositive compounds* include preparticle + simplex combinations (*downcast*, *withstand*) and prefixed forms (*mistake*, *unfold*). Preparticles as well as prefixes are 'inseparable prepositions'.

Using orthographical and operational criteria, the early grammarians describe *non-prepositive compounds* in terms of hyphenation, capitalization, and transposition. A cohesive gradient of six contrasting forms suggests itself:

|                 |                 |                 |                |                  |                  |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1               | 2               | 3               | 4              | 5                | 6                |
| <i>Rose Bud</i> | <i>Rose-Bud</i> | <i>Rose-bud</i> | <i>rosebud</i> | <i>godfather</i> | <i>gentleman</i> |

The basic pattern is 1 vs. 2-3 vs. 4-6, that is, open compounds (separate) vs. occasional or half-compounds (hyphen) vs. absolute compounds (solid). Initial capitals account for the 2 vs. 3 contrast. 4 represents forms written solid in free variation with a hyphenated one: 4 vs. 5-6. Finally, 4 and 5 are resolvable / permit transposition / can be linked to syntactic paraphrases: 4-5 vs. 6. Comparatively few grammarians take up problems connected with the prosody and semantics of compounds. As far as accentuation is concerned, Lane (1700) and Manson (1762) distinguish between compounds written solid (initial stress) and hyphenated compounds (level stress). Elphinston (1765, 1790) deserves special mention for his innovative treatment of meaning in relation to formal characteristics (including stress) and syntactic transparency.

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## **Breaking Old Ground: African American English and the Search for its Past**

*David Sutcliffe*

The English vernacular spoken by African Americans in the United States has been the focus of much linguistic research and vigorous debate over the last three decades - not least because of the importance of this group for the well-being of the United States and its social fabric. But the purely linguistic challenge is that the more we find out about the grammatical structures of the system of African American Vernacular English [AAVE] the more difficult it seems to understand the overall picture, and the more disagreement arises about the system and its origins. A basic area of controversy is the relationship which AAVE bears to Atlantic Creoles: some linguists are convinced there are structural similarities with Gullah and other creoles, pointing to a creole ancestry for present-day AAVE. Others are equally convinced that almost all AAVE syntax has evolved from the original British English input - if pidgins and creoles were spoken on the American plantations in the past, they have left little imprint on the modern dialect. This very lack of consensus has been a powerful stimulus to research, in turn extraordinarily enriching to sociolinguistics and variation studies.

### **Connecting with the past**

One major area of research interest, then, is in the reconstruction of the history of Afro-American language in North America to arrive at an understanding of the varieties out of which present-day AAVE has emerged. The problem is that available evidence for even the 19th century linguistic situation is thin (until recently scholars would have said almost non-existent) in sharp contrast to the importance this period had for the group concerned, with the American Civil War culminating in the breakup of slavery. However, around 1990 there was an important development that promised to improve this situation: it became known that recordings were available of African Americans who had been born before the Civil War, and recorded in most cases in the thirties and forties. These Ex-slave Recordings [ESR] had lain neglected in the Library of Congress for many years. Altogether, there were relatively good recordings of interviews with 11 speakers, born in the antebellum South, from Texas to Virginia.

By 1990, in fact, the lack of consensus in the field had reached a state of deadlock which linguists hoped would be broken by the emergence of the new historical evidence. In the event, when the data appeared (in Bailey et al. 1991) they seemed to offer little evidence of a more creole-like precursor to modern AAVE, or indeed

of anything very different from contemporary American English vernaculars. After painstaking transcription and analysis, even the scholars who were *predisposed* by their training to find overt creole found almost none - other, that is, than in the Gullah-speaker in the sample, Wallace Quarterman. And Gullah, spoken on the Atlantic seaboard is of course a recognised creole. Based on this and on studies of AAVE's development during the 20th century, William Labov made the following assessment:

The general conclusion that is emerging from studies of the AAVE is that the modern dialect, as we know it, is a creation of the 20th century and not inheritance of the 19th. The typological resemblances to the grammars of the Caribbean are therefore not a direct inheritance, but represent parallel drift or development, a phenomenon more difficult to account for than direct transmission. (Labov: forthcoming)

### Parallel drift as linguistic process

In coming to this conclusion, Labov is not simply taking into account the negative evidence of the dearth of creole features above all in the ESR materials. On the positive side, Labov's argument is based on several studies including Spears (1982), Bailey and Maynor (1985), Myhill (1991), Edwards (1991) and above all Dayton (1986) which show that AAVE has certain creole-like aspectual features that developed and expanded rapidly over the 20th century. These include completive/intensive marker *done*, remote past marker stressed *been*, semi-auxiliary *come* and invariant *be*. Labov's current position thus contains a further surprising innovation: the notion of an Afro American component and a coexisting General English component within AAVE syntax. The former is the part of AAVE which contains the creole-like features in question.

The concept of parallel drift is a fascinating one. No background theory for such a process is offered, and there probably is none to draw on within the existing linguistics literature. Unless, that is, we take it that parallel drift involves a hidden steering mechanism: the indirect transmission of typological principles which may be activated at a later date - and this seems to be what Labov is implying. There is, after all, a tacit assumption of a connection between AAVE and the Caribbean, for historical reasons, a specific connection that cannot be assumed in the same way for AAVE and (say) Alaskan English.

At all events it seems clear that parallel drift (PD) in one form or another does exist as a linguistic process. One obvious candidate for PD is the way the linguistic developments mentioned above have occurred simultaneously within AAVE itself, during the 20th century in widely separated communities throughout the United States. It is not easy to explain this degree of continuing homogeneity. Abstracting from these and other instances, it can be seen that the concept of parallel drift provides a valid new standpoint from which to approach linguistic change.

### Parallel drift and transmission

One of the pillars of Labov's argument for the operation of PD independently from direct transmission is that 20th century African American dialects contain creole-like features and these or similar features are not found in 19th century data. It is this assumption which I think needs to be revised for the following reasons.

In the first place, the data-base on which it depends is unduly limited. Linguists have tended to take the nine hours of the ESR materials as *the* source for linguistic data from 19th century-born Black speakers. 19th century evidence of this sort is understandably scarce anyway, yet only a small proportion of what there is has been looked at by present-day linguists. There are other recordings to consider, which would in themselves increase the data-base several fold. Indeed, the recorded corpus which has been worked upon, the ESR, contains whole archives which were previously overlooked. These are still unknown to researchers in this field.<sup>1</sup> There are also works of fiction which reproduce 19th century AAVE with varying degrees of fidelity, but which should not be ignored.

Also, we have to try to compare like with like, and this is problematic. Labov specifically says of the grammatical particles typical of the Afro-American component of modern AAVE, that their use is "concentrated in the kind of face-to-face interaction which requires direct observation of the participant-observer" (Labov: forthcoming). The studies carried out on these features are in fact based on data collected via this kind of participation. The Ex-Slave Recordings, in contrast, were recorded in a relatively formal interview situation by outsiders.

Recent work on various 19th century corpora and studies of isolated Afro-American communities, are together beginning to show that the AAVE of earlier centuries was not bereft of creole-like features, and that these features, or the system behind them, could have been transmitted in the normal way. The evidence in question is all the more telling because it comes from a variety of mutually supporting sources. But since what Labov calls the Afro-American component of AAVE has developed and expanded rapidly over the last one hundred years the argument for Parallel Drift still stands, suggesting a complex process which is not well understood at the present time.

Obviously the question of whether a creole was spoken anywhere in the United States outside the Gullah area lies at the heart of this issue. The existence of such a creole cannot be ruled out. On the contrary, I would say that we are nearer than ever before to showing conclusively that it did exist. However, linguistic variation on the plantations probably did not involve discrete varieties, so that any putative creole would have involved the inclusion or exclusion, along a continuum, of certain overt creole features (see Viereck 1991). The most recent evidence for a prior creole

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<sup>1</sup> Ex-slave recordings used for analysis in this chapter are (cassette copies of) the interviews with L. Smalley, F. Hughes, H. Smith and C. Smith. When these were supplied by the Library of Congress, in late 1995, some archives in the batch were found to be "new discoveries" not known to Bailey et al. (1991). I now have filtered reel-to-reel copies of all interviews (minus the "new" archives) provided by Tom Wilmeth of Concordia University. I would like to thank Guy Bailey for his assistance with this.

comes from Bailey/Thomas (forthcoming). Based on their spectrographic comparison of vowel spaces in 19th century AAVE with the vowel spaces of 19th century White Southern Vernaculars on the one hand and Caribbean creoles on the other, they concluded that some version of the creole hypothesis must be correct.

In the remainder of this work we shall be looking at further evidence from the 19th century, from a variety of sources, bearing on the relationship between AAVE and the creoles. We shall also look at the evidence for an actual creole or semi-creole in use on at least some the plantations until the dissolution of the system.

### The sources

Linguistic data analysed in this chapter are drawn from a variety of sources, including the Ex-slave recordings from Laura Smalley (LS), Fountain Hughes (FH), Harriet Smith (HS), and Charlie Smith (CS), and the analysis has benefited from insights from the Hyatt corpus of transcribed recordings (Hyatt, 1978). But full use is also made of written corpora, especially Harris (1982).

As John Rickford perceptively points out (1991: 312) we can learn much about the previous stages of the language from written sources which we would be hard put to learn in any other way. To do so, however, we have come to terms with the specific problems that written sources pose. The biggest problem for our purposes, perhaps, is that written samples of stigmatised vernaculars are often (not always) written by standard speakers whose ability to reproduce the vernacular is often (not always) limited. We may also have to overcome institutionalised reluctance to use such sources as linguistic data. At any rate we are now seeing increasing use of written data in studies of linguistic variation and change over long periods of time (for example Kroch 1989; One-Soon Her 1990).

One valuable corpus of 19th century AAVE is provided by the Uncle Remus stories told in Afro-American vernacular, and actually written by the white journalist Joel Chandler Harris in the last quarter of the 19th century. Of course, the question of the reliability of Harris's data immediately comes to mind, and his personal biography is relevant here.

Harris was born in 1848 and spent his earliest years in rural central Georgia. At the outbreak of the Civil War he went to live on the nearby plantation of Turnwold in Putmon county, and continued there until 1866. This period of his life was to have a lasting effect on him. Subsequently, as an adult, he lived for a short time in Savannah and was able to compare vernacular he already knew with the Gullah of coastal Georgia. The experience probably focused his linguistic knowledge.

While painfully shy in most circumstances, Harris absorbed and took part in the African American culture that streamed around him, and that apparently gave him a persona and channel of expression he found liberating. As a result, he later claimed he could think in Black dialect (Hemenway 1982: 16). From the evidence that has come down to us, it seems that he was remarkably in tune with the Afro-American culture of his day. And this is further borne out by analysis of his recreation of the language, as we shall see. Harris's literary achievement is rooted in this understanding, which at its best transcends stereotyping or patronage. Sterling Brown



himself observed that the Uncle Remus of the animal stories was "finely achieved" and "one of the best characters in American literature" (quoted in Hemenway 1982: 19). This has linguistic implications: Harris's strength as a writer lies in his accuracy.

The complete Joel Chandler Harris AAVE corpus runs into 10 volumes and a third of a million words. The first volume, containing some 45,000 words from Remus and other African Americans, was used for much of the quantitative analysis presented here. The importance of this underrated source of information on 19th century Black English is considerable. Not least because the corpus is 19th century *in real time*: in other words, Harris was writing in the 1870's and 1880's and recording the language as it was being used around him. In fact, in his linguistic presentation of the aged uncle Remus, we know that Harris took as his model the vernaculars of Blacks born around the turn of the 19th century (see Hemenway 1982: 13). Scholars refer to the language of the Ex-slave Recordings as 19th century, since it was produced by speakers born in the mid-19th century. Applying the same yardstick to the Harris corpus, the Remus variety can be seen to reach back to the very end of the 18th century.

Secondly, the language data that Harris' books contain was recorded mentally during informal interaction either with Harris or within his hearing: the other participants did not know they were being "recorded" (particularly enlightening on this is Hemenway 1982: 17-18). We surely have no hope of getting data at this level for the 19th century, unless we use sources like Harris. He gathered his data rather as Elizabeth Dayton did (1986) in an off-record way. Which may explain why his writings contain some of the classical features of the Afro-American component, including remote stressed *been*:<sup>2</sup>

1. I *bin* knowin' dat jug now gwine on sixty-fi' year, an de jug w'at's more seetful [deceitful] dan dat jug ain't on de topline er de worrul.  
(Harris 1982: 210)

Thirdly, although this is written data, we have text-internal indications (and biographical detail) which suggest that Harris's AAVE is authentic. The "dialect writing" that Harris produces is internally consistent, and represents a language variety which differs in important ways from mainstream dialects of English. Furthermore, it has certain features in common with other Afro-American varieties including Gullah, and mediates between them and modern-day AAVE. This is evident for example when we look at the Harris data's preverbal marking system and pronoun and copula combinations.

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<sup>2</sup> I actually have a recorded example of 19th century remote stressed BEEN, from the Library of Congress archives. Mrs H. McClintock of Alabama was recorded in 1940. Asked about when she learnt a particular song from her mother, she exclaims: "Woo! I don't know. Shè BÉEN dead bout near thirty-five year". BEEN has stress and high "tone". I'm very grateful to Joanne Neff for supplying me with this recording.

## Analysis

## DONE and past-marking

It is well-known that in modern AAVE the *done* preverbal article is followed by the inflected verb (arguably, the past participle) as Edwards (1991) and others have shown. This compares and contrasts with Gullah, Guyanese and other Caribbean Creoles: There is a *done* + *verb* construction in these languages, with approximately the same completive meaning if not the intensive meaning. In these languages, however, the verb after *done* is left uninflected, as is the simple past verb. Thus, we find *X don go* [already] and *X go* [last week] where modern AAVE tends very strongly to have *X done went* [already] and *X went* [last week]. *X done went* (etc) appears now to be categorical. Table 1. shows the rate of inflection of the verb after *done*, in 19th century Gullah and Harris AAVE.

TABLE 1. Rate of inflection after preverbal *done*

| 19th century Gullah     |   | Harris AAVE |       | Modern AAVE              |   |
|-------------------------|---|-------------|-------|--------------------------|---|
| N                       | % | N           | %     | N                        | % |
| CATEGORICALLY<br>ABSENT |   | 22          | 63.6% | CATEGORICALLY<br>PRESENT |   |

Sources: Harris (1982); Stoddard (1949); Weldon (1994)

Figures for *done* + *verb* in the ESR data are not presented since very few realisations have been found in those data - Tagliamonte forthcoming (under)estimates the total number as 7 - and at least 4 of these are in ambiguous, don't-count environments. The problem of ambiguity is a recurrent one in AAVE. However, *done* occurs with a clearly uninflected verb in the ESR at least twice:

2. I done show it to you!  
(Charlie Smith, line 327, replicated line 331)

Similarly we present no statistical analysis of this feature in the Hyatt ("Hoodoo") corpus, important as this is as a source of 19th and early 20th century AAVE. The overwhelmingly predominant discourse genre in this data is the recipe or description of process. For this reason, a type of instruction imperative occurs with very high frequency, while *done* preverbal marker is rare. Viereck (1989).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In Caribbean creoles, in contrast, the *done* particle is used in descriptions of processes with the meaning of "finished", marking a completed stage. Edwards (1993: 241-42).

### AIN'T Negator

Another feature that has been analyzed in various sources of AAVE data is the use of *aint* + uninflected verb, corresponding to past tense *didn't* (present tense *don't*) in standard English, negating the simple as opposed to the continuous aspect. In the study by Weldon (1994) of modern AAVE data from Ohio, Weldon found that the form can now only have past tense reference (where it competes with *didn't*, a form which is increasingly replacing it) while in the simple present, the *dont* negator is used exclusively. In fact, in Weldon's analysis, late 20th century AAVE *aint* + uninflected verb is the total equivalent of standard *didn't*.

Additionally, modern AAVE *aint* plus verb may express present perfect meaning, but in this case the following verb is inflected. In these respects, then, the AAVE system has aligned with mainstream English so that *aint* has become a simple lexical replacement for standard *didn't* and *haven't* in the respective constructions. What we find in Harris AAVE is that most occurrences of *aint* negator before an uninflected verb refer to the past, but not quite all. Once again, this compares and contrasts with the pattern in Atlantic creoles. In the latter, there is no separate present perfect form of the verb. *Aint* is used before an unmarked verb, but (in contrast to contemporary AAVE) tense reference may be present or past, depending on whether the following verb is stative or non-stative Winford (1993). There are few occurrences of this form in the available Ex-slave Recordings [ESR]. For that reason, figures are not given here. However, creole-like examples can be found of *aint* + *uninflected verb* with present (or rather non-past) tense reference. One instance occurs in the Laura Smalley interview and her description of a brutal flogging. Significantly, it involves a stative verb:

3. Lay there and watch her whipped so bad, you know, she didn't want to eat, you know. Ef you Pa duh whip you half a day, *you aint want* eat. Not at all. No. (LS: 227)

Here, the sequence *aint want eat* seems to have non-past/hypothetical reference, (compare a use of *don't want* with conditional meaning, by Fountain Hughes in his ESR interview, line 47).

But it is in the expression of the perfect after negator *aint* where we see the most significant difference between Harris AAVE and present-day AAVE: often the verb reference is ambiguous between simple past (completive) and present perfect. In these cases the verb following *aint* is invariably the uninflected verb. Where, however, the verb has clear perfect reference, the following verb is most often inflected, but not always. The full pattern is as follows (with the position for modern AAVE (Weldon 1994) and 19th century Gullah (Stoddard 1949) given for comparison:

TABLE 2. Inflection of verb after *aint* in 2 semantico-syntactic environments

|                      | 19th-century<br>Gullah  | Harris AAVE |       | 20th century AAVE<br>(Weldon) |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------|-------------------------------|
|                      | N.    %                 | N.          | %     | N.    %                       |
| past<br>reference    | CATEGORICALLY<br>ABSENT | 10*         | 10.0% | CATEGORICALLY<br>ABSENT       |
| perfect<br>reference | CATEGORICALLY<br>ABSENT | 17          | 64.7% | CATEGORICALLY<br>PRESENT      |

sources: Stoddard (1949); Harris (1982); Weldon (1994)

\*Includes ambiguously past/perfect occurrences

On these measures at least, Harris AAVE takes up a position in linguistic space between Gullah on the one hand and ESR AAVE and contemporary AAVE on the other. This is a significant finding since it indicates the relative reliability of the Harris data, in showing a coherent trend. More than that, it fits with the idea that at some point before the 20th century, some though not necessarily all vernacular speech used by African-Americans outside the Gullah area was more creole-like than it is now, and suggests that a shift may taken place in AAVE over the last 150 years or so.

One final insight into the validity of the Harris data can be noted by comparison with Hannah (1995) and her work on the AAVE of the isolated Samaná community in Santo Domingo, settled in the 19th century. Modern urban AAVE has the pronoun forms *wha's* ("what's") and *tha's* (that's) invariantly as the subject of copular sentences regardless of the complement. Harris' AAVE shows a difference in that simple *what* and *that* can also be used, but only before an NP complement. Hannah notes the same trend, but taken further, in that simple *what* rather than *wha's* is categorical in copular sentences where the complement is NP.<sup>4</sup>

#### The question of a creole level to the continuum

In looking at aspects of a possible relationship between 19th century AAVE and the creoles, use has been made of volume one of the Harris corpus, amongst other sources. But the latter (as it has come down to us) contains little or no overt creole. The implicit features of the sort we have been considering so far - uninflected verbs, zero copulas and other zero realisations - are another matter. In other words, a case

<sup>4</sup> I have no information on Dawn Hannah's figures for *that/that's* as subject of copular sentences. It should be noted that Poplack/Tagliamonte (1989) found the Samaná English variety to be much closer to standard than Hannah did.

has been made for latent creole typology in this 19th century language, rather as Labov and colleagues have done, in a more thorough way, for the 20th century, but so far there has been no glimmer of an overtly creole source from which this tendency might be emanating. Harris himself says this about the version of the language he uses in his books:

The dialect is [...] different from the intolerable misrepresentations of the minstrel stage, but it is at least phonetically genuine.

(Harris 1880, Introduction)

Harris's understatement seems to imply that there are other differences, besides the phonological, that have not been fully reflected in what we have been calling Harris AAVE. It seems to confirm the suspicion that he edited out those structures and morphemes that whites would be least familiar with. The linguistic analysis done so far indicates that this editing had less impact on the core linguistic system than his comment would suggest.

But Harris was a perfectionist. He evidently experienced a change of heart, and began to correct what he had written. This was to make the dialect more "accurate", a process of editing in the opposite direction from that mentioned above. At this point he was less interested in accommodating the white lay reader, and more concerned that linguists might find fault with his transcription (cf. Harris 1982: 36). Most of these alterations were not finally included in the published edition, but are extant in the manuscript kept at Emory University's Woodruff Library. It would be extremely useful to look at these alterations to see what they can tell us about 19th century AAVE, and its basilectal-acrolectal axis of variation. In the meantime, the Harris evidence we have points in the direction of a creole, but does not reveal it.

However, fine-combing the ESR materials, especially the archives not previously available, has revealed limited fragments – isolated morphemes and microswitches – which suggest that a Gullah-like creole could have still been in use in the second half of the 19th century outside the Gullah area, although this is not yet shown conclusively.

#### Genderless 3rd person pronouns

Perhaps the most persuasive single piece of evidence is the use of the pronoun *um* [əm]. This is an oblique pronoun which in Gullah is used for the singular masculine and feminine ("him", "her") and for the plural ("them"). In modern Barbadian the same pronoun is used but reference is now limited to masculine singular and to the plural. We find the same range of uses in 19th century data. Harris uses it regularly for "them", and variably for "him" or "it":

4. Mr Rabbit see de fox, en he sass *um* en jaws *um*

(Harris 1982: 165)

Like modern Bajans, Harris never uses *um* for "her" in our data (volume one). This would be an outright creolism, indication enough that a creole is being spoken or borrowed from. But *um* feminine occurs in the ESR materials, in the speech of

Texan Laura Smalley. Below we present what is surely one of the most enthralling narratives in the whole corpus. It tells of an encounter Laura Smalley's mother had with Native Americans in the early 19th century. The text is given in full also because it contains a number of putative creole features and provides a sample of a more basilectal level of 19th century AAVE. The archive it is taken from (5497A) does not appear in Bailey et al.(1991).

5. LS: `A nyúse yèar `mámá !tálk á!bóut úm when say sh..when she was a chile [1.8 seconds pause] *he* say dat uh, one mornin she went out an Ole Mistress - she'd big nough you know for to handle water - an said when she go to de door, open de door, that the stars was fallin. Now when (the) stars was fallin (th)at mornin, an said she didn know. An said Ole Mistress looked out an says: Dont chew go out there! She says uh star(s)..She says she jus went like meat fryin you know, she said the whole Earth was jus, jus uh, lil-up you know. Said they jus go:n like meat fry: ffwffwffwffw. Jus fore day.

En said dat uh, when she went to go duh duh spring [to the spring], an the stars fell, say when they quit fall, twas daylight. An say she met some Injuns, India..Indians, down 'ere - you know they pack [carry] water fom a spring she said. An say she met some wild Indian(s). An they had, Ole Missus' cook had givuh a piece of bread, an dey give her duh, dey givum de beads you know, give *um*, give er, give er some beads. Some beads you know, an took the bread, an evi...

[FW Oh!]

Yessum, an took the bread fom er. An said evitime she go uh step in front, or go uh walk they des step in front uvuh, evitime den she go uh walk they step in front uvuh. An said findly, at last dey had the bread up an retch the han back you know, an took de, took the beads (a)way fomuh. En dat said they was wild. Take it away fomuh. An say she went back tuh the house, cryin, went back tuh the house cryin, said that, she tole she met some people who took er bread, en give er some beads an took the beads away from er. An das only ever A hear talk of wild Injuns...Indians, in ma life. I never hear talk of no Indian(s). Aint never seed one.

(LS: Library of Congress archive 5497A, situated between line 365 and 366 of LS interview, General Transcript)

The whole tenor of the passage is set by the opening sentence, which is strikingly basilectal, perhaps because of the speaker's involvement with telling the story. I hear it as: [ʌ nju:s jɪə mʌmʌ tɔ:k əbaərɔ̃]. The creole-like intonation can be transcribed in

terms of low, high, and downstepped high "tones". The latter are here assigned to the embedded clause as in Jamaican (Sutcliffe 1992: 113).

'A nyúse yèar      'má má      !tálk      á !bóut      úm  
 ("I used to hear      mother      talk      about      them")

According to the story, Laura Smalley's mother waits for the meteorite shower to finish, and then sets out alone for the spring. Since she is alone when she meets the Native Americans, we have to take it that *um* (here) means "her". Viereck (1991) in a finely-balanced analysis of Atlantic seaboard AAVE data from the written Ex-Slave Narratives, takes genderless *um* or *em* to be creole morphemes, and indeed one of the classical creole features of for example Gullah, Jamaican and other creoles is the lack of gender in the pronoun. The two realisations of *um*, occurring in rapid speech, could be explained away as performance errors.

This would be quite likely, but for the fact that in line 2, the speaker also uses the subject pronoun *he* to refer to her mother. This comes after a 1.8 seconds pause: performance error is not a good explanation here, and even less so for the 3 realisations taken as a whole. The General Transcript itself features one example of Laura Smalley's use of *he* for "she", at line 578.

There are more instances of genderless UM in Laura Smalley's interview but they all present difficulties. In one case several UM tokens are used to refer to a female dog, which could be regarded as simply an "it", but there is coreferentiality between *um* and *her* (LS: archive 4598A): *0 carried um buried her*. This is: "they took UM [3rd SING GENDERLESS] out and buried her".

Another instance is a simple nasalised schwa vowel, used in rapid speech (LS: 197): *when mistress gon whup* ɔ̃ ("when mistress went to beat her" . Here, where it refers to Aunt M.A. the ɔ̃ can only be distinguished from "her" if and when the sound system of the language variety makes a phonemic distinction between nasal and oral vowels. At this point the General Transcript has "when mistress started whoop her". Notice, at all events, that *um* is realised in precisely the same way in the opening sentence of the Star Shower narrative. In the latter case, however, it has plural reference: "them".

No genderless UM or HE tokens were found in the other ESR interviews which were available for this analysis – Fountain Hughes [FH], Harriet Smith [HS] and Charlie Smith [CS]. HS used pronouns with female singular reference 32 times, always *she/her*. FH used only 3 tokens (all *she*), and CS used only one token (*she*).

### DUH as a possible aspectual marker

Laura Smalley's language in much of the rest of the interview is not so non-standard, presumably in response to the situation: she was being interviewed by

John Henry Faulk, a white man whom she hardly knew. However, there are number of putative microswitches or small intrusions from a different linguistic level. Most significant of all is the use of what seems to be a preverbal *duh* non-punctual particle to express habitual action, as in:

6. But they was sure fine white folks over there, whuh I *duh* wórk at.  
(LS: 506)

"...where I used to work at"

There is retrogressive vowel assimilation here: [hwΛ:ɪ də wΛɪk ət] and this results in a combination that is opaque from a standard English point of view. The pronoun in fact is [Λɪ], as in Gullah. The General Transcript has:

7. But they was sure fine white folks over there, where they work at.

The second "they" of this version is a non-sequitur, since the only employee Mrs. Smalley is talking about is herself. Further support for the interpretation as in 5. comes from the occurrence of a closely similar collocation:

8. An tha's whuh I worked at, bout four or five years.  
(LS: 478)

Here once again we get vowel assimilation: [hwΛ:ɪ wΛɪk tət]. This time Smalley omits the preverbal particle, and supplies the past tense ending instead. The pronoun (extracted from the assimilation) this time is [Λɪ] with an open vowel. As a past habitual marker, *duh* occurs only in certain mesolectal and basilectal Atlantic creoles, for example Gullah and Virgin Islands creole,<sup>5</sup> so confirming its occurrence is of no small importance. If this can be confirmed, what we have here, almost by definition, is a fragment of creole.

Unfortunately, there are only 5 or 6 other apparent instances of this DUH non-punctual marker anywhere in the four ESR interviews available for this analysis (LS, FH, HS, CS) and most of these are either ambiguous or nearly inaudible. But in fact another good candidate is Laura Smalley's example 3, above. In that case the utterance means: "if your father goes on whipping you [durative aspect] for half a day, you don't/won't want to eat". The incident in question involved a black overseer flogging his own daughter. Harriet Smith [HS] provides just two rather doubtful examples. But her case is interesting and worth looking at in a little detail. Unlike Laura Smalley, the vast majority of her interview speech is devoid of basilectal or archaic features. Despite that, when John Henry Faulk, the white interviewer, was himself interviewed by Jeutonne Brewer, years later, he made the following unexpected observation:

So I'd known Aunt Harriet [HS] since I was an infant. And she adjusted terribly well to the, well, a little status she had in society [...]. I mean her speech seemed really more primitive than Laura Smalley's was though, which surprised me, 'cause I would think it would be the other way around. Aunt

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Anita Henderson for confirming its occurrence in the Virgin Islands (St. Croix). In several other creoles the equivalent particle is *da*.



Harriet was surrounded by white families all her life, you know, and very close to our family. And Laura Smalley, she lived in isolation down there, isolation as far as the white was concerned. (Brewer 1991: 164).

Even if Faulk had really forgotten about Laura Smalley in the interim, which is quite possible, this is hardly likely in Harriet Smith's case. We can only conclude that, off-record, Harriet Smith had a basilectal style, possibly more basilectal than Laura Smalley used anywhere in her interview. This being the case, we might expect her to slip out of her acrolect somewhere. Example 8 can be seen as such a slip or microswitch, one of possibly only two in the interview - the other occurrence (line 500) raises questions which we have no room to deal with here.

9. Well, I don't know Mr. Faulk. I really don' know my age, only by the, the children *ùh téll* me, of course. (HS: 4-5)

The problem with this instance is that it is not easy to hear. The putative UH (an allomorph of DUH) is heard as a dull low note, with the length of a short vowel, flanked by relative highs: *childrén [Low] téll me*. The General Transcript has: "I really don't know my age, only be the, the children telling me, of course." However that may be, it is possible that a fossilised form of such an UH non-punctual particle has been retained right into modern AAVE. The present-day dialect has the "I'mo" future of immediate intention apparently restricted to the first person singular. This form is also written as *I'm a*:

10. The eyes had to tell what there was to tell: "Help me this mornin; s'bad"; "I'm a make it"; "New man"; "Steady now steady." (Morrison 1988: 107)

The *I'm* "contraction" may here be a single morph [aim]: Sutcliffe (1996: 6-8) followed by an UH particle [ə]. Laura Smalley uses the *I'mo* future just once in the whole of her interview, in unpublished archive 5498B. She says: *I'mó sèe*: A got four livin children. ("Let me see..."). CH also uses *I'mo* once at CS: 255 (FH and HS do not use the form at all.<sup>6</sup> Invariant use of UH rather than DUH in this collocation finds a parallel in Gullah which invariantly has UH rather than DUH in combinations. For example after the BIN anterior marker, as in 11:

11. Buh rattlesnake *bin uh* gwine troo de wood one time, en one log fall puntup um en fasen um tuh de groun. All e could coil en twis, e could'n git fuhm on'neet da log. (Stoddard 1949: 15)

There is another seeming retention of this sort in the present-day dialect, and that is the formula: *you a lie!* ("you're lying!" or "you're a liar!"). This certainly looks like the UH non-punctual particle, at least in origin, and deserves further investigation. There are examples of this form, too, in print. The following is taken from a novel set in Alabama:

<sup>6</sup> The "tonal" pattern here, *aimó sì*, would seem to argue strongly against the UH-particle interpretation, but this alteration in the pattern may be due to final cadence. More investigation is needed.



Table 3. Functions and realisations of the DUH particle in 19th/20th century AAVE (plus putative creole) and Gullah

|       | Function             | Gullah | AAVE<br>Plus | Allomorph |
|-------|----------------------|--------|--------------|-----------|
| DUH-1 | definite article     | +      | +            | DI, TUH?  |
| DUH-2 | preposition "to"     | +      | +            | TUH, UH   |
| DUH-3 | "infinitive" marker  | +      | +            | TUH, UH   |
| DUH-4 | conditional marker   | +      | +            | UH?       |
| DUH-5 | had-UH; misc. UH     | +      | +            | -         |
| DUH-6 | non-punctual         | +      | ?            | UH, TUH?  |
| DUH-7 | highlighter particle | +      | -            | -         |
| DUH-8 | equative copula      | +      | -            | -         |

When inserted into their context, DUH particles 1-5 are roughly homophonous with their mainstream English counterparts - further examples will make this clearer. If we assume at this point, for argument's sake, that we have remnants of an earlier AAVE system here, and that this system is Gullah-like, then we still have two DUH particles to find: DUH highlighter (DUH-7) and DUH equative copula (DUH-8). The UH allomorph is possible in at least 4 of the functions. In all cases the particles occur with fixed low pitch or "tone", with a high on the stressed syllable of the following verb, if any. The DUH-4 conditional marker is very common in all varieties of AAVE, including Harris AAVE - above all in counterfactuals, where it is homophonous with contracted "would have":

15. ... en he so brash dat leetle mo'en he'd *er* [DUH] grab up de sludge-hammer en *er* [UH] open de racket 'fo' ennybody gun de word.  
(Harris 1982: 141)

With the second realisation in this example, homophony is lost, since the particle is realised as its UH allomorph. The meaning is: "...he would have grabbed the sledge-hammer and would have started the "racket" before anybody gave the word".<sup>8</sup> In 19th century AAVE at least, it is possible to find DUH-4 used also for the present conditional. One instance, apparently, occurs in example 3, above, in the IF conjunct (or could it be an occurrence of non-punctual DUH?). Another instance from Fountain Hughes in the ESR is:

16. You know wha I *dùh* rádl do? (FH: 268)  
("You know what I would rather do?")

<sup>8</sup> As Peter Patrick (p.c.) points out, AAVE DUH used as conditional particle can equally be understood as a reduction of *woulda/wuda*. He points out the JC equivalent of 15 would be: *him (w)uda grab op di hama an a opm di rakit*.

The General Transcript here has "You know what I'd rather do", although Fountain Hughes' pronunciation of a central vowel after the /d/ is quite audible. Under pressure from standard, this present conditional use of DUH seems to have receded in present-day AAVE. Turning now to DUH-3 ("infinitive" marker), the UH variant occurs no less than 3 times in quick succession in Laura Smalley's Star Shower narrative:

17. An said evitime she gó *ùh* stép in front, or gó *ùh* wálk they des step  
in front uvuh, evitime den she gó *ùh* wálk they step in front uvuh.

Contrary to appearances, this is probably not an instance of UH used as non-punctual marker.<sup>9</sup> After all, both the creole and English equivalents must have an infinitive or modal construction here to introduce the unrealised action: compare Jamaican creole "go fi waak" and English "went to walk". The non-punctual is virtually ruled out. At the same time we have zero-inflection for past tense in the verb *go*. This is unlikely to be an historic present, since it occurs in a summary rather than a narrative sequence as such: Labov (1972: 373). LS's *go uh walk* is certainly creole-like: in fact it resembles mesolectal Gullah (see Mufwene 1991). Fountain Hughes provides a confirmatory example of this UH-3 particle:

18. I commence *ùh* hául manure for him (FH: 289)  
("I started to haul manure for him")

This time, however, the particle in 17 could just as easily be UH-6, non-punctual marker - judging by Jamaican creole equivalents. At any rate, building on these examples we are in a better position to understand the *I'mo* (or *I'm uh*) future of immediate intention. Rather than UH-6, it is entirely possible that *I'mo* involves an UH-3 "infinitive" marker, used deontically. Compare Creole *mi fi go* or standard English *I'm to go*, which are similarly deontic, although neither has exactly the same meaning as the *I'mo* form (neither express intention). If so, the question then is whether *you a lie* might also be UH-3, but this time used epistemically. Against this interpretation we have Christie's assertion (1991: 230) that *fi* "infinitive" marker is not used epistemically in Jamaican. The exact semantics here are central to the issue. In general, more research needs to be carried out on these and other instances in modern AAVE of preverbal UH (and DUH) inserted before the simple stem verb.<sup>10</sup>

### Building evidential cross-reference

The evidence tentatively presented here on the possible existence of a creole coexisting with 19th century AAVE, bears on such a crucial point that it needs support from other sources. Furthermore, such evidential support needs to be of a kind that will be observed in the same way by different observers. As Bailey et al.

<sup>9</sup> Here and elsewhere I have benefited greatly from insights gained from Mufwene (1991).

<sup>10</sup> Robin Sabino (p.c.) suggests that the social function of "you a lie" might be to express an iterative, making the accusation less specific.

(1991) have shown to perfection, when working with speech data from the ESR and similar sources, inter-subjective agreement between trained observers is notoriously difficult to achieve. Paradoxically, it is written evidence of the sort provided by Joel Chandler Harris that can offer a way around the impasse. The creole-like occurrences of *done* + verb in the Harris data are an example: these occurrences are easily perceived (since they are on paper) and the analysis is relatively straightforward. In other words, both mechanically recorded and written evidence have their particular difficulties, but these tend to cancel each another out when taken together. All the more so when additional support comes from studies of diaspora varieties such as Hannah (1995) on Samaná.<sup>11</sup>

The crucial question is whether we can obtain written evidence of the putative creole itself (from the United States, outside the Gullah area). The answer is that so far we have almost none, but now we have a better idea of what to look for and where to look for it, this may be improved. Apart from examples 9. and 11. which hardly count, since they illustrate features still current in modern AAVE, there is one written example that is certainly interesting. It differs from anything looked at so far. It was netted like a butterfly on the wing, by a Massachusetts traveller in Natchez.

19. Da he! [referring to a carriage that had drawn up at the front door]  
(King 1879)

Though this is said to be "plantation slang", the speaker is a young white man. He offered a translation: "there it is", suggesting that this is a zero-copula construction. But this really depends where the stress falls. The year is 1872, so the young white man and his black peers are exact contemporaries of Laura Smalley's. The place is Natchez, on the border of Mississippi with Louisiana, the states where Laura Smalley's mother and step-father respectively had come from (LS: 260-63).

## Conclusion

Our findings tentatively suggest that in the 19th century, some varieties of African American speech outside the Gullah area might have been more creole-like than present-day AAVE. This finding converges with those of Bailey/Thomas (forthcoming). Clearly more work is needed, and in particular, much more mainland United States data should be analysed. To do this, the search for new corpora of all kinds should continue. Ongoing contribution from the other main source, diaspora studies, is equally important. And new approaches suggest themselves: following Bailey and Thomas's lead, other similar methods of comparison could be developed - for example, looking at patterns of vowel assimilation, intonation, and pronoun allomorph selection.

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<sup>11</sup> The same is true of information provided by Singler (1991) on Liberian settler English, and by the anglicists Poplack and Tagliamonte (see for example Poplack/Tagliamonte 1991, Tagliamonte forthcoming). Only limits of space preclude bringing these into the discussion in more detail.

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## **PC: Problems in US Language Policy**

*Aleksandr D. Švejcer*

Overview: The article traces variation in the lexicon (euphemistic substitutions), word-building patterns and rules governing the use of some personal pronouns in American English to social attitudes and value orientation and shows the ways some of these changes are linked to the continuous "devaluation" of euphemisms.

Our study of social differentiation of American English (Švejcer 1983: 40-50) discusses in detail the current US policy in interlingual and interdialectal relations. The policy pursued in the USA with respect to Standard English has not yet received sufficient academic attention. This article deals with some of its relatively novel aspects.

A view of socially conditioned variation of language as a unity of its two aspects – objective and subjective – is gaining ground in contemporary sociolinguistics. The objective aspect includes the empirical data of sociolinguistic variables and social differentiation of language and speech. This aspect focuses on such social phenomena as urbanization, social and geographic mobility and their impact on language. The subjective aspect is based on social attitudes, sets of social values, ideological and value orientation.

The Russian sociolinguistic tradition has always emphasized the objective aspect of the social variation of language. In the realm of language policy, viewed as a conscious regulatory influence on language through various social institutions, it has usually assigned the role of its agent to the state, while the role of subjective factors such as public opinion and its value orientation has been either disregarded or considered marginal. In some countries, however, the role of the state in determining and implementing language policy is not so great. This may be exemplified by the USA which, like Great Britain, has no state bodies responsible for language policy or so-called "language academies" (as, for instance, in France or Spain), acting as lawmakers and codifiers of language norms.

It is true that some attempts were made earlier to found an 'American Academy' with a view to "correcting, improving and ascertaining the English language". The idea was first suggested by John Adams in 1780 but never materialized. Yet in 1820, an American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres was founded in New York. It appointed a committee "to collect throughout the United States a list of words and phrases, whether acknowledged corruptions of words or words of doubtful authority" (Mencken 1957: 49-50).

The efforts of that committee, notably, of its member John Pickering, were directed toward eliminating any deviations from the British Standard in the USA. Although these efforts were doomed to failure, they were still echoed to some extent in American school education in the early 20th century (Švejcer 1983: 62).



In present-day America, language usage is codified by the education system, numerous practical style books, dictionaries, grammars, and even computer software. During the past few years, regulatory influence through various constraints and recommendations has been often exerted in response to the demands of various mass movements representing the interests of underprivileged strata (as a rule, minorities). These demands have been particularly amplified by the adoption of a human rights orientation both on the official level and in public opinion. This orientation has been extended to language where it was manifested in the emergence of PC ("politically correct") English.

The mass movement of American Blacks for their civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s was one of the first to give a powerful impetus to the extension of this mind-set to language. A number of bans were imposed on the official use of some words and set phrases which were considered offensive by this ethnic group. Thus the ethnonym 'Negro' and its euphemistic equivalent 'colored' disappeared from printed and electronic media. According to the "Guidelines on Ethnic, Racial and Other Identification", issued by Los Angeles editors on November 10, 1993, the words *Negro* and *Negress* are offensive while the word *colored* should be avoided as having a pejorative connotation except when it is used with respect to South-Africans of mixed racial origin.

These ethnonyms gave way to *black* and *Afro-American* (*African American*):

But the ugliest insult was directed at an African-American woman who is the director of the N.R.D.C.'s environmental project ...  
(The New Yorker, July 24, 1995)

Blacks who were unfavorable to the concept saw it as empty and meaningless. (Science News, July 25, 1970)

The Los Angeles Times proscriptive lists include not only such ethnonyms as *Indian* (used with respect to American Indians) to be replaced by *Native American*, *Amerasian* to be replaced by *Asian American* and *Anglo* meaning 'white', but also words and phrases denoting associated concepts and capable of arousing a negative reaction among members of a certain ethnic group – for instance, *dark continent* and *Black Africa*.

According to the "Guidelines", staff writers and reporters should also avoid idiomatic phrases containing ethnonyms, used with a derogatory connotation such as *Dutch courage*, *Dutch treat*, etc.

In addition to ethnic groups, a protective language policy is extended to groups, based on other features – for instance, demographic factors. Thus the group of citizens formerly designated as *the aged* or *the elderly* is now officially referred to as *senior citizens*, or *seniors* and their status as *senior citizenship*:

Educators have begun to sense that this break in generational continuity ... has deprived many old folks of a desired organic contact with the future that is often lacking in the status of "senior citizenship" (The New York Times, Oct. 29, 1972).

As in the case of ethnonyms, restrictions are also extended here to associated concepts. Thus, American journalists are told to use the phrase *old age* with utmost caution since its age limits vary in different cultures.

Similar renaming has been applied to the so-called "sexual minorities" (for instance, *gay* being used instead of *homosexual*): Instead they [the signs] read: "Thomas Cuite is Anti Homosexual" and "Cuite Oppresses 500,000 New York Gays" (The New Yorker, July 3, 1971). Cf. also 'gay man' and 'gay woman'. On the other hand, the use of such slang appellations as *queer* (homosexual) and *dyke* (lesbian) in the press is considered inadmissible.

Particularly conspicuous are the traces in Standard American English of the feminist movement that has assumed a wide scope in the United States. American feminists vigorously protest against what they describe as manifestations of "sexism", or "male chauvinism", in language. The asymmetry of such honorific titles as *Mister* for men, *Miss* for unmarried and *Mrs.* for married women was seen as a manifestation of inequality forcing a woman to declare her marital status. To eliminate it, an abridged title *Ms.* was introduced both for married and unmarried women:

The proliferation of Women's Lib-oriented journals has served to standardize the movement's special jargon ... Others are also playing the game. "Mrs." and "Miss" are replaced by the noncommittal "Ms."  
(Time, Aug. 31, 1970)

Sometimes the semantic structure of words becomes the target of linguistic reformism. For instance, American feminists object to the use of the word *man* in two meanings ('an adult male' and 'a human being'). It is recommended to use *human* or *human being* in the second meaning. Furthermore, it is considered unacceptable to use the morpheme *-man* in compound words denoting occupations, official positions, etc. except when the referent is male. If the word is used in a generic sense (that is, irrespective of gender), American editors change *mankind* to *humanity* or *humankind*, *spokesman* to *representative* or *spokesperson*, *chairman* to *chair* or *chairperson*, and *manpower* to *labor/work force*.

"Politically correct" English is not supposed to be gender-specific. Even when there exists an opposition of lexical items with gender-specific morphemes (masculine and feminine), a gender-neutral designation is preferred. It is therefore recommended to use *business executive* instead of either *businessman* or *businesswoman*, *lawmakers* or *legislators* instead of *congressmen* or *congresswomen*, *police officer* instead of *policeman* or *policewoman*. Isolated gender-specific feminine forms are also avoided. The neutral *poet* is preferred to the feminine *poetess* and the neutral *aviator* to the feminine *aviatrix*. In other words, PC opts for gender-neutral forms.

One of the most conspicuous contributions of the feminist movement to "politically correct" English is the introduction of the "semi-affix" *-person* into the word-building system. *The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English* defines it as

a combining form used in place of *man* and *woman* in compounds to avoid reference to the individual's gender. Often, however, compounds in *-person* are applied specifically to women, as when a prime minister who is a woman is referred to as a *statesperson*, and such usage defeats the purpose of the replacement". (Barnhart et al. 1980: 351)

Here are some examples of such compounds:

If there is a budding businessperson in your vicinity, check the local Farmers Home Administration office listed under the US Department of Agriculture in the telephone book. (Woman's Day, March 1974)

If, for whatever reason, it has been determined necessary to be of a certain height to be a policeperson, then it seems to follow that only those men and women above that height should be considered. (Newsweek, Nov. 13, 1972)

Need a fix? Making home repairpersons from finger smashers. (The National Observer, May 25, 1974)

The actual manufacture and distribution of the fixtures themselves is rather a matter for the engineers than workpersons. (Esquire, Dec. 1972)

Sometimes such language policies invade a realm of grammar. It involves the choice of personal or possessive pronouns (*he/she* or *his/her*) when the gender of the antecedent is not specified (for instance, when it is used generically as in *doctor*, *teacher*, *linguist*, *person*, or is expressed by indefinite pronouns *somebody*, *anybody*, etc.).

Formerly *he* was used in such cases. Today such phrases as "if anybody reads this book, he will know about dialects", previously considered standard usage, are rejected as "sexist". The preferred form is "he or she will know". Cf. also:

The person who spends all his or her time at work is not hard working: he or she is boring. (Reader's Digest, Dec. 1993)

The use of *they* in such cases was considered acceptable prior to the 19th century but was legislated out of acceptable usage by prescriptive grammarians, though it still occurs in informal spoken English (Wolfram 1991: 134).

Some custodians of the new norm see the remedy in the use of the antecedent in the plural with gender-neutral personal and possessive pronouns *they* and *their*. For instance, the phrase "an athlete can reach the top of his field by hard work and determination" will be changed to "athletes can reach the top of their fields by hard work and determination".

The foregoing leads to a number of conclusions. As regards the influence of external factors on the above mentioned language changes, it should be noted that the demands of various human rights movements which draw attention to the

problems of the population groups they represent have in all cases served as a primary stimulus for these changes.

A sympathetic attitude to these demands was largely due to the considerable influence of human rights ideology on the molding of public opinion that cannot be disregarded by any social institutions including the mass media. In the final analysis, such language changes reflect variation in social attitudes and value orientation. Unfortunately, we have no data to determine the extent to which they have taken root in informal spoken language, although there are some reasons to believe that their positions there are not so solid. This is indirectly evidenced by computer prompts reminding users of the need to avoid gender specific forms such as *businessman*, *salesman*, *executrix*, etc. and use pronominal forms, not specifying the antecedent's gender.

Most of these lexical innovations are euphemisms, intended to replace their synonyms that appear offensive or tactless. For instance, the replacement of *Negro* by its synonyms *black* and *African/Afro-American* was, in all probability due to its consonance and derivational links with the offensive *Nigger*. The replacement of *Amerasian* by *Asian American* involves a change of the key element. In the new form, it is *American*, thus stressing the integration of this group into American society. Some of the euphemistic substitutions are motivated by a desire to "ennoble" and to elevate the group's rank. They include *senior citizen* used in place of *old man/woman* and *Native American* that has replaced *American Indian*. Both cases involve the foregrounding of the referent's positive feature (senior and native).

It cannot be denied, however, that many of the proposed reforms are the handiwork of "naive linguists" who see direct reflexes of social conflicts in language structures and refuse to take into account such regular phenomena of natural languages as homonymy and polysemy. It is inconceivable to them how such different meanings as *man* 'an adult male' and *male* 'a human being' can coexist within the same sound form. Failure to grasp the laws of language sometimes produces amusing results. Cf., for instance, the proposed replacement of *man-made* by *artificial*, *manufactured* or *synthetic* which are far from being its stylistic or even semantic equivalents. Such replacements impoverish language and make it less expressive.

*Man* as 'a human being' has been an inseparable part of the English language, literature, and folklore since time immemorial. How can we translate into PC the classical lines of Robert Burns "for a' that, it's coming yet for a' that, that Man to Man the world o'er shall brothers be for a' that"? Can we replace "Man to Man" by "person to person" or "human to human" without becoming a target of parodists? Cf. also such English idioms as *a man of the world* or *what man has done man can do*.

It seems as though many of such reformative innovations would hardly last long. An ironic reaction to some of them is manifested, among other things, in parodies that from time to time appear in the press. Cf., for instance, the noun *henchperson* (in place of henchman), made up by analogy with *chairperson* and *personkind* (in place of *mankind*) in the following examples:

This week Chairperson Mitchell and her henchpersons looked at the way education brainwashes girls into accepting a submissive domestic role. (The Listener, March 1, 1973)

Readers and writers of both sexes must resist any meaningless neologisms. To do this is to encourage another manifestation of prejudice against reason, meaning and eventually personkind itself. (Time, Oct. 22, 1972)

Our observations show that there is a continuous replacement of such neologisms as a result of a process that may be described as a *devaluation of euphemisms*. This may be illustrated by *colored*, a euphemism for Negro that not only lost its "ennobling" function but, according to the Los Angeles Times "Guidelines" quoted above, is now perceived as pejorative. There are some reasons to believe that its successor, *black*, has also entered the stage of devaluation. For instance, according to the same "Guidelines", its use in the phrase "a black was elected to the committee" is considered tactless and pejorative although in some oppositions as, for instance, "among the participants were 37 blacks and 28 whites" it is acceptable. At any rate, *black* (noun) is obviously giving way to *African/Afro-American*.

Another example is the replacement of *crippled* by *handicapped*. The latter is now negatively evaluated and has been replaced by *disabled*. Cf. also *underdeveloped countries* replaced by *less developed countries* which, in turn, gave way to *developing countries*.

According to our observations, the continuous replacement of euphemisms and their never-ending devaluation are directly linked to the relatively low prestige of their referents. Social attitudes toward a certain group are gradually extended to its designation, and, as a result, a new euphemism ceases to perform its function. There appears a need for a new name which eventually meets the same fate.

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## **The inner-city working class English of Sydney, Australia, around 1900: a linguistic critique of Louis Stone's novel *Jonah***

*Brian Taylor*

In its Social History Feature series on 16 January 1993, the Radio National station of the ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) broadcast the program "Sounding Australian: our changing accent".<sup>1</sup> This program was about the work of an almost forgotten Australian phonetician, Olivia de Pinto, and the collection of recordings of the speech of her teachers' college students and other Australians that she had made in Adelaide, South Australia, in the mid-1940s.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from de Pinto's collection, there is a collection of over 320 reels of tape recordings of some 9,000 Australian high school children in their final, matriculation year at high school, so at the age of sixteen or seventeen, made around 1959/60 by Alex G. Mitchell and Arthur G. Delbridge.<sup>3</sup> Together these two collections appear to constitute the earliest sizeable record of the speech of "ordinary" Australians, i.e. of naive speakers of Australian English, as opposed to that of public figures recorded in formal situations and of Australian radio announcers and actors schooled in the speechways of the BBC.

For any record of the way ordinary Australians spoke in earlier decades, especially the decades before radio, we are very much dependent on literary works. The 19th and early 20th century have not left much record at all of the speech of ordinary Australians, and what references to it there are show it to have been in

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<sup>1</sup> The present paper is a considerably revised version of the paper "Sydney English around 1900: a linguistic critique of Louis Stone's *Jonah*", read to the Linguistics section of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association Congress (AULLA XXVII) at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, in February 1993.

<sup>2</sup> De Pinto later took the collection with her to Europe where it remained till recently; 16 of the original 29 tapes have been located and returned to Australia and are being worked on by Lynda Penny of Flinders University, Adelaide. Once she has finished with them they will be passed on for preservation to the Film and Sound Archive in Canberra (personal communication).

<sup>3</sup> The results of this, for its time, huge survey are recorded in Mitchell and Delbridge (1965). This large corpus, deriving from what is thought to have been the first really large-scale sociolinguistic survey carried out anywhere in the world, is now housed in the Language Centre at the University of Sydney and is currently the subject of a preservation project initiated by the present writer and Julie Vonwiller and funded by the University. This project will see the contents of the old open-reel tapes digitised and, hopefully, available to researchers on DAT and CD-ROM along with the original accompanying documentation, also in digitised form, as well as on audiocassette.

general a quite stigmatised variety.<sup>4</sup> Admittedly, the court reports of the newspaper reporter Charles Adam Corbyn, published originally in the 1850s in the local newspapers *Bell's Life in Sydney* and *The Empire* and republished selectively by him in book form in 1854 (and again by Cyril Pearl in Corbyn 1970) contain much non-standard speech, a large amount of which appears, however, to represent British varieties – especially Irish English –, and where one can infer that local varieties might be being represented they are presented unsystematically and sometimes with quite puzzling features.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise, it is only towards the end of the 19th century that we begin to get samples of what explicitly purports to be genuine Australian speech, especially with the beginning in 1880 of the publication of the nationalist magazine *The Bulletin*, where the variety is used in poems, cartoons and the dialogue of short stories and where there is explicit discussion of the features of the variety, especially lexical features. This is clearly a reflection of the developing sense of an Australian as distinct from an English identity and a pride in things Australian, which had as its first concrete linguistic manifestation the appearance one hundred years ago of Edward E. Morris's *Austral English* dictionary (Morris 1896).

Significantly, it is only after Federation, i.e. the federating of the separate British colonies in Australia into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, that we actually get longish works written in what purports to be working class Australian English used as a vehicle for literature in its own right. The best known of these works is doubtless C. J. Dennis's *The Songs of a Sentimental Bloke*, a poem of some 100 pages written entirely – narrative and dialogue – in what is assumed to be Melbourne lower class English. Although the whole was first published in 1915, work on it must have been going on during the preceding decade, for Dennis had published parts of it in *The Bulletin* as early as 1909.

In the same first decade of the 20th century Edward Dyson published in 1906 in book form a series of stories, most previously published in *The Bulletin*, titled *Fact'ry 'Ands* which he claimed to base on the lives and speech of Sydney slum-dwellers, and Louis Stone wrote and revised for some four years the manuscript of his novel *Jonah*, before completing it on 21 August 1909. First published in London in 1911 in a "Home" and a Colonial edition, it follows the lives of a group of characters from an inner southern working class suburb of Sydney, Waterloo. The

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<sup>4</sup> For an account of some attitudes, see Mitchell (1946: 5-10, 63-68). An interesting contrast is made by comments in two books written by English visitors to Australia and not so far mentioned in the literature: Desmond (1911), which in her chapter "The Australian accent" (pp. 15-21) is as caustically denigratory of this accent as of absolutely everything else Australian, and Haskell (1943: 30-35), which is as warmly laudatory of it as Desmond is not.

<sup>5</sup> For example, "James Willock, a little criminal, about fourteen years of age" is quoted (Corbyn 1970: 55f.) as saying in the court: "[I]s yer sure it vos hi has heaved the stone?", i.e. 'Are you sure it was I as [= who] heaved the stone?', and a little later "Vot sort of a stone were hit has hi heaved" and "Wor hit has big has this?", so [w]and [v] seemingly in free variation for /w/, 'were' realised as both *were* and *wor*, *h*-hypercorrection (*hit* = *it*, *hi* = *I*, etc.) without the usual concomitant *h*-dropping on a word like *heaved*, inter alia. Young James Willock may well, of course, not have been Sydney-born and so have been speaking a British English variety, Cockney perhaps. Corbyn's court dialogues need investigation.

eponymous character is actually Joseph Jones, whose surname seems to have undergone morphological processing of truncation to one syllable and re-expansion with the suffix /a/ to produce the form *Jonah*.<sup>6</sup> The name is doubtless also conditioned by the fact that Jonah is a hunchback with consequent overtones of humpback whale in the name.

Summarised over-briefly, the story tells of how Jonah, who had been abandoned on the streets of Sydney by his parents when still very young, grew up first to become the leader of one of Sydney's feared larrikin pushes, i.e. gangs of rascals, and then later, having fathered an illegitimate son on Ada Yabsley, to work his way to riches as owner of a grand shoe shop in order to give his physically normal son a better life than he himself had had.

While the narrative is in standard English, but for the occasional Australian lexical item, e.g. *chiack* 'to taunt, tease' (51), the characters' dialogue is almost completely in what Stone clearly considered to be local working class Sydney English. Indeed, Dorothy Green in her overall very insightful 1965 essay "Louis Stone's *Jonah*: a cinematic novel" reprinted as the introduction to the third edition (1965) of the book and its subsequent reprints, mentions that Stone attached great importance "to locale, to an exact rendering of social scene and language, [...]" (Green 1965: xiv). So it would appear at first blush that Stone might be a very useful source of information about Sydney English at the turn of the century.

However, William Ramson in his 1972 essay "Distinctive features of Australian English" issued the warning:

[...] literary representations of speech are notoriously unreliable. [...] And sometimes the literary representation of actual speech is so widely astray as to become quite artificial. [...] C. J. Dennis's portrayal of Melbourne speech in the *Sentimental Bloke*, delightful as it is, is only misleading if used as linguistic evidence.

(Ramson 1972: 38)

The aim of the present paper will be to try to ascertain to what extent Louis Stone's representation of Sydney working class speech around 1900 might be accurate and to what extent it might be astray, even widely astray. In the absence of any scholarly documentation of the speech at the time, I am to a great extent dependent on my own intuitions as a speaker born in the Sydney inner western working class suburb of Balmain in 1937. As an informant I have also used my father, Alex Taylor, who was born in Balmain in 1911, the year *Jonah* was published, and I have clear memories of aspects of the speech of my father's mother, Ada Taylor (née Richardson), who was born in Balmain in 1890 and lived there all 87 years of her life (and it was there, too, that her own grandmother had lived "when it was still all bush", as she once told me proudly).<sup>7</sup> Occasional reference is made to usage of my

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the discussion of this type of onomastic processing for Australian English in Taylor (1992: 517, especially note 41).

<sup>7</sup> According to recently released records from the 1901 New South Wales census, Balmain was at the turn of the century, with 30,076 inhabitants, Sydney's largest suburb (as reported in Tony



maternal grandmother Phoebe Hill (née Le Gros in the country west of Sydney in 1891), who had a less homogeneous linguistic background and spoke less broadly than Ada. Support will also be adduced from the historical observations of other linguists about Australian English, especially as summarised in Trudgill's "Mixing in Australian English" (Trudgill 1986: 129-46).

The following is a passage from the 1991 reprint of the third edition of *Jonah* (pp. 46f.) to give the reader some overall impression of the language of the dialogue. After it, a brief overview of some genuine linguistic features of the language of the book's dialogue that distinguish it from standard English is followed by a discussion of a number of features which I consider not to be genuine and which I have underlined below for the purpose. While examples are drawn from other parts of the book as well, with page references given as bracketed numbers, I will not, because of the constraints of space, deal with by any means all of the phonological and grammatical characteristics that I might have, and will only touch briefly on lexis. For reasons of space too, normally only one example of each phenomenon is referenced, even though there may be many more in the novel. It should be mentioned at this point that the variety the speakers use is essentially that which has been called *Broad Australian* (Mitchell 1946: passim, in contrast to *Educated Australian*; Mitchell and Delbridge 1965: passim, in contrast to *Cultivated Australian* and *General Australian*).

"Wot d'yer mean?" said Jonah, looking up angrily. "W'ere do I come in? Ain't I the bloke?"

"Well, y'are an' y'aint, yer know," said Mrs Yabsley. "There's two ways of lookin' at these things."

"Strewth! I niver thought o' that," said Jonah, scratching his ear.

"No, but other people do, worse luck," said Mrs Yabsley.

Jonah stared at the child in silence. Mrs Yabsley turned and poked the fire under the copper boiler. Suddenly Jonah lifted his head and cried:

"I say, missis, I can see a hole in a ladder plain enough! Yer mean I've got ter marry Ada."

The old woman left the fire and stood in front of him.

"Not a bit, Joe. I've give up that idea. Marriage wouldn't suit yous. Your dart is ter be King of the Push, an' knock about the streets with a lot of mudlarks as can't look a p'liceman straight in the face. You an' yer pals are seein' life now all right; but wait till yer bones begin to stiffen, an' yer can't run faster than the cop. Then it'll be jail or worse, an' yous might 'ave been a good workman, with a wife an' family, only yer knowed better--"

"Ere, steady on the brake, missis," interrupted Jonah with a frown.

"No, Joe, I don't mind sayin' that I 'ad some idea of marryin' yous an' Ada, but ye're not the man I took yer for, an' I give it up. I don't believe in a man marryin' because 'e wants a woman ter cook 'is meals. My idea is a man wants ter git married because 'e's found out a lot o' surprisin' things in the world 'e niver dreamt of before.

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Stephens's article "When a home in Parramatta was living in the bush", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 7, 1996, p. 8). It needs to be borne in mind that there is relatively little regional variation at all in Australian English (cf. Mitchell 1946: 11), and what there is is mainly lexical, so the non-standard English of an inner western suburb of Sydney like Balmain will be a completely adequate reflection of that of an inner southern suburb like Waterloo.

An' it's only when e's found somethin' ter live for, an' work for, that 'e's wot yer rightly call a man. That's w'y I don't worry about you, Joe. I can see your time ain't come."

"Don't be too bleedin' sure," cried Jonah, angrily.

"Of course, I'm only a fat old woman as likes 'er joke an' a glass o' beer. I'd be a fool to lay down the law to a bloke as sharp as yous, that thinks 'e can see everything. But I wasn't always so fat I 'ad ter squeeze through the door, an' I tell yer the best things in life are them yer can't see at all, an' that's the feelin's. So take a fool's advice, an' don't think of marryin' till yer feel there's somethin' wrong wi' yer inside, fer that's w'ere it ketches yer."

Phonological characteristics of spoken language are conveyed in the dialogue texts of Stone's book by divergences from standard spelling, some of these spellings being quite conventional ways of showing divergences of the kind in non-standard English speech, thus in the passage quoted: the use of an apostrophe to indicate consonant or vowel loss, e.g. in the so-called g-dropped inflection *in'* for *ing* (though without any reflection of the concomitant reduction of /ɪ/ to shwa in Australian English), *o'* for *of*, and *an'* for *and* (which also occurs in a song in American Black English on p. 150 of the book); perhaps *w'* for *wh* in *w'ere* and *w'y* (but, as is conventional, without the apostrophe in *wot* for *what*) belongs here too if one sees it as representing the loss of the first element of /hw/ rather than the replacement of a voiceless fricative /ɸ/ by the voiced approximant /w/. Another salient instance of divergence is *-er* for word-final shwa resulting from diphthong or long vowel reduction in unstressed position, e.g. *yer* for *you* or *your*, *ter* for *to*, and *fer* for *for* (forms also encountered in Dyson 1906).

Some spellings represent pseudo-divergences, because, despite the spelling, the words are pronounced more or less in a standard way. Thus we find elsewhere in the book *orl* for *all* (9), *bizness* for *business* (24), *'our(s)* for *hour(s)* (140) and *cum* for *come* (145), and conventional *sez* for *says* (24). And Stone is not even always consistent, e.g. the standard spelling *come*, not *cum*, is used in the passage quoted.<sup>8</sup>

Another of the most salient features of the dialogue is *h*-dropping. Trudgill (1986: 138) has observed that "Australian English [...] is basically *h*-pronouncing," but concedes that "we have a considerable amount of evidence to suggest that Australian English *used to be h*-less" (his emphasis). And he is quite correct in his concession. My grandmother's speech was as *h*-less as that of Stone's characters, and my own, which undergoes code-switching when I am speaking with certain relatives and friends, still tends towards *h*-dropping then, though what Trudgill calls "the efforts of diligent school teachers" to stigmatise and discourage *h*-dropping seem to have succeeded with most of the populace long since.<sup>9</sup> This then can be

<sup>8</sup> The non-standard spelling *cum* is these days used as a somewhat tabooed noun meaning 'semen, ejaculate' from the verb *come* in the sense of 'to reach orgasm, ejaculate'.

<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that Mass in his book, meant to introduce young children to grammatical notions, deals with *h*-dropping as well as *g*-dropping and *th*-dropping, viz. in *'em* for *them* (Mass 1942: 85-88). Probably as a reflex of its earlier widespread occurrence among working class whites - rural whites at least -, *h*-dropping (and, it must be admitted, *h*-hypercorrection, cf. note 5) is still characteristic of major varieties of Aboriginal English.

seen as a genuine feature of the Sydney English of Stone's day, though it would most certainly have occurred also in the unstressed syllables of words like *broom-handle* (21) and *anyhow* (30), where Stone's spelling would have his speaker actually pronounce the *h*, and in the passage quoted *a hole* would more likely have been realised as *an 'ole* or even *a 'ole*, cf. "out of a 'ole" (60). (One of my grandmother's frequent utterances in old age was: "I 'aven' got a ache or a pain." with a glide from indefinite article to vowel-initial noun, not with a glottal stop, which is not a normal feature of Australian English, between them.)

The next salient feature, already touched on above, is the one usually referred to as *g-dropping*, i.e. the use of *-in'* for *-ing* on present participles and verbal nouns and *-thing* pronouns. This feature is still widely in evidence today in Australian English as in most other non-standard varieties. Occasionally Stone's speakers use *-ing*, but there is a degree of free variation in the use of the allomorphs today, and there may have been earlier, too.

Other indisputable phonological features are various forms of vowel reduction. This may be to shwa, indicated, as touched on above, by the spelling <er> in *fer* for *for*, *ter* for *to*, *pertater* for *potato* (191), *swaller* for *swallow* (12) or <u> in *'ud* for *would* (193) and *cud* for *could* (4). Or the reduction may be to zero, i.e. syncopation of the vowel, marked by an apostrophe thus *reg'lar* for *regular* (21), *s'pose* for *suppose* (41) and *might's* for *might as* (36). Sometimes concomitant consonant loss is involved too, as in *more'n* for *more than* (196). The simplification of consonant clusters in *an'* for *and*, *ole* for *old*, *sekertary* for *secretary* (24), *pitchers* for *pictures* (50) and *wotcher* for *what do you* (189) and also *what are you* (189) present no problem. Nor do *don'I* for *don't I* (36) and *dunno* for *don't know* (35).

Vowel raising is also in evidence. In the sample passage we find [ɛ] for [æ] in *ketch* for *catch*, and [ɪ] for [ɛ] in *git* for *get*, *forgit* for *forget*, *niver* for *never*, and elsewhere *agin* for *again* (99) and, more surprisingly, *against* (147). I am unaware of these pronunciations in Sydney English, except, in the case of the last, in the fixed (American English?) cliché "agin the government" and with *get*, especially when used in its sense as a verb of motion in the imperative as a peremptory command, e.g. "Go on! Git!" (= 'Go away!').<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes where we expect shwa in an unaccented syllable we find a high front vowel, i.e. [ɪ] for [ə]. Thus we get *paddicks* for *paddocks* (108), *minit* for *minute* (4), *missis* for *missus* and *mouth orgin* for *mouth organ* (30). While [ɪ] seems acceptable in *paddick* and occurs in other words ending in [k], e.g. *picnic*, *kellick* (words not occurring in this book), as also in adjectives ending in *-ic*, the rest, and

<sup>10</sup> Vowel raising of this sort has been most evident in New Zealand English, but only over the last three decades or so. David Blair of Macquarie University in Sydney thought until recently that he had detected its incipient development in Sydney English - as opposed to Melbourne English -, possibly under the influence of New Zealand immigration. While he has never himself published on this hypothesis, it has been mentioned in a couple of newspaper articles, most recently in Leonie Lamont's "Thenk hivvens, we're not talking like Kiwis after all" (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 2, 1996, p. 3), where he is quoted as saying: "This time last year we were all convinced that we were starting to talk like New Zealanders ... but our latest research is not confirming this. We are not finding the New Zealand pattern at all [...]."

quite particularly *mouth-organ*, show a feature of English English rather than Australian English, a feature discussed by Trudgill (1986: 141, 143).

Again, memories of my grandmother's speech make *dawg* for *dog* (35), *Gawd* for *God* (37) and *'orspital* for *hospital* (64) quite acceptable, even though they do not occur in my father's or my speech. *We carnt darnce without a tune* (17) contains, however, a major solecism. The use of [a:] versus [æ:] before *ns/nce*, *nch*, *nt*, *mp* and *sp* in a restricted set of lexical items (e.g. *answer*, *chance*, *branch*, *plant*, *example*, *grasp*) has traditionally functioned as a sociolinguistic isogloss in Sydney between the speakers of the affluent northern and eastern suburbs and those of the working class western and southern suburbs, respectively. While they would certainly have pronounced *carn't* as [ka:nt], Stone's speakers could have no more brought themselves to use the rebarbatively "posh" pronunciation *darnce* [da:ns] than I myself can even today, or my father can, unless he is "putting on dog", i.e. pretending to behave pretentiously. Stone has thus again used a feature, also dealt with by Trudgill (1986: 138), that could occur in working class southern English speech, but not in working class Australian English, at least not in working class Sydney English (cf. Bradley 1991).

If some phonological characteristics of Stone's Sydney English have aroused suspicions in us, some grammatical characteristics are even more disturbing. The use of *ain't* as the present tense negative of the verbs *to be* and *to have*, regardless of person and number, is in order, as is a double negative construction such as "Yer niver 'ad no cause ter go crook on me" (142), both of which are characteristic of many non-standard varieties of English including Australian. The same could be said for *don't* as a singular and plural form, and for the past tense form *was* undifferentiated for singular and plural, which are still normal for my father.

But on p. 185 we get the exchange:

"What would you 'ave said if I'd won ten or fifteen quid?"

"I should 'ave said 'Buy Jack Ryan's 'orse an' cart, [...]."

and on p. 35:

"We shan't be long."

The use of *shall* and *should* as auxiliaries for the future and conditional tenses respectively is even today not a grammatical feature of Sydney working class English, and their use would sound just as pretentious as the pronunciation *darnce*. *Shall* and its allomorphs are not used at all, being replaced by *will* and its allomorphs, thus *won't* for *shan't* above. *Should* occurs only as a synonym of *ought to*, otherwise *would* is used. The usage in the examples quoted would, however, be normal in working class Southern English English (cf. Wright 1905: 298, §440).

Throughout the book a number of strong verbs are used in non-standard forms, for example *give* used in the sample passage as both the preterite and past participle forms of the verb *give* instead of *gave* and *given* respectively, and this, as with many of the other forms used, is quite acceptable non-standard Sydney usage. But the

form *knowed* in the passage for standard *knew* would only be heard from a young child, never from a normal adult.

Mrs Yabsley, who is Jonah's interlocutor in the sample passage, at various points uses the prefix *a-* on present participles, though not with any consistency and not often. So we get such sentences as:

"That's yer own flesh and blood a-callin yer." (47),  
 "[...] we'll soon 'ave the pot a-boiling." (65) (with the standard ending!),

and

"But that ain't wot I'm a-talkin' about." (p. 65).

I can find no evidence at all that this prefix has ever existed in genuine Australian English, except perhaps rarely as a conscious imitation of obsolete standard English or other non-standard varieties, as in the once popular cowboy song "I'm a-comin' a-courtin', Cora Belle". I suspect Stone here of using the form to obtain a further non-standard effect, overlooking the virtual impossibility of this completely illiterate woman's having such a form in her linguistic repertoire. But it did occur around 1900 in varieties of English English (cf. Wright 1905: 297 §437).

A much more widespread characteristic in the language of the novel is the use of *as* as a relative pronoun. There are a couple of examples of it in the sample passage. All Stone's working class characters use this pronoun, but again I can find no evidence at all that this was a feature of working class Sydney English, though it occurs in non-standard varieties of English English. Australian English uses the same relative pronoun morphemes as standard English, but with the morpheme *that* developing the allomorph [ət] through phonetic reduction.

Subject-verb concord is another area where Stone's usage seems inconsistent with Sydney usage, especially after *as* used as a relative. While on p. 95 we find "E knows 'e ought to be civil to people as eat at 'is own table", we find a couple of sentences later from the same speaker, Mrs Partridge: "I've met all sorts – them as smashes the furniture for spite, an' them as bashes their wives [...]", and from Mrs Yabsley early in the book "If yer only keeps yer eyes open [...]" (19). However, in non-standard Sydney English, standard English subject-verb concord is observed, except, as mentioned above (and cf. Eisikovits 1991), with (*he/she*) *don't* (i.e. negative only), (*we/you(s)/they*) *was*, both of which occur in *Jonah* (190 and 143, respectively) and, optionally, (*e*)*s* inflection in the narrative present, e.g. in an utterance like "They comes in, I gives 'em the money an' then they goes away again without givin' me anythin'", typically used by my maternal grandmother, especially when irritated, and found once in *Jonah*: "I 'eard all about yer luck, an' I sez to myself [...]" (188). Wright (1905: 296 §435) says that in most northern, including north midland, dialects "all persons, singular and plural, take *s*, *z* or *əz* when not immediately preceded by their proper pronoun; that is when the subject is a noun, an interrogative or relative pronoun, [...]", and later there: "Most of the south-midland, eastern, southern, and south-western dialects, have *s*, *z* or *əz* for all persons of the plural."

Finally, it must suffice to consider just three items of lexis from our text sample. Firstly, *bleedin'* as an avoidance form for the swearword *bloody* – the use of which was actionable in law in Sydney until 1948 – I have never heard in Australian English; it is considered a strongly “Pommy”, i.e. English English, word. Australians employ different avoidance forms, such as *plurry*, used often by my maternal grandmother and widely assumed to be an Australian Aboriginal pronunciation of *bloody*, though explained in the *Australian National Dictionary* as a “joc[ular] representation of a Maori pronunc[iation] of BLOODY” (*AND*, s.v. *plurry*; cf. also Taylor 1995: 222, 225, 228). Secondly, *for* – realised unstressed in our text as *fer* – does not occur as a conjunction in non-standard Sydney English, where *because* is used instead. (Wright does not deal with it in his *Grammar*, but I have heard it in non-standard Scottish English.) The third item that I have misgivings about is *afore* for *before* (21), which are used very much in free variation in the text; I can find no evidence for the use of *afore* in Sydney English. Wright (1905: Index s.v. **Afore**) lists it particularly for northern varieties of British non-standard English.

This may be the point at which to pause and ask why Stone could make the errors of language we have so far identified. The answer doubtless lies in the fact that he was not born in working class Sydney, indeed not in Sydney at all, not even in Australia. Louis Stone was born in 1871 in Leicester in England and came to Australia with his parents in 1884, first to Brisbane and then the next year to Sydney. His father had been a marine in the Royal Navy, so it is clear that the family’s social origins were humble and that young Stone and the rest of his family were speakers of a non-standard variety of English English. From about 1885 to 1888 Louis worked as an errand boy for a bootmaker in Regent Street, Redfern (an inner Sydney suburb where part of the action of the novel takes place), above whose shop he lived. At the age of 16 he began training with the Department of Public Instruction, i.e. the Department of Education, as a pupil-teacher (a senior pupil doing teacher training within the school while at the same time completing his own schooling), and in early 1889 was posted to the inner-city suburb – close to Redfern – of Waterloo, to where he and his parents then moved. So he would have had some exposure to the local “dialect” in these years. Subsequently, he moved to the country, then back to various schools around the city. Sickly for much of his adult life, he died in 1935, two years after the first Australian edition of *Jonah* (and the American edition under the title *Larrikin*) appeared.

Despite his exposure to inner Sydney English, the groundwork of Stone’s own linguistic competence will, of course, have been laid during his first 13 years in England and been reinforced by constant interaction with his family after arriving in Australia, at least till the death of his father, to whom he seems to have been very close, in 1916. We could on that basis alone expect some dialect mixing in the novel. We have already noted above on the basis of information provided by Trudgill and in Joseph Wright’s *English Dialect Grammar* of 1905 – which thus reflects British regional usage around Stone’s formative years – that some of his forms that we have rejected as not being Sydney working class English were in fact found in non-standard British English varieties. But a closer examination of Wright’s book should reveal whether any of the spurious usages attributed to the native denizens of Sydney can be traced to interference from Stone’s own non-

standard Leicester English, and we find that, on the basis of the following entries (with Wright's bolding retained), this is indeed the case with at least:

1. *darnce* – Wright 1905: 396, s.v. **Dance**: “*dāns* [...] Lei[ceister].”
2. *as* – Wright 1905: 280 (Pronouns) **6. Relative §423**: “*As* [əz] [...] is in gen. use in [...] Lei. [...]”
3. *a-* as a prefix on the present participle – Wright 1905: 297 **§437**: “Present Participle: [...] In the imperfect and perfect continuous tenses, as I am striking, I have been striking, the present participle takes the prefix ə (v) in [...] Lei. [...]”
4. *knowed* – Wright 1905: 284f. **§426**: “Verbs which have a weak ending added to a strong form. [...] *know* (**knowed**, **knawed**) [...] Lei. [...]”

It would seem then that a considerable amount of non-genuine material did enter Stone's version of Sydney English from his own native Leicester dialect (and quite possibly, of course, from other British dialects he had heard). This conclusion is usefully supported by the following piece of information provided by Harold Oliver in his brief monograph on Stone – from which much of the biographical material in the present paper is taken – in respect of Mrs Yabsley, who is a major user of doubtful grammatical forms:

Of another character, Mrs Yabsley, Stone claimed that, [...], ‘I was the ventriloquist using her huge bulk for a dummy.... And so, [...], I stripped myself of my knowledge of art, music, and literature and presented my readers with the portrait of the illiterate washerwoman - myself in disguise’. (Oliver 1968: 7)

Evidently she was himself even to the point of employing features of his native dialect. And as to our curiosity about the use of spurious linguistic forms by other characters, Oliver, says a couple of paragraphs further on:

Other members of Stone's family served, conveniently and safely, as models for other characters: ‘the members of this family were either dead or twelve thousand miles away. I had stumbled on a gold mine. There were some rare types in my family’. (Oliver 1968: 8)

Then follow details of who was based on whom. But interdialectal interference is not the only source of error for Stone. There is one piece of even more blatant evidence that Louis Stone failed to attain complete competence in inner Sydney English.

In considering the influence of Irish English on Australian English, Trudgill lists first the second person pronoun *youse*. He points out that this form is unknown in most of England, “and is almost entirely confined there to the vicinity of Liverpool and Newcastle, where Irish influence has been very heavy” (Trudgill 1986: 140). To that we can add that it is also found in the English of New York and Boston, thanks also to Irish influence (cf. McCrum et al. 1986: 189). Naturally, it is also found in Ireland itself. Without a doubt the existence in Irish English of the pair of forms *you* singular vs *yous* plural goes back to Irish Gaelic. In Gaelic there are two pronouns *tu* and *sibh* [ʃiv], meaning ‘you singular’ and ‘you plural’, respectively. Scottish Gaelic has these two pronouns, too, but there they function parallel to French *tu* and

*vous*, with *sibh* being used also as a polite singular form and thus having a pragmatic function. But in Irish Gaelic they have a strictly grammatical, singular versus plural function. As monoglot Irish speakers began to acquire English they will have found the existence of the unique second person pronoun *you* inadequate for their needs, so to solve their problem they will have very sensibly added the English noun plural formant *-s* to the pronoun and so obtained with *you:you:s* the same contrast as in Gaelic.<sup>11</sup>

In Irish English the number distinction is adhered to rigidly: *you* is always singular and *you:s* is always plural. One speaker has told me that when he is speaking in his local variety of Irish English, there is no way he would use *you* as a plural form. Presumably it was this rigid distinction of meaning that came to Australia with the early Irish arrivals, a large proportion of whom came as transported convicts between the foundation of Sydney in 1788 and the cessation of transportation in 1840. However, the usage rules for this pair of pronouns developed in Australian English in a substantially different direction from those in Irish English, and I give them here now as a native speaker of inner Sydney English, using my father as a further informant.

As plural forms *you* and *you:s*, with their respective reduced forms *yer* [jə] and *yez* [jəz], which are also found in *Jonah*, occur in relatively free variation. The main function of *you:s* is to signal to the listener or listeners that more than one person is being addressed. Its use is entirely optional, not obligatory, and the speaker can then choose to go on using a form marked for plural or choose not to. As a result of this degree of optionality, the tokens of the use of this form overtly marked for plural are relatively sparse, so that non-natives who attempt to use the form very often misinterpret its function. And this is precisely what Stone has done, as will be evident from examples in the text sample provided above.

In *Jonah* I have counted 47 tokens of the use of *you:s* and 6 of its reduced form *yez*. Of these 53 tokens in toto, only 2 instances of *you:s* and 2 of *yez* are plural. And there are only 15 tokens of *you* in the whole book, though dozens, if not hundreds of its reduced forms *yer*, *ye* and *y*. So just what did Stone think the function of *you:s* was? If we go back to the tokens, we find that 36 of them function as stressed forms of the singular – one of them, spoken by a drunk, in the form *yoush* [ju:ʒ]. So Stone had, on the basis of the relatively sparse number of tokens he had encountered, hypothesised a function for *you:s*, namely that it was essentially a sociolinguistic marker of non-standard speech not grammatically marked for number, but his hypothesis was completely wrong. And it grates terribly on anyone aware of the correct function of this pronominal form to read much of the dialogue in the book with its pervasive misuse of *you:s*.

We even actually have a piece of metalinguistic evidence from the year 1900 itself about how *you:s* was used then in Sydney English (non-working class as

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<sup>11</sup> According to informants who are native speakers of Hibernian English, in some Irish varieties the contrast is between *you* singular and *ye* plural, (cf. O'Connor 1996, where this *you/ye* number distinction is maintained throughout). Wright (1905: 274 §409) mentions the form *you:s* for Norfolk as well as Ireland and also a plural form *yees* for Ireland.



well?), for on p. 13 of the *Bulletin* of 13 October 1900 we read the following unattributed item:

The present Mayor of Sydney, though a University graduate, often addresses his council as “yous.” There are points about the word “yous.” When you look towards two people and say “you,” you may really be addressing only one of the pair. But when you say “yous,” there is no doubt about the inclusion of both your auditors.

Stone shares his misconception of the function of *yous* with other Australian writers, both those born in Australia of non-working class origin and those, like him, of non-Australian birth, as a perusal of the AND entry for *youse* will show. There the pronoun is defined and illustrated as, in addition to the plural sense, a singular pronoun and even as a possessive pronoun, both of which are impossible senses for the working-class native speaker. Oddly, while both Trudgill’s and the AND’s spelling *youse* demonstrates the assumption that the pronoun is monomorphemic, Stone’s spelling *yous* does at least allow of a bimorphemic interpretation, even if he himself obviously assumed it to be monomorphemic.<sup>12</sup>

We saw early in this paper how the Australian-born, but middle class literary critic Dorothy Green could speak of Stone’s “exact rendering of social scene and language”; and Oliver, a Sydney professor of English, writes: “The dialogue is also part of the authenticity [...]”, and:

One may question a few of the spelling tricks Stone employs and still feel that he has succeeded in giving an impression of the uneducated but colourful speech of Waterloo,

and: “Very rarely indeed does he put into a character’s mouth an expression that such a character would not have used” (all from Oliver 1968: 27). Yet the argumentation in the present paper suggests strongly that the language of Louis Stone’s *Jonah*, while in general a reasonable reflection of the inner-city working class speech of Sydney around 1900, is at many points pretty widely astray as an accurate representation of it. Further support is thereby provided for the soundness of W.S. Ramson’s warning, cited above, that “literary representations of speech are notoriously unreliable” and that they may be misleading if used as linguistic evidence without corroboration from other sources.

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<sup>12</sup> It is perhaps worth remarking that Australian English speakers I have encountered from Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, are totally unfamiliar with the form *yous*. It is significant that South Australia was the only Australian colony to which convicts were not transported.

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# **An Area Analysis of SED Morphology<sup>1</sup>**

*Alan R. Thomas*

The methodology applied here is outlined in Thomas (1997) (see also Thomas 1980), which deals with the lexical data from CLAE 1. Here, I will give a brief outline of data selection and preparation, and the computational procedures used, which involve area clustering of distributions and spatial nesting of the clusters identified. The discussion of clustering summarises that in Thomas (1997), whereas that of nesting complements it, describing the process involved as well as its outcome. In this paper the neutral term 'speech area' is used in preference to 'dialect' as a geographical-linguistic entity, in acknowledgement of the fact that, although we identify the regional affiliations of groups of linguistic items, particular enquiry sites do not have exclusive connections with any single group of those items. The area identity of any site is chameleon-like, potentially changing with each new set of forms seen, for instance, the Marches, East Anglia or the West Country in this data; they are differently articulated to patterns of regional variation by different sets of linguistic variants. This is not to deny the real sense of dialect 'northness', 'midlandness', 'westness' etc. which emerges from analyses like this and others; simply to recognise that, in purely linguistic terms, regionalisation is specific to the particular data set which defines it.

## **Data preparation**

The data comprises the morphological responses contained in CLAE 1, coded numerically. In cases of split distributions, in which the same form occurs in separated localised concentrations, each localised concentration of forms is seen as having its own 'local' significance, and is coded separately.

The responses to a question were arranged in arrays which recorded one from the range of responses given at any given locality, selected on the principle of rarity of occurrence, regardless of order of presentation to the field-worker. For any response set, the first entered into the array is the one with the smallest distribution over sites, then the next smallest, until the response with the widest distribution is entered; each cell in the array is blocked as it is assigned an entry. This was designed to emphasise difference between sites, by retaining localised and archaic usage which might otherwise be lost by the (possibly chance) recording of a form with wide

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<sup>1</sup> The computational procedures for this analysis were developed by Dafydd Roberts.

distribution before a rare localised one. It is equally the case that novel innovative localised forms would be captured in the same way. The resultant data-set comprised 270 items.

The analysis operates on the primary data, the area distributions of responses, and not on response aggregates for enquiry sites. The clustering procedure generates discrete and separated clusters, leaving no ambiguity in the determination of area coverage, or in the cut-off points for branch (speech area or sub-area) assignment when the hierarchical (nesting) analysis is carried out. Subjective decisions are confined to the range of tolerances applied in each procedure, which can be tested and modified in the light of geographical (or other relevant) plausibility, or to ensure the smallest residue. Ultimately, we will also have an automatic record of how many responses, and which ones, have been included at any point in the procedures (cf. Thomas 1980).

## Methodology

The methodology<sup>2</sup> was developed specifically in response to the dialectologist's questions about the spatial relationships which hold between distributions about what constitutes a speech area. There are two steps in the procedure; first we establish the *localisation* of forms, and then the *regionalisation* of localised *groupings* into speech areas:

*Data clusters:*<sup>3</sup> in establishing the localisation of forms, sets of responses are matched, within given tolerances, for their coverage of enquiry sites, to produce clusters of forms which largely share the same area coverage. First, the distribution over sites of every response in turn is set as a model for comparison with that of all the other 269, to determine which one evokes the greatest number of matches within an internal tolerance of 80% and an external one of 20% a distribution matches if it coincides with that of the model to no less than 80% of the model's sites, and does not overlap those of the model by more than 20% of the model's sites. For this data set, the most widely distributed cluster, and the strongest, in raw data form covers all 313 sites and so would subsume all others into its ambit in the nesting process which follows; also, any strong cluster is likely to be defined by distributions which overlap considerably without coinciding, giving a strong core but significantly weaker margins. The core geographical coverage of a cluster is defined as those sites which attract average or greater numbers of responses. The contrast between core and margin is well exemplified by this strongest cluster, which, on averaging, proves to have its core clearly confined to the south (Fig. A1).

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<sup>2</sup> The original programs were translated into Pascal by Zhu Li, under the direction of C. P. Fuelling in the Department of Computer Science, Ball State University, Indiana.

<sup>3</sup> It might be appropriate to think of this procedure as 'static' clustering, taking a new single point of reference for each of a series of separate matching runs, as opposed to 'dynamic' clustering (as in single link cluster analysis) in which all items in a data file, in a single run, are progressively compared for shared degrees of similarity.

The first run identifies the model which attracts the greatest number of matches; the model and the matches made are removed from the input file. The procedure is then repeated iteratively on the remaining distributions, the most productive model and the matches made being removed on the conclusion of each run. The process is repeated until the matching process at the 80/20 criteria level is exhausted; then, the procedure continues to be applied iteratively to the remaining data, in a succession of cycles, at progressively lowered criteria levels. The internal criterion is relaxed successively to 70%, 60% and 50%: the external criterion is maintained at 20% to retain relative 'tightness' of the clusters produced. Then, the external criterion is relaxed, in successive cycles, to 30%, 40% and 50%, each being applied in conjunction with internal criteria of 80%, 70%, 60% and 50%: the sequence followed is 80-20, 70-20, 60-20, 50-20; 80-30.....50-30; 80-40.....50-40; 80-50.....50-50.

Of the 270 responses in the morphological data file, 167 (61.9%) were collected into 69 clusters. Each defines a discrete distribution area at this stage. We can rate the relative 'strength' of clusters according to the number of distributions which were gathered by the model; as with the lexical data in Thomas (1997), only one was striking in its strength, being defined by the distributions of 19 responses. The remainder have strengths of 4, 3 and 2 which, in hierarchies at the next stage of analysis, combine to form groupings of greater strength.

The numbers of clusters matched at various criteria levels were: 80-20, 24; 70-20, 15; 60-20, 14; 50-20, 8; 50-30, 2; 60-40, 1; 50-40, 2; 50-50, 3. Although the clusters have varying degrees of internal cohesion the implications of which will be pursued another day 61 of the 69 were clustered at the tightest external criterion of 20%.

*Spatial hierarchies:* to address the notion of speech area, the clusters are organised in a process of inclusion or nesting (broadly of one cluster within another), again in terms of site coverage. Two clusters were eliminated; because of idiosyncracies in their site coverage, they tended to 'bleed off' clusters from disparate regions in the nesting process, causing fragmentation of the continua. First, the cluster with the widest distribution is taken as a spatial model which selects a global set of all those whose distributions partially coincide with that of the model, while having no more than 20% of their own sites outside those of the model. Then the cluster with the widest distribution within the global set is itself taken as a model, and a second global set selected from the first; the procedure is repeated on global set 2 and all subsequent ones, until all clusters have been tested as models. In this way, clusters are progressively nested, defining gradually reducing geographical areas which are hierarchically inter-connected in a speech area (sub-)continuum. After the selection of the first global set, all other clusters in the data file are made accessible to the model cluster, so that any which escape the first matching exercise can be captured if they match criteria for a less extensive model cluster at a lower level.

This can be illustrated from the cycle of matching selections which define the continuum dominated by cluster 3, representing the South-western area; model clusters are given in the left column, global selections in the following ones; the cluster from each sister set which selects those at the next level is given in bold:

|                  |                                                                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>3</b> selects | <b>12</b> , 15, 44, 21, 25, 56, 29, 47, 34, 51, 61, 37, 41, 42, 45, 67      |
| 12 ..            | <b>21</b> , 25, 56 etc., but leaves 15, 44, which do not match the criteria |
| 21 ..            | <b>29</b> , 47 etc., but leaves 25, 56                                      |
| 29 ..            | <b>34</b> , 51, 61 etc., but leaves 47                                      |
| 34 ..            | <b>37</b> , 41, 42 etc., but leaves 51, 61                                  |
| 37 ..            | 45, 67, but leaves 41, 42                                                   |

45 makes no selection, so the procedure continues, taking each of those 'left' at each level of the hierarchy in turn from the lowest, in the order:

67, 41, 42, 51, 61, 47, 25, 56, 15, 44.

The only one of these which finds a matching cluster is 51, which selects 55 from outside the original global set, and which in turn selects 65, also from outside, to form a minor sub-continuum (as is shown by the printout below, the sub-continuum is worked through to the end of its cycle before the clusters left on higher levels are tested as models). Thus, we have a hierarchy with successive levels defined by the clusters in bold, and those unmatched left as sister clusters, as is shown in the continua diagrams in the descriptive section, which mirror the data printout of the output of the procedure:

| <b>Model</b> | <b>Selections</b>  |
|--------------|--------------------|
| <b>3</b>     | <b>12</b> , 15, 44 |
| 12           | <b>21</b> , 25, 56 |
| 21           | <b>29</b> , 47     |
| 29           | <b>34</b> , 51, 61 |
| 34           | <b>37</b> , 41, 42 |
| 37           | 45, 67             |
| 45           | 0                  |
| 67           | 0                  |
| 41           | 0                  |
| 42           | 0                  |
| <b>51</b>    | <b>55</b>          |
| 55           | 65                 |
| 65           | 0                  |
| 61           | 0                  |
| remainder    | all 0              |

Thus, a continuum is pursued to the end of its cycle, when all clusters absorbed into that particular hierarchy are removed from the input file. A new cycle is then begun, taking as model the most widely distributed cluster of those remaining.

### Description

The lexical data discussed in Thomas (1997) formed two complex continua, representing northern and southern speech areas. The morphological data form four separate continua, as is shown in the accompanying tree diagrams. One feature of

the lexical data re-occurs, in that one cluster stands out as being significantly strong, being defined by the distributions of 19 forms; it occurs in a midland continuum (in the lexical data, the strongest was in a southern continuum). Other clusters are defined by between 2 and 4 forms, continua gaining distinctiveness from aggregation of forms within them.

The main midland continuum, broadly commensurate with the combined east and west midland dialects of Middle English, is mapped in Fig. A1. It extends from the Humber-Mersey axis to the Thames, reaching to the coast in the south-east; it has a strong nucleus stretching from East Anglia to the area between the Ouse and the Thames, and into Kent, and a weaker one in the north Marches. It has two branches or sub-areas: the Midland West has nuclei in the north and south Marches, with secondary nuclei around the upper Ouse and on the south coast (Fig. A2), while the Midland East has its nucleus in East Anglia, reaching south of the Thames into Kent, Sussex and Surrey (Fig. A3). The South-west (Fig. A4) has its nucleus west of the Taw and Dart, while the Mersey-Ribble-Lune speech area (Fig. A5) is essentially lower north-west, extending to the Wash and weakly through the Marches to the West Country. The North (Fig. A6) has its nucleus in a central northern area, based on the upper Eden, and north of the Tees and Lune; it extends weakly south of this latter line, to the south-east but excluding East Anglia. There are two weak independent continua centred on the Marches, each gathering only two clusters: Fig. A7 shows a north March nucleus with extension through much of the midlands; Fig. A8 has a nucleus which extends through the Severn and Wye valleys in the south Marches to the West Country, a connection which finds echoes elsewhere, as in Figs. A5, A12 and Figs. B2, B3. Though the geographical dispersal of morphological features is less complex than was that of the lexicon, major nuclear locations recur – the southwest, East Anglia, the Marches, Mersey-Lune and the extreme north.

Four clusters stand alone, at the same time echoing some of the major area features which have been outlined: the distribution of the clusters in Figs. A9, A10 resemble that of the North (Fig. A6), while Fig. A11 has affinities with the Mersey-Ribble-Lune area (Fig. A5), and Fig. A12 with a contracted South-west (cf. Fig. A4). It is likely that, in a definitive description, these clusters would be merged with the appropriate continua. It is useful to note that their not meeting the selection criteria for any continuum is not due to their being clustered at a low level of matching, since clusters 9 (Fig. 10) and 8 (Fig. 11) were matched at the 80-20 level and clusters 6 (Fig. 9) and 16 (Fig. 12) at the 60-20 level; this suggests that the nesting process has successfully absorbed (other) clusters produced at low matching levels.

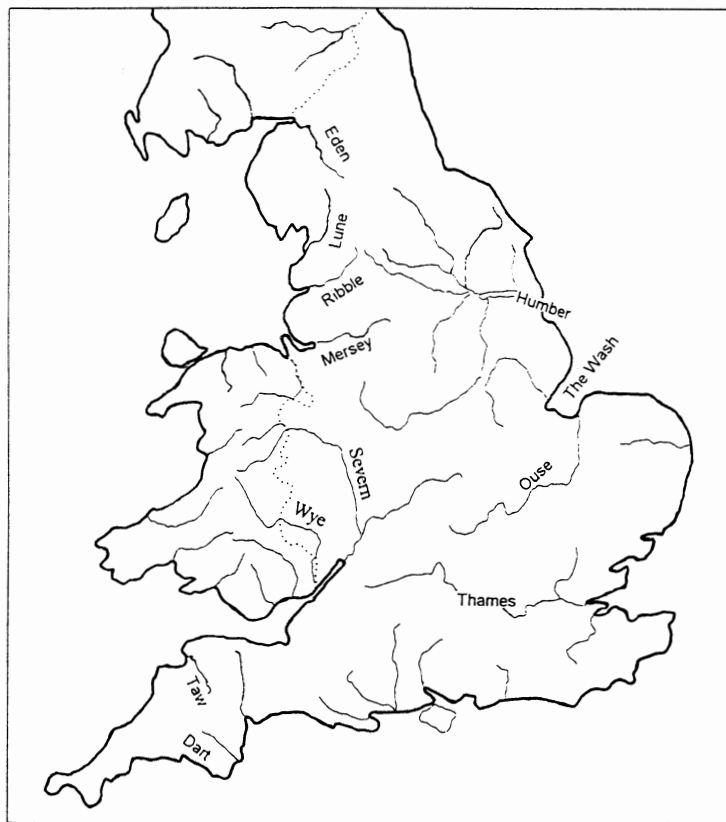
### Internal structure of speech areas

Speech areas are the product of the linguistically cumulative and geographically reductive progress from root to tip of branches in the continua. The dynamics of this internal structure can be demonstrated by deconstruction of the South-west continuum, mapping the data gathered in at each level separately. It is an example of

classical progressive wave-pattern variation within a speech area, and Figs. B1-B7 demonstrate its structure, from its greatest extent to its nucleus. Each level is labelled with the number of the cluster which selects those at the next, lower level, and its sites are shown as black circles; those sites added by its sister clusters are shown as open circles. The strength of each cluster map is the number of linguistic items which the combined strength of the sister groups at each level bring to the speech area.

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Map 1: Rivers in England



## CONTINUA TREE DIAGRAMS

Clusters have a strength of 2 unless otherwise marked by the appropriate figure in brackets. In the cross-referencing to map figures, a number standing alone refers to a single cluster, one followed by '—0' to the relevant cluster and all those dominated by it.

### The Midlands

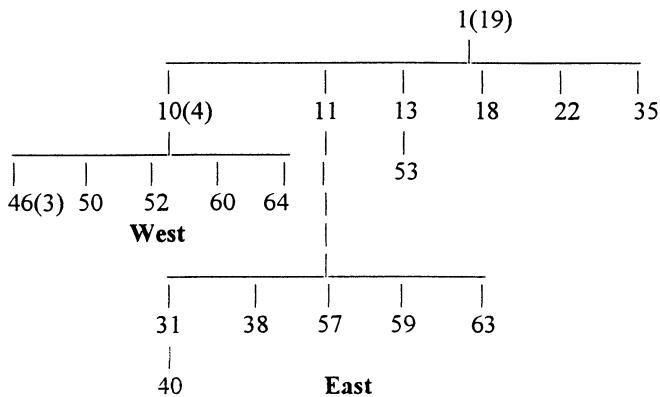


Fig.A1, 1—0; Fig.A2, 10—0; Fig.A3, 11—0.

### The South-west

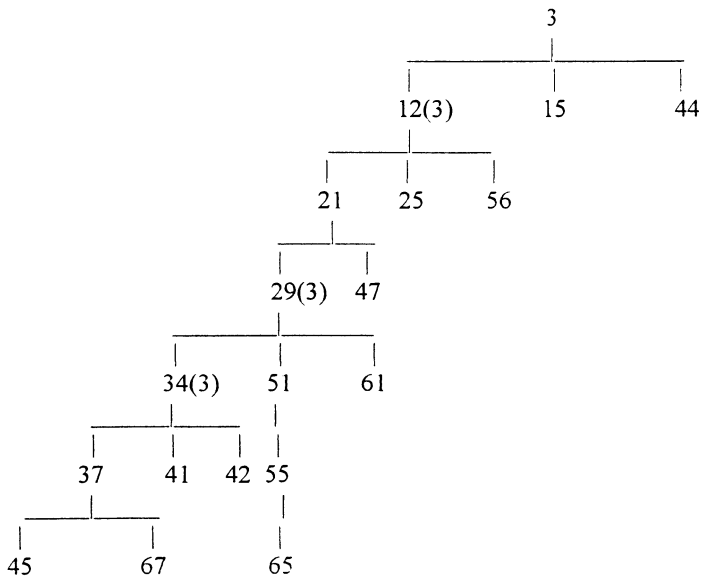


Fig.A, 3—0.

**Mersey-Ribble-Lune**

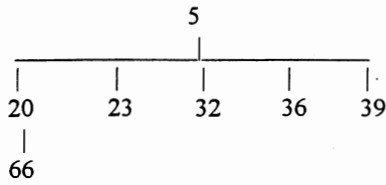


Fig.A5, 5—0.

**The North**

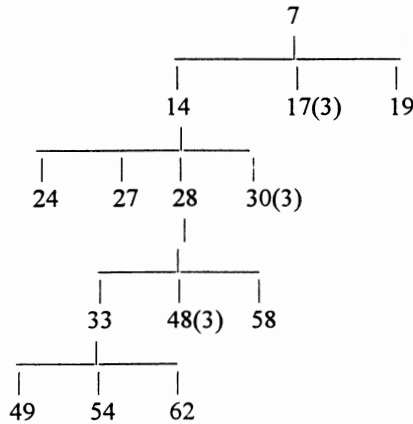


Fig.A6,7—0.

**North Marches & Midlands**



Fig.A7,2—0.

**South Marches, West Country**



Fig.A8,4—0.

**Idiosyncratic clusters:**

|                              | Cluster | Map           |
|------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| East & Lower North           | 6       | Fig.A9, 6—0.  |
| North                        | 9       | Fig.A10,9—0.  |
| Mersey-Ribble to East Anglia | 8       | Fig.A10,8—0.  |
| Marches & West Country       | 16      | Fig.A12,16—0. |

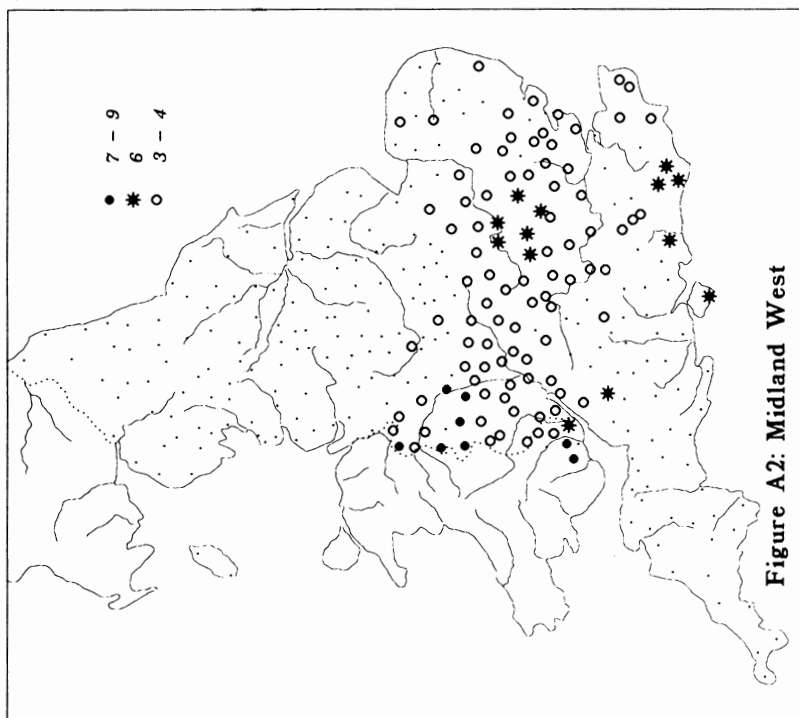


Figure A2: Midland West

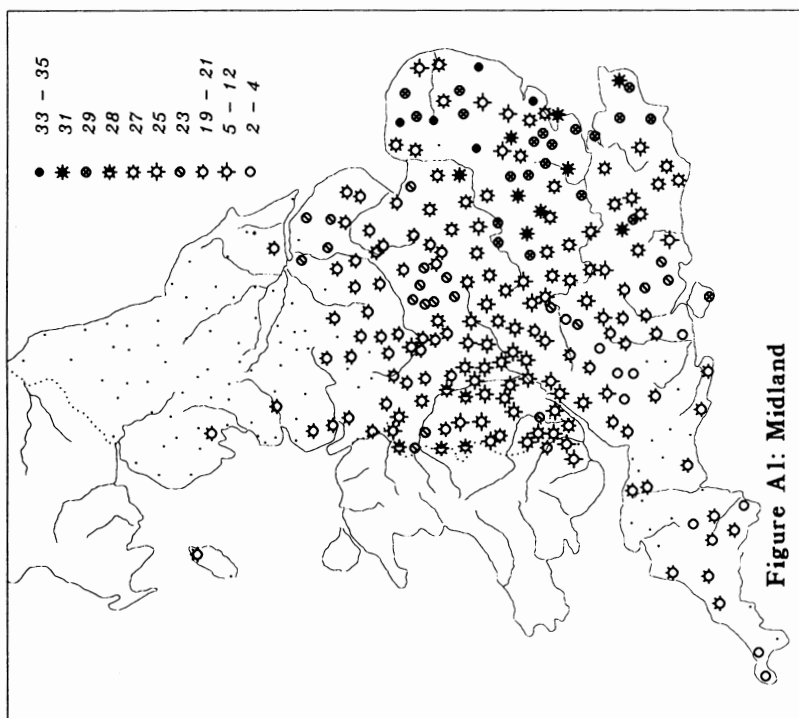
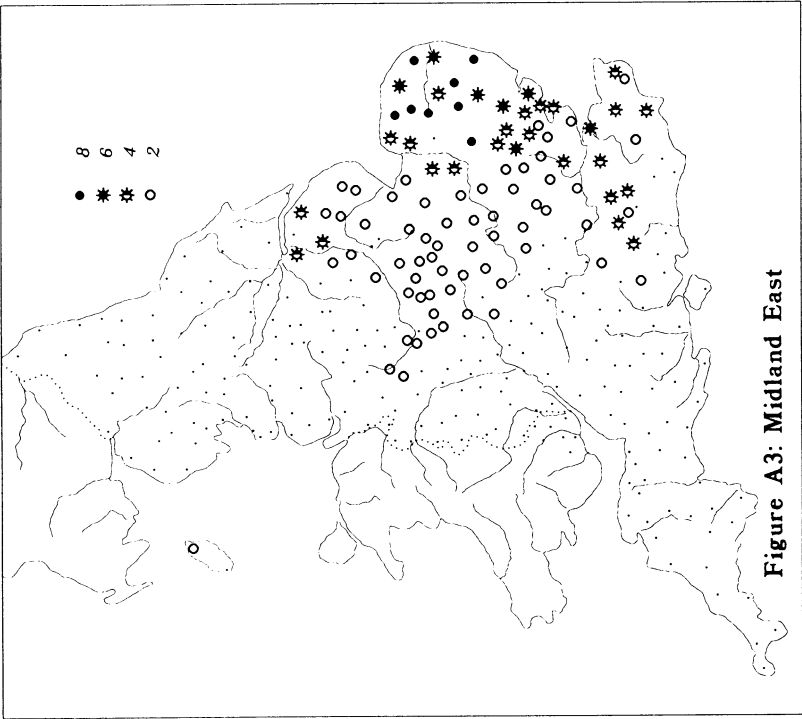
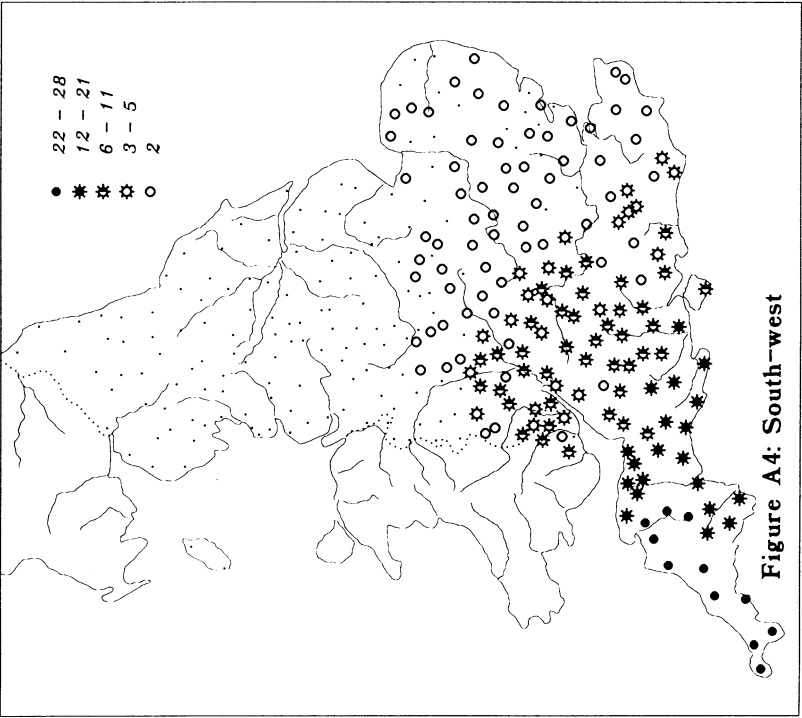
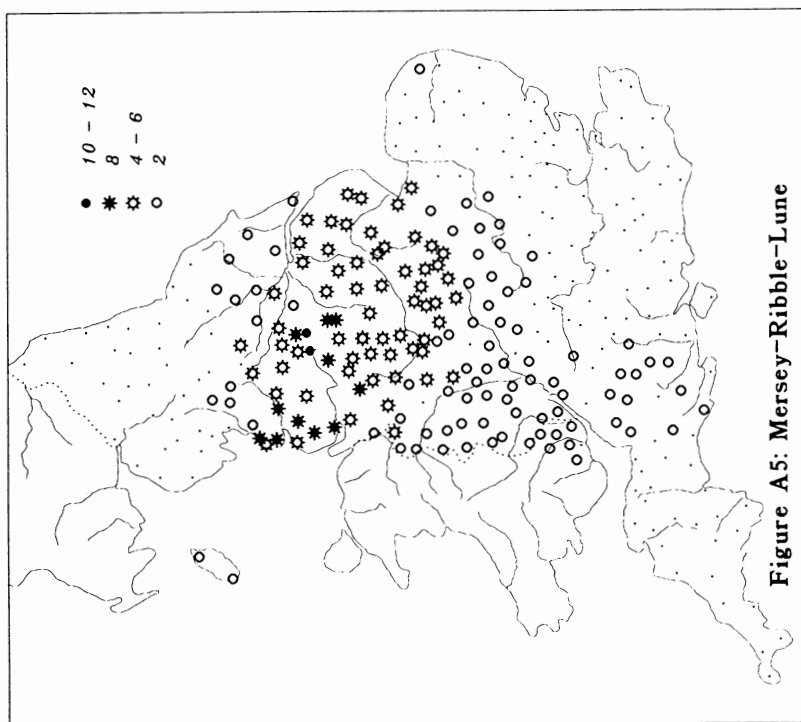
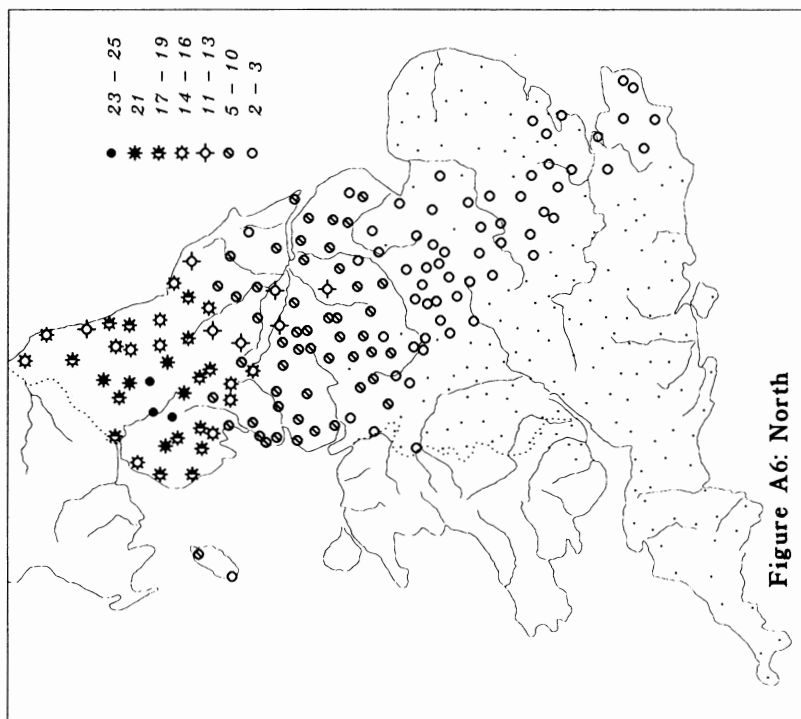


Figure A1: Midland





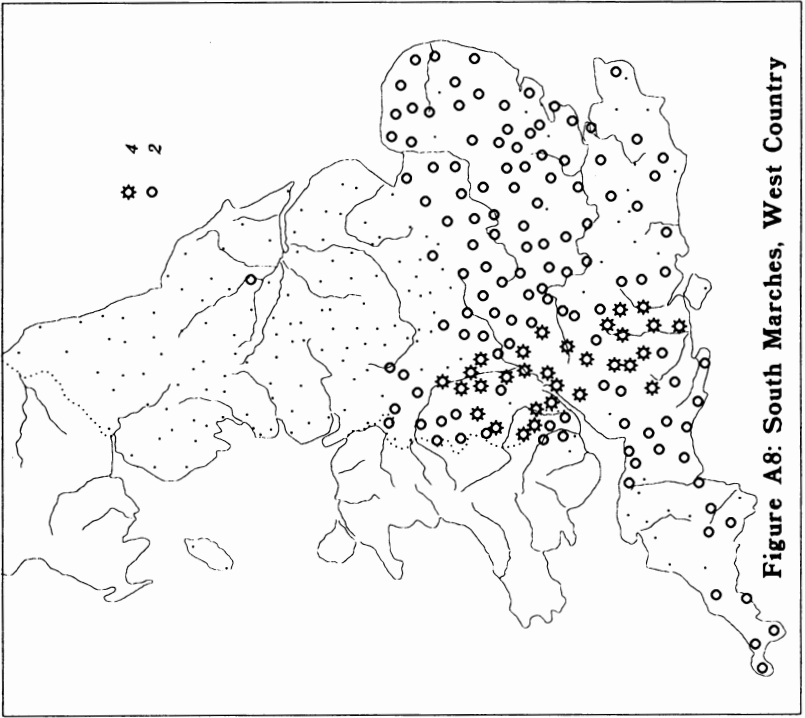


Figure A8: South Marches, West Country

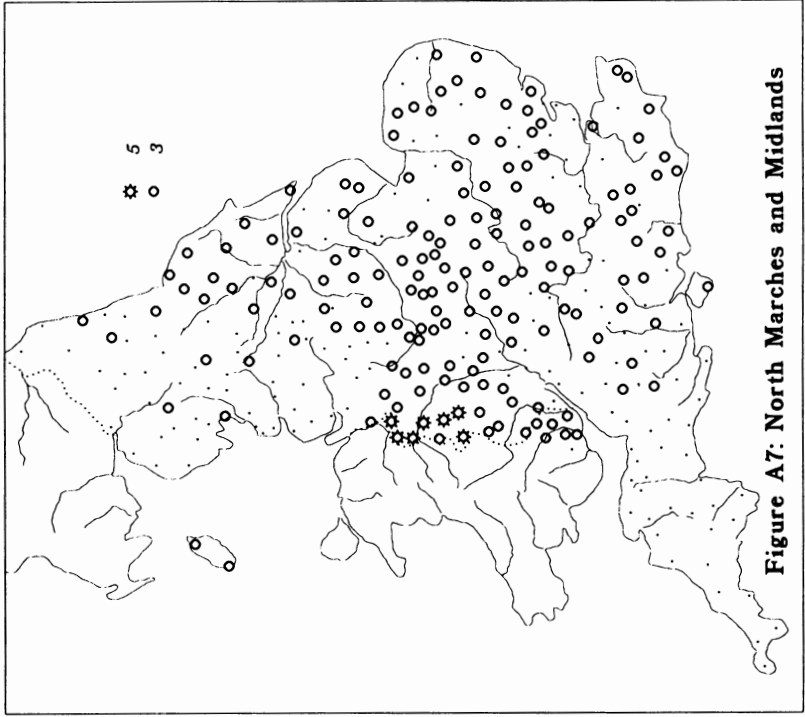
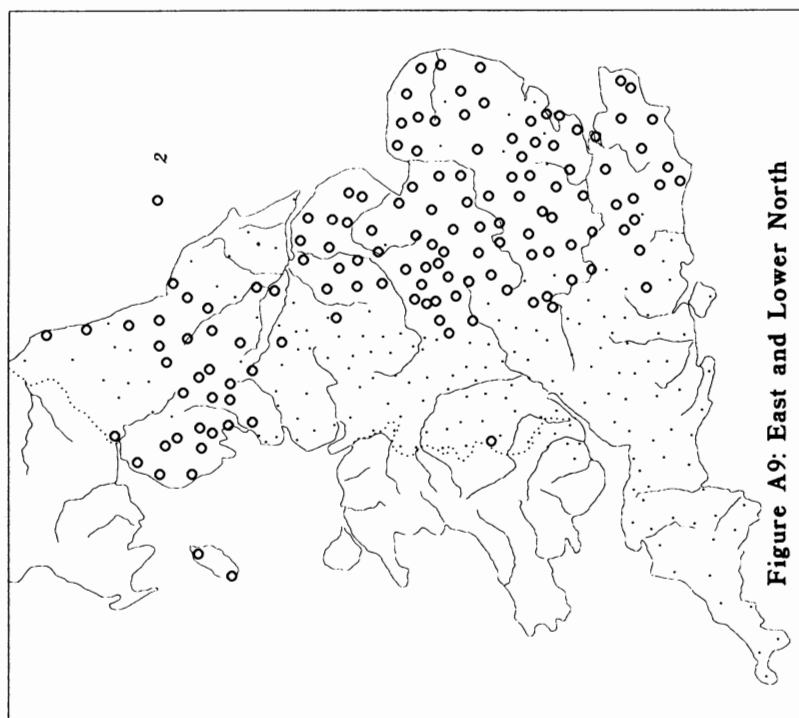
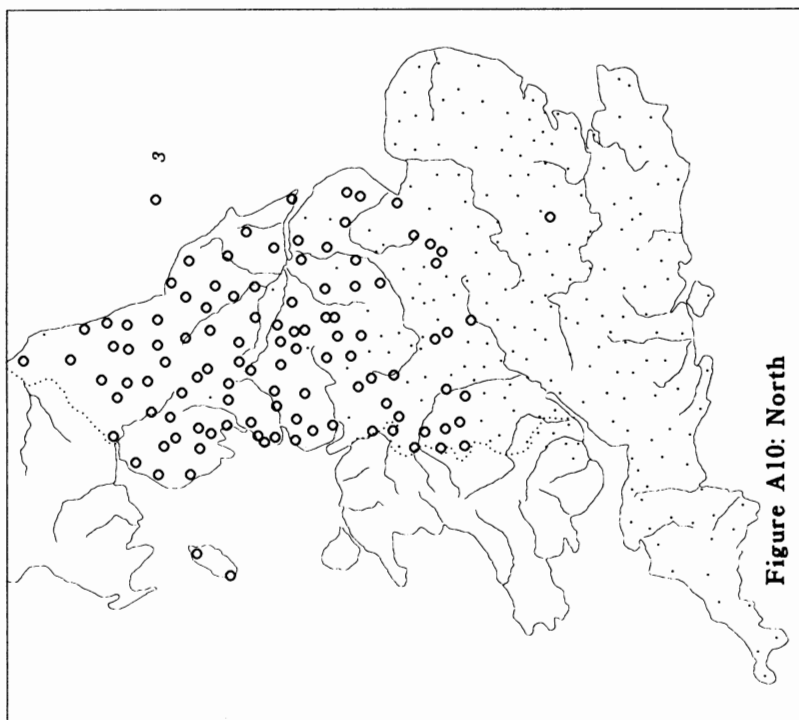


Figure A7: North Marches and Midlands



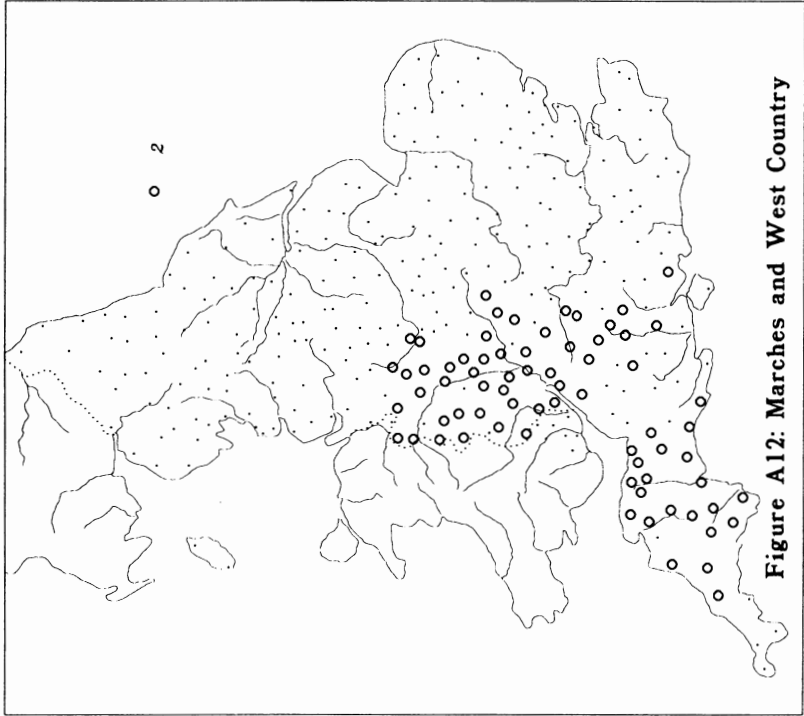


Figure A11: Mersey-Ribble to East Anglia

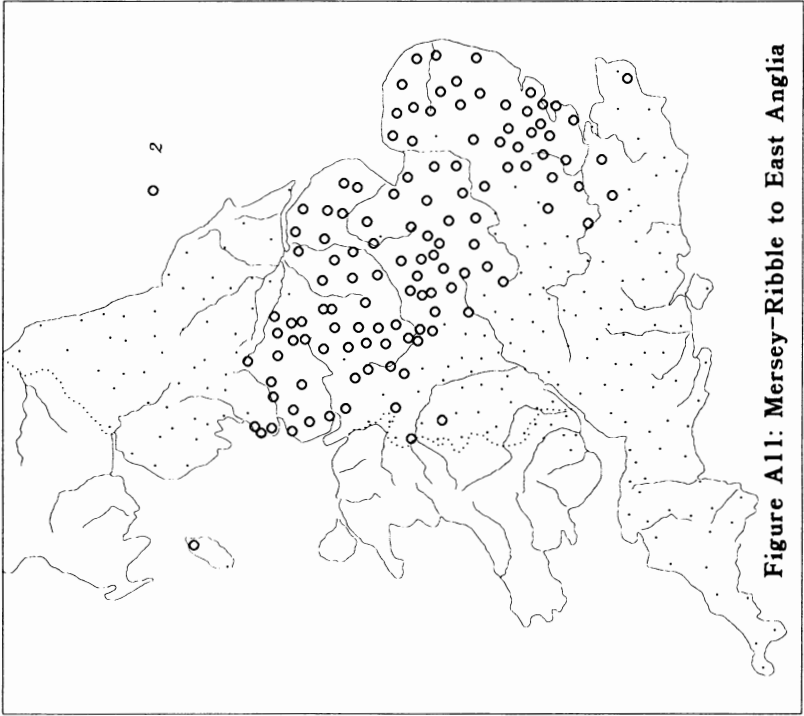
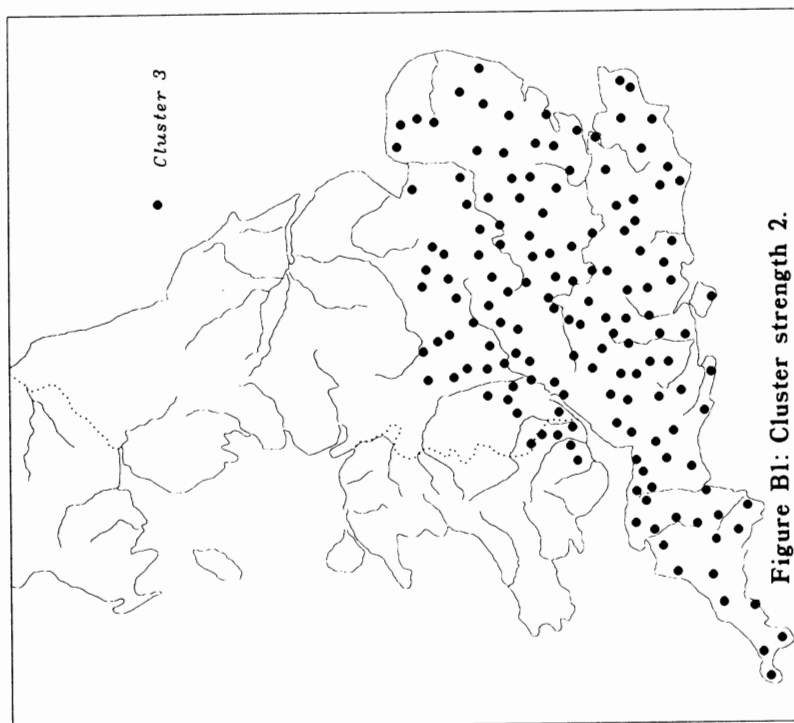
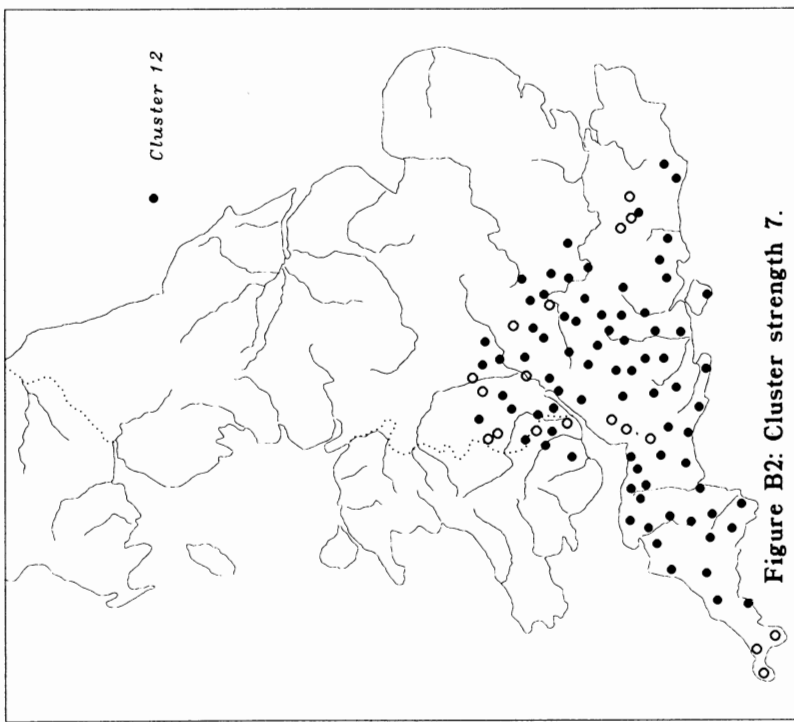
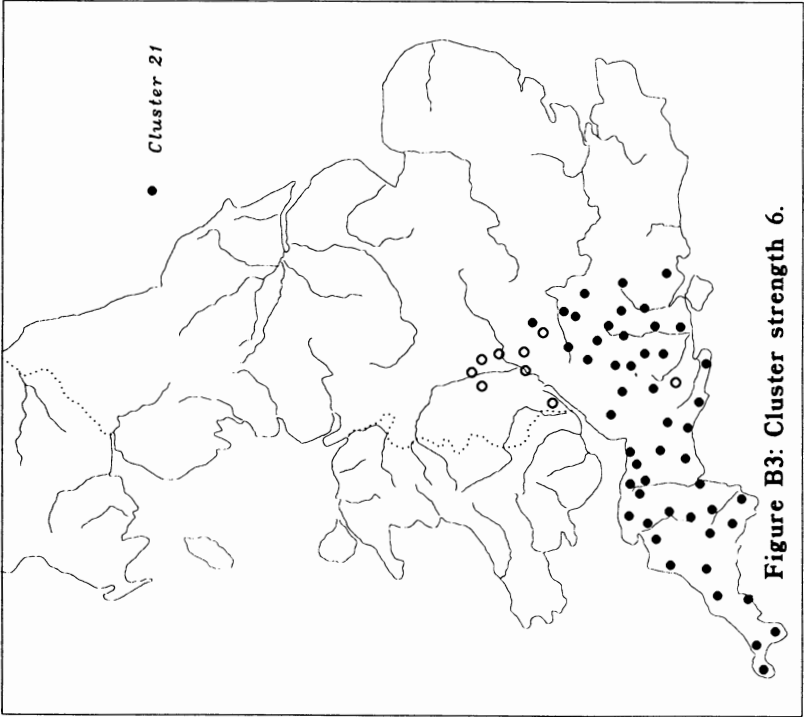
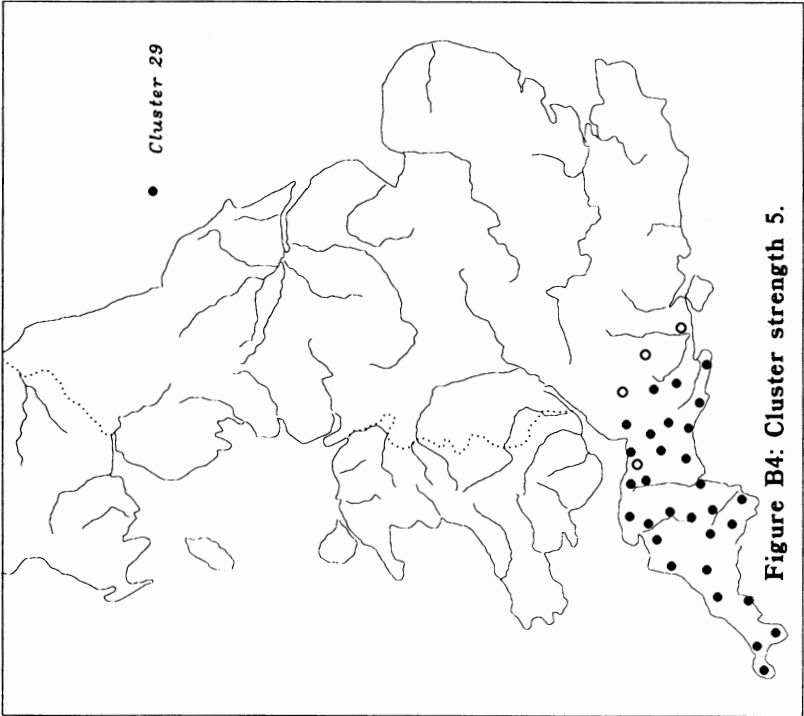
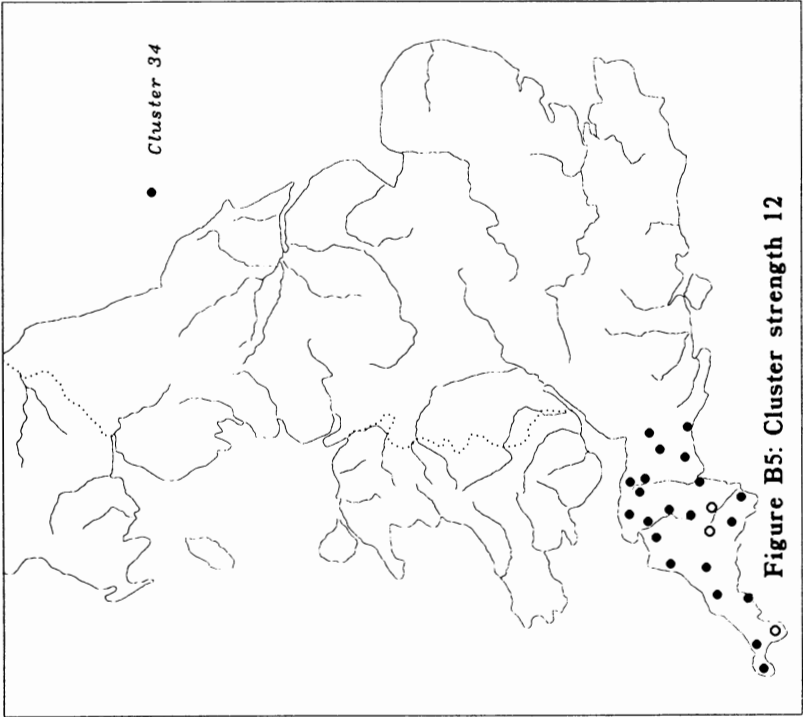
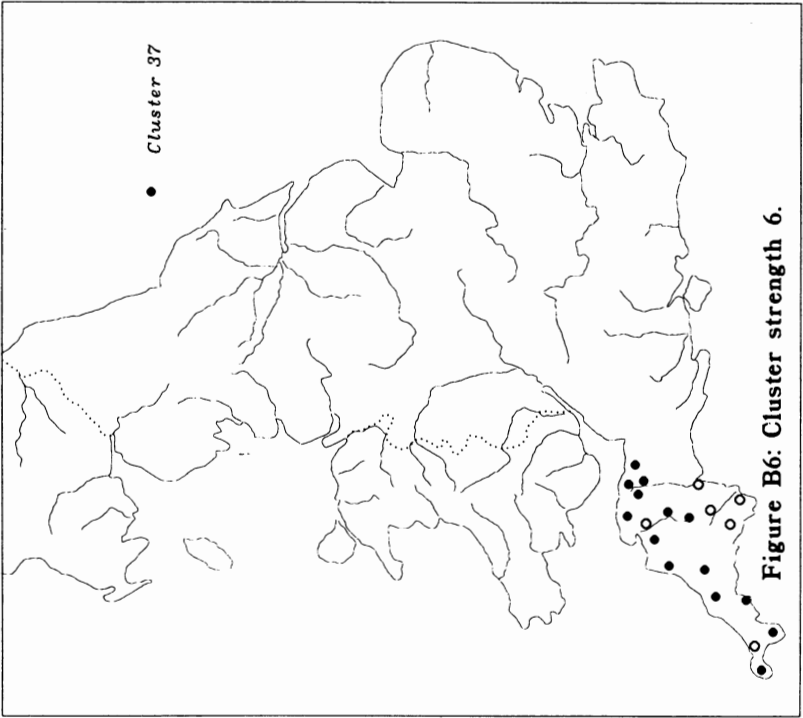


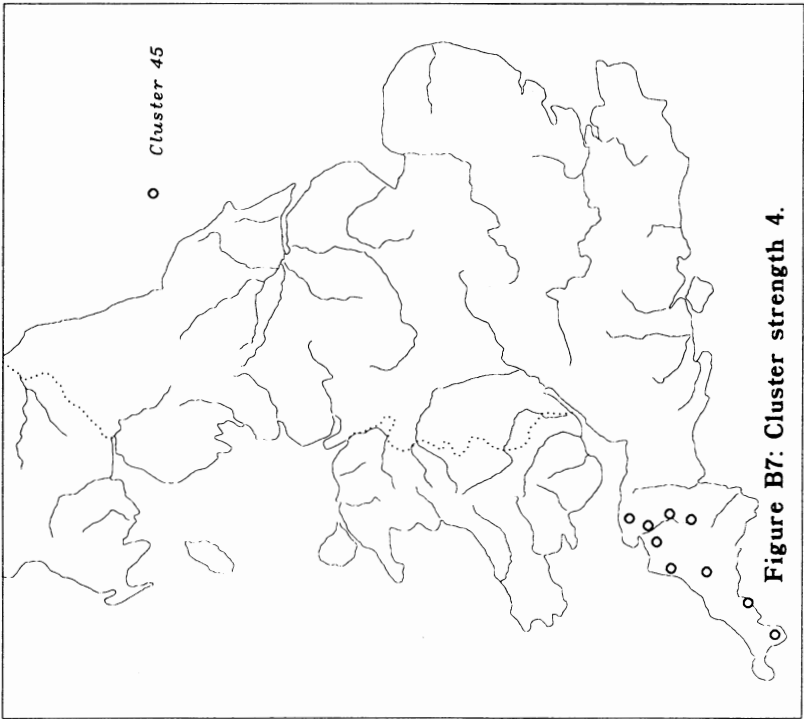
Figure A12: Marches and West Country











# Some Reflections upon Relative Concatenation<sup>1</sup>

*Nadine Van den Eynden Morpeth*

## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to shed more light upon structures of the type '*That is the man who I believe has stolen the books*', in which an embedded noun is relativised and for which grammarians have coined terms such as 'relative concatenation' and 'pushdown relatives'.

In the first part of this paper, I will give a theoretical overview of the construction, followed by a historical outline, some cross-linguistic considerations and, in a final part, a brief section on non-standard (i.e. dialectal) usage. In the second part, I will discuss the results of some recent research into relative concatenation. More specifically, I will list some conclusions – albeit very tentative in nature – regarding: 1) the frequency of such structures, 2) possible violations (e.g. of the rule stipulating that COMP is obligatorily deleted after the bridge clause with subject-relatives), 3) the applicability of Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy or Subject Primacy hypothesis, and 4) the potential of relative concatenation as a valid indicator or measure of syntactic complexity.

## 2. Aspects of relative concatenation

### 2.1. What the grammars say

References to relativised embedded NP's can be found in most of the traditional grammars, in which the rather vague descriptions are illustrated with a wide range of examples.

Kruisinga (1932: 379): "The structure of the sentence becomes more complicated when the noun in the main clause is defined by a group of two subclauses, in which one is the leading clause."

- (1) *It was characteristic of him that he asked Zachary Tan no questions whether of the mysterious bookshop of London generally, or of any*

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<sup>1</sup> This article is affectionately dedicated to Wolfgang Viereck, whom I hereby thank profusely for his interest in my work on non-standard English and for his encouragement and his friendship. I am indebted to Renaat Declerck for his valuable comments and suggestions. Credit is due to my undergraduate students of the *Katholieke Vlaamse Hogeschool voor Vertalers en Tolken* in Antwerp, who excerpted the sought-after structures from British newspapers, as part of a larger research project on relativisation.

*possible news of Stephen, the latter a secret that he was convinced the dark curiosity shop somewhere contained.*

Scheurweghs (1966: 286-88): "The relative clause often contains a sub-clause, of which the pronoun is the subject."

- (2) *She was an adopted child who she says was an orphan.*
- (3) *He sold pills to the country people which he said were good against earthquakes.*
- (4) *These reasons cannot account for the enormous amount of gambling that we have shown exists today.*

The examples show that the author is aware of variable relpro-usage: **wh-** forms, as well as **that**, can be found in such structures. He furthermore acknowledges the existence of relativised non-subjects: "The pronoun is the object, or a prepositional adjunct of the verb of the subordinate clause."

Zandvoort (1969: 215) has relatively little to say about this type of construction and refers the reader to Scheurweghs (see above) for more examples: "The relative and the verbal predicate may be separated by a clause like *she says, he intended, I had no idea.*"

Jespersen (1966: 367) is the first to use the term 'concatenation' to refer to relativised embedded NP's: "A relative clause may be concatenated by another clause."

- (5) *Ferdinand, whom they suppose is drown'd.*

More recently, the same term has been adopted by Dekeyser et al. (1987: 343): "The process of 'concatenation' or linking occurs when the relative pronoun is originally a constituent of a nominal clause dominated by verbs like *say, think, hear, assume, etc..*"

- (6) *The money that/which you thought was yours belongs to me.*

The underlying kernel sentences of this surface structure are:

- (7) *The money belongs to me.*
- (8) *You thought that the money was yours.*

Relativisation of the embedded NP, viz. *the money*, which is part of a direct object clause, involves lifting "the relative pronoun ... over the superordinate you thought." (Dekeyser et al. (1987: 343)

'Pushdown relatives' is the term which we find in Quirk et al. (1985: 1298): "A special type of multiple postmodification that requires careful ordering occurs when the modifying clause becomes itself embedded in a clause ('pushdown relative clause')."

- (9) *John will send you the memo.*
- (10) *Pat hopes (that) John will send you the memo.*
- (11) *I will read the memo (which) Pat hopes (that) John will send you.*

The construction is furthermore referred to by Declerck (1991: 449): "In some cases the relative pronoun fulfils a syntactic function, not in the clause which it introduces, but in a subclause of that clause, or in a subclause of a subclause (etc.) of that clause":

- (12) *Is that the man that you said you wanted to see?*

Declerck provides an explanation in transformational terms: "In TGG, each sentence is considered as consisting of a complementiser and a clause. In subclauses, the COMP is either a conjunction or a relative; in head clauses the COMP position remains empty. In underlying structure, the WH-element (relpro) fills the position that is typical of its syntactic function. Relativisation is a process that moves the WH-element, first to the COMP position of its own clause, then to that of the next higher clause, etc. until it fills the COMP position of the 1st clause following the NP with which it is co-referential (i.e. the antecedent). If the COMP position of one of the clauses is already filled (by a conjunction), this WH-movement cannot take place." (Declerck 1991: 550)

No discussion of relative concatenation is complete without the mention of 1) inflected wh-forms with subject relatives and 2) the obligatory deletion, in the same context, of COMP after the bridge verb. With regard to the former, the aforementioned authors are quite unanimous; inflected wh-forms in subject position do occur, but are frowned upon:

Kruisinga (1932, Vol. II: 175): "The use of *whom* being largely artificial ... we find *whom* where the pronoun is really in the subject-relation, but may seem to be an object in an object-with-stem construction":

- (13) *The young person whom she regretted to hear was a Dissenter.*

And: "We find a similar use of *whom* when a verb is construed with a subordinate clause, and even, though not in careful writing, when there is a clearly parenthetic clause" (Kruisinga 1932, Vol. II: 175), as in (14) and (15) respectively:

- (14) *A contributor whom I knew possessed a decided talent for circumlocution found (on his Ms. being returned with the proof) his article so transformed that his claims to be the author were certainly dubious.<sup>2</sup>*
- (15) *But there was a woman whom he was convinced, absolutely adored him, and who yet proposed to release him without reproaches.*

Scheurweghs (1966: 286) reports that "many writers consider the pronoun as a kind of object and write *whom*, which is frowned upon by many":

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<sup>2</sup> Examples (14) and (18) show that such structures do occur with the verb *know*, as well as *believe*, *think*, etc., which have been categorised as different verb types, viz. as neg/wh- raisers and non-raisers respectively (cf. Droste 1995, who casts doubt on their presumed equivalence).

- (16) *Mrs. G., whom the court decided was not entitled to remain there, states she is aged 50.*

The use of **whom** is judged to be correct, however, in non-subject positions, as in the following example:

- (17) *The court would order one of the litigants to muster a body of men ... whom it was hoped God would punish if they swore falsely.*

Jespersen (1966: 376) simply lists an example:

- (18) *To anyone, whom he knew had direct communication with me.*

Quirk (1957: 103) speaks of "a subject in a partially object environment" and of "the hypercorrect use of *whom*" (Quirk et al. 1985: 368).

- (19) *I haven't served under many whom I didn't think were jolly good.*  
 (20) *The Ambassador, whom we hope will arrive at 10 a.m.*

Dekeyser et al. (1987: 343) explains that "owing to proximity the relative is often reinterpreted as the object of the superordinate (I thought) etc."

- (21) *I met a man whom I believed was a lunatic.*

This reinterpretation, in turn, explains, why **zero** in the same context is not unheard of (Dekeyser et al. 1987: 344)<sup>3</sup>:

- (22) *The money Ø you thought was yours belongs to me.*

Only a few of the above authors mention the obligatory deletion of COMP after the bridge verb with subject relatives:

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1298), the conjunction (or complementiser) **that** is obligatorily absent in that case, while it is optional with non-subjects:

- (23) *\*I will read the memo (which) Pat hopes that will be sent to you.*  
 (24) *I will read the memo (which) Pat hopes (that) John will send you.*

In (23) the relativiser functions as the subject of *send* (in passive), while in (24) it is the direct object of the same verb.

The non-collocation of COMP and empty subject-NP's has been discussed at length in transformational terms, including Chomsky and Lasnik's famous article on 'Filters and Control' (1977: 451). Van der Auwera (1984) speaks of a "subject vs. non-subject asymmetry", which I shall come back to later in this paper.

This so-called asymmetry between the relativised embedded subject and non-subject NP's is also illustrated in Declerck (1991: 550):

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<sup>3</sup> The same observation is made by Quirk (1957: 103).



- (25) *The essay which/that you thought (\*that) was written by Tim was in fact mine.*

## 2.2. The historical development of relative concatenation

According to Moessner (1991), push-down relatives were by no means rare in Old English. Nor were they limited to the verbatim translations (or calques) of Latin originals<sup>4</sup>:

- (26) *þæt halige gewrit þæt cyðeð, þæt me nis tweo þæt þu gearwe const.*  
*Sacra Scriptura testatur, quam te bene nosse dubium est. (p. 96)*  
 (27) *Ac hit wearð þurh þa ameldad þe he gepoht hæfde þæt him to þære*  
*dæde fylstan sceolde. (p. 100)*

In (26) the case-encoding push-down relative **þæt** is used, which corresponds both in number and gender with the antecedent, as is the case in the Latin original (**quam**). The indeclinable particle **þe** in (27), however, has no Latin equivalent.

O.E. push-down relatives function as SU, DO and OBL (cf. p. 97):

- (28) *het þa sona blinnan fram ehtnysse cristenra manna, > ongan*  
*arweorþian ða þrowunge þara haligra martyra, þurh ða he ær*  
*wende þæt he hi acyrran meahthe fram æfestnysse þæs cristenan*  
*geleafan.*

Moessner (1991: 101) furthermore refers to structures of the type illustrated in (29), which involves relativisation within the matrix. The resulting surface structure contains a realised subject-NP:

- (29) *in þære cirican seo cwen gewunade hire gebiddan, þe we ær*  
*cwædon þæt heo Cristen wære.*<sup>5</sup>

The following examples, all of which are borrowed from Visser (1970: 496-496), sum up the wide range of concatenation possibilities available in older stages of English:

- (30) *With godys grace, whom I beseche Ø preserve you.*  
 (31) *Seo stow ðe ... ðu cwist ðæt ðin wræcstow sy, heo in ðam monnum*  
*epel ðe ðæron geborene wæron.*  
 (32) *þis is he, Which þat myn uncle swer'th Ø he mot be ded.*

<sup>4</sup> Which has led her to conclude that the O.E. push-down relative constructions are native elements fully integrated in the syntax of O.E., rather than Latin structures "couched in English words" (Moessner 1991: 98).

<sup>5</sup> There is no equivalent in Latin.

- (33) *He asked ... what he shoulde doe to a woman, whome hee suspected that she hadde falsified hir fayth.*

Relativisation within an embedded clause results in a surface structure either with (31) or without (30) a lexically filled COMP before an empty SU-NP. Relativisation within the main clause, on the other hand, results in a surface structure with a realised SU-NP that either is (33) or is not (32) preceded by a complementiser.

The following example dates from the Modern English period and strongly resembles a structure available in Present-day Dutch (see below):

- (34) *Those from whom it was thought that anything could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty.* (cf. Poutsma 1929: 643)

Dekeyser (1975: 193), who investigated 19th century British English grammar and usage, remarks the following concerning inflected wh- forms in subject territory: "licentious *whom* in complex relative ... constructions is frowned upon by all the grammarians. The reasoning underlying this uniform censure can be summarised as follows: *who*, not *whom*, must be used because it is the subject of the second verb, or, if this verb is a copula, the subject complement."

- (35) *The happy wife pleaded silently for one whom all the world knew was so wronged and so unhappy.* (p. 200)

He furthermore lists examples of **zero**-subjects and of **who** in non-subject position:

- (36) *Therefore when he shall write do send him some Ø you think will be most amusing.* (p. 200)  
 (37) *To Fanny who I hope you will soon see.* (p. 201)

*Whom* functioning in subject territory as initiator of complex constructions is probably a 'hyperurbanism', which runs counter to the common tendency towards the use of non-distinctly marked wh-forms. Its limited occurrence may be ascribable both to the general pressure against marked wh-forms and the continual censures of prescriptive grammar. (Dekeyser 1975: 202)

### 2.3. Some cross-linguistic considerations

Summing up, we can say that relative concatenation in Present-day Standard English implies relativisation of an embedded NP, with wh- movement across the superordinate clause. Furthermore, English is characterised by a subject vs. non-subject asymmetry; it does not have subjectless that-clauses.

In Dutch, subject-less **that**-clauses do exist (cf. ANS 1984: 242, Aarts/Wekker 1993: 146, Van den Toorn 1982: 125, Devos et al. 1991: 148)<sup>6</sup>:

- (38) *Dat is de man die ik denk dat het boek gestolen heeft.*  
 (39) *Dat is de datum die ik denk dat wij afgesproken hebben.*  
 (Declerck, personal communication)

These structures, which are said to have been in existence since the Middle Dutch period (cf. Van der Auwera 1984), are by no means generally accepted. Far more common is the alternative given below:

- (40) *Dat is de man van wie ik denk dat hij het boek gestolen heeft.*

In informal, conversational style, the pronominal adverb is found with personal reference:

- (41) *Dat is de man waarvan ik denk dat hij het boek gestolen heeft.*<sup>7</sup>

In Dutch, relativisation within the main clause thus seems to be far more common than relativisation in the embedded clause. The above examples (38-39) show that Dutch does not have a subject vs. non-subject asymmetry.

The same asymmetry is absent in Norwegian, Finland Swedish and Icelandic (cf. Taraldsen 1986):

- (42) *Den mannen som vi trodde at ville vinne.*  
 (43) *Mannen som jag sei at kommer.*

Finally, in French, the following structures are available:

- (44) *L'homme dont je crois qu'il est coupable.* (informal)  
 (45) *Ça c'est l'homme que je crois qui a volé la voiture.* (very informal)  
 (46) *... et je crois qu'il a pris une décision tout à fait - tout à fait - équitable et qui - je crois-, hm qui - j'espèrais -, rencontrerait l'adhésion de tout le monde, et bon, c'est pas le cas.* (Lawyer in the Dutroux-case, after the investigating magistrate was taken off the case by the Supreme Court in Belgium, in an interview of 14.10.1996)

#### 2.4. Relative concatenation in non-standard English

In my corpus of Dorset English (cf. Van den Eynden 1993), which consists of 518 speech-extracted relative clauses and 1062 relative structures found in dialectal

<sup>6</sup> They may be subject to regional variation; they seem to be more frequent in Dutch Dutch than in Flemish Dutch. English influence may be a relevant factor.

<sup>7</sup> In Flanders, the pronominal adverb is very common; it can be heard on the news and in the speech of Flemish-born professors of Dutch.

verse and prose writings, push-down relatives account for 1.2% (6/518) and 0.7% (7/1062) respectively. So, in non-standard English too, relative concatenation seems to be a marginal feature.

It appears that push-down relatives occur in SU, DO and OBL position, that **zero** occurs in subject-position, that inflected wh-forms are totally absent from the corpus and that only in one instance is there an overt COMP with a SU-relpro:<sup>8</sup>

- (47) *And he kills what deer Ø he thinks should be got rid off.* (p. 273)
- (48) *We did ask him for sommat that he knows he had to go up the back to get, you see.* (p. 281)
- (49) *The bwoys us'd t' zing-zong a verse ader her what they zed she twold her mother a day or two avore she married Bill Southall.* (p. 343)
- (50) *the only love that I know that's preached universally, is - it's a form of religion.* (p. 289)

### 3. Corpus analysis

#### 3.1. Methodology

In order to be able to come to some interesting conclusions regarding relative concatenation in Present-day Standard English, I examined relative clause formation in ten British newspapers. More specifically, I analysed the relative clauses found in five tabloids and in an equal number of so-called qualities or broadsheets.<sup>9</sup>

Given the complexity of the construction under investigation, I hypothesised, first of all, a relatively marginal use in general.<sup>10</sup> Given the differences which we know exist between the two types of newspapers,<sup>11</sup> I furthermore hypothesised a significantly greater proportion of (relative) concatenated structures in the qualities than in the tabloids. On the basis of the results of previous research conducted into the correlation between wh- usage and stylistic complexity,<sup>12</sup> I predicted significantly more wh- forms than non-wh- counterparts. In a final instance, I expected the data to conform to Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility or Case Hierarchy, and the

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<sup>8</sup> Example (50) could also be a case of relative stacking.

<sup>9</sup> I investigated relativisation in ten newspapers which appeared on Friday, 8th March 1996. Headlines and advertisements, which constitute quite different genres, were not included.

<sup>10</sup> In his 1957 corpus of 1297 impromptu educated speech-extracted relative clauses, Quirk found 29 cases of relative concatenation (i.e. 2.2%). None of these were *zero*-introduced. 5 clauses were introduced by *that*. Of the 24 wh- pushdown relatives 2 out of the 3 wh- forms in subject position were *whom*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hughes (1988: 132): "The difference in language used by newspapers is obviously one of the main ways they (i.e. qualities and tabloids) can be categorized".

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Van den Eynden (1993: 85-92) for a discussion of some of these studies.

number of attested cases of relative concatenation to be a valid parameter of syntactic complexity.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.2. Results

The figures in Tables I and II below confirm the first hypothesis; that is, on the whole, relative concatenation is used only marginally. Out of a total of 3,590 (adjectival and sentential) relative clauses, only 44 (a minute 1.2%) are instances of the construction under investigation. Its marginal character applies to both newspaper types (1.1% and 1.3% respectively). The differences between the two totals, however, are too slight to come to any valid conclusions regarding genre/category-correlated variation (tabloids vs. qualities).

| Tabloids             | Relative concatenation |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Daily Express</i> | 3/256 (1.17%)          |
| <i>Daily Mail</i>    | 5/407 (1.22%)          |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i>  | 1/129 (0.77%)          |
| <i>Daily Star</i>    | 2/106 (1.88%)          |
| <i>Sun</i>           | 0/87 (0%)              |
| Total                | 11/985 (1.1%)          |

Table I: Relative concatenation in British tabloids

| Qualities              | Relative concatenation |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Daily Telegraph</i> | 3/452 (0.66%)          |
| <i>Financial Times</i> | 7/550 (1.27%)          |
| <i>Guardian</i>        | 5/378 (1.32%)          |
| <i>Independent</i>     | 12/657 (1.82%)         |
| <i>Times</i>           | 6/568 (1.05%)          |
| Total                  | 33/2605 (1.3%)         |

Table II: Relative concatenation in British qualities

Perhaps it is not uninteresting to note that relative concatenation cuts across the adjectival and sentential relative clause division, as well as the restrictive vs. non-restrictive dichotomy, as the following examples show:

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Keenan (1977), Romaine (1980 and 1981).

- (51) *In a statement Kirby said; "Mr Venables claimed that I owed him £144,359.64 plus interest which the judge decided was simply not true."* (The Daily Mail/sentential)
- (52) *Though the Hawala case is the most dramatic example of the judiciary taking on the executive, the court has recently responded to public interest litigation to rule on other cases of corruption in high places, which Indians hope will stem the rot in the political system.* (The Financial Times/sentential)
- (53) *Three years later, they fought themselves to a standstill for a draw which many thought Benn had won.* (The Daily Mail/restrictive)
- (54) *After having her fingers burnt in Hollywood with Sliver, which she now says was an ill-considered choice, she is taking film making at her own pace.* (The Daily Express/non-restrictive)

Tables III and IV below confirm the above-stated hypothesis concerning wh- usage. Both newspaper types indeed display a significantly higher number of wh- tokens than of non-wh- counterparts. This applies to newspapers in general (over 86%), to the two types (82% vs. 88% respectively) and to all of the individual newspapers (except for The Daily Star).

| Tabloids             | wh-       | non-wh- (th-/Ø) | Total     |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>Daily Express</i> | 3         | -               | 3         |
| <i>Daily Mail</i>    | 4         | 1               | 5         |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i>  | 1         | -               | 1         |
| <i>Daily Star</i>    | 1         | 1               | 2         |
| <i>Sun</i>           | -         | -               | -         |
| Total                | 9 (81.8%) | 2 (18.2%)       | 11 (100%) |

Table III: The distribution of wh- and non-wh- in British tabloids

| Qualities              | wh-        | non-wh-(th-/Ø) | Total     |
|------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>Daily Telegraph</i> | 3          | -              | 3         |
| <i>Financial Times</i> | 6          | 1              | 7         |
| <i>Guardian</i>        | 4          | 1              | 5         |
| <i>Independent</i>     | 11         | 1              | 12        |
| <i>Times</i>           | 5          | 1              | 6         |
| Total                  | 29 (87.9%) | 4 (12.1%)      | 33 (100%) |

Table IV: The distribution of wh- and non-wh- in British qualities

The above results neatly comply with those found in other studies (including Quirk 1957, Huddleston 1971, Romaine 1980, Aarts 1993, Van den Eynden 1993, 1996) and confirm, once again, the correlation between the more abstract wh- forms<sup>14</sup> and a higher degree of stylistic complexity (note, in this respect, the discrepancy between the figures for the qualities and the tabloids).

By contrast, we find more non-wh- forms in the tabloids, which constitute a less sophisticated stylistic register than the qualities. The figures furthermore substantiate another claim that has often been made and buttressed with linguistic evidence, namely that of all the available relative strategies, wh- has a significantly wider scope than the non-wh- relatives (cf. Quirk 1957, Van den Eynden 1993: 131-137). Since relative concatenation is, given the insertion of an intervening bridge clause between the relativiser and the complement clause, an a priori 'longer', more complex structure, it is not surprising that most of the attested cases are wh- introduced.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that in none of the 44 attested pushdown relative clauses do we find violations of the obligatory COMP deletion with subject relatives-rule. In fact, the results show that an overt COMP is simply omitted tout court, even where it is theoretically possible, that is, with non-subject relatives. Psycholinguistically, one may regard this optional COMP insertion with non-subject relatives as an exception to a rule. The data seem to suggest that journalists have internalised the rule but not the exception to it; the option of inserting COMP with non-subject relatives is simply never exploited.

That journalists do 'mistake' the relativiser for the object of the bridge clause, rather than interpret it as subject of the complement clause, can clearly be seen in the following examples, where Ø is used in subject position. In other words, we are dealing here with subject contact clauses, which are not allowed in Standard English. The database contains three of these structures, including:

- (55) *The day Leeds defied the odds and wrested the title Ø everyone believed belonged to Manchester United was extra special in the life of their biggest fan.* (The Daily Star)
- (56) *The next plane he misses leads him to a chap Ø anyone can see is either the village bore or idiot (it's so hard to tell the difference when they have foreign accents).* (The Daily Mail)

As to the function of the relativiser in the attested concatenated structures, we can distinguish between SU, DO and OBL-relatives:

- (57) *He had just survived a triple heart by-pass, which he said was the best thing ever to happen to him.* (The Daily Mirror)
- (58) *Such a deal could pre-empt the bid for Ladbroke which the market believes Bass or Whitbread is preparing.* (The Daily Mail)

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Van den Eynden (1993: 214f.); wh-forms are more abstract in that they conform to Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy and are of a pronominal nature.

- (59) *Jeff Harrington is flying in from New York to do some psychic rapping, a meditative technique by which he says he can affect the behaviour of people on television.* (The Independent)

Tables V and VI below show that over 84% of the total number of attested push-down relative clauses have relatives in SU position or, in other words, involve relativisation of an embedded SU-NP (e.g. *That is the man. I believe that that man has stolen the books*). Next in line are DO's (21.1%). Other positions are marginal.

| Tabloids             | SU       | DO     | others | Total     |
|----------------------|----------|--------|--------|-----------|
| <i>Daily Express</i> | 3        | -      | -      | 3         |
| <i>Daily Mail</i>    | 4        | 1      | -      | 5         |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i>  | 1        | -      | -      | 1         |
| <i>Daily Star</i>    | 2        | -      | -      | 2         |
| <i>Sun</i>           | -        | -      | -      | -         |
| Total                | 10 (91%) | 1 (9%) | -      | 11 (100%) |

Table V: The effect of the CH on relative concatenation in British tabloids

| Qualities              | SU         | DO        | others   | Total     |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| <i>Daily Telegraph</i> | 3          | -         | -        | 3         |
| <i>Financial Times</i> | 7          | -         | -        | 7         |
| <i>Guardian</i>        | 4          | 1         | -        | 5         |
| <i>Independent</i>     | 8          | 3         | 1        | 12        |
| <i>Times</i>           | 5          | -         | 1        | 6         |
| Total                  | 27 (81.8%) | 4 (12.1%) | 2 (6.1%) | 33 (100%) |

Table VI: The effect of the CH on relative concatenation in British qualities

It seems, then, that Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility or Case Hierarchy hypothesis, which stipulates that NP relativisation is not random, but according to a specific hierarchy of syntactic positions (**SU>DO>IO>OBL>GEN>OCOMP**), applies not only to the two newspaper types, but also to the individual papers.

However, we have to tread very carefully here: of the total of 37 attested relativised SU-NP's, only 1 (2.7%) is the uninflected **who**- form:

- (60) *Mr. Ilyumzhinov is apparently on good terms with Saddam Hussain, who he says was the first to congratulate him when he took the reins of the ailing world chess federation last year.*  
(The Daily Telegraph)



In all of the other cases, we find **that**, **Ø** and **which** (3/37(8.1%), 3/37 (8.1%) and 30/37 (81.1%) respectively). I have already explained that in cases such as (61) below, there is no doubt as to how the function of the relativiser is interpreted:

- (61) *John Lennon could never have imagined it but the group Ø he once said was more popular than Jesus Christ has failed to make the Radio 1 playlist.* (The Times)

No such certainty exists, however, with regard to the other 33 (over 89%) cases, which are introduced by the case-neutral **that** and **which**-forms.<sup>15</sup> It might very well be that 36 (over 97%) of the 37 above-mentioned SU-NP's may be regrouped as surface DO-NP's, in which case we have to agree with Van der Auwera (1984: 266), who states that "embedded non-subjects seem to be more accessible [to relativisation] than embedded subjects." In conclusion, there is no evidence that the present data conform to Keenan and Comrie's CH.

Finally, Table VII below lists all of the analysed newspapers according to their relative concatenation density.

|                            |       |
|----------------------------|-------|
| <i>The Daily Star</i>      | 1.88% |
| <i>The Independent</i>     | 1.82% |
| <i>The Guardian</i>        | 1.32% |
| <i>The Financial Times</i> | 1.27% |
| <i>The Daily Mail</i>      | 1.22% |
| <i>The Daily Express</i>   | 1.17% |
| <i>The Times</i>           | 1.05% |
| <i>The Daily Mirror</i>    | 0.77% |
| <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> | 0.66% |
| <i>The Sun</i>             | 0%    |

Table VII: Relative concatenation density across the British written press

As we can see, the percentages are too small to come to far-reaching conclusions. They nevertheless do seem to reveal tendencies that might otherwise remain hidden. *The Daily Star* scores surprisingly highly for a tabloid and thwarts our expectations, while *The Sun* does not. The hierarchical rankscale, furthermore, agrees with other recent research<sup>16</sup> that it would be a mistake to think of tabloids and qualities as the two extremes of a continuum. Within each category, we certainly have to distinguish between the individual newspapers. Some tabloids, as we can see, clearly rank more

<sup>15</sup> Van der Auwera (1984) speaks of "raising strategies".

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Isabelle Knott's work on metaphors in tabloids and qualities (1996).

closely with the qualities than with other members of the same category and vice versa.

The conclusion can only be that, despite the low percentages, it is nevertheless possible to lay bare tendencies. Additional factors may be needed to substantiate claims concerning the two newspaper types.

#### 4. Conclusions

The present paper has shown that relative concatenation is a relatively complex structure, albeit not very common in Present-day Standard English. In fact, it can justifiably be called marginal. From the above historical outline we can conclude that the concatenation possibilities were far greater in the past and that some of the options no longer available in the standard dialect may very well have been preserved in Present-day non-standard dialects.

The results of a recent investigation into relative clause formation in British newspapers suggest that proximity does seem to play a role and that, even in supposedly formal standard writing, underlying subjects may be reinterpreted as surface DO's. As a result, no solid conclusions can be made with regard to the applicability of Keenan and Comrie's AH hypothesis. As with ordinary relative clauses, *wh-* seems to constitute the relative marker par excellence, no doubt because of its greater formality and wider scope.

Finally, although relative concatenation may, on its own, not be much of a reliable factor, it nevertheless brings to light subtle tendencies with regard to syntactic complexity which would otherwise remain hidden.

It goes without saying that the results in the present paper remain highly tentative. Far more research is needed, even though it seems that the compilation of a reliable corpus is problematic; if relative concatenation is already marginal in writing, we might as well forget about it in speech.

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# Alphabet und Buchstabennamen im Alt-, Mittel- und Frühneuenglischen: Systembestand und Systembildung

*Horst Weinstock*

Vor- und Frühgeschichte vermitteln einen klaren und aufschlußreichen Einblick in die Entstehungsweise des lateinischen Alphabets. Methodisch wird die Darstellung dabei zwei Verfahren einsetzen und im Einzelfall aufeinander abstimmen müssen: Zeit- und Epochengeist verlaufen synchron, simultan, im Wechsel einer Vernetzung oder Verflechtung; sie rühren aus *Systembestand*. Geistes-, Ideen- und Begriffsgeschichte verlaufen diachron, sukzessiv, in der Abfolge von Ursache zu Wirkung; sie führen zu *Systembildung*. Der Himmelsrichtung nach in "Raum und Zeit" zählt das lateinische Alphabet zu jenen Errungenschaften, die dem mittelalterlichen Spruch "Ex oriente lux" gemäß dem täglich wiederkehrenden Lauf von Licht und Sonne folgten, also aus dem Orient in den Okzident.

Aus semantischen Zeichenschriften oder Kritzeleien mit (zunächst) konkretem Bildsinn und (alsbald) abstraktem Begriffssinn entstand allmählich eine analytische, das heißt ebenso zerlegbare wie zusammensetzbare Silbenschrift. Im frühen 2. Jahrtausend vor Christus gelang einem unbekannten semitischen Schreibmeister der Riesenschritt von analytischer Silbenschrift, in der systemgebunden das gleiche Schriftzeichen die gleiche Lautfolge ausdrückte, zu einem rein konsonantischen Buchstabenalphabet. Die hebräischen Buchstaben entsprachen einem durch Nachahmung und Gewohnheit nach und nach konventionalisierten und internalisierten, also fest ins Gedächtnis eingepprägten Katalog substantivischer Wortklasse.

*Aleph* 'Haupt des Stieres/Ochsenkopf - eins' *Beth* 'Haus - zwei' *Gimel* 'Kamel - drei' *Daleth* 'Tür - vier' *He* 'Fenster - fünf' *Waw* 'Haken - sechs' *Sajin* 'Waffe - sieben' *Chet* 'Zaun - acht' *Teth* 'Gebärmutter mit Embryo - neun' *Jod* 'Hand - zehn' *Kaph* 'Hand - zwanzig' *Lamed* 'Ochsenstachel/Stock - dreißig' *Mem* 'Wasser - vierzig' *Nun* 'Fisch - fünfzig' *Samech* 'Wasserschlange - sechzig' *Ajin* 'Auge - siebzig' *Pe* 'Mund - achtzig' *Zade* 'Angel - neunzig' *Qoph* 'Nadelöhr/Affe - einhundert' *Resch* 'Haupt - zweihundert' *Schin* 'Zahn - dreihundert' *Tav* 'Zeichen - vierhundert'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Der Beitrag zielt auf den mittel- und frühneuenglischen "Zeit-Raum". Zur Einstimmung in das Problem- und Systembewußtsein faßt er die Vor- und Frühgeschichte sowie den altenglischen Zeitraum aus Vorstudien des Verfassers im Überblick zusammen, verzichtet auf erneut ausführliche Dokumentation und verweist für Quellenangaben auf: *Studies in Honour of René Derolez*, Gent, 1987, 684-708; *Anglistentag 1986 Kiel*, Gießen, 1987, 437-438; *Proceedings of*

Die innere Form oder der Bedeutungsgehalt der Buchstabennamen zeigt ein offenes oder geschichtlich gewachsenes System ohne Gliederung nach Sinnbereichen und ohne vollständige Ausschöpfung des empirischen Potentials an Vorstellungen und Begriffen. Austausch, Zusätze oder Ergänzungen wären denkbar. Lexikalisch, onomastisch und semantisch herrschen Bezeichnungen vor für Mensch (Gebärmutter, Hand, Auge, Mund, Haupt, Zahn), Tier (Ochsenkopf, Kamel, Fisch, Schlange, Affe), Bau (Haus, Tür, Fenster, Zaun), Waffen und Werkzeuge (Haken, Waffe, Stock, Angel, Nadelöhr) und Symbole (Wasser, Zeichen).

Die äußere Form des linksläufig geschriebenen hebräischen Konsonantenalphabets umfaßt zweiundzwanzig Buchstabennamen. Zahl und Umfang deuten auf ein weitgehend geschlossenes System, Abfolge und Reihung auf konventionalisiert wie internalisiert gefestigte Memorier- und Reproduktionsfähigkeit. Der Gesamtspeicher des Makroalphabets nennt volle Wörter zu je ein oder zwei Silben. Im Laut- und Schriftsystem des Mikroalphabets steht jeder Anfangsbuchstabe akrophon, exemplarisch und symbolisch für einen ganz bestimmten konsonantischen Lautwert, den jeweils eine organisch bestimmte Artikulationsstelle erzeugt. Letztlich also bestimmen die Lautwerkzeuge und Sprechweisen neben Art auch die Zahl der Konsonantbuchstaben und des Systembestands.

Der erste Eindruck vom späteren lateinischen Alphabet läßt an die Überlegenheit seiner Mischung aus Vokalen und Konsonanten denken. Der (täuschende) Voreindruck nimmt noch zu aus der heute wissenschaftlichen Sicht europäischer Sprachen und ihres durchschnittlichen Inventars aus 15 Vokal- und 25 Konsonantlautwerten. Dank diakritischer Lautzeichen lassen sich alle phonetisch und phonologisch lautgerecht transkribieren. Im maßgebenden Alltag des Sprachgebrauchs liegen die Dinge genau umgekehrt. Die Konsonanten galten vielen Massoreten und einigen Patristen als naturbegründete Körper oder Wächter der begrenzten Lautbildungsstellen; die Vokale galten als die spirituellen Seelen des denk- und willensfreien Ausdrucks einer unbegrenzten vokalischen Modulationsfähigkeit der Stimme. Festgeschriebene Vokale engten das Lautspektrum der 'losen Zunge' im Redekontinuum ein. Demgegenüber schrieben Konsonantbuchstaben die Artikulationsstellen im Palatogramm nach Lippen, Zähnen, Zahndamm, Gaumen und Kehle genau fest. Somit erlaubt das geschlossene Inventar der Konsonanten geringe Allophonie, das offene Inventar der Vokale hingegen ausgiebige. Ersteres sichert über Raum und Zeit Systembestand, letzteres schafft je nach Land und Geschichte Systembildung.

Die analytischen Merkmale der substantivischen Buchstabennamen des hebräischen Makroalphabets und seine mikroalphabetischen Akrophone gründen in natürlichen Lautbildungsstellen. Sie erfahren durch eine synthetische Auswertung des Gesamtsystems durchaus eine wertvolle Ergänzung. Die rationalistisch-wörtliche Auslegung von Zufall oder Willkür der Buchstabennatur und Buchstabennamen streitet

keineswegs gegen eine kabbalistisch-übertragene Sinndeutung ihrer Symbol- und Zahlenwerte. Allerdings entscheidet der Gegensatz zwischen rationalistischer und kabbalistischer Exegese über den Primat von Lexik bzw. Numerik. Rationalisten leiten den Zahlenwert der Buchstabennamen sekundär aus der memorierten Konventionalisierung und Internalisierung des Systembestands des Alphabets ab, Kabbalisten die symbolträchtigen Buchstabennamen aus den primären Zahlenwerten der Einer-, Zehner- und Hunderterzahlen. Unabhängig von der jeweils vertretenen Genese dient der Einprägsamkeit der Elemente oder Lexeme des alphabetischen Pansystems noch keine sprachlich systembildende Unterstützung durch ein Morphemparadigma mit merkversartiger Endreimwirkung. Erst auf dem Weg vom Hebräischen über das Griechische zum Lateinischen verblaßte die funktionalistische Tiefenstruktur der Makrobuchstaben zu Gunsten der formalistischen Oberflächenstruktur der akrophonen Mikrobuchstaben. Anlautend distinktiver Kenn- und Naturlaut und auslautend endreimender Merk- und Systemlaut der Buchstabennamen des Alphabets gewannen stetig und auffällig an Kontur, Profil und Struktur.

Seit dem 10. oder 9. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert gelangte das hebräische Alphabet über die Phöniker zu den Griechen. Theoretisch hätten solche Übertragungen eines Systembestands auch von innen ausgehen können, das heißt aus der funktionalen Tiefenstruktur der mental-apperzeptiven Begrifflichkeit. Meist allerdings (wie in diesem Fall) verliefen die Übermittlungsbahnen von außen her, das heißt aus der formalen Oberflächenstruktur der physisch-perzeptiven Gestaltlichkeit. Dabei ging manches Wesentliche verloren; es blieben sinnverkürzte oder gar sinnentleerte Außenstrukturen. So verlor das griechische Alphabet die lexikalischen Eigenbedeutungen der Buchstabennamen; die einst autosemantischen Sinnträger sanken zu synsemantischen Laut- und Schriftträgern herab, zu bloßen Worthülsen. Auch fungierten die Alphabetbuchstaben nicht länger als Zahlenwerte. Das übernommene Buchstabensystem trat neben das attische Zahlensystem.

Alpha Beta Gamma Delta Epsilon Zeta Eta Theta Iota Kappa  
Lambda My Ny Xi Omikron Pi Rho Sigma Tau Ypsilon Phi Chi  
Psi Omega.<sup>2</sup>

Mit der Auszehrung des Systembestands von innen wuchs nunmehr die Formalisierung der Systembildung nach außen. In die Lexik des Makroalphabets der Buchstabennamen hinein wirkte eine morphologische Strukturierung. Das griechische Alphabet begann die Oberflächenstruktur des Pansystems in Subsysteme zu untergliedern. Es vereinheitlichte Einsilber unter den Buchstabennamen durch den betont langen Endvokal *-i* oder *-y*:

My Ny Xi Pi Phi Chi Psi .

Die Ausnahme von asystemischem langem *-o* in *Rho* bestätigt gewissermaßen die Regel. Das griechische Alphabet vereinheitlichte Zweisilber unter den Buchstabennamen durch den unbetont kurzen Endvokal *-a*:

Alpha Beta Gamma Delta Zeta Eta Theta Iota Kappa Lambda Sigma .

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<sup>2</sup> Zu Dokumentation und Quellenangaben vergleiche hier und im folgenden: oben Anmerkung 1.

Es vereinheitlichte Dreisilber in Gestalt diakritischer Vokalbuchstaben durch nachgestellte Attribute wie *psilon* 'einfach' (das heißt monophthongisch), *mikron* 'klein, kurz' oder *mega* 'groß, lang'.

Die griechische Untergliederung in Subsysteme der Buchstabennamen leitete für Vokale eine entscheidende Phase ein. Die Zusätze *mega*, *mikron* und *psilon* traten nicht an den zuvor vollen Buchstabennamen der Makrostruktur (etwa an *Eta*), sondern an das Akrophon  $\varepsilon$  der Mikrostruktur, das heißt an den Anfangslaut, der den Naturlaut, Lautwert oder Kennlaut des jeweiligen Vokalbuchstabens vertrat. Anders ausgedrückt: die Dreisilbigkeit der Wortzusammensetzung entsprang nicht dem ursprünglichen Buchstabennamen, sondern klassifizierte dessen Akrophon. Damit untergliederte das griechische Alphabet sein Pansystem in drei Subsysteme. Die beiden konsonantischen Subsysteme lauteten für Einsilber auf langes *-i* oder *-y*, für Zweisilber auf kurzes *-a*. Das vokalische Subsystem lautete bei diakritischer Dreisilbigkeit auf eines der adjektivisch spezifizierenden Lexeme.

Aus der Komplementärsicht von äußerer Erscheinung gegenüber innerer Bedeutung diente die Trennung der Konsonanten nach ihrer Formverschiedenheit der Oberflächenstruktur in langes *-i* oder *-y* und in kurzes *-a* keinem sinntragenden Morphemparadigma, keiner Funktionsverschiedenheit der Tiefenstruktur. Hingegen machte die Erstkomponente oder das Akrophon der Vokale (mit Ausnahme des vollen *Iota*) auf den Naturlaut aufmerksam, auf das mikroalphabetische Lautsymbol. Bereits im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert begegnete bei Dionysius Thrax das Subsystem des vokalischen Mikroalphabets in der Siebenzahl:

Alpha Epsilon Eta Iota Omikron Ypsilon Omega.

Ein markanter Unterschied zwischen Griechen und Römern lag in der griechischen Neigung zu Individualismus und Geisteswettbewerb der vielen Inseln gegenüber dem römischen Drang nach Einheitsstreben und Zentralismus über 'den eigenen Stiefel' hinaus. Römische Geisteswissenschaft schöpfte dabei aus der tragenden Grunderkenntnis: "Qui bene distinguit, bene docet"; wer wohl unterscheidet, lehrt richtig. Solche trennscharfe Unterscheidung förderte kaum etwas so nachhaltig wie die Unterscheidung der drei Eigenschaften oder Erscheinungsweisen am Buchstaben, nämlich:

|              |               |                 |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>nomen</i> | <i>figura</i> | <i>potestas</i> |
| 'Name'       | 'Schriftbild' | 'Lautwert'.     |

Die Reihung selbst verläuft wohlbemerkt nicht alphabetisch, sondern prioritär. Stärker als bei anderen Völkern identifizierte römisches Denken mittels Titulatur und Nomenklatur; "Nomen est omen". Von den nachrangigen beiden Merkmalen stand Römern die Literalität über der Oralität. "Verba volant, scripta manent"; die Worte fliegen dahin, das Niedergeschriebene bleibt. Oralität oder Mündlichkeit ist (wie die römischen Legionen) variabel, inkonstant, inkonsistent, individuell, gedächtnisabhängig, aber transportabel. Literalität oder Schriftlichkeit ist (wie die römischen Monumentalbauten samt Inschriften) invariant, konstant, konsistent,

überindividuell, gedächtnisunabhängig, aber unter Umständen lokal und intransportabel.

Römische Pädagogen und Bildungsstrategen erkannten vor dem Hintergrund von Oralität und Literalität den Vorrang und die Beständigkeit des Schriftbilds. Sie erkannten auch, daß die nachrangige (weil flüchtige) Oralität nur auf pan- und subsystemischem Wege als Medienträger Profil gewinnen und einprägsamer oder memorierfähiger aufgebessert werden konnte. Orientalische Gebetsmühle und okzidentale Merkversdichtung lieferten eindringliche Vorbilder.

Überdies wissen Strukturtheoretiker und Systemanalytiker seit Jahrtausenden, daß phonisch oder graphisch allzu lange Reihen wie auch semantisch sinnentleerte Ketten die Gedächtnisreproduktion erschweren. Endloses entflieht dem Schülergedächtnis so früh und leicht wie Wirres. Da nützen höchstens Eselsbrücken, etwa die hebräisch drei- bis fünfgliedrigen Merkausschnitte, die bei den Römern dann *matres/connectiones memoriales* hießen.

Mangelnder Einprägsamkeit des Alphabets schob der römische Grammatiker Varro im 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert nach verbreiteter Praxis einen theoretischen Riegel vor. Im Einklang mit der biblischen Weisheit, daß Vokale die Stimme modulieren sowie die Sprache mit Laut und Leben durchdringen und daß Konsonanten jeweils den ihnen signifikanten Artikulationsort hüten oder aktivieren, sah Varro in den *vocales* das *genus fecundum/fertile* (das fruchtbare Lautinventar), in den *consonantes* das *genus servile/sterile* (das leb-, weil stimmtonlose Lautinventar). "Qui bene distinguit, bene docet". Auf Dauer jedenfalls wäre dieser durch Subsysteme zweigeteilte Systembestand ein geisteswissenschaftlicher Segen gewesen. Doch leider unterschied Varro am Subsystem der Konsonanten mehr, als es sinnvollerweise zu unterscheiden gab. Er entschied sich für eine Dreiteilung von Subsystemen, tat einen verhängnisvollen Riesenschritt in die falsche Richtung. An seinen drei Subsystemen des lateinischen Pansystems Alphabet leidet die nachweströmische Schriftkultur noch heute.

Varro dekretierte geradezu die Buchstabennamen des lateinischen Mikroalphabets:

– Vokale lauten als Naturlaute lang (V̄):

A E I O U

– Konsonanten lauten als Naturlaute auf den Subsystemlaut langes -e, selten -a oder -u (Kv̄):

Be Ce De Ge Ha Ca Pe Cu Te

– Halbvokale lauten nach dem Subsystemlaut kurzes -e auf Naturlaut (v̄K):

eF eL eM eN eR eS eX/iX .

Eine solche Spaltung von Konsonanten in volle Konsonanten und Halbvokale (oder zur anderen Hälfte eben Halbkonsonanten) entbehrt jeder phonologischen Grundlage. Gegen eine Einordnung der Halbvokale unter die Konsonanten (Kv̄) als

\*Fe Le Me Ne Re Se Xe



hätte nichts Zwingendes gesprochen. Varros Irrtum mag zwei Ursachen gehabt haben. Zum einen könnte nachwirken, daß hebräisches *K* und *P* im Anlaut Verschlußlaute, im Inlaut nach Vokal die Reibelaute [ç, x] bzw. /f/ bilden; davon wäre allerdings im halbvokalischen Subsystem nur *F* betroffen. Zum anderen mag wahrscheinlich der Laufrichtungswechsel der Schrift hereinspielen. Auf dem Weg vom Phönikischen über das Griechische zum Lateinischen wechselte die links-läufige Schreibrichtung in eine rechtsläufige. Die südkretischen Inschriften der Gesetzessammlung zu Gortyn aus dem 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert beispielsweise schreiben "wie der Ochse pflügt", das heißt von rechts nach links, von links nach rechts und wieder umgekehrt. Buchstabierendes Lesen des griechischen oder lateinischen Mikroalphabets könnte bald die Folge Konsonant-Vokal, bald Vokal-Konsonant ausgelöst haben. Spiegelschriftliche Umkehr von Buchstaben im Etruskischen liefern zumindest Einzelbeweise für solches Lesen nach der Ochsentour.

Varros drei (statt zwei) Subsysteme brachten dennoch auch entscheidende Anzeichen von Fortschritt. Sie beseitigten die funktionsstörende Mischung aus Makroalphabet der vollen Buchstabennamen und Mikroalphabet der gestutzten Akrophone. Vom 3. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert hämmerten Tertullian, der das Wort *Alphabetum* prägte, und die spätrömisch-patristischen Grammatiker von Donatus über Probus, Pompejus, Diomedes bis Priskian theoretisch und durch Begriffsbeschreibung ein, was Varro praktisch längst festgeschrieben hatte. Das lateinische Mikroalphabet schuf eine bislang unerreichte Nähe zwischen *nomen* – *figura* – *potestas*, zwischen Buchstabenname, Buchstabengestalt und Buchstabenlautwert. Die durchweg einsilbigen Buchstabennamen begegneten nur noch unter dem Worthauptton. Vokale nannten ihren *sonus naturalis* oder Kenn-/Naturlaut, nannten in langer Lautquantität akrophon sich selbst. Konsonanten nannten ihren *sonus naturalis* plus einen langen *sonus auxiliaris/protheticus/vicarius* oder Stütz-/Stimm-/Merk-/Systemlaut, also akrophon sich selbst mit Hilfe des dem gesamten Subsystem einheitlichen Lautträgers von langem *e*. Halbvokale nannten nach dem neutralisiert-standardisierten Stütz-/Stimm-/Merk-/Systemlaut von kurzem *e* ihren Kenn-/Naturlaut. Spätmittelalterliche Grammatiker sprachen beim Natur- oder Kennlaut vom *se* 'sich selbst' oder von der *substantia* 'dem Eigentlichen/Wesentlichen', beim System- oder Merklaut vom *aliud* 'anderen' oder *accidens* 'Uneigentlichen/Unwesentlichen'. Damit gelang es vom 1. vorchristlichen bis zum 6. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, sowohl das lateinische Pansystem als auch die lateinischen Subsysteme des Alphabets zu stabilisieren. Die bereits veranschaulichten Subsysteme laute(te)n im Pansystem:

A Be Ce De E eF Ge Ha I Ca eL eM eN O Pe Cu eR eS Te U eX/iX .

Einmal gebührend ins Langzeitgedächtnis der Schüler eingetrichtert, speichern Systeme und Subsysteme lernfreundlich und nachhaltig. Pansysteme nötigen (besonders gegen das längere Ende) zu mühsamem Klamüsern. Asystemisches (wie die Zusatzbuchstaben *X Y Z* oder die Allophonie von *Ce Ca Cu*) stört von Anbeginn und bei jeder unpassenden Gelegenheit. Die Klügeren unter den Unkundigen verdrängen die ständigen Stolpersteine gern durch Vergessen und Auslassen.

Zu Beginn der nachchristlichen Völkerwanderungszeit gelangte das lateinische Alphabet aus der Romania auch in die Germania und die Hibernia. Dort verdrängte es mit der Zeit die germanischen Runenzeichen bzw. das keltische Oghamalphabet.

Nunmehr wirkten sich unterschiedliche Aussprachegewohnheiten sowohl auf die langen Natur- oder Kennlaute des Subsystems der Vokale aus als auch auf die langen Merk- oder Subsystemvokale der Konsonanten, kaum aber auf die kurzen Subsystemvokale der Halbkonsonanten. Varros sachlich überzogene Dreigliederung in einerseits lange Natur- oder lange Systemvokale der Vokale bzw. Konsonanten und andererseits kurze Systemvokale der Halbvokale mündete in einen Gegensatz zwischen Romania und Germania. Die Germania übernahm gerade noch und bewahrte bis heute die alten Lautquantitäten der Natur- und Systemvokale des lateinischen Alphabets ( $\bar{V}$ ,  $K\bar{v}$ ;  $\check{v}K$ ). Die Romania selbst hingegen neutralisierte nach und nach die Lautquantitäten aller Natur- und aller Systemvokale in funktional oppositionsloser Lautdauer ( $V$ ,  $Kv$ ;  $vK$ ).

Dagegen hatte sich weder in der Romania noch in der Germania am römischen Schriftdenken etwas Entscheidendes geändert. Maßgebend rückte das Schriftbild (*figura*) der zwei Dutzend Buchstaben ins Blickfeld. Als Buchstabe galt, was sich schreiben, meißeln, ritzen oder 'literieren' ließ; als Analphabet galt, wer nicht lesen und schreiben konnte. Buchstabennamen (*nomen*) und Lautwert (*potestas*) besaßen nur untergeordnete Bedeutung. Daran hatten im 8. Jahrhundert auf Insel wie Festland Bedas die Orthographie fördernde Übersicht über die Buchstaben und Alkuins erinnerndes Lehrgespräch über die Stimme mit ihren vokalischen Seelen und konsonantischen Körpern nichts zu ändern vermocht.

Noch um 995 herum listete Aelfrics *Grammatik* am Pansystem und den vokalisches/konsonantisch/halbvokalischen Subsystemen des lateinischen Alphabets nur die Schriftgestaltung auf, ohne die Buchstabennamen näher zu erläutern. Der Abt von Eynsham beschrieb zwar Varros lautliche Beweggründe zur Einteilung in Subsysteme, schwieg sich jedoch über die Lautwerte der einzelnen Buchstaben weitgehend aus. Allerdings wies er ausdrücklich auf das Systemstörende an *H* und *K*, an *X* und *Y* sowie auf die doppelten Lautwerte von *I/J* bzw. *U/V* hin.

Im Jahre 1011 (kurz nachdem die auf tausend Jahre berechnete Welt doch nicht untergegangen war) bildete Byrhtferths *Manuale* oder *Handbuch* in der ersten Spalte das Pansystem, in der zweiten das vokalische, das halbvokalische und das konsonantische Subsystem ab. Die Buchstabennamen erwähnte Byrhtferth nur für das griechische und das hebräische Makroalphabet jener anzillären Sprachen Ostroms bzw. des Judentums, nicht hingegen für das als bekannt vorauszusetzende Latein Westroms. Im Gegensatz zu Aelfric bezog Byrhtferths vierte Spalte die Zahlenwerte der Buchstaben nach dem römischen Abkürzungssystem mit ein.

Wie weit Englisch, Deutsch und andere germanische Sprachen sich von der lateinischen Schulaussprache entfernt hatten, spricht deutlich aus dem sogenannten Ersten Grammatiker, einem isländischen Gelehrten um 1150. Ihm dämmerte als Erstem,

wie unüberbrückbar lexikalische Buchstabennamen des Alphabetsystems und kontextuelle Lautwerte im Sprachgebrauch zunehmend auseinanderklafften.<sup>3</sup> Je nach der lautlichen Umgebung wechselten die Lautwerte von ihrer lexikalischen Artikulation des Buchstabens in eine kontextuelle Koartikulation der ganzen Silbe. Anders ausgedrückt: die isolativ-segmental-paradigmatischen Lautwerte widersprachen den kombinatorisch-suprasegmental-syntagmatischen. Im Grunde hatte sich die römische Konvention, auch Vokale routinemäßig buchstabengetreu zu literieren, gerächt. Lautlich modulationsfähiger verfuhr unter den drei antiklassischen Sprachen allein das Hebräische mit seiner syllabographischen Konsonantenschrift, was die Aussprache der Buchstabennamen des Makroalphabets keineswegs berührte.

Was germanische Erben des lateinischen Buchstabenalphabets des untergegangenen Römischen Reiches als fremd, unsystematisch oder sprachübergreifend ungeeignet entdeckten, war aus dem Geist längst provinzialisierter und substrathöriger Lehrmeister der Lateingrammatik heraus kaum mehr auszugleichen oder theoretisch zu berichtigen. Zudem sahen sich die Angelsachsen ganz anderen lateinischen Nachfolgeproblemen ausgesetzt. Seit 1066 hatten die Anglonormannen schulisch und bildungsmäßig das Sagen – Anglonormannen, die einst als wikingische Dänen und Norweger in der Normandie ihre nordgermanische Sprache aufgegeben hatten und fortan eine nordfranzösische Mundart sprachen. Ihr anglonormannisches Alphabet klang kaum angelsächsischer als das lateinische. So bestand das gleiche lateinische Pansystem des Alphabets bald in mitttelenglischer und bald in anglonormannischer Aussprache. Ein vergleichender Blick auf das Pansystem des Alphabets aus der Handschrift British Library Stowe 57 des 12. Jahrhunderts veranschaulicht die jeweils doppelsprachigen Buchstaben als Allonyme, nämlich Varianten der mikroalphabetischen Buchstabennamen.<sup>4</sup> Engländer sprachen in Konsonanten nach deren Naturlaut den langen Systemlaut als Monophthong /e:/, Anglonormannen als Diphthong /ei/.

Das Pansystem aus BL MS Stowe 57 lehrt zugleich noch manches andere:

- (1) Der Verfasser, Schreiber oder Abschreiber des Alphabets nennt natiolektal-allophonisches /e:/, ei/ nur als Merk- oder Systemlaut der Konsonanten, nicht aber als Kenn- oder Naturlaut des Vokals *E* selbst.
- (2) Der Verfasser, Schreiber oder Abschreiber des Alphabets hält das duale Subsystem der Konsonanten nur in der ersten Spalte von *B* über *C* und *D* bis *G* durch; in der zweiten Spalte begnügt er sich bei *P* und *T* mit dem angelsächsischen Monophthong /e:/.

<sup>3</sup> Zu Quelle, Abbildung und Auswertung der *Ersten Grammatik* vergleiche: *Proceedings of the International Congress of Dialectologists* (Bamberg, 29.7. – 4.8.1990), herausgegeben von Wolfgang Viereck, Band 2, Stuttgart 1993, 243-257, Seite 246.

<sup>4</sup> Für eine Abbildung und Ausdeutung des Alphabets aus Manuskript British Library Stowe 57 fol. 3v vergleiche: "The rise of the letter-name *aitch*", *English Studies* 76 (1995), 355-366, Seite 364.

Philologisch betrachtet greifen Realitätssinn und Wirklichkeitsbewußtsein des Grammatikers zwar kasuistisch in konkreten Einzelbeispielen, noch nicht aber systematisch genug für eine alle Beispiele umfassende abstrakte Regel. Angelsächsisch vollständiger Systembestand des Alphabets und anglonormannisch unvollständiger Systembestand dienen dem ergänzenden Vergleich, nicht zum Zweck der Systembildung.

Das 13. Jahrhundert scheint wenig an Alphabetsystematik zu bieten. Sporadische Belege für allonyme Buchstabennamen legen vom Systembestand her die Schlußfolgerung nahe, daß, hätte man einen Engländer des 13. Jahrhunderts nachts aus dem Schlaf geweckt und gefragt, welcher Buchstabe auf *G* folge, vier ethnisch bedingte und spontan identifizierende Antworten möglich gewesen wären: Ein Engländer angelsächsischer Herkunft hätte geantwortet *Ha*, ein Engländer normannischer Herkunft *Hake*, ein Engländer zentralfranzösischer Herkunft *Ache* und ein Engländer keltischer Herkunft *Ang*. Denn keltischem *G* pflegte das *NG* des *Gamma nasale* zu folgen. Und was hätten alle vier hellwach am Tage gesagt? Vielleicht herrschte überwiegend (wenn auch unausdrücklich) schon das schulsprachliche *Ache*.

Im 14. Jahrhundert schwiegen sich trotz sonstiger sprachlicher Ausführungen zum Alphabet John Mandeville und John Trevisa über Pansystem, System, Subsystem oder Asystem aus.

Seit dem 15. Jahrhundert machte der erste Schub des *Great Vowel Shift* Varros Dreigliederung der lateinischen Alphabetbuchstaben auf der britischen Insel endgültig funktionsuntüchtig. Übereinstimmung von Buchstabenname (*nomen*) und Lautwert (*potestas*) der Vokale einerseits und Nichtübereinstimmung von Buchstabe (*figura*) vor allem bei *E* und *O* mit den phonologisch geschlossenen oder offenen Lautwerten (*potestates*) /e:/ oder /ɛ:/ bzw. /o:/ oder /ɔ:/ andererseits störten das vokalische Subsystem. Die anfängliche Anhebung der langen Haupttonvokale um genau eine Zungenstellung und die einsetzende Zweigipfligkeit, Diphthongierung und Dissimilation der langen Extremvokale *I* und *U* trennten die jahrhundertealte Wesensgleichheit oder Wesensähnlichkeit der lateinischen Alphabetvokale durch Spaltung und Verschiedenheit ihrer Aussprache auf Festland und Insel. Die Lautstruktur der Vokale als Simplex reiner Kenn- oder Naturvokale ohne Komposition mit einem Merk- oder System-/Subsystemvokal schloß unter anderem ein, daß Vokalbuchstabennamen keinem 'reimenden' Subsystem gehorchten und sich 'natürlich' entwickelten. Davon zeugen eine Rück- und Vorschau auf die chronolektale Lautgeschichte der langen Haupttonvokale, die mit ihren Buchstabennamen völlig übereinstimmen. Ohne Einbezug der im Alphabet fehlenden Ligaturen *æ* und *œ* laute(te)n die Alphabetbuchstaben der langen Vokale:

|                 |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|-----------------|----|-----|----|------|----|-----|
| lateinisch      | ā  | ē   | ī  | ō    | ū  | (ȳ) |
| altenglisch     | ā  | ē   | ī  | ō    | ū  | (ȳ) |
| mittelenglisch  | ā  | ē ē | ī  | ō ō  | ū  | -   |
| frühneuenglisch | ē  | ē ī | ei | ō ū  | ou | -   |
| neuenglisch     | ei | ī   | ai | əu ū | au | -   |

Für die thematische Untersuchung von Systembestand und Systembildung der Alphabetbuchstaben erlaubt der Vokalismus folgende Erkenntnisse: Die lateinisch einsilbigen Alphabetbuchstaben verbindet ein *Type-Token*-System besonderer Art.

- Das Zeichen (*token*) des Kenn- oder Naturlauts sichert Lautisolierung, Lautunterschied, Lautspezifikum, Lautidentität, also Form und Funktion. Es gleicht der autosemantischen Funktion eines Lexems.
- Der Typ (*type*) des Merk- oder Systemlauts sichert Lautähnlichkeit, Lautgemeinsamkeit, Lautzuordnung, Lautklassifizierung, Laut(sub)systematisierung, also Einprägsamkeit, Merkfähigkeit und Speicherung. Er gleicht der synsemantischen Funktion eines Morphems.

Schon seit Römertagen wirkt in den voneinander grundverschiedenen Vokalen das Zeichen der Substanz zugleich als Typ des Attributs. Ihre systemlose Ungebundenheit und Souveränität trug den Vokalen die Bezeichnung des Eigenständigen von Herren (*distinctivi sive domini*) ein, des Fruchtbaren (*genus fecundum/fertile*), von Priskians Seelen (*animae*). Systemlosigkeit und Unabhängigkeit der Vokale gründen letztlich in der Monokausalität ihrer Hervorbringung ausschließlich durch die jeweilige Zungenstellung. Im Grunde ein grenzenlos modulationsfähiges Kontinuum, entsteht die (annähernde) Äquidistanz der Lautwerte von Kardinalvokalen durch die Ökonomisierung der 'Idealstellen' ihres auditorisch und phonemisch am deutlichsten erkenn- und trennbaren Profils. Der ohrenphonetische Einsatz im Alltagsgebrauch zügelt das an sich offene Inventar einer 'losen Zunge' pro Sprachsystem dennoch recht gut, weil funktionsfähig.

Auch Varros Subsystem der Halbvokale trug nur bedingt und in festen Grenzen zur Systembildung bei. Ursprünglich umfaßte der Systembestand nur die Liquidenlaute *L* und *R* sowie die Nasalkonsonanten *M* und *N*. Anfängliches *L M N* regte noch zu Wort und Namengebung des Akronyms *Elementum* an. Später kamen durch Umkehrläufigkeit und Runenergänzung *F R S θ X* hinzu, was nicht zu dem erweiterten und schwerfälligen Namen *\*eFeLeMeN(eReSeθeX)um* für alle acht Halbvokale führte. Typologisch folgte *Elementum* durchaus dem Umkehrschema aus Merk- oder Systemlaut plus Kenn- oder Naturlaut. Doch die Vokalkürze des Merk- oder Systemlauts diente der Systembildung und Memorierfähigkeit in weit geringerem Maße. Überdies neigte die kurze Lautdauer des Stimmträgers zu koartikulatorischer Lauttönung, zum einen geschlossenes *e* zu offenem *ε*, zum anderen *εr* zu abgesenktem *ar* und *ex* zu angehobenem *ix*. Grammatisch blieb der vorangehend kurze Merk- oder Systemlaut, der keine Endreimwirkung auslöste, eine geschwächte und kaum funktionsfähige Kategorie, ein schon erstarrter oder noch erstarrender Mechanismus und Schematismus.

Seit dem *Great Vowel Shift* prägte Alphabetsystematisches im Grunde allein das Subsystem der Konsonanten. Dieses Subsystem allerdings zerfiel fast zur Hälfte in eine systematisch regelmäßige *connexio* aus den sechs Buchstaben *B C D G P T* und eine systemlos unregelmäßige *connexio* *H J K Q V W Z*. Beide Teilinventare hatten das Lateinische Mittelalter im Gedächtnis der Vielen, jener (nach Quintilian) "Schatzkammer der Beredsamkeit", funktionstüchtig, aber ungeregelt überstanden.

Grundsätzlich dürfte auch in den Geisteswissenschaften die Annahme nicht ganz fehlgehen, daß zumindest manche Probleme durch Schlüssigkeit der Gedankengänge lösbar sind. Aus solcher Sicht gilt die Renaissance als eine Vorphase des Rationalismus. 1551 nannte Thomas Wilson sein Werk zur Einstimmung in die Epoche *The Rule of Reason*. Vernunft sollte auf Harmonie, Spannungsausgleich und Ausgewogenheit hindeuten, eher auf die Statik und Ruhe von Pansystem und Subsystem als auf die Dynamik und Unruhe von Asystem. Außerhalb von Philologie und Rhetorik scheinen dies denn auch in der Baukunst Renaissancefassaden, Renaissancegiebel, ja sogar in der Wohnkultur Frontwände von Holzschränken zu bestätigen. Dort herrschte eine Neigung zu klarer Gliederung, zu Ebenmaß, Gleichmäßigkeit, Ordnung, Proportion, Regelmäßigkeit und Symmetrie. Warum sollte nicht gerade zur gleichen Zeit auch am Alphabet das Asystemische schwinden, das Subsystemische im Pansystemischen gedeihen? Theoretisch erwartet man ein Ja; praktisch freilich enttäuscht das Nein, weil wissenschaftsempirisch am Gegenteil eben so gut wie nichts zutrifft, weil das alphabetische System des Englischen im 16. Jahrhundert keinerlei Straffung gewann. Stilmerkmale einer Epoche wirken nicht auf allen Gebieten gleichzeitig. Philologisch fehlten der Renaissance ganzheitlich ordnende Kräfte. Das Ordnungsdenken hob auf Entsprechungen der Details ab, auf wechselseitige Entsprechungen. Die Schreibreformer des 16. Jahrhunderts versuchten die konservativ-rückständige Schreibung der Buchstaben ihren progressivzeitnahen Lauten anzupassen, 'geschriebene' Buchstaben lautgetreu zu regeln. In den sechziger Jahren empfahlen Thomas Smith (1568) und John Hart (1569) bei allem sonstigen Hang und Drang zum Vertrauten, zu *custom* oder Brauch, den Vokal langes *i* als <ei> zu schreiben (weil er längst als Doppellaut klang) oder *th* im bestimmten Artikel *the* als <dh> zu schreiben (weil im satzphonetischen Vorton längst der geringere Stimmdruck von Sonorität herrschte). Im Visier standen Schriftgestalt und Lautwert des Einzelbuchstabens, *figura* gegen *potestas*, nicht das Gesamtsystem. Dem rationalistischen Denkschema des Analytisch-Detaillistischen fehlte die intuitive Geistesschau des Synthetisch-Holistischen. Der Blick auf die Vielfalt und Varietät der Dinge bedeutete alphabetisch ein uneinheitliches Nebeneinander von Merk- und Systemvokalen der Buchstabennamen, eine *inventio* ohne *dispositio* und *elocutio*. Allerdings mangelte es nicht an jeglichen Anzeichen von "Willen zum System" und Systembezogenheit. Beispielsweise griff 1550 ein Anonymus das duale System von BL MS Stowe 57 wieder auf, indem er dem unvollständigen anglonormannischen Subsystem *Bei Cei Dei Gei* das vollständige zentral- oder bildungsfranzösische Subsystem *Boi Coi Doi Goy Poi Toi* hinzufügte. Und John Bullokar empfahl 1580, den Buchstabennamen *Ha* zum Systemausgleich durch *Hee* zu ersetzen.

Im 17. Jahrhundert vertieften Phonetiker zunächst das analytisch-detaillistische Denken. Sie bemerkten am Pansystem des Mikroalphabets, daß das Subsystem der Konsonantbuchstaben isoliert anders klang als kontextuell in den Sprechfluß des Redekontinuums eingebettet. Das war geistesgeschichtlich etwas Uraltes und knüpfte an die Syllabographie des hebräischen Konsonantenalphabets an. Im Lateinischen Mittelalter entdeckte es um 1150 der isländische Erste Grammatiker ebenso wieder wie am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts der anglofranzösische Franziskanermönch und Hebräischkenner Roger Bacon. Am Beispiel des Buchstabens *B* klang Bacons duales System der Syllabographie im Anlaut *Ba Be Bi Bo Bu* und im In- oder Auslaut *aB eB iB oB uB*. Demnach belebten jeden einzelnen Konsonantbuchstaben zehn allophonische Varianten. In der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts und ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts erhoben selbst namhafte Grammatiken syllabophone Konsonantenreihen zum phonetischen Ritual. Rund jedes vierte Lehrbuch veranschaulichte die morphophonemischen Lautwerte syllabographisch. Auf Dauer und erst recht geraume Zeit nach dem spätmittelenglischen *Great Vowel Shift* fiel es freilich so manchem Renaissancehumanisten und Frühhationalisten auf, daß insulares langes wie kurzes *a* längst nicht mehr ihren festländischen Lautwerten entsprachen und langes *i* oder *u* (zumindest unter progressiven Sprechern) diphthongisch lauten konnten. Anders ausgedrückt: die qualitätsneutralen Buchstabengestalten der Alphabetschrift transkribierten kaum noch eindeutig genug das neue Spektrum der Vokallautwerte. Was das Subsystem der Merk- oder Systemvokale des Konsonantismus anbelangte, hatte sich die Aussprachewirklichkeit von der Gedächtnisgewohnheit entfernt. Der überholte Systembestand begann einen (vermeintlichen) Bedarf an Systembildung zu setzen.

Wie üblich eilen frühe Anzeichen des Problembewußtseins späten Erfolgen der Problemlösung unterschiedlich weit voraus. 1707 stellte Nahum Tate einer zukunftsweisenden Tabelle systematisierter Buchstabennamen seines Freundes Thomas Dyche ein Gedicht voran. Es endet auf folgende acht Zeilen:

These *Rules* are well design'd, to take away  
 The Scandal that upon our Nation lay;  
 Where Elegance a Stranger was, and few  
 The Beauties of their Mother-Language knew.  
 These *Rules* must rectifie both *Tongue* and *Pen*,  
 If Youths wou'd speak and write like Learned Men:  
 For foreign Tongues can ne'r be rightly Known,  
 Before we're *Well* acquainted with *Our Own*.

Wie gewohnt folgen den Zeilen des Tiefblicks unmittelbar zwei Seiten des Rituals aus drei Tafeln syllabophoner Konsonanten. Immerhin regte der lange Atem syllabophonischer Systeme 1762 Robert Lowth zu einer feinsinnigen begriffstheoretischen Unterscheidung zwischen Lesen und Buchstabieren an: "Spelling is the art of reading by naming the letters singly"; Buchstabieren ist die Kunst zu lesen, indem man die Buchstabennamen einzeln (be)nennt.

Seit Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts machte John Bullokars Anregung des systematisierten Merkvokals in *Hee* Schule. In Abständen von rund einem Jahrzehnt geriet <ee> /i:/ zusehends zum subsystemischen Merkvokal für die Mehrzahl der Konsonanten. Schon 1674 reduzierte Henry Preston die unregelmäßigen Konsonanten auf nur zwei (*K* und *Q*), verdoppelte somit die Zahl der regelmäßigen auf den Merk- oder Systemvokal langes –e:

Bee Cee Dee Gee Jee He Je Pee Tee Ve We Ze .

Auch die inkonsistente Digraphie <e(e)> täuscht kaum über den Ausdruckswillen hinweg. 1693 ergänzte noch Joseph Aickin das Lager der Konsonanten um *Fee*, was sich allerdings nicht durchsetzte. Mit wechselnder Lückenhaftigkeit oder Vollständigkeit verfolgten und entfalteten zahlreiche Autoritäten des 18. Jahrhunderts das einheitliche Subsystem der Konsonanten in Richtung Analogie und Systemzwang. 1799 (sub)systematisierte James Adams asystemisches *Zed* zu \*eZ, dessen stimmhaftes Allophon den stimmlosen Halbvokal eS ergänzte.

Der Zeitpunkt der Vereinheitlichung des Merk- und Systemvokals von Konsonanten scheint mit dem Zeitpunkt der Unabhängigkeit und Abspaltung des Amerikanischen vom Britischen Englisch in etwa zusammenzufallen. Fortan wahrte über die "Zeit" das durch "Raum" getrennte Amerikanische Englisch System und Analogie beharrlicher und neigte zu *Gee Wee Zee*. Im Britischen Englisch steuerten eher gebündelte Kräfte die Regelung der Buchstabennamen. Die nachrationalistische Sprachgemeinschaft entschied von Fall zu Fall und meist mehr oder weniger unbewußt, was Bewährung versprach. Sie vollzog zwar weitgehend eine Vereinheitlichung, die Einprägsamkeit und Merkfähigkeit steigerte; doch sie vollzog beides nicht um jeden Preis. In der Nachfolge des uralten und auch nachmittelalterlichen Gegensatzes von Naturordnung (*ordo naturalis*) und Kunst- oder Systemordnung (*ordo artificialis*) wirkten einerseits Natur und Praxis, andererseits System und Theorie. Solange sich Gewohnheitsbrauch und Gedächtnisbestand (*custom*) von *Jay*, *Double-You* und *Zed* bewährten, ohne Funktionsstörungen durch Mißverständnisse auszulösen, drängte aus Sicht der Vernunft (*reason*) nichts darauf, zu *Jee* (das wegen *Gee* störte), zu *Wee* (das fast wie *Vee* klang) oder zu *Zee* (einem nie gehörten Artefakt) überzuwechseln. Eine Mehrheit von Abermillionen von Sprechern hat *Aitch*, *Jay*, *Kay*, *Kew*, *Double-You*, *Wy*, *Zed* konventionalisiert, internalisiert, memoriert und reproduziert; ihre nach Gedächtnis und Funktionstüchtigkeit erfolgreiche Praxis hat der kleinen (und obendrein uneinigen) Zahl von Systemtheoretikern nur in Bedarfsfällen eine Chance gegeben. Im übrigen galt auch für den Gemeinbesitz des Alphabets die Devise: "Never change a winning team". Die Tugend beim Gebrauch der Buchstabennamen lag in ihrer Verträglichkeit mit Theorie und Praxis, in der stillen Einsicht: Es gibt nichts so Praktisches wie eine gute Theorie. Eine gute Theorie läßt bei der Anwendung jene Luft zum Atmen, ohne die nichts lebt. Auch in der Philologie erfaßt und beschreibt eine gute Theorie nach Geist und Wort, was in Tat und Leben die Lehre von Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit nicht Lügen straft. Im Falle der Buchstabennamen des Alphabets haben Gewohnheit und Funktionstüchtigkeit Varros 'ungereimte' Dreigliederung zu einer zweiten Natur zurecht gerückt, zu einem kunstvollen System. Die geistesgeschichtlich wiederholt heraus-



geforderte und hinreichend bewährt-vertraute Sprachstruktur des Alphabets braucht in der Romania wie in der Germania die Zukunft nicht zu scheuen.

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## STUDIES RELATED TO OTHER LANGUAGES

### Spatial and Social Dimensions in Sound Change

*Wiesław Awedyk and Camiel Hamans*

In 'traditional' historical linguistics the spatial factor is mainly responsible for the diversification of languages. According to this view any change must have originated in some area and it is there where the innovating forms are first attested in texts. This area is the core or centre of the change. The change may spread to neighbouring areas and the innovating forms are found in the texts written later than those of the core area. The dialects are accordingly divided into central and marginal ones; in the central dialects the change is the strongest and the farther from the centre, the weaker is the change, i.e. the innovation operates with decreasing novelty. Thus, for example, the diphthongization of MHG /u:/ is the strongest in Bavarian, where /au/ is found, and weaker in Swabian, which has /əu/ (cf. Schirmunski 1962: 215). A similar "rather finely graded continuum" is attested for the development of ME /u:/ in the North and North Midlands of England (cf. Lass 1978: 265).

The innovation operates in a mechanical way both in the central and the marginal dialects. In the central dialects all the relevant lexical items (including proper names) are affected while in the marginal dialects, where the innovation has lost its impetus, a number of lexical items may be left unaffected. It is therefore not surprising to find, for example, in some dialects of German forms such as *haus* and *us* existing side by side, which has given rise to the concept of mixed dialects.

The division of dialects into 'pure' and 'mixed' is intuitively suspect due to its being simplistic. This article will discuss dialects that exhibit the characteristic features of both pure and mixed dialects.

The data analyzed below presents the development of West Germanic long *o* in some Dutch dialects. The long *o* <oo> : long *u* <oe> isogloss runs, roughly speaking, along the IJssel: east of the river one finds the old long *o*, e.g. *book* 'book', while west of the river - the 'new' long *u*, e.g. *boek* (see Map).

Our analysis is focused on the area around Apeldoorn, which is close to the IJssel. Here, as expected, common names have long *u*. Proper names prove to be more interesting, namely, etymologically transparent proper names commonly have long *u*, e.g. *Rietbroek* in Apeldoorn (*broek* 'wet land', cf. OHG *bruoh* 'moor'); whereas, etymologically non-transparent proper names have generally long *o*, e.g. *Taxstroot* (a hamlet near Apeldoorn) and *Het Strood* (a quarter in Apeldoorn). It is interesting to note that, farther west, etymologically non-transparent proper names have long *u*, e.g. *Stroet* (a village north of Amsterdam in North Holland). Another

example is *Kootwijkerbroek* (a village west of Apeldoorn): it has the new long *u* in etymologically transparent *-broek* and the old long *o* in etymologically non-transparent *Koot-* while *Rollekoet* (a settlement north of Apeldoorn) has the new long *u* in etymologically non-transparent *-koet*.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> *Stroet/stroot* (original meaning 'moor') and *koet/koot* (original meaning 'shabby house') are non-transparent now and are not even listed in van Dale's dictionary of Standard Dutch (Geerts and Heestermans 1995).

Similarly, to the south-west of Apeldoorn lies a farm named *Moorse Hoef*. The name has the new long *u* in the etymologically transparent *Hoef* (cf. *hoef* 'farm') and the old long *o* in the etymologically non-transparent *Moorse* while, farther west (between Amersfoort and Utrecht) a field-name '*t Erf Moers Moersjak*' has the new long *u* in the etymologically non-transparent *Moers*.<sup>2</sup>

The analyst has to answer the question why the old long *o* has been preserved mainly in etymologically non-transparent proper names in the Apeldoorn area. These 'exceptions', i.e. etymologically non-transparent proper names with long *o* in the otherwise long *u* area, form a homogeneous category; therefore, they cannot be simply accounted for by the hypothesis that sound change is lexically gradual. Moreover, the lexical gradualness hypothesis does not explain why, in the area farther west, common names as well as proper names which are both etymologically transparent and etymologically non-transparent have long *u*.

One way of accounting for the Dutch dialect data presented above is to postulate two types of sound change: lexically exceptionless and lexically gradual. Zabrocki (1961) makes a distinction between phonetic and substitution processes. The phonetic process is exceptionless and affects all the relevant lexical items in a given dialect, i.e. both common and proper names including those which are etymologically non-transparent. From the 'source' dialect the change may spread to another dialect whose speakers substitute 'borrowed' segments for their own ones. First, they will have 'borrowed' segments in those lexical items that occur in both dialects. When the new pronunciation has been established in a number of lexical items, the speakers of the 'borrowing' dialect apply a rule like: 'Change long *o* to long *u*'. This stage, i.e. rule inference, is a necessary step in the substitution process as the change now spreads to those lexical items that occur only in the 'borrowing' dialect. Since the substitution process operates from word to word, exceptions to the rule are naturally expected. The substitution process also affects proper names, but only those that are etymologically transparent, while etymologically non-transparent proper names will remain unchanged in the 'borrowing' dialect.

The analysis of proper names both transparent and non-transparent supplies the diachronic dialectologist with evidence for establishing 'historical' boundaries between dialect areas. If he finds non-transparent proper names with the 'old' long *o* in the area where speakers normally have the 'new' long *u* in common and in etymologically transparent proper names, he may surmise that a substitution process operated in this dialect. Thus it may be concluded that the dialects between Utrecht and the IJssel are synchronically long *u* but diachronically long *o* dialects.

The above analysis is 'traditional' in that it does not take into account the recent developments in historical sociolinguistics (cf. Milroy 1992). Milroy makes a sharp distinction between 'innovation' and 'linguistic change': "It [linguistic change] is negotiated by speakers in face-to-face encounters, and an innovation in a speaker's output is not a linguistic change until it has been agreed on and adopted by some community of speakers, however small the community may be" (Milroy 1992: 221).

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<sup>2</sup> *Moer/moor* (original meaning 'moor') is not transparent now and is found only in poetry and proverbs (Geerts and Heestermans 1995).

At least two questions arise immediately:

- (1) Is innovation a part of linguistic change?
- (2) Is linguistic change a conscious act of the speaker(s)?

There is no simple 'yes' or 'no' answer to (1). On the one hand, although innovation and change are conceptually two different entities, innovation is a 'prerequisite' for any linguistic change to take place. Moreover, few historically attested changes were checked or reversed such as the voicing of initial fricatives in the North-West Midlands, e.g. *uif* for OE *fif* 'five' (cf. Awedyk 1992). The voicing was well established in Middle English dialects, but it is not attested in Modern English dialects: the 'standard' explanation is that the voicing began to recede in the second half of the 14th century under the influence of Standard English.

On the other hand, when speakers of one speech community adopt an innovation that has originated in another speech community, i.e. they substitute the 'imported' innovation for their own old forms, the innovation is not a part of their linguistic change. Thus the dichotomy innovation : linguistic change is valid only in case of the borrowing of linguistic change.

Linguistic change, according to Milroy, is a conscious act of face-to-face encounters, which implies an active and conscious role of the speakers. Modern English furnishes us with a convincing example: in current RP the starting-point of the diphthong in words such as *goat* is now central, which is one of the 'British prestige innovations'. This innovating form has recently replaced the 'old' diphthong [ou] "as the ideal image of a 'correct' or 'beautiful' RP GOAT diphthong" (Wells 1982: 237).

On the other hand, Wells (1990) provides us with a counter-example. In his *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (LPD) he postulates a new vowel [ɪ] in some contexts, for example, in word final position and transcribes *happy* as [ˈhæpi] while other dictionaries have [ɪ], i.e. [ˈhæpɪ]: "The symbols i, u are used for i: – ɪ, u: – ʊ in positions of neutralization" (Wells 1990: xviii). The change [ɪ] → [ɪ] has already been completed as [ˈhæpi] is the only pronunciation in LPD. Since neutralization, if not blocked, is applied in a mechanical way, this change was unconscious, i.e. it was not subject to negotiation.

If our inferences are correct, two types of linguistic change must be distinguished: 'mechanical' change ('phonetic process' in Zabrocki's terminology) and substitution. According to Milroy there is only one type of change, viz. substitution, for example, OE /ɑ:/ → ME /ɔ:/ as in OE *stan* 'stone' : ME *ston(e)*: "the process was one of substitution rather than change *sensu stricto*" (Milroy 1992: 91). It is not possible to explain within the historical sociolinguistic framework why in one dialect all the lexical items including the non-transparent proper names were affected while in another dialect the non-transparent proper names remained unchanged or, in other words, why it was just this category of lexical items (non-transparent proper names) that was 'non-negotiable'. It seems that historical sociolinguistics still suffers from some theoretical and methodological inadequacies and the 'traditional' approach gives a better account of the data discussed in this article.

The distinction between the two types of sound change also proved to be useful in the analysis of the diphthongization of long *y* <u> in the Betuwe province in the

Netherlands (cf. Awedyk and Hamans 1993). In this province, common names have the diphthong <ui> like *buiten* 'outside' and, similarly, etymologically transparent proper names, e.g. *Buitentuin* (cf. *tuin* 'garden') in Maurik. On the other hand, etymologically non-transparent proper names have the old monophthong *y*, e.g. *Kule* in Maurik. West of the Betuwe etymologically non-transparent names have the diphthong, e.g. *Achter Kuik* (a meadow in Schalkwijk). It can be therefore inferred that the diphthongization of long *y* operated as a substitution process in the Betuwe and that the process originated in the provinces west of the Betuwe and that, from the diachronic point of view, the Betuwe belongs to the 'monophthong' area.

The discussion of such problems as the origins of sound change and whether sound change is phonetically abrupt lies outside the scope of the present article. It seems obvious though that the phonetic process originates in a relatively small and compact speech community and then penetrates into a larger and larger area (cf. Zabrocki 1970). Therefore, both spatial and social factors must be incorporated into the theory of sound change.

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# Remarques sur la division dialectale du Brésil

*Suzana Alice Marcelino Cardoso*

Le portugais du Brésil, parlé sur un territoire de 8 millions de km<sup>2</sup>, présente des variantes internes qui reflètent les limites formées par des zones dialectales aux caractéristiques propres résultant de divers facteurs. Ce travail est consacré à l'étude de quelques phénomènes linguistiques visant l'identification d'isoglosses permettant d'établir une répartition des dialectes du Brésil.

## Une brève introduction historique

Pays jeune qui, à la fin du millénaire, aura 500 ans, le Brésil a vécu, au cours de ces 5 siècles, une évolution linguistique dont on peut retracer les grandes phases d'après différents critères.

D'abord, au moment de sa "découverte" par des navigateurs portugais en 1500, la "terre nouvelle" est un immense territoire où vit une population autochtone importante dont le nombre oscille selon les estimations entre 4 ou 5 millions et 10 millions de natifs qui connaissent et parlent environ 400 à 450 langues,<sup>1</sup> réparties du Nord au Sud et utilisées par cet ensemble diversifié de locuteurs qui ont surtout en commun leur "modus vivendi".

L'arrivée du colonisateur portugais introduit, à partir de 1532, c'est-à-dire au début du long processus de colonisation, une langue romane – la langue portugaise – qui commence à cohabiter avec les langues autochtones. Pendant les trois premiers siècles, les Portugais mettent toute leur énergie à comprendre les langues indigènes afin de survivre et de conquérir le nouveau territoire: il s'agit de communication globale et quotidienne, on a besoin de comprendre pour faciliter la pénétration plus profonde du territoire brésilien, on veut mettre en place la catéchèse et l'enseignement adéquat élaboré par les Jésuites. De ces efforts dûs à l'élément lusitanien sont nés des travaux de nature didactique dont la grammaire de Padre José Anchieta.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Les données sont estimatives et l'extrême variation résulte des différentes méthodes utilisées pour le calcul numérique.

<sup>2</sup> *Arte da Grammatica da Lingua mais usada na Costa do Brasil* [L'art de la grammaire de la langue utilisée sur la côte du Brésil]. On peut consulter, par exemple, l'édition fac-similé éditée en 1980 par l'Université Fédérale de Bahia, Salvador, qui a pour base l'édition publiée par Julio Platzmann (Leipzig 1876), qui est à son tour un fac-similé de l'édition imprimée à Coimbra par Antonio de Mariz, en 1595.

A côté des diverses langues indigènes et de la langue portugaise, parlée par une petite minorité, on trouve "la langue générale", langue véhiculaire des communautés indigènes entre elles, et de ces dernières avec la communauté portugaise, langue largement utilisée au moins jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui est ainsi décrite par Silva Neto (1963: 53):

A **língua geral**, pelo contrário, era simples, e de reduzido material morfológico; não possuía declinação nem conjugação. Tinha todo o aspecto das línguas de necessidade.

[La langue générale, au contraire, était simple et ne disposait que d'une morphologie réduite; elle ne possédait ni déclinaison ni conjugaison. Elle avait tout l'aspect d'une langue de nécessité.]

C'était la langue de communication parlée au sein des propres familles de colonisateurs, et même la "langue de confessionnal" utilisée par les enfants et les femmes portugaises.<sup>3</sup> La forte présence de la langue générale poussa la couronne portugaise à prendre des mesures draconiennes, dictées par le Marquis de Pombal, en 1757, pour réprimer son usage et implanter l'utilisation exclusive de la langue portugaise qui, à cette époque, comme le signale Houaiss (1985: 49): "tinha caráter de insularidade nos centros urbanos emergentes" [revêtait un caractère isolé dans les centres urbains naissants].

L'usage de la langue générale interdit, la langue portugaise se répand partout. Les masses indigènes se voient refoulées dans l'intérieur du pays, où elles essaient de survivre.

A côté des langues indigènes et de la langue portugaise, il y a aussi la présence des langues africaines qui eurent moins de chance que les langues indigènes. Parlées par une population esclave, dont les droits étaient profondément violés, ces langues ne réussirent pas à s'établir au Nouveau Monde comme moyens systématiques de communication. Du contact entre Portugais et Africains subsistent des vestiges de dialectes créoles, comme celui de Helvécia, identifié par Ferreira, en 1961.

Cinq cents ans plus tard, le Brésil peut se définir comme un pays de langue romane, s'intégrant à la "România Nova", avec le profil linguistique suivant:

- langue officielle et nationale dominante: le portugais, parlé par 170 millions de personnes;
- langues indigènes survivantes: de 150 à 170 langues, parlées par près de 200 000 Indiens;
- vestiges de dialectes créoles, existant dans des communautés restreintes et parlés par un nombre réduit de locuteurs appartenant en général à une classe d'âge avancée;

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<sup>3</sup> Silva Neto (1963: 60): "Outro missionário ilustre diz-nos que 'a usavam os meninos e mulheres portuguesas ainda no confessionário'" [Un autre missionnaire célèbre nous dit que les enfants et les femmes portugais la utilisaient même dans le confessionnal].



- langues de groupes d'immigrés, localisées dans des endroits spécifiques, et parlées au sein de ces communautés (allemand, italien, japonais, polonais...).

Pour ce qui est des domaines dialectaux, je veux, à travers ce cadre historique, me référer essentiellement aux domaines dialectaux du portugais brésilien que les témoignages historiques situent au niveau de la langue générale du pays et dont ils confirment le rôle d'instrument linguistique d'unité nationale.

### De l'unité de la langue à la diversité des usages

Reconnu comme langue nationale, le portugais du Brésil se montre cependant diversifié. La pluralité des usages, les variantes de région à région et, par conséquent, la non-uniformité ont attiré l'attention des chercheurs, surtout à partir du siècle dernier, quand parurent les premières études sur les caractéristiques du portugais du Brésil par rapport au portugais du Portugal,<sup>4</sup> et sur les différences qui existent à l'intérieur du pays, de région à région.<sup>5</sup> C'est aussi à la fin de ce même siècle que commence l'ébauche de projets concernant la répartition dialectale, même si ces premiers efforts se limitent à des critères purement géographiques dépourvus de tout fondement linguistique.

C'est Antenor Nascentes (1953: 18) qui reconnaît que "O falar brasileiro, apesar de sua relativa uniformidade, apresenta variações bem características" [le parler brésilien présentait en dépit de son uniformité relative des variations bien caractéristiques], et qui formule le premier projet, jusqu'à présent unique, de répartition dialectale du Brésil. En prenant pour base l'observation de deux phénomènes – "a cadência e a existência de protônicas abertas em vocábulos que não sejam diminutivos nem advérbios em mente" [la cadence et l'existence de voyelles prétoniques ouvertes dans des mots qui ne sont ni diminutifs ni adverbes] (Nascentes 1953: 25) – il propose la division du portugais du Brésil en deux grands groupes de parlers – celui du Nord et celui du Sud – qui comprennent six parlers locaux, divisés par une ligne qui va:

... da foz do rio Mucuri, entre Espírito Santo e Bahia, até a cidade de Mato Grosso, no Estado do mesmo nome, passando cerca de Teófilo Otoni, Minas Novas, Bocaiúva, Pirapora, Serra da Mata da Coroa, Carmo do Paranaíba, rio Paranaíba, rio São Marcos, Arrendidos, Santa Luzia, Pirenópolis, rio das Almas, Pilar, foz do rio dos Araés, Cuiabá e Mato Grosso.

(Nascentes 1953: 25)

[de l'embouchure de la rivière Mucuri entre Espírito Santo et Bahia, jusqu'à la ville de Mato Grosso, dans l'Etat du même nom, en passant par Teófilo Otoni,

<sup>4</sup> En 1826, le Vicomte de Pedra Branca, ministre plénipotentiaire du Brésil en France, écrivit un chapitre sur les différences lexicales existant entre le portugais du Brésil et le portugais du Portugal, pour figurer dans l'ouvrage de Andrien Balbi intitulé *Introduction à l'Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*.

<sup>5</sup> Il s'agit principalement de glossaires et lexiques régionaux.

Minas Novas, Bocaiúva, Pirapora, Serra da Mata da Coroa, Carmo do Paranaíba, la rivière Paranaíba, la rivière São Marcos, Arrependedos, Santa Luzia, Pirenópolis, la rivière des Almas, Pilar, l'embouchure de la rivière des Araés, Cuiabá et Mato Grosso].

Cette division présente:

Les "Sub-falares" (les parlers locaux) du Nord: **o amazônico** (Les Etats d'Amazonas, Acre, Pará et une partie de l'Etat de Goiás qui va de l'embouchure du fleuve Aquiqui à la Serra do Estrondo); **o nordestino** (Les Etats de Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, et une partie de l'Etat de Goiás, de la Serra do Estrondo à la source du fleuve Parnaíba).

Les "Sub-falares" (Les parlers locaux) du Sud: **o baiano** (Les Etats de Sergipe, Bahia, Nord, Nord-Est et Nord-Ouest de Minas Gerais, de Goiás, de la source du fleuve Parnaíba en passant par les "serras" des Javais, des Xavantes, du Fanha et du Pilar jusqu'à la ville de Pilar, fleuve Das Almas, Pirenópolis, Santa Luz et Arrependedos), que l'auteur considère être "o intermediário entre os dois grupos" [l'intermédiaire entre les deux groupes] (Nascentes 1953: 25); **o fluminense** (les Etats de Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, la forêt de l'Est de Minas Gerais); **o mineiro** (Centre, Ouest et Est du Minas Gerais); **o sulista** (les Etats de São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, le Sud de Minas Gerais et le Triângulo Mineiro, le Sud de Goiás et le Mato Grosso).

A ces deux blocs, Nascentes ajoute une troisième zone qu'il appelle région sans caractéristique, s'agissant d'une zone pratiquement dépeuplée à l'époque où il formula son projet et qui comprend la région située entre la frontière bolivienne et la frontière de l'Etat du Mato Grosso et des Etats de Amazonas et Pará.

Comme on ne dispose pas de données comparatives recueillies systématiquement sur le terrain, on n'arrive pas à définir les isoglosses permettant de délimiter précisément les zones dialectales. Nascentes (1953: 20) s'en rend compte et s'y réfère en affirmant que

A divisão do nosso país em áreas lingüísticas esbarra, como nota Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa*, diante de uma grande dificuldade: a falta de determinação de isoglossas.

[La répartition de notre pays en aires linguistiques se trouve, comme le note Serafim da Silva Neto dans son introduction à l'étude de la langue portugaise, devant une grande difficulté: le manque de détermination d'isoglosses.]

Cette difficulté est ressentie par Silva Neto (1963: 48) qui fait remarquer que

O nosso problema, pois, consiste na divisão dialetal do Brasil em áreas lingüísticas. É problema bastante dificultado pela deficiência de estudos preliminares acerca da extensão das linhas isoglossas.

[Notre problème réside alors dans la répartition dialectale du Brésil en aires linguistiques. Il s'agit d'un problème assez difficile à résoudre en raison du manque d'études préliminaires sur l'extension des lignes d'isoglosses.]

Ce problème existe encore de nos jours, quoique les études de géographie linguistique aient produit cinq atlas linguistiques régionaux (Bahia, Minas Gerais, Paraíba, Paraná et Sergipe) et que d'autres soient en cours (Acre, Ceará, Mato Grosso do Sul, Région Sud et São Paulo). Il n'y a pas encore de données générales qui recouvrent tout le territoire brésilien, mais grâce à l'apport fourni par la géolinguistique et par des travaux sociolinguistiques on peut essayer de définir les zones dialectales du Brésil.

En m'appuyant sur ces éléments, je traiterai quelques phénomènes caractéristiques du portugais du Brésil en vue d'une définition plausible des zones dialectales. Je prendrai comme critère la production de voyelles moyennes prétoniques, phénomène qui a servi de base à Nascentes pour son projet de répartition dialectale du Brésil.

### **Zones dialectales du Brésil**

Lorsqu'il établit la grande division dialectale, en opposant les parlers du Nord à ceux du Sud, Nascentes (1953) considère comme un des deux éléments de base, la réalisation des voyelles moyennes prétoniques, dont la ligne de division sépare, d'un côté, les parlers du Nord, amazonique, nordestin, et, de l'autre, le parler bahianais, intermédiaire entre les deux groupes, et les parlers du Sud, "fluminense", "mineiro" et "sulista" (carte 1). Au Nord, la production de ces voyelles est surtout caractérisée par des mi-ouvertes, alors qu'au Sud, on trouve une dominante de mi-fermées. Cette division dialectale repose sur l'observation directe qu'a faite l'auteur au cours de ses voyages effectués sur l'ensemble du territoire national. Aussi déclare-t-il:

Hoje que já realizei o meu ardente desejo de percorrer todo o Brasil, do Oiapoc ao Xuí, de Recife a Cuiabá, fiz nova divisão que não considero nem posso considerar definitiva, mas sim um tanto próxima da verdade.

(Nascentes 1953: 24)

[Aujourd'hui, mon ardent désir de parcourir le Brésil dans sa totalité, de Oiapoc à Xuí, de Recife à Cuiabá, ayant été exaucé, j'ai fait une nouvelle répartition que je ne considère ni ne peux considérer comme étant définitive mais qui n'en est pas moins aussi proche de la réalité que possible]

Quarante ans après la proposition de Nascentes, les données empiriques recueillies au cours de la recherche systématique permettent une analyse exacte du phénomène et de la répartition spatiale des voyelles moyennes prétoniques, ce qui rend possible un tracé rigoureux d'isophones.

Les études de dialectologie et de sociolinguistique en cours, au Brésil, ont fourni des éléments susceptibles de nous renseigner en détail sur le vrai caractère que révèlent les voyelles prétoniques en permettant, d'une part, de vérifier la pertinence de la description présentée par Nascentes et, de l'autre, l'élaboration rigoureuse des limites linguistiques de quelques phénomènes spécifiques.

En ce qui concerne les voyelles moyennes prétoniques, les atlas linguistiques régionaux, déjà publiés – Rossi (1963), Zágari et al. (1977), Aragão/Menezes (1984),



Ferreira et al. (1987), Aguilera (1995) –, offrent déjà quelques éléments de base. En premier lieu, les atlas des Etats de Bahia et du Minas Gerais recouvrent exactement la partie la plus orientale de la grande ligne de division Nord–Sud tracée par Nascentes, comme on peut le voir sur la carte 1. Il s’y ajoute que des cinq atlas publiés, un concerne la région Nord, deux la région considérée intermédiaire, c’est-à-dire la zone du parler bahianais, un la région Sud, et un, l’atlas de Minas Gerais, une partie de l’une et de l’autre de ces deux grandes zones (carte 1). Enfin, les données d’ordre phonétique permettent d’établir les limites des différentes réalisations des voyelles moyennes prétoniques.

Les données qu’offrent les atlas de Paraíba, Sergipe et Bahia<sup>6</sup> témoignent de la réalisation ouverte de la plupart des voyelles moyennes prétoniques, comme le montre le tableau 1 ci-dessous.

|         | /ɛ/     | /e/     | /ɔ/     | /o/     |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Paraíba | 78.76 % | 21.24 % | 83.87 % | 16.13 % |
| Sergipe | 86.67 % | 13.33 % | 75.4 %  | 24.6 %  |
| Bahia   | 80.76 % | 19.24 % | 78.57 % | 21.43 % |

Tableau 1: Réalisations de /ɛ/, /e/, /ɔ/, /o/

Les réalisations fermées, quoique leur pourcentage soit relativement faible, apparaissent dans des situations spécifiques, conditionnées phonologiquement ou déterminées par des facteurs sociaux, comme le décrivent Mota (1980) et Barbosa da Silva dans un article inédit.

Si nous examinons l’*Atlas Lingüístico do Paraná*, nous observons que les chiffres sont inversés par rapport aux données relatives à la zone des parlers du Nord. Ainsi enregistre-t-on sur la totalité des voyelles moyennes réalisées dans cette région à peine 1.61 % de /ɛ/ et 8.04 % de /ɔ/, ce qui entraîne un plus grand taux de réalisation de voyelles moyennes fermées: 98.39 % de /e/ et 91.96 % de /o/. Les occurrences des voyelles moyennes ouvertes /ɛ/ et /ɔ/ ont un profil bien particulier. 28.57 % de /ɛ/ se manifestent dans le mot *pernalongo* (au lieu de *pernilongo* 'cousin'), ce qui fait penser à une véritable interférence avec le mot *perna* 'jambe', où /ɛ/ s’observe dans toutes les variantes du portugais du Brésil. Les occurrences de /ɔ/ sont toutes liées à la réalisation du mot *rodamoinho* (variante de *redemoinho* 'tourbillon'), ce qui fait preuve d’une nouvelle motivation sémantique résultant d’une association avec le mot *roda* 'roue', où /ɔ/ apparaît dans toutes les variantes du portugais. Compte tenu de ces particularités, la présence de voyelles moyennes ouvertes atteint à peine 0.81 %, ce qui fait du Paraná une zone de voyelles moyennes prétoniques fermées.

<sup>6</sup> Pour une étude spécifique sur Bahia, voir Cardoso (1996).

L'Etat de Minas Gerais occupe une position à part dans ce contexte. Les données tirées du EALMG représentent deux zones différentes, comme telles que les montre la carte 2. La partie Nord, voisine de l'Etat de Bahia, se caractérise par la présence de la réalisation ouverte, tandis qu'au Sud de l'Etat prédomine la prononciation fermée.

A ces données d'ordre géolinguistique s'ajoutent d'autres, nées de la recherche sociolinguistique en cours sur le portugais du Brésil, surtout à partir de l'implantation du Projet NURC.<sup>7</sup> Sur la base du corpus de ce projet, les voyelles prétoniques sont analysées par différents chercheurs brésiliens. Je reprends ici les données présentées par Callou/Leite/Moraes (1995) dans un article récent, publié dans la *Revista Internacional de Língua Portuguesa*. Les auteurs, qui ont pris pour base leurs propres études relatives à la norme de la langue soignée de Rio de Janeiro tout en s'appuyant aussi sur les résultats obtenus par Bisol (1981) pour Porto Alegre, et Barbosa da Silva (1989) pour Salvador, arrivent aux pourcentages suivants:

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Salvador       | 60% |
| Rio de Janeiro | 5%  |
| Porto Alegre   | 0%  |

Tableau 2: Voyelles prétoniques moyennes ouvertes

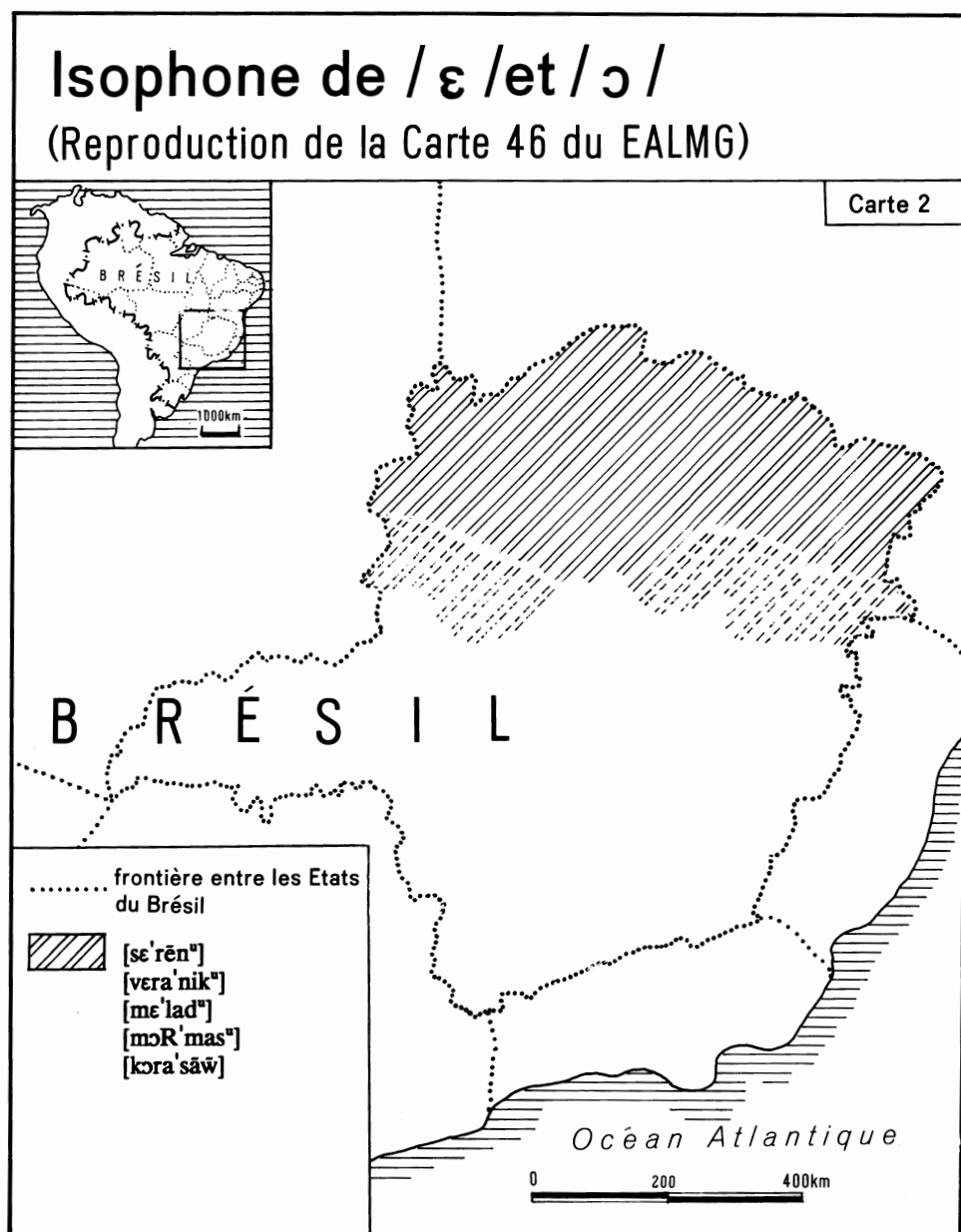
Se référant aux deux autres grandes villes où se développe aussi le Projet NURC, les auteurs affirment que

Não há estudos sistemáticos sobre a realização da pretônica na fala culta de Recife e São Paulo, mas, ao que tudo indica, haveria um comportamento semelhante de Salvador e Recife de um lado, e Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo e Porto Alegre, de outro. (Callou/Leite/Moraes 1995: 110)

[Il n'y a pas d'études systématiques sur la réalisation des voyelles prétoniques dans la langue soignée de Recife et São Paulo, mais, comme tout paraît l'indiquer, il semble y avoir une situation similaire à Salvador et Recife d'un côté, et Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo et Porto Alegre, de l'autre.]

Les données considérées permettent de tracer, en prenant pour base les études sur la norme de la langue soignée, un isophone qui sépare Salvador et Recife de Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo et Porto Alegre. L'apport de la géolinguistique, d'autre part, permet d'établir comme limite de ce même isophone le centre de Minas Gerais.

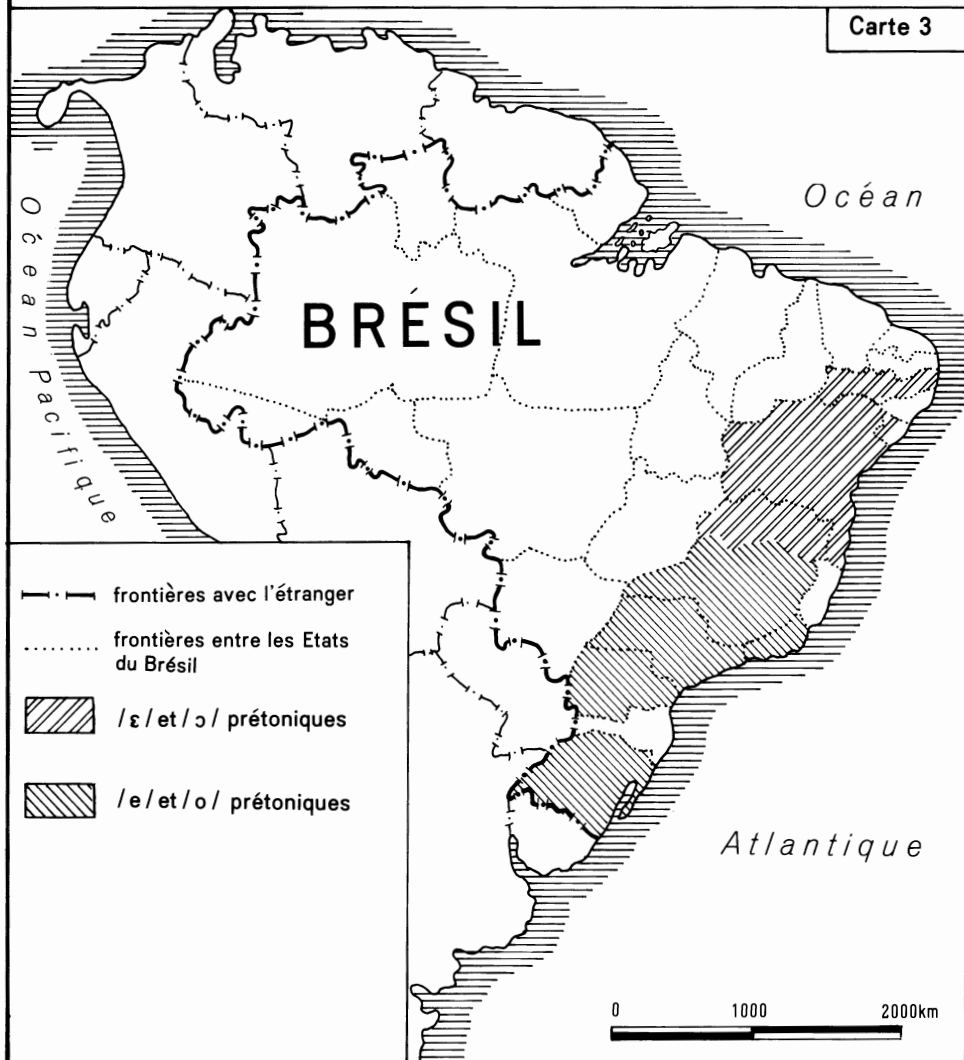
<sup>7</sup> Projet d'étude de la norme de la langue soignée au Brésil, commencé en 1969 et en cours dans 5 grandes villes brésiliennes: Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo et Porto Alegre. Il comprend un corpus d'environ 1570 heures d'enregistrements de locuteurs de niveau universitaire.



# Zones dialectales du Brésil

(D'après les atlas linguistiques et le Projet NURC)

Carte 3





Si on ajoute les résultats obtenus par les études de géographie linguistique à ceux que l'on doit aux travaux sociolinguistiques, on remarque que d'un côté, il y a Paraíba, Recife, Sergipe, Salvador et le Nord de Minas Gerais, tous caractérisés par une réalisation ouverte des voyelles moyennes prétoniques et, de l'autre, le Sud de Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná et Porto Alegre, où prédomine la réalisation fermée de ces voyelles (carte 3), ce qui confirme le point de vue de Nascentes.

Si on regarde la répartition dialectale telle que l'a proposée Nascentes à la lumière des données issues de la recherche empirique actuelle en géolinguistique, on constate qu'effectivement quant à la réalisation des voyelles moyennes prétoniques le Brésil peut sans aucun doute être divisé en deux grandes zones: celle des parlers du Nord, caractérisée par une prononciation ouverte et dont l'isophonie est identique à la limite établie par Nascentes, d'une part, et celle des parlers du Sud avec prononciation fermée, d'autre part.

## Conclusion

Les études actuelles sur le portugais du Brésil permettent de regarder de plus près des phénomènes différenciés dont l'analyse peut mener à identifier et à déterminer avec précision des zones dialectales. L'analyse présentée ici se limitait, considérant l'espace dont je dispose, à la réalisation des voyelles moyennes prétoniques. D'autres phénomènes de nature phonétique pourraient cependant être examinés, tels que, par exemple, le comportement des consonnes postvocaliques /s/, /r/ et /l/, la palatalisation de /t/ et /d/, la réalisation affriquée de /t/, auxquels on pourrait ajouter des aspects morphosyntaxiques, tels que la présence/absence de l'article défini devant les noms propres et les possessifs ainsi que l'alternance *nós* ('nous') / *a gente* ('on', 'nous'). Bien qu'il existe déjà des phénomènes étudiés ou en cours d'analyse qui puissent contribuer à une délimitation des zones dialectales du Brésil, il n'en est pas moins nécessaire de définir, dans cet ensemble, les faits les plus pertinents et significatifs pour l'interprétation de la réalité du portugais du Brésil, en les regardant dans leur plus grande amplitude de manière à en venir, d'ici peu, à une répartition dialectale du Brésil fondée sur des données recueillies dans toutes les zones. En ce sens, les études de dialectologie, tout particulièrement celles de géolinguistique et les analyses d'ordre sociolinguistique, représentent une contribution importante. L'élaboration systématique d'atlas linguistiques régionaux, dont cinq seulement sont à notre disposition actuellement (carte 4), et, peut-être, aussi l'effort collectif visant à réaliser l'atlas national du Brésil, pourront accélérer ce processus d'identification de phénomènes pertinents susceptibles de conduire à une répartition des dialectes brésiliens en complétant ou modifiant le tableau brossé par Nascentes en 1953.

# Atlas linguistiques du Brésil

(Distribution par région)

Carte 4



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## **Some Irregularities of the So-called West Jutland *Stød* (Glottal Stop), with Special Reference to Some Words Descended from Old Danish Forms Ending in *-bb* or *-gg*.**

*Inger Ejsskjær*

The *stød* is a characteristic feature of Standard Danish. It also appears in most of the Danish dialects, but there it often deviates typologically from the *stød* of Standard Danish. Other Danish dialects have different pitch accents (cf. Ejsskjær 1990). The principal rule regarding the use of the *stød* in Standard Danish states that it appears in monosyllabic words, as is the case with pitch accent 1 in Swedish and Norwegian, and in the Danish dialects of East Slesvig and of some islets to the south of Funen.

However, from a synchronic point of view, and especially with regard to the acquisition of Danish as a foreign language, this principal rule is of limited value. Firstly, the *stød* does not appear in all monosyllabic words consisting of the voiced phonemes required for the word to be pronounced with the *stød*: long vowel or short vowel + voiced consonant (*stødbasis*), for example:

*væn* (ven) 'friend' but *væn'* (vend!) 'turn!'

*haw* (hav) 'sea' but *gra'w* (grav) 'grave, place of burial'.

Secondly, the *stød* frequently occurs in words of more than one syllable, for example:

*fød'ør* (fødder, sb. pl.) 'feet'

*be'sdel'øn* (bestilling, sb.) 'order, to provide something'.

Therefore, starting from the expression-side of the language, one cannot give exhaustive synchronic rules for the occurrence of the *stød*: the pronunciation with or without the *stød* is also a question of content (meaning), (cf. Hjelmslev 1948/50: 21, Ejsskjær 1969: 90-91).

Naturally, a historical analysis can shed some light on the problems: *væn* 'friend' originally had the combination short vowel + short voiced consonant and does not appear with the *stød*, while *væn'* 'turn!' (with old *-nd*) developed an Old Danish long voiced consonant; *fød'ør* 'feet' is an originally monosyllabic word containing a long vowel (Old Norse *fœtr*).

In his book *Stødet i dansk*, Hansen (1943) tried to explain why in Standard Danish some words are pronounced with the *stød* while others are not. But even from a diachronic point of view it is difficult to formulate rules to describe the current usage. We have to bear in mind that a phenomenon as old as the *stød* has been influenced by many analogical changes, partly even by trends mutually opposed.

The Common Danish *stød* (i.e. the *stød* that Standard Danish and one or more of the Danish dialects have in common) occurs also in the dialects north of the *stød* isogloss (cf. Map 1), here and there with some phonetic restrictions and/or accompanied by other *stød* phenomena or by rising accents (see Ejskjær 1990 and Map 1).

The best-known special *stød* phenomenon (occurring only in West Jutland, West Slesvig and a small part of North Funen) is the so-called West Jutland *stød*, which constitutes one of the really knotty problems of Danish dialectology. According to the principal firm synchronic rule regarding its use, this *stød* is a feature of words of two different types, the *stød* occurring either

- 1) with a short vowel before a plosive: *ha'd* (sb. pl.) 'hats', *ho'b* (vb.) 'to hop', *smæ'g* (vb.) 'to slap', or
- 2) with a voiced consonant + a plosive: *dam'b* (vb.) 'to steam', *kan'd* 'to border or braid', *hjæl'b* (vb.) 'to help', *kjer'g* (sb.) 'church'.

The syllable pronounced with the *stød* in words of these types may be followed by one or more infortis syllables, cf. *ho'bə* present and preterite of 'to hop', *kjer'gə* (sb. pl.) 'churches', *ble'gən, slå'ə* 'plumber'.

As the West Jutland *stød* in type 1) occurs with a short vowel there is an opposition between, for example, *be'də* (bitte) 'small' and *be'də* (sb. pl. *beter*) 'missing tricks in card games', the latter pronounced with the Common Danish *stød*. As it will have seemed, the syllable types 1) and 2) are a necessary condition for the occurrence of the *stød*, but this condition alone is not sufficient: West Jutland *stød* occurs only in words of these types, but not in all of them. One might think that the inclusion of formal categories (i.e. categories relating to inflectional forms or to parts of speech) would lead to a clearer view of the typological placement of the West Jutland *stød*. Thus, it turns out that the *stød* is a feature of all infinitives of the necessary phonological structure, but since the dividing line that separates words pronounced with the *stød* from words pronounced without the *stød* does not coincide with that separating, for instance, nouns from adjectives (or nouns/adjectives from adverbs: some nouns appear with, others without the *stød*; similarly with adjectives and adverbs), one cannot give exhaustive synchronic rules of the *stød* in terms of formal categories any more than by using criteria such as phonetic types or number of syllables. Even though the Common Danish *stød* belongs to the language system and is not merely an accompanying phonetic phenomenon (cf. oppositions such as *væn* 'friend': *væn'* 'turn!'; *ham* 'him' : *ham'* 'skin, slough'), its functional load is low, whereas the West Jutland *stød* is the only distinctive feature in a large number of oppositions (cf. Ringgaard 1974: 14-26), e.g. *had* 'hat' but pl. *ha'd* 'hats', *hob* imp. 'hop!' but *ho'b* 'to hop'. This is understandable when the West Jutland *stød* is considered from a diachronic point of view: the West Jutland *stød* occurs in words which in Old Danish had two or more syllables and which in their first syllable had a short (or shortened) vowel followed by a long (geminated) plosive or by a voiced (or sonorized) consonant + a plosive + a vowel. As a result of the Jutland apocope, the consonant clusters in words of two syllables became word-final: Old Danish *hoppæ* 'hop' became *ho'b*.

Originating in old disyllabic or trisyllabic words and corresponding to a tonal accent 2, cf. for instance East Slesvig <sup>1</sup>*had* : <sup>2</sup>*had* pl. 'hats', <sup>1</sup>*damb* 'steam' (sb.) : <sup>2</sup>*damb* 'to steam', the West Jutland *stød* has been traditionally looked upon as a kind

of manifestation of the old accent 2, possibly caused directly by the Jutland apocope.

But in 1960 a doctoral dissertation entitled 'Vestjysk Stød' (Ringgaard 1960) was published in which the author claimed, on the basis of experimental phonetic investigations of the phonation of the *stød*, that it must have developed as a spontaneous modification of the articulation of all Old Danish long plosives (tenues) when originally medial, i.e. not exclusively in the apocope type with a final vowel. Ringgaard claims to have demonstrated that the West Jutland *stød* is characterized by a complete closure of the glottis (i.e. a total stop in the activity of the vocal cords) and that the plosive following the *stød* is unaspirated. Ringgaard combines these observations with a theory to the effect that the Old Danish tenues were originally so-called pure tenues, i.e. tense unaspirated tenues with simultaneous closure of the glottis and of the mouth, and that the balance was later disturbed so that the closure of the glottis (but not its opening) occurred before the closure of the mouth, the former closure being heard as a *stød*.

The West Jutland *stød* gives the same auditory impression as the glottal stop in English, cf. for instance Ringgaard (1960: 111) and also Shorrocks (1988, 1992). The Common Danish *stød* does not have a total stop in the activity of the vocal cords; it is a two-phase sequence with pitch in the first phase and fall in pitch and in intensity in the second phase, explained respectively by activity of the cricothyroid and (probably) constriction of the glottis. There is interindividual variation with respect to the degree of constriction of the vocal cords and to some extent with respect to the decrease in fundamental frequency and the aperiodicity (Fischer-Jørgensen 1987). Ringgaard's tentative explanation of the origin of the West Jutland *stød* was not allowed to stand unopposed. It was criticized by the supporters of the accent-apocope theory, among others by Jensen (1961). Andersen objected that a comparison of the results obtained by measurements of the present-day variables with conjectures about the nature of the variables in the Primitive Scandinavian and mediaeval periods can only be of limited relevance (Andersen 1965). I myself think that it would have greatly supported Ringgaard's theory if it had been established that the glottal stop occurs in certain parts of the Romance language area, for instance before French plosives articulated as pure tenues; but as far as I know, it has not been so established. Nevertheless, Ringgaard's theory would seem to be the most plausible of the explanations proposed hitherto. Ringgaard says himself that if one presupposes that all the Old Danish medial long tenues were affected, there is no need to explain the *stød* of unapocopated forms such as, for instance, the present tense of verbs as having been introduced by analogy with the infinitive forms. Nor does the synchronic function of the West Jutland *stød* support the accent/apocope theory, for even if this *stød* is the only distinctive feature in for instance the sg. : pl.-oppositions of many substantives, there exist nearly as many substantives of the same synchronic structure whose sg. is identical with the pl. (Ringgaard 1960: 16-27). Cf. for instance *hæ'k* 'hedge(s)' (from German *Hecke*), *æŋ'kə* 'widow(s)' (not apocopated owing to the old *ia*-ending).

Whereas many inflected forms do not need to be explained (for instance by analogy), late loan-words, if one follows Ringgaard's theory, fail to act in conformity with his conjecture about the origin of the West Jutland *stød*. Thus there are

no phonetic forms with the West Jutland *stød* in the case of words such as *munter* (adj.) 'cheerful', *tapper* (adj.) 'brave', *fætter* (sb.) 'male cousin', *køkken* 'kitchen', and *sukker* (sb.) 'sugar'; but they are not a serious problem since loan-words are often exceptions from phonetic 'laws'.

More problematic are some words that are pronounced with the West Jutland *stød* and which originate from old monosyllables containing a short vowel + voiced long (geminated) mediae: *-bb* or *-gg*. As indicated by what I have said so far, they present a crux to all writers on theories concerning the origin of the West Jutland *stød*. That is why I wish to deal especially with this group of words. Instances are *næb* 'beak', *byg* 'barley', *æg* 'egg', *skæg* 'beard', *væg* 'inner side of a wall'. Normal Jutland sound correspondences would make one expect these words to be pronounced as *nev'*, *byq'*, *eq'*, *skjeq'*, *væq'* with the Common Danish *stød* on a voiced fricative, and this is actually the pronunciation in some East and North Jutland dialects. But in some places in West Jutland their phonetic forms are: *ne'p*, *by'k*, *e'k*, *skje'k*, *væ'k*, as if they were descended from words containing a vowel + *pp* or *kk* + an infortis vowel. In fact *ne'p* 'beak' is formally identical with *ne'p* (nippe) 'to sip', *væ'k* 'inner side of a wall', with *væ'k* 'to awaken'. *Rø'k* means 1) 'back' (sb.), 2) 'to pull', all the infinitive forms containing Old Danish *-pp-* or *-kk-* followed by schwa.

While the words *ne'p*, *e'k*, etc. represent a common type and appear to be quite acceptable elements of the present-day 'expression'-side of the dialect concerned (in structural analyses interpreted as manifesting (an underlying) accent 2), they are very peculiar forms in a historical perspective. It appears that they caught the attention not only of Ringgaard (1960: 13) but even of the authors of our much earlier national dialect-atlas. Thus, with reference to their Map 54 illustrating developments of Old Danish *gg*, Bennike/Kristensen (1898-1912) make the following remark in the legend dealing with a specially coloured area in West and South Jutland: "...*g* in many words." (*g* and *k* are unvoiced variants in medial and final position in nearly all Danish dialects and in Standard Danish). The accompanying text volume gives and comments on examples of words containing *g/k* from special localities, but it is not possible to see on how much material the map is based or how fine-meshed is the net behind the specially coloured surface.

Imperfect knowledge of the detailed geographical distribution is shared by later investigators, among them Skautrup (1928-29). Skautrup's explanation forms part of his theory concerning the origin of the West Jutland *stød*, the so-called "*geminatspaltningssteori*", which postulates that instead of the mechanical lengthening of the final voiced consonants/consonant groups in connection with the loss of the infortis vowel (the apocope) of the old disyllabic words, the unvoiced *-pp-*, *-tt-*, *-kk-* were split up ("spaltet") into a larynx plosive and an oral plosive (*-pp-* became *'p*, *-tt-* became *'t* and *-kk-* became *'k*). Thus *-k* in for instance *e'k* 'egg' was explained as the assimilation of a fricative + a (larynx) plosive to a plosive + a plosive: *q'* became *'k*. This explanation presupposes that there was an earlier fricative and that the Common Danish *stød* is a larynx stop, which is not the case (see above). Veirup (1958) rejects the assimilation theory, postulating that an early intermediate stage *æ'k* with a long vowel (the standard form) was felt to be alien to

the expression-side of the dialect and that it was therefore changed into a form with a short vowel and West Jutland *stød*.

I do not find Veirup's argumentation for such an early local form convincing, but I shall not go into details here. The main thing is that Veirup's explanation presupposes the simultaneous existence of three old variants ( $\text{æ}'k$ ,  $\text{æ}q'$ ,  $\text{æ}'q$ ) and free present-day variation between  $\text{æ}'k$ ,  $\text{æ}q'$  and  $\text{æ}'q$ . But there is no such free modern variability (see below).

I myself touched on the problem in my graduation paper (1954). I assumed that  $\text{æ}q'$  was changed to  $\text{æ}'k$  (*nev'* to *ne'p* etc.) because the fricatives  $q$ ,  $\text{ḡ}$ ,  $\text{ḡ}$  do not occur with a glottal stop in final position in the Salling-dialect. But this theory cannot be extended to dialects for which there is no such restriction.

Ringgaard (1974), in a paper called: "bb - dd - gg. - An attempt to explain the development of the Old Danish mediae with the aid of the concept functional load" [my translation of the subtitle], likewise deals with the subject. By comparing the descendants of old *bb*, *dd*, *gg* with those of old *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, old *p*, *t*, *k* and the old fricatives  $\text{ḡ}$ ,  $\text{ḡ}$ ,  $q$ , Ringgaard demonstrates that the oppositions between these consonants/consonant groups have been preserved (in their modern manifestations) in the northern part of Scania, and partly preserved (in an unsymmetrical system) in the dialect of the island of Bornholm.

In the dialects of Zealand, Lolland, Falster, Møn and Funen (the so-called 'insular dialects'), the two sets of geminated consonants have merged (into *p/b*, *t/d*, *k/g*) (exceptions are special local speech sounds reflecting old *dd*); *p*, *t*, *k* and  $\text{ḡ}$ ,  $\text{ḡ}$ ,  $q$  have developed into semi-vowels or have disappeared.

In an eastern part of Jutland, *bb*, *dd*, *gg* have followed the development of *p*, *t*, *k* (in their varying geographical forms), and the long tenues have been shortened. As regards our problem, the really interesting areas are naturally the West and South Jutlandish ones known from Bennike/Kristensen (1898-1912: Map 54). According to Ringgaard, the development of *bb*, *dd*, *gg* is complicated and scarcely describable. His rules, in fact, are rather sophisticated: the geminate -*gg* in final position undergoes the same changes as -*kk*- in medial position, which implies the West Jutland *stød*, while the geminate -*gg*- in medial position has the development of -*k*-, that is, becomes short instead of long as was to be expected. The geminate *bb* shows a tendency towards analogous development (following -*pp* in final and -*p*- in medial position); *dd*, following the development of the old fricative  $\text{ḡ}$ , appears as the semi-vowel *j*. Thus *rø'k*, *ho'k*, *æ'k*, *skjæ'k*, *væ'k*, *ne'p* ((sb.s) 'back', 'cut', 'egg', 'beard', 'inner side of a wall', 'beak' respectively); but for instance *hoq*, *leq*, *bøq*, *rev* ((inf.s) 'cut', 'lie' [German *liegen*], 'build', 'strip' respectively). The fact on which Ringgaard's argument is based - that the more one moves from the eastern towards the western part of Denmark the more the four old consonant classes turn out to have merged - is naturally well known by Danish dialectologists; nevertheless it has been found necessary to deal with Ringgaard's paper in his own terminology concerning West Jutland *stød*. His special point is that the refusal of the old long mediae to "behave like themselves" [literal translation of Ringgaard's "opføre sig som sig selv"] is due to the fact that old *bb*, *dd*, *gg* only appear in a very small group of words, which means that the functional load of the opposition between tenues and mediae has always been negligible.



This is an interesting idea; however, it seems to me that his treatment of our specific words is a description or a presentation of the facts rather than an attempt to explain those facts. Since it is a such a complicated matter to explain the special form of our words, it may be at least of some interest to examine in detail the geographical distribution of the *gg*- and *bb*-words with the West Jutland *stød* and plosive and their postulated fricative variants (Veirup 1952).

I looked through about sixty collections of words in the Jutland department of my institute, *Institut for Dansk Dialektforskning* (IDD), including dictionaries that relate to our special West and South Jutland areas. Moreover, from the *Institut for Jysk Sprog- og Kulturforskning* (IJSK) at the University of Aarhus I obtained information in the form of computer-made maps based on questionnaires sent to a network of informants, who write their answers in a kind of phonetic spelling using the ordinary orthographic signs.

The Århus map for *byg* 'barley' (Map 2) is a formalized version which shows the principal form in each area.

It demonstrates that the plosive (*k*) is found somewhat more to the south than is known to be the case according to Map 54 in Bennike/Kristensen (1898-1912). Map 3 for *æg* 'egg' shows only the plosive forms of the word. Map 4 for *skæg* 'beard' gives an impression of the geographical distribution of the plosive forms that is similar to that of Map 3, and so does Map 5 for *syg* 'ill'. Here the ancestor is an old *k*-form (cf. old *siúkr*). I have not mentioned it before, but a few words containing an old short plosive have joined the mediae group, thus for instance (with old *-t*) *hvid* 'white' (old *hvítr*) and *grød* 'porridge' (old *grautr*); of these two words there are only plosive forms in a few (nearly identical) localities (see Map 10). While the plosive forms of *æg*, *skæg*, *syg* cover almost the whole plosive area of *byg*, Maps 6, 7 and 8 illustrate a more moderate distribution. Map 9 gives all the forms of *æg* 'egg', both plosive and fricative forms.

The IDD material (collected by me) consists mainly of phonetic forms taken down in the Dania phonetic transcription by trained dialectologists. This material confirms the information provided by the maps made at the IJSK (documentation in *Danske Folkemål*, no. 39, forthcoming).

The results of my investigation are as follows: of some words there are plosive forms all over the area indicated on the maps for 'barley' and 'egg'; of other words plosive forms are found only in some northern and southern zones, or in North Jutland, sometimes mainly in the north-western part; of two words they are found only in the peninsula of Salling (Map 10). Moreover, I have been able to demonstrate that, contrary to the exposition in Veirup (1952), there is in each locality no general variability between plosive and fricative forms. The dialectologists whose investigations are based on large collections of material from different localities (material collected by the investigators themselves) agree in giving only one form of each word, the words being lexicalized in either plosive or fricative form. Yet, as indicated by Map 9 (for 'egg'), we do in fact find double forms. What is not indicated by the maps is that where there is more than one chronological layer, plosive forms belong to the oldest material. This fact is explicated in a paper treating the development of a South Jutland dialect (Jeppesen 1938).

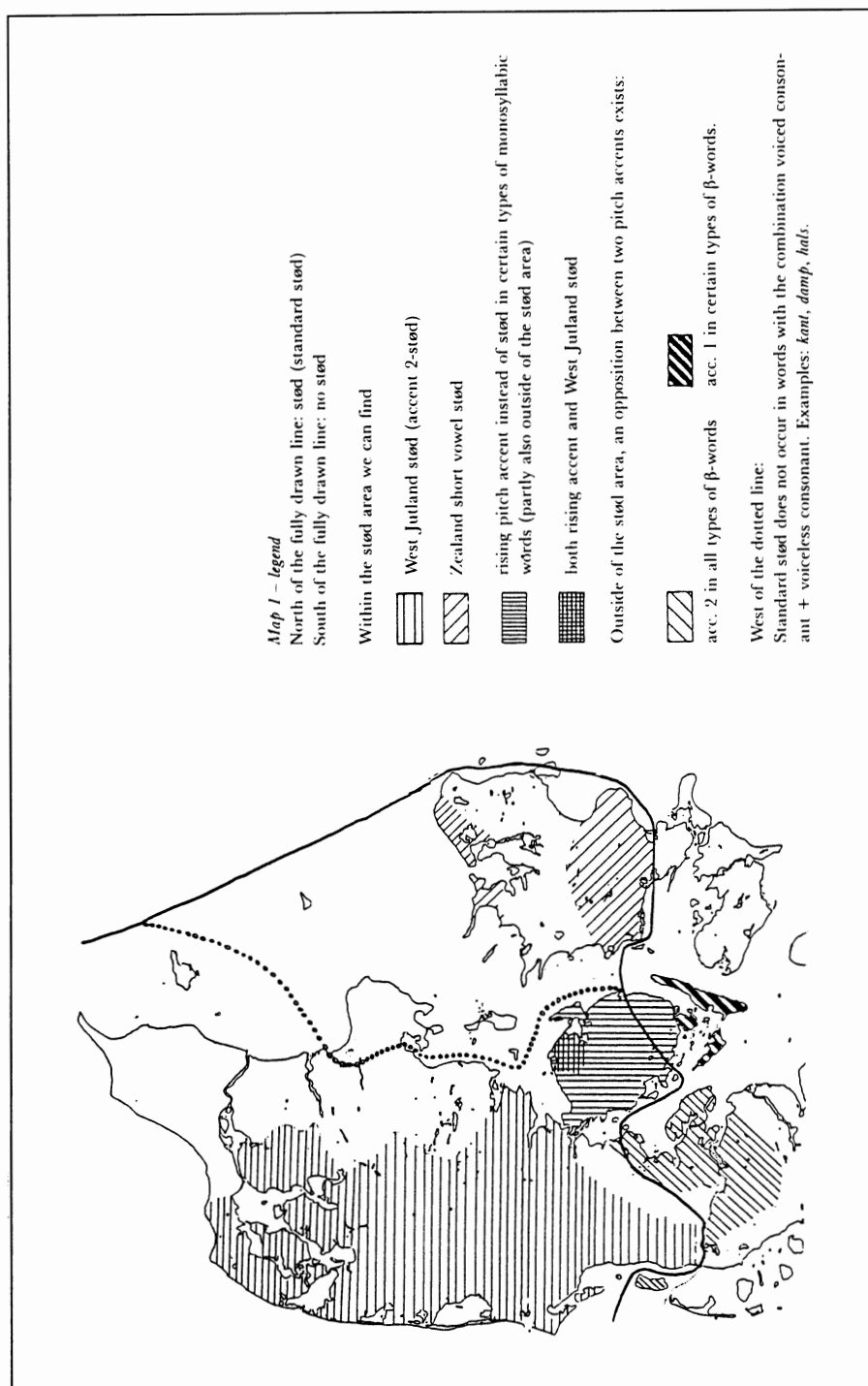
Similarly, it is not indicated by Map 9 that many of the fricative forms probably represent  $\text{æ}'q$  (the forms, taken down by informants, being spelled  $\langle \text{ææg} \rangle$  and, in some cases,  $\langle \text{æg} \rangle$ ), a form which belongs to the Jutland Regional Standard (a genuine dialect form has short vowel and *stød* on the fricative). Finally double forms belong mainly to marginal districts or to frontier zones between plosive and fricative areas.

Two phenomena are very striking: 1) the West Slesvig area, which has the West Jutland *stød* in words pertaining to the normal vocabulary (cf. Map 1), has fricative forms of the specific words with which we are here concerned. It would have seemed more natural if one had found the West Jutland *stød* and plosives here - more natural than finding a plosive in the inner area (i.e. the area in Slesvig that is separated from the West coast and shaped like a triangle standing on its acute angle, see Map 2.), where a plosive is actually recorded. In the normal vocabulary the West Jutland *stød* alternates with a tonal accent 2 in words possessing word tones (cf. my opening remarks). No such alternation is found in our specific words in the inner area:  $^1\text{æk}$ ,  $^1\text{væk}$ ,  $^1\text{sgæk}$  etc. have a short vowel and plosive as in the North, but tonal accent 1. This peculiarity has not been noted before in papers treating the West Jutland *stød*.

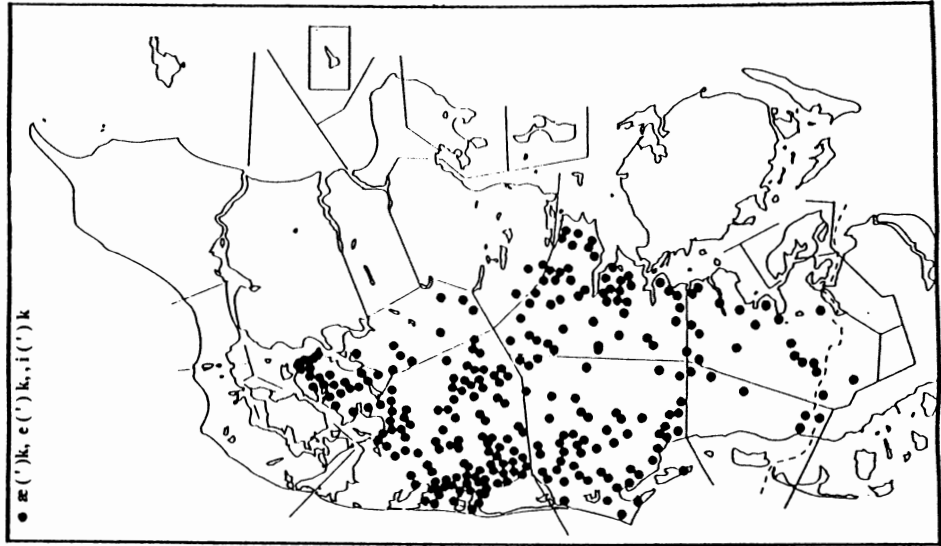
I have glanced at Swedish and Norwegian dialects. But here *tenues* and *mediae* do not mind 'behaving like themselves' [Danish: "opføre sig som sig selv"]. This means that even though they undergo changes as for instance medial and final palatalization of *-gg(-)*, cf. *sdjæddj* (*skæg*) 'beard', or - what is more unusual - if *tenues* become preaspirated in medial and final position (cf. for instance *bæhkk* (*bæk*) 'small stream'), the descendants are still differentiated.

A priori, it would seem unlikely that accent irregularities could exist such as that represented by  $\text{æ}'k$  against  $\text{æ}q'$ , since - in Northern Scandinavia as in Denmark - accentual changes in relation to the old language forms do not usually depend on the consonants immediately following the fortis vowel. In Swedish and in Norwegian, as in Danish, accent irregularities are caused mainly by analogy, by a tendency to levelling within inflectional paradigms, a special use of, for instance, pl. for sg. or vice versa, or by a general tendency of the tonal system to break down (cf. Swedish in Finland). But to my great surprise I succeeded in finding some localities where accent anomalies are represented by words of the very type on which our attention has been focused, namely the *-bb-*, *-dd-* and *-gg-*words. In some areas of the Swedish province of Bergslagen and in a parish in Dalarna (Dalecarlia) (Levander 1925: 54) old disyllables containing these consonants appear with tonal accent 1 instead of the tonal accent 2 that one would have expected. One has the impression that the author of the Dalabergslagen monograph regards this fact as unusual (Envall 1930-47: 62, 64). He speaks about "ljudfysiologiska" causes [*ljud* = 'sound'], but without attempting to elaborate on their character.

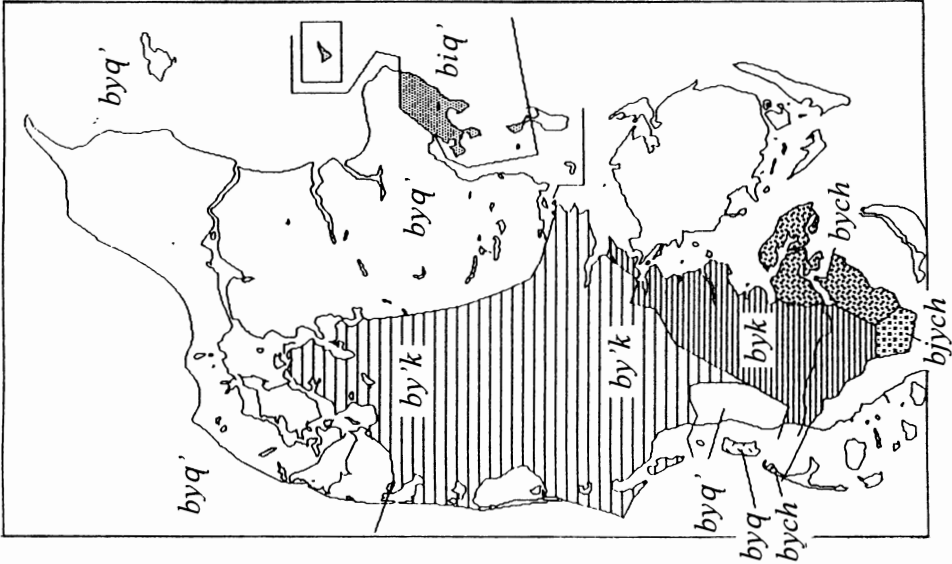
I have not found a true parallel to our Jutland phenomena, and I have made no contribution here towards their explanation, but I have established that in two places within the Scandinavian dialect area there are some truly remarkable accent anomalies relating to old long *mediae*.



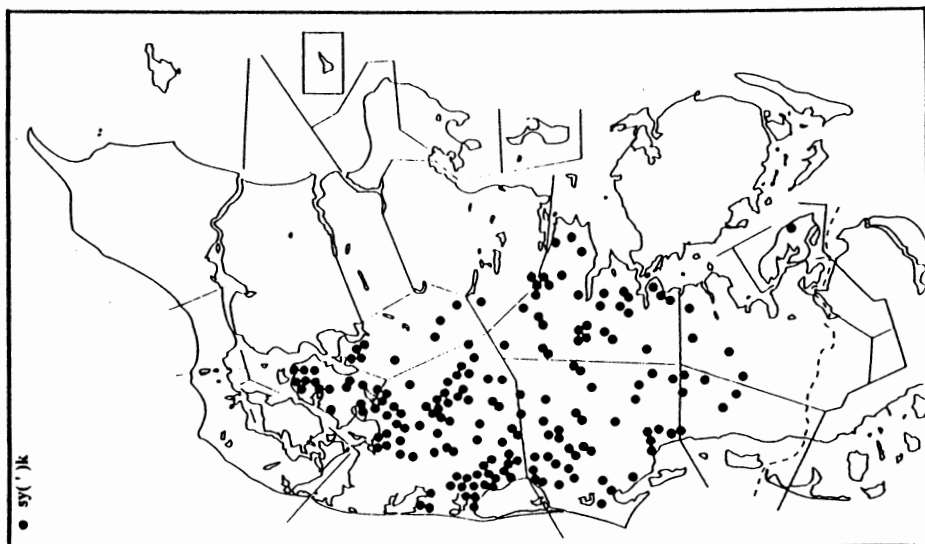
Map 1: stød and pitch accent



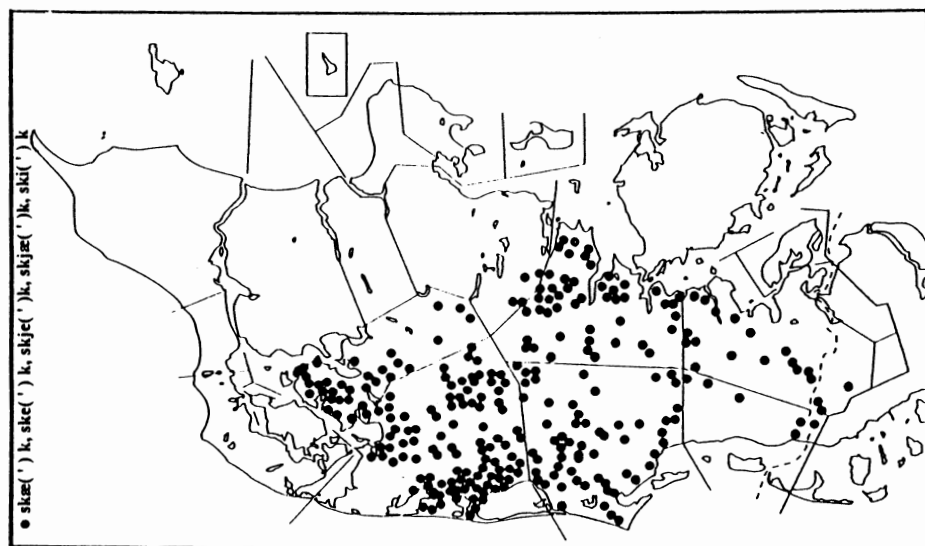
Map 3: æg (s.)



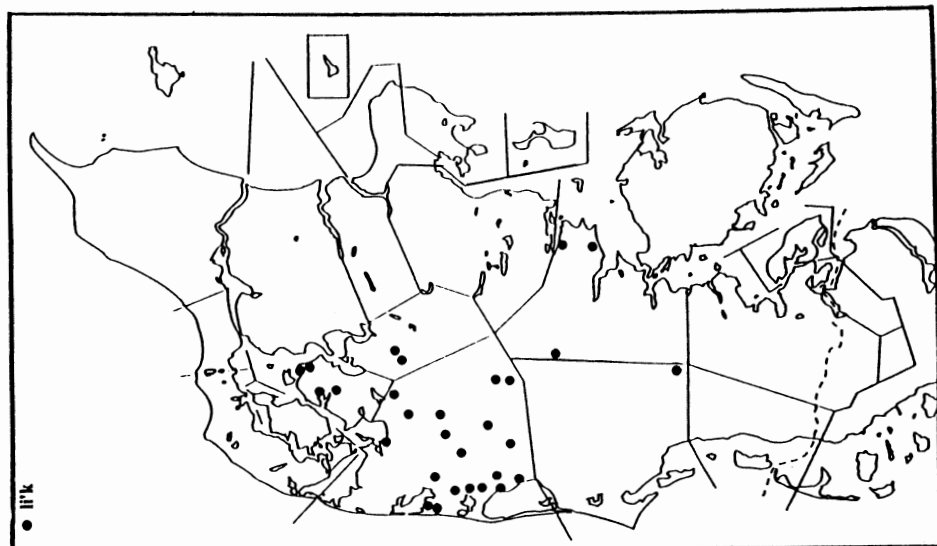
Map 2: byg (s.)



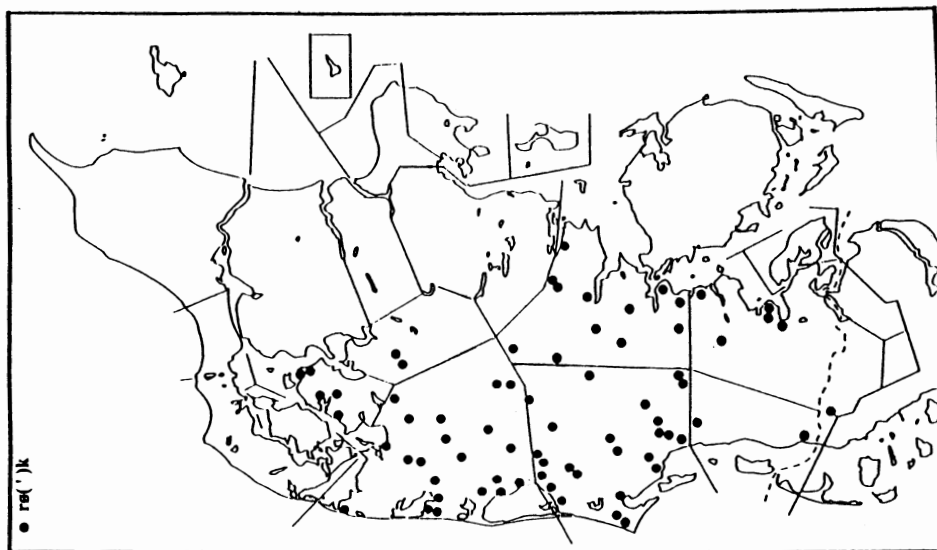
Map 5: syg (adj.)



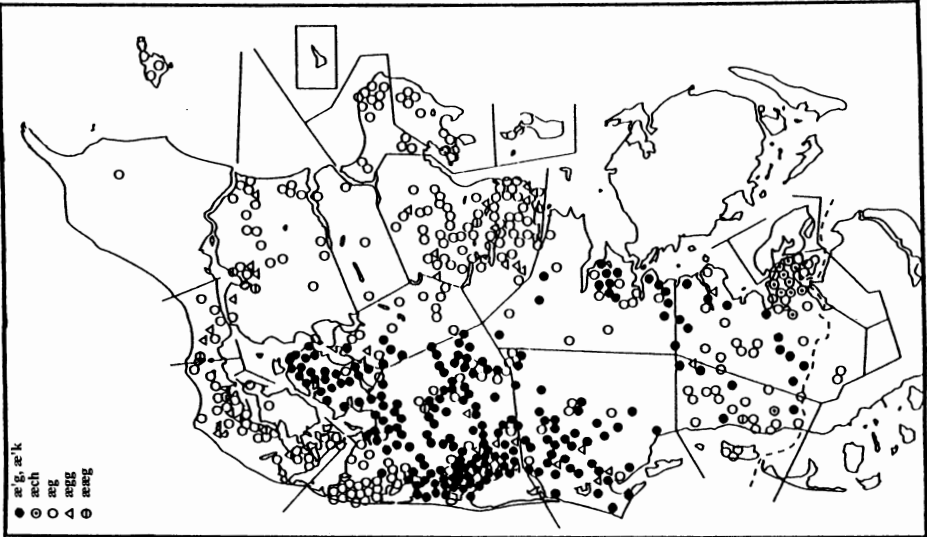
Map 4: skæg (s.)



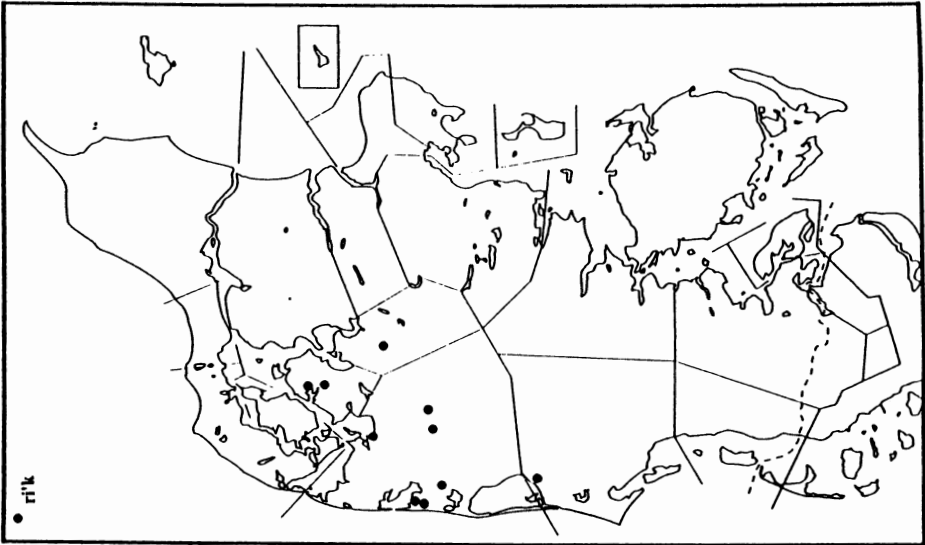
Map 7: lig (s.)



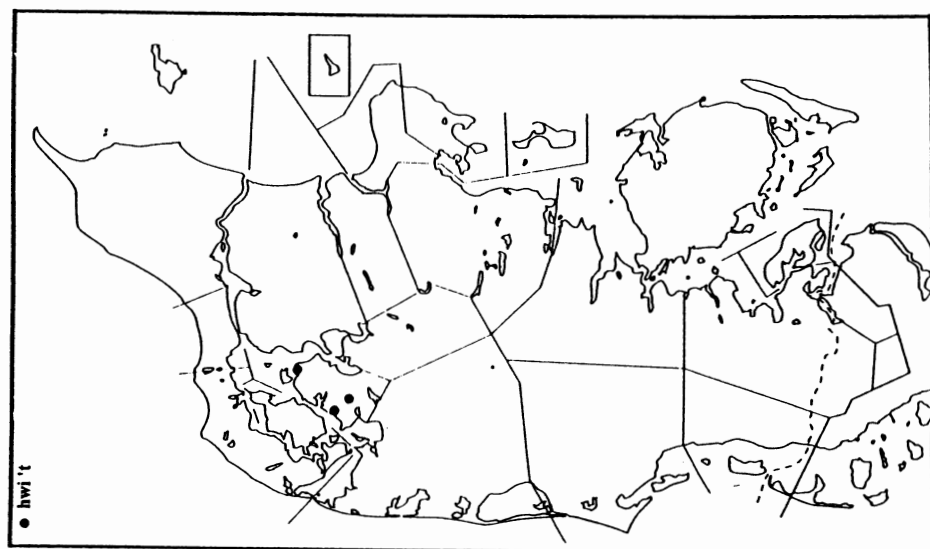
Map 6: ryg (s.)



Map 9: æg (s.)



Map 8: rīg (adj.)



Map 10: hvid

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# Recent Change of Word-accent in Japanese – Correlations with Sociolinguistic Groups

*Fumio Inoue*

## 1. Summary

A pronunciation change in the word accent of loanwords of European origin is now in progress in Japanese.<sup>1</sup> In this study, extensive data were acquired, and the relationships between accent usage and the speakers' sociopsychological characteristics were ascertained with the use of a multivariate analysis. The influence of social groups on linguistic change was also observed.

## 2. The theoretical background

Words familiar to speakers are generally found to proceed faster in linguistic change. Social groups are also influential in the adoption of new forms. As a result linguistic phenomena function as a symbol of group identity. Recent changes in the accent of loanwords in Japanese give clear examples of the influence of these group factors.

## 3. The system of Japanese accent and changes of loanwords

Japanese pitch accent has a distinctive function and the position of high pitch can segmentally distinguish minimal pairs. Words can be classified according to the relative pitch of syllables or, more exactly, morae. In this paper, accent is shown by /H/ (High) or /L/ (Low). The position of falling pitch (or ..HL..) is important for both the speakers' perception and the linguists' classification of Japanese accent. This falling position is phonologically distinctive and is called the "accent nucleus" by Japanese scholars. For example, *ame* 'rain' and *ame* 'candy' are different only as to their pitch. *Ame* /HL/ in the meaning of 'rain' is HIGH-LOW or falling = marked accent. *Ame* /LH/ in the meaning of 'candy' is pronounced as LOW-HIGH and is classified as flat = unmarked accent. The latter type is called 'flat' or 'unmarked'

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised and enlarged version of the paper read at the 15th International Congress of Linguists held at Laval University in Quebec, Canada, in 1992. A shortened version appeared in the Proceedings of the Congress (Inoue 1993). It is appropriate to dedicate this paper to Wolfgang Viereck who has extensively used computers to analyze dialectological phenomena and who has studied the contact of English with other languages all over the world.

because it has no syllable after which the pitch falls. Loanwords of European origin are usually pronounced with the marked accent (..HLL), falling after the third syllable from the end (i.e. antepenultimate mora). For example, *terebi* /HLL/ from 'television', *karute* /HLL/ from German 'Karte', *bareebooru* /LHHHLL/ from 'volleyball' and so on.

However, a change in the accent of European loanwords is currently occurring among young people (mainly in the Tokyo metropolitan area); several loanwords are being pronounced with the flat, unmarked accent. Use of the new accent seems to be characteristic of certain social groups whose members are familiar with the words in question. For example, riders of motorbikes pronounce the word *baiku* /HLL/ 'bike' with a flat unmarked accent /LHH/. People using computers tend to pronounce *disuku* /HLL/ 'disk' with a flat accent /LHH/. The general public, however, tends to pronounce these words with the marked (antepenultimate) accent. It is sometimes possible to guess people's interests from their use of a flat accent.

A similar phenomenon is reported by Aitchison (1981: 92) for weakening of unstressed vowels in English. A schwa is used in words people use often. "Australians reduce the first vowel in the word *Australia*... New Yorkers reduce the first vowel in *Manhattan*... and professional trombonists do the same with the first vowel in *trombone*."

#### 4. The method of this study

For this study, accent in loanwords was extensively surveyed among many university students in the Tokyo metropolitan area. A cassette tape was made by a veteran broadcast announcer, in which each word was pronounced with two or three possible (flat or falling) pitch accents. These marked and unmarked accents of the word were presented in pairs and the words were grouped in semantic groups, such as music, sport, vehicles, computers and so forth. The copied tapes were played to university students in classrooms, and in a questionnaire the students were asked to tick the accent they usually use or hear. At the end of the questionnaire, they were asked to check extralinguistic questions related to social and sociopsychological attributes.

Some people may doubt the validity of the data acquired by this kind of passive judgement. But it is because of this method that we were able to confirm that people often pronounce the same word with two (or three) different accents, and that people often hear and remember the accent that they do not use themselves. For example, both *dorama* /HLL/ and *dorama* /LHH/ have been used in the media recently, and many students actually admitted that they hear both accents. The other merit of this method is that a large and homogeneous data, immediately applicable to computer processing, can be easily acquired. In order to verify the relationship between accent usage and multifarious interests of the students, it is necessary to gather a large amount of data.

The data were acquired from five universities in the Tokyo metropolitan area. A total of 644 students took part in the survey. The data was processed as a whole, and a report has been published in Japanese. As geographical differences in accent are

quite conspicuous in Japan, only the students born and brought up in the Tokyo metropolitan area were selected for the statistical analyses below. The number of students selected was 318 or about half of the total data, but the number is large enough for statistical analyses.

## 5. Results

### 5.0. The overall tendency of flat accent

As a result of this investigation a flat accent not recorded in accent dictionaries was found to be widely used. Students showed more flattening of accents than had been reported earlier in dictionaries and in other accentual research. The differences in real time (that is, in comparison with research in the past) and apparent time (that is, age differences) verify that accent flattening is now in progress in Tokyo Japanese.

The whole data is shown in Figures 1a to 1f. Figures 1a to 1c represent percentages of a flat accent in loanwords. Figures 1d and 1e show a flat accent in original Japanese words and Chinese loanwords (an English translation of the meaning is shown in the graphs). Figure 1f shows a flat accent in longer words with more than two possibilities of accent in both the Japanese words and loanwords. 'A' represents a flat accent and 'C', a falling accent, and 'B', answers with both flat and falling accents. 'D' shows the percentage of no response which shows that the students are not familiar with the words in question.

Figure 1a shows that about one third of the investigated words bear a flat accent. Most of these words are recently introduced words in the semantic field of mass-communication, audio equipment and music which is now popular among the young Japanese. Most of the items in Figure 1b have two coexistent accents. Words in the semantic field of sport, music, vehicles and computers are included here. Especially 'second', 'serve', 'guitar' and 'drama' are pronounced in two ways by many students. Figure 1c shows words which are mostly pronounced with a falling accent. These are words in various semantic fields, and most of them have been in use for many years. Japanese words in Figures 1d and 1e were investigated in order to ascertain the plausibility of the answers of the students. The selected 312 students born and brought up near Tokyo gave the standard accent correctly for the basic Japanese words which are on the top of Figure 1d and at the bottom of Figure 1e (minimal pairs of *ame*, *kami*, *hashi*). The words in the lower quarter of Figure 1d and in the upper half of Figure 1e show that even Japanese and Chinese loanwords are in fluctuation. The adjectives whose conjugation forms were once systematically divided into flat accent and falling accent are now losing the distinction, as the minimal pairs *atsui* ('hot' vs 'thick') and *atsukatta* ('was hot' vs 'was thick') show. These examples show that accent flattening has been occurring in various Japanese words for many years. In Figure 1f, words which are pronounced with more than two accents do not show so much flattening.

Figure 1. Average usage rate of flat accent per words  
(University students of the Tokyo Metropolitan area)

Figure 1a. Loanwords 1

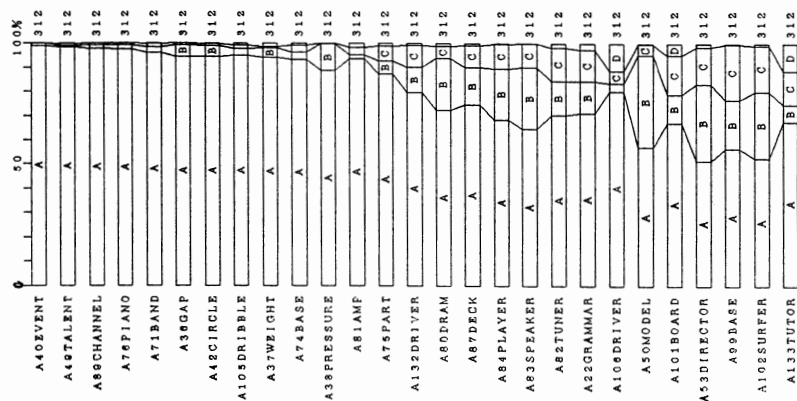


Figure 1b. Loanwords 2

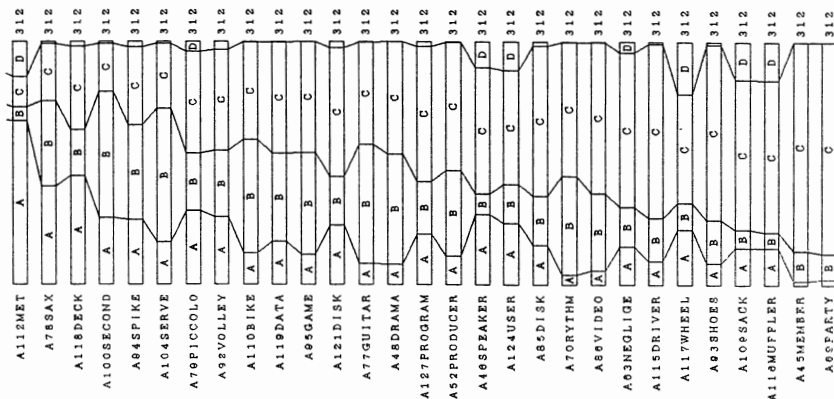
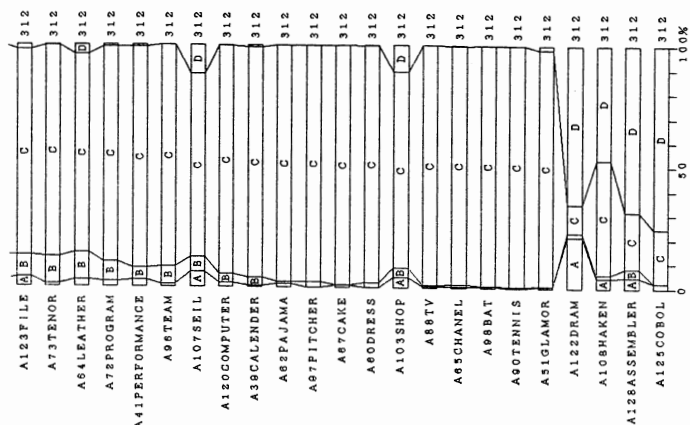
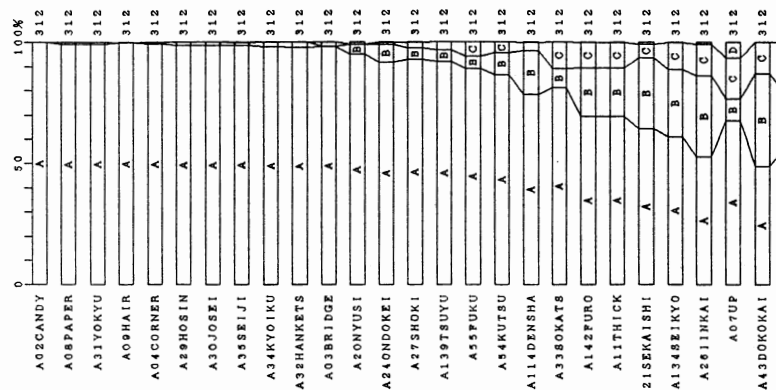


Figure 1c. Loanwords 3



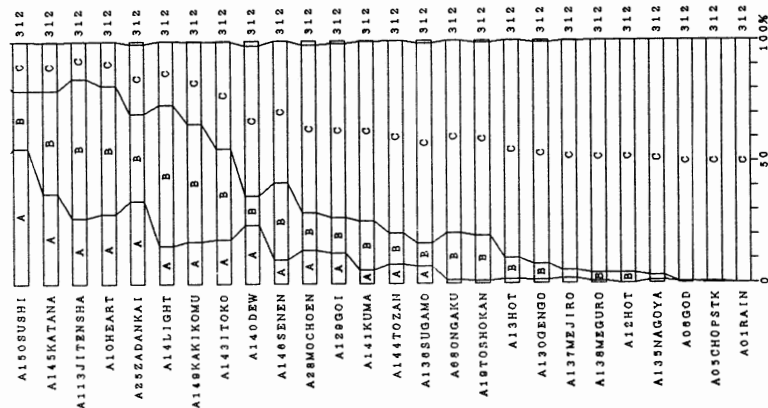
A = flat (unmarked) accent only  
B = both accents  
C = falling (marked) accent only  
D = do not use the word

Figure 1d. Japanese and Chinese loanwords 1



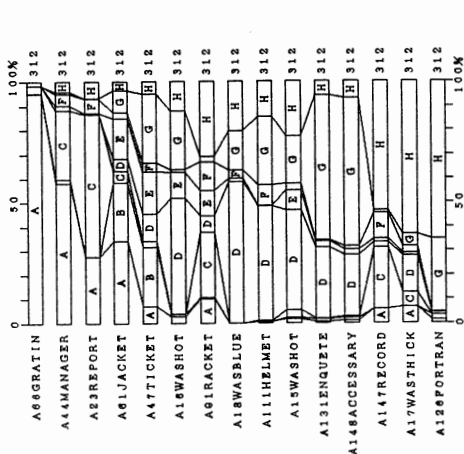
A = flat (unmarked) accent only  
 B = both accents  
 C = falling (marked) accent only  
 D = do not use the word

Figure 1e. Japanese and Chinese loanwords 2



A = flat (unmarked) accent only  
 B = both accents  
 C = falling (marked) accent only  
 D = do not use the word

Figure 1f. Japanese words and loanwords with more than 2 accents



A = flat (unmarked) LHHH accent only  
 B = flat LHHH and LLLL accents  
 C = flat LHHH and LHLH accents  
 D = LHLH and LHLH accents  
 E = all the accents  
 F = LHLH accent only  
 G = LLLL accent only  
 H = do not use the word

### 5.1. The appearance of new doublets

The appearance of new doublets is observed in recent loanwords because of the accent flattening. The same loanwords are pronounced differently according to their meanings by young people. In general the words tend to be pronounced with a flat, unmarked accent in the meaning which has been adopted recently in Japanese, while words with old meanings are pronounced with the falling, marked accent. Several examples are illustrated in the graphs of Figure 2.

For example, the English word 'driver' has been introduced in Japanese in many specialized meanings. In Figure 2 the accents of three different meanings are shown for the same word *doraibaa* 'driver'. For 'driver' in the meaning of a kind of golf club, and 'driver' in the meaning of a tool for carpentry (*nejimawashi*), a flat accent is widely used. But 'driver' in the meaning of a person who drives a car (*untenshu*) is rarely pronounced with a flat accent and is mostly pronounced with a falling, marked accent.

Similarly, 'muffler' in the meaning of something to warm the neck (*erimaki*) is pronounced with a falling accent by all the students, but the muffler to soften the noise of a motorbike (*shoonki*) is sometimes pronounced with a flat accent. 'Speaker' in the meaning of audio equipment (*kakuseiki*) is widely pronounced with a flat accent but 'speaker' in the meaning of a person who gives a talk (*hanashite*) is rarely pronounced with a flat accent.

A 'program' for a computer is pronounced with a flat accent by some students, but a 'program' of a music concert is scarcely pronounced with a flat accent.

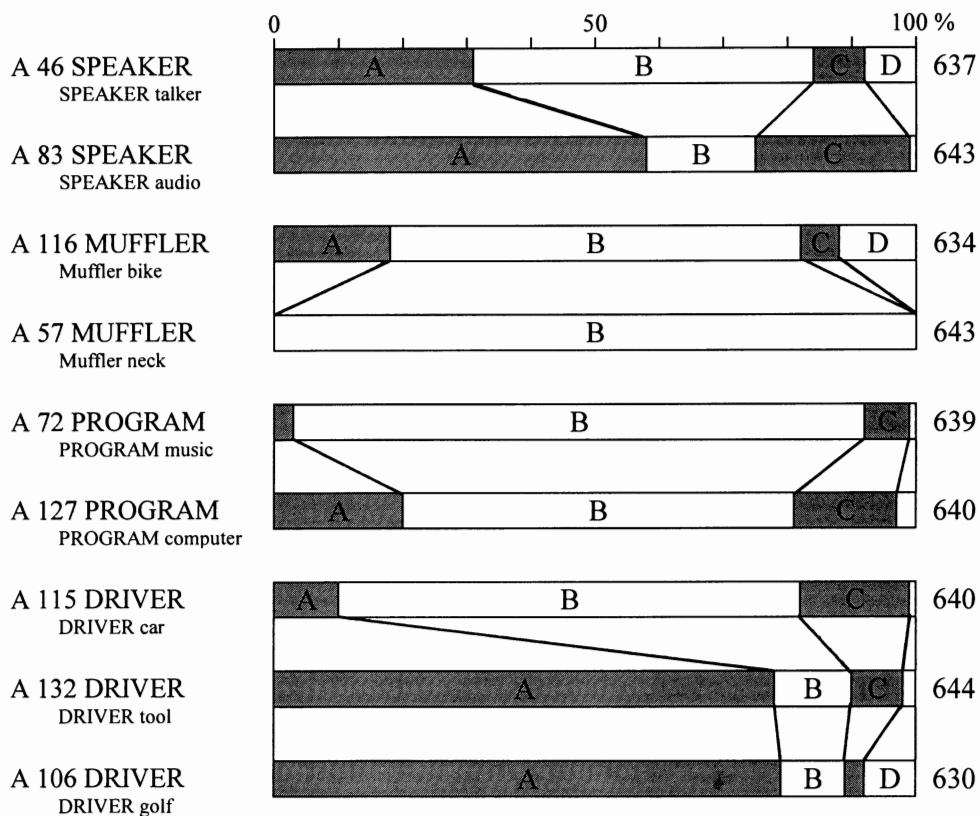
All the loanwords discussed here bear a flat accent in accent dictionaries, with the only exception of 'driver' which, in a recently published broadcasting accent dictionary, bears a flat accent in the meaning of a tool and both a falling and flat accent in the meaning of a person who drives a car.

There are more examples, though the graphs are not shown here. 'Deck' in the sense of audio equipment is mostly pronounced with a flat accent but the 'deck' of a ship or a train is rarely pronounced with a flat accent. 'Bass' as in audio equipment (musical instrument) is nearly always pronounced with a flat accent but the 'base' of baseball is rarely pronounced with a flat accent.

These examples show that some loanwords are now becoming minimal pairs with regard to pitch accents in the process of change. It is argued that Japanese pitch accent is steadily losing the distinctive function of differentiating segmentally minimal pairs and that Japanese accent now mainly shows a delimitative function of showing the beginning and the end of words or phrases. For example former differently accented pairs of *kumo* 'spider' /LH/ and *kumo* /HL/ 'cloud' and some other minimal pairs have now become homophones. But the recent trend of accents of loanwords seems to run counter to this trend.

This phenomenon is interesting from the stand-point of linguistic theory of change and differentiation of meaning, but it is troublesome from the stand-point of actual use of accent. Perhaps this trend is only ephemeral, and many more loanwords will be pronounced with a flat accent in the future, thus losing the function of differentiating the meaning.

Figure 2. Average ratio of flat accent according to meaning



A = *flat (unmarked) accent only*  
 B = *falling (marked) accent only*  
 C = *both accents*  
 D = *do not use the word*

## 5.2. Multivariate analysis applied to the data

The data was analyzed by "Hayashi's Quantificational Method Type 3" (hereafter "Hayashi 3"), a multivariate analysis which was developed for non-numerical, categorical data and which gives similar results to factor analysis (Hayashi 1954). This method is analogous to the correspondence analysis developed by Benzécri in



France (Cichocki 1996). "Hayashi 3" has been widely applied to public opinion polls and linguistic research in Japan. In this study "Hayashi 3" was applied to the answers for accent usage and sociopsychological attributes, first separately and later jointly. The results showed first that words pronounced with a flat accent can be classified according to the semantic fields of the words, secondly, that students can be classified by sociopsychological attributes into introverted and extroverted types, and thirdly, that the semantic fields of words and sociopsychological attributes of students show a close relationship.

The direct results of the multivariate analyses will not be explained here because it would take too much space to explain the complicated graphs.

Once the multivariate analysis was applied, the results can be utilized to show the simple cross analyses more efficiently as will be explained hereafter. The relationship between accent usage and students' sociopsychological traits can be shown in the form of an overall distribution pattern of the data as follows.

### 5.3. The sociopsychological traits of users of flat accent

Cross analysis between the use of the flat accent and the sociopsychological attributes showed that in general the newer flat accent is used more often by students with active and extroverted characters. In Figure 3 the number of words with a flat accent was counted for each student and average values were computed for the sociopsychological attributes. The sociopsychological attributes are arranged in the order of values of the 1st axis of "Hayashi 3". The sociopsychological attributes in the left-hand side are: introverted, like study, not self-confident, member in cultural activity, careful in accent, and so on. The attributes in the right-hand side are: conversant with costume, fast in adopting fad words, pursue trends, like surfing, ... extroverted and so on. Figure 3 shows that students with extroverted attributes (right-hand side) tend to use more flat accent and those with introverted attributes (left-hand side) less flat accent.

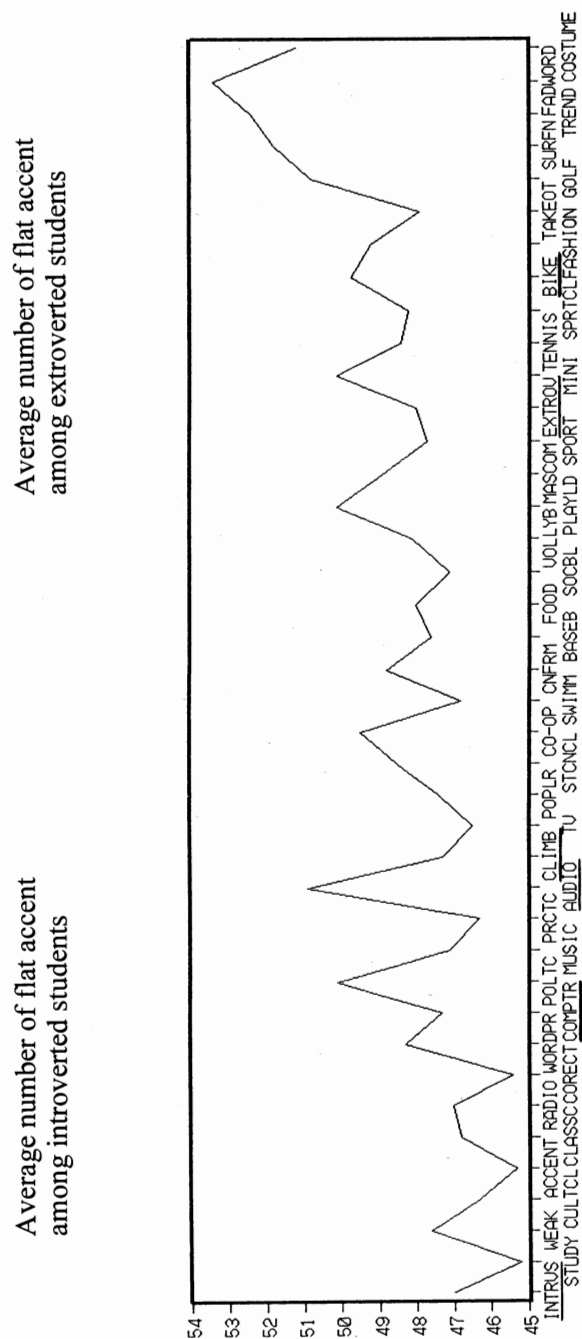
This tendency seems to be a kind of sociopsychological universalism in linguistic change, because similar phenomena have been ascertained in the study of the spread of fad words, slang and new dialect forms in Japanese and other languages (Inoue 1986a, 1986b).

Incidentally, the recent Japanese expressions *nekura* and *neaka* which were used in the questionnaire, are translated here in English as 'introverted' and 'extroverted'. These expressions were found to be useful in classifying the students.

### 5.4. The relationship between social groups and flat accent

Thus, by utilizing the result of the multivariate analysis, clear relationships have been ascertained between the flattening of accent of loanwords and the general sociopsychological attributes of the participants. But at the same time, many students were found to pronounce words which are connected with their hobbies or social activities with a flat accent. Although extroverted students adopt the flat accent more widely, even the introverted students, who are generally slow in

Figure 3. Average number of flat accent by sociopsychological attributes



adopting the new accent, use the flat accent in those fields which are closely connected to their interests.

Several typical examples are shown in Figure 4. All the words mentioned here bear falling or marked accent in accent dictionaries which show standard or older accent.

In Figure 4a, students who ticked the item "I like mountain climbing" (who are generally classified as introverted types as shown in the left-hand side of Figure 3) adopt the flat accent more in their familiar technical loanwords. They pronounce *Zakku* (from German 'Sack'), *haaken* (from German 'Haken') and *zairu* (from German 'Seil') more in a flat accent, than those who did not indicate that they like mountain climbing.

Figure 4b shows that those "interested in audio equipment" (who are also classified in the introverted group as shown in Figure 3) use more flat accent in the related terms. They pronounce *gitaa* (from English 'guitar'), *bideo* (from English 'video') and *disuku* (from English 'compact disk') more in a flat accent than those who are indifferent to the field.

Figure 4c shows that those who "like cars and motorbikes" use more flat accent in words such as *baiku* (from English 'motorbike' but in slightly different meaning), *hoiiru* (from English 'wheel'), *mafuraa* (from English 'muffler') than those who are indifferent.

Figure 4d shows that those who "like computers" use more flat accent in words such as *deeta* (from English 'data'), *disuku* (from English 'disk'), *fairu* (from English 'file'), *konpyuutaa* (from English 'computer') than those who are indifferent.

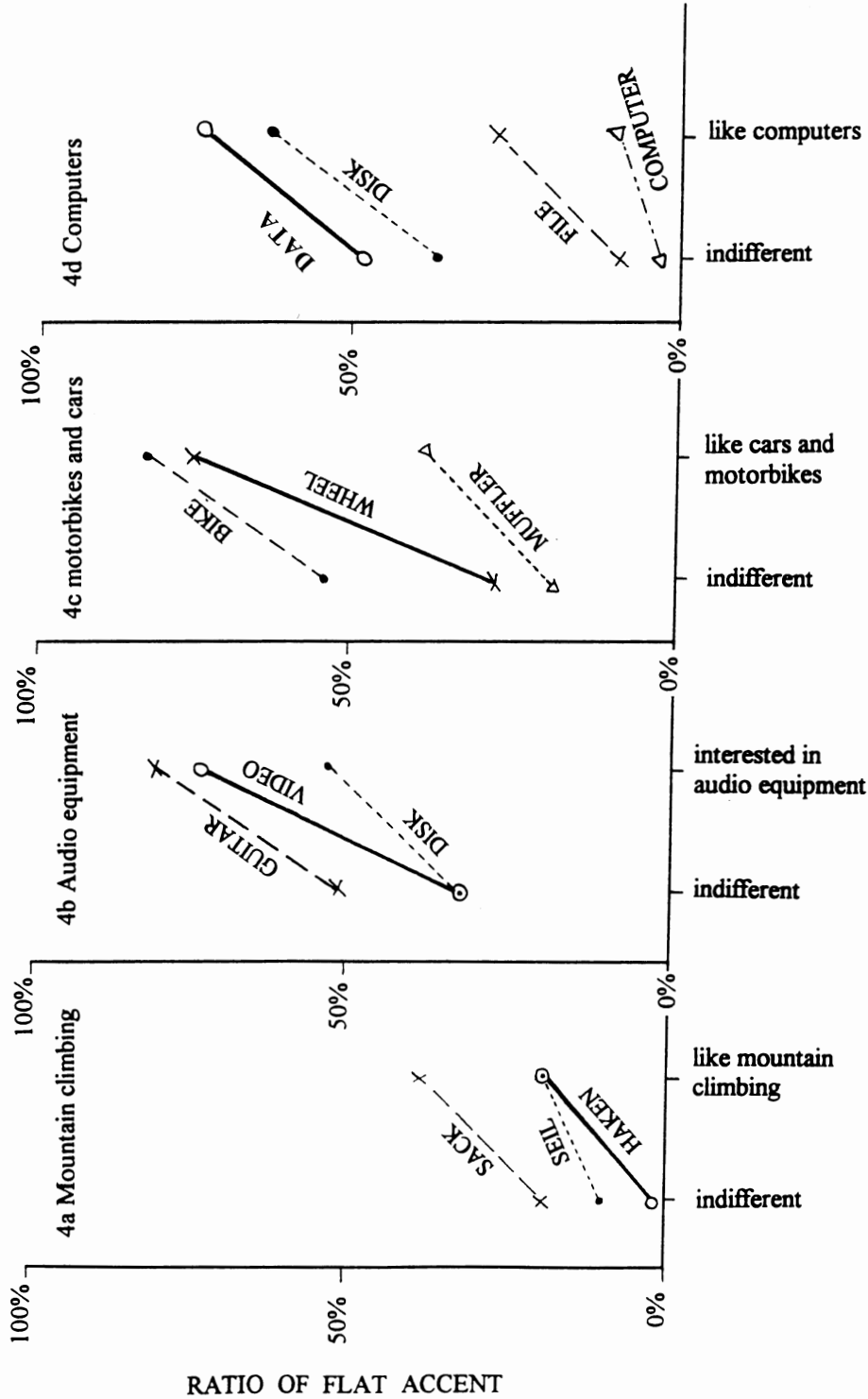
All the words in Figure 4 show that a flat, unmarked accent is first adopted by the students who are familiar with the meaning in question. In other words, "minor interest" groups and spontaneously-formed groups are sometimes essential for the adoption of newer linguistic forms. Only typical examples are presented here and many more examples are shown in the report written in Japanese (Inoue 1992a, 1992b).

## 6. General problems of the linguistic process of diffusion

The basic reason for the influence of these "minor interest" groups is that loanwords in Japanese (and also in other languages) have lexicologically special characteristics. Their meanings are often very specific, so that they are not used so often when considered in the community (or in Japan) as a whole; but they are used very often in certain small social groups. When a change occurs in a loanword, this new phenomenon is often used in a group, and has a good chance of spreading within the members of the group. But outsiders have little chance of noticing the new phenomenon. This is what is happening with the pitch accent in Japanese loanwords.

The new accent then works as a kind of jargon symbolizing identity (or solidarity) for group membership. The flat accent becomes a "marker" to show the degree of "accommodation" of group members (Giles/St. Clair 1979). This process of adoption of a new accent is symbolic of the social network of the group members (Milroy 1980).

Figure 4. Ratio of flat accent by each sociopsychological attribute



The new flat accent is now becoming symbolic of "experts" in a certain field. This kind of speakers' evaluation is a typical case of the "embedding problem" of sound change in progress discussed by Labov (1972). When the social group in question has a high social prestige, the accent flattening diffuses outside the group.

Words concerning the mass media tend to be pronounced with a flat accent; for example, *direkutaa* (from 'director'), and *tarento* (from 'talent'). This is perhaps because the area of mass media is thought to be most fashionable among young people.

To add to this, the accent flattening spreads to other loanwords specific to the group. A student who was born and brought up in the countryside reported that she had adopted a flat accent in many loanwords after coming to Tokyo, just to save her the trouble of remembering different accent types for many words. This is a process of over-simplification which is often observed in linguistic change. The basic mechanism of this change in progress can be explained by the theory of "lexical diffusion" advocated by Wang (1972) and Chen (1969).

Actually, accent flattening is a reflection of a long historical tendency in Japanese. Words frequently used tend to adopt a flat unmarked accent. For example, place names of familiar areas are often pronounced with a flat accent. Flat, unmarked accent in loanwords symbolizes that the words are no longer considered "foreign" to the speakers.

It has been observed that loanwords introduced recently tend to be pronounced with a flat accent, and that loanwords introduced long ago continue to be pronounced with marked accent. In Tokyo Japanese, unfamiliar words or artificially-made words are pronounced with a marked accent falling at the antepenultimate mora. For younger speakers of Japanese the flat unmarked accent symbolically shows that the loanwords are not "foreign" but familiar enough for them. It is coincidental with the result of a public opinion survey about the usage of loanwords in Japanese. Most younger speakers showed no opposition to loanwords, and they actually selected more loanwords for several pairs of Japanese words and loanwords.

## 7. Conclusion

In this study, a suprasegmental phenomenon of pitch accent was found to show a change in progress, and sociopsychological attributes of the speakers were found to be influential in the use of the new flat accent.

The influence of small groups on language has been ascertained in nearly homogeneous social groups of university students. This phenomenon is suggestive of the incipient process of linguistic diffusion in small groups (and in small geographically isolated villages). In a homogeneous social stratum at least, linguistic differences are determined by so-called sociopsychological attributes. The sociolinguistic study of linguistic change should now move beyond the classical model of social stratification and expand itself into the field of the sociopsychological study of language use as has been discussed by Inoue (1986a, 1986b).

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## On the Use of Dialects in Norway

*Ernst Håkon Jahr*

Many people recognize that there is something peculiar and special about Norway linguistically, or rather, sociolinguistically and with respect to the use of local dialects. This paper revolves around the use of dialects in Norway and why it is that Norway stands out regarding this issue in comparison to other European countries.<sup>1</sup>

Tolerance towards non-standard varieties in Norway and Denmark:  
An example

Let me start with a modern Norwegian hero. The man in question is the coach of the national Norwegian soccer team, Mr. Egil Olsen, who has the popular nickname of "Drillo". He was instrumental in taking Norway to the World Cup in the U.S. in 1994, their first appearance in the finals since 1938! Mr. Olsen is of interest to us here because of his way of speaking, his local vernacular. He speaks what we might call a mainstream eastern dialect of Norwegian, a local dialect from an area south-east of and rather close to Oslo, the capital. Of all the dialects in Norway, people in Oslo rate his dialect, the Østfold dialect, as having the lowest status (cf. Jahr 1988). Thus, Mr. Olsen speaks a low-status variety of Norwegian, but I have never heard or come across any comments whatsoever referring to that fact. And if somebody did, Mr. Olsen – who, by the way, is a professor of sports, with soccer as his special field – would probably not react to that at all, because it would be considered by him and by most people in Norway to be utterly ridiculous to make comments on the way he talks. This is in spite of the fact that Mr. Olsen's perception of his own dialect is not very different from the opinion held by society at large. He has stated in private conversations that, in his judgement, the dialect of his own county (Østfold) is the only dialect in Norway which does not possess any "charm" (Tormod Martinsen, Sandefjord, personal communication).

For comparison, we turn to Denmark and to the coach of the national Danish soccer team (in 1994), Richard Møller Nielsen, whose nickname is "Ricardo". He comes from the Danish island of Funen, a fact which, to a linguist, is quite evident from his spoken language. His Funen dialect features show up in intonation, phonetics and, to a certain extent, in morphology. To non-linguists, however, Mr. Møller Nielsen's background is not at all obvious. Several theories have thus been put forward by the Danish public as to why he talks so "funny", so deviantly from

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was originally given as a plenary lecture at the 17th Annual Meeting of the *Societas Linguistica Europaea* (SLE), Florence, 5 September 1994.

standard Danish. Some suggest that Mr. Møller Nielsen has something of a German accent, due to the linguistic influence from his German predecessor who coached the national team. Others claim that the coach has his own special idiolect, composed of features from various different Danish dialects. However, it turns out that what he speaks is a modern, mainstream version of the old traditional Funen dialect. Every special feature of his speech is genuinely Funen – there is no German influence and no special idiomatic dialect mixture.

In the fall of 1993, Mr. Møller Nielsen was a guest on a popular talk show on Danish television. The focus of the host's attention was on the "strange" language used by Mr. Møller Nielsen. The host even interviewed Jørn Lund (Professor of Danish linguistics) about it. Professor Lund gave a brief linguistic and to-the-point characterization of Mr. Møller Nielsen's speech, but obviously with no noticeable effect, for then the host of the talk show asked Mr. Møller Nielsen why it is that he talks in such a strange way. Mr. Møller Nielsen replied by saying the way he talks feels natural to him, and besides, he said, he was not the coach of an academic soccer team. Then the host introduced his next guest, the then foreign minister of Denmark, Niels Helveg Pedersen, who also is originally from the island of Funen. He was introduced as a person from Funen who talks – as the host claimed – in a more "normal" way. (Pedersen 1994:18-19)

To make the coach's language the focus of general attention or the subject of discussion on a talk show, and to pass such comments on the coach's way of speaking would, in my view, be almost unthinkable in Norway. If this had happened on a talk show on Norwegian television, it would have triggered off telephone calls from all over the country voicing complaints about a stupid, ignorant and incompetent host. In addition, on the following days the newspapers would probably have received numerous letters to the editor about such outrageous behavior.

This comparison between the different reactions in Norway and Denmark towards the two soccer coaches, who both distinguish themselves by speaking a typical non-standard variety, suggests that the tolerance towards other people's way of speaking, towards accepting linguistic variability and non-standard variation of all kinds, is considerably higher in Norway than in the neighboring country of Denmark.

### Norwegian linguistic standards

In Norway, as opposed to Denmark and Sweden, even the concept "non-standard" is somewhat problematic. The reason for this is that many, perhaps a majority, of Norwegians would deny that we have a *spoken* standard at all. True enough, there are written standards, actually many: two official (called *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*), but within each of these official standards it is possible to identify at least two major varieties. But then it would not have been Norway if there had not been at least two private, i.e. unofficial, standards in addition to the other four. So that gives at least six, all of which are fully comprehensible to native Norwegians; on the written standards, cf. Jahr (1992a).

Let me give an example to illustrate the social strength of one of these *unofficial* written standards, one which closely reflects upper-middle-class Oslo speech. This



standard is by far the most influential and significant of the unofficial, private standards. Some years ago I found a school primer, an ABC as we call it, at a flea market in Oslo. I felt a bit sentimental over this primer because it was a copy of the same book from which I myself learnt to read. So I bought it, and then I discovered when I opened it that I had really discovered an important document from the fierce language struggle in Norway in the 1950s (cf. Haugen 1966). The whole book had been "corrected" by the child's parents away from the standard *Bokmål*. The language in the book had been changed and thus brought into keeping with this unofficial standard, usually referred to as *Riksmål*. The parents, in this case, refused to accept that their children were taught standard written *Bokmål*, and with all the changes and "corrections" they made throughout the book they wanted to support the private written norm of their liking. (One typical page from this book can be seen in Jahr 1989: 77). This campaign of correcting children's schoolbooks, which took place in the western part of Oslo in 1953/54, is an early instance of what was later termed civil disobedience.

This illuminating example from the 1950s testifies to the fact that, among Norwegians, the general status of linguistic standards, as *standard* is usually perceived in most other European countries, is extremely weak. And when this attitude among Norwegians applies to the *written* standards, as evidenced above, one can easily imagine that a standard for the spoken language has even less chance of being accepted by the Norwegian population at large.

### "Bad Norwegian"?

The language of non-standard speakers of, for example, French, Polish or Swedish are not seldom referred to and described by the general public as "bad" French, Polish or Swedish. In Norway, on the other hand and almost by definition, there is no such thing as "bad Norwegian" or "incorrect Norwegian" in any other sense than when referring to Norwegian spoken with a foreign accent by non-native speakers. Norwegian spoken by native speakers can in no way be termed "bad" or "incorrect". Obviously, this has to do with the fact that there is no spoken standard which is generally accepted by society, and, in addition there is a general attitude among the population towards linguistic diversity as being something "natural", valuable and – as it is – obvious (cf. Vikør 1989, Jahr/Janicki 1995).

It is probably true to say that in Norway more people use more dialect in more situations for more purposes than in many other European countries. In all parts of society we find that dialects are used: in the kindergartens and pre-school centers, in schools, at the universities – among university professors as well as among the students – in the media, on television and on the radio, in private letters (very often), in poetry and in novels, in theatres and in Norwegian movies, at workplaces and in Parliament. Government ministers speak their dialect quite frequently, and many of them gain in popularity and receive increased popular support and confidence by doing so. The use of local dialects is not directly supported in any special way, but rather is seen as normal linguistic behavior.

### The concept of *knot*: dualism of social control and local loyalty

In Norway, the linguistic pressure is in many cases to hold on to your original local dialect, the one you have grown up with, for as long as you live and wherever you move and settle in the kingdom, and also whoever you talk to. Not to retain this kind of loyalty to your local community, that is, to change your speech towards other, different local dialects, or, worst, to normalize your speech in the direction of one of the written standards (usually written *Bokmål* is the target for such normalizations), is characterized by the noun *knot* or the verb *knote*. Einar Haugen's Norwegian-English dictionary (Haugen 1965) renders this meaning for Norwegian *knot*: "affected unnatural language", and for the verb *knote*: "use affected, unnatural language (esp. bookish or urban forms instead of native rural forms)".

I will not challenge Einar Haugen's suggestions, but I doubt that non-Norwegians are able to comprehend the full meaning of *knot* and *knote* with reference only to "affected" and "unnatural" language. The word *knot* is a highly negative word, and in many smaller rural communities people could be stigmatized when found guilty of committing *knot*. It is probably the most serious linguistic sin that can be committed in Norway, and with little hope of forgiveness.

In my view, this shows an interesting paradox in the Norwegian situation. In Norway at large a unique situation of liberalism and tolerance towards linguistic variability prevails. However, smaller, especially rural, more conservative communities can exercise social pressure – basically founded on the negative implications of *knot* – not to deviate from the traditional local dialect. Worst of all, from the perspective of the local community, is to speak the way they do in Oslo and/or to speak like a book, to speak "bookish". Now, the only two serious candidates for a Norwegian spoken standard are (i) upper-middle-class Oslo speech, and (ii) a speech reflecting exactly the most frequently used written *Bokmål* variety with a south-eastern sound system and intonation. To approximate your local dialect to one of these two candidates for a spoken standard is, then, as it happens, branded in many smaller local communities as the worst form of *knot*.

This position of the smaller local communities can be regarded as a means for linguistic and cultural defence against a powerful and dominant Oslo influence. To make this defence effective, the local communities exercise their control through the negative social judgement inherent in the *knot* concept. In this way, the local communities maintain linguistic loyalty among its inhabitants.

It should be quite evident from this that a spoken Norwegian standard has no real chance outside the Oslo area (which, of course, is large, influential and densely populated, but it does nevertheless play a relatively smaller role in Norway compared, for example, to Stockholm's influence in Sweden).

### The Norwegian dialect situation and the EU

There was a slight possibility that Norway would enter the EU from January 1, 1995. To many Norwegians that was a terrifying possibility, but the *no* vote turned out to retain a slight majority. The poor interpreters in Brussels were also terrified

because they had heard rumours about what they could expect should Norway become a member. They already had had to interpret a speech of the Norwegian Minister of Finance, using as he always does his very local dialect; but in order not to make the interpreters too desperate, he supplied them beforehand with an English translation of what he was going to say. My guess is that the interpreters relied more on the English version than on the Minister's actual words.

The Norwegian lecturer who is responsible for the teaching of Norwegian to these interpreters told me in 1994 that the interpreters refused to believe her when she told them that they would have to prepare themselves for a multitude of Norwegian dialects should Norway ever become a member of the EU. They claimed that politicians operating at such a high international political level would never resort to using dialects when addressing an EU committee or meeting in Brussels. To them this was totally outrageous and unheard of, and such a situation was obviously and clearly beyond their comprehension. But on their very first encounter with a Norwegian minister, they heard him speak neither *Bokmål* nor *Nynorsk*, but his own local Norwegian dialect. One can wonder whether the interpreters in Brussels today are for or against Norwegian membership.

#### Local varieties prevail despite increased mobility

In Norway, we do find a great deal of regional linguistic variation. If one looks at a map of Norway one will understand why. It is a very long country with high mountains, forests and deep fjords. What is surprising, however, is that nowadays, even with an extremely mobile population, regional variation seems to prevail. There is much less levelling out of dialect features than should perhaps be expected. This means that even today it is possible, with enough knowledge about the various dialect features found around the country, to decide on linguistic grounds where somebody comes from in Norway, often down to the level of the local parish or village. This fact was the basis for a television quiz about Norwegian dialects which ran on the national television network in three series (with seven programs in each) in the 1980s (1984, 1986, and 1988). Two teams competed in each program and the task was always to detect, on the basis of a person's dialect features, where he or she was from in Norway. In order to score the maximum number of points it was necessary to place the person in the right town, village or parish. These programs were extremely popular all over the country (except perhaps in Oslo), and all together as many as 130 different rural and urban dialects were exposed in these three series. The age of the informants varied from 5 years to 85, and they represented a multitude of different occupations and came from all levels of society. According to the rating figures published in the newspapers, the final program in 1988 was watched by 42 per cent of the total population of Norway. Even today, many years later, and because of my role as the referee in these programs, I am frequently recognized by strangers all around the country. That these programs could be made and attain such popularity among the viewers testifies to the vitality of dialect use as well as to the knowledge of and interest in dialects in modern Norway. I doubt that such a quiz could have taken place in any other European country.

### The historical background for the extensive use of local dialects

Why, then, is Norway so different? This has to do, of course, with Norwegian history, with the fact that no separate Norwegian language was recognized as such for several hundred years when Norway was part of a political union with Denmark. Dialects spoken in what is now the territory of Norway were then regarded as Danish dialects. However, when Norway regained its independence in 1814 as a result of the Napoleonic wars, and in the period of romanticism, the search for a separate national Norwegian idiom started. The written standard of the time (the 1800s) was Danish, inherited from the time of the Dano-Norwegian union, and it was of course problematic for the Norwegians to call written Danish "Norwegian". Therefore, instead of the written standard (written Danish), the local rural dialects in Norway had to serve as national linguistic symbols. But in the local schools, many teachers taught the children to read with a spelling pronunciation close to the written standard. This practice was interpreted in some quarters as a means of making the children speak Danish and therefore damaging to the national spirit they wanted to promote in the newly establish Norwegian state. If the written standard had to be viewed as anti-national and the local dialects were the only representatives of a genuine, Norwegian tongue, then this should imply a policy to support and stimulate the use of local dialects in the schools as well.

This was indeed what happened. In 1878, Parliament decided that in elementary and secondary schools no spoken standard should be taught whatsoever. Instead, the children as well as the teachers should use the local vernacular. This principle, which probably is unique to Norway, is valid even today and is now encoded in the Norwegian School Law (cf. Jahr 1984). It has, in my view, been of great importance for the continued use of local dialects in Norway. It has prevented standardized speech in any form from becoming a subject in the school curriculum. In addition, through the first half of the 20th century, Parliament repeatedly ruled that the popular dialects, both urban and rural, should form the basis and norm for planned changes in the two written standards. The ultimate aim of this language planning policy was to amalgamate *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* into a single written standard. Important language reforms within the framework of this language planning policy were implemented in 1917 and 1938 (cf. Haugen 1966). According to the majority in Parliament, the final amalgamation could only be successful if the planning process was based on the linguistic material supplied by the popular dialects, and hence the continued use of these dialects was of decisive importance; for a discussion of Parliament's view in this matter, cf. Jahr (1992b).

Together with the pressure against using *knot*, I believe the formal protection of the children's use of dialects in the schools from 1878 onwards – as well as the positive attitude expressed repeatedly by Parliament – to a large extent accounts for the strong position of local dialects and dialect use in present-day Norway.

## Conclusion

The Norwegian situation offers an alternative sociolinguistic model to the situation we find in most other European countries. Is it a model we all should support and applaud, dominated as it is by linguistic tolerance and linguistic variability – or does it also involve drawbacks that should likewise be taken into account and discussed? A closer analysis of the *knot* concept would probably be of importance in a balanced discussion of advantages and possible drawbacks inherent in the Norwegian situation.

Let me close with a citation from a foreign expert on the Norwegian situation. In a program on Norwegian national television (1988), Peter Trudgill expressed the following opinion:

It seems to me that there is probably more linguistic democracy in Norway than there is in most other countries, much more tolerance towards other people's ways of speaking. Generally speaking, I think there is a greater preparedness in Norway to tolerate other people's dialects and therefore, I suppose, a greater willingness on the part of very many people to use their own dialects in situations where in other countries they would not use their dialects.

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## Das Geschlecht der ungarischen Lehnwörter in der deutschen Schriftsprache

*Jenő Kiss*

Es ist eine für alle natürlichen Sprachen gültige Erscheinung, daß sich die neu hinzukommenden Elemente an die bereits vorhandenen anlehnen – unabhängig davon, ob sie Produkte der Wortschöpfung darstellen oder ob es sich um Lehnelemente handelt. Wenn also z. B. die Verben einer Sprache morphologisch markiert, d. h. durch eine spezielle Endung gekennzeichnet sind, dann werden alle neuen Verben dieser Sprache mit der entsprechenden Endung versehen. Auch aus der Sicht der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft ist der Problembereich interessant, welche Faktoren bzw. Regeln die Wahl des grammatischen Geschlechts bestimmen und beeinflussen.

In der deutschen Sprache gibt es ein grammatisches Geschlecht, im Ungarischen dagegen nicht. Daraus folgt, daß die ungarischen Lehnwörter (die Nomina) im Deutschen eine gute Möglichkeit zur Untersuchung des genannten Problembereichs bieten.

Gegenstand der folgenden Untersuchung sind die ungarischen Lehnwörter (Nomina) in der deutschen Schriftsprache. Da aber eine gründliche wortgeschichtliche, etymologische, sprachgeographische Bearbeitung dieser Lehnwortschicht des Deutschen immer noch aussteht, kann die hier aufgestellte Wortliste in keiner Weise Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erheben. Als maßgebende Quelle für das heutige Deutsch diene Wahrigs *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1972). Bekanntlich sind nicht nur gesamtdeutsche Wörter in dieses Wörterbuch aufgenommen worden. Wie aus dem Vorwort hervorgeht, ist darüber hinaus besonderer Wert auf die Aufnahme österreichischer, schweizerischer und landschaftlicher Besonderheiten von überregionaler Bedeutung gelegt worden. Das bedeutet, daß ein Teil der hier untersuchten ungarischen Lehnwörter nur in bestimmten Räumen des deutschen Sprachgebietes bekannt bzw. gebräuchlich ist. Dementsprechend werden die Bedeutungen der Lehnwörter angegeben. Als Lehnwörter werden Entlehnungen ohne deutsche Ableitungssuffixe angesehen (*Kutscher* wird also nicht als Lehnwort betrachtet). Berücksichtigt werden jedoch Lehnwörter mit Derivationssuffix, wenn das Grundwort für sich allein nicht gebräuchlich ist (z. B. *Sekler*).

|                      |                                                                                                                      |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>der Dolman</i>    | 'mit Schnüren besetzte Husarenjacke; Männerrock der alt-türkischen Tracht' (< ung. <i>dolmány</i> , <i>dolmán</i> ). |
| <i>der Dolmetsch</i> | 'Fürsprecher' (< ung. <i>tolmács</i> ).                                                                              |
| <i>der Filler</i>    | 'ungarische Währungseinheit: 1/100 Forint' (< ung. <i>fillér</i> ).                                                  |
| <i>der Forint</i>    | 'ungarische Währungseinheit' (< ung. <i>Forint</i> ).                                                                |
| <i>der Gespan</i>    | 'ungarischer Verwaltungsbeamter' (< ung. <i>espán</i> , <i>ispán</i> ).                                              |

|                                     |                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>der/das Gulasch</i>              | 'aus Ungarn stammendes Gericht aus Rindfleisch-, später auch Kalbfleischwürfeln mit scharf gewürzter Soße' (< ung. <i>gulyás, gulás</i> ).                                    |
| <i>der Heiduck</i>                  | 'ungarischer Viehhirt; Angehöriger einer ungarischen Söldnertruppe; Gerichtsdieners und Diener hoher ungarischer Adliger' (< ung. <i>hajdú</i> , Pluralform: <i>hajdúk</i> ). |
| <i>der Honvéd</i>                   | 'die 1848 von Kossuth gegen Österreich aufgestellte ungarische Nationalarmee; seit 1868 ungarische Landwehr; seit 1918 das ungarische Heer' (< ung. <i>honvéd</i> ).          |
| <i>der Husar</i>                    | 'berittener ungarischer Soldat; Angehöriger einer leichten Reitertruppe in ungarischer Uniform' (< <i>huszár</i> ).                                                           |
| <i>der Kalpak,<br/>Kolpak</i>       | 'hohe tatarische Lammfellmütze; Filzmütze der Armenier; Husarenmütze; von ihr herabhängender Tuchzipfel' (< ung. <i>kalpag</i> ).                                             |
| <i>die Kandare</i>                  | 'Art des Zaumes; Gebißstange mit Kinnkette, Genick-, Stirn-, Nasen-, Kehlriemen und Zügel' (< ung. <i>kantár</i> ).                                                           |
| <i>die Karbatsche</i>               | 'Riemenpeitsche' (< ung. <i>korbács</i> ).                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>die Kolatsche</i>                | 'kleiner, runder, gefüllter Hefekuchen' (< ung. <i>kalács</i> ).                                                                                                              |
| <i>die Kutsche</i>                  | 'gefederter, ein- oder mehrspänniger Personen-Pferdewagen mit Verdeck' (< ung. <i>kocsi</i> ).                                                                                |
| <i>der Magyare</i>                  | 'Ungar' (< ung. <i>magyar</i> ).                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>die Palatschinke</i>             | 'gefüllter Eierkuchen' (< ung. <i>palacsinta, palacsinka</i> ).                                                                                                               |
| <i>der Pallasch</i>                 | 'schwerer Degen' (< ung. <i>pallos</i> ).                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>der Pandur</i>                   | 'bewaffneter ungarischer Diener; ungarischer Fußsoldat' (< ung. <i>pandur</i> ).                                                                                              |
| <i>der Paprika</i>                  | 'Nachtschattengewächs, das als Gewürz- und Gemüsepflanze angebaut wird, Spanischer Pfeffer; <i>Capsicum annum</i> ' (< ung. <i>paprika</i> ).                                 |
| <i>die Pekesche</i>                 | 'mit Pelz, Litzen und Tressen verzierter Mantelrock der Polen, Bekische; (seit dem 19. Jh.) Festjacke mit Schnüren der Verbindungsstudenten' (< ung. <i>bekecs</i> ).         |
| <i>der Pengö</i>                    | 'ungarische Währungseinheit (1927 - 1946)' (< ung. <i>pengő</i> ).                                                                                                            |
| <i>das Pörkel(t),<br/>Pörköl(t)</i> | 'mit Paprika gewürztes, gulaschähnliches Gericht' (< ung. <i>pörkölt</i> ).                                                                                                   |
| <i>der Primas</i>                   | 'Zigeunerprimas, Primgeiger einer Zigeunerkapelle' (< ung. <i>primás</i> ).                                                                                                   |
| <i>die Pußta</i>                    | 'ungarische Steppe' (< ung. <i>puszta</i> ).                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>der Säbel</i>                    | 'Hiebwaaffe mit einschneidiger, spitzer, gekrümmter Klinge' (< ung. <i>szablya, szabla</i> ).                                                                                 |
| <i>die Schabracke</i>               | 'reich verzierte, sehr lange Decke unter dem Sattel; altes Pferd; abgenutzte Sache, baufälliger alter Gegenstand; alte Frau' (< ung. <i>csáprák</i> ).                        |
| <i>der Schill</i>                   | 'Zander' (< ung. <i>süllő</i> ).                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>das Schinakel</i>                | 'kleines Boot' (< ung. <i>csónak</i> ).                                                                                                                                       |

|                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>der Sekler</i><br>( <i>Szekler</i> ) | 'Angehöriger eines ungarischen Volksstammes'<br>(< ung. <i>székely</i> , <i>székel</i> ).                                                                                                                        |
| <i>der Tokaier</i> ,<br><i>Tokajer</i>  | 'ungarischer naturreiner Süßwein' (< ung. <i>tokaji</i> ).                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>der Tolpatsch</i>                    | 'ungeschickter Mensch, ungeschicktes Kind' (< ung. <i>talpas</i> ).                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>der Tschako</i>                      | 'Kopfbedeckung mit Schild und zylinderförmigem Oberteil der Jäger- und Verkehrstruppen sowie der Seebataillone im kaiserlichen deutschen Heer, nach 1918 von der Schutzpolizei getragen' (< ung. <i>csákó</i> ). |
| <i>der Tschardasch</i>                  | 'ungarischer Nationaltanz im 2/4-Takt' (< ung. <i>csárdás</i> ).                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>der Tschibuk</i>                     | 'lange türkische Tabakspfeife mit kleinem Ton- oder Meer-schaumkopf' (< ung. <i>csibuk</i> ).                                                                                                                    |
| <i>der Tschikosch</i>                   | 'ungarischer Pferdehirt' (< ung. <i>csikós</i> ).                                                                                                                                                                |

Es gibt unter den untersuchten Wörtern solche, die von Männern ausgeübte Tätigkeiten bezeichnen. Diese Wörter sind alle Maskulina (*Dolmetsch*, *Gespan*, *Heiduck*, *Honved*, *Husar*, *Pandur*, *Primas*, *Tschikosch*).

Es gibt mehrere unter den ungarischen Lehnwörtern, deren Maskulinum durch den konsonantischen Wortauslaut und das Geschlecht der allermeisten sinnverwandten Wörter gleicherweise erklärt werden kann. Hierher gehören *Dolman*, *Kalpak*, *Pallasch*, *Säbel*, *Schill*, *Tokaier*, *Tschardasch*.

Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der konsonantisch auslautenden Wörter, die Währungseinheiten bezeichnen, sind Maskulina im Deutschen. So auch die in diese Gruppe gehörenden ungarischen Lehnwörter (*Filler*, *Forint*). Dagegen sind die vokalisch auslautenden Feminina (*Lira*, *Krone*). Nicht aber das Lehnwort *Pengö*. Wie kann diese Ausnahme geklärt werden? Der Wortauslaut -ö ist wegen seiner Fremdheit und Seltenheit nicht typisch für die deutsche Sprache. Er kann also die Rolle, das Geschlecht zu markieren – wie es bei den auf -e auslautenden Nomina der Fall ist – nicht übernehmen. So ist der Weg für analogische Einwirkungen frei, vgl. das ähnlich klingelnde deutsche Wort: *der Pfennig*, mundartl. *der Penning*.

Die Völkernamen haben im Deutschen eine feminine und eine maskuline Variante, wobei die erstere morphologisch immer gekennzeichnet ist – die einzige Ausnahme ist die Selbstbenennung der Deutschen: *der Deutsche*, *die Deutsche*. Auch die Völkernamen ungarischen Ursprungs folgen dieser Regel.

Die meisten vokalisch auslautenden Nomina sind Feminina im Deutschen, vor allem diejenigen, die auf -e auslauten. Daher versteht es sich von selbst, daß auch die entsprechenden ungarischen Lehnwörter Feminina sind (*Kandare*, *Karbatsche*, *Kolatsche*, *Kutsche*, *Palatschinke*, *Pekesche*, *Schabracke*).

*Pörkö(t)* und *Schinakel* sind neutrum - das erste Wort vor allem durch die Analogie zu *Gulasch*, das letztere, weil es eine diminutive Ableitung darstellt und sein nächstes sinnverwandtes Wort *Boot* ist.

Es gibt auch solche Lehnwörter, deren Geschlecht nicht eindeutig fixiert ist: *der/das Gulasch*, *der/die Paprika*, aber auch *der Tschako* kommt als *das Tschako* vor. Das maskuline Geschlecht von *Paprika* – es handelt sich um ein vokalisch



auslautendes Nomen! – kann durch die Analogie zu *Pfeffer*, das feminine durch die Analogie zu *Schote*, *Paprikaschote* erklärt werden.

Bei Wörtern, die nur im Plural vorkommen, ist die Frage nach dem grammatischen Geschlecht irrelevant; vgl. das Lehnwort *Tschismen* 'Stiefel' (< ung. *csizma*).

Auch aufgrund der Analyse der ungarischen Lehnwörter in der deutschen Schriftsprache kann folgendes festgestellt werden: "Für die Festlegung des Geschlechts eines Fremdwortes im Deutschen gibt es keine feste Regel. Bestimmend sind vor allem zwei Faktoren: 1. das Geschlecht des sinnverwandten deutschen Wortes oder des deutschen Übersetzungswortes [...]. 2. die Bildungsweise des Wortes. Es besteht die Tendenz, allen Wörtern mit derselben Endung auch das gleiche Geschlecht zu geben" (Drosdowski et al. 1980: 260).

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## On the Etymology of the Kartvelian \**γor-* 'pig'

George Klimov

The subject of this paper is one of the characteristic aspects of cattle-breeding vocabulary which unites Georgian and the Zan languages (i.e. Megrelian and Laz) and sets them apart from Svan, which is the fourth member of the Kartvelian linguistic family. It concerns the archetype of the word, represented by Georgian *γori* and Megrelian and Laz *γεჟი* 'domestic pig', which is the basis for a number of derivatives, especially designations of various plants,<sup>1</sup> but which usually contrasts with Kartvelian names for the wild boar. In addition to a number of other lexical features, this word offers the most convincing linguistic argument in favour of a settled Kartvelian economy in the epoch corresponding to the Common Georgian-Zan stage.<sup>2</sup>

Georgian *γori* occurs repeatedly in the earliest Old Georgian literary texts, in particular in the Bible translation: cf. *nuca daugebt margaliṣa činaše γorta ...* 'neither cast ye your pearls before swine ...' Mt. 7.6; *man caravlina igi velad zovnad γorta* 'he sent him into his fields to feed swine' Lk. 15.15 (its several derivatives are also attested here). In the first explanatory dictionary of the Georgian language, compiled by Sulxan Saba Orbeliani as far back as the turn of the 17th century, which incorporates a significant amount of Old Georgian material, this lexeme appears as a general designation of the animal, as opposed to the names of its sex and age varieties.

Its Megrelian and Laz equivalent, which lacks dialectal variants, corresponds to the Georgian word since the *r* > *ž* transition is usual for the coda of the noun stem before the nominative ending *-i*, whereas its vocalic shape seems to be a result of the umlaut-impact of this ending, which presupposes the process *ö* > *we* (Schmidt 1962: 139). In connection with the Zan form, a question arises as to whether the Modern Georg. *γოჟი* 'fang, tusk' may be treated as an old Zan borrowing, reflecting an intermediate step of its further phonological transformation (for the semantics cf. Old Georg. *ešwi* 'wild boar').

In Laz, this word has preserved its solid position up to the present. Despite the traditional neglect of pig-raising by native speakers professing Islam, as well as some competition from the synonymic Turkish loanword *domuzi*, the lexeme is attested in all its dialects. Another designation of pig *xām* found only in Svan,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, a descriptive designation of dolphin, which means literally 'pig of the sea'.

<sup>2</sup> I do not discuss another designation of pig \**ešw-* which is traceable in the Kartvelian languages only in an indirect way (cf. Megr. *o-sk-u* 'pigsty', where *sk* corresponds to Georg. *šw* and *o-* and *-u* are derivational elements).

despite the view expressed in Tseretheli (1959: 92), cannot be juxtaposed with the above-mentioned Georgian-Zan data.

The Georgian and Megrelian forms were first compared as early as the middle of the 19th century (Brosset 1849: 72). Their Laz equivalent was found in Marr (1909: 1058). The Georgian-Zan archetype of the word, generally accepted in Kartvelian studies, is characterized by the vowel *o*, which is comparatively rare for non-descriptive vocabulary. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to interpret the word on Kartvelian soil. Thus, according to Čikobava (1942: 82), only *γ* is here a root, whereas *-or* must be a derivational affix (it is more difficult to reach agreement when one tries to equate the Svan lexeme *xām* with some phonetically different designations of pig, represented in North Caucasian languages).

In view of the above, there is a noticeable tendency to connect the word in question with the data of Indo-European languages. The first attempt in this direction was made by Marr (1909: 1058), who resorted in that case to the Greek χοῖρος 'piglet', which is treated as an "European Japhetic word". Contrary to Eichberg (1959: 63-64), who also claimed the "oriental origin" of the Greek lexeme, the subsequent authors proceed from the assumption of the Indo-European origin of the Kartvelian word (cf. Boisacq 1950: 1065; Melikišvili 1965: 210; Urušaze 1980: 223; Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995: 774).

Since Kartvelian borrowings from Greek do not display phonological correspondences which are characteristic of the historical phonetics of the Kartvelian languages, whereas the Greek *χ* is never rendered in them as *γ*, it is more reasonable to attribute this word to some more ancient Indo-European source of the type \**ghojr*- or \**ghor*-, the descendants of which seem to have given rise to the same Greek word as well as to the Albanian *derr* 'pig'.

The validity of this juxtaposition may be, apparently, ascertained by the possibility of the so-called group reconstruction of the available material. We have in mind the protoforms \**tel*- 'piglet, young pig' and \**γru(n)it*- 'to grunt', which have been reconstructed in parallel for the Georgian-Zan stage (the latter stem does not obviously fit into the "area norm" characteristic of analogous material represented in other autochthonous languages of the Caucasus), for which the Indo-European source may also be presumed. The lexeme in question illustrates a correspondence between Kartv. *γ* and PIE *gh* which is interesting for a study of the pronunciation of Indo-European voiced aspirated phonemes, discussed in the literature (cf. also Kartv. *γeryγ*- 'to (roughly) grind' ~ PIE \**ghergh*-, Kartv. \**γrma*- 'pit, hole' ~ PIE (dial.) \**r(u)ghma*- 'pit', Kartv. \**γoγo*- 'buffalo calf' ~ PIE \**ghoghu*-, *ghāgh*<sup>wh</sup>- 'young animal, nestling').

It seems natural that the Kartvelian languages have borrowed non Proto-Indo-European designations of pig \**sũ*-, and, respectively, of piglet \**porko*-, but the words originate from separate dialectal branches of Indo-European. They are precisely the forms to be expected for that relatively late historical epoch, which corresponds to the Common Georgian-Zan stage (which is hardly to be projected later than in the second millennium B.C.).

The Kartvelian languages appear in the role of recipients also in view of the available cultural-historical data. It is well-known that the domestication of pigs has very deep roots among the Indo-Europeans. In particular, an elaborated terminology

related to pigs and pig-raising, reflected in Hittite and Mycenaean Greek texts, is considered to be a continuation of the common Indo-European tradition which finds its reflection in the cultic role of this animal as a fertility symbol (cf. Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995: 509-512). At the same time, pig-raising, as evidenced by archaeological finds, was not characteristic of the tribes of the Kura-Araxes culture, which includes the Kartvelians (with the exception of a small area of the Kura-Alazan basin, bordering on the North Caucasus).

With regard to the chronology of the borrowing, it is noteworthy that, in the archaeological site Samtavro in the central region of Georgia (dating from the late part of the second millennium B.C.) bones of pigs have been found, which indicates a significant increase in number during the early Iron Age, i.e. at the very end of the second millennium B.C. (Munčaeu 1975: 123, 383-384).

Finally, one should mention that the linguistic evidence adduced here seems to support the well-known view of Emile Benveniste, according to which pig-raising must once have been practised not only in the European part of the Indo-European area, but also in its Asian part (Benveniste 1969: 35).

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# Bartoli's Norms Revisited: A Dynamic Reinterpretation

*Alberto Nocentini*

"Die geographische Methode [...] bildet unzweifelhaft eine der großen Errungenschaften unseres Jahrhunderts"  
(Eugenio Coseriu)

## 1. The Italian Neo-Linguistic School and the areal norms by M. Bartoli

Although the statement by Coseriu (1975: 48) quoted above may be considered an authoritative evaluation, linguistic geography occupies an incidental place in contemporary expositions. In the four volumes of the Cambridge Survey, Keith Walters devotes no more than five pages to linguistic geography and, amongst the various linguistic atlases which have recently been elaborated, he mentions only Lee Pederson's *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States*, concluding with this sort of epitaph: "Despite the valiant and dedicated effort of scholars like Pederson, few predict a bright future for dialect geography" (Walters 1988: 124). In the face of such a display of astonishing ignorance and unfairness, the least we can do is to encourage him to change the scope of his research into a more suitable one, such as, for instance, astrology.

If we turn to Italian geolinguistics, we find that things are much worse.<sup>1</sup> In his excellent book Geoffrey Sampson devotes less than ten lines to the Italian school known as "Neo-Linguistics" and characterises its theoretical attitude, inspired by the philosopher Benedetto Croce, as "aesthetic" in opposition to the scholarly attitude of American linguistics (Sampson 1980: 237). Sampson's main source is Giuliano Bonfante's contribution published in *Language* (Bonfante 1947), which can by no means be considered as representative of the whole of Italian linguistics. In the Italian edition of Sampson's book this gap is filled by Augusto Ancillotti, who adds a chapter on the Neo-Linguistic School and points out the central role played by Matteo Bartoli (Ancillotti 1983: 221f.).

With the exception of the Italian literature on the subject, however, Bartoli's name is usually referred to only in footnotes of dialectology textbooks, if it is

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<sup>1</sup> As regards an essential outline of the Italian Neo-Linguistic School, see Bartoli/Bertoni (1925), Bartoli (1925) and Bonfante (1971).

mentioned at all. This is why I was surprised and pleased to find his areal norms quoted and commented on in a recent essay by Polomé (1990) devoted to the different methods of reconstructing linguistic prehistory. It is not by chance that this essay happens to be the work of a learned linguist who embodies the cultural aura of many countries.

From his exposition I have drawn the four areal norms which are listed below in hierarchical order, starting from the one with the strongest value:

1. **norm of the less exposed area**, implying that a more isolated area will tend to be more conservative;
2. **norm of the lateral areas**, stating that peripheral areas are likely to be less (or not at all) affected by innovations taking place in a central area;
3. **norm of the more extended area**, assuming that the oldest form will often tend to be spread over the largest area of the linguistic territory;
4. **norm of the later area**,<sup>2</sup> pointing out that new territories opened to a language, e.g. colonies, may preserve older forms, which are lost by innovation in the homeland (Polomé 1990: 140f.).

The fourth norm is not homogeneous with the others, because it implies spatial discontinuity and a chronological gap between the phase of the homeland and the phase of the colonies. We shall come back to this point later.

On the whole, critics have not been well-disposed towards the areal norms and have focused more on their negative rather than on their positive aspects. Lang's book (1982: 118-125) offers a balanced judgement of the matter, due to the author's deep knowledge of the subject. He acknowledges the fundamental effectiveness of norms 1, 2 and 4, while norm 3 is considered tautological. In my opinion, the greatest difficulty we find in applying the areal norms is that, since norms only have a statistical value, it is impossible to decide, given a single linguistic feature, whether it is part of the majority or of the minority of cases and whether it is innovative or conservative.

The problem can be solved in the direction shown by Weinhold (1985), which is considered the most detailed and up-to-date commentary on Bartoli's areal norms. These maintain their validity and may be usefully applied if they are interpreted as *Diffusionsprozesse*.

In short, the heuristic power of linguistic geography can be recovered if we turn to a dynamic interpretation of areal relationships.

## 2. The areal linguistic norms in a dynamic perspective

I have already expressed my point of view in my handbook on the European languages (Nocentini 1983: 43-46), and in the following lines I shall try to develop it.

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<sup>2</sup> I am forced to amend Polomé's definition: he read *seniore* instead of *seriore* and consequently translated it with *older* instead of *later*.

All the linguistic features represented by isoglosses in the spatial dimensions are phenomena subject to change, with a tendency towards either expansion or contraction. Within a simplified dynamic model, these spatial movements can be reduced to three basic cases, producing six different kinds of linguistic areas:

1. In the first case, a unitary area undergoes the action of centrifugal forces and splits up into smaller areas. This will result in a **fragmentation area** (*aire de fragmentation, Ausgliederungsgebiet, area di frammentazione*) which will produce several **segregation areas** (*aires de ségrégation, Absonderungsgebiete, aree di segregazione*);
2. In the second case, an area tends to expand in one or more directions and, as a consequence, the adjacent one tends to contract. Thus, we will have a **spreading area** (*aire de propagation, Ausbreitungsgebiet, area di propagazione*), gradually dissolving in the surrounding space and creating **fading areas** (*aires de fondu, Überblendungsgebiete, aree di dissolvenza*);
3. In the third case, two areas tend to expand towards each other. If they do not overlap, they will leave a **residual area** (*aire residuelle, Restgebiet, area residua*). If they do, they will produce a **contact area** (*aire de contact, Kontaktgebiet, area di contatto*) with mixed features.

Some of the above-described processes are better described by means of geometric figures (see Figs. 1-4). Thus, Figs. 1-2 represent a fragmentation area splitting up into segregation areas, while Figs. 3-4 represent two spreading areas producing a residual and a contact area, respectively.

### 3. From areal norms to formation processes

All areas are defined in terms of formation processes, not of their relative positions. It is not difficult to see how Bartoli's areas correspond, at least in part, to those we have described according to the dynamic perspective.

In this way, the less exposed or isolated area coincides with the residual one, the lateral areas are nothing but peripheral segregation areas. The more extended area compared to the minor area is a case of a prevailing unitary fragmentation area compared to a segregation area.

The norm of the later area brings us back to the third case. An isogloss may spread with an oil-like pattern, which is the easiest case to study and represent on a map. An isogloss, though, may also show a rain-like pattern, usually when it spreads from one urban area to another. In this case, it will result in two (or more) spreading areas - primary and secondary - which tend to expand towards each other.

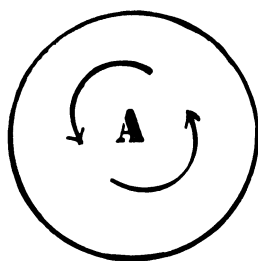


Fig. 1

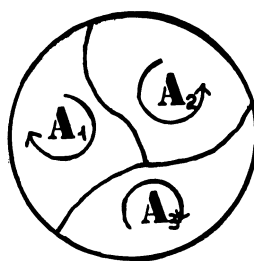


Fig. 2

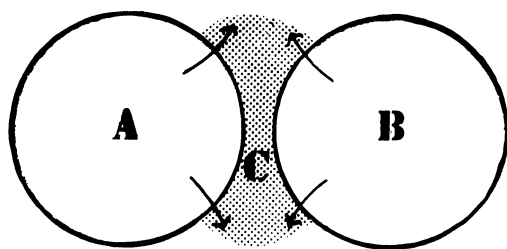


Fig. 3

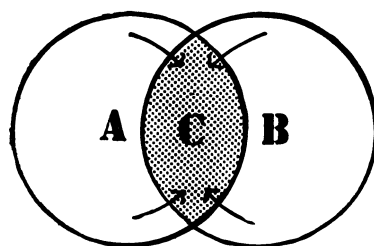


Fig. 4

If an isogloss presents a distribution with a leopard-skin pattern, i.e. fragmentary and discontinuous, we need to decide whether the several resulting micro-areas are to be considered residual or spreading. In any case, this is not a different phenomenon, but the reproduction of the phenomena predicted by the model.

The real difficulties arise when we proceed from the enunciation of the method to its application. When faced with a specific case, how can we decide which formation process has occurred and therefore which kind of area we are dealing with? Linguistic geography is not a self-supporting discipline, but the same can be said of any other linguistic discipline. The synchronic properties of a specific area, that is its shape, size and relative position, are only clues which may be complemented by any kind of linguistic and extra-linguistic information as well as by the methodological means of other disciplines (general linguistics, typology, historical linguistics, sociolinguistics). Extra-linguistic information about local history, economy, demography, main routes, etc. will be equally useful.

The final aim is an enterprise which, as far as I know, has never been attempted before, i.e. a historical linguistic atlas. I shall exemplify the application of the method I have just dealt with by describing the dialectal situation of Tuscany.



## 4. The geolinguistic description of Tuscany according to the dynamic perspective

Let us examine Maps 1 and 2, drawn in part based on the data provided by Pellegrini (1977), Giannelli (1976), Giannelli/Savoia (1978-80), in part on my own inquiries.<sup>3</sup> In order to offer an easy and suitable representation of the dialectal borders of Tuscany, I chose some of the most representative phonological features. Map 1 concerns vowels.

The largest part of the Tuscan dialects, covering area **A**, displays a tonic vowel system with seven items [a ε e ɔ o i u], whose distribution is not conditioned either by the contiguous consonants or by the syllabic patterns. Isogloss 1 marks the southern borderline of the vowel system of Emilia-Romagna (**B**). In the north-western corner, in the provinces of Lucca and Massa, area **A** borders on area **B** through an intermediate fading area, marked by **a**, where the opening degree of middle vowels [ε e ɔ o] is partially conditioned by its phonological context.

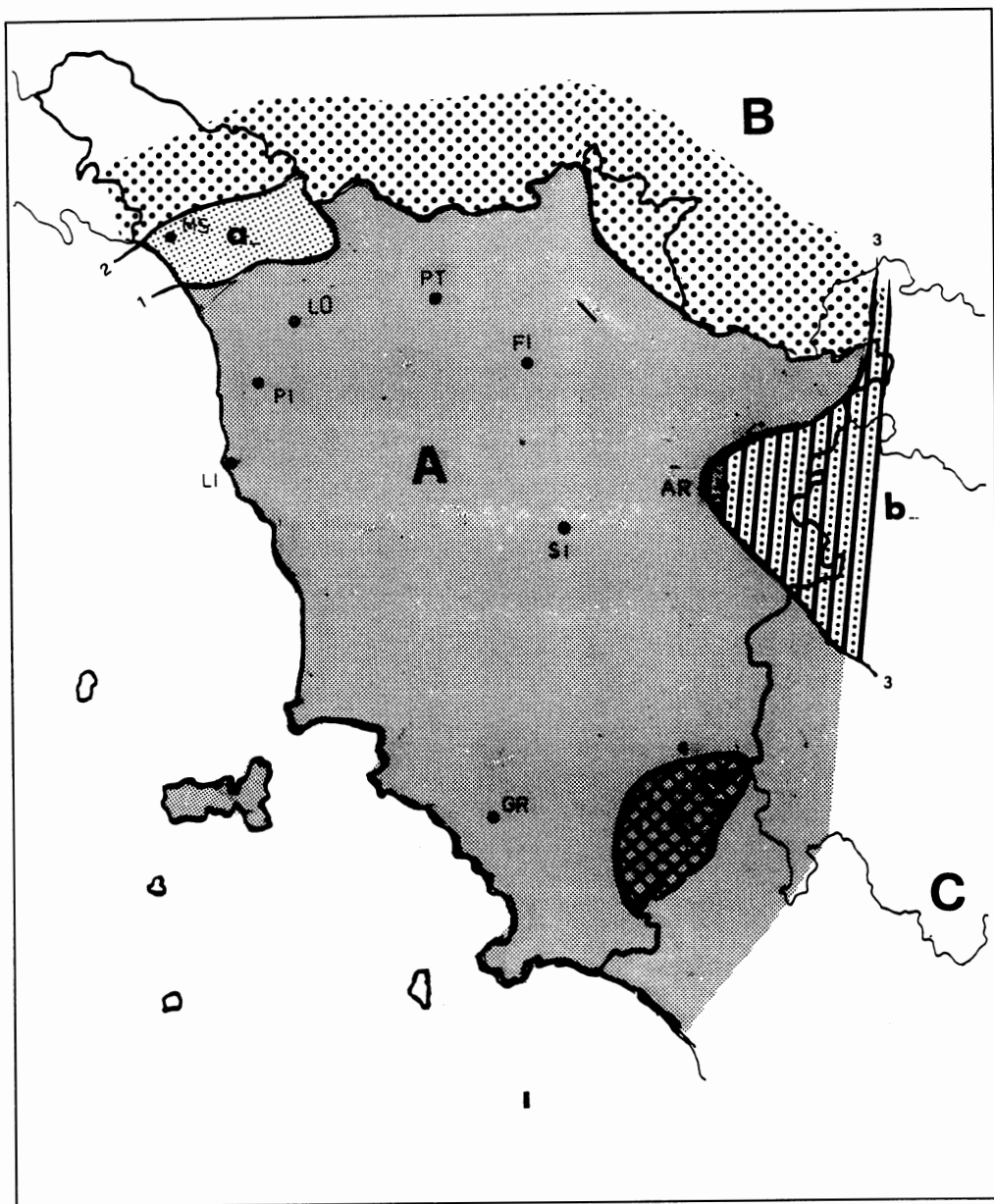
In the eastern corner, in the province of Arezzo, isogloss 3 marks the western borderline of long vowel raising [a: > ε, ε: > e, ɔ: > o], which produces a contact area **b** with a hybrid vowel system: the vowels in closed syllable show a Tuscan pattern while the vowels in open syllable show the patterns of the contiguous dialects of Umbria and Romagna.

In the southern corner, corresponding to the eastern slopes of Mount Amiata (province of Grosseto), we find a phenomenon involving the final vowels. Tuscan dialects can only have [a e i o] as final vowels, not [u]. In the area marked by **c** and demarcated by isogloss 4 we find a final [u] marking masculine nouns. It is a residual area, which was previously connected to Southern Umbria (**C**) and has survived because of its geographical isolation.

Map 2 concerns consonants. Isogloss 5, which covers the central and western part of Tuscany, indicates the so-called "gorgia toscana", that is the spirantisation of the intervocalic voiceless stops [-p- > -φ-, -t- > -θ-, -k- > -χ-] and divides into two spreading areas: one marked by **D**, where the phenomenon occurs fully, the other marked by **D<sub>1</sub>**, where it may be restricted to the velar stop only. Isogloss 6 marks the southern borderline of lenition (**E**), which causes the voicing of the intervocalic voiceless stops [-p- > -v-, -t- > -d-, -k- > -g-]. Between these two isoglosses we find fading and residual areas. North-west, between Lucca and Massa, letter **e** indicates a fading area of lenition, where the fricative allophones [-β-, -ð-, -ɣ-] occur in competition with [-p-, -t-, -k-]. Another fading area can be found in the northern edge of the province of Arezzo. The areas marked by **d** (province of Arezzo, the northern corner of the province of Florence, the northern strip of the province of Pistoia) are residual areas, which show the preservation of intervocalic [p t k].

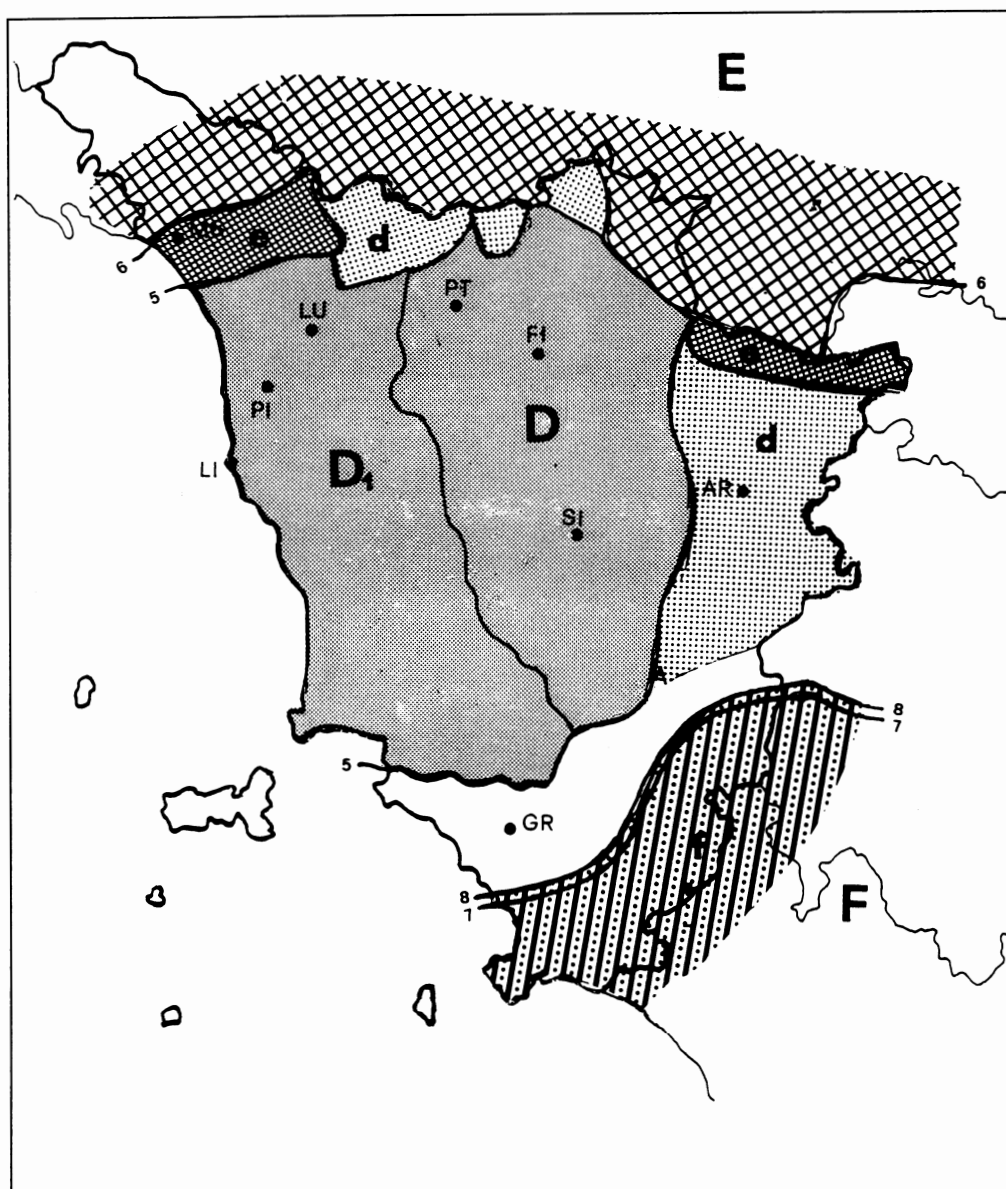
As for the southern border of Tuscany (province of Grosseto), I have taken into account two different features. Isogloss 7 marks the northern borderline of intervocalic [ddʒ] instead of the Tuscan fricative [ʒ], and isogloss 8 marks the northern

<sup>3</sup> I refer to Nocentini (1989: 59-64) and rely on my direct knowledge of the field. As for the border between Tuscany and Umbria, I refer to the maps by Moretti (1987: 159-163). The differences between the map elaborated by Giannelli and Savoia (1979-80: 40) and map 2 of the present paper are due to different evaluations of the recorded data.



Map 1: Vocalic Features of the Tuscan Dialects

- 1 - Northern borderline of the Tuscan vocalic system
- 2 - Southern borderline of the Northern vocalic system
- 3 - Western borderline of the raising of long tonic vowels
- 4 - Enclave of final [u] in masculine nouns



Map 2: Consonantal Features of the Tuscan Dialects

- 5 - Borderline of the "gorgia" (spirantisation of the intervocalic voiceless stops)
- 6 - Southern borderline of the Northern lenition
- 7 - Northern borderline of intervocalic [ddʒ] instead of [ʒ]
- 8 - Northern borderline of the assimilation of the clusters [-mb-, -nd-]

borderline of the assimilation of the clusters [-nd-, -mb-] into [-nn-, -mm-], which is a widespread characteristic of Southern Italy (F). The occurrence of these two foreign features in the Tuscan phonological system produces the contact area marked by **f**.

As we have already seen with the vocalic features, in the peripheral areas of the Tuscan dialectal area we find contact, fading and residual areas which provide a more accurate classification of the phonological features from a geolinguistic point of view. Moreover, we can avoid generic and vague definitions such as "transition zone", "mixed zone" and "area of uncertain classification". Our method enables us to define a dialectal area from the geolinguistic point of view. Its nucleus consists either of a segregation area or of a spreading one and its outer edges are marked by fading, contact and residual areas.

Going back to our example, Tuscan dialects can be defined in brief as the domain of the segregation area **A**, corresponding to the tonic vowel system with seven not conditioned items [a ε e ɔ o i u], and of the spreading area of the "gorgia" or spirantisation of intervocalic [p t k]. Their boundaries are delimited by the several fading, contact and residual areas marked by **a, b, c, d, e, f**.

The model I have just described owes its simplification to three reasons: i) it selects a limited number of isoglosses; ii) it takes into consideration only two dimensions of the diffusion of linguistic features; iii) it ignores many situations which are peculiar to very restricted areas. The model can be improved and its imperfections may be solved: i) by increasing the number of isoglosses and maps; ii) by introducing a quantitative representation of the features according to the sociolinguistic dimension;<sup>4</sup> iii) by opening larger scale windows on particular situations. As for this last point, the transition from a larger to a smaller scale should not have any consequence on our geolinguistic model and we expect the micro-areas to behave like the macro-areas.

## 5. The geolinguistic description of a micro-area

I shall conclude with an example of micro-geolinguistics, opening a window in the eastern corner of Map 1. It corresponds to the northern quadrant of the surroundings of Arezzo, which includes the upper reaches of the river Arno in lower Casentino. This area is partially affected by the raising of long tonic vowels (isogloss 3), absent in the urban territory of Arezzo and gradually disappearing in its surroundings. The extension of the isogloss corresponds to the area where the phenomenon is fully attested and it ignores the intensity of its diffusion. The raising is to be considered attested only when it is realised in all the opening degrees and particularly when we find [a: > ε].

Along the main route which runs northwards, bordering on the left bank of the river Arno from Arezzo to Bibbiena, present surveys witness the actual existence of the phenomenon in Borgo a Giovi but not in Subbiano, where we find only cases of

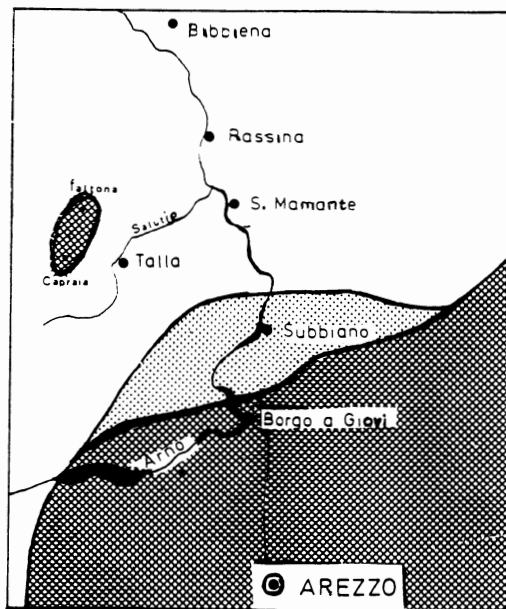
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<sup>4</sup> A good example of cartographical representation of spatial diffusion is provided by Chambers/Trudgill (1980: 192-196).

# WINDOW A

Lower Casentino  
(Province of Arezzo)

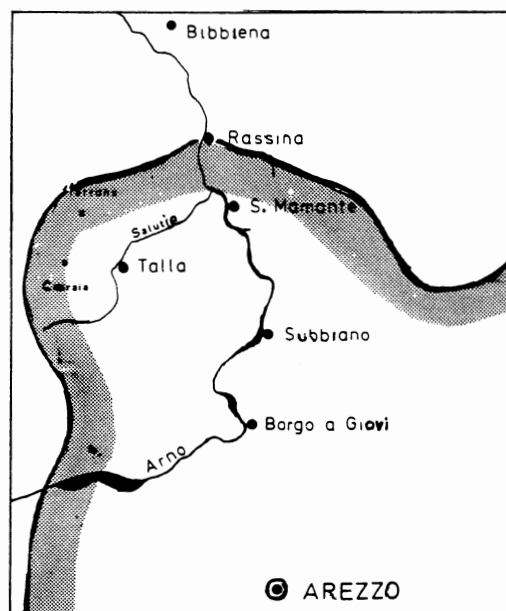
The diffusion of long vowel  
raising during the first half  
of the 20th century



# WINDOW B

Lower Casentino  
(Province of Arezzo)

The presumed extension  
of long vowel raising during  
the 18th century



Map 3

[ɛ: > e] and [ɔ: > o]. Over a century ago, Bianchi (1888: 68f.) recorded a different situation and moved the borderline of vowel raising a little further north. He reported this borderline as being discontinuous in Subbiano and totally absent in San Mamante (whose actual name is Santa Mama).

During a recent survey in the valley of the river Salutio, a tributary of the river Arno, I found out that vowel raising had still existed in the mountain villages of Capraia and Faltona, at least until the 1950s. The geolinguistic situation of the area at that time is represented by window A of Map 3. North of Borgo a Giovi, the area of vowel raising becomes a fading area extending up to the north of Subbiano which was included within its border during the last century. In the north-west we find a small enclave, that is, a residual micro-area located off the beaten track.

This enables us to formulate the hypothesis that in the past the borderline of the isogloss extended even further north, at least up to San Mamante and perhaps as far as Rassina. This hypothesis is confirmed by literary evidence. The poet Carlo Landi from Talla, the main village of the Salutio valley, left us three sonnets probably composed during the second half of the 18th century, where a typical inhabitant of the place speaks his own vernacular, which displays vowel raising.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we may conclude that the phenomenon was widespread in the valley of the river Salutio during the 18th century.

Window B shows the borderline of the isogloss at its utmost limits, according to the reconstruction of the possible previous stages on the basis of our data. The isogloss of vowel raising tends to withdraw before the advance of the Tuscan tonic vowel system, leading us to a final observation.

According to the principles of areal norms, vowel raising should be older since it displays the characteristics of the less exposed area, while the Tuscan vowel system should be the innovative phenomenon. However, we know that vowel raising is an innovation which overlapped the Tuscan vowel system and then withdrew. This confusion between relative and absolute chronology of linguistic phenomena is no longer possible in the light of the dynamic perspective. The identification of a spreading area distinct from a residual or a contact one enables us to distinguish between a dominant feature and a recessive one, but, in order to establish their chronology, we need the contribution of the other linguistic disciplines.

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<sup>5</sup> The sonnets are on pp. 108-110 of the book *Poesie inedite del Pievano Carlo Landi (1712-1794)*, first printed in 1880 and reprinted in Talla in 1985.

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## Language Contacts in the Volga Region: Loan Suffixes and Calques in Mari and Udmurt

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The Volga-Kama region of Russia can be described as a treasure house for areal and contact linguistics: the area can be neatly restricted geographically, its history over the past thousand years is reasonably well documented, and the peoples living there belong to three genetically different linguistic groups, namely to the Turkic (Chuvashes, Tatars, Bashkirs), Finno-Ugric (Mordvins, Maris, Udmurts) and Indo-European (Russians) language families. Several monographs (see, for example, Paasonen 1897, Wichmann 1903, Räsänen 1920, 1923, Fedotov 1965, 1968, Savatkova 1968, Csúcs 1970, 1990, Tarakanov 1982, 1993, Isanbaev 1994) have been written about the Turkic and Russian loanwords in the three Finno-Ugric languages mentioned, and some of them have also touched upon loan suffixes (see especially Fedotov 1965). The Finno-Ugric languages have mainly been the borrowing member in the Turkic and Russian contacts.

In syntax it is difficult to trace the possible influence of the Turkic languages on the Finno-Ugric ones, because typologically these two language groups are very close to each other: both have the SOV order and both use infinitive and participial constructions instead of subordinate clauses. The Maris (or Cheremises) and the Udmurts (or Votyaks) have had Turkic peoples living around them as a sort of "buffer", and that is why they have preserved these original features better than languages such as Mordvin or Finnish that have been strongly influenced by the Indo-Europeans. The stronger and longer impact of Russian on Mordvin, the third Finno-Ugric language of the Volga-Kama region, can be seen not only in the vocabulary, but also on the syntactic level in the SVO order and in the use of subordinate clauses with conjunctions. There are old (although not Finno-Ugric) subordinate clauses in Mari and Udmurt, too, but in them the conjunctions (Mari *γән* 'if, when', *γәнат* 'although', Udmurt *ke* 'if, when', *ke no* 'although', where *-at* and *no* mean 'and, also') are situated after the predicate at the end of the clause, which in itself always precedes the main clause according to the SOV order, for example Mari *Tuḍo toleš γән, mäj tuγe äštem*. 'If he comes, I [shall] do so.' In present-day Mari speech one can already hear such sentences in the opposite order and with the subordinate clause having the corresponding Russian conjunction *jesli* at the beginning and the Mari *γән* at the end, so that there are altogether two synonymic conjunctions: *Mäj tuγe äštem, jesli tuḍo toleš γән*. 'I [shall] do so, if he comes.'

Since Russian differs typologically from the Finno-Ugric languages, suffixes are very seldom borrowed from it by them. Although Russian adjectives with the suffixes *-skij* and *-nyj* are adopted as such and the corresponding noun may have been borrowed into Mari or Udmurt (for example, Mari *politika* 'policy', *političeskij*



'political'), the Russian adjective suffixes have not become productive in these languages; they cannot be used with native words. (As an excursus: the Finno-Ugric languages have no grammatical gender. The Russian adjectives are, as a rule, adopted in the masculine form.)

The situation is different with the Turkic elements. There are about 500 Chuvash loanwords in Mari and 100 in Udmurt. The number of Tatar loanwords is 200-2100 in Mari and 200-1100 in Udmurt depending on the dialect (Wichmann 1923: 90; Isanbaev 1989: 67; Csúcs 1990: 65-66). As both Turkic and Finno-Ugric languages are typologically of an agglutinative type, word formation is based on the use of derivative suffixes. The vast number of loanwords, the similarity of the sound structure and the close contacts between peoples that have to a great extent led to bilingualism have made the borrowing of not merely words but also of derivative suffixes possible. Since often both the Turkic stem and the corresponding derivative have been adopted into Mari or Udmurt, the derivative suffix has been properly analyzed as a suffix by the borrowers. Being recognized as a suffix has again made it possible for these elements to be used with innate words, too.

In the following I shall concentrate on the loan suffixes, both derivative and inflectional, that have also become productive in the borrowing languages. I shall, however, leave aside such suffixes as the Mari plural endings of nouns (*-wlak*, *-šamâč*), the Turkic origin of which still remains somewhat uncertain. Finally, I shall look at some Turkic calques touching the subsystems of Mari and Udmurt.

The productive denominative word formation suffix *-lyq* of Turkic origin has also been borrowed into Mari and Udmurt. In the Turkic languages it has several meanings, the first of which has been considered as primary: 1. the collectiveness and plurality of objects expressed by the stem in question (for example, Tatar *narat* 'pine' > *naratlyk* 'pine forest'), 2. abstraction (Tat. *matur* 'beautiful' > *maturlyk* 'beauty'), 3. something meant for the object expressed by the stem (Tat. *küz* 'eye' > *küzlyk* 'spectacles', Chuvash *šăna* 'fly' > *šănalăk* 'mosquito net'); (SIGTJa 1988: 138-143). This suffix has also become productive in Mari and Udmurt, so that new words, especially abstract nouns expressing quality, can be formed from Finno-Ugric stems with its help, for example, Mari *poro* 'good' > *porâłăk* 'goodness', Udmurt *paškıt* 'broad' > *paškıtlık* 'breadth'. Since neither Mari nor Udmurt had any suffix of its own with this function, it is easy to understand the need for the borrowing. Earlier abstract concepts of quality were often expressed by the corresponding adjective. A common feature of the Finno-Ugric languages is that there is no morphological difference between adjectives and nouns, and the former can thus function as the latter. Modern language, however, uses more abstract concepts, and this has created a need for the corresponding derivatives. Both the Mari and Udmurt dictionaries list over a hundred words with the suffix *lăk/lık*, the majority of which, however, are still of Turkic origin, but in present-day speech and texts these derivatives have a clearly higher frequency (OSUJa 1992, Vasil'ev/Savatkova/Učaeu 1991). Especially productive seems to be *lăk/lık* combined with the Finno-Ugric caritive suffix (Mari *-đâme*, Udmurt *-tem*) producing negative abstract nouns: Mar. *zakon-đâmâłăk*, Udm. *zakontemlık* 'illegality' (*zakon* < Russian). As in Turkic languages, *lăk/lık* can also be attached to words other than nouns, for example, to pronouns, numerals, adverbs and some verbal forms, cf. Mar. *külešlăk* 'necessity'

(*küleš* 'needs, is necessary'), Udm. *evellik* 'lack' (*evəl* 'is not'). In western Mari especially, but also in some eastern dialects, *lâk* is added to the suffix *šaš* of the necessary future participle without any change in meaning: *nalšašlâk* '(something that) will be taken, has to be taken' (*nalam* 'to take'); (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 130-131).

As can be seen from the above examples, both Mari and Udmurt have borrowed the Turkic *-lyq* in its abstract function. The primary meaning of collective plurality has not been adopted by Mari; it does not appear even in the loanwords. Udmurt shows some examples with a similar meaning, but the structure there is somewhat different, namely, *-lik* has not been attached directly to the stem but to the adjectival suffix *-o*, meaning 'furnished with or full of' objects expressed by the stem, for example, *bad'puollik* 'osier' (*bad'puo* 'with osiers').

The third function of the suffix is to denote something meant for, good for the object expressed by the stem. Of the two languages, this meaning can be found only in Mari, and there it comprises about one sixth of the examples, for example, *čêralâk* 'wood from which shingles are split' (*čêra* 'shingle'), *šinčalâk* 'spectacles' (*šinča* 'eye'), *nimolâk* 'good for nothing' (*nimo* 'nothing'), *arîalâk* 'enough, good for one week' (*arîa* 'week'). As can be seen from the two last examples, the derivatives formed with the suffix *-lâk* often function as adjectives. The Udmurt reverse dictionary mentions only one example with this meaning but it is considered as dialectal: *kostjumlik* 'cloth for a costume' (*kostjum* 'costume' < Russian) (OSUJa 1992: 51). Perhaps the *tirlîk* 'tool, means of production; > thing' (*tir* 'axe') somewhat odd in the derivational sense can also be explained through the function of being meant for something.

Mari has another derivative suffix with the same function, namely *-aš*, which is of Finno-Ugric origin, see, for example, *tuwêraš* 'cloth for a shirt' (*tuwêr* 'shirt'), but due to the expansion of *-lâk* it is losing its productivity (cf. Galkin 1966: 18-19). There are still some synonymous pairs, for example, *arîalâk* and *arîaš* 'enough, good for one week'. The suffix *-aš* is still used in Mari to denote the sum (the coin or the bill) of money expressed with the corresponding numeral stem, for example, *šüdaš* 'hundred-ruble bill' (*šüdö* 'hundred'), *kumêtaš* 'three-ruble coin/bill' (*kumêt* 'three'), cf. *kumêtlâk* 'enough, meant for three'. In many Turkic languages the suffix *-lyq* is used in this function, and a similar use can be seen in Udmurt, for example, *daslik* 'ten-ruble coin/bill' (*das* 'ten'), *koñîlik* 'one-kopek coin' (*koñî* 'kopek', originally 'squirrel').

Mari and Udmurt have borrowed the Turkic suffix *-lyq*, the former from Chuvash and Tatar and the latter from Tatar, and both use it to form abstract nouns especially. The other functions of the suffix in Mari and Udmurt differ from each other to some extent, but they all go back to the various meanings of the original Turkic derivative element.

Another Turkic derivative suffix that has been borrowed both by Mari and Udmurt is Mar. *-ze* (the vowel changes according to labial vowel harmony), Udm. *-ci*. The suffix is found in all the Turkic languages with some variation of the vowel (vowel harmony) and the consonant (affricate ~ sibilant), and its basic meaning is that of nomen actoris (SIGTJa 1988: 144-145). It has been borrowed by Udmurt from Tatar, at first with loanwords, but later it has become productive and can now be attached to native words, too, for example, *nîulesci* 'forester' (*nîules* 'forest') and

even to Russian loanwords, for example, *traktorçı* 'tractorist'. The same has happened in Mari, but there the suffix *-ze* is of Chuvash origin, i.e. it is an earlier borrowing, for example, *kolôzo* 'fisher' (*kol* 'fish'). Some of the central and eastern dialects of Mari have borrowed the suffix via Tatar, but this variant is not productive, it occurs solely in Tatar loanwords, for example, *kiitüçö* 'shepherd' (*kiitü* 'herd'), cf. western Mari *kətözə* 'id.' (< Chuv.); (cf. Galkin 1966: 27, 51).

The third common Turkic derivative suffix that is found in both Mari and Udmurt and has become productive, at least in the former, is Mar. *-le*, Udm. *-li*. It forms adjectives out of nouns, for example, Mar. *čerle*, Udm. *čerli* 'sick' (Mar. *čer*, Udm. *čer* 'sickness'). In this example both the stem and the derivative are of Tatar origin, but in Mari the suffix can also be attached to native words, for example, *lümLö* 'famous' (*lüm* 'name') and Russian loanwords, for example, *uðarle* 'with a blow' (*uðar* 'blow'). The suffix has been borrowed by Mari both from Chuvash and Tatar (in this case there is no way of distinguishing between these sources) and by Udmurt from Tatar; (cf. Csúcs 1990: 57; Fedotov 1965: 35-36).

The negative counterpart of the above mentioned adjective suffix is the caritive *-săr* in Chuvash and *-syz* in Tatar, which are of the same common Turkic origin (PhTF 1959: 717). The Chuvash suffix has been borrowed by Mari with loanwords and the Tatar one by Udmurt in the same way, i.e. they have not become productive, for example, Mar. *törsâr* 'uneven' (*tör* 'even' < Chuv.), Udm. *eriksiz* 'unwilling' (*erik* 'freedom, will' < Tat.). The last form is also found in some eastern dialects of Mari (*erâksâz* 'unwilling'), which have been strongly influenced by Tatar. The same word can, in the literary language, take a genuine Mari caritive suffix: *erâktâme* 'dependant'.

In Mari the suffix of the comparative, *-rak*, is of Turkic, probably of both Chuvash and Tatar origin. Comparison can also be expressed analytically using the positive form and syntactic means. In Mari the suffix *-rak* has, however, become very frequent not only in adjectives, but also in adverbs, for example, *izirak* 'smaller' (*izi* 'small'), *küşnârak* 'further up' (*küş* 'up, upper' + *nâ* locative case ending). In accordance with the Turkic languages, the Mari suffix does not express mere comparison but also modification, often incompleteness or a lesser amount of the quality. Thus it can be added to other word classes, too, for example, *örânrak* '(a little) wondering' (*örân* gerund of the verb *öram* 'to wonder'); (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 76-78; SIGTJa 1988: 153-154).

The influence of Chuvash on Mari lasted from the 11th century onwards for hundreds of years. Although the overall number of Tatar loanwords in Mari is higher than that of Chuvash (see above), the Chuvash impact can be considered as far stronger, because loanwords from it have penetrated the whole of the Mari lexicon, so that there are no great dialectal differences in their number. The Tatar influence on Mari and Udmurt, on the other hand, has not touched all dialects equally. The fact that far more "Turkic" elements can be traced in Mari is due to centuries of living together by Maris and Chuvashes.

In addition to noun suffixes, Mari also has some derivative verb suffixes of Chuvash origin. Mari has borrowed many abstract verbs from Chuvash, and not only verb stems, but often their derivatives, too. Through these pairs the verb suffixes have in a way become part of the Mari derivational system, and some of

them have started to live independent lives of their own as parts of the Mari derivational morphology. Probably the most productive of these verb suffixes is the deverbative *-kal* (in Chuvash *-kala*), which denotes frequentative action both in Mari and in the Turkic languages (Fedotov 1965: 48; Galkin 1966: 104-105). In Mari it can be attached to the consonant stem of verbs of the second or the so-called *em*-conjugation, and it also produces verbs of the same conjugation, for example, *kalasem* 'to say' (< Chuv.) > *kalaskalem* 'to tell' (< Chuv.), *šujem* 'to stretch' > *šujkalem* 'id.+frequ.', *šurem* 'to push' > *šurkalem* 'id.+frequ.'.

The deverbative and denominative suffixes *-as* and *-n* are of Chuvash origin, but they are not productive in present-day Mari. The suffix *-tat* can only be attached to onomatopoeic stems in Mari and the Turkic languages (Alhoniemi 1993: 152-153; Galkin 1966: 84-85). The denominative suffix *-lan* produces intransitive verbs of the second conjugation. It can mainly be found in Chuvash and Tatar loanwords. Although it is a compound suffix in the Turkic languages, it has been postulated already to proto-Turkic. In Mari it can be attached not only to common nouns but also to some adverbs, for example, *ozalanem* 'to host, to act as master' (< Chuv.) (*oza* 'host, master' < Chuv.), *koktelanem* 'to be irresolute, to waver' (*kokt-* 'two', *kokte* 'in two parts'), *torešlanem* 'to object, to resist' (*toreš* 'crosswise'). It also occurs with some Russian borrowed stems, for example, *žuliklanem* 'to act like a crook' (*žulik* 'crook' < Russ.); (Alhoniemi 1993: 151; Galkin 1966: 83; SIGTJa 1988:429-430).

The deverbative *-ar* is only slightly productive in Mari but not at all in present-day Chuvash. In both languages it produces causatives. In Mari it can be attached only to a stem with a final *t*, for example, *ertarem* 'to spend time' (< Chuv.) (*ertem* 'to go by [from time]' < Chuv.). For some reason it is often used in verbs that already have the causative suffix *-äkt* of Finno-Ugric origin, for example, *wončäktarem* 'to take to another place' (*wončäktem* 'to take somebody over, to let somebody go over' < *wončem* 'to go over'), so that the new derivative is actually a double causative (Alhoniemi 1993: 149; Fedotov 1965: 48; Galkin 1966: 134-135). Originally a compound suffix is *-tar*, both denominative and deverbative. It forms mostly causatives of the second conjugation, for example, *uwertarem* 'to let somebody know' (*uwer* 'news'), *šujdarem* 'to make longer' (*šujem* 'to stretch'); (Alhoniemi 1993: 153; Fedotov 1965: 44-45; Galkin 1966: 135-136).

There are also some suffixes that have a similar form in both Mari and the Turkic languages: *t* and *l*, which are old and widespread derivational elements in both language families. In the Finno-Ugric languages, *t* produces causatives and *l* either frequentative or momentaneous verbs, and both can also be used to make verbs out of nouns. In the Turkic languages these elements usually occur as parts of complex suffixes, for example, in Chuvash they are often preceded by a vowel (Fedotov 1965: 42, 45; Serebrennikov/Gadžieva 1986: 237, 240). In Mari it is impossible to distinguish between the suffixes of different origin. It has to be presumed that if a stem has a corresponding derivative on the Turkic side already, they are both Turkic loanwords in Mari (i.e. it is not a question of Mari derivation), whereas an *l* or a *t* in a native verb is of Finno-Ugric origin. Thus, for example, the verb *püγârtem* 'to make humped' (*püγâr* 'humped') has been borrowed as such from Tatar as has the stem, although in principle it could be a genuine Mari derivation,

too. Cf. the pair *joškartem* 'to make red' (*joškar* 'red'), which is of Mari origin (cf. Räsänen 1923: 55).

The intensive Mari-Chuvash connection has also led to borrowing of inflectional suffixes. The so-called Mari comparative or modal (both names have been used for this case) has the case suffix *-la*, which is of Chuvash origin. In Chuvash the element *-(l)la* is considered as an adverb (derivative) suffix, not a case ending. It is found in other Turkic languages, too, but it is most frequent in Chuvash (Levitskaja 1976: 114; SIGTJa 1988: 267). Nearly all the functions of the modal case in Mari are calques from Chuvash. A word in the modal is used as an adverbial and it expresses comparison, similarity and manner ('like, as if'), for example, *omsam tïmêrla perkalaš* 'to hit the door like a drum'. Both in Mari and Chuvash this suffix expresses the spoken language, for example, Mar. *marla ojlaš* 'to speak Mari', and the same form can also be used adjective-like: *marla kniŋa* 'a Mari book'. In both languages it can also be joined after local case endings (chaining case endings after each other is not uncommon in such agglutinative languages), and then it expresses approximacy, for example, Mar. *têške* 'hereto' (*tê* 'this' + illative suffix *-škê*) > *têškeŋla* 'this way, in this direction'. In Mari the use of the modal suffix *-la* is broader, because it expresses the valency adverbials of the verbs 'to feel like', 'to seem', for example, *kuŋula koješ* '(it) seems big' (Saarinen 1993: 148-149).

There are two clitics with almost the same form that have been borrowed from Chuvash into Mari. One is *-ak*, western Mari *-ok* (< Chuvash *-aχ*); it emphasizes the part of a sentence to which it is attached. It is lexically almost empty but, through it, focus can be directed on the word. In western Mari, especially, *-ok* is often added after imperatives in order to stress them. The emphatic function has further developed into the meaning of similarity. If *-ak* is added to a demonstrative pronoun, a pronominal adverb or to a word having a pronoun as an attribute, it expresses likeness, for example, *tunam* 'then' > *tunamak* 'at the same time', *têŋaj süret* 'that kind of a picture' > *têŋaj süretak* 'the same kind of picture'. All the mentioned functions of the clitic have been adopted from Chuvash with the element itself. In present-day Mari, *-ak/-ok* has a high frequency (Saarinen 1986: 38-41).

The second clitic has the form *-ak* in both eastern and western Mari, but in the latter it takes part in palatal harmony (*-ak/-äk*). It has been explained as a Chuvash word formation suffix with diminutive meaning (Fedotov 1965: 39; Levitskaja 1976: 141-142). The hypothesis would hold better if there were many Chuvash or Tatar loans among the words that take *-ak*, but unfortunately there are not. This clitic is joined to words expressing what something smells or tastes like, for example, *šer-ak čučeš* '(it) tastes sweet', *kišak üpšalteš* '(it) smells like tar'. Often these words occur in pairs (also in the Turkic languages), for example, *šerak-šopak* 'sweet and sour' (Saarinen 1986: 42-43).

A widely spread and highly developed system, borrowed from the surrounding Turkic languages into Mari and Udmurt, is the so-called aspectual converb construction. In it the action is expressed with a verb in the gerund, and the following finite verb loses its original meaning and only shows the resultativeness or the imperfectiveness of the aspect. In Mari, for example, there are about 40 verbs that are used as such aspectual "markers", as the finite verb of the converb construction. The verb *kajem* 'to go', for example, expresses momentaneous resultative action:

*lūḍān kajâšâm* 'I got frightened' (*lūḍ-* 'to be afraid' + gerund suffix *kajâ-* 'to go' + preterite suffix + personal ending of the 1st sg.). The verb *šoyem* 'to stand' expresses durative irresultative action, for example, *eṇer joyân šoya* 'the river flows' (literally 'river flowing stands'); (Alhoniemi 1993: 135-136). The aspectual converb system is typical of the Turkic languages (cf. PhTF 1959: 420). Among the Finno-Ugric languages it has emerged only in Mari and Udmurt under the influence of Chuvash and Tatar. It is partly overlapping with the rich system of derivational verb suffixes primarily expressing *Aktionsart*.

Chuvash has a verbal noun with the suffix *-ma*; this suffix is of old Turkic origin. The adverb suffix *-lla* (see above) can be added to it, and the result is a neccessive infinitive (or participial) form often serving as a predicate in the sentence, for example, *epě kilmelle* 'I have to come' (*kil-* 'to come', the suffixes have a front vowel because of the vowel harmony); (PhTF 1959: 740). Just as on the Turkic side, the Finno-Ugric languages have an ancient infinitive (or participle) suffix *-mV*. In Mari the corresponding suffix *-mO* has the functions of a passive participle and a verbal noun. When the suffix of the modal *-la* is attached to it, the form is used as a gerund, for example, *tolmâla* '(when) coming' (*tol-* 'to come'). This kind of use is semantically the natural outcome of these elements and does not need to be explained through foreign influence. In western Mari, however, the form *-mâla* is used quite differently: it functions as a neccessive predicate. In grammars it has been called the neccessive infinitive like its Chuvash equivalent. The identical meaning and use of the western Mari *-mâla* and the Chuvash *-malla* can only be explained as a calque from the latter to the former, especially since the Chuvash influence on western Mari has lasted up to the present day. The structure is on the whole, however, not quite identical, because in Mari the agent (subject) in a neccessive sentence always has to be in the dative, for example, W.Mar. *mäläm tištə limälä* 'I have to be here' (*mə-* 'I' + dative + poss. suffix *tištə* 'here' *li-* 'to be' + suffix of the neccessive infinitive), whereas the corresponding Chuvash subject is in the nominative (see above *epě* 'I'); (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 127-128, 139-140).

The borrowing of nouns is less problematic than that of verbs, because although nouns, too, become inflected, i.e. they take case endings and possessive suffixes, they are usually adopted from one language to another in their basic (nominative) form. But what is the "basic" form of a verb for the speaker of another language; is it the stem or the infinitive or perhaps the third person singular (which in the Finno-Ugric languages often lacks a personal ending)? The form in which a verb is borrowed depends on the way it is abstracted. In Mari, verbs of Russian origin are usually adapted to Mari conjugation either by adding an *l* after the Russian infinitive suffix *t* (the palatalization of the infinitive *-t'* vanishes), for example, *kollektiwizirovatlem* 'to put under collectivist management', *želatlem* 'to wish', or usually in western Mari adding a *j* to the stem, for example, W.Mar. *želajem* 'to wish'. The *j* can be interpreted as a derivational suffix, but it may also originate from the *j* occurring between the stem and the personal endings in Russian. The latter way, although now in the minority, is the more original one, whereas the former (adding an *l* to the Russian infinitive) has been normative in the eastern literary language since the stabilization of the orthography in 1937 (Savatkova 1969: 63-64). In Chuvash and Tatar Russian verbs can be adapted morphologically through deriva-

tional suffixes. Often, however, the Russian infinitive (sometimes without the final palatalization) remains as such and after it comes the finite verb 'to do', in Chuvash *tu-* and in Tatar *it-*, for example, Chuv. *služit' tu* 'to serve (in the army)', Tat. *atakovat' itü* 'to attack'. The same system can be found in Udmurt, and it must be interpreted as a calque from the neighbouring Turkic languages. The finite verb of the phrase in Udmurt is *karjñj* 'to do', for example, *mobilizovat' karjñj* 'to mobilize', *atakovat' karjñj* 'to attack'.

In addition to the many loanwords, the close relationship between the Turkic peoples on the one hand and Mari and Udmurt on the other has led to the borrowing of many suffixes. The number of morphological loans is greater in Mari, because the Chuvash influence on it has been more intensive and more lasting. Mari has borrowed not only derivational but also some inflectional suffixes. Besides loanwords and loan suffixes, Mari and Udmurt have also adopted calques from the Turkic languages affecting some of their morpho-syntactic subsystems. Probably the most significant of these is the formation of the aspectual converb construction based on the Turkic model.

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## **New Departures in Dialect Geographical Surveys: The Itoigawa Dialect Atlas, Japan**

*Takesi Sibata and Willem A. Grootaers*

In 1955 Sibata (Takesi) was head of the dialect section of the National Institute for Japanese Language Research (Tokyo). His section was then planning the first national survey of Japan's dialects using the direct method with the aim of publishing a Linguistic Atlas of Japan (LAJ), including 2,400 localities and 300 maps. The work was published between 1966-1974, and in a second edition 1981-1985.<sup>1</sup>

It was during the preliminary surveys of the LAJ that Sibata conceived the idea of treating the area around the city of Itoigawa as a laboratory where the new dialect methods could be tried out and tested. The city and its surrounding villages then numbered 65,000 inhabitants. It is situated on the coast of the Sea of Japan (see map) and because it abuts on the centuries old mountainous divide between Japan's eastern and western dialects and notably its dialectal tones, it was selected for its uniquely strategic location.

The Itoigawa dialect atlas was published in 13 volumes (1988-1995). It comprises 3 vols. of maps, 3 vols. of map analysis in Japanese, 3 vols. of English translation, 3 vols. of materials and an Index. Its price tag of around US \$3000 puts it out of reach of most scholars. I intend to present here the main methods which were used for the first time in Japan. Although the survey team were members of the above Institute, it was conceived as a private project. The team members were Sibata (Takesi) \*1918, Grootaers (W. A.) \*1911, and Tokugawa (Munemasa) \*1930; collaborating for a part of the survey was Mase (Yoshio) \*1927.

### Methodology

The following 15 points summarize our methodology:

1. We undertook a closed mesh survey of all 188 inhabited hamlets within an area of 80 km<sup>2</sup>. In each hamlet we interviewed one native informant of  $\pm 70$  years, the interview being conducted at home; in all three surveys (1957, 1959, 1961) the same informant was interrogated by the same fieldworker.
2. Each fieldworker avoided being in charge of any overlong area; rather a zigzag course was chosen to remove a possible bias of the fieldworker.

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<sup>1</sup> For the history of dialect geography in Japan, see *Orbis* 1 (1952), 6 (1957) and 8 (1959).

3. The questionnaire was improved and enlarged by mapping the materials of the 1957 survey during the year 1958, in order to prepare a new questionnaire to be used in 1959; the same was repeated in 1960 and in 1961 following the surveys of the previous year. This procedure was adopted as a result of Gilliéron's remark that the optimum questionnaires are best made following a survey. Our questionnaire started with the main items of the LAJ questionnaire, and also with some items of local dialect word lists. The published LAJ maps were used to analyze our maps.

4. The "Wörter und Sachen" method used by Jud/Jaberg was applied to the agricultural activities peculiar to the region; tools used as well as sowing and harvesting methods were noted and photographed (133 photographs); this brought to light striking varieties among each of the four valleys of our territory.

5. All inhabitants from the age of 6 to 80 were surveyed in one selected mountain village and in one partially urbanized village on the coast; the items chosen were those that had shown linguistic varieties in the corresponding areas of the 1957 and 1959 surveys.

6. All 112 second-year students of one middle school in a valley were interviewed with a 33 item questionnaire with the purpose of

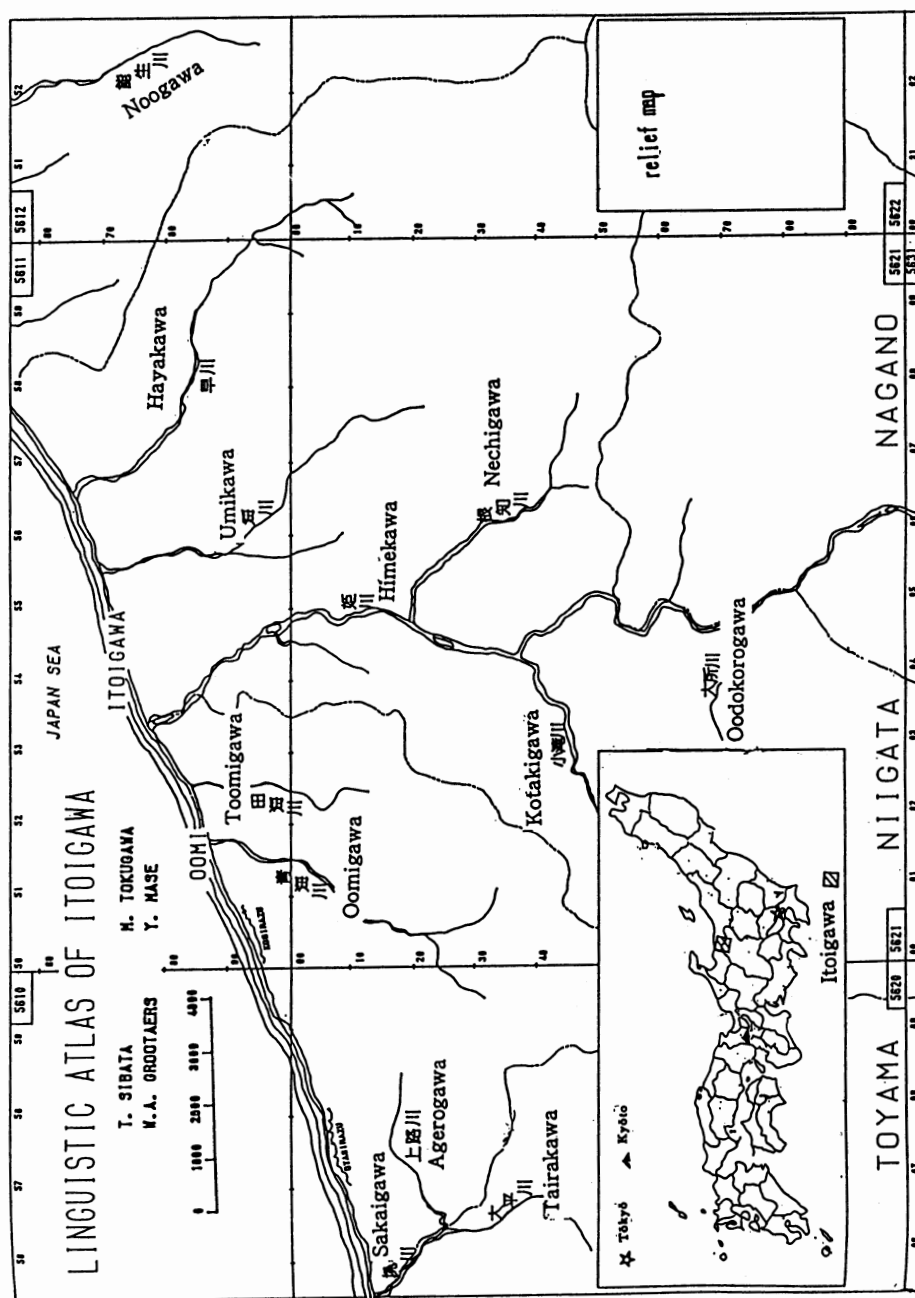
- a) comparing their answers with those of the older generation and
- b) tracing the influence of the students' linguistic life in the three primary schools, the primary school being seen as fostering socially strong hierarchical groups for forging new words.

7. People in all decades of life from 10 to 80 were surveyed in 27 villages in one valley to trace the innovations occurring in each age group.

8. The school districts of the primary schools at the end of the last century were delimited. The survey of the older generation's appellation for their children's games and their names for insects and animals revealed that their lexical usage were still being influenced by their school life from 60 years previously.

9. The influence of the feudal domains that had existed in our area prior to the Meiji era (1867) as well as the various administrative areas determined subsequently between 1867 and 1955 were delineated to probe their influence on contemporary dialects.

10. Once the distribution area of one lexical item had been identified on the map of an earlier survey, during the following survey the same items were asked in a large area outside the usage area. This was done to check on the comprehension of a given dialect word: as a result a large area of comprehension pointed to an eventual progress of the word; a lack of comprehension pointed to a lack of dynamism of the word.



11. The awareness of dialect differences between one's own and surrounding villages was asked for in every locality of one valley. While the answers pointed to the existence of two disparate groups, no objective dialect boundaries could be discerned. Rather the division reflected the existence of two villages at the end of last century, each with its own temples and village feasts, so that the existence of a common life or the lack thereof was interpreted by the informants as pointing to a difference of language.

12. In the case of double answers, the informant was quizzed about the relative age of the answers and about the folk etymology (we prefer to use the terms "synchronic etymology" and "diachronic etymology").

13. Each valley's various forms of the New Year imprecatory song "Against the evil birds" (to protect the crops) was analyzed verse by verse; it proved to be amenable to a dialect geographical treatment and provided us with a key to establishing the local history of folk songs. A further result was that one valley with a certain predominant Buddhist sect refused to use the song.

14. Besides the maps showing the distribution of one dialect item, some maps subdivided some elements of a dialect word revealing some different word systems.

15. The explored area reveals the influence of the neighbouring western dialect (the Toyama prefecture) and especially that of the southern dialect (the Nagano prefecture). The eastern dialects along the coast have a minimal influence. As expected, the city of Itoigawa plays a strong role in the diffusion of new forms.

## Conclusion

Each map is analyzed in great detail and compared with other maps; the text is in Japanese and English; all map titles are in Japanese, English and French and are indexed. Before the definitive publication of the Itoigawa atlas, more than a hundred detailed publications of single maps were published in journals or presented at international congresses. The result was the dissemination of local dialect atlases using the methods described above.

A total of 932 maps were produced in three colours; a database was constructed with all the linguistic information from the 188 informants and managed by the R/base correlated database system. All files were transferred onto a 3.5 inch 2HD micro floppy disk allowing it to be analyzed by any Microsoft Windows operating system (version 3.1). Maps can be selected by title search of the dialect forms by alphabetical order of the phonetic symbols. The selected map is presented on the screen. The initial page of the map explanation book can be found on the screen. Up to seven kinds of data may be overlapped on the same blank map. This allows the recognition of new and broader patterns in the distribution of words, showing the reconstruction of regional dialect divisions.

## DO-Periphrasis in Contact?

*Hildegard L. C. Tristram*

### Preliminary Remarks

The different types of periphrasis involving forms of a DO-verb have received a certain amount of scholarly attention in the study of the syntax of the (Insular) Celtic languages bordering the Irish Sea Province and the Western part of the English Channel. Likewise, the DO-periphrasis in European English, both in the standard language and in the regional varieties, has caught the interest of a number of scholars. I am not aware, however, of a study drawing attention to the fact that DO in affirmative statements is shared by both language groups. This is because scholars of English dialectology rarely concern themselves with the Celtic languages and their dialects. Nor do scholars of the Celtic languages look over the fence and concern themselves with features shared by certain varieties of English, that is, the English Englishes or the Celtic Englishes or even Standard British English. The dialect/sociolect continuum *across language boundaries* has only very rarely caught scholars' interests.

This lamentable situation is, of course, due to the fragmentation of linguistic scholarship in the European academic institutions and the confinement of language studies within the bounds of so-called national languages, a sad but powerful legacy of the 19th century ideology of nation states and their "appropriate" national languages. The postmodern multicultural society with its awareness of mobility, the migration of the labour force, an easy access to intercultural communication through technology, trade and tourism, and the concomitant ease of the exchange of ideas is a much better starting point for the informed study of transnational and interlinguistic shared features.

I started to look at linguistic features common to English and the Celtic languages when Wolfgang Viereck invited me to give a paper at the International Congress of Dialectologists (29 July - 4 August 1990). I pointed out that the well-known initial voicing of the spirants /f, θ, s, š/ in West-Country English is also found in well-defined areas in the Basse Bretagne (Lower Brittany). Moreover, this feature is even characteristic of speakers of Franco-Breton, i.e. of native speakers of French from the Basse Bretagne (Tristram 1995a). I continued to discuss phonological (Tristram 1995b), lexical (Tristram 1993) and grammatical shared features (Tristram 1995c), broadening my scope from West-Country English and Breton to English (standard and regional varieties) and the other Insular Celtic languages. My impression was that dialect isoglosses do not end at national boundaries and easily cross waterways, perhaps even more easily than the land, because in former times,

before the age of steam, electric and jet propulsion, transport by ship or boat was much faster than by horse and wheel on land.

I also discussed competing synchronic and diachronic approaches which purport to account for such transnational shared features: independent derivation from a common source (language), long-term contact influence,<sup>1</sup> Edward Sapir's drift theory (i.e. from the predominantly synthetic to the predominantly analytic type of language), polygenesis and *Sprachbund* theory (Peter Trudgill's "neighbourhood effect"). My own views sided rather strongly with the latter, due, presumably, to the fact that I have been living in Freiburg-im-Breisgau in the south-west of Germany for the past thirty years. Any linguist living in this area cannot fail to observe the manifold intersections between the Alemannic varieties of German (both in Switzerland and in Germany as well as in Alsace, i.e. France) and the regional varieties of French in Eastern France. When one listens to shoppers and day trippers to Freiburg or any other of the larger towns of the "Regio", one cannot fail to notice these intersections. Many isoglosses transcend the national borders as well as the geographical boundaries of the Rhine, the Vosges and the Jura Mountains. Contact between the local people of the Upper Rhine area has always been close and the mobility was high due to the intensive goods production and trade prosperity which has existed since medieval times. Mobility was greatly intensified during the industrial revolution; it was also affected by the frequent change of political boundaries in the German/Austrian-French wars.

In order to honour Wolfgang Viereck's great achievements in the study of the diatopic and diastratic varieties of the English language and the cartographical expression this found in *The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England* (2 vols., edited together with Heinrich Ramisch), I now propose to discuss another syntactic feature which spans an even larger group of varieties of Englishes and the Celtic languages, that is, the use of the DO-periphrasis for a variety of syntactic functions. I will limit myself to periphrastic DO in affirmative statements. For the sake of comparability my approach is semasiological and basically synchronic. I shall start with the DO patterns and then go on to ask what meaning they convey and what their place in the grammatical system is. The diachronic question of when and how these parallel patterns may have arisen – parallel seen from a semasiological perspective – will be addressed in the final section of this contribution to Wolfgang Viereck's Festschrift.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I do not like the terms *adstratum*, *superstratum* and *substratum* as part of the stratum theory of linguistic influence, because they reflect 19th century political views of how language contact takes place. The colonial model of thinking left room only for power politics. Its concomitant linguistic policy was repression. I intend to discuss the stratum model in detail elsewhere and use the less committed terminology of contact linguistics.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to extend my sincere thanks to Sabine Heinz (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin) and Erich Poppe (Universität Marburg) for their interest in the Welsh side of the problem, for providing me with literature at short notice and for their comments and suggestions. All errors are, of course, my own.

## The Data in English and Insular Celtic

### 1. English English

Beside the well-known use of DO/DID forms for the making of questions and negative statements/imperatives, there is also its use in affirmative statements. This is, however, restricted in use when compared to the mandatory status of the DO/DID periphrasis in questions and negative statements/imperatives in all Englishes.

#### DO/DID + INF

##### a) emphasis (stressed)

*Do* sit down!

He *did* say he would be here at nine, didn't he? (GCE § 3.17)

##### b) tense marker (unstressed)

When they *do* meet they *do* always fight.

I *do* mind one time when they *did* call en garden house (Klemola 1994: 33).

The use of DO/DID in affirmative statements occurs in two forms. In most, if not all Englishes, *stressed periphrastic DO/DID* is used as a marker of emphasis. According to my experience, particularly in America, the frequency of the use of this pattern seems to be increasing, so that it is currently losing some of its emphatic force.

*Unstressed periphrastic DO/DID* is limited in its use to parts of the English South-West (for a precision of the regional distribution, see Klemola 1994). It is used as a proleptic tense marker. Its function lies in the simplification of the inflectional forms. Only the inflected forms of DO need to be learned, while the otherwise often complex main verb occurs in the invariable infinitive. The regional distribution of DID as a past tense marker is somewhat more restricted than DO (Klemola 1994: 46).

Ihalainen (1976: 609) has shown that, beside the difference in stress, these two uses of DO/DID relate differently to the position of frequency adverbs. The emphatic use places the adverb in front of the emphasis marker:

We always *did* close the gate.

The periphrastic use, on the other hand, places the adverb after the tense marker:

We *did* always have the wheat and take it in the barn wi good, thick,  
heavy wooden floor.

The *periphrastic* present tense example given above (*When they do meet they do always fight*) shows, by the use of the adverb *always*, that, beside the marking of (the present) tense, also a marking of aspect, i.e. the habitual, is involved here. Periphrastic DO/DID forms have been noted by David Parry (1977: 161), Edwards,

Trudgill and Weltens (1984), Leeds (1974) and others as possible markers of the habitual in a number of other English dialects.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Irish English

### c) aspect marker (habitual)

- |                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| DO + INF (BE) + Compl  | There <i>does be</i> a meeting of the company every Tuesday. I <i>do be</i> at my lessons every evening from 8 to 9 o'clock (Joyce 1991: 86).<br>Some people <i>do be</i> very cute (ibid. xvii). |
| DO + INF (BE) + VB-ing | He <i>does be</i> wanting to shave (ibid. xvi).<br>They <i>do be</i> cheering (ibid. xix).                                                                                                        |
| DO + INF (VB)          | When you put the turf pieces onto the barrow, you <i>do have</i> them in heaps and then you <i>do spread</i> them (Harris 1982: 9).                                                               |

In the scholarly literature, the Irish English use of a periphrastic DO form to give expression to the habitual in the present tense has been much commented upon<sup>4</sup> and is considered by Séamas Moylan (1996: 332) to be "the most significant non-standard aspectual feature" of Irish English. The use of this pattern is restricted, however, in the sense that the examples are limited to the present tense form of DO.<sup>5</sup> Forms with other verbs than BE are not as frequent as those with BE.

There is a competing form of the present habitual formed by an inflected form of BE + compl/VB-ing:

My father *bees* always at home in the morning.  
At night while I *bees* reading my wife *bees* knitting.  
(Joyce 1991: 86)<sup>6</sup>

The two patterns may perhaps be related to different types of anglicisation (Rickford 1986: 262f.).

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, the last two books were not available to me. I quote from Klemola (1994: 46).

<sup>4</sup> One of the latest studies is Ferranti (1995). See her critical discussion of the recent relevant literature.

<sup>5</sup> In my experience, the past tense habitual in IrE is expressed by the use of *would* constructions: "What would you be doing all day?" Ó hÚrdail (1998) also mentions the use of *used* (i.e. without *to*) for the same purpose: "I used get up early". Séamas Moylan (1996: 99) refers to the use of periphrastic DID in Kilkenny IrE: DID + INF: *If I did know it* "(even) if I had known" and views it as an emphatic equivalent of the pluperfect.

<sup>6</sup> Joyce (1991: 87) adds that this "use of *be* for *is* is common in the eastern half of Ireland from Wexford to Antrim".



### 3. Welsh English

Alan R. Thomas (1998), in his account of "The Welshness of Welsh English", does not mention the DO periphrasis in any one of the three uses in affirmative statements singled out above (emphasis, tense marking, aspect marking ('habitual')). He must have reasons for not doing so. It is, moreover, well-known that, due to the fact that the SED research was limited to the English Englishes and did not take account of the Celtic Englishes, it appears as if the use of periphrastic DO/DID stops at the Welsh border. David Parry (1977: 161) and Alan R. Thomas (1985: 214) have shown, however, that its use is common in South(-east) Wales and that, beside tense marking, it also denotes habituality, i.e. the present tense habitual and the past tense habitual. The DO/DID forms are invariably unstressed; the present tense form (DO) is, in contrast to Irish English, always uninflected; it can be used in connection with any verbal INF.

He *do go* to the cinema every week.

He *did go* to the cinema every week (Thomas 1985: 214).

Thomas points out that there are two other competing forms for the formation of the habitual in the English spoken in Wales. In formal speech, the standard forms are common:

He goes to the cinema every week.

He went/used to go to the cinema every week.

Another substandard pattern, beside the DO/DID periphrasis, consists of an inflected form of BE + VB-ing:

He's going to the cinema every week.

He was going to the cinema every week.

Thus, like in Irish English, there are two substandard ways of forming the habitual in Welsh English. In contrast to Ireland, however, both are analytic formations. Thomas takes the BE + VB-ing pattern as an indicator for late anglicisation (predominantly in the West), where Welsh as the source language influenced (Welsh) English as the target language. The Welsh habitual has an inflected form of BOD ("BE") + yn + VN:

Mae ef yn mynd i'r sinema bob wythnos.

*He's going to the cinema every week.*

Roedd ef yn mynd i'r sinema bob wythnos.

*He was going to the cinema every week.*

Thomas takes the DO/DID pattern as a sign for an earlier type of anglicisation. This predominantly affected the old industrial areas of Wales, but also filtered through to rural Brecknock and east Radnorshire from the neighbouring Southern and West-Midlands dialects of English (Thomas 1985: 214).

## 4. Welsh

Modern Welsh has two different types of the use of GWNEUD ("DO") in periphrasis relating to the place of GWNEUD in the clause:

a) GWNEUD periphrasis with *normal word order*: GWNEUD + VN

|                     |                    |                     |                |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (mi)                | (w)na              | i                   | ddarllen       |
| <i>PERSPRON-1SG</i> | <i>do-1SG-PRES</i> | <i>PERSPRON-1SG</i> | <i>read-VN</i> |
| <i>(optional)</i>   |                    |                     |                |

"I'll read"

|                     |                    |                     |                 |                  |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (mi)                | (w)nes             | i                   | fwynhau         | ddoe             |
| <i>PERSPRON-1SG</i> | <i>do-1SG-PRET</i> | <i>PERSPRON-1SG</i> | <i>enjoy-VN</i> | <i>yesterday</i> |
| <i>(optional)</i>   |                    |                     |                 |                  |

"I enjoyed myself yesterday"

b) GWNEUD periphrasis with *inversion* ("abnormal word order"): VN + a + GWNEUD

|               |            |                    |                 |
|---------------|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Talu          | a          | wnaf               | yfory           |
| <i>pay-VN</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1SG-Pres</i> | <i>tomorrow</i> |

"Pay I shall tomorrow/I shall pay tomorrow"

|               |                 |            |                    |
|---------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------|
| Talu          | yfory           | a          | wnaf               |
| <i>pay-VN</i> | <i>tomorrow</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1SG-Pres</i> |

"Pay tomorrow I shall/I shall pay tomorrow" (Thomas 1996: 505)

|                |            |                    |                  |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Darllen        | a          | wnes               | ddoe             |
| <i>read-VN</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1SG-PRET</i> | <i>yesterday</i> |

"Read I did yesterday/I read yesterday"

|                |                  |            |                    |
|----------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|
| Darllen        | ddoe             | a          | wnes               |
| <i>read-VN</i> | <i>yesterday</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1SG-PRET</i> |

"Read yesterday I did/I read yesterday"

a) The GWNEUD periphrasis (with "normal word order") is very common in modern Welsh, both in spoken and in written colloquial expression. Its function is that of tense marking as an alternative to the many synthetic verb forms. The present tense of the GWNEUD periphrasis is used to make a future tense of verbs. The past tense periphrasis is used to make an ordinary past tense. According to Gareth King (1993: 185, 190), the past tense periphrastic form is associated with "a special focus on the verbal action" and the present tense periphrastic form "with the expression of a definite intention or decision on the part of the speaker".

Both tenses are not restricted to affirmative statements; they are also used to make interrogative and negative sentences.

AFF [peri.] *Naeth* Fiona *brynu* car newydd i'w chwaer wythnos diwetha.  
 [infl.] *Brynodd* Fiona gar newydd i'w chwaer wythnos diwetha.  
 "Fiona bought a new car for her sister last week".

INT [peri.] *Naethoch* chi *weld* dyn yn mynd heibio gynnu?  
 [infl.] *Welsoch* chi ddyn yn mynd heibio gynnu?  
 "Did you see a man go past just now?"

NEG [peri.] *Nes* i ddim *cytuno* i'r amodau yn y diwedd.  
 [infl.] *Gytunes* i ddim i'r amodau yn y diwedd.  
 "I didn't agree to the conditions in the end".

This periphrastic past tense pattern is particularly common in spoken Southern Welsh. In North Wales the place of the past tense periphrasis of GWNEUD may be taken in by DDARU (< DARFOD "happen"): *A ddarfu i chwi ei weld?* "Did you see him"? (see Gareth King 1993: 184 ff.).

The synthetic forms are commonly preferred in formal speech and in the written high standard. Gareth King's grammar takes its orientation from modern spoken Welsh and therefore deals extensively with this periphrastic pattern, while Peter Wynn Thomas's (1996) is more conservative and therefore targets the use of the synthetic form (for the more formal occasions).<sup>7</sup>

In the teaching of Welsh as L2, the GWNEUD periphrasis is introduced early in the current teaching material.<sup>8</sup> (*Mi wnes i fwynhau* "I enjoyed myself" is easier to grasp than *mwynheais*. The periphrastic pattern circumvents the many synthetic complexities of the regular and irregular conjugations as well as the special morphosyntactic intricacies of the mutations. For the same reason, the periphrastic form is even extended to the imperative. It is mostly used in situations where (polite) requests rather than orders are voiced (King 1993: 226):

IMP [peri. SG] *Nei di gadw'r peth 'ma'n ddiogel i mi tan yfory?*  
 "Will you (SG) keep this safe for me till tomorrow?"

[peri. PL] *Newch chi roid hwn iddo pan welwch chi fe, os gwelwch yn dda?*  
 "Will you (PL) give him this when you see him, please?"

b) The GWNEUD periphrasis *with inversion* ("abnormal word order") is much less common in modern spoken Welsh. It is largely restricted to formal speech and to writing (cf. Thorne 1993: 326, Thomas 1996: 504-505). It serves three related purposes: emphasis, contrastive focussing and stylistic variation. Sabine Heinz

<sup>7</sup> For the great difference between spoken and formal written Welsh see, for instance, Morris Jones (1993: 23 f.).

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Sabine Heinz for this information. Cf. also King (1993: 184).

supplied me with the following example concerning the answer to a repeated question insisting on whether she really enjoyed herself yesterday:

1. Wnes ti fwynhau ddoe? - Do.  
"Did you enjoy yourself yesterday - Yes."
2. Sabine, ges di hwyl ddoe? - Do.  
"Sabine, did you have fun? - Yes."
3. Neu oedd hi'n ddiflas? - Naddo. *Mwynhau* a *wnes* i, wir!  
"Or was it boring? - No. I *did enjoy* myself, true."

Interestingly, this inverted pattern was very common in Middle Welsh prose narrative,<sup>9</sup> so much so that, in some genres, it can be regarded as the normal, that is, unmarked mode of expression. According to Erich Poppe (1993), about 90% of the Middle Welsh texts analysed in detail so far for basic word order patterns deviate from the Old Welsh and Modern Welsh unmarked word order (VSO).<sup>10</sup> Hence the term "abnormal word order", i.e. because of the (normative) assumption that the basic word order of the Insular Celtic languages is VSO (Evans 1964: 160, Mac Cana 1973).<sup>11</sup> About a third of these "abnormal" patterns are realised by means of the GWNEUTHUR inversion,<sup>12</sup> retaining thereby to some degree the basic VSO pattern of Old Welsh (Poppe 1993: 109). The tense is usually that of the preterite, but there are also instances of the imperfect<sup>13</sup> and the present. That the latter is rare is presumably due to the scarcity of direct speech (i.e. dialogue) material, as Middle Welsh prose is mostly 3rd person narrative.

Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether the function of the Middle Welsh GWNEUTHUR inversion was stylistic or grammatical. This question is usually discussed in connection with the so-called "abnormal word order" in Middle Welsh. Arwyn Watkins (1977/78: 391) saw in it a stylistic device to dramatise the presentation of the narrative. Mac Cana (1991) made a case for emphasis (esp. p. 65 f.); Fife (1986) and Fife and King (1991: 131 f., 144 f.) explained the pattern as an excessive use of topicalisation at the hands of the small class of *literati* writing Middle Welsh. Poppe (1993: 110, 115), on the other hand, saw topicalisation as the "basic, unmarked pattern in positive, main statements in MW prose" (p. 115) and its function as a "special format for continuous neutral narration in which no nominal participant of the verbal action has to be topicalized and where the subject typically

<sup>9</sup> The Middle Welsh DO-verb was GWNEUTHUR, originally a deponent form. By analogy with the regular verbs this became the ordinary active verb GWNEUD in Modern Welsh.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Shisha-Halevy (1995: 149 ff.) with further bibliographical references.

<sup>11</sup> Gaulish, one of the Continental Celtic languages, apparently had an SVO order.

<sup>12</sup> The other two thirds are realised by means of subject and object inversion as well as inversion of the adverbial.

<sup>13</sup> Like French and Spanish, for instance, the Celtic languages distinguish between two morphologically marked past tense forms, that is, the preterite and the imperfect. The imperfect is used to mark background information, also the habitual and/or the durative, progressive, continuous, while the preterite marks the foreground progress of the action.

will be recoverable from the immediately preceding sentence or a fronted adverbial expression" (p. 110). Why the inverted GWNEUTHUR pattern should not be used to the same degree in modern Welsh (prose) is not immediately clear, particularly in view of the fact that it is absolutely common in Modern Breton (see below).

## 5. Middle Cornish

The Middle Cornish equivalent to Middle Welsh GWNEUTHUR is GRUTHYL. It was used in periphrastic constructions both in the normal and in the inverted word order. GRUTHYL was inflected both for the present tense and the past tense.<sup>14</sup>

### a) without inversion

|                     |            |                    |                        |               |
|---------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| my                  | a          | ra                 | y                      | dybry.        |
| <i>PERSPRON-1SG</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1SG-Pres</i> | <i>PERSPRON-3SG-OM</i> | <i>eat-VN</i> |

"I eat it (lit. him)/I am eating it (lit. him)".

|             |                    |            |                |                 |
|-------------|--------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|
| pan         | wruk               | an         | bara           | terry.          |
| <i>when</i> | <i>do-3SG-Pret</i> | <i>DEF</i> | <i>S-bread</i> | <i>break-VN</i> |

"when he did the bread break/when he broke the bread".

### b) with inversion

|                 |           |               |                    |            |                    |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|
| seuel           | war       | tyr           | veneges            | a          | wreth              |
| <i>stand-VN</i> | <i>on</i> | <i>S-land</i> | <i>ADJ-blessed</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-2SG-Pres</i> |

"stand on blessed land you do/you (are) stand(ing) on blessed land"

The examples are taken from Henry Lewis (1923: § 48 (1)), where it is simply said that the GRUTHYL-periphrasis frequently replaced finite verb constructions. It needs further research to clarify the relationship of the Middle Cornish use of the two periphrastic patterns with the prevalent Modern Welsh uninverted pattern and the inverted pattern in Modern Breton (see below).

## 6. Breton

In Modern Breton, the OBER-periphrasis *with inversion* is one of the three ordinary ways of tense formation. The forms of OBER ("DO") may be inflected for all 6 persons, as well as for the impersonal and for the 6 tenses; they are followed by the REL-marker and the undeclinable verbal noun. The REL-marker is commonly elided in modern spoken Breton. In writing, this elision is frequently marked by the

<sup>14</sup> Cornish died out at the end of the 18th century. I adduce its evidence for comparative purposes, in spite of the fact that the data are not strictly speaking synchronic.

use of an apostrophe in front of the inflected form of OBER. Three examples may suffice:

|                |            |                    |             |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Labourat       | a          | reomp              | bremañ.     |
| <i>work-VN</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1PL-PRES</i> | <i>now.</i> |

"Working we do now/we work now".

|                |            |                    |                   |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Labourat       | a          | raemp              | dec'h.            |
| <i>Work-VN</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1PL-IMPF</i> | <i>yesterday.</i> |

"Working we did yesterday/we worked yesterday".

|                |            |                     |             |
|----------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Labourat       | a          | rafemp              | warc'hoazh. |
| <i>work-VN</i> | <i>REL</i> | <i>do-1PL-CONDI</i> | <i>now</i>  |

"Working we would do tomorrow/we would work tomorrow".

While the word order in Modern English and French is (relatively) fixed, in Breton any of the basic syntactic constituents can be fronted: subject, predicate, object and adverbial. When the predicate is fronted, the OBER-periphrasis is mandatory. French-based grammars of Breton say that this construction answers the question: *Petra a reomp/raemp/rafem?* "What do we do/did we do/would we do?" The topicalisation of the VN with the OBER-inversion is very common in Modern Breton as it allows the speaker to focus the addressee's attention on the verbal action rather than on the subject, object or any other verbal complements. I noticed that, in written expression, the pattern is more often used in the 3rd person narrative passages than in dialogue. This reminds one of the situation in Middle Welsh:

Hag an ostizez a lakaas keuneud sec'h dindan an trebez. *Mont ha dont a reas en ti. Skaotañ 'reas ar skudilli, hag un taol skub a reas d'an daol ha d'al leur-di.*  
(Jakez Riou, "Mona")<sup>15</sup>

[The landlady put dry firewood under the tripod. She *ran* (i.e. run she did) about the house. She *washed* (i.e. wash she did) the bowls *up* and *cleaned* (lit. *swept*) (i.e. clean she did) the table and the floor.]

Middle Breton, according to Roparz Hemon (1975: § 158 (" 'To Do' as an Auxiliary")), featured indeed the same pattern of (G)OBER-periphrasis *with inversion* in all tenses and persons. Hemon's examples were taken both from 3rd person narrative and from dialogue. His pronouncements, though, on the status of the (G)OBER-inversion are somewhat confused. On the one hand, he pointed out that its function was that of emphasis and said that "a finite form of 'to do' is frequently employed as an auxiliary with a verbal noun, in the same way as in English (*I do like, I did think* etc.), the difference being that as a rule the verbal noun comes first in Breton." On the other hand, he called the force of the emphasis into question, remarking that "the

<sup>15</sup> Quoted from Denez (1987: 29). *Reas* is 3SG-Pret of OBER ("DO").

construction has become so common that the effect is practically lost" (ibid.). Occasionally, the pattern is also attested without inversion (Lewis and Piette 1966: § 48 (1)). This relates, of course, to the instances noted by Lewis in Middle Cornish and to the common pattern in Modern Welsh (see above).

## Discussion

The overview of the data has shown that the English varieties of the South West, Welsh English and Irish English which feature a DO + INF pattern in affirmative statements are structurally analogous to the Welsh and Cornish GWNEUD/GRUTHYL + VN patterns and also to the Welsh, Cornish and Breton VN + a (REL) + GWNEUD/GRUTHYL/OBER patterns.<sup>16</sup> While the inversion pattern is strongly marked for emphasis and high register in Modern Welsh, this is not so in Breton. We have no data for modern Cornish, as the language died out at the end of the 18th century.<sup>17</sup>

What uses are made of these periphrastic patterns? They can be tabulated as follows:

### *DO-periphrasis in affirmative statements*

|                             | <i>EngE<br/>Standard</i> | <i>EngE<br/>S. West</i> | <i>WelshE</i> | <i>IrE</i> | <i>Welsh</i> | <i>Cornish</i> | <i>Breton</i> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| Emphasis marking            | +                        | +                       | +             | +          | +            | +              | -             |
|                             | stressed                 | stressed                | stressed      | stressed   | (inv)        | ? (inv)        |               |
| Constituent fronting        | -                        | -                       | -             | -          | +            | +              | +             |
|                             |                          |                         |               |            |              |                | (inv)         |
| Aspect marking:<br>Habitual | -                        | (+)                     | +             | + pres     | -            | -              | -             |
| Tense marking               | +                        | +                       | +             | + pres     | +            | +              | +             |

The table suggests a connection between the use of DO/DID patterns for emphasis in English and P-Celtic (Welsh, Cornish (and Breton)). As the Celtic languages have

<sup>16</sup> The INF and VN categories are historically defined. In the historical stages of the English and the Celtic languages, when verbs and nouns were still fully inflected, the basic infinite forms differed morphosyntactically. The "infinitive" (INF) of an English transitive verb took the direct object in the accusative, while in the Celtic languages, the transitive "verbal noun" (VN) directed its object in the genitive. The English infinitive had two syntactically functional inflectional endings *-(i)an* and *-(i)anne*, while the Celtic verbal noun was inflected for all cases. With the loss of inflections, the distinction has, of course, lost its significance. Hence some modern scholars also treat the Celtic verbal nouns as infinitives.

<sup>17</sup> Present-day Revived Cornish has no claim to historical continuity (Payton 1998).

no emphatic stress accent,<sup>18</sup> specific word order patterns need to be resorted to for the purpose of emphasis marking (Watkins 1977/78). High frequency use of the inverted order may have led to a loss of emphasis in Breton, so that the pattern is unmarked today. It looks as if the use of the uninverted periphrasis in Modern Welsh (and Middle Cornish?) may be due to English influence.<sup>19</sup>

There may also be a connection between the DO(/DID) habitual in Irish English, Welsh English and other English dialects. It may be for this reason that Thomas, as noted above, does not deal with the DO/DID habitual periphrasis in his 1998 article on "The Welshness (*sic!*) of Welsh English". The Welsh English DO/DID habitual has its closest congeners in adjacent regional Englishes and not in Welsh.

Tense marking by means of DO/DID and its Celtic congeners is involved in all cases. The inflectional endings, if used at all, are transferred from the verb to the auxiliary, which may then be treated as the only inflected verb. Special is the bare tense marking in the South West of England, i.e. without additional marking of aspect, sentence perspective (for the Celtic languages) or emphasis by means of the stress accent (for the Englishes).

Fronting for the sake of topicalisation is common in the P-Celtic languages; due to the rather restricted word order patterns in Modern English, there are no analogues here. Nor are there direct analogues in Irish Gaelic. Fronting of constituents has to be realised in Gaelic by means of a copula clause followed by a relative clause (Mac Eoin 1986: 32). Fronting of the verb constituent is rare. This pattern surfaces as clefting and pseudo-clefting in Irish English (focussing).

So much for comparing individual analogues of the DO/DID periphrasis. For a more detailed understanding of their respective functions in the languages concerned, one would have to study their place within the *system* of their respective periphrastic constructions as well as the systems of aspectual marking and/or available patterns of constituent fronting. Welsh, for instance, features a particularly complex system of periphrastic constructions of the finite verbal phrase (cf. Jones 1970). Because of the lack of space, a more detailed study cannot be undertaken here. The data collected so far, however, suggest to me that the Celtic source languages contributed little to the semantics of the DO/DID-periphrases in affirmative statements in the Celtic Englishes and of those of the English South West. These seem to be largely indebted to regional English DO/DID patterns and indigenous English tensing, aspect and emphasis marking.

In Irish English, as shown above, the use of periphrastic DO is the most restricted. As there is no analogue in Irish Gaelic, there seems to be an East-West gradient of incidence of the grammaticalised use of periphrastic DO/DID, the foci being English and Welsh.

What are we to make of the thorny problem that neither Old English, nor Old Insular P-Celtic (i.e. Old Welsh/Old Cornish/Old Breton), nor Old Irish for that matter, featured the DO/DID periphrasis (in any systematic way)? It was the later

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<sup>18</sup> This is another feature shared by the Celtic languages and French (cf. Ternes 1993: 310 f.).

<sup>19</sup> The influence of English and French on the remaining modern Insular languages has been researched very little. Political considerations may be held responsible for this lack, I presume.



Middle Ages that saw its *parallel rise*.<sup>20</sup> The foci were again English and Welsh. The GWNEUTHUR periphrasis (in its inverted order) was, however, much more frequent in Middle Welsh prose narrative than the DO/DID periphrasis in Middle English (narrative). Middle Breton texts were mostly verse and, due perhaps to metrical constraints, the pattern appears to have been used somewhat less frequently than in Welsh.

Are we to assume that the periphrasis arose independently both in P-Celtic and in English? Welsh (and Breton) had by then lost most of its (their) nominal inflections, just as English. Both still retained, however, more of their verbal inflections than English did at the time. This may perhaps have been one of the reasons why Welsh (and Breton) took more advantage than English of the new pattern, i.e. for the sake of inflectional simplification. English on the other hand, in all its varieties after the Early Modern English period, then made the greatest use of the pattern, by grammaticalising DO/DID as tense markers in questions and negative statements/ imperatives as well as in emphasis (Engblom 1938, Ellegård 1953). In contrast to their Celtic congeners, DO/DID also lost their personal inflections, except for DOES (3rd pers. sg.), in most Englishes. The structural gap in the realisation of affirmative statements is neatly filled by the English South West (Elworthy 1886, 1879). This seems to be an original innovation, quite along the lines of inflectional simplification and increase in analyticity.

The potential of acquiring an aspectual meaning, i.e. the habitual, seems to have been realised in other regional Englishes. If this developed via DO as a tense marker, as the material from the English South West seems to suggest, then the habitual is an even further progressive innovation. This may then have spread westward to Welsh English and Irish English. The need to distinguish between the present tense and a habitual form in Welsh English and Irish English may, however, have been prompted by contact with speakers of a Celtic language, as their alternative forms for the habitual suggest (WE *He's going* to the cinema every week < W *Mae ef yn mynd* i'r sinema bob wythnos; IrE *He bees* working every day < *blóinn sé ag obair* gach lá).

Clara Ferranti's 1995 study of the rise of the habitual in Irish English rejects both the hypothesis that the DO pattern is a result of influence from the Irish Gaelic or that it is a conservative feature of (historical) English.<sup>21</sup> She makes a case that DO in the Irish English habitual is an independent creative innovation due to the re-analysis of historical affirmative DO as an aspectual marker. While this suggestion is tempting and there is much to say for it, it fails to account for the fact that the pattern is restricted in its use, especially when compared to the Welsh English and English English dialect data. Let me recall that it is limited to the present tense and

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<sup>20</sup> In Tristram (1995c), I pointed out another parallel rise of a syntactic pattern in English, Welsh, and this time also in Irish, i.e. the parallel surfacing of the periphrastic pattern denoting the durative, progressive and/or parative, involving inflected forms of the verb BE + VB-ing (for English) and BE + Prep + VN (for the Celtic languages). In the textual evidence from the first half of the Middle Ages, only the synthetic verb forms were used.

<sup>21</sup> I owe special thanks to Meinolf Bunsmann M. A. (Jena) for his translation of Clara Ferranti's 1995 article into German.

mainly to the combination of DO<sub>(infl.)</sub> with BE + Compl and with BE + VB-ing. Ferranti's approach is a structural one and limited in scope to English only (cf. also Ferranti 1994). The linguistic situation is, however, not as easy and monocausal as she suggests. There seem to have been (at least) two factors in the making of the Irish English pattern: a) re-analysis of DO in affirmative statements, b) and the influence of the Irish Gaelic forms of the habitual, particularly of the habitual of BÍ ("BE").<sup>22</sup>

Incidentally, the same multi-factor process seems to apply to the other Irish English form of the present tense habitual as well: BEES can, of course, be historically related to Old English present tense BEON forms, which conveyed a number of morphologically undistinguished meanings, such as futurity and the habitual. At the same time, the phonetic closeness to the Irish Gaelic BÍ form may have helped to create and grammaticalise the BEES form. *Bees* is, of course, less analytic than *does be* and therefore less progressive in historical terms.

Manfred Görlach's (1998: fn. 2) sweeping rejection of Patricia Poussa's 1990 hypothesis of a possible connection between the periphrastic DO in modern dialects of South West England and the specific use of DO in Irish English and as a possible reflex of a Celtic substratum as "one of those fanciful allegations for which evidence is largely absent", is as anglo-centric in scope as Ferranti's approach. Lack of textual evidence as such does not justify *per se* the wholesale rejection of the Celtic hypothesis.<sup>23</sup> One of the greatest problems of "stratum theory" has been to account for the sometimes large historical gaps between specific forms attested in the source language ("substratum" or "superstratum") and in the target language. In Romance Studies, this gap has been sometimes claimed to be as large as a thousand years (Kontzi 1982: 6 ff.). Forms which surface much later in writing (or in 20th century oral recordings) may have been latent in the oral for a very long time without showing in writing. Long-term survival of Celtic source forms in modern varieties of English cannot therefore be sweepingly rejected. Each individual case needs to be studied in detail and with circumspection.

While I would myself *not* sustain the idea that periphrastic DO in the South West of England and in Irish English are immediately related through the influence from Celtic sources,<sup>24</sup> I would, indeed, see a connection between the rise of the whole pattern of the DO periphrasis as such in the later Middle Ages, both in English and in the P-Celtic languages.

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Téim ar scoil gach lá* "I go to school every day", *Théinn ar scoil gach lá* "I used to go to school every day", *Bím ar scoil gach lá* "I am at school every day", *Bhínn ar scoil gach lá* "I used to be at school every day" as opposed to *Táim ag dul/rith ar scoil anois* "I am going/running to school right now", *Chuaigh/Rith me ar scoil ansin* "I went/ran to school then".

<sup>23</sup> There have always been Celtophiles and Celtophobes in the history of English historical scholarship. The best-known German Celtophile was Max Förster, the editor of the first facsimile edition of the Vercelli Homilies. He knew Welsh. Celtophilia among scholars outside the Celtic lands seems to be nurtured by the command of one or more of the Celtic languages.

<sup>24</sup> If only that P-Celtic and Q-Celtic are much too far apart structurally.

There is no point in asking which came first or which was the giving and which the receiving language.<sup>25</sup> As in all areas whose genetically unrelated languages share linguistic innovations, be it the North-European "Sprachbund", the Balkans' or the Caucasian-Iranian-Armenian one, the prime condition of contact is geographical proximity and intensive cultural *cum* linguistic interaction. The contact situation was particularly close in the Insular world during those three centuries of Norman rule, when French was the language of administration and of courtly literature, Latin of the spiritual culture and the vernaculars the languages of the ordinary people's cultural and every day expression. Mobility was high. Normans, Welsh and English settled in Ireland, French, Welsh and Bretons in England, Normans, English and Bretons (and Flemish) in Wales etc. During the Hundred Years' War, the aristocracy and the English armies were multilingual and multicultural. This seems to have impressed even Shakespeare in retrospection (Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI). Languages in contact may accelerate linguistic development through linguistic interaction, resulting in the simplification of integrated grammatical patterns and in increasing analyticity, that is, in the rise of aggregation instead of integration of grammatical forms. The rise of the DO-periphrasis both in English and in the P-Celtic languages may be due to this contact situation, perhaps resulting from a kind of shared "invisible hand process" outlined by Rudi Keller (1994: 87 ff.).

Each language then developed the potential of this pattern according to its own structural constraints and communicational needs. With England's eventual enforced colonisation of the Celtic countries, the new Celtic Englishes were the result of multi-factor influences, both from different types of Englishes (standard and regional) and from different types of Celtic source languages. It comes as no surprise that Welsh English and even Welsh are closer to English English than Irish English in their use of the DO/(DID) periphrasis. The geographical proximity is so much greater. Breton continued to participate in this Insular "Sprachbund" process through close political and trade connections with the English South West, although from the 16th century onwards it also came under massive influence from different types of French (standard and regional).<sup>26</sup>

My approach, I agree, begs more questions, both for the data listed here and for the methodology, than it answers. But it attempts to set the discussion into a perspective broader than just one's own preferred national variety of language.

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<sup>25</sup> The fact that the Middle Welsh GWNEUTHUR-periphrasis is so much more frequently attested than the DO-periphrasis in English does not preclude that the pattern arose in English first. Genre constraints may distort the view of the historical situation and so may the relationship between and the attitude towards the oral and the written.

<sup>26</sup> I see no point in directly connecting the types of DO-periphrasis in, for instance, the Alemannic dialects of Germany and Switzerland or of the colloquial speech of the Berlin area with the Insular "Sprachbund" phenomenon outlined above. Shisha-Halevy (1995: 210 ff.) makes a strong case for a "contactless non-geographical Sprachbund". The study of such typological convergence may very well be of "purely structural interest". In my understanding, however, "Sprachbund" phenomena relate to people in continued close linguistic interaction. The term "Sprachbund" should be reserved for such contact situations.

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## De la désignation en basque des bêtes stériles

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Ce travail présente les résultats d'enquête sur un canton bien précis du lexique, celui des animaux d'élevage, et plus particulièrement la désignation des animaux qui n'ont pas ou ne peuvent avoir de petits. Les données ont été relevées dans le parler basque d'Ostabarret en Basse-Navarre (basque oriental), canton d'Iholdy en Pyrénées-Atlantiques. Par contre, la masse de matériaux recueillis depuis lors sur tout le territoire basque à l'occasion des enquêtes de l'Atlas Linguistique du Pays Basque en cours n'est pas mise ici à contribution.

Nous ne détaillerons pas la méthodologie de l'enquête qui a été menée de 1985 à 1990 auprès de bergers et éleveurs (Videgain 1989). Parmi les objectifs aréologique, ethnographique et lexicographique c'est à ce dernier que nous allons nous attacher ici.

Nous examinons le contenu sémantique à la lumière de Pottier (1985) et Rastier (1987) et des sèmes spécifiques. Parmi les noèmes (Pottier 1987: 82), ce sont ceux d'"existence", "localisation", "caractérisation" et "modulation" qui jouent un rôle essentiel dans la désignation des animaux domestiques. En effet, cette désignation, outre qu'elle est liée à des critères zootechniques irréversibles (sexe, dents), dépend de la "localisation" par rapport à la production (d'élèves, de lait, de viande, de travail), et donc à des événements, normaux ou accidentels qu'on peut rapprocher des "catastrophes" dans le sens donné à ce mot par R. Thom (1983) en tant que discontinuité. Nous insisterons ici en particulier sur le rôle de la modulation.

Dans ce sens et dans le champ lexical étudié, sont des catastrophes pour l'animal le fait d'être vide, gravide, allaitante, la première fois, la seconde, etc., tous faits de localisation qui peuvent être combinés à la modulation: "pouvoir être gravide", "ne pas pouvoir l'être, provisoirement, définitivement" et ces catastrophes déterminent des désignations essentielles à l'organisation de l'activité concernée.

Par ailleurs, nous tentons de déduire le signifié des lexies de l'ensemble des définitions et contextes obtenus dans le corpus. Chaque occurrence, en parole, est donc respectée dans sa particularité mais n'empêche pas qu'une synthèse, en langue, puisse être réalisée. Nous présentons donc ici une activité "prédictionnaire" selon le terme de Quemada (1987).

Dans la plupart des cas, la définition des locuteurs est "disante" puisque les démarches onomasiologiques et sémasiologiques ont souvent été croisées en cours d'enquête. Nous croyons que ces enquêtes -urgentes- sont encore plus nécessaires dans le cas de langues comme le basque dont la production écrite ancienne est assez faible et marquée par une surcharge d'œuvres religieuses dans lesquelles bien des termes ont une valeur métaphorique ou un emploi très général: par contre les

documents sur la langue technique sont sous-représentés et il est temps encore de les produire avec le concours patient des locuteurs.

Parmi les 63 termes consacrés ici aux animaux d'élevage dans un travail plus vaste, nous avons choisi d'en présenter sept qui ont une relation avec la stérilité ou l'absence de reproduction: 'mulet', 'bardot', 'cryptorchide', brebis n'ayant pas encore porté, 'vide', 'stérile' et 'vache nymphomane'. On remarquera que la liste ne comporte pas que des animaux femelles mais que cependant elle ne prend pas en compte les animaux châtrés ni les bêtes de réforme.

Les huit communes où nous avons enquêté sont: Arhansus, Bunus, Ibarrolle, Juxue, Hosta, Larceveau, Ostabat, Saint-Just-Ibarre.

### 1. 'Mulet'

Le seul terme recueilli partout est *mando* (FEW \**mandia*?) Nous avons relevé aussi *mando-ar* et *mando-khotzo* pour désigner le mâle et *mando-urrixa*, *mando-eme*, *mando-mula* pour désigner la 'mule': *ar* et *khotzo* désignent le 'mâle' générique, *urrixa* et *eme* la 'femelle' générique, une forme recourant à l'emprunt *mula*.

Il faut d'abord expliquer la sémantique: j'entends par 'mulet' seulement le produit de l'âne et de la jument. En français, à en croire le TLF et le *Petit Robert*, il s'agirait du 'grand mulet' par opposition au 'petit mulet' dont je traite sous le terme 'bardot'. Fischer a montré la variation du signifié qui a été assigné à 'mulet' dans le vocabulaire scientifique, avec les termes 'hybride' et 'métis'. Il cite en particulier Buffon qui regrette l'emploi élargi de 'mulet' à tous les êtres, y compris végétaux, marqués par l'infécondité. Le basque recourt au même procédé puisque *mando* sert aussi à désigner un animal stérile (vache, canard; cf. plus loin) ou le 'gourmand' en botanique. Cependant les distinctions entre "infécond", "infertile", "stérile" pertinentes pour les embryologistes, ne le sont pas ici en langue commune qui retient de ces trois concepts le critère /impossibilité de reproduction/ (pour plus de détails cf. Fischer 1981) et ce trait est marquant dans le contenu sémantique de *mando*.

La phraséologie recueillie fait apparaître des connotations négatives. *Mandoa bezain tristeik etzu lurrian*: 'il n'y a rien qui soit plus triste que le mulet sur terre' (Juxue). *Mandoak umeik ez, umeminik ez*, 'la mulet n'a ni enfant ni mal d'enfant' (Arhansus) utilisé aussi à l'égard des célibataires. Sont connotées l'absence d'ennuis mais surtout l'absence de joie, l'idée de fin de race, l'incomplétude. *Zalidik mandorat jeutsi*: 'tomber du cheval au mulet' (Juxue) soit 'aller de mal en pis' (cf. 'de Charybde en Scylla'). *Pikaren umia, pika; astoarena batzuetan mandoa*, 'le petit de la pie est une pie, celui de l'âne, parfois un mulet' (Bunus). *Mandoak umiak egin lezazke, xantza alde baginu*, 'le mulet ferait des petits, si la chance était avec nous' (et ce locuteur – mais pas tous – ignore que quelque ou autre mulet peut n'être pas stérile). *Nahi bauk mando hun bat ukhan, hago mandoik gabe*, 'si tu veux un bon mulet, reste sans mulet' (Juxue). *Nauzu mando at thakaik gabe, beauzu egon gabe*, 'vous voulez un mulet sans défaut, vous devrez rester sans mulet' (Ostabat). *Mandoa bezain zuhurra*, 'chiche comme un mulet'. *Mandoa bezain koska*, 'bourru comme un mulet'. Ce n'est plus la stérilité qui est ici privilégiée mais le sème /origine impure/ qui connote /dégradation/, /décadence/ sur l'axe "résultatif". Sur l'axe de la caractéri-

sation, *mando* est stigmatisé avec sélection du sème /défectueux, vicieux, mauvais/. Je mets aussi au compte de la phraséologie le composé *ahari-mando* (Larceveau), formé de *ahari* 'mouton châtré' et *mando* 'mulet', sans existence en lexique technique et uniquement utilisé comme terme d'injure que je traduirai par 'triple idiot' sans rendre compte de la redondance sémantique où *mando* et *ahari* sont repérés en fonction de la stérilité et de l'incomplétude. Dans l'expression suivante, *mando* ne joue pas un rôle essentiel: *mando hilari, uzkitik olho*: 'au mulet mort, de l'avoine par le cul', en parlant d'une action trop tardive pour être efficace.

Nous ferons observer que si toute la phraséologie de *mando* est négative, le jugement des locuteurs sur la chose nommée, en termes de connaissances encyclopédiques, est partagé. Si fourberie et entêtement lui sont prêtés par le locuteur d'Arhansus, les autres locuteurs en louent les qualités spécifiques par rapport à la vache, au bœuf et au cheval, dont la frugalité, le pied montagnard et l'endurance.

Le verbe monoactant *mandotu* désigne l'action – pour une vache uniquement, pas une brebis – de 'devenir stérile': événement-catastrophe imprévisible et redouté. À noter que ce même verbe peut aussi, hors du domaine de l'élevage, signifier '(s)'ébouler' à mettre certainement en relation avec une autre acception de *mando*: 'crevasse dans les mains' sans que nous saisissons un lien avec le sens technique qui nous intéresse ici, si lien il y a.

En composé, *ardi-mando* ou la forme à palatale *ardi-manddo* (*ardi*, 'brebis') ne désigne jamais la brebis stérile mais seulement une brebis faisant partie d'une race sans cornes. Il n'y a pas là de connotation négative, le terme servant essentiellement à désigner les brebis de race Manech à tête rousse, race caractérisée par l'absence de cornes. Nous proposons d'y voir sélectionné le sème /privation, sans/. La relation que nous pressentons entre l'absence de cornes, l'absence de sexualité complète, l'absence d'agressivité n'est pas explicitée par les locuteurs.

## 2. 'Bardot'

Les données sont lacunaires puisque dans 4 communes sur 7, les réponses manquent et dans trois de ces cas, le référent n'est pas envisageable par le locuteur. Sur les trois villages qui ont répondu, l'un donne *mando*, soit le même terme que pour '(grand) mulet'. Des deux autres, l'un donne *umatxo* (Ostabat), et l'autre *matxo* et *jénitre* (Juxue). On aurait pu penser que *umatxo* était un diminutif de *ume* 'élève, petit d'animal, enfant'. La forme *matxo* montre qu'il faut y voir un emprunt (espagnol *macho*, gascon *màtchou*) et considérer *umatxo* comme le résultat d'une mécoupure.

Pour *jénitre*, le mot est à rattacher à l'espagnol *jinete* dont Corominas dans son dictionnaire a retracé les avatars depuis son origine arabe: du sens de 'cavalier d'élite' puis 'cavalier', il est passé au sens de 'cheval', d'abord 'race de chevaux rapides' puis 'sang mêlé'. Dans ce dernier sens, le sème /fruit d'un croisement/ aurait servi à faire apparaître le terme basque *jénitre* dans ce sens. Tout ceci est à appuyer par un volet historique qui étudierait l'évolution de l'élevage, le concept de race, les mouvements commerciaux afin d'éclaircir une étude synchronique comme la nôtre qui ne fait qu'attester sans plus de la survivance d'un terme.



### 3. 'Cryptorchide'

Tous les locuteurs fournissent une ou plusieurs réponses que l'on peut regrouper en quatre vocables: *barrat* (et les variantes *barretta*, *barreta*, *baretta*, *barrata*, *barratta*); *jenetre*; *khotxo-ta-urrixa*; *batekilakoa*.

*Barrat*: sur le plan sémantique, les locuteurs ne distinguent pas toujours le cryptorchide, congénital, de l'animal mal châtré, tous deux redoutés des éleveurs, soit que la chair est peu agréable, soit que la saillie dont ils sont capables n'assure pas de bons produits. De plus à Bunus, le signifié est encore plus étroit; est appelé *barrata* l'animal dont le testicule gauche est nettement plus petit, ce qui laisse attendre de piètres qualités de reproduction, puisqu'un des critères de choix du bon bélier reproducteur est de posséder un testicule gauche nettement volumineux. Toujours à Bunus, *barratta* désigne aussi clairement l'hermaphrodite. Le terme *khotxo-et-urrixa*, littéralement 'mâle et femelle', paraît être une formule motivée, sinon palliative, pour 'hermaphrodite': on pense aux formations du même type en roman: 'bouc et bique', 'crabibouc'. Quant à *jenetre* relevé à Larceveau pour 'hermaphrodite', c'est évidemment une variante de *jinitre* déjà cité sous 'bardot'.

Il faudrait donc en tirer la conclusion que *barratta* désigne non seulement le cryptorchide proprement dit mais aussi tout animal mâle marqué par le sème /mauvaise conformation de l'appareil génital/.

Un mot de la forme *batekilakoa*, formée du numéral *bat* 'un' et du morphème de déclinaison à l'unitif *-ekila(n)* 'avec'; litt. 'celui qui a un'. Il s'agit donc du monorchide mais cette forme, compréhensible dans le contexte malgré l'ellipse du terme correspondant à 'testicule', relève de l'euphémisme et de la forme palliative et ne semble pas avoir d'existence en langue.

### 4. 'Brebis n'ayant pas encore porté'

Partout la forme recueillie est *antxu*: s'y ajoutent les motivés *axuingabe* et *axuririk gabe*. *Antxu* est à rapprocher certes de *antzu* qui désigne, on le verra plus loin, la 'bête vide', mais la palatalisation n'est pas à mettre au compte de la phonétique expressive et la lexicalisation de *antxu* est complète.

Voici ce que dit de *antxu* le locuteur d'Ibarrolle: *antxua, antxu, erran nahi xi ez arkhaldu, ez axuririk iten, antxu, axuririk gabe, jeneralian urthe bat ezipitu ono*; 'antxu, cela veut dire qui n'a pas été saillie, qui ne fait pas d'agneau, antxu, sans agneau, en général c'est qu'elle n'a pas encore un an'. De cet énoncé définitoire, on peut tirer pour *antxu* les sèmes suivants: /moins d'un an/, /non gravide/ non saillie/ trop jeune pour être saillie/. L'immaturité sexuelle n'est pas certaine comme le montre la glose du témoin de Hosta qui fait intervenir la modalité, sur la bête *antxu* qui "peut" mais ne "doit" pas procréer: *Antxiak axuri gabiak tzu, lehenbizikoak, behian miga bezala, etzie adinik, etzie marroik ukhanik e, axuria in lezakeie bena etzie marroik emaiten hein batetaat artio, puxka at, bestela ttipi baatzen tzu, antxu*: 'les antxu sont les brebis sans agneau, les premières, comme la génisse chez les bovins. Elles n'ont pas l'âge, elles n'ont pas même eu de bélier, elles pourraient avoir un agneau mais on ne leur donne pas de bélier jusqu'à un certain âge, un peu plus tard, sinon elles restent petites; voilà ce que c'est antxu'. On peut donc compléter les

composant sémiques qui précèdent par des indications de modalité: /peut, ne doit pas être saillie/, /peut, ne doit être pas gravisée/.

Sur les formes *axuririk gabe*, 'sans agneau' et *axuingabe* à lire *axuri egin gabe*, litt. 'sans avoir fait d'agneau', il s'agit certes de formes de suppléance explicatives, mais intéressantes par l'emploi de *gabe* qui signifie 'sans' (manque, privation) mais aussi 'avant' en localisation temporelle ou spatiale. Il faut donc comprendre aussi *axuri gabe* comme état d'une bête sans agneau et localisée dans l'état précédent à celui de la production possible d'agneau.

Sur l'opposition *antxu/antzu*, certains locuteurs sont conscients de la relation sémantique, puisque celui de Larceveau déclare: *antxuak antzu behar tzie*, 'les antxu doivent être antzu (c'est-à-dire 'vides')'. Cependant, le contenu sémique de *antxu*, stable dans l'élevage traditionnel, est mis à mal par la conduite d'élevage moderne dans laquelle la jeune brebis peut être gravisée avant d'avoir accompli sa première année.

## 5. 'Vide'

Tous les locuteurs donnent *antzu*, et parfois une deuxième réponse *arthantzu*. J'appelle 'vide' la bête qui n'est ni gravisée ni allaitante, ce qui correspond à la question de l'*Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne* à laquelle J. Séguéy donne pour titre l'étymon latin (pour le gascon) VACIVA.

*Antzu* porte pour trait sémique essentiel sur la localisation un terminatif. *Antzu* est l'état d'une bête "vide", qui l'est provisoirement parce que vide de fœtus et de lait, état passager et passage obligé dans le cycle de production. C'est la grande différence avec *mando* qui, on le verra plus loin, dénote et dénonce la stérilité avérée. Présumer qu'une bête plusieurs fois saillie sans résultat peut cependant au bout de plusieurs saillies devenir gravisée permet de désigner cette bête comme *antzu* et non comme *mando*.

*Antzu* fait problème car il est généralement mal compris, et le traitement lexicographique qui lui est appliqué n'est pas toujours satisfaisant. Dans son dictionnaire, Azkue (1905-1906) donne pour *antzu*: "stérile, femelle non pleine", ce qui en fait constitue deux acceptions bien distinctes. *Antzu* désigne justement, on l'a vu, la femelle non pleine mais qui pourrait l'être. Nous verrons plus loin comment le glissement de sens en lexique commun de *antzu* vers 'stérile' a pu se produire.

La bête qui passe une saison ou deux est appelée *arthantzu*, composé régulier sur *ardi* 'brebis' + *antzu*. D'autres locuteurs recourent simplement à la périphrase *antzu joan* 'partir vide' en parlant de la bête qui part en estive sans avoir produit l'hiver précédent et qui donc fournira moins de lait.

Le verbe *antzutu*, dérivé de *antzu* est souvent traduit par 'tarir' et 'sevrer'. En fait, il signifie 'rendre vide' au sens de 'revenir à l'état d'*antzu*'. Surtout il ne signifie pas 'devenir stérile' au moins dans le domaine technique qui nous intéresse, à l'encontre de ce qu'indiquent de récents dictionnaires.

Certes, dans le lexique commun, le terme *antzu* est très souvent utilisé pour signifier purement et simplement 'stérile', ce qui ne va pas parfois sans contresens. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'*antzu* au sens de 'stérile' mais de 'vide'. Ce qui se passe est que sur l'axe de la localisation, *antzu* dénote un concept de fin de procès (celui d'avoir porté,

discontinu), et le début d'un état statif, qui peut être de courte durée (la durée entre deux gestations), ou se prolonger, la bête "pouvant" porter à nouveau, par association du potentiel et du futur. Cette ambiguïté explique que *antzu* soit appliqué à 'vide' (duratif avec terminatif) et à 'stérile' (duratif sans terminatif). Mais on ne peut pas considérer inversement que *antzu* ne signifie que 'stérile'. Tout animal femelle normalement constitué est *antzu* à un moment ou un autre. Une bête *antzu* est 'vide' ou 'redevue vide' dans le cycle de la production; si le retour à 'gravide' n'a pas lieu, l'état d'*antzu* se prolonge et devient la caractérisation de l'animal: être *antzu*, provisoirement (où 'être' correspond par exemple à l'espagnol *estar*), ne se distingue pas par le lexème de être *antzu*, caractéristique essentielle (espagnol *ser*). La différence de signifié est cependant cruciale.

## 6. 'Stérile'

Les termes fournis sont au nombre de quatre vocables dont le plus souvent représenté est *mando*, déjà cité au sens de 'mulet'. Les autres termes sont *auher*, *puta* et *itzulka ari* .... La question était posée par rapport à la femelle: le mâle est en effet soit châtré, soit choisi justement pour son aptitude à la reproduction, et les malformations éventuelles de l'appareil génital ont été abordées à la question 'cryptorchide'.

*Mando*, qu'il soit substantif ou adjectif, est donc le terme le plus utilisé par transfert à partir du sème dominant de 'mulet': la stérilité. Le terme ne s'emploie que pour la vache, pas pour la brebis. Et *mando* peut varier sur l'axe de la localisation: inchoatif et terminatif. Pour les locuteurs d'Arhansus, être *mando* est pour une bête un fait congénital: c'est la caractéristique prêtée par exemple au free-martin, fait que d'autres locuteurs contestent par ailleurs. Mais le verbe *mandotu* 'devenir stérile' montre aussi que le point de départ peut changer dans le cas de la bête qui cesse définitivement de produire.

Un autre terme donné pour 'stérile' est *auher* qui signifie en langue commune 'paresseux, fainéant'. Il faut le comprendre plutôt ici comme 'bête en état de repos (du point de vue de la reproduction)', 'bête improductive' et non exactement 'stérile'. Dans le corpus, un locuteur parle d'un taureau qui, entre deux saillies, reste *auher*, soit justement 'au repos', ce qui ne signifie pas du tout qu'il soit stérile.

*Itzulka ari*, litt. 'qui est en train de tourner' (itératif), est une périphrase verbale sur l'adverbe *itzulka*, lui-même tiré du verbe *itzuli* 'retourner (en chaleur)'. L'itération est très nettement marquée et ne dénonce que l'une des conséquences de la stérilité et s'applique exclusivement aux bêtes non frigides qui ne portent pas et nous traitons cette lexie à la question suivante. *Putu* sera aussi abordé alors. Les deux termes *puta* et *itzulka ari* peuvent être pris strictement dans l'acception de 'stérile'.

## 7. 'Vache nymphomane'

Nous ne discuterons pas ici l'adéquation du terme en français que nous empruntons au *Larousse agricole*. Sur le plan encyclopédique, si l'homme de l'art explique la nymphomanie chez la vache par la vaginite, la métrite, le dérèglement glandulaire,

la névrose, l'excitation permanente de l'ovaire (kyste, névrose), pour l'éleveur, c'est surtout le comportement de la bête et la stérilité qui motivent la désignation de l'animal avec les termes: *puta*, *putatu*, *zezendu*, *itzulka ari*, *ezinbara-arazizko*, *ezingeldituzko*, *ezinhartuzko*.

*Put*, emprunt transparent est marqué comme vulgaire – comme le français 'pute' – par tous les éleveurs mais le terme est très couramment employé. Nous reviendrons sur la motivation. Les formes verbales *putatu*, 'devenir puta'; *zezendu*, devenir *zezen*, c'est à dire 'taureau', marquent l'inchoatif. De même qu'une bête peut ne pas avoir toujours été stérile, elle peut ne pas avoir été toujours nymphomane et ces verbes signalent le début du processus. Dans le cas de *zezendu*, 'devenir taureau' l'explication est que la vache acquiert un comportement habituellement prêté au taureau; meuglement plus violent, action de gratter le sol du sabot, de chevaucher fréquemment les autres bêtes; caractère ombrageux. On peut y ajouter que dans l'agriculture traditionnelle à traction animale, la bête nymphomane était réputée pour son endurance, sa force supérieure et le fait avantageux d'être ambidextre au joug. Le sème /trop-plein d'énergie/ semble marquer le signifié.

C'est pourtant l'impossibilité à produire qui est marquée par les trois appellations, peut-être explicatives, construites sur la particule modale *ezin*: *ezinbara-arazizko*, *ezingeldituzko*, *ezinhartuzko*. La base est *bara(tu)* et *gelditu*, qui signifient '(s)'arrêter' au sens de 'devenir gravide, commencer la gestation', et *hartu*, 'prendre' au même sens de commencer le processus de gestation. Les trois termes peuvent s'interpréter comme: *ezinbara-arazizko*, 'qu'on ne peut faire s'arrêter'; *ezingeldituzko*, 'qui ne peut s'arrêter'; *ezinhartuzko*: 'qui ne peut prendre'. Dans le premier terme, le suffixe factitif *-arazi* fait référence à un prime actant – le taureau qui saillit et fait 's'arrêter' la bête. Dans les trois formes, la particule modale *ezin* correspond à une négation de la possibilité.

Par rapport à cette notion de /ne pas pouvoir/, le terme *puta* semble connoter aussi /ne pas vouloir/. Une activité sexuelle intense, sans production de petit, est un comportement vilipendé selon des schémas culturels bien connus. Le sème primordial de *puta* pourrait donc être /déviant/.

## Conclusion

Il est temps de conclure sur les termes qui désignent les animaux d'élevage qui ont en commun de ne pouvoir produire et sur les vacillations qui s'introduisent dans les désignations par le biais de cette même modalisation, vacillation présente sur l'espace étudié – espace géographique fort réduit – mais qu'on peut déceler ailleurs en basque. C'est ainsi que la confusion peut réunir sous la même dénomination la bête qui ne produit pas et celle qui ne peut pas produire; les termes *antzu* d'une part, *mando*, *puta*, d'autre part peuvent se chevaucher parce que dans leur sémème, le trait /stérilité/ apparaît et peut être spécifié comme /définitif/ ou /transitoire/ et donc difficile à borner. La modalisation joue donc un rôle important pour entourer d'un halo des désignations dont le sémème subit une plus ou moins grande expansion sur l'axe de la localisation: le terme *antzu* en est la meilleure preuve autour des moments: 'être saillie, être gravide, retourner en chaleur', 'sevrer' et 'tarir'.

Inversement un terme comme *mando* peut désigner le 'mulet' mais aussi la 'bête stérile' plus généralement, et *jenitre* le 'cryptorchide' comme le 'bardot'.

Pour finir, je voudrais marquer que si la modalité a des limites dans le jeu des désignations, elle est cependant un élément important dans l'ordonnement de ces mêmes désignations en contribuant à resserrer la maille du filet sémantique. Outre les notions zootechniques d'âge et de sexe, normalement attendues dans la désignation des animaux d'élevage, la modalisation apporte un critère de détermination supplémentaire grâce au jeu de questions: une bête produira-t-elle? peut-elle produire? est-elle en train de produire? l'impossibilité est-elle congénitale? définitive? durable? transitoire? Les réponses à ces questions permettent comme sur une carte de donner les coordonnées de chaque désignation avec une assez grande précision malgré quelques zones floues. Il va sans dire que cet ordre est lié aux besoins techniques et au savoir encyclopédique des locuteurs, mais ordre il y a.

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### Extraits du corpus:

*antzu*, 'bête vide' (Arhansus): "*Berdin zuk estelaazi eta ez ikhusten gehio susara eta iten duzu; ernari diat, ba bena gio berdin bost ilaeteen burian, ikhusten balinbada susara, to antzu diat, ordian antzu behia, antzu zure behia .... ah etzu bethiko eh, izaiten ahal duzu behi bat bost ilaeteen burian, to antzu diat, behia antzu at berdin susaltzen duzu eta berriz estelaazten berriz ernari izaiten ahal duzu*": "Aussi bien, vous l'avez faite saillir et vous ne la voyez plus en chaleur et vous faites: tiens, elle est pleine, oui mais ensuite tout aussi bien

au bout de cinq mois, si vous la voyez en chaleur, tiens elle est *antzu*, alors la vache est *antzu*, votre vache est *antzu* .... Ah, ce n'est pas pour toujours hein, on peut avoir une vache au bout de cinq mois, tiens, elle est *antzu* et elle revient en chaleur et on la fait saillir à nouveau et elle peut à nouveau devenir pleine" (la traduction neutralise les formes allocutives de vouvoiement).

*antzu*, 'bête vide' (Bunus): "*Antzua erten duzu behia umia berriz iteko preseski*": "De la vache vous allez dire qu'elle est *antzu* justement quand elle est prête à faire un petit (c'est à dire à devenir gravisée)".

*antzu* 'bête vide' (Ibarrolle): "*Ah, antzu aatxerik tripan gabe, aatxerik etxi tripan, edo etxi esneik e*": "Ah *antzu*, c'est qu'elle est sans veau dans le ventre, elle n'a pas de veau dans le ventre, ou bien encore elle n'a pas de lait".

*antzu* 'bête vide' (Juxue): "*Antzu, ezta bera ...., menturaz urthiain burian ernari izanen da. .... Xaz antzu zian, aurthen ez, beste urthian antzu, to aldiz bethi marroaekin zen*": "*antzu*, ce n'est pas pareil, peut-être au bout d'un an elle sera gravisée ... L'an dernier, elle était *antzu*, pas cette année: l'an dernier, elle était *antzu*: pourtant elle était toujours avec le bélier". "*Badira mandoak, badira antzu direnak, urthe guzietz*": "Il y en a des stériles, il y a en a qui sont *antzu* tous les ans".

*antzu* 'antzu vide' (Larceveau): "*Antzu hutsa, oai ahatxi khendia eta ez arra-estalaazia, antzu uzu hua*": "*Antzu*, elle est vide, maintenant on lui a enlevé le veau et on ne l'a pas faite saillir à nouveau, celle-la est *antzu*".

*barrata* 'hermaphrodite' (Bunus): "*Ba tzu urrixak, umeik iten ez tuztenak, xilhoa pixiteko xilhoa giilian bitue, antziniain beharrik, zerri khotxoak, oai eta pixiten ari delaik duzu ageri hala dela, beitableko urrixa balinbada segidan pixiten tzie*": "Vous avez des femelles, qui ne font pas de petits, le trou pour uriner, ils l'ont derrière au lieu de l'avoir par avant, les porcelets mâles, par contre, et quand il urine vous vous rendez compte de ce qu'il est, si c'est une véritable femelle, elle urine de façon continue" (où le texte n'est pas d'une clarté parfaite).

*barreta*, *barretta* 'hermaphrodite', 'monorchide', 'cryptorchide' 'bélier dont le testicule gauche est plus petit' (Bunus): "*Barreta, marroindako erten tzu, ba ba, barreta erten duzu, frangotan axurian etzira ohartzen*": "*Barreta* on le dit du bélier, souvent quand il est encore agneau de lait vous ne vous en rendez pas compte .... "*Barretta erran nahi izi koxkoil bat bezik eztieta*": "*Barretta* cela veut dire qu'il n'a qu'un testicule"; "*Ba marroetan barrabilak ea gerthatu zuzu bat aise handio bestia beno, eh exkerreko balinbada handio huna uzu marroa, ttipio balinbadu eskuinekoa beno, hau barratta uzu hua*": "Et chez les béliers les testicules, cela arrive que l'un soit nettement plus grand que l'autre, et si celui de gauche est plus gros le bélier est bon, mais si celui de gauche est plus petit que celui de droite ce bélier-là est *barratta*".

*baretta* 'cryptorchide' (Hosta): "*Baretta, ba baretta erten zizien lehen, ezpitakit nik, ah barnian dizi ba, komunzki hua*": "*Baretta*; oui *baretta* on le disait autrefois, c'est que je ne sais pas, ah en général il l'a (le testicule) à l'intérieur, oui".

*behotatu* et *zezendu* 'devenir nymphomane' (Arhansus): "*Orroaz hasten zuzun ta lehen hori iten zizien behi(ek) ... ordian zizien erten behotatzin, erten zizien lehen, ordian ikusi zit baño aldi batez, umeik etzin iten gehio, aatxeik etzin iten et orroaz puxkat at hasia eta huntan lurrari kharrakan eta jender so, zezinak e hola bitira re hanitz iten dienak, zezentzen, zezentzen puxka at, zezena bezala*": "Elle commençait à mugir très fort, et autrefois elles faisaient cela les vaches ... c'est alors qu'on disait *behotatzin*, alors j'en ai vu une fois, elle ne faisait plus de petit, elle ne faisait plus de veau, et elle commençait à mugir un peu, et elle commençait à racler le sol du sabot et à fixer les gens, et comme les taureaux

souvent font la même chose, on dit qu'elle devient taureau *zezendu*, un peu *zezendu*, comme le taureau (*zezen*; 'taureau')".

*itzulka*, 'retourner fréquemment en chaleur' et *mando* 'stérile' (Ostabat): "*Ba tzu itzulka ari diren behiak, hek mandoak deitzen tzu gio*": "Il y a des vaches qui reviennent sans cesse en chaleur, ces vaches-là ensuite on les appelle *mando* (stériles)".

*mando* 'stérile' et *mandotu* 'devenir stérile' (Arhansus): "*Lehen joaiten zinen eztiakizut zomeit aldiz zezeneat et ezpazen hartzen: to hori mandotiauk, ordian, mandoa, saltzeko zindien .... nik uste mandotzen zena etzen gehiago susaltzen bate*": "Autrefois vous alliez je ne sais combien de fois au taureau et si elle ne prenait pas (= ne devenait pas grévise): tiens, celle-ci elle est *mandotu*, alors elle était *mando*, vous l'aviez pour vendre .... A mon avis, celle qui était *mandotu* ne revenait plus du tout en chaleur".

*puta* 'nymphomane' (Ibarrolle): "*Behi-pare hunak, azkarrak eta putak, sekhulan, bethi uztarretik laxatzian aldi guziz elgar gainkatzen zixien gisala, eta etzixien, etzixun aspaldian, eta idien pareko behiak zitxun ezipitute umeik iten eta azkar bitziren eta*": "les bonnes paires de vaches, fortes et *puta*, à chaque fois qu'on les déliait du joug elles se chevauchaient, paraît-il, il n'y en avait plus, et c'étaient des vaches égales aux bœufs parce qu'elles ne font pas de petits et qu'elles sont très fortes".

## Aspects of the Adaptation of Loan-words in Gaelic

*Seosamh Watson*

The languages here conveniently referred to as Gaelic comprise the Irish, Scottish, and Manx varieties of the Goedelic branch of the Celtic language family. They descend in common from the OI stage of the language (8th - 10th centuries of our era) with major isoglosses (O'Rahilly 1972: 113-60) distinguishing the branch to which Scottish Gaelic and Manx belong from that of Irish – and, indeed, the various dialects of the two main languages themselves. These isoglosses date to the centuries immediately after this time (the MI period and commencement of the EMI period (Jackson 1951). Manx which will not be included in this discussion became extinct as a vernacular earlier in the present century, while Scottish and Ir. Gaelic have been in serious decline as community languages for over two centuries and, though spoken in medieval times over virtually the whole of the national territories in question, are now (Watson 1989: 41-60) confined largely to small isolated populations on the northern and western seaboard and a number of the more remote inland areas, as well as to emigrant communities in the towns and cities of Ireland, Britain and North America.

Among the strata of loan-words to be found in these languages are, most notably, those from Latin, Old Norse, Anglo-Norman and English. As borrowings from Latin occurred mainly during the older period these will be ignored here. Norse loans entered during the period of Scandinavian settlement in, and trade with, Scotland and Ireland, while those from Anglo-Norman belong to the period before this language was replaced by English as the dominant language of the Anglo-Norman and Norman-Scottish aristocracies. It is, of course, as has been pointed out by previous researchers (Risk 1970-71: 593) difficult to decide which of the two languages may have been the origin of particular loan-words found in the Gaelic languages, on account of the similarity of the forms in Anglo-Norman and Middle English, e.g. Ir. *plás* 'place', *sórt* 'sort', *stór* 'store'. The nature of the present contribution will be to examine some features relating to the adaptation of loan-words in order to make them conform to the requirements of certain aspects of the phonology and morphology of the Gaelic languages.

On account of two features in particular, special challenges were presented by the consonantal system of Gaelic to the integration of loan-words. In the first instance, the system was pervaded by a palatal ~ velar dichotomy and, in the second, a system of morphophonemic mutation of initial consonants operated upon it (Watson 1983b: 101). We will examine the effects of the palatal ~ velar classification in the first place. Table 1 presents the conventional consonantal inventory for the language in its early modern period. In this schema *y'* will have been realized as a voiced palatal approximant and *v/v'* were probably bilabial, while the upper case



nasals, liquids and vibrants represent fortis varieties of velarised or palatalised sounds. As will be made clear when the system of initial mutations is discussed, the lenited counterparts of these sounds – represented by lower case letters – were traditionally excluded from word-initial position in the radical forms of words, that is the forms unaffected by initial mutation, as were voiced fricatives and the voiceless fricatives and laryngeal of columns 7-9.

### Consonantal Phoneme System of Early Modern Irish

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|          |           |  |          |          |           |           |           |  |          |          |
|----------|-----------|--|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|----------|----------|
| <b>p</b> | <b>p'</b> |  | <b>t</b> |          | <b>t'</b> |           | <b>k'</b> |  | <b>k</b> |          |
| <b>b</b> | <b>b'</b> |  | <b>d</b> |          | <b>d'</b> |           | <b>g'</b> |  | <b>g</b> |          |
| <b>f</b> | <b>f'</b> |  | <b>s</b> |          | <b>s'</b> |           | <b>x'</b> |  | <b>x</b> | <b>h</b> |
| <b>v</b> | <b>v'</b> |  |          |          |           |           | <b>y'</b> |  | <b>y</b> |          |
| <b>ṽ</b> | <b>ṽ'</b> |  |          |          |           |           |           |  |          |          |
| <b>m</b> | <b>m'</b> |  | <b>N</b> | <b>n</b> | <b>n'</b> | <b>N'</b> | <b>ŋ'</b> |  | <b>ŋ</b> |          |
|          |           |  | <b>L</b> | <b>l</b> | <b>l'</b> | <b>L'</b> |           |  |          |          |
|          |           |  | <b>R</b> | <b>r</b> | <b>r'</b> | <b>R'</b> |           |  |          |          |

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Table 1

In the case of a loan-word entering Ir., generally speaking where a high or mid front vowel was preceded or followed by a consonant or consonant cluster such consonants were interpreted as belonging to the palatal category, as is illustrated by the following words which will be recognizable from their modern English forms: **p'í:k'ə** *píce* 'pike', **k'el'p'** *ceilp* 'kelp', **d'í:n'ət'** *dínit* 'dignity', **t'es't'** *teist* 'testimony'. Loans in which consonants involved were perceived as non-palatal are exemplified by **boRd** *bord* 'board', **ko:tə** *cóta* 'coat', **dromə** *druma* 'drum', **Lo:d** *lód* 'load'; while the following illustrate loans containing consonants of either quality: **k'irkəl** *ciorcal* 'circle', **ku:p'e:r'** *cúipéir* 'cooper', **d'r'is'u:r** *drisiúr* 'dresser', **t'ed'al** *teideal* 'title'.

As there were apparently no affricates in the language during the pre-modern period and since, with the exception of **f/f'**, **s/s'**, fricatives – as well as **h** and **j** – were largely excluded from initial position in radical forms of Ir. words, we will examine at the outset the treatment of loans containing such initials. In the first instance, commencing as early as the period of Norman contact, a number of the palatalized series of consonants were employed in place of fricatives in such loan-words. **s'**, for example, was equated with **ʃ** in AN, e.g. *seomra* *chaumbre* 'room', and Eng., e.g. *seilf* 'shelf' and *seift* 'shift'. This equivalence need hardly surprise us since the Ir. sound appears to have developed a palato-alveolar pronunciation as early as

the 13th century (cf. O'Rahilly 1930: 160). For this very reason, no doubt, it also did service for AN **ts** in loan-words such as *sisél* < cisel, *siúcra* < z/sucre and **ʒ**, as in *seighléir* < jailer. The Eng. affricates **tʃ** and **dʒ**, where they occurred in loan-words, were also generally rendered by **s'** up to the end of the EMI era, as the two commonly used proper names *Séamas* < James and *Séarlas* < Charles indicate. The functional load of this sound in loans, as can readily be appreciated, was quite heavy since it could represent not only *s*- in contact with high or mid front vowels but also varieties of dental/alveolar fricatives as well as the corresponding affricates.

Another palatal phoneme which was sometimes substituted for the affricate **dʒ** was **g'**, cf. the name *Geróid* < AN Geraud (presumably borrowed before the French sound developed to the fricative **ʒ**, since the initial of another name borrowed from AN, Johan, shows initial **s'** in its Ir. forms). Certain English loans with initial affricate **dʒ** were also rendered in this fashion, e.g. *giota* < jot, *geit* < jet. Intervocally the cluster **t's'** represented AN and Eng. affricates, cf. *páitse* < AN page. This sequence was subject to regular metathesis (Risk 1970-71: 644, 647) in the language, hence *Risteard* < AN Richard, as well as the numerous forms in final *-iste*, such as *cúiste* < ON *cuche*, and numerous forms of the type *caráiste* < AN *cariage*, deriving ultimately from AN morphemes in *-age*, etc.

In Scottish Gaelic the palatalized dental stops had developed in very many dialects to affricates, i.e. **d' > dʒ**, **t' > tʃ** (O'Rahilly 1972: 203-4), so that it became natural to equate these affricates with their counterparts in Eng., hence the common names *Deòrsa* (beside *Seòras*) < George and *Teàrlach* < Charles, as well as other forms such as *diosd* 'jump', cf. Scots *jisk* (Grant and Murison 1986: 461). Dialectal variants such as *Seòras* ~ *Deòrsa* and *seacaid* ~ *deacaid* (< Eng. jacket) most likely represent earlier as against later borrowings of the same word. A similar development of palatalized dental stops to affricates took place in varieties of N. Irish and parallel equations occur here in the case of contemporary borrowings, such as **t'**: *chain*, *China*, **d'**: *Joe*, *John*, although these are not reflected in neologisms in the standard language.

As far as rendering the fricatives **h** and **j** of loans was concerned the system of initial consonant mutation or replacement exerted a major influence and we turn now to look at this. Although, as a phenomenon, initial mutation is present in all the Neo-Celtic languages and was clearly in operation well before the commencement of the OI period (8th Century AD), no evidence for the existence of such a feature is noted from records of early Celtic. Parallel juncture phenomena are encountered near to home in some modern Romance dialects, e.g. Tuscan, cf. Greene (1966: 21) as well as in languages further afield, e.g. Uralic, in varieties of Samoyed, and in Nivkh in the Sakhalin region (cf. Comrie 1981: 117, 267-8). Such mutations have their origin in sandhi features which evolved to the stage where, with the disappearance from a preceding word of the historical final element originally responsible for mutation of a following initial, the mutation itself has become a morphological marker, as, for example, in Modern Ir. to indicate the independent form of the past tense, e.g. **b'i**: 'be-IPV-2-PERS-SG' ~ **v'i**: 'be-PAST-INDEP'.

In the Gaelic languages there are 2 major mutations: lenition and nasalization. By the first process a particular consonant is replaced by another, usually phonetically similar, consonant of laxer articulation, so that, for instance, stops become

fricatives; liquids, nasals and vibrants are characterized by a lack of tension in their articulation; and **f/f'** are deleted, e.g. Mod. Ir. **bo:** *bó* 'cow' ~ **ə vo:** *a bhó* 'his cow'. This mutation finds its origin in the phenomenon of historical lenition, or weakening, of consonants intervocalically which, together with parallel developments giving rise to the other initial mutations, operated at the level of the phrase as well as the word, cf. Common Celtic \**knāmis* > OI *cnáim* [kna:ĩ'] 'bone', Common Celtic \**klokā trumbā* > OI *cloch thromm*. 'heavy stone'. The second major mutation, nasalization, introduces an element of voicing into most voiceless consonants while, in the case of voiced consonants, a change in the type of articulation occurs whereby stops acquire a continuant quality, being replaced by the homorganic nasal, e.g. Mod. Ir. **bo:** *bó* 'cow' - **ə mo:** *a mbó* 'their cow'. Initial vowels are also affected by this mutation in that they have a nasal consonant prefixed. This in itself indicates the historical origin of the phenomenon, i.e. final *-n* of preceding element preserved before a following vocalic initial, e.g. Prehist. Irish \**iNdan ex<sup>W</sup>an* began > OI *in n-ech mbecc* literally 'art-ACC-SG horse-ACC-SG little-ACC-SG' (examples from McCone 1994: 77, 83).

Table 2 shows the effects of these two principal types of initial mutation as reconstructed for the Early Modern period of the language. This system has, of course, been subject to some shifting in the modern dialects. The radical palatal \**R'* been merged with one of the other vibrants in all modern dialects and the four-way oppositions in the case of the laterals and nasals have likewise been reduced in the great majority. In Scottish Gaelic nasalization has been largely remodelled but that the modern systems in that language replaced one similar to that shown above is amply confirmed by various survivals in the language, such as *gu ma* < *go mbudh*, *a-bhus* < *i bhfos*, *cha d[t]éid*, *air n-aghaidh*. There are two additional varieties of initial mutation which find their own origin in the effects of historical lenition on the definite article and other (quasi-)proclitics, exist in Gaelic languages. These are prefixation of *t-* to initial vowels or its substitution for initial *s-*; and prefixation of *h-* to initial vowels. The former mutation which also dates from the prehistoric period of the language results from either (a) final *-s* of a form of the article, lenited to *h-* before a following vocalic initial or (b) through the vocalic final of the article leniting the initial *s-* of a following substantive. The one case with internal syncope and the other with final apocope respectively, of the article, produced the form *int*, cf. (a) Common Celtic \**sindos ek<sup>W</sup>os* > Prehist. Irish \**indah ex<sup>W</sup>ah* > \**ind hex<sup>W</sup>* > OI *int ech* 'art-NOM-SG horse-NOM-SG'; (b) Common Celtic \**sindā sūlis* > Prehist. Irish \**ind hūl'* > OI *int síul* 'art-NOM-SG eye-NOM-SG' (McCone 1994: 119). Prefixed *h-* also traces its origin to final *-s* in other forms of the article and other proclitics lenited during the prehistoric period of the language, viz. Common Celtic \**sindās* > Prehist. Irish \**iNdāh*, etc., cf. \**iNdāh elēdīh* > *iNdā hel'ed'ī* > OI *inna [h]eilti* 'art-NOM/ACC-PL hind-NOM/ACC-PL' (McCone 1994: 83).

A glance at Table 2 will readily show, as far as initial consonants are concerned, that, while certain fricatives such as **f/f'**, **s/s'** appear in radical forms of words, others, such as **h**, and **y'**, and particularly, the fricatives **y**, **v/v'**, are confined to mutated forms of words. This produced a situation in the Gaelic languages whereby borrowings with initial **v**, **j** or **h** in the language of origin would have been perceived as mutated forms – indeed, given the frequency of such forms in the Gaelic

languages, it will undoubtedly have been the case that mutated forms will have been required by the rules of syntax from the outset in the deployment of these new items of vocabulary. As a result, such forms would presumably have given rise quite quickly to remodelled radical forms with fricatives, etc. normally being replaced by varieties of consonants drawn from the radical class. The following examples indicate the nature of the process: **v** > **b(/m)**: AN *vitaille* > *bitaille*, *voute* > *bobhta*, *warde* > *barda*; Eng. *warant* > *baránta(s)*, *waist* > *básta*, *wage* > SG *bàidse*, *warning* > *bàirlinn* and, with influence from the native *mála* 'bag', *wallet* > SG *màileid*.

Reconstructed System of Initial Mutations  
(Lenition and Nasalisation) in Early Modern Irish

|           |          |           |          |             |           |          |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------|-----------|----------|
| radical   | <b>p</b> | <b>p'</b> | <b>t</b> | <b>t'</b>   | <b>k'</b> | <b>k</b> |
| lenited   | <b>f</b> | <b>f'</b> | <b>h</b> | <b>h/x'</b> | <b>x'</b> | <b>x</b> |
| nasalised | <b>b</b> | <b>b'</b> | <b>d</b> | <b>d'</b>   | <b>g'</b> | <b>g</b> |
| radical   | <b>b</b> | <b>b'</b> | <b>d</b> | <b>d'</b>   | <b>g'</b> | <b>g</b> |
| lenited   | <b>v</b> | <b>v'</b> | <b>y</b> | <b>y'</b>   | <b>y'</b> | <b>y</b> |
| nasalised | <b>m</b> | <b>m'</b> | <b>N</b> | <b>N'</b>   | <b>ŋ'</b> | <b>ŋ</b> |
| radical   | <b>f</b> | <b>f'</b> | <b>s</b> | <b>s'</b>   |           |          |
| lenited   | <b>Ø</b> | <b>Ø</b>  | <b>h</b> | <b>h/x'</b> |           |          |
| nasalised | <b>v</b> | <b>v'</b> | <b>s</b> | <b>s'</b>   |           |          |
| radical   | <b>m</b> | <b>m'</b> | <b>N</b> | <b>N'</b>   |           |          |
| lenited   | <b>ṽ</b> | <b>ṽ'</b> | <b>n</b> | <b>n'</b>   |           |          |
| nasalised | <b>m</b> | <b>m'</b> | <b>N</b> | <b>N'</b>   |           |          |
| radical   |          |           | <b>L</b> | <b>L'</b>   |           |          |
| lenited   |          |           | <b>l</b> | <b>l'</b>   |           |          |
| nasalised |          |           | <b>L</b> | <b>L'</b>   |           |          |
| radical   |          |           | <b>R</b> | <b>R'</b>   |           |          |
| lenited   |          |           | <b>r</b> | <b>r'</b>   |           |          |
| nasalised |          |           | <b>R</b> | <b>R'</b>   |           |          |

Table 2

Initial **j** in loans, which in the oldest period was rendered by use of **i:**, as in OI *Ísu* 'Jesus', or through one of a small number of diphthongs such as **iu**, **iu:**, which were fairly rare in the language, e.g. OI *Íudaide*, 'Jew', 17th century Biblical Ir. *iubhaile* 'jubilee', came, in the Early Modern period, to be equated with **y'**. This led to delenition and remodelling of the radical to produce initial **g'**: Eng. yeast > *giosta*, yeoman > *giomanach*. In the case of loan-words in initial **h**, these were interpreted in one of two ways. According to the first, the **h** will have been understood as the mutational prefix *h-* and a remodelled radical produced simply by removing the **h**, as, in the case of the AN loans *habit* > *aibid*, *heir* > *eighir*, and Eng. *hat* > SG *ad*, *haddock* > *adag*. An alternative analysis will have resulted in the recognition of the laryngeal initial as a lenited dental stop or sibilant calling for delenition in order to arrive at the corresponding radical form. Early examples of this phenomenon are OE *heafoc* > OI *sebocc* 'hawk' and ON *dat. Hjaltlandi* > SG *Sealtainn* 'Shetland', cf. Oftedal (1956: 120). Though it does not seem to feature in the adaptation of AN loans in Irish, this second process which was in operation from the Norse period onwards, as borrowings such as *tàbh* < ON *hafr* and *tòb* < *hop* (acc.) show, is familiar enough in handling English borrowings in both SG, cf. *haggis* > *taigeis*, *hogshead* > *togsaid*, *halbert* > *taileabart*, *hall* > *talla*, and Irish, cf. *hap* > *tap*.

Since initial **f/f'** in loan-words was subject to interpretation not only as a radical initial but also as lenited initial **p/p'**, it is not surprising to encounter borrowings in which an unhistorical **p/p'** has replaced the original initial, cf. AN *fardel* > *pairdél*, *flur* > *plúr*, *Fraunceis* > *Proinnséis*, *fri(re)* > *pri(áil)*, Eng. *fenc(ing)* > *pionsa*. Of other fricatives in English, **θ** was normally rendered by one or other of the stop consonants **t/t'** (although **s** is also very rarely found in SG, cf. *sùsdan* < *thousand*), while **w** was equated in Irish with **f**, cf. *fuip* < *whip* and *faoitin* < *whiting*. In SG, however, this voiceless bilabial approximant was equated with a voiceless velar fricative plus lip-rounding, which will have been recognized as a lenited voiceless velar stop followed by a short high back rounded vowel. The following are instances of loan-words in which the **x** has been delenited to **k**: **kuit'ag** *cuiteag* < *whiting*, **kui:əL** *cuibheall* < *wheel*, **kuig'fə** *Cuigse* < *Whigs*.

The fact that **v/v'** and **h** did exist in the Gaelic languages, albeit in secondary, or lenited, forms, meant that they were already familiar sounds and, indeed, the fact that a number of forms of common currency had, by the Early Modern Period, developed independently lenited initials: irregular verbal forms such as *théid* 'goes', pronominals like *bhur* 'your' (pl. adj.), and adverbials like *cheana* 'already', will have begun to permit the importation of loans without the necessity of having to ensure that the initial invariably conformed to the class of radical consonants. This would appear to have occurred at an early stage for, alongside AN loans in initial **b/b'**, such as *bitaille* < *vitaille*, *barda* < *warde*, *bobhta* < *voute*, *buntáiste* < *avauntage*, coexist other borrowings in initial **v/v'**, as, for example, *bhiláiste* < *village*, *bhicúnt* < *vicont*, and this dual phenomenon has continued in the languages right down to the present day, cf. *bhiocáire* 'vicar', *bhásta* 'waist', *bhóta* 'vote', *bhálcaireacht* 'walking', *bhéarsa* 'verse', *bheidhlín* 'violin', *bheist* 'vest', *bhaidhtéir* 'waiter', and SG *bhòidse* 'voyage', beside *biocáire*, *bís* 'vice', *bóta*, *buaiceas* 'wick'.

Concerning the provision of modern terminology (as exemplified in the dictionaries issued by institutions functioning under the aegis of the Irish Government's

Department of Education, cf. Ó Dónaill 1977), the following features may be noted. The process of delenition is rarely, if ever, invoked nowadays: initials corresponding to historical lenited sounds are generally spelt with the new character *v*- e.g. *veain* 'van' *vaigín* 'waggon'; initial **d<sub>3</sub>**, though sometimes rendered by *s'*, as in *seircín* 'jerkin', has found acceptance and is often represented by the new character *j*-, cf. *jíp* 'jeep'; initial **t<sub>ʃ</sub>** has not achieved recognition and this continues, for the most part, to be supplied in loans in the modern language by *s'*, as *Sile* 'Chile', *siobhas*, 'chive', *seacláid* 'chocolate'.

That the whole system of morphophonemic mutations was in itself conducive to instability so far as initial consonants were concerned is testified to in the evolution of fairly common native words in the language, such as OI *uar* 'cold' > Mod Ir., SG *fuair*, as well as in the numerous variant forms of the different dialects where an imagined lenited initial has been delenited, cf. *iolar* ~ *fiolar*, *ail* ~ *faill*, *oscail* ~ *foscail*, *radharc* ~ *fradharc*, *fill* ~ *pill*. In particular instances another variety of consonant has been substituted for the historical initial – presumably on account of the lenited form of the word being the more familiar one, e.g. *biodóg* > *miodóg*, *banríon* > *manríon*. The mutation of nasalization has clearly also not been without some influence in the creation of some of the uncertainties surrounding initial consonants, as illustrated by variants such as *bronn* ~ *pronn*, *biseach* ~ SG *piseach*, *neantóg* ~ SG *deanntag*, *Bíobla* ~ *Míobla* and SG *buntàta* ~ *muntàta*. These last two instances which are clearly recognizable as the loans, 'Bible' and 'potato', are noteworthy inasmuch as the initial consonant of each has apparently been influenced by comparison variously with lenited and nasalized forms, such that in the different modern dialects radical forms in initial aspirated and unaspirated stops, as well as voiceless fricatives are variously found. There are many instances of such variation to be found in the initials of loan-words, as in SG *cidhis*, cf. *gyse*, *diogal*, cf. *tickle*, *fùdar*, cf. *powder*, *goileag*, cf. *cole*, *gurpan*, cf. 'curpon', *ploc*, cf. *block*, *priobair* 'useless person', cf. ME *bribour* 'rascal, thief', *putan*, cf. *button*, *pronnasdal*, cf. *brunstane* 'brimstone' (cf. MacBain 1911: 183, 201, 209, 278, 282-84) *tùngaiddh*, cf. *donk* 'damp' (MacBain 1911: 139, Dwelly 1941: 983). The consequences of a mistaken analysis of an initial as *t*- prefixed on initial *s*- are particularly evident, cf. SG *tìde/sìde* (< *tide*), *tiotaidh/siotaidh* (< *jot*), *tì(o)m/sì(o)m* (< *time*), as equally are the results of failure to recognize a prefixed initial, cf. Ir. *slám/tlám*.

The last example illustrates how certain initial consonantal clusters – which will not for the most part be discussed here on account of constraints of space – are also subject to initial mutation the outcome of which may vary from dialect to dialect. Clusters of *s* + nasal, lateral or vibrant, for example, when lenited would generally have produced **h** followed by the second element. This developed to a voiceless nasal, lateral or vibrant in initial position which in due course became realized in some modern varieties of Gaelic as voiced, viz. **slàuri** *slabhraidh* 'chain', **ə hlàuri** *a shlabhraidh* 'his chain' > **ə làuri**. Such voiced initial nasals, laterals or vibrants were ambiguous and liable to produce unhistoric initials, either through omission of initial *s*- in the radical form, as in the case of the last word, or as a result of the replacement of historical radical by unhistorical **s** as in *làthaich* > *slàthaich* 'mud', *lìpe* > *slìpe* 'lip'. These forms are taken from a modern east coast dialect of SG, cf. Watson (1983b: 108; 1986: 66).

As mentioned earlier in the discussion, it was the unlenited nasals, laterals and vibrants which featured in word-initial position of radical forms such that, when loan-words with initial segments featuring consonants of these types entered the language in the early modern period – and, indeed, such was the case in Ir. and SG up until a few generations ago – the words in question would be adapted to conform to the phonology in this respect, even though a lenited variety of one of the Gaelic sounds might have more nearly matched the sound in question in the language of origin. Examples which show this development are the following: **Lo:s't'i:n'** *lóistín*, cf. Eng. lodging, **L'e:s léas**, cf. Eng. lease, **Na:du:r nádúr**, cf. Eng. nature, **N'e:tə néata**, cf. Eng. neat. In the case of the vibrants, generally speaking only non-palatals now stand in initial position of radical forms and only some dialects preserve an original unlenited variety, viz. **Radan** SG *radan*, cf. Sc. Eng. ratton 'rat'. Typical of loan-words of the present era is the use of modern reflexes of the lenited sounds in these classes to render such initial segments in radical forms, e.g. **lig'ar** liquor, **la:ri** lorry, **nərs** nurse, **nervəs** nervous.

Finally, a few brief comments are called for in relation to the adaptation of foreign loans to various inflexional categories. To form the verbal noun suffixation of the native morph *-áil* appears to have been standard practice, cf. EMI *pinnteáil* 'painting'. That this practice was followed in Gaelic Scotland also at one time is evident from forms such as SG *sàbhail*, Ir *sábháil* < Eng. save. It was, however, superseded there – possibly on account of its having fallen together with the historical adjectival morpheme *-amhail* – by the use of the suffix *-ig* (or variant *-inn*) derivable from Eng. present participle ending *-ing*, cf. *déilig* 'deal', *bàrnaig* 'warn', *fàillinn* 'fail' (O'Rahilly 1971: 160, Thomson 1983: 153). In Ir. the suffixation of *-áil* still continues to the present day as the norm in the case of verbs formed from loan-words, even where the word in question has not been adapted to meet the traditional phonological requirements of the language, e.g. no initial mutations, use of dental rather than alveolar consonants etc.; while in SG the situation seems to vary from dialect to dialect, with the modern usage in some requiring no derivative suffix. Examples of this are found in 18th century verse, as *màrs-* < march, cf. Watson (1959: 136). Finite endings where required are suffixed directly to such forms which are also subject to initial mutations, just like other members of the class of verbs, e.g. **yoìht ad dh'fhight iad** 'fight (PRET.) they'.

In the case of the morphological categories of the noun contact with AN had a significant impact in this area and the following features in particular are worthy of note. In the first case numerous loans in final *-e* (rendered by *-e/a* in Irish) entered the language, cf. **bu:klə** < bucle, **p'i:k'ə** < pique, and this, presumably, was the basis for the subsequent widespread tendency to add this final segment to English loans, especially monosyllabic forms, cf. **guNə** < gun, **L'istə** < list, **hatə** < hat. Borrowings with this termination were generally classified as masculine and are not normally inflected in the modern dialects, apart from the addition of the pl. morph. Parallel to the innovation whereby reflexes of historically lenited **l**, **n**, **r** appear initially in loans of the present era is the wholesale acceptance into dialects of SG and Ir. of Eng. loans in monosyllabic form, i.e. without addition of final *-a*, as SG **bit** bit, **tin** tin, Ir. **glad** glad, cf. MacAulay (1978: 92-3).

In addition, there was introduced from AN into EMI which had inherited a fairly restricted body of native derivative suffixes from the early period, a whole new range of endings in this category, based on such foreign morpheme terminations. Loans from this language covered, as has been shown (Risk: 1970-71), virtually every sphere of human activity, particularly those of the influential higher social strata – with the exception of ecclesiastical affairs where Latin continued to be the dominant language – so that, when English later became the most important contact language for Ir., the familiar derivative suffixes of AN continued to be employed in adapting loans from this source also, e.g. *balcóin*, *boinéad*, *boirdréis*, *gibleíd*, *liomatáiste*, *naprún*, *páipéar*, *pálás*, *siúinéir*. Additional terminations were also created by analogy, such as *-áid*: *corparáid* 'corporation', *-úid*: *aimplitiúid* 'amplitude'; *-áir*: *eiseamláir*, *-úl*: *capsúl*.

These derivative suffixes have played an enormous part in the development of specialized terminologies and technical vocabulary, as the following examples – most of them modern – will show: *beinséin* 'benzene', *bíosún* 'bison', *cáiréas* 'caries', *caracatúr* 'caricature', *carbónáit* 'carbonate', *ciclipéid* 'encyclopedia', *cioróis* 'cyr-rhosis', *cortasón* 'cortizone', *dolaimít* 'dolomite', *feiniméan* 'phenomenon', *garáiste* 'garage', *mangainéis* 'manganese', *paraisít* 'parasite', *piréis* 'pyrex', *polaitéin* 'poly-thene', *sufraigéid* 'suffragette', *úinéir* 'owner', *visír* 'vizier'. Employment of these suffixes was not, however, restricted to use in formation of terms made up entirely of 'foreign' morphs, since they could be added to existing items among the various classes of loanwords in the vocabulary, as in *údar* 'author', *údarás* 'authority', *meamram* 'memorandum', *meamraiméis* 'officialesse', as well as to native vocabulary, cf. *feithid* 'insect', *feithidicíd* 'insecticide'; *ráfla* 'rumour', *ráifléis* 'gossip'; indeed these borrowed morphemes clearly added new dimensions to native vocabulary, as is shown by instances such as the following: *bog* 'soft', *bogás* 'smugness', *boigéis* 'soft-heartedness', *boigiún* 'soft person' and, as such, constitute the most enduring contribution of the Anglo-Normans to the development of the Gaelic languages.

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## Nordostniederländisches *verdan(ne)*

*Antonius Weijnen*

Im bekannten Wörterverzeichnis der zaanländischen Mundart (Boekenoogen 1896: 372) findet man das Wort *inverdan* in der Bedeutung 'nach innen, tiefer hinein', ein Wort, das vorher auch schon in derselben Form und Bedeutung von J. Bouman für das *Beemster* genannte Poldergebiet nachgewiesen worden war. Genauso wie Bouman leitet Boekenoogen das Wort von *inwaard an* ab; *in-* muß in diesem Fall adverbiale Funktion haben: 'nach innen'; *an* findet man auch in z.B. ndl. *langzaam aan*, *rustig aan*, ferner im ndl. *voortaan* und ist mit dem ndl. Adverb *aan* gleichzusetzen (vgl. WNT I: 51-54).

Die Form *waard* ist identisch mit ahd. *-wert*, das auch in nhd. *-wärts* vorkommt. Daß es sich um ein altes *d* handelt, wird bewiesen durch as. *-werd*, *-ward*, afries. *-werd*, *-ward*, ae. *weard*. Der Übergang von *w* zu *v* bereitet keine Schwierigkeiten (Weijnen 1991: 156-161). Überdies kann vorangehendes dentales *n* einen assimilierenden Einfluß ausgeübt haben. Dasselbe *inverdan* 'nicht am Wege gelegen' ist ferner für Nordholland von Pannekeet (1984: 148) nachgewiesen. Bei Pannekeet (1984: 24) ist weiterhin *anverdan* belegt, z. B. in "murgen gane ze anverdan" und er umschreibt es mit ndl. 'weg, eropuit' (auf deutsch 'fort, weg, aufs Land, ins Freie'). Auch nach seiner Meinung ist *-verd-* entstanden aus *-waard-*. Es ist jedoch merkwürdig, daß die nordostniederländischen Mundarten ein *verdan* ohne vorangehendes Adverb haben. Dijkhuis (1991: 1111) verzeichnet für Twente *verdan* in der Bedeutung 'weiter', z. B. in: *mer wi'j gaot verdan*. Daneben enthält Dijkhuis (1991: 1061) auch den Eintrag *toverdan* in der Bedeutung 'allmählich'.

Es ist aber die Frage, ob es sich hier im Nordosten um ein und dasselbe Wort handelt. Für Drente belegen Hadderingh/Veenstra (1988: 292) *verdan* auch in der Form *veurdan* und umschreiben es mit ndl. 'voort, voorwaarts'; eig. 'voortaan', d.h. 'fort, vorwärts', eigentlich 'für die Folge', und geben als Beispiel: "as doe zoo veurdan giest, dan wo's 'n baos van 'n kerreltjen". Hier ließe sich *veurdan* am besten mit 'weiter' übersetzen.

Auch weil die Drenter Form /ø/ als Vokal gilt, denke ich für die nordöstlichen Mundarten an eine andere Etymologie, nämlich an eine Verwandtschaft mit *fort*. In De Bont (1960: 718) wird für die Kempener Mundart dieses *vo'rt* belegt als ein Adverb, das nicht nur 'weiter, von nun an' (ndl. *voortaan*) bedeutet, sondern auch 'ziet op een toestand zoals die langzaam gegroeid zijnde op het ogenblik van het gesprokene bestaat; dit in vergelijking en in tegenstelling met gelijk hij vroeger was' (auf deutsch: 'sich auf einen Zustand bezieht, wie dieser nach allmählicher Entwicklung im Augenblick der Äußerung besteht; dies im Vergleich und im Gegensatz zu dem früheren Zustand'). Mit dieser Umschreibung wird deutlich, daß

sich das Wort nicht in die niederländische Hochsprache übersetzen läßt, obgleich der Dichter Joost van den Vondel im 17. Jahrhundert es wohl verwendete. Heißt es doch in seinem Schauspiel 'Leeuwendalers':

*Hoe is de weerelt voort, gelijk de munt verslimt?* (Vers 660)

Und im bekannten 'Van den vos Reynaerde' findet man *vortmeer* in derselben Bedeutung:

*ic bem vortmeer so out* (Vers 380).

Weiteres hierüber findet man bei De Bont (1950).

Verschiedene Tatsachen stützen diese meine Auffassung über die Etymologie von *verdanne*. Im Sprachbewußtsein der Drenter gehört, wie sich aus dem Zitierten ergibt, *vedan* semantisch offensichtlich zu ndl. *voort* und *voortaan*. Weiterhin läßt sich so das /ø/ gut erklären. Auch findet man nirgends neben *vedan* eine Variante mit *w* von *waard*. Schließlich kommt ndl. *waarts* auch nicht als erstes Element vor. Auch weitere Verbindungen wie Twentisch *danvedan* z. B. in: *danvedan kan 't wa lukken* (Dijkhuis 1991:190, der das Wort übersetzt mit 'onderhand, tegen die tijd' 'inzwischen, bis dahin'), *nóvedan* 'allmählich' (Dijkhuis 1991: 713), *alvedan* 'immer', z. B. in: *alvedan van hen en weer* (Dijkhuis 1991: 29) und Drentisch *toeverddan*, *tôeveurdaans*, *toeverdaans* 'allmählich' (vgl. Hadderingh/Veenstra 1988: 281) gehören semantisch in den temporalen Bereich und nicht in den lokalen, was eine Verbindung mit *waard* nicht nahelegt.

Das *d* bereitet keine Schwierigkeiten, denn ndl. hochsprachliches *voort* und Kempener *vo'rt* sind identisch mit andfrk. *vorth-*, as., afries. *forth* und ae. *forð*.

Wenden wir uns jetzt wieder dem holländischen *inverdan* (und *anverdan*) zu, womit wir angefangen haben, so glauben wir doch, daß Boekenoogen (1896) für jene Wörter recht hatte und daß sie altes \**waard* enthalten. Wir befinden uns dort in einem anderen Wortfeld als bei *verdan(ne)*.

Bleibt noch das *e* in einer Variante *verdanne*, die von A. L. Hottenhuis im *Twentse Courant* (13.04.96) zitiert wird. Hottenhuis meint, das *e* sei ein Rest eines nachgestellten *-hen* mit der Bedeutung 'hin'. Dies ist möglich. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte man z. B. auf Twentisch 'wie goat hen want wie mut en melkn' hinweisen, wo *en* offensichtlich auch das alte *h* verloren hat. Für die Verbindung mit *hen* vgl. Sätze wie 'de manleu bint hen melken', die von Weijnen (1966: 319) für Twente, Drente und Groningen nachgewiesen werden.

Eine andere mögliche Erklärung besteht darin, daß die Wortendung *-anne* eine abgeschwächte Form von mndl. *ane* (ndl. *aan*, dt. *an*) enthält, wo also keine Dehnung in offener Silbe vorliegt. Als Parallele möchte ich auf Drentisch *Anneke-Bessemoor* 'Ururgroßmutter' (Dijkhuis 1991: 44) verweisen, zu dem man älteres ahd. *ana* 'Urgroßmutter' und weitere Bezeichnungen für männliche oder weibliche Vorfahren wie apreuß. *ane* 'alte Mutter', lat. *anus* 'altes Weib', illyr. *ana* (= gr. *potnia*) und heth. *an-na-aš* 'Mutter' stellen kann (vgl. Pokorny 1959-60: 36f.). An und für sich sind nämlich öfters die alten kurzen Vokale in offenen Silben im

Nordostniederländischen beibehalten worden, wie z.B. Enschedeisch *smak*, *naffel* und *gadden* 'sammeln' belegen (vgl. Bezoen 1938: 5). Aber zwingend scheint mir diese Deutung nicht zu sein.

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## STUDIES IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS

### **Towards a General Theory of the Category of Person**

*Jerzy Bańcerowski*

#### 1. Introductory remarks

The aim of this article is to propose an axiomatic approach to a general theory of the category of Person. Tentative and fragmentary though it may be, such a theory may undergo further elaborations, in consequence of which it may become more adequate and complete. It could also be supposed that the formulation of an axiomatic theory of Person would considerably facilitate the search for an axiomatic format of theories for other semantic and grammatical categories.

As with other linguistic theories, if 'theory' is meant in any ordinary sense of the term, one should also determine what a theory of Person is about or, in other words, what its intended subject matter is, that is, the fragment of language reality, which it intends to describe and explain, and the image of which appears in the corresponding domain. In answering this question, it seems appropriate to say that:

- (i) a theory of Person deals with certain aspects of the structure of communicative events as they are reflected in (apprehended by) language expressions;
- (ii) it accounts for the lingual encoding of information on differing roles (statuses) played by participants in those events during language communication, which we shall call collinguation (cf. Bańcerowski 1996); and
- (iii) it inquires into language subsystems consisting of language expressions and the relations obtaining between these expressions, with respect to the information they convey about communicative events.

The category of Person, viewed as a semantic or grammatical category, is also inextricably bound with the relationships occurring between language users and their utterances, and thereby it necessarily exhibits a pragmatic aspect. Based on a general theory of Person, that is, applying its concepts and statements to a particular language *L*, the corresponding fragment of grammar, or of the theory of this language can be constructed. This could be called a grammar of Person of or for *L*.

Some of the assumptions of our theory of Person, subsequently formulated as axioms, may seem obvious or overly simple, to the extent that taking their contents into consideration may appear completely unnecessary. And indeed, for linguists who shun the deductive method or, more generally, for the purposes of linguistics pursued informally, this would be more than superfluous. However, if one intends to

construct a linguistic theory in a formal language, whereby the exposition of the hierarchies within its concepts and theorems is possible, these simple and obvious contents must be stated explicitly, because only thereby can the inferred contents, simple or complex, which may already be not obvious any more, be approached in a lucid and consistent manner. This, in turn, prevents misunderstandings and unnecessary discussion.

The domain of the category of lingual Person is indeed a complex one. And, in order to account adequately for it, a rather extensive set of primitive, specifically linguistic terms, and a relatively rich axiomatics are required. Besides these specifically linguistic terms, a number of extralinguistic, mainly logical ones will be also resorted to.\*

## 2. Primitive and some auxiliary defined terms.

The conceptual structure of the general theory of Person, subsequently surveyed, will find reflection, first of all, in its primitive terms. The choice of such terms is, of course, not predetermined, but can be relatively freely decided upon. This would mean that operating with different primitive terms, a theory of Person could probably be constructed as well.

### 2.1. List of primitive terms

For the needs of the present theory, the following 28 primitive terms, grouped into 7 classes, are necessary.

1. ***Txt*** – the set of all texts,
2. ***Snt*** – the set of all sentences,
3. ***Dct*** – the set of all dictons,
4. ***dc*** – the relation of being a dicton of,
5. ***dsg*** – the relation of designation,
6. ***sgf*** – the relation of signification,
7. ***lkf*** – the relation of lexification,
8. ***smf*** – the relation of semification,
9. ***hfn*** – the relation of homophony,
10. ***hsg*** – the relation of homosignification,
11. ***hlk*** – the relation of homolexy,
12. ***dq*** – the relation of dictonal qualification,
13. ***sj*** – the relation of being a subject of,
14. ***pd*** – the relation of being a predicate of,
15. ***lqr*** – the relation of being locutor of,
16. ***alq*** – the relation of being allocutive of,
17. ***dlq*** – the relation of being delocutive of,
18. ***LNG*** – the class of all ethnic (natural) languages,

- 19. **PS** – the dimension of Person,
- 20. **psa** – the relation of absolute personification,
- 21. **psr** – the relation of relative personification,
- 22. **psp** – the relation of primary personification,
- 23. **pss** – the relation of secondary personification,
- 24. **psac** – the relation of actual personification,
- 25. **pspo** – the relation of potential personification,
- 26. **DSE** – the set of all semantic dimensions,
- 27. **GN** – the dimension of Gender,
- 28. **NM** – the dimension of Number.

If the theory of Person were developed within a framework of a more comprehensive semantic or pragmatic theory, the number of its primitive terms would be considerably smaller. Since this possibility is not available to us here, we shall make use of the primitives enumerated above, and now proceed to the explanation of their intuitive sense, before some of their properties will be formally accounted for by axioms.

## 2.2. Texts, sentences, dictons

Every text is an individual, concrete, non-repeatable entity, produced *hic et nunc*, that is, by a definite speaker, in a definite time and space. Strictly speaking, its existence does not exceed the time of its production by much, whereafter it is absorbed irretrievably by the past. A text is thus a spatio-temporal entity, functioning as a language sign, simple or composite. The *set of all texts* will be symbolized by **Txt**. The formula  $t \in \mathbf{Txt}$  reads: *t* is a text.

A sentence is but a special kind of text. In order to characterize it in the shortest possible way, we could say that each sentence has an explicit or implicit argumentopredicative or diathetic structure. The *set of all sentences* is denoted by the symbol **Snt**. The formula  $t \in \mathbf{Snt}$  reads: *t* is a sentence.

A dicton will be conceived of as a minimal unit of sub- or intrasentential syntax, and a maximal unit of morphology. It conveys obligatorily both lexical and grammatical (semic) meanings. Units already delexicalized to a certain degree or, in other words, already affected by grammaticalization (semicalization) have, to a certain extent, lost their nature as independent dictons, and in order to be fully understood must complement other words as synsemantica, and thereby form with them the corresponding dictons. In conformity with such a concept of dicton, desinences, affixes, adpositions, including articles, auxiliaries and the like will be treated here as subdictonal units. Consequently, such expressions as: *is-writing*, *a-driver*, *with-a-pen*, *by-computer*, *has-driven*, etc. are instances of dictons. Needless to say, dictons as parts of sentences are also individual and concrete. They may be linearly continuous or discontinuous. The *set of all dictons* is denoted by **Dct**. The formula  $x \in \mathbf{Dct}$  reads: *x* is a dicton.

The *relation of being a dicton of* binding dicton *x* and sentence *t*, whereof *x* is a part, will be symbolized as **dc**. The formula  $x \mathbf{dc} t$  reads: *x* is a dicton of sentence *t*.

### 2.3. Designation and signification

As semantic relations, both designation and signification hold between lingual expressions, which are signs, and extralingual entities. Thus, the *relation of designation*, denoted by **dsg**, binds a sign, which may be, for example, a dicton or sentence, with an extralingual entity. The formula  $x \text{ dsg } \delta$  reads:  $x$  designates  $\delta$ . The predecessor of the relation **dsg** can be called *designator* and its successor – *designatum*. The *relation of signification* (**sgf**) holds between a sign  $x$  and a property  $\sigma$  of an object  $\delta$  being designated by  $x$ . The property  $\sigma$  can be conceived of as a meaning conveyed by  $x$ . The formula  $x \text{ sgf } \sigma$  reads:  $x$  signifies  $\sigma$  or, equivalently,  $x$  conveys meaning  $\sigma$ . The predecessor of **sgf** can be called *significator*, and its successor – *significatum* (meaning).

Within signification two subrelations will be distinguished: (i) the *relation of lexification* (**lkf**), and (ii) the *relation of semification* (**smf**), which account for whether a meaning is signified lexically or semically (grammatically). The formula  $x \text{ lkf } \sigma$  reads:  $x$  lexifies  $\sigma$  or, alternatively,  $x$  is lexificator of  $\sigma$ . And, analogously, the formula  $x \text{ smf } \sigma$  reads:  $x$  semifies  $\sigma$  or, alternatively,  $x$  is semificator of  $\sigma$ . If dicton  $x$  is a lexificator of  $\sigma$ , then its lexical morph conveys or co-conveys  $\sigma$ . And if dicton  $x$  is a semificator of  $\sigma$ , then it must incorporate a semic (grammatical) morph conveying  $\sigma$ .

### 2.4. Homophony, homosignification, homolexy

Dictons are related to each other based on their phonic as well as semantic properties, among others. Phonic indistinguishability will formally be reflected on in the *relation of homophony* (**hfn**), and two kinds of semantic indistinguishability in the *relation of homosignification* (**hsg**), and the *relation of homolexy* (**hlk**). The formulae:  $x \text{ hfn } y$ ,  $x \text{ hsg } y$ , and  $x \text{ hlk } y$  will be read respectively as: dicton  $x$  is homophonous with dicton  $y$ , dicton  $x$  is homosignificative with dicton  $y$  (i.e. both convey identical meanings), and dicton  $x$  is homolexic with dicton  $y$ . In terms of the relations **hfn** and **hsg** the *set of all dictis* (**DCT**) can be introduced as follows:

$$\text{Df 2.1. } \mathbf{DCT} = \mathbf{Dct/hfn} \cap \mathbf{hsg}$$

In light of this definition, a dict is the set of all homophonous and homosignificative dictons. The formula  $X \in \mathbf{DCT}$  will be read:  $X$  is a dict. The relation of lexification and semification, when extended to dictis, will be denoted, respectively, as **Lkf** and **Smf**.

### 2.5. Qualification; subject and predicate

In order to account for the semantic connectibility or compatibility of dictons, we shall operate with the *relation of dictonal qualification* (**dq**), which underlies the formation of minimal hypotactic syntagmas from two dictons. In such bidictonal syntagmas as: *a red flower*, *the wind blew*, *he is walking*, the qualificata *a-flower*, *the-wind*, and *he* are qualified, respectively, by the qualifiers *red*, *blew*, and *is-walking*.



Within a syntagma, dicton  $x$  is able to manifest only a fragment of its potency *qua* qualifier or *qua* qualificatum. The symbols  $dq^<x$  and  $dq^>x$  account, respectively, for just such complete potencies. The former denotes the set of all dictons, which  $x$  could qualify, and the latter denotes the set of all dictons, by which  $x$  could be qualified.

In terms of the relation  $dq$  the *relation of being the subject of* ( $sj$ ), and the *relation of being the predicate of* ( $pd$ ) can be defined. However, giving the definitions of these relations would presuppose the introduction of certain auxiliary terms, which for reasons of space is not feasible here. Therefore the relations  $sj$  and  $pd$  will be treated as primitive. The formula  $t\ sj\ x$  reads: sentence  $t$  has dicton  $x$  as subject or, equivalently,  $x$  is the subject of  $t$ . And the formula  $t\ pd\ x$  reads: sentence  $t$  has dicton  $x$  as predicate or, equivalently,  $x$  is the predicate of  $t$ .

## 2.6. Collinguation

Language communication or, simply, collinguation, can be conceived of as the totality of all communicative or, rather, collinguative acts, which were, are, and will be performed in ethnic languages. Among these acts two kinds can be distinguished: (i) textificative acts, i.e. those of text production, and (ii) systematificative acts i.e. those of text reception. As a result of the former lingual messages are produced, which can be further processed within the latter.

The textificative act initiates or induces a corresponding collinguative event, of which the act becomes a component. In other words, such an act specifies the event in question. The structure of the collinguative event, as a whole *sui generis*, can be accounted for in terms of the collinguative system, which, in turn, is determined by (i) the participants of the event, and (ii) certain relations occurring between them. The participants acquire properties, which specify their collinguative statuses, of which there are exactly three, in particular:

- (i) *locutor* (speaker, textificator, sender),
- (ii) *allocutive* (entity spoken to, receiver, hearer, addressee),
- (iii) *delocutive* (an entity spoken of, i.e. involved in the event by the message).

Each collinguative event is a realization of the collinguative system.

The lingual message, as a sign, can designate and signify, that is refer to various events, among which some are obviously collinguative. Appropriate dictons of the message may refer to: (i) its locutor, (ii) the intended allocutive, or (iii) the delocutive. The message may refer not only to the collinguative event, within which it is produced or received, but also to other collinguative events. Therefore it is justified to distinguish between: (i) direct, and (ii) indirect collinguative events. What is more, the locutor has a certain freedom in associating the participants with collinguative statuses. To put it differently, he/she may assign them a different status than they actually have. The collinguative status will be formally captured in terms of the following three relations:

- (i) *the relation of being locutor of* ( $lqr$ ),
- (ii) *the relation of being allocutive of* ( $alq$ ), and
- (iii) *the relation of being delocutive of* ( $dlq$ ).

The formula  $h \text{ lqr } t$  reads:  $h$  is the locutor of text  $t$ . The formulae  $h \text{ alq } t$ , and  $a \text{ dlq } t$  will be read, *mutatis mutandis*, analogously.

Texts are always produced in a certain language. The class of all ethnic languages will be denoted by **LNG**. The formula  $L \in \text{LNG}$  reads:  $L$  is an ethnic language. The relativization of various concepts to language  $L$  will be indicated by subscript index  $L$ .

## 2.7. The dimension of Person

As one of the semantic dimensions, the dimension of Person, symbolized by **PS**, will be conceived of here as the set containing the meanings of first, second, and third Persons. These meanings will also be referred to as the basic personal meanings, and they are nothing but the collinguative statuses of participants within collinguative events.

We shall say that dicton  $x$  conveys the meaning of first Person, if it signifies the locutor of a text; it conveys the meaning of second Person, if it signifies the allocutive of a text, and it conveys the meaning of third Person, if it signifies the delocutive of a text. Since each meaning specifies the corresponding category, the three personal meanings specify, respectively, the three distinct categories of participants within collinguative events. Clearly, a given text may not signify all of these categories, although they may be present in the collinguative event, of which the text is a component.

The particular basic personal meanings of first, second, and third Persons, as constant symbols and elements of **PS**, will be symbolized, respectively, by  $p_1$ ,  $p_2$ , and  $p_3$ .

The following definition introduces the *relation of personification (psf)*, which may also be called the relation of personal signification:

$$\text{Df 2.2. } \text{psf} = \{(x, p): x \in \text{Dct} \wedge p \in \text{PS} \wedge x \text{ sgf } p\}$$

According to this definition, dicton  $x$  conveys the personal meaning  $p$ , in symbols:  $x \text{ psf } p$ , if it merely signifies  $p$ . Thus, the relation **psf** results from the restriction of the relation **sgf** to personal meanings.

As already hinted at above, we shall make a clear distinction between personal meanings and personal categories. Each such meaning as well as the whole dimension of Person specify the corresponding categories. Thus, for instance, the symbol  $\text{psf} \langle p_1 \rangle$  denotes the category of first Person, that is, the class of all dictons which convey this meaning. And, in turn, the symbol  $\text{psf} \langle \text{PS} \rangle$  denotes the category of Person, that is, the class of all dictons which convey a personal meaning.

The relation of personification, when extended to dictons, will be denoted by **Psf** and defined as follows:

$$\text{Df 2.3. } \text{Psf} = \{(X, p): X \in \text{DCT} \wedge p \in \text{PS} \wedge \bigvee_y (y \in X \wedge y \text{ psf } p)\}$$

On the strength of this definition, dict  $X$  conveys personal meaning  $p$ , in symbols:  $X \text{ Psf } p$ , if there is a dicton, an element of  $X$ , and conveying  $p$ .

The basic personal meanings, however, do not occur in a pure form, but are obligatorily further specified with respect to such subdimensions as:

- (i) definite/indefinite,
- (ii) absolute/relative,
- (iii) primary/secondary,
- (iv) actual/potential,
- (v) genuine (proper)/virtual (improper, imaginary)

The first of these subdimensions will not be considered here, and the last one is definable. In order to account formally for the signification with respect to dimensions (ii)-(iv), we shall avail ourselves of the relations of personification *psa*, *psr*, *psp*, *pss*, *psac* and *pspo* already listed above.

By virtue of referring to a participant in a direct collingulative event, dicton *x* conveys an absolute personal meaning  $p_i$ , and by virtue of referring to a participant in an indirect collingulative event, it conveys a relative personal meaning  $p_j$ . Such facts will be captured, respectively, by the formulae  $x \text{ *psa* } p_i$ , and  $x \text{ *psr* } p_j$ . For simplicity's sake, instead of writing that  $x \text{ *psa* } p_i$  and  $x \text{ *psr* } p_j$ , we shall write, more concisely,  $x \text{ *psf* } p_i/p_j$  or, alternatively,  $p_i/p_j \in \text{*psf*}^>x$ . Also more complex symbols will be used as, for example, in the formula:  $x \text{ *psf* } p_i/p_j-(p_m/p_n)$  to be read as: dicton *x* signifies absolute personal meaning  $p_i$  and relative  $p_j$ , with respect to a dicton signifying  $p_m/p_n$ .

To illustrate the difference between absolute and relative personal meanings let us consider the following sentence:

Ex 2.1 *You said it to him.*

In this sentence pronoun *you* conveys the meaning  $p_2/p_1$ , since it signifies an allocutive of the message, i.e. its receiver, within the direct collingulative event, and a locutor (sender) within an indirect collingulative event. Pronoun *to-him* conveys the meaning  $p_3/p_2-(p_2/p_1)$ , since it signifies a delocutive within the direct collingulative event, and an allocutive within an indirect one, with respect to a dicton signifying  $p_2/p_1$ , that is, with respect to *you*.

The intuition behind the primary personal meaning of dict *X* is that of the most typical, or prototypical, or the most frequent personal meaning, which the dictons belonging to *X* convey. Thus, e.g., the primary personal meaning of *He* is  $p_3$ , and that of *You* is  $p_2$ . Secondarily, dictons of *He* may signify  $p_2$ , and those of *You*  $p_1$ .

Dictons belonging to the same dict may convey various personal meanings. Each dicton, it should be remembered, is an individual concrete entity, occurring only once. The personal meaning, which it signifies within an actual collingulative event is called its actual personal meaning, and any personal meaning, which it could convey, its potential personal meaning.

The relation of genuine (proper) personification (*psg*), and the relation of virtual (improper) personification (*psv*) will be introduced by means of the following definitions:

Df 2.4  $\text{*psg*} = \{(x, p): p \in \text{*psp*}^>x \wedge p \in \text{*psac*}^>x\}$

Df 2.5  $\text{*psv*} = \{(x, p): p \in \text{*psp*}^>x \wedge p \notin \text{*psac*}^>x\}$

On the strength of definition 2.4, dicton *x* conveys genuine personal meaning  $p$ , in symbols:  $x \text{ *psg* } p$ , if  $p$  is a primary personal meaning of *x*, and it is also an actual personal meaning of *x*. And, on the strength of definition 2.5, dicton *x* conveys

virtual personal meaning  $p$ , in symbols:  $x \text{psv } p$ , if  $p$  is primary personal meaning of  $x$ , but it is not an actual personal meaning of  $x$ . Instead of writing that  $p_i \in \text{psac}^> x$  and  $p_j \in \text{psv}^> x$ , we shall simply write  $x \text{psf } p_i \setminus p_j$ , or  $p_i \setminus p_j \in \text{psf}^> x$ . In order to illustrate the idea of virtual personification, we shall avail ourselves of the following sentences:

Ex 2.2 *What have you<sub>1</sub> done now? You<sub>2</sub> should have thought about it twice.*

If this bisentential message is said by a locutor, and intended for himself, then both *you<sub>1</sub>* and *you<sub>2</sub>* actually signify the first Person. But, since the primary personal meaning of *You* is the second Person, both *you<sub>1</sub>* and *you<sub>2</sub>* convey the virtual meaning of the second Person.

The meaning of Pan-personality, the relation of personal co-signification, and some other related concepts will not be dealt with here.

## 2.8. Other semantic dimensions

Person is but one semantic dimension. The set of all such dimensions has been denoted by **DSE**. The formula  $D \in \text{DSE}$  reads:  $D$  is a semantic dimension. Personal meanings are signified by dictons, together with meanings from other dimensions. Subsequently, we shall briefly consider some interdependencies between the dimension of Person on the one hand, and the dimensions of Gender (**GN**) and Number (**NM**) on the other. The dimension of Gender may contain such meanings as: Masculinum (*MA*), Femininum (*FE*), and Neutrum (*NE*), and the dimension of Number may contain such meanings as: Singularity (*SNG*), Plurality (*PL*), etc.

## 3. Axiomatics

The propositional content of our theory of Person will be contained in its axiomatics. However, the axioms given below should be viewed as but a first approximation of a formal theory of this category. They should agree not only with our intuitions but, most importantly, with the observable facts. It is not excluded that in the course of an empirical verification some of them may turn out to be inadequate, and, as such, may require a partial or complete reformulation.

The list of axioms embraces the following propositions, arranged, for the sake of clarity, into 9 groups.

### 3.1. Axioms of collinguation

$$\text{Ax 1} \quad t \in \text{Txt} \rightarrow \bigvee_h (h \text{ lqr } t)$$

$$\text{Ax 2} \quad h_i \text{ alq } t \rightarrow \bigvee_{h_j} (h_j \text{ lqr } t)$$

$$\text{Ax 3} \quad a \text{ dlq } t \rightarrow \bigvee_h (h \text{ lqr } t)$$

### 3.2. Axioms of signification

$$\text{Ax 4} \quad D \in \text{DSE} \wedge \sigma \in D \wedge x \text{ sgf } \sigma \rightarrow x \text{ lkf } \sigma \vee x \text{ smf } \sigma$$

$$\text{Ax 5} \quad x \in \text{Dct} \wedge D \in \text{DSE} \wedge \sigma_i \in D \rightarrow [x \text{ smf } \sigma_i \leftrightarrow \bigvee_y \bigvee_{\sigma_j} (y \in \text{Dct} \wedge y \neq x \wedge \\ \wedge \sigma_j \in D \wedge \sigma_j \neq \sigma_i \wedge y \text{ smf } \sigma_j)]$$

## 3.3. Axioms of personification

- Ax 6  $L \in \mathbf{LNG} \rightarrow \mathbf{PS} \in \mathbf{DSE}_L$   
 Ax 7  $\text{card}(\mathbf{PS}) = 3$   
 Ax 8  $p \in \mathbf{PS} \rightarrow \mathbf{psf}^< p \neq \emptyset$   
 Ax 9  $x \mathbf{psf} p \rightarrow x \in \mathbf{P} \langle \mathbf{Dct}$   
 Ax 10  $x \mathbf{psf} p \rightarrow x \mathbf{lkf} p \vee x \mathbf{smf} p$   
 Ax 11  $p \in \mathbf{PS} \wedge \mathbf{smf}_L^< p \neq \emptyset \rightarrow \mathbf{lkf}_L^< p \neq \emptyset$   
 Ax 12  $\mathbf{psa}, \mathbf{psr}, \mathbf{psp}, \mathbf{pss}, \mathbf{psac}, \mathbf{pspo} \subset \mathbf{psf}$   
 Ax 13  $p_1 \in \mathbf{psp}^> x \wedge x \mathbf{dsg} h \rightarrow h \mathbf{lqr} x$   
 Ax 14  $p_2 \in \mathbf{psp}^> x \wedge x \mathbf{dsg} h \rightarrow h \mathbf{alq} x$   
 Ax 15  $p_3 \in \mathbf{psp}^> x \wedge x \mathbf{dsg} a \rightarrow a \mathbf{dlq} x$

## 3.4. Axioms of sentence, subject, and predicate

- Ax 16  $\mathbf{Snt} \subset \mathbf{Txt}$   
 Ax 17  $t \in \mathbf{Snt} \rightarrow \dot{\bigvee}_x (t \mathbf{pd} x)$   
 Ax 18  $t \in \mathbf{Snt} \wedge t \mathbf{sj} x \rightarrow \neg \bigvee_y (y \neq x \wedge t \mathbf{sj} y)$   
 Ax 19  $t \mathbf{sj} x \wedge t \mathbf{pd} y \rightarrow x \mathbf{dq} y$   
 Ax 20  $\mathbf{sj} \rangle \mathbf{Snt} \subset \mathbf{psf} \langle \mathbf{PS}$   
 Ax 21  $t \in \mathbf{Snt} \wedge \neg \bigvee_x (t \mathbf{sj} x) \rightarrow \mathbf{dq}^< \mathbf{pd}(t) \subset \mathbf{psf} \langle \mathbf{psf}^> \mathbf{pd}(t)$

## 3.5. Axioms of absolute/relative personification

- Ax 22  $p \in \mathbf{psf}^> x \rightarrow p \in \mathbf{psa}^> x \vee p \in \mathbf{psr}^> x$   
 Ax 23  $\mathbf{psr}^> x \neq \emptyset \rightarrow \mathbf{psa}^> x \neq \emptyset$   
 Ax 24  $p_i/p_j \in \mathbf{psf}^> x \rightarrow p_j/p_i \notin \mathbf{psf}^> x$   
 Ax 25  $t \in \mathbf{Snt} \wedge x \in \mathbf{dc}^< t \wedge p_i/p_j \in \mathbf{psf}^> x \cap \mathbf{lkf}^> x \rightarrow x = \mathbf{sj}(t)$   
 Ax 26  $t \in \mathbf{Snt} \wedge x \in \mathbf{dc}^< t \wedge (p_i/p_j - (p_m/p_n)) \in \mathbf{psf}^> x \cap \mathbf{lkf}^> x \rightarrow x \neq \mathbf{sj}(t)$

## 3.6. Axioms of primary/secondary personification

- Ax 27  $p \in \mathbf{psf}^> x \rightarrow p \in \mathbf{psp}^> x \vee p \in \mathbf{pss}^> x$   
 Ax 28  $\mathbf{pss}^> x \neq \emptyset \rightarrow \mathbf{psp}^> x \neq \emptyset$   
 Ax 29  $X \in \mathbf{DCT} \wedge p \in \mathbf{Psp}^> X \rightarrow \bigwedge_x (x \in X \rightarrow p \in \mathbf{psp}^> x)$

## 3.7. Axioms of virtual personification

- Ax 30  $p \in \mathbf{psf}^>x \rightarrow p \in \mathbf{psg}^>x \vee p \in \mathbf{psv}^>x$   
 Ax 31  $p_i \setminus p_j \in \mathbf{psf}^>x \rightarrow p_i \in \mathbf{pss}^>x \wedge p_j \in \mathbf{psp}^>x$   
 Ax 32  $p_i \setminus p_j \in \mathbf{psf}^>x \rightarrow p_i, p_j \in \mathbf{psa}^>x \vee p_i, p_j \in \mathbf{psr}^>x$   
 Ax 33  $p_1 \in \mathbf{Psp}^>X \vee p_2 \in \mathbf{Psp}^>X \rightarrow p_3 \setminus p_1 \notin \mathbf{Psf}^>x \wedge p_3 \setminus p_2 \notin \mathbf{Psf}^>x$

## 3.8. Axioms of interaction between person and gender

- Ax 34  $L \in \mathbf{LNG} \wedge \mathbf{psp}_L^<p_1 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L^<p_1 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L \langle \mathbf{GN} \neq \emptyset \rightarrow$   
 $\mathbf{psp}_L^<p_2 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L^<p_2 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L \langle \mathbf{GN} \neq \emptyset$   
 Ax 35  $L \in \mathbf{LNG} \wedge \mathbf{psp}_L^<p_2 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L^<p_2 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L \langle \mathbf{GN} \neq \emptyset \rightarrow$   
 $\mathbf{psp}_L^<p_3 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L^<p_3 \cap \mathbf{smf}_L \langle \mathbf{GN} \neq \emptyset$

## 3.9. Axioms of interaction between person and number

- Ax 36  $\mathbf{NM} \in \mathbf{DSE}_L \rightarrow \bigwedge_N \bigwedge_p (\mathbf{N} \in \mathbf{NM} \wedge p \in \mathbf{PS} \rightarrow \mathbf{sgf}_L^<\mathbf{N} \cap \mathbf{psp}_L^<p \neq \emptyset)$   
 Ax 37  $L \in \mathbf{LNG} \wedge p_1 \in \mathbf{psp}_L^<x \rightarrow [PL \in \mathbf{sgf}_L^<x \rightarrow (p_2 \in \mathbf{psp}_L^<x \vee p_3 \in \mathbf{psp}_L^<x)]$

## 3.10. Explanation of axioms

The understanding of the contents of the above axioms should be facilitated by the following informal explanations of their intuitive sense.

Axioms of collinguation highlight the status of participants in a collingutive event with respect to a message produced therein. Axiom 1 expresses the dependence of texts upon their senders, that is, locutors. In other words, it states an obvious fact that any text of a language cannot be brought into existence, unless it is produced by a locutor. Written texts are not considered here. The dependence of the two other participants upon the locutor is accounted for by axioms 2 and 3, which state, respectively, that both the allocutive and delocutive of text  $t$  necessarily presuppose the locutor of  $t$ .

Axioms of signification reflect two general aspects of this relation. According to axiom 4, each meaning is expressed either in a lexical or semical way, that is, it is either lexified or semified. In light of axiom 5, the semification of a meaning from semantic dimension  $D$  by dicton  $x$  presupposes the semification of another meaning from this dimension by another dicton  $y$ .

Axioms of personification express some peculiarities of signification restricted to the dimension of Person. First of all, axiom 6 assumes the existence of this dimension for any ethnic language. Thus, no language is immune to it. According to axiom 7 there are exactly 3 basic personal meanings, and according to axiom 8, the category specified by each such meaning is not empty. In the light of axiom 9 only dictons and some of their parts (morphic constituents) can personify, i.e. convey

personal meanings. A personal meaning can be either lexified or semified, and this is the context of axiom 10. Dependence of the semification of a personal meaning upon its lexification is postulated by axiom 11, which says that meaning  $p$  cannot be semified unless it is also lexified. In other words, if there is a semificator of  $p$  in language  $L$ , then there must also be a lexificator of  $p$  in  $L$ , but not necessarily conversely. As elaborated in axiom 12, the relations *psa*, *psr*, *psp*, *pss*, *psac* and *pspo* are but kinds of personification. The interdependence between personal meanings and the participants in a collinguative event is dealt with by axioms 13-15. According to axiom 13, if dicton  $x$  conveys the meaning of first Person, and designates participant  $h$ , then  $h$  is the locutor of  $x$ . The contents of axioms 14 and 15 are, *mutatis mutandis* analogous to that of axiom 13.

Some aspects of the relationship between sentence, subject, predicate and Person are expressed by the axioms of group 3.4. Thus, according to axiom 16 a sentence is but a kind of text, and each sentence has exactly one predicate, states axiom 17. Consequently, there are no predicateless sentences. If, however, a sentence has a subject, then it has only one, which is the content of axiom 18. According to axiom 19, a dicton, which is the subject of a sentence, and that which is the predicate thereof are in the relation of qualification. On the strength of axiom 20, the subject of a sentence always signifies a personal meaning. This axiom could be, of course, reformulated as:

$$\text{Ax 20'} \quad x \in \text{sj} \rangle \text{Snt} \rightarrow \text{psf}^>x \neq \emptyset$$

The intention of axiom 21 is to refer to subjectless sentences, that is those which lack dictons, which are arguments qualified by their predicates. In such sentences, although the subject is lexically vacuous, that is, not lexicalized, the predicate takes over the role of specifying semically or lexically the personal category of all its potential or imaginary subjects, because all of its potential qualificata are included in the categories specified by the personal meanings which it conveys. This axiom could probably be reformulated as:

$$\text{Ax 21'} \quad t \in \text{Snt} \rightarrow \text{dq}^<\text{pd}(t) \subset \text{psf} \langle \text{PS},$$

to mean that the predicate of a sentence always specifies the personal category of its potential qualificata, irrespective of whether its subject is lexicalized or not.

Axioms of absolute/relative personification establish certain relationships between absolute and relative personal meanings, and attempt to give information about the syntactic category of dictons conveying both of these meanings simultaneously. According to axiom 22, a personal meaning signified by a dicton is either absolute or relative. And, according to axiom 23, no dicton can signify a relative meaning without signifying an absolute one. Axiom 24 states that these meanings are not interchangeable within a dicton. The next two axioms state, respectively, that a dicton lexically signifying the meaning  $p_i/p_j$  within sentence  $t$  is the subject of  $t$ . And a dicton lexically signifying the meaning  $p_i/p_j$  with respect to  $p_m/p_n$  within sentence  $t$  cannot be the subject of  $t$ . The contents of the last two axioms are highly hypothetical, and should be further examined carefully.

Similarly to the immediately preceding group, the axioms of primary/secondary personification establish certain relationships between primary and secondary

meanings, and, in addition, give information about the range of the former within a dict. Thus, according to axiom 27, a personal meaning signified by a dicton is either primary or secondary. Furthermore, in the light of axiom 28, no dicton can signify a secondary personal meaning without signifying its primary one. And, axiom 29 says, that each dicton  $x$ , which is an element of dict  $X$ , conveys the primary meaning of the latter.

Peculiarities of virtual personification are accounted for by the axioms of group 3.7. Personal meaning conveyed by a dicton is either genuine or virtual, and this is the content of axiom 30. According to axiom 31, if an actual personal meaning combines with a virtual one within the same dicton, then the former is secondary and the latter primary. And, in the light of axiom 32, such a combination provides that both meanings are either absolute or both are relative. Axiom 33 states that neither the first nor the second Person, if they are primary meanings of a dicton, can be virtualized as the third Person.

Axioms of interaction between Person and Gender can be conceived of as general statements about the combinability of meanings from these two dimensions. Thus, in the light of axiom 34, the existence of dictons in language  $L$ , which primarily convey the semified meaning of first Person and also semify a gender meaning, presupposes the existence of dictons in  $L$ , which primarily convey the semified meaning of second Person and also semify a gender meaning. Axiom 35 is, *mutatis mutandis*, analogous in content, but concerns the second and third Person.

Axioms of interaction between Person and Number are also general statements concerning the combinability of personal and numeral meanings. Axiom 36 provides for the mutual combinability of each numeral meaning with each primary personal one in any language  $L$ , for which the dimension of Number is available. Of course, this does not mean that there are no restrictions at all on the combinability in question. One such restriction is expressed just by axiom 37, according to which the meaning of first Person, as primary, when combined with Plurality within the same dicton, obligatorily combines with either the second or third Person. However, the same restriction is not valid, if Plurality combines with second or third Persons. More precisely, the second Person, as primary, can combine within the same dicton, also alone, with Plurality, that is, without involving other personal meanings into the combination. And, the third Person behaves analogously to the second in this respect.

#### 4. Modes of personification

Axiom 8 provides for two modes of personification, that is, lexification and semification of personal meanings. This is not unexpected, since personification appears as a special case of signification (cf. Df 2.2; Ax 4). Theoretically, various degrees of lexification and semification could be distinguished, which will not, however, interest us here. Dictons lexifying personal meanings incorporate lexical morphs, and dictons semifying them incorporate semical, i.e. grammatical morphs.

Actual morphs will be conceived of as minimal signifiers of meanings within the corresponding dictons. In accordance with this, the *relation of morphic personification* (*mps**f*) can be defined as follows:



$$\text{Df 4.1 } \mathbf{mpsf} = \{(x, p): \bigvee_y [y \in \mathbf{Dct} \cap \mathbf{psf}^< p \wedge x \in \mathbf{P}^< y \wedge x \mathbf{sgf} p \wedge \bigwedge_z (z \in \mathbf{P}^< x \wedge z \neq x \wedge z \mathbf{sgf} p)]\}$$

In agreement with our notational convention, the symbol  $\mathbf{mpsf}^< p$  denotes the set of all morphs, which convey personal meaning  $p$ . Any two such morphs, or morphic signifiers, which are not homophonous, are in the *relation of allopersonification* with respect to  $p$ . Thus, for example in Polish, the personal pronoun *ja* 'I' and the desinence *-ę* (first Person, Present Tense; cf. *piszę* 'I write/am writing') are bound by this relation, more specifically, by the *relation of complementary personification*, since they occur in mutually exclusive environments.

The lexical and semical signification of one and the same meaning poses the problem of lexico-semic translatability both intra- and interlingually. Languages may exhibit considerable differences as to the modes of personification. Thus, for example, in Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese and Korean the semification of personal meanings is practically absent. In other words, these meanings are conveyed exclusively by lexical morphemes (cf. Zabrocki 1980:139). The grammar of Person for these languages must contain among others the following laws:

$$4.1 \quad \mathbf{Psf} \langle \mathbf{PS} \cap \mathbf{Smf} \langle \mathbf{PS} = \emptyset$$

$$4.2 \quad \mathbf{Psf} \langle \mathbf{PS} \subset \mathbf{Lkf} \langle \mathbf{PS}$$

The degree of lexification/semification of personal meanings in the languages of the world may be an object worthy of research for language typology. Theoretically, two types of languages can be distinguished: (i) only lexifying, and (ii) lexifying and semifying languages. Languages which would semify only are excluded by axiom 11. Furthermore, the distribution of lexification/semification among the parts of speech is of interest. It is the personal pronouns which lexically signify the personal meanings, whereas other parts of speech mostly signify them semically.

## 5. Some personal relations

Dictons conveying personal meanings enter into various relations with respect to these meanings. Generally speaking, two kinds of such relations can be distinguished, i.e., those based upon (i) personal similarity, and those based upon (ii) personal dissimilarity. What is more, both of them, can be total or partial. Personal similarity underlies, among others, the following relations:

- (i) *the relation of homopersonality* (**hps**),
- (ii) *the relation of homopersonality with respect to* (**hps**<sup>*p*</sup>), and
- (iii) *the relation of personal concord* (**ccps**).

The definitions of the first two of these relations will be formulated as follows:

$$\text{Df 5.1 } \mathbf{hps} = \{(x, y): \mathbf{psf}^> x = \mathbf{psf}^> y\}$$

$$\text{Df 5.2 } \mathbf{hps}^p = \{(x, y): p \in \mathbf{psf}^> x \cap \mathbf{psf}^> y\}$$

According to definition 5.1, two dictons  $x$  and  $y$  are totally homopersonal, in symbols:  $x \mathbf{hps} y$ , if they are indistinguishable with respect to the dimension of Person, i.e. if they convey identical personal meanings. Homopersonality of two

dictons  $x$  and  $y$ , relativized to meaning  $p$ , presupposes, on the strength of definition 5.2, that both these dictons convey  $p$ .

Ex 5.1 Comparing the pronouns *I* and *we* one states that they are homopersonal with respect to the meaning of first Person. However, they are not totally homopersonal, since *we* signifies not only first Person but also second or third.

Personal dissimilarity underlies, among others, such relations as:

- (i) the *relation of personal opposition* (**ops**),
- (ii) the *relation of personal flexion* (**fkps**), and
- (iii) the *relation of personal suppletion* (**spps**).

The first two of these relations will be introduced by means of the following definitions:

Df 5.3 **ops** =  $\{(x, y): \text{psf}^>x \div \text{psf}^>y \neq \emptyset\}$

Df 5.4 **fkps** =  $\{(x, y): x \text{ hlk } y \wedge x \text{ ops } y\}$

In the light of the former of these definitions, two dictons  $x$  and  $y$  are bound by personal opposition, in symbols:  $x \text{ ops } y$ , if they convey different personal meanings. Personal flexion is but a kind of personal opposition, since, in conformity with Df 5.4, two dictons are in this relation, if they are in personal opposition and, additionally, they are homolexic. The following corollaries can be inferred:

5.1  $x \text{ fkps } y \rightarrow x \text{ ops } y$

5.2  $x \text{ fkps } y \rightarrow x \text{ hlk } y$

5.3  $x \text{ fkps } y \rightarrow \text{psf}^>x \subset \text{smf}^>x \wedge \text{psf}^>y \subset \text{smf}^>y$

According to 5.3, dictons inflecting for the dimension of Person signify personal meanings exclusively in a semical way (cf. Latin *scrībō* vs *scrībīs*, or *scrībō* vs *scrībīt*). Personal suppletion, in turn, could be viewed as complementary lexical signification, relativized to the dimension of Person.

## 6. Person and diathesis

Sentences designate events, some of which, as has already been hinted at above, are collingutive. Within events we have distinguished participants bound by various relations. The structure of an event is projected on the argumento-predicative or diathetic structure of a sentence in that the arguments refer to participants, and the predicate to the relation. From another viewpoint, we could say that the diathetic structure of a sentence specifies the participant-relational structure of an event, within which the participants are captured as quiddities, and the relation as a quality. Thus, arguments function as quidditificators and predicates as qualitatificators of extralingual entities.

Availing oneself of the dimension of Person a formulation of the definition of the concept of argument seems possible. This concept will be approached in terms of the *relation of being an argument of* (**arg**), defined as follows:

Df 6.1 **arg** =  $\{(x, y): \bigvee_t (t \in \text{Snt} \wedge y = \text{pd}(t) \wedge (x \text{ dq } y \vee y \text{ dq } x) \wedge \text{psf}^>x \neq \emptyset)\}$

In the light of this definition, dicton  $x$  is an argument of dicton  $y$ , in symbols:  $x \text{ arg } y$ , if  $y$  is the predicate of a sentence, and  $x$  is either qualified by  $y$ , or it qualifies  $y$ , and, additionally, it must signify a personal meaning.

Ex 6.1 In the sentence *He borrowed a dictionary from me yesterday*, the dictons *he*, *a-dictionary*, and *from-me* function as arguments of the predicate *borrowed*. However, the dicton *yesterday*, although qualifying the predicate, is not its argument, because it is not sensitive to personification.

The subject of a sentence appears thus as one of the arguments of the predicate of the sentence, which can formally be expressed as the following corollary:

$$6.1 \quad t \in \text{Snt} \wedge x = \text{sj}(t) \rightarrow x \in \text{arg}^< \text{pd}(t)$$

From Df 6.1 and Ax 19 the following theorem may be inferred:

$$6.2 \quad t \in \text{Snt} \wedge x \in \text{arg}^< \text{pd}(t) \cap \text{dq}^> \text{pd}(t) \rightarrow x \neq \text{sj}(t)$$

Thus, any argument, which qualifies the predicate of a sentence cannot be its subject. Hence, subject occupies a special position among the arguments. The predicate of a sentence can be mono- or polyargumental. However, the arguments of the predicate may not always be lexically represented. In the case of lexical vacuity of its arguments, the predicate may semically specify their personal category. And those verbs which are able to semify the personal category of more than one of their lexically vacuous arguments are called polypersonal verbs, as opposed to mono- and apersonal verbs. Obviously, if arguments occur, such verbs are in the relation of concord with them as regards the dimension of Person. The degree of the personalization of verbs is certainly a worthwhile problem for language typology.

## 7. Person and gender

A dicton usually signifies meanings from various semantic dimensions. Thus, for instance, in addition to a personal meaning it may signify meanings from such dimensions as Gender and Number. Languages may impose certain restrictions upon the combination of personal meanings with those from these two dimensions. From axioms 34 and 35 there can be informally inferred that personal pronouns exhibit different degree of susceptibility to the semical signification of meanings of Gender. The least susceptible in this respect are pronouns of the first Person, followed by those of the second Person, and lastly the pronouns of the third Person.

The interaction between the dimensions of Person and Gender within the class of personal pronouns mirrors in fact some aspects of their flexion for Gender. However, the *relation of flexion for Gender* (**fkgn**) cannot be defined without the prior availability of the *relation of opposition with respect to Gender* (**ogn**). These two relations will be introduced as follows:

$$\text{Df 7.1} \quad \text{ogn} = \{(x, y): x, y \in \text{Dct} \wedge \text{sgf}^> x \cap \text{GN} \div \text{sgf}^> y \cap \text{GN} \neq \emptyset\}$$

$$\text{Df 7.2} \quad \text{fkgn} = \{(x, y): x \text{ ogn } y \wedge x \text{ hlk } y\}$$

Since these definitions are, respectively, analogous to those of 5.3 and 5.4, explanations of their intuitive sense can be omitted.

In terms of homopersonality and flexion for Gender the following theorems can be formulated:

$$7.1 \quad L \in \mathbf{LNG} \wedge hps_L^{P_1} \cap \mathbf{fkgn}_L \neq \emptyset \rightarrow hps_L^{P_2} \cap \mathbf{fkgn}_L \neq \emptyset$$

$$7.2 \quad L \in \mathbf{LNG} \wedge hps_L^{P_2} \cap \mathbf{fkgn}_L \neq \emptyset \rightarrow hps_L^{P_3} \cap \mathbf{fkgn}_L \neq \emptyset$$

The former of these theorems says that if there are dictons in language  $L$  signifying the first Person, and inflecting for Gender, then there are also in  $L$  dictons signifying the second Person, and inflecting for Gender. The content of the latter theorem is analogous, concerning, however, the second and third Person.

## 8. Person and number

For the sake of appropriately restricting the discussion of the interaction between Person and Number, we shall take recourse, similarly to the preceding section, in the following two relations:

- (i) *the relation of numeral opposition (onu)*, and
- (ii) *the relation of numeral flexion (fknu)*.

The definition of these relations will be formulated as follows:

$$\text{Df 8.1} \quad \mathbf{onu} = \{(x, y): x, y \in \mathbf{Dct} \wedge \mathbf{sgf}^>x \cap \mathbf{NM} \div \mathbf{sgf}^>y \cap \mathbf{NM} \neq \emptyset\}$$

$$\text{Df 8.2} \quad \mathbf{fknu} = \{(x, y): x \mathbf{onu} y \wedge x \mathbf{hlk} y\}$$

The intuitive contents of these definitions should not be difficult to understand. Let us now consider some further aspects of the combinability of personal and numeral meanings. In accordance with axiom 36, it can be restated that all personal meanings are combinable with all numeral ones, provided the dimension of Number operates in the considered language. The sole restriction imposed on the combinability of first Person with Plurality and mirrored in axiom 37 is fully understandable, since *ego*, being exactly one, cannot be plurified. Thus, the personal significata of *nōs* are not identical with those of a set of *egos*, that is, of *ego*, and *ego*, and *ego*, ..., but with those of *ego* and others, that is, *ego* and *you* or *he/she* (cf. Kuryłowicz 1987:29, 127).

Clearly, the pronoun *nōs* is thus in partial personal opposition with *ego*, as are *we* and *I*, since *nōs* and *we* signify not only the first Person, but also the second or third one, and since *nōs* and *ego* as well as *we* and *I* are not homolexic, they seem to be bound by personal suppletion of a certain kind, rather than by personal flexion. What is more, neither *nōs* nor *ego* can be viewed as inflecting for Number, just as *we* and *I* cannot, since, although *nōs* and *ego* are bound by numeral opposition as *we* and *I*, they lack the aforementioned quality of homolexicity.

A peculiarity of combining the meaning of first Person with that of Plurality has been accounted for ever since in terms of inclusivity or exclusivity, the formal counterparts of which can be identified, respectively, as:

- (i) *the relation of personal inclusivity (icps)*, and
- (ii) *the relation of personal exclusivity (ecps)*.

These relations will be introduced by means of the following definitions:

Df 8.3  $icps = \{(x, p_2): PL \in sgf^>x \wedge p_1, p_2 \in psp^>x \wedge p_3 \notin psf^>x\}$

Df 8.4  $ecps = \{(x, p_2): PL \in sgf^>x \wedge p_1, p_3 \in psp^>x \wedge p_2 \notin psf^>x\}$

According to definition 8.3, dicton  $x$  includes the meaning of second Person, in symbols:  $x icps p_2$ , if  $x$  signifies Plurality, and simultaneously it signifies primarily the first and second Persons, and does not signify third Person. And definition 8.4 states that dicton  $x$  excludes the meaning of second Person, in symbols:  $x ecps p_2$ , if  $x$  signifies Plurality, and simultaneously it signifies primarily the first and third Persons, and does not signify second Person.

In terms of the relations *icps* and *ecps* the so-called inclusives and exclusives, respectively, can be defined. These are usually certain personal pronouns as, for example, in Chinese *zánmen* 'we' (= 'I and you'), and *wǒmen* 'we' (= 'I and he/she'), or in Vietnamese, respectively, *chúng ta* and *chúng tôi*.

## 9. Concluding remarks

Looking now back at the construction of a general theory of the category of Person, undertaken above, one should easily become convinced that it is no exaggeration to say that the domain of such a theory is certainly diversified and complex. This complexity derives from the fundamental nature of the category of Person itself, which permeates many other language categories. Therefore, any ambitious theory, which seeks to project an adequate picture of it cannot content itself with a modest conceptual apparatus and unassuming axiomatics. Contrary convictions may soon turn out to be illusory.

One of our objectives has been to propose a theoretical framework within which the terminology necessary for the description of the category of Person could be developed and appropriately systematized. Without such or some similar sort of systematization, the domains of theories dealing with this category will remain unencompassable and will safely escape linguistic control.

The theory proposed here has many shortcomings, some of which the author is aware of. However, if he has dared to offer it, already in a highly tentative form, for the consideration of any readers who might happen to turn up, he does so in the conviction that it may contribute to further productive investigations, resulting ultimately in a more perfect general theory of the category of Person, a theory worthy of emulation when an axiomatic approach to other grammatical or lexical categories is applied.

Note:

\*The meaning of logical terms will be explained as follows. The propositional connectives of *negation*, *conjunction*, *disjunction*, *implication* and *equivalence* will

be denoted, respectively, by the symbols:  $\neg$ ,  $\wedge$ ,  $\vee$ ,  $\rightarrow$ ,  $\leftrightarrow$ . The universal quantifier *for every (all)  $x$*  and the existential quantifier *there is (exists) an  $x$  such that*, which bind a variable  $x$ , are abbreviated, respectively, with the symbols  $\bigwedge_x$  and  $\bigvee_x$ .

The symbol  $\dot{\bigvee}_x$  is reserved for the phrase *there is exactly one  $x$  such that*.

*Identity* will be symbolized by  $=$ , and *diversity* by  $\neq$ . The set whose elements are  $x, y, z, \dots$  will be denoted by  $\{x, y, z, \dots\}$ . Thus,  $X = \{x, y, z, \dots\}$  means that  $x, y, z$  are elements of the set  $X$ . The formula  $x \in X$  reads  $x$  belongs to  $X$ , or  $x$  is an element of  $X$ . The formula  $x \notin X$  reads:  $x$  does not belong to  $X$ . In order to express *inclusion* of a set  $X$  in a set  $Y$  we shall write  $X \subset Y$ . The *empty set* is denoted by  $\emptyset$ . The symbol **card**( $X$ ) stands for the *cardinal number* or *power* of a set  $X$ , and it tells us how many elements the set  $X$  contains. The operations of *sum*, *intersection*, *difference*, *symmetric difference* and *Cartesian product*, defined on two sets  $X$  and  $Y$ , will be symbolized, respectively, by  $X \cup Y$ ,  $X \cap Y$ ,  $X - Y$ ,  $X \div Y$  and  $X \times Y$ . The Cartesian product of a set  $X$  will be designated as  $X \times X$ .

The Cartesian product  $X \times Y$  of two sets  $X$  and  $Y$  is the set of all ordered pairs  $(x, y)$  with  $x \in X$  and  $y \in Y$ . The subsets of  $X \times Y$ , where  $X$  and  $Y$  are any sets will be called *binary relations* in the product  $X \times Y$ . The fact that  $R$  is a binary relation in  $X \times Y$  will be expressed in the form  $R \subset X \times Y$ . In order to state that  $x$  bears the relation  $R$  to  $y$  we shall write  $x R y$  or, alternatively,  $(x, y) \in R$ .

The *image of an element  $x$*  under the relation  $R$ , i.e., the set of all successors of  $x$  in the ordered pairs  $(x, y) \in R$  will be denoted by  $R^>x$ , and the *converse image of an element  $x$*  under the relation  $R$ , i.e., the set of all predecessors of  $x$  in the ordered pairs  $(y, x) \in R$  will be denoted by  $R^<x$ . The set  $R^>X$  is called the *image of a set  $X$*  given by the relation  $R$ . It contains those objects  $y$  which are successors in the pairs  $(x, y) \in R$ , where  $x \in X$ . The set  $R^<X$  is referred to as the *converse image of a set  $X$*  given by the relation  $R$ . It contains those objects  $y$  which are predecessors in the pairs  $(y, x) \in R$ , where  $x \in X$ .

A relation which is *reflexive*, *symmetric*, and *transitive* will be called an *equivalence relation*. Any equivalence relation on a set  $X$  induces a *classification* of  $X$ . If  $X$  is a set and  $R$  an equivalence relation on  $X$ , then by  $X/R$  will be symbolized the classification of  $X$  induced by  $R$ .

A relation  $R \subset X \times Y$  is called a *function* from  $X$  to  $Y$ , if for every  $x \in X$  there is exactly one  $y \in Y$  such that  $x R y$ . The expression  $R: X \rightarrow Y$  will always mean that  $R$  is a function from  $X$  to  $Y$ . The unique element  $y \in Y$  which is associated with an element  $x \in X$  under the function  $R$  will be designated by  $R(x)$ .

Besides purely logical terms, we shall also avail ourselves of the *relation of being a part of*, denoted by the symbol **P**. This relation is a primitive term in mereology (cf. Batóg 1967: 17ff). The formula  $xPy$  means that an object  $x$  is a part of an object  $y$ . The relation **P** is reflexive, antisymmetric, and transitive.

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## **Morpholexical and Pragmatic Factors in Text Cohesion**

*Dieter Kastovsky and Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky*

1.1. One of the most important issues in text linguistics has always been the search for criteria of textuality, i.e. what it is that makes a text a text and not just an agglomeration of unconnected lexical items. Very early in the development of text linguistics, the notion of "cohesion" was introduced as one of the most fundamental properties of textuality, e.g. by Halliday and Hasan (1976). They regard this notion as a primarily semantic one:

The concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text and that define it as a text. Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one PRESUPPOSES the other ... [...] Cohesion is expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary.

(Halliday and Hasan 1976: 3-4)

Grammatical cohesion is partly an intrasentential phenomenon, based on syntactic properties such as valency, case government, etc., partly it is transsentential, based on coreference, i.e. on anaphoric or cataphoric relations. Lexically based cohesion is primarily viewed as a repetition of lexical material or recurrence, and it is a special subtype of this, viz. word-formation, which will be investigated as to its cohesive function in the first part of this paper.

1.2. The interpretation of cohesion as a purely semantic phenomenon is, however, somewhat problematic. The notion of presupposition is regarded as a central, constitutive factor of cohesion, since a cohesive tie within a text is based on the relationship between two text elements, a presupposing and a presupposed one (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 8). But the notion of presupposition is ambivalent: it is both a semantic and a pragmatic one, straddling the border between semantics and pragmatics. Moreover, among the different types of cohesive relation enumerated by Halliday and Hasan, i.e. reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion, reference also qualifies as a semanto-pragmatic notion. It establishes a relation between two linguistic signs (endophoric reference), or between a linguistic sign and an element of extra-linguistic reality (exophoric reference), so that, like presupposition, it is both semantic and pragmatic in nature. We will therefore argue in the second part of this paper that text cohesion cannot be achieved by semantic means alone, but also has a pragmatic dimension. We will first discuss presupposition and reference, which are about the only semanto-pragmatic cohesive devices dealt with in the standard works on text analysis (cf. for example,

de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 56; Renkema 1993: 38). Then we will demonstrate that there is another, fundamental pragmatic factor that creates cohesion, viz. what one might call "global context". It includes the socio-cultural context understood in a very wide sense, the knowledge shared by the discourse participants, and the cultural rules governing a particular speech community, i.e. a combination of Firth's (1957) "context of situation", Clark and Marshall's (1981) "mutual knowledge", and Wierzbicka's (1994) "cultural scripts" respectively.

2.1. As mentioned above, Halliday and Hasan (1976) regarded lexicon-based cohesion primarily as the repetition (recurrence) of lexical material. It is surprising to note, however, that in their chapter on lexical cohesion, they do not explicitly mention word-formation (derivational morphology) as a possible, let alone relatively frequent device that establishes cohesion in this sense, although it also involves at least partial recurrence of lexical material, since the base is repeated in the derivative or compound, cf. *write*  $\subset$  *writer*  $\subset$  *letter-writer*, etc.

The relatively general notion of cohesion was subsequently split up into two subcategories called "cohesion" and "coherence", for example, in de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), whose definitions recall the dichotomy of syntactic deep and surface structure characterising generative syntax in the seventies. Thus, cohesion is defined as "the ways in which the components of the SURFACE TEXT, i.e. the actual words we hear or see, are *mutually connected within a sequence*",<sup>1</sup> with the addition that this should include all means of signalling surface dependencies. And coherence is viewed as "the ways in which the components of the TEXTUAL WORLD, i.e. the configuration of CONCEPTS and RELATIONS which *underlie* the surface text, are *mutually accessible* and *relevant*" (ibid.). Coherence thus remains a purely semantic notion, while cohesion also has a formal dimension. Put differently, cohesion is interpreted as a formal marker of coherence. In the chapter entitled "Cohesion", de Beaugrande and Dressler also explicitly consider word-formation as a cohesion-creating device under the rubric "partial lexical recurrence", giving a few examples from derivation and compounding, but without any more extensive discussion. And as far as we know, no large-scale systematic investigation of this function of word-formation has been attempted either for a single language or, what would be even more interesting, contrastively.

2.2. The absence of such investigations is all the more surprising, since the recognition of word-formation as a means of text organisation is by no means a recent discovery. Thus, as early as in 1931 the Indo-Europeanist Walter Porzig argued that deverbal abstract nouns were related to the content of sentences, which they take up in nominalised form. And in a later publication (Porzig 1942), he called abstract deverbal nouns "Namen für Satzinhalte", suggesting that they had some kind of pronominal function, which enabled them to refer to co-textual sentences/utterances:

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<sup>1</sup> Italics in the original.

Ein Nomen, das in dieser Weise einen Satz wiederaufnimmt und einem neuen Zusammenhang einordnet, wirkt so als Verbindungsglied innerhalb der Rede. Es blickt zurück nach dem Satze, dessen Inhalt es darstellt, und ist selbst dem Satze eingefügt, dem es angehört. (Porzig 1942: 32)

This is clearly text linguistics *ante litteram*, and can be exemplified by the following randomly collected examples:<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. Another property of these five words [...] is their behaviour when *pied-piping* to follow the preposed degree adverbial *how*. [...] it appears that the more adjectival the word is, the more it can *pied pipe*. *Proud* and *near* [...] are slightly superior, when *pied piping* [...] the only way to check their *pied pipability* is by modifying them [...] the less adjectival the *pied pipee*, the better the result. (John R. Ross 1972, "The category squish: Endstation Hauptwort", *CLS* 8: 318-319)
- b. "See how Ender handles it. If we've already *lost* him, if he can't handle this, who next? Who else?" - "I'll make up a list." - "In the meantime, figure out how to *unlose* Ender." (Orson Scott Card, 1992, *Ender's Game*)
- c. "So you simply can't *change history* using stasis?" [...] "No. [...] One small boy [...] is hardly going to be a *history-changer* because we've brought him forward to our era." (Isaac Asimov and Robert Silverberg, 1992, *Child of time*)
- d. But why was this *order given* more than once? Why would the *order-giver* need that sort of privacy repeatedly? (Isaac Asimov and Roger MacBride Allan, 1993, *Caliban*)
- e. "Once they hear Settlers *are involved*, that will only make it worse." - "Our *involvement!*" Tonya Walton exclaimed. "We had nothing to do with the attack." (Isaac Asimov and Roger MacBride Allan, 1993, *Caliban*)
- f. If you want shares in *Rolls-Royce* apply now! [...] A Public Application Form for *Rolls Royce shares* appears in this newspaper. (Newspaper ad, *The Times*)
- g. *IRA killing* (Newspaper headline)  
The *IRA* claimed responsibility for the *killing* of an off-duty Ulster Defence Regiment soldier shot outside his home early yesterday. (*Daily Mirror*)

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<sup>2</sup> The items forming the morpholexically cohesive tie are italicised.

What Porzig had not realised, however, is that this cohesion-creating function is not just a property of abstract nouns, but, as the examples in (1) demonstrate, has a much wider range, although it indeed occurs most frequently with straightforward nominalisations. But this train of thought was not followed up at the time. Even in the heyday of generative-transformational grammar, when word-formation processes were regarded merely as a subpart of syntactic rules transforming underlying syntactic phrase structures into surface lexical items,<sup>3</sup> the text-linguistic implications of this approach were only recognised exceptionally. One such exception was Lipka in his book on verb-particle-combinations (Lipka 1972), where he explicitly mentioned the anaphoric function of nominalisations in connection with the following example:

- (2) ... whelping occurs just as spring thaws begin to *break up* the winter ice in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Taking advantage of the *break-up*, pregnant cows among the 800,000 harps make their way south. (*Time* 21/3/69: 30)

More specifically, he argued that

[t]he nominalisation *breakup* here functions as a pro-form, which stands for the sentence *spring thaws begin to break up the winter ice in the Gulf of St. Lawrence*, and allows it to be embedded in the following sentence  
(Lipka 1972: 146).

The same approach, viz. treating nominalisations as sentence proforms, is also found in Pusch (1972). But again this was not related to text-cohesion and text linguistics in general, but just brought up as an argument in favour of the transformationalist hypothesis, i.e. the derivation of complex lexical items by syntactic transformations.

Similar observations can be found in Motsch (1977), or Kastovsky (1977a, b; 1982b), where word-formation was investigated from a functional point of view. There, it was assumed that word-formation processes can be placed along the following functional scale. One pole of this scale is purely lexical and is based on the categorial status of the output of word-formation processes, which are lexical items. And the basic function of lexical items is to provide a designation, a name for a "nameworthy" segment of extralinguistic reality. The other pole of the scale is syntactic and was called "syntactic recategorisation" by Motsch (1977). It primarily involves nominalisations, verbalisations, adjectivalisations but also compounds, which take up portions of the co-text and transform them into complex lexical items usually belonging to a different lexical category. These have a quasi-pronominal function and, moreover, allow further modification without undue syntactic

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<sup>3</sup> This constituted the so-called "transformational hypothesis" ultimately going back to Lees (1960), cf. the extensive discussion in Kastovsky (1982a: 216-246).

complexity, cf. the examples in (1). The actual text-linguistic mechanisms involved in these processes were not investigated systematically, however. These will be discussed in greater detail in the following, together with some more general, theoretical issues. The discussion will be partly based on material analysed by a student of one of the authors (D. K.) in an unpublished M.A. thesis (cf. Indra 1990).

2.3. As has been mentioned above, cohesion is a relational notion: it involves a relationship, a "tie" between two textual elements, the "referring item" (RI) and the "target item" (TI), where both are in some sense coreferential (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976: 3f.). The referring item, as the term implies, takes up the target item and refers to it anaphorically or cataphorically; moreover, in our specific case, the two are lexically related.

Starting from this basic assumption, we can now formulate a number of questions with regard to the text-cohesive mechanisms involved:

- What kind of referential relationship holds between the items in question?
- What are the syntactic positions/functions of the two cohesive items?
- What is the directionality between the referring item and the target?
- What are the factors that determine the force of the cohesive relationship?
- Which word-formation processes are involved in establishing text-cohesion?
- What is the quantitative distribution of these processes?
- Is there a relationship between text type and the quantitative distribution of these processes?
- Are there language-specific differences in the exploitation of word-formation for text-cohesive functions?

We will not be able to discuss all these questions in detail and will primarily concentrate on those dealing with the mechanism of cohesion itself.

2.4. Intensity of cohesion/coherence and type of referential relationship between the RI and the TI seem to be interdependent. Thus, the strongest cohesive tie is created by identity of reference between these two elements, i.e. when the referring item and target have exactly the same referent. This is illustrated by the following examples:<sup>4</sup>

- (3) a. Several young people *rioted in Berlin* (TI). [...] The authorities condemned this *Berlin rioting* (RI).
- b. She *smiled* (TI), but [...] the undirected *smile* (RI) seemed fatuous, meaningless.
- c. In a *letter to the Lancet* (TI), Dr. Hitchcock and three other members of the transplant team say their early results already indicate ... [...] Hitchcock says in his *Lancet letter* (RI) that the first two patients ...

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<sup>4</sup> These and the following examples are taken from Indra (1990); their interpretation is our own, however, and does not always agree with his.

- d. Church in talks with *Waite captors* (RI) [Headline]. [...] The Church's first direct contact with *Mr. Waite's captors* (TI) was arranged by Syria.
- e. Jilted wife's *vow* (RI). [Headline]. The cheated wife of jailed murder plotter Malcolm Brown *vowed* (TI) yesterday: "I'll stick by my man."

Apart from complete identity of reference, there are two further possibilities, which seem to be characterised by a weaker cohesive force, viz. inclusive and exclusive reference. The following examples illustrate inclusive anaphoric reference between RI and TI:

- (4) a. A nineteenth-century earl had once *mortgaged* (TI) Pennington, to the embarrassment of his encumbered heirs. A *mortgage* (RI) was bourgeois.
- b. ... the girl *was naked* (TI). Philippa knew she had met her before, but for a moment she couldn't recall when or where - absolute *nakedness* (RI) was intrusive, confusing to the senses.

Here, the RI is generic and therefore necessarily includes the TI, which describes a specific act or state. Exclusive reference with a contrast between the TI and the RI is illustrated by

- (5) Her father *nodded* (TI). [...] More *nods* (RI) from Cenci and Pucinelli.

TI and RI are mutually exclusive members of the same referential set, viz. the set of possible nods performed by different people at different times. This also means that *nodded* and *nods* in (5) are actually only coreferential in sense, and not strictly coreferential, since they do not refer to the same acts of nodding, but rather to a sequence of nodding acts performed by different agents at different times. Another example with coreference of sense rather than strict coreference is (1b), involving prefixation: there the reference is to an event and its subsequent undoing.

2.5. Let us now turn to the directionality of the cohesive tie. As the examples have already indicated, both anaphoric and cataphoric relations occur, but with a clear quantitative preponderance of the former. In an anaphoric relation, the TI precedes the RI, cf.

- (6) The magistrate Mr. Travers *ruled* (TI) that the detective did not have to answer. [...] The *ruling* (RI) was unfair.

This is the most typical situation and is conditioned by the unmarked type of thematic progression. The TI occurs in rhematic position, i.e. it introduces new information. Then it is taken up by the RI in a thematic function, i.e. as old, known information, allowing it to be modified in various ways. This mechanism is also the

functional *raison d'être* of syntactic recategorisation, cf. 2.2. above. Moreover, it would seem that the sequence base - derivative, as exemplified in (6), is also the most unmarked one.

Cataphoric relations are much rarer and therefore marked. They are typically represented by newspaper headlines, where they function as attention-catching devices: the headline summarises the most important aspect of the following text, which then explains the content of the RI, cf. the examples (1g) and (3d, e).

2.6. Another aspect is the correlation of TI and RI with the word-formation process itself. It seems that the functions of TI and RI are in principle independent of the status of the base and complex lexical item (derivative/compound), i.e. both a derivative/compound and its base/constituent can function in either capacity. The same holds for the direction of the tie (anaphoric vs. cataphoric) and the derivational status of the tie members. However, not all of these possibilities occur with the same frequency. Thus, (6) represents the most frequent type with the strongest cohesive tie. The verbal base together with its object functions as a target and is then anaphorically taken up in nominalised form as RI with an additional modification in predicative form. This creates regular thematic progression (in the sense of Functional Sentence Perspective) and therefore conforms to one of the most basic principles of textual organisation. Moreover, we have the unmarked sequence of the base as TI and the derivative as RI in pronominalising function. The headlines (3d, e), on the other hand, have a marked thematic progression, as well as the marked sequence derivative - base. The derivative as RI precedes the base, which functions as TI. Nevertheless, this also involves a very strong tie, since it creates a feeling of expectation in so far as this sequence in fact violates the basic principle of textual organisation - thematic progression from theme to rheme.

Example (4a), on the other hand, contains an instance where the derivational base (the noun *mortgage*), acts as RI, while the derivative (*mortgage* vb.) acts as TI. The thematic progression is unmarked - sequence TI - RI -, while from a word-formational point of view we have the marked sequence derivative - base. This is also the case in

- (7) ... on Saturday it *rained* (TI) all day, the driving torrential *rain* (RI) of midsummer.

Notice, incidentally, that both (4a) and (7) represent an inclusive anaphoric relationship, the RI being more general than the TI.

The quantitative studies in Indra (1990), based on several novels and newspaper articles with an overall running text of 385,248 words present the following picture. For the function as TI or RI the direction of derivation (sequence base - derivative vs. derivative - base) is less important than word-class affiliation of the items involved in the cohesive tie. Thus there is a greater tendency for nominal forms to function as RIs, whereas verbs and adjectives more frequently occur as TIs, regardless of the anaphoric or cataphoric nature of the relationship involved. This has certainly to do with the greater syntactic independence of nouns as compared to verbs or adjectives.



2.7. We would like to conclude this section with two additional observations. Looking at the material analysed in Indra (1990) as a whole, the most frequent word-formation processes are suffixal derivation and zero derivation (derivation without an overt suffix/conversion). Prefixation is hardly relevant, and compounding occupies an intermediate position, being only half as frequent as suffixation. But there are interesting differences between various text types. First of all, in novels word-formation as a cohesive device is used much less frequently than in newspaper articles. Secondly, in the latter compounding is almost as frequent in this function as derivation, while in novels compounding is relatively rare as a text-cohesive device. And within suffixation, deverbal derivation is the most frequent (ca. 70 %). Thus, the various word-formation processes are not used with the same frequency for text-cohesive purposes, and there is a marked difference between text types as to their overall frequency.

The second observation concerns the contrastive aspect. Although we do not have sufficient statistical material to corroborate this, it would seem that word-formation as a text-cohesive device is used with different frequency in different languages. Thus, this partial morpholexical recurrence, and especially the tie between a verb and a corresponding deverbal noun is much more frequent in English than in German or Polish, regardless of text type. One reason for this difference is certainly the fact that English has a nominal construction which is ideal for this purpose, viz. the type *take a (long, boring, strenuous, ...) walk, have a (quick, refreshing, ...) swim* etc., but which is much less productive in German and Polish. This in turn can be related to a number of other factors. Thus, in German, lexical repetition (even if it is only partial) seems to be stylistically much more stigmatised than in English; moreover, the sequence "empty verb + deverbal noun" is intuitively associated with bureaucratic language of the type *zur Abstimmung bringen, Aufnahme finden, in Erfahrung bringen*, etc. and is therefore avoided, at least in spoken language. In Polish, on the other hand, the situation is complicated by the fact that aspectual distinctions such as perfective vs. imperfective are systematically expressed by special verb forms, e.g. *palić* 'to smoke, imperfective' vs. *zapalić* 'to smoke, perfective', *kapać się* 'to bath, imperfective' - *wykapać się* 'to bath, perfective', etc. Nominalisations with an empty verb do not serve the same purpose so easily, in contradistinction to English, where the pairs *to smoke : to have a smoke, to bath : to have a bath* can be used to express the difference between the verbal action as such and a single, perfective instance of the verbal action and are therefore often used as equivalents of the Polish pairs mentioned above (cf. Fisiak et al. 1978: 117-118). But this latter aspect needs additional empirical investigation.

3.1. Let us now turn to the pragmatic aspects of cohesion mentioned in 1.2. above, beginning with the notion of presupposition. The classical definition of what later came to be called semantic presupposition is due to Strawson (1952), cf.:

The truth of S' is a necessary condition of the truth and falsity of S, thus if S presupposes S' in this sense, there will be a kind of logical absurdity in conjoining S with the denial of S'.  
(Strawson 1952: 175)

From this it follows that S' is true regardless of whether S is true or false; but if S' is false, S is neither true nor false. This can be illustrated, for example, with the behaviour of factive predicates such as *regret*, *realise*, etc., which presuppose the truth of their complements both in affirmative and negated sentences:

- (8) a. I regret that the summer is over.  $\supset$  The summer is over.  
 b. I don't regret that the summer is over.  $\supset$  The summer is over.

The presence of semantic presupposition is related to specific linguistic items, so-called presupposition triggers, such as definite NPs, predicates such as factives or implicatives, or special syntactic constructions such as clefts or time clauses, etc. Consequently, semantic presupposition is independent of the wider context, and this immunity to contextual influence also makes it immune to pragmatic factors.

Alongside this semantic view of presupposition there is also a pragmatic one, which is more relevant for our purpose. Out of the many existing definitions we have chosen the one quoted by Levinson as a starting point for our discussion:

An utterance A *pragmatically presupposes* a proposition B if A is *appropriate* only if B is *mutually known* by participants. (Levinson 1983: 205)<sup>5</sup>

This definition is particularly suitable for our purposes, since it employs the pragmatic notions of appropriateness and mutual knowledge, which are also relevant to our notion of "global context" to be discussed below.

The following example illustrates how pragmatic presupposition is instrumental in creating a single instance of cohesion, i.e. a cohesive tie, which is indispensable for the correct understanding of this utterance:

- (9) Non-smokers and smokers are welcome at this establishment. (Sign at Anton's Cafe & Grill, National Airport, Washington, D.C.)

From a purely semantic point of view, (9) is a simple proposition that could be represented by the following formula:

- (9')  $(\sim s) \wedge (s) w$   
 where  $s$  = smokers and  $w$  = welcome

This simply means that everybody is welcome, since from a purely semantic point of view the world is subdivided into smokers and non-smokers (which is done in (9)), and both are welcome at the restaurant. Consequently, (9) is a clear instance of tautology, or, at best, un informativity.<sup>6</sup> At this stage the question arises why such a tautological statement, with such a low informativity value, should be directed at

<sup>5</sup> Italics in the original.

<sup>6</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the notion of un informativity, cf. Kryk-Kastovsky (1996).

potential customers at an airport restaurant. This is where pragmatic considerations have to take over in order to make this utterance interpretable. According to our definition of presupposition above, (9) pragmatically presupposes two propositions: the seemingly trivial (9"a), which is the standard presupposition of a statement, and the context-dependent (9"b), which refers to mutual knowledge:

(9") a. Someone is welcome at this establishment (in the USA).

b. Smokers are unwelcome in most establishments (in the USA).

The two pragmatic presuppositions (9"a, b) constitute a cohesive tie with (9), since their existence is a precondition for the appropriateness of (9), which in actual fact means 'We don't mind smokers'. In other words, the pragmatic presuppositions (9"a, b) secure the cohesion between the text (9) and the set of assumptions shared by the restaurant management and their potential customers. It is also worth noting that the additional information concerning the location of the restaurant in the USA included in (9") is essential to the appropriateness of both presuppositions, since for example, in many European countries (9"a) would sound tautological, and (9"b) would simply be false (at least for the time being). Consequently, it is not pragmatic presuppositions alone, but rather their combination with mutual knowledge, that creates this type of cohesive relation. Notice, by the way, that the concept of mutual knowledge as it is employed here is one of the constitutive parts of the notion of global context, which we will claim below to be the most fundamental cohesive device.

3.2. Another factor contributing to text cohesion which has to rely on mutual knowledge is reference. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 37ff.) distinguish three types of reference, viz. personal, demonstrative, and comparative. For reasons of space, we will limit our discussion to demonstrative reference. It is expressed by the determiners *this/that*, *these/those*, *the*, and the adverbs *here/there*, *now/then*. Now consider the following examples:

(10) (A young professor to the secretary of his university department):  
"Is the professor in?"

(11) (A European calling a friend in Barbados in April):  
A: "Hello, what's the weather like down there?"  
B: "Pardon?"

From a purely semantic point of view, (10) just looks like a question about the whereabouts of a person known to both the speaker and the addressee. This is due to the definite article in front of the noun *professor*. It marks it as definite and it also forms a cohesive tie between some previous mention of the noun and its present occurrence. Moreover, it seems to add to the referent of the noun the property of uniqueness, implying that there is only one professor in the department. In actual fact, however, this is by no means the intended interpretation, which can only be

arrived at if we invoke pragmatic reference in addition to the standard semantic interpretation. And this pragmatic reference is based on the mutual knowledge of the discourse participants which can be summarised along the following lines:

- (12) Although there are several professors in this department, everyone knows (and I know that you know) that the professor I am referring to is the senior professor, whom all of us had simply been calling *the professor* before others received their professorial positions. This tradition has been maintained in the department, so that the phrase *the professor* always refers to professor X, and to no one else.

Thus it turns out that the notion of reference itself is not sufficient for achieving discourse cohesion. Only if it is complemented by mutual knowledge of the discourse participants does a cohesive tie become established. Once again, notice that the concept of mutual knowledge, part of our global context, is instrumental in creating discourse cohesion.

As to (11), this would unquestionably be an acceptable (and a very common) opening of a discourse exchange in many languages, especially in English, where conversations about the weather have traditionally been part and parcel of phatic communion. However, in this particular case, the correct interpretation of the exchange between A and B also hinges on the referent of the deictic adverb *down there*, which happens to be the Caribbean island of Barbados. It should be noted that the referring expression *down there* not only secures a cohesive tie between the two implicit global contexts, viz. Europe and the Caribbean, it also makes the question uttered by A inappropriate, or at least odd. B therefore reacts to it with surprise, having assumed that his/her European friend shares the common knowledge that, except for the turbulent summer, the weather in Barbados is very stable and warm. The question posed by A thus is simply irrelevant under these circumstances. Once again it is mutual knowledge (in combination with deictic reference) that controls the discourse cohesion in (11).

3.3. As the discussion in 3.1. and 3.2. has shown, text cohesion is achieved not by means of reference and presupposition alone; rather, both these semanto-pragmatic notions have to be complemented by the concept of mutual knowledge. Since mutual knowledge is, along with cultural scripts and context of situation, part of our notion of global context (cf. 1.2. above), it might be interesting to see how instrumental the latter two components are in creating text cohesion. Consider first the following example, involving the notion of cultural script:

- (12) (Exchange between an irate customer (an American) and a waitress (a local) in an up-market hotel restaurant on a Caribbean island (St. Lucia)):  
 Customer: "Are you ready?"  
 Waitress: "Yes, Sir."

What is going on in (12) can only be understood if it is related to a particular cultural script, viz. that of American restaurants. There, it is customary that the waiter/waitress approaches the customer with the question "Are you ready?" in order to take the orders. In (12), however, the roles are reversed; it is the customer that uses this phrase customarily uttered by the waiter/waitress to open the ordering negotiation. This role reversal initiated by the customer obviously has the purpose of making the waitress realise that he had been waiting for her readiness to serve him for a longer period of time than customary or - for him - tolerable. By adopting the waitress' expected text the customer pretends to put himself into the waitress' role, which creates a paradox and produces an ironical effect. The waitress, on the other hand, ignored the irony created by this role reversal and preserved the formal structure of the conventional exchange by producing the answer normally expected from the customer when he is ready to order. She might of course also have answered with an apology like "Terribly sorry, we're very busy today". Whether she didn't do this because of an ignorance of the American cultural script or of a conscious disregard of the conventions associated with it, or simply because of a different concept of time, has to remain open. Nevertheless, at least the behaviour of the customer can only be understood on the basis of the knowledge of the respective cultural script, which thus is instrumental in creating textual cohesion.

The last constitutive part of our notion of global context is the context-of-situation. According to Firth (1957: 225), every utterance occurs in a culturally determined context-of-situation, and the meaning of the utterance is the totality of its contribution to the maintenance of the patterns of life in the society in which the speaker lives, and to the affirmation of the speaker's role and personality within the society. Note that, in a way, Firth's wide notion of context includes also Wierzbicka's cultural scripts based on her metalanguage of lexical universals (cf. the discussion in Goddard 1997).

The relevance of these two notions to the maintenance of text cohesion can be illustrated by the following example:

- (13) (Signs at bus stops and on busses in Barbados):  
To city/Out of city

Such signs would be completely uninformative in most places all over the world, but if a tourist in Barbados asks

- (14) How do I get to Bridgetown?

s/he is liable to simply get a reply along the lines of

- (15) Take the bus to city.

The uninformed tourist is likely to be baffled and will probably try to discover some more adequate information about the exact bus line numbers that s/he is looking for. This is where the notion of global context provides the crucial help, and, more precisely the patterns of life in Barbados and its geography. Barbados is a relatively

flat island, consisting mainly of sugar-cane plantations and very few roads basically all leading into its capital Bridgetown (the *City*). Hence, any means of transportation would have to be geared to this geographical characteristic: all roads just lead to or out of the capital, which explains the bus signs. Thus, this example again not only involves the notion of a cultural script of the ways of behaviour in Barbados, but even more widely, the global socio-cultural-geographical context.

4. In the above discussion we have tried to show that cohesion is a much wider concept than is generally assumed. It is not only a semanto-syntactic phenomenon to be analysed in terms of meaning relations as reflected by structural operations. Cohesion involves the whole linguistic system. Thus it is reflected at the level of word structure by the use of word-formation processes; it involves syntactic structural devices such as ellipsis; it crosses the sentence boundaries to reflect the syntactic-semantic notion of coreference, and, finally, it leaves the domain of language structure to look for cohesive devices in the domain of language use. This is where pragmatics comes in, both in the guise of traditional semanto-pragmatic (micro-pragmatic) notions such as reference or presupposition, and the more general (macro-pragmatic) notion of global context. It is in fact the latter that acts as a general frame for the establishment of cohesion, within which the various domains discussed above interact.

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# **Vocalization, Phonemicization, and Syllabification: An Outline of a Model of Phonological Development in a General Problem-solving Perspective**

*Stanisław Puppel*

## **1. Introduction**

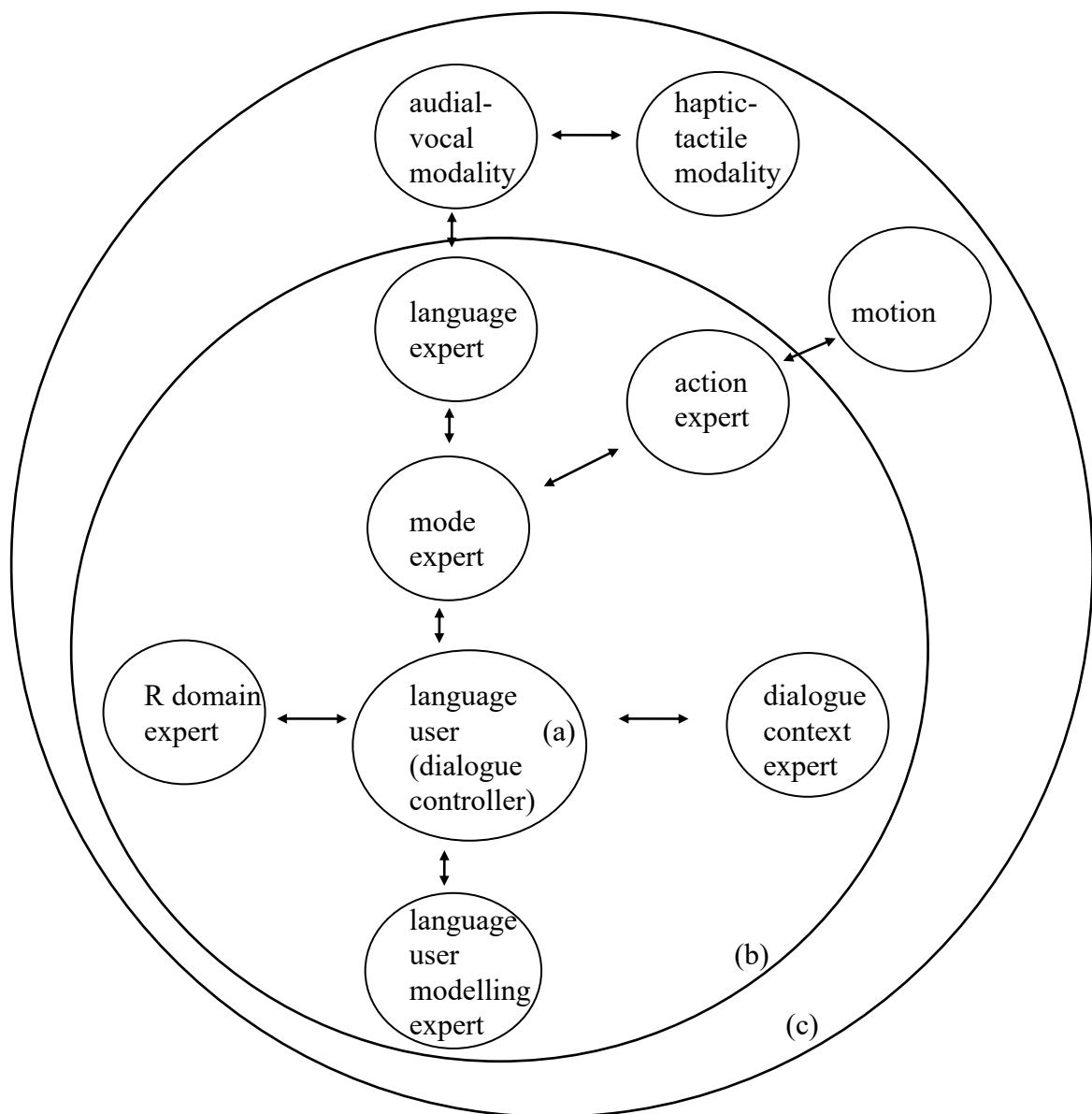
Phonological development constitutes an important part of the developmental process of the child's cognitive and linguistic abilities. Its importance has been duly recognized in acquisitional studies, since the subject of phonological development has been researched intensively and in a variety of ways and is accessible in an impressively number of publications. In the present article, the development of the child's ability to produce intelligible speech is approached in a general cognitive and multimodal way (or more precisely, bimodal way, that is, involving the audial/vocal - haptic/tactile modalities). The central questions addressed here are: (a) What is meant by phonological development?, and (b) How can phonological development be modelled in the cognitive perspective? The subject matter of the article has been narrowed down to the problem of sound segment acquisition. Consequently, other aspects of phonological development (such as the acquisition of pitch and stress, for example) have not been considered.

## **2. A general cognitive view of phonological development**

One of the main assumptions that one can make with regard to the general problem of language development, and phonological development in particular, is that it can hardly be viewed as being dissociated from the child's cognitive potential and its developmental course. The child's cognitive potential is expressed through the changing cognitive states which may be considered as changing representations of aspects of the physical world. Put simply, linguistic development is assumed to build on and to be integrated with the child's cognitive development. This assumption allows us to view language and language development as part and parcel of a general knowledge-based and symbol-oriented behavioural system (or architecture) which is composed of a number of 'expert' nodes, that operates via a common meaning representation domain, that is open in the sense that it affects and is affected by the environment, that receives input and manages its output (i.e. its responses) in a multimodal manner, which is basically dialogic in character, and which achieves some purpose (i.e. goal) within a certain environment. In this sense, the above system may also be viewed as a decision-making and problem-solving complex. Furthermore, it is postulated that the system's format of knowledge is



propositional in the sense that propositions comprise "whatever must be true of any possible world" and in the sense that a proposition "does not fail to have implications - though all entailments of it are...necessary propositions which would hold true of any world which is consistently thinkable" (Lewis 1969: 126; see also Paivio 1971; Pylyshyn 1973; Kintsch 1974; Clark and Clark 1977; Kosslyn 1980). The general architecture of the knowledge-based system is represented below.



A model of a general human knowledge-based behavioural system

Fig. 1

The diagram demonstrates that a human knowledge-based system is composed of compartmentalized 'expert' knowledge, that is, of many different and highly specialized domains, which works synergistically, interactively and holistically. It also follows from the diagram that the behaviour (and development) of an interactive and dialogic system, such as the one presented in Fig. 1, requires at least the interaction and integration of three factors, that is (a) the centrally located language user (or dialogue controller, or, in more traditional terms, the speaker-hearer) who may be further defined here as (b), that is, as an interplay of the quadripartite "domain-mode-dialogue context-language user modelling" expert knowledge, which comprises all the expert fields participating in interactive behaviour, and (c) the physical task (i.e. application) complex which constitutes the output subsystem of the entire architecture of the human knowledge-based system (cf. also Robertson et al. 1989). One may thus state that the proper functioning of the human knowledge-based behavioural system requires these domains to contribute to the interlocking of checks and balances through intricate arrangements. Furthermore, the non-conflicting and synergistic functioning of the interlocked domains requires that they all supervise each other.

The R domain expert may be defined as referring to an understanding of knowledge as embodied by representation, of which the following three types may be distinguished: distributed representations (properly embodied in the concept of neuronal connectivities), fully discrete representations (properly embodied by semantic concepts), and intermediate-level representations (properly embodied in the concept of canonical (discrete) units of speech encoding, i.e. phonemes). The mode expert may be defined as referring to a state of the human knowledge-based system that determines the way information is interpreted to extract or convey meaning. In turn, the dialogue context expert refers to an ability of a language user to properly simulate the various features of the ensuing or existing dialogic situation. Finally, the language user modelling expert refers to the language user's ability to simulate the "opponent" (i.e. interlocutor) in a given dialogic context (cf. Puppel 1993). The above diagram may also be taken as constituting what Pinker (1989) has referred to as the human "mentalese". The term may be indicative of the universally occurring process of semantization of usage whereby the model of the world appears as categorized into mental object systems which may, in turn, be defined by their utility, for example, determined by a dialogic context of language use.

In turn, the interactive human behaviour, in the framework of which language learning and developmental cognitive changes occur, may be illustrated in the following way:

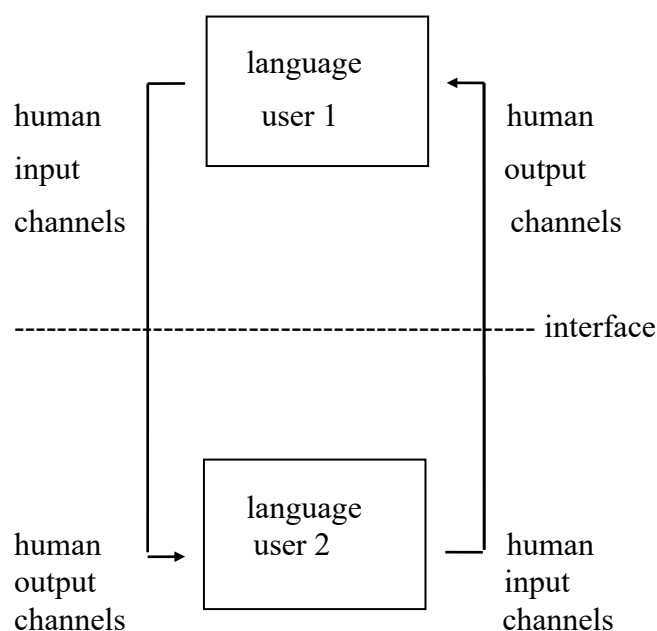


Fig. 2

Within this model of human interaction, the cognitive-computational component may be easily identified as the one whose function it is to analyze the incoming information in a complex perceptual process and to prepare the output (i.e. the response) by means of either language mode or action mode (see Fig. 1). Obviously, the human cognitive apparatus' architecture cannot be observed directly and must thus be inferred. That is why it also cannot be denied that the present considerations are conjectural, which is part of the modelling perspective adopted here.

Summing up this section, an expert system is one which possesses knowledge, which, in the present understanding, is fragmented into adaptable and interactive areas of expertise, such as those demonstrated in Fig. 1. It is also assumed that each fragment of knowledge of such a general human knowledge-based behavioural system develops, thereby maturing eventually into an adult form, as well as adapting to particular contexts and circumstances in order to solve problems (cf. Minsky 1987). Most naturally, the generation of speech is one of the many problems that the human knowledge-based behavioural system has to solve, either in adult verbal interaction or in a developmental course of infant and child verbal interaction.

### 3. A multimodal view of phonological development: the need for a representation of knowledge

In order for a human to learn, s/he must represent what s/he will learn, or, in other words, the learning process must lead to the establishment of a representation of knowledge, both in terms of declarative and procedural parameters. In the former

sense, the representation of knowledge may be understood as being embodied in some data-structure, whereas in the latter sense, it may be viewed as being embodied in some form of mechanism(s). Moreover, despite the acceptable and long-standing practice of examining the acquisition of language on separate levels of the organization of the learning process, it is only natural to assume that language develops (or follows a maturational sequence) not in incremental leaps within the particular levels and in a chain-like and isolated fashion but rather concurrently and across levels. One may therefore assume that an operational space exists for multimodal knowledge-based interactive systems (such as the one demonstrated in Fig. 1; cf. Nigay and Coutaz 1993) within which developmental changes occur. Following the suggestions made by Nigay and Coutaz (1993), one may define the operational space for a multimodal knowledge-based interactive system as an interplay of the following three hierarchically arranged dimensions: (i) level of abstraction of the representational system, (ii) use of modalities, and (iii) data fusion. The level of abstraction refers to the phonological, lexical, and extralexical (i.e. semantic) conceptual structures in which a speaker encodes his/her mental model of the world (cf. Jackendoff 1993); the use of modalities refers to the types of communication channels used to convey information. In this sense, a multimodal view of language development implies the child's increasing ability to use different types of communication channels, either sequentially or in parallel, in extracting and conveying meaningful information. In turn, data fusion, especially on the level of phonology, refers to the speaker's ability to synchronize gestural and independent primitives (such as nasal air flow, phonation, lip rounding, etc.) into gestural events (such as nasal or oral sound segments). The operational space for a multimodal knowledge-based interactive system can be represented schematically in the following way:

|                                      |                            |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Level of abstraction:                |                            |
| Independent<br>conceptual structures | Model of<br>the world      |
| Use of modalities:                   |                            |
| Sequential                           | Parallel                   |
| Data fusion:                         |                            |
| Independent                          | Combined<br>(synchronized) |

Fig. 3

a. Developmental changes on the level of abstraction of the human representational system

It is assumed that a key to success in the behaviour of a human knowledge-based interactive system is a suitable representation of information to which the system can refer in order to achieve its goal(s). It may be presumed that from the beginning of an individual's life no fully effective and mature representational system is available. Rather, it is through developmental and incremental changes across levels that a fully effective and mature representational system is eventually established. Thus, assuming the existence in a healthy young individual, such as a neonate, of an initial (i.e. zero-level) representational system, one may hypothesize that its development requires that it proceeds naturally into its fully mature and ultimately effective shape via small and temporally protracted adjustments. At this point it seems justified to propose a distinction between what may be called "generalized competence" and "full competence", with a concomitant question: what is the character of generalized competence with regard to human behaviour, and early vocal behaviour in particular?

Since competence is what Chomsky has called the "underlying competence that constitutes the 'final state' of the organism being studied" (Chomsky 1968: 73), it is quite plausible that in this vein one may assume that generalized competence may be defined as that state of human cognitive and linguistic potential which is inherited by every single individual in its initial "embryonic" stage. As "experiencing selves" (cf. Eccles 1989), we develop our competence throughout our life by confronting ourselves with reality, accumulating facts in answer to previously asked questions and by perfecting our programming and implementational potential.

Thus, it may be assumed that the inherited generalized competence is what appears to underlie the new-born's initial representational state, which, only through the development of the child's cognitive properties, prompted by an increasingly social and communicative character of language use, unfolds into full adult competence. In saying this I share the view of Hutchins (1994) who has rightly emphasized the stance according to which modelling the human general cognitive potential cannot be divorced from the physical structures that embody it. Also in this vein, it is only justified to perceive human cognitive and linguistic competence as undergoing developmental changes from some inheritable and species-specific point, rather than as being inherited by a human neonate already in its fully articulated shape.

b. Developmental changes in the use of modalities

With regard to human vocal behaviour, generalized competence may simply be understood as the infant's ability to engage in vocal play by means of pre-linguistic vocalizations which may involve a broad array of articulatory gestures, both egressive and ingressive, and ranging from prototypical vowels to front rounded vowels, trills, German umlauted vowels, guttural sounds (cf. Osgood 1953; Davis and Lindblom 1992), as well as clicks, gulping and gasping sounds evoked in various emergent situations and requiring creative decisions on the part of the

infant. These vocalizations may be implemented in initially unclear communicative situations. In phonetic terms, these gestures, like any fully structured sounds, may involve direction of the airstream, source (or initiator) of the airstream, and amount (or volume) of the airstream. Moreover, one may say that the vocalizational repertoire of early infants is supported by the inherited and underlying propositional format (cf. for example, Clark and Clark 1977) in the sense that a vocal gesture of any kind is immediately organized into its mental representation by means of the following simple proposition  $f(x)$ , where  $f$  is the function and  $x$  is the argument. Thus, any vocalization of a healthy infant is organized in an underlying way by means of the following initial and hierarchically simplest proposition:

$$\begin{array}{c} f \qquad \qquad (x) \\ \text{vocalization (audial-vocal modality)} \end{array}$$

which indicates that any vocalization invariably results from the activation of the audial-vocal modality which, in turn, is consequent upon the activation of language expert knowledge (see Fig. 1). Following the suggestions made by Simon (1981) further, we may characterize the early infant vocalizations as basically "unstructured" behaviour in the sense that they are evoked in emergent situations, that they require creative decisions with regard to the employment of the auditory-motor potential, that they occur in communicatively unclear contexts, that they are 'one-shot' (i.e. spontaneous) productions, and that they utilize the general properties of the neuro-muscular-articulatory complex responsible for the activation of the audial-vocal modality.

With passing time and progressing learning, the child's vocal behaviour becomes increasingly "structured", that is, the child responds to more fully understood and therefore more established situations, the decisions to become involved in a dialogue become more conscious and thus more programmable and more repeatable, the linguistic program is implemented more and more routinely, and the child exhibits greater control of the many specialized processes required in the production of synchronized speech gestures. In other words, the child's control over the data fusion capability, over the entire physical task complex, and, generally, over the quadripartite "domain-mode-dialogue context-language user modelling expert knowledge" also gradually increases as the acquisitional process advances.

Viewed from the decision making and problem-solving perspective, the child's growing competence (with its changing nature from generalized to full competence) makes it possible that (a) its vocal behaviour becomes part of linguistic activity directed toward satisfying the communicative needs, (b) the child's developing vocal behaviour involves increasing semantization of usage thus indicating the growing contribution of thought processes that precede the implementational stage of the child's vocal behaviour, and (c) the child's developing vocal behaviour comprises an ever greater number of discrete vocal gestures as phonological units (cf. Browman and Goldstein 1989). Put simply, the physical task complex of the human knowledge-based system (see Fig. 1) becomes more aptly adjusted to implementing a variety of speech gestures. The child successfully moves from merely vocalizational (i.e. unstructured) to fully phonemicized (i.e. structured) vocal

behaviour. A pervasive property of fully phonemicized speech is that gestural events tend to occur in articulatory clusters (or complexes) which from the very onset of their occurrence manifest themselves in easily recognizable and easily repeatable vowel-consonant combinations. Fully phonemicized speech is also easily syllabified as has been amply demonstrated by research work on the acquisition of first language phonology (cf. Oller et al. 1976; Bertoncini and Mehler 1981; Emmorey 1985; Roug et al. 1989; Rice and Avery 1995; Vihman 1996, to cite but a few sources in reference to the problem).

c. Developmental changes as resulting from learning and problem-solving

The above process does not unfold merely as a result of the inevitable activation of the maturational clock but is also very much part and parcel of the human learning and problem-solving dynamism. One may at this point recall Lindsay and Norman's (1977) general laws of learning which may also be assumed to operate on the child's inborn cognitive potential and which may be envisaged as working synergistically towards the establishment of a mature knowledge-based behavioural system and of full linguistic competence within its confines. Briefly, the laws comprise the following:

*Law of effect:* an activity that leads to a desirable outcome is likely to be repeated in similar circumstances in the future;

*Law of causal relationship:* in order for an organism to learn the relationship between a specific activity (e.g. phonatory activity) and an outcome (e.g. audible voicing), there must exist an apparent causal relationship between them;

*Law of causal learning for so-called desirable outcomes:* there is a tendency for an organism to repeat those particular activities which have an apparent causal relationship to the desired outcome;

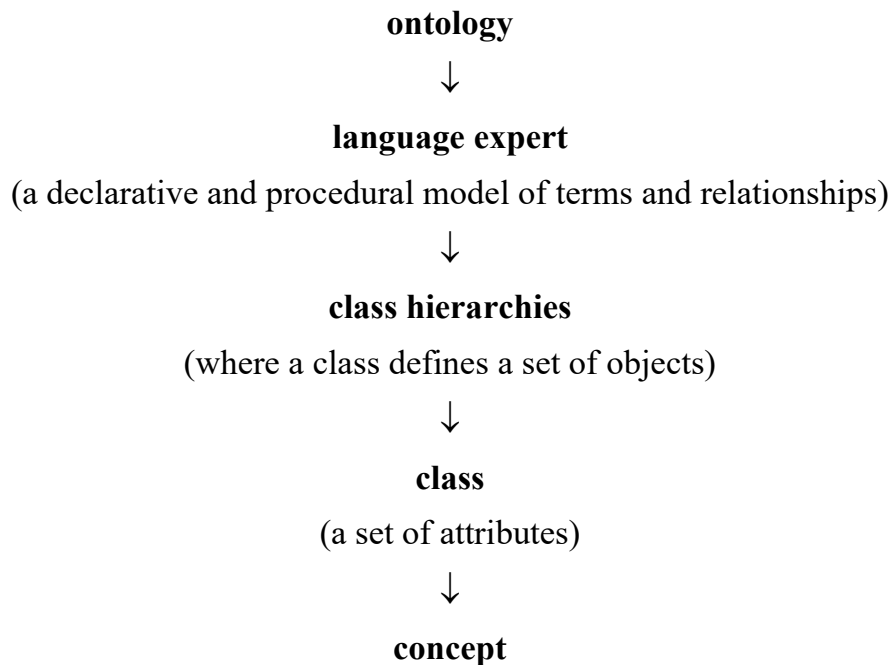
*Law of causal learning for so-called undesirable outcomes:* there is a tendency for an organism to avoid those particular activities which have an apparent causal relationship to the undesirable outcome;

*Law of information feedback:* the outcome of an activity serves as an information about that activity (e.g. a production of a sound segment).

It is assumed that the above laws are involved in "pushing", as it were, the human knowledge-based behavioural system through a developmental sequence and with the aid of problem-solving methods defined here as domain-independent strategies for performing tasks.

Most generally, the use of problem-solving methods in knowledge acquisition by a knowledge-based system requires the use of predefined ontologies, where an ontology is a declarative and procedural model of the terms and relationships in a given domain of expertise (cf. McDermott 1988; Karbach et al. 1990). Furthermore, ontologies are organized into class hierarchies, where each class defines a set of objects. In addition, each class can be defined in terms of a set of attributes (also referred to as slots) which models the concept that a given class represents. These

interdependencies may be illustrated as follows (with the language expert as an exemplar):

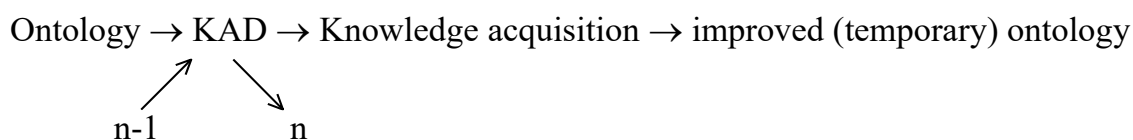


The tasks performed by the language user include a variety of activities around two major linguistic behaviours, namely speech production and speech perception. Generally, the problem-solving methods, although they have been defined as domain-independent strategies for performing tasks, take full advantage of knowledge accumulated by the particular expert domains in order to accomplish highly specialized tasks, in our case the tasks of speech production and perception. The major advantage of using ontologies as the basis for knowledge acquisition, and for the acquisition of phonology in particular, is that ontologies, such as the one shown above, are defined as part of the regular developmental process. Thus, both knowledge acquisition and its application (e.g. by the physical task complex postulated in Fig. 1) involve the same ontologies.

We may now come back to the original question: "What is meant by phonological development?" and venture an answer in the problem-solving perspective. Within this approach, the question is best resolved by postulating incremental changes in the ontologies of the domains which collectively contribute to the nature and functioning of the human knowledge-based behavioural system. These changes are understood as persistent adjustments in domain ontologies, which include both deletion and addition of slots as the child acquires knowledge. More specifically, the transition from generalized linguistic competence to full linguistic competence, indicated above, may be viewed as a transition from incomplete domain ontologies to complete ontologies, in particular as the transition to complete language expert domain ontology. The transitory phase must, of necessity, involve many trials at target objects (e.g. the phonological units of a particular phonological system)



which lead to adjustments in the expert domain ontology (e.g. the language expert domain ontology). The developmental process may be illustrated by the following sequence:



which indicates the following course of events in the process of knowledge acquisition and subsequent adjustments in a given domain ontology:

- (a) a current ontology serves as the knowledge base for a particular trial (n-1),
- (b) the trial activates the corresponding Knowledge Acquisition Device (KAD), a knowledge acquisition tool which introduces changes in the domain ontology, thus allowing another trial (n) to be made,
- (c) an appropriate change in the knowledge base (i.e. knowledge acquisition) occurs which is next introduced to the existing ontology,
- (d) an improved domain ontology is tailored,
- (e) such an improved ontology serves as the knowledge base for yet another trial.

The process continues through the generation of temporary ontologies until the domain ontology has stabilized.

#### 4. Conclusions

In this paper an attempt has been made to propose a general outline of a cognitive model of acquisition of first language phonology understood here both in a general sense of knowledge acquisition and in a narrower sense of the acquisition of the segmental repertoire that any healthy child eventually masters as a result of both of being in control of the inborn cognitive and linguistic potential and as a result of the universally occurring developmental process of semantization of usage of language and dialogic context of the socialization process. In the problem-solving perspective, the process of acquisition of phonology proceeds from the child's initial generalized competence to full competence with the assistance of a number of factors which holistically contribute to the child's growing expert knowledge within the child's knowledge-based behavioural system, as well as through a process of learning shaped by the above defined laws of learning. More specifically, it is postulated that in order to solve a typical problem, such as a production of a contextually determined sound segment, for example, the knowledge-based behavioural system:

- (a) must have at least several different kinds of expert knowledge, best expressed by domain ontologies,
- (b) needs to represent goals (best expressed by the question "What is the problem to be solved?"),
- (c) must possess (or have access to) management schemas (or knowledge acquisition devices) that can manipulate different representations and procedures in

- parallel and which can thus induce appropriate changes within the domain ontologies,
- (d) must be able to perform (i.e. activate the physical task complex) in order to learn as well as solve problems and attain goals.

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**The Primal Landscape of Jules Gilliéron's Linguistic Geography:  
Charles R. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*  
(1 ed. 1859 - 6 ed. 1872)<sup>1</sup>**

*Hideki Sasaki*

1. Purpose of the present paper

I intend to examine where Gilliéron's French linguistic geography came from, or what caused it to come into being. In Gilliéron/Mongin (1905), Gilliéron called the new study the 'geography of language' or the 'geology of language'. It is a historical fact in the technical sense (Carr 1990: 8-30) that Gilliéron started a new field of linguistics. However, I doubt that he came upon the idea of creating the field strictly independently. And so we are already involved in such questions of historical philosophy as: who produced each fact in history? Was it society or an individual of the times? The following view is of great help in answering these questions.

The language which he speaks is not an individual inheritance, but a social acquisition from the group in which he grows up. Both language and environment help to determine the character of his thought; his earliest ideas come to him from others. The individual apart from society would be both speechless and mindless.  
(Carr 1990: 31)

We must therefore conclude that historical facts are formed primarily by social forces rather than any individual's capacity alone. I go on to propose below that what most helped Gilliéron to come upon the geography (or geology) of language was the scientific environment itself of the age he lived in, and that Darwin's *The Origin* acted most effectively as a "midwife" on that occasion. To be more concrete; probably Gilliéron linguistic geography was brought about by the contemporaneous academic advancement, in which both Darwin's *The Origin* in the leading role and the development of the other natural sciences should be included. I thus suggest that

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised and enlarged version of the paper that I read at the 62nd conference of the Japan Association of Dialectology (May 17, 1996 at Tokyo Metropolitan University). My deepest gratitude goes to Willem A. Grootaers for his patient help, and my colleague Jacqueline D. Beebe for her kind suggestions for clearer expression in the present article. But it is needless to say that I am certainly to blame for any errors that may remain.

*The Origin* is hence used to refer to *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1 ed. 1859 to 6 ed. 1872).

Darwin's *The Origin*, the progress of the other natural sciences in those days and Gilliéron himself in decreasing order were indispensable for the emergence of Gilliéron's French linguistic geography.

When we compare Gilliéron's work, especially his publication of 1905, with Darwin's *The Origin*, we are surprised to find them to be too similar or symmetrical in their essential respects to regard the two as accidentally related. To recapitulate the purpose of the present paper in a different way, it chiefly tries to answer the following questions: what was the academic environment in which the original idea of linguistic geography came to Gilliéron? Or, what intellectual surroundings in the broad sense made Gilliéron perceive the novel idea of linguistic geography?

## 2. Georg Wenker's geographical dialectology in contrast to that of Gilliéron

I should clarify the concept of Gilliéron's linguistic geography somewhat before proceeding further towards the aim of this paper. We can do so by comparing his approach with that of the first German geographical dialectologist, Georg Wenker. Although Wenker (1852-1911) and Gilliéron (1854-1926) share methodology in that they both use maps as an explanatory instrument, their ultimate aims are not always identical.

The most striking difference between them is that Gilliéron is more linguistically oriented, while Wenker has the history of the Germanic peoples in mind. I cite Wenker's own words to verify this stance toward dialectology which I have just defined. Wenker at first defines his dialectology as just one of the studies that aim to contribute to the historical reconstruction of the Germanic peoples:

Die eigentliche Aufgabe der Dialektforschung, dies ist vielmehr nur ein Dienst, den sie der Untersuchung unserer Stammesgeschichte, der Vermischung und gegenseitigen Beeinflussung der zahlreichen alten Stämme, also einer im wesentlichen historischen Betrachtung leistet. (Wenker 1886: 190)

Thereafter he mentions the assignment of dialectology more specifically:

[...] alle Abstufungen der einzelnen Laute oder Formen, gleichviel ob sie nur innerhalb eines Stammesgebietes oder an der Grenze zweier Stämme oder über mehrere Stammgebiete hin verbreitet sind, in ihrem sprachlichen Werden und Wachsen, in ihrer gegenseitigen Bedingtheit darzulegen und wenn möglich zu verstehen und zu erklären. (Wenker 1886: 190)

He goes on and then specifies the relationship between geographical dialectology and the history of the Germanic peoples:

Somit hat die geographische Behandlung dialektischer Erscheinungen einmal den Zweck, die historisch-geographische Erforschung unserer alten Stammesverhältnisse wesentlich zu fördern, und ich habe die feste Überzeugung, daß sie

diesen Zweck in Verbindung mit der Ortsnamenforschung, mit dem Studium der im Hausbau, in der Ackerwirtschaft, in Sitten und Gebräuchen ausgeprägten kulturhistorischen Verhältnisse sehr wohl erreichen wird.

(Wenker 1886: 191)

Finally, he refers to the significance of linguistic atlases:

Gerade dieser rein sprachlichen Forschung eine sichere und wenn ich so sagen darf mikroskopisch genaue Grundlage zu geben, scheint mir die Hauptaufgabe des Sprachatlas zu sein.

(Wenker 1886: 190)

Ich hoffe vielmehr, daß er [der Sprachatlas] anregen wird zu fruchtbaren systematischen Lokalforschungen, die eine notwendige Ergänzung zu ihm bilden werden.

(Wenker 1886: 192)

Er [der Sprachatlas von ganz Deutschland] ist ein Denkmal der Einheit unseres Volkes und unseres Vaterlandes.

(Wenker 1886: 193)

Thus his dialectology ultimately aims to reconstruct the history of the Germanic peoples; his vision of geographical dialectology can be schematised as follows: linguistic atlases > geographical dialectology > general dialectology > history of the Germanic peoples (where > should be read as 'contribute(s) to' or 'furnish(es) the basis for').

The reason why I have described Wenker's design for his geographical dialectology above is that I would like to distinguish Gilliéron's initial intention for dialectology from that of Wenker and to limit myself to Gilliéron linguistic geography here. As stated in my introduction, the purpose of this paper is to describe in what circumstances Gilliéron's linguistic geography appeared and to point out the strong probability that Darwin's *The Origin* played the most influential role at that moment. To start with, I intend to examine the basis on which I believe that, with a high probability, Darwin had a significant influence upon Gilliéron.

### 3. Similarity or symmetrical contrast between Gilliéron and Darwin

The aspects that I intend to examine are classified into primary and secondary ones as the first step in my argument. And as the second step, three primary aspects will be presented and then two secondary ones. The primary aspects concern the items in common or in contrast between Darwin and Gilliéron. The secondary ones are subsidiary conditions which facilitated the birth of French linguistic geography.

These aspects can be summarised thus:

(1) Primary aspects:

(a) Methodology → Aspects 1 – 3

(b) History of winners → Aspect 4

(c) Expression in metaphor → Aspect 5

(2) Secondary aspects:

(a) *The Origin* of great influence → Aspect 6

(b) Improved mapping technology → Aspect 7

For aspects 1 to 5, numbered quotations are given below which represent the specific points of evidence on which I identify something in common or in symmetrical contrast between the English naturalist and the French linguist. It is assumed that the readers are more familiar with Gilliéron than with Darwin, so more quotations from *The Origin* will be given than from Gilliéron.

### 3.1. Aspect 1 – Methodology: Synchronic or contemporaneous viewpoint of geographical distribution

#### 3.1.1. Causes for the geographical distribution of species

- (1) Neither the similarity nor the dissimilarity of the inhabitants of various regions can be accounted for by their climatal and other physical conditions [= the most humid districts, arid deserts, lofty mountains, grassy plains, forests, marshes, lakes, and great rivers]. [For example,] notwithstanding this parallelism in the conditions of the Old and New Worlds, how widely different are their living productions! (Darwin 1859: 344)
- (2) Barriers of any kind, or obstacles to free migration, are related in a close and important manner to the differences between the productions of various regions. [For example,] on the opposite sides of lofty and continuous mountain-ranges, and of great deserts, and sometimes even of large rivers, we find different productions... No two marine faunas are more distinct, with hardly a fish, shell, or crab in common, than those of the eastern and western shores of South and Central America. (Darwin 1859: 345)
- (3) the relation of organism to organism being [...] the most important of all relations. (Darwin 1859: 347)

#### 3.1.2. Characteristic distribution patterns

- (4) Peculiar and very distinct species have migrated in radiating lines from some common centre. (Darwin 1859: 372)
- (5) The species of all kinds which inhabit oceanic islands are few in number compared with those on equal continental areas. (Darwin 1859: 379)
- (6) Although in oceanic islands the number of kinds of inhabitants is scanty, the proportion of endemic species (i.e. those found nowhere else in the world) is often extremely large. (Darwin 1859: 379)
- (7) The most striking and important fact for us in regard to the inhabitants of islands, is their affinity to those of the nearest mainland, without being actually the same species (Darwin 1859: 385). It is an almost universal rule that the endemic productions of islands are related to those of the nearest continent, or of other near islands. (Darwin 1859: 386)

### 3.1.3. Obstacles to and channels of movement

- (8) I suspected that these islands had been partly stocked by ice-borne seeds, during the Glacial epoch. (Darwin 1859: 358)
- (9) Some hawks and owls bolt their prey whole, and after an interval of from twelve to twenty hours, disgorge pellets, which [...] include seeds capable of germination. (Darwin 1859: 357)

### 3.1.4. Possible difference between mammals and plants with respect to migration

- (10) Mammals have not been able to migrate, whereas some plants, from their varied means of dispersal, have migrated across the vast and broken interspace. (Darwin 1859: 349)

### 3.1.5. Implication of widespread distribution

- (11) To range widely implies not only the power of crossing barriers, but the more important power of being victorious in distant lands in the struggle for life with foreign associates. (Darwin 1859: 391)

### 3.1.6. Much of the exact lines and means of migration remains to be solved

- (12) (a) Why certain species and not others have migrated;  
 (b) Why certain species have been modified and have given rise to new groups of forms, and others have remained unaltered;  
 (c) Why one species and not another becomes naturalised by man's agency in a foreign land;  
 (d) Why one ranges twice or thrice as far, and is twice or thrice as common, as another species within their own homes;  
 (e) the existence of several quite distinct species, belonging to genera exclusively confined to the south, at these and other distant points of the southern hemisphere. (Darwin 1859: 371f.)  
 [the subdivisions a - e are mine]

In passing, we can regroup the chapters of *The Origin* into the following:

|          |        |                           |
|----------|--------|---------------------------|
| Chapters | 1-8:   | Varieties and variations  |
|          | 9-10:  | Geology                   |
|          | 11-12: | Geographical distribution |
|          | 13:    | Miscellaneous             |
|          | 14:    | Overview                  |

Thus two chapters are allotted to the observation and consideration of the geographical distributions of species. The great amount he assigned indicates how much importance Darwin attached to this division. This will also hold true of 'geology' in section 3.2. below.



### 3.1.7. Linguistic phenomena with a similar geographical range

- (13) Si la dédiminutivisation, fait d'ordre morphologique, est indépendante de la loi phonétique ..ellum > ..et, son aire ne peut coïncider géographiquement avec celle de ..ellum> ..et (Gilliéron 1912: 4) [The context of the above quotation is: when the distribution area of a morphological phenomenon coincides with that of a phonological one exactly or to a large extent, it implies that the two rules are dependent upon each other in an important way.]

### 3.1.8. Attention to the lexical family and their geographical differences

- (14) Le têt d'une moule ramassé dans une rue de Paris n'a pas la même importance quand il s'agit de rechercher l'origine et l'histoire de son espèce que celui qu'on a recueilli dans un des terrains, ou secondaires ou tertiaires, qui recouvrent notre globe. Il en est de même pour les mots. Rien de plus imprudent que de spéculer sur un mot isolé: nous voulons dire placé dans l'isolement artificiel du lexique et comme arraché à son milieu naturel. Un mot a ses conditions géographiques précises qu'il importe avant tout de déterminer. Un fait géographique est souvent la clef de son histoire. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 3)
- (15) Si des couches de mots coexistent actuellement sur le sol, il y a lieu de montrer que l'une est par rapport à l'autre un sous-sol et ainsi de suite: nous devons réaliser d'abord une géographie ou géologie du langage qui nous permettra de situer les mots chronologiquement, de définir leurs rapports, de reconstituer leur genèse. C'est l'étude des cartes de l'*Atlas linguistique [de la France]* qui a fait ressortir à nos yeux l'importance primordiale de ce point de vue négligé jusqu'ici: la distribution géographique du mot. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 3)

### 3.1.9. Coloured linguistic maps as an explanatory device

- (16) La simple considération des couleurs [= des cartes linguistiques coloriées] a une grande éloquence.
- (a) L'expansion triomphante d'un mot (communément aujourd'hui le mot français),
  - (b) la défaite croissante d'un autre,
  - (c) les luttes qu'ont soutenues et que soutiennent les aires serrées l'une contre l'autre, entamées ou victorieuses, se défendant sinon dans le mot important du moins dans un mot de la famille,
  - (d) le caractère nécessairement secondaire et historiquement postérieur de certains mots,
  - (e) la spontanéité manifeste de tel ou tel phénomène attestée par son éclosion incessante et indépendante,
  - (f) la résistance de quelques îlots battus mais non encore submergés par le flot envahisseur et qui sont les débris d'un état de choses ruiné, tous ces faits et une foule d'autres de la vie si diverse du langage se trouvent là fortement exprimés, et il nous est permis de plonger dans l'histoire obscure des mots, et par là des choses et des idées. A la base de toute étude lexicologique, nous plaçons donc l'examen des cartes. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 3f.)
- [the subdivisions a - f are mine]

Quotation number 16 above embraces almost all the important principles of Gilliéron's linguistic geography.

### 3.2. Aspect 2 – Methodology : Diachronic or historical viewpoint of geology

#### 3.2.1. Lapse of time between strata

- (17) A man must for years examine for himself great piles of superimposed strata, and watch the sea at work grinding down old rocks and making fresh sediment, before he can hope to comprehend anything of the lapse of time, the monuments of which we see around us. (Darwin 1859: 294)

#### 3.2.2. Imperfect geological records

- (18) I look at the natural geological record, as a history of the world imperfectly kept, and written in a changing dialect; of this history we possess the last volume alone, relating only to two or three countries. Of this volume, only here and there a short chapter has been preserved; and of each page, only here and there a few lines. Each word of the slowly-changing language, in which the history is supposed to be written, being more or less different in the interrupted succession of chapters, may represent the apparently abruptly changed forms of life, entombed in our consecutive, but widely separated formations. (Darwin 1859: 316)
- (19) Numbers of our fossil species are known and named from single and often broken specimens, or from a few specimens collected on some one spot. Only a small portion of the surface of the earth has been geologically explored, and no part with sufficient care [...]. No organism wholly soft can be preserved. Shells and bones will decay and disappear when left on the bottom of the sea, where sediment is not accumulating. (Darwin 1859: 298)

#### 3.2.3. Rare exceptions to section 3.2.2.

- (20) A few of the sufferers may often long be preserved, from being fitted to some peculiar line of life, or from inhabiting some distant and isolated station, where they have escaped severe competition. (Darwin 1859: 324)

#### 3.2.4. Darwin seemed specifically interested in palaeontology or paleochronology, while Gilliéron in contrast was more interested in stratigraphy

- (21) Jules L. Gilliéron accompagna, dès sa jeunesse, son père, Jean Victor Gilliéron, dans ses excursions de recherches géologiques, et se rendit compte de l'importance des minutieuses enquêtes sur place et de la manière de publier, sous forme cartographique, les résultats. (Pop 1950: 179)
- (22) De même qu'au nord de la frontière 'mardi-dimar' nous avons légitimement supposé, sous la *couche actuelle* de 'mardi', une *couche plus ancienne* de

'dimar', elle-même *superposée* sans doute à une *couche* de 'dimars'. (Gilliéron/Roques 1912: 101) [Italics mine]

- (23) Nous nous efforçons, à l'aide de la géologie linguistique, de ressaisir la formation et l'échelonnement historique (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 13). La géologie linguistique retrouve deux *sous-sols* latins (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 24). Les aires (resecare, sectare) qui *recouvrent* l'ancienne aire 'serrare' (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 25). Couches superposées (Gilliéron/Roques 1912: 123) [Italics mine]

### 3.3. Aspect 3 - Methodology: Basic framework (composite of Aspects 1 & 2) in which diachrony projects itself on synchrony, and vice versa

Each historical process in time results in its distribution pattern in space, and, in turn, each distribution pattern in space stores its own historical development in time within itself.

- (24) As the late Edward Forbes (1846) ['On the connexion between the distribution of the existing fauna and flora of the British Isles, and the geological changes which have affected their area'] often insisted, there is a striking parallelism in the laws of life throughout time and space: the laws governing the succession of forms in past times being nearly the same with those governing at the present time the differences in different areas. (Darwin 1859: 395)
- (25) The more nearly any two forms are related in blood, the nearer they will generally stand to each other in time and space. (Darwin 1859: 395f.)

The actual fact is that there were cases in which Darwin did not strictly distinguish between synchrony and diachrony. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that he was conscious of the distinction between the two axes as a working principle. This assumption is supported by the fact that an English geologist, Charles Lyell (1797-1875), who had a great influence on Darwin, clearly referred to the concepts of synchrony, diachrony, and their correlation in the former's representative work:

When we study history, we obtain a more profound insight into human nature, by instituting a comparison between the present and former states of society.  
(Lyell 1990: 1)

In linguistic geography Wenker explicitly mentioned the relationship between space (= geography) and time (= history) in 1885 (Wenker 1886: 191).

- (26) Croira-t-on [= rhetorical question]  
(a) que les répartitions géographiques actuelles ne s'expliquent pas par l'histoire passée,  
(b) qu'elles n'ont pas gardé  
(c) qu'elles ne peuvent pas nous livrer quelque chose de cette histoire?  
(Gilliéron/Roques 1912: avertissement) [the subdivisions a - c are mine]

- (27) De quelle utilité ne sont pas les *parlers qui étalent géographiquement les faits chronologiques*; qui nous révèlent ainsi les actes de leur vie intime. (Gilliéron/Roques 1912: 9) [Italics mine]
- (28) Les faits si divers, si multiples, incohérents en apparence, que nous présentait la carte 1 se sont peu à peu ordonnés sous notre effort, *coordonnés* et *subordonnés*; le désordre actuel s'est transformé en une série organisée: et cette cohérence historique retrouvée est un puissant indice de vérité. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 23) [Italics mine]

A brief comment is appropriate here: by the italicised *coordonnés* and *subordonnés* Gilliéron means 'synchronisés' and 'diachronisés' respectively, as you can see from:

La géographie linguistique par la force avec laquelle elle *subordonne chronologiquement* tel fait à tel autre fait révèle à l'étymologiste toute l'étendue du danger, en même temps qu'elle s'impose comme le moyen exclusif de le prévenir. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 24) [Italics mine]

- (29) Nous admettons *l'inégalité chronologique* dans l'introduction du mot nouveau pour admettre par là même *l'inégalité dans les états vitaux* des patois qui vont se le donner, et notamment dans la vitalité phonétique. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 25)

#### 3.4. Aspect 4 – History of the results of the struggle for life

- (30) Owing to this *struggle for life*, any variation, however slight and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to an individual of any species, in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will generally be inherited by its offspring [...] I have called this principle, by which each slight variation, if useful, is preserved, by the term of *Natural Selection*, in order to mark its relation to man's power of selection. (Darwin 1859: 115) [Italics mine]
- (31) On a small island, the *race for life* will have been less severe, and there will have been less modification and less extermination. (Darwin 1859: 151) [Italics mine]
- (32) It is the most closely-allied forms, – varieties of the same species, and species of the same genus or of related genera, – which, from having nearly the same structure, constitution, and habits, generally come into the *severest competition* with each other. (Darwin 1859: 154) [Italics mine]
- (33) In many cases, *a large stock of individuals* of the same species, relatively to the numbers of its enemies, is absolutely necessary for its preservation. (Darwin 1859: 122) [Italics mine]
- (34) *Rarity*, as geology tells us, is the precursor to extinction. (Darwin 1859: 153) [Italics mine]

- (35) This very slow, intermittent action of *natural selection* accords perfectly well with what geology tells us of the rate and manner at which the inhabitants of this world have changed. (Darwin 1859: 153) [Italics mine]

When we begin to look for the French quotations corresponding to quotations 30-35, it seems as if we could obtain as many as we want. Linguists and dialectologists should almost be bored with quite familiar phrases of the kind used by Gilliéron, as quotation 16 (a) - (c) above suggest. For that reason, a few of those instances to the effect that language history is the result of the process of collision, struggle, battle, and the like will suffice for the readers.

- (36) Nous ne savons pas si 'se(r)rare' - fermer *a* ici totalement *disparu*, s'il n'a pas pu *vivre* dans un autre sens. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 9) [Italics mine]
- (37) Le tableau qui se retrace sous nos yeux est un véritable drame linguistique. Une *guerre* entre deux mots (serare, serrare), une *guerre* qui dure depuis près de deux mille ans. Les deux camps *ennemis* sont encore *sur le terrain*, fortement amoindris tous les deux, leurs *avant-postes* quelquefois encore *aux prises* – ou, si l'on veut, provisoirement *conciliés*. Autour de ces deux camps, de vastes territoires où la *lutte* s'est terminée par la *mort* des deux. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 24) [Italics mine]

### 3.5. Aspect 5 – Darwin's description of animals and plants by means of language, and Gilliéron's description of language by means of human beings or other living things; symmetrical relationship

- (38) A breed, like a dialect of a language, can hardly be said to have had a definite origin. (Darwin 1859: 97)
- (39) cf. quotation 18, above (Darwin 1859: 316)
- (40) It may be worthwhile to illustrate this view of classification, by taking the case of languages. If we possessed a perfect pedigree of mankind, a genealogical arrangement of the races of man would afford the best classification of the various languages now spoken throughout the world; and if all extinct languages, and all intermediate and slowly changing dialects, had to be included, such an arrangement would, I think, be the only possible one. Yet it might be that some very ancient language had altered little, and had given rise to few new languages, whilst others (owing to the spreading and subsequent isolation and states of civilisation of the several races, descended from a common race) had altered much, and had given rise to many new languages and dialects. The various degrees of difference in the languages from the same stock, would have to be expressed by groups subordinate to groups; but the proper or even only possible arrangement would still be genealogical; and this would be strictly natural, as it would connect together all languages, extinct and modern, by the closest affinities, and would give the filiation and origin of each tongue. (Darwin 1859: 406)

- (41) Rudimentary organs may be compared with the letters in a word, still retained in the spelling, but become useless in the pronunciation, but which serve as a clue in seeking for its derivation. (Darwin 1859: 432)
- (42) Il *a* enfin *cédé* à 'sectare' qui sur les autres points allait *expulser* à son tour le vainqueur 'REsecare'. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 23) [Italics mine]
- (43) [...] dans ce noyau qui paraît constituer *l'âme* même du patois. (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 26)
- (44) Nous voyons les parlers *se livrant* au français, parce qu'ils *sont tirillés* entre diverses influences locales et qu' ils n' *ont* plus assez de *confiance* en eux-mêmes pour *choisir librement leur voie*. (Gilliéron/Roques 1912: 131) [Italics mine]
- (45) palingénésie (Gilliéron/Mongin 1905: 13) – polygénésie (Gilliéron/Roques 1912: 135)

#### 4. Aspect 6 – Darwin's great influence

The very essay that Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) mailed to Darwin from Sarawak of Borneo ended up making the latter hasten to complete and publish his theory of evolution by natural selection. In fact, the Sarawak paper (1855) almost turned Darwin upside down; the paper happened to be extremely coincident in its assertion with Darwin's idea. He was keen to establish the academic priority of an evolutionary theory based on natural selection. Although this is the true story of the two English naturalists, the present writer quotes Darwin's work (1859) as the first published complete work of the theory of evolution. Darwin had actually hesitated to publish the work, because he knew that the intellectual public were quite sensitive to its necessary conclusion of the ancestral continuity of mankind from animals. Those who believe in the Bible, namely, that each species was independently created by God, are often called 'Fundamentalists'. On the contrary, those who give credence to Darwin's theory of evolution are often called 'Modernists'. Thus, according to Hobsbawm (1975: 302), "The theory of evolution by natural selection reached out far beyond biology, and therein lies its significance." Darwin's theory of evolution began to be applied beyond its proper field of biology especially by students of philology and sociology:

- (1) Linguists (A. Schleicher, O. Jespersen, etc.) and
- (2) Social Darwinists (K. H. Marx, K. Kautzky, F. W. Nietzsche; imperialists, nationalists, capitalists, etc.)

I will go into a little detail about each.

##### 4.1. Linguists

##### 4.1.1. August Schleicher (1821-1868)

Schleicher is said to have applied Darwin's theory of the evolution of species to linguistic genealogy. See, for example, Ivić (1965: 44) and Waterman (1970: 31).

Schleicher, however, happened to think likewise, independently of Darwin. The former himself says so:

It is quite *accidentally* that I pronounced an opinion coinciding in a remarkable degree with Darwin's views on 'the struggle for life', on the extinction of ancient forms, on the widely-spread varieties of individual species in the field of speech, as far back as the year 1860 – that is to say, contemporaneously with the publication of the German Darwin. (Schleicher 1869: 15f.) [*Italics mine*]

If we understand the quote above literally, he cannot be judged to belong to those utterly influenced by *The Origin*. In fact, Schleicher (1869: 30) did not think that Darwin's rules applied to the species of animals and plants are completely the same as the rules for languages as a whole. It is true, however, that he took an organicistic stand towards language (1869: 20f.). Accordingly we can aptly follow the commonly accepted view here that Schleicher was a Darwinist in that respect.

#### 4.1.2. Otto Jespersen (1860-1943)

Jespersen's philosophy of life was agnosticism. He admits that this shows strong influences of Darwin with Herbert Spencer (1820-1930) and Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-95) (Jespersen 1995: 43). Jespersen's stance on the study of language was naturally Darwinian. Darwin's great influence upon Jespersen is manifest in some titles and chapter headings of the books by the latter: *Progress in Language* (1894), *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1905), *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* (1922); 'Progress or Decay?' (1922: XVII) and 'The Origin of Speech' (1922: XXI).

### 4.2. Social Darwinists

#### 4.2.1. Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883)

Marx read *The Origin* in London and immediately wrote to his co-worker Friedrich Engels (1820-95), expressing his delight in discovering it as the biological version of his *Das Kapital – Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, which had not yet been published at that time; see Hobsbawm (1975: 305).

#### 4.2.2. Karl Johann Kautzky (1854-1938)

The leading theoretician of the German Social Democratic Party (GSDP) considered Marxism to be Darwinism applied to social science; see Hobsbawm (1987: 267). Some historians of Germany retrospectively assert that the GSDP could have prevented the decisive advance of Hitler's Nazis at the final stage, after which Nazism grew to be an uncontrollable monster, if the GSDP had meant to do so in any possible way. They did not do so, however, as German history shows. The primary reason why they did not was said to be the fact that the general theoretical principles of the party was based on what is called Social Darwinism – society

changes for the better. In short, Social Darwinism made the party optimistic enough to make too light of the Nazis' potential anti-sociality and anti-moralism; see Hobsbawm (1975: 304).

#### 4.2.3. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900)

An outstanding German philosopher, Nietzsche's unfinished work *Der Wille zur Macht* [The Will to Power] belongs to another social version of Darwinism; see Hobsbawm (1987: 252f.).

#### 4.2.4. Imperialists, nationalists, capitalists

Darwinism was often linked with government policy including colonialism, racism, apartheid, nationalism, etc. in the age of Imperialism. In these cases too, Darwinism is improperly defined. These sorts of usage of the term share the semantic feature <egotism>, in which the word Darwinism is selfishly exploited. Characteristically in the U.S., Darwinism declines to be inaccurately construed as 'militant capitalism' (Hobsbawm 1975: 305). And Hobsbawm goes into a few more details:

In America 'Social Darwinism' stressed free competition as nature's fundamental law, and the triumph of the fittest (i.e. successful businessmen) over the unfit (i.e. the poor). (Hobsbawm 1987: 254)

### 5. Aspect 7 – Statistical maps alongside the development of science

Bartholomeu Dias (Portuguese 1450-1500; 1488 – Indian Ocean), Christopher Columbus (Italian 1451-1506; 1492 – America) and Vasco da Gama (Portuguese 1469-1524; 1498 – Cape of Good Hope; India) brought in the advent of the age of major European voyages of discovery. These large-scale movements by sea provided a great deal of information about geographical features of both land and water. Reliable and fairly rich information of those kinds on the one hand, and the development of printing technology on the other stimulated the making of increasingly exact maps.

Willebrord Snell van Roijen (1591-1626, Dutch astronomer and mathematician), and an Italian family of astronomers: Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625-1712), Jacques Cassini (1677-1756, G. D. Cassini's son), César François Cassini de Thury (1714-84, J. Cassini's son) and Jacques Dominique Cassini (1748-1845, C. F. Cassini de Thury's son) contributed much to the development of surveying technology between the beginning of the 17th century and the end of the 18th century. Between the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century more scientific maps began to be published especially in France, Germany, Britain and Denmark.

The striking improvement of barometers, thermometers and hygrometers in the 18th century laid the foundations of mapping for various purposes thereafter. This



was due to the fact that those highly improved scientific apparatuses could store reliable statistical or quantitative data and furnished abundant mapping material, especially after the mid-19th century. What most symbolically represented the current of the times was the fact that a geographical and cartographic journal *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen* was started in 1855 by a German geographer, August Heinrich Petermann (1822-78).

## 6. Conclusion

What were the linguistic conditions in France like around the period of the fieldwork done by Edmont for the Linguistic Atlas of France (ALF)? Weber describes the conditions around 1863 in France based on the official documents issued during the age. We can presume the state of affairs at Edmont's work period (1897-1901) to some extent from that of 1863:

French was a foreign language for a substantial number of Frenchmen, including almost half the children who would reach adulthood in the last quarter of the century.  
(Weber 1976: 67)

Gilliéron's ALF is of major significance in the sense that it did the fieldwork before standard French became too dominant. The ALF slowly but surely developed Gilliéron's linguistic geography. Can we tell when *The Origin* deeply impressed Gilliéron in the primal landscape of his linguistic geography? The most probable period is between 1883 (when he was 29) and 1897 (when he was 43). It was in 1883 when he began the most substantial period in his life as a professor at *l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes de Paris*. 1897 was the year when his assistant Edmont began the fieldwork for the ALF. The year 1883 was also 24 years after the first publication of *The Origin* and 11 years after the publication of the final 6th edition.

Both *The Origin* and new kinds of statistical maps were more or less necessarily created as a result of the scientific development of those days, when Gilliéron with his own education, character, interests, and other traits could develop his own linguistic geography. From a different point of view, if we had lacked any of the above three (*The Origin*, scientific progress, and Gilliéron himself), we would not have had his linguistic geography.

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