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VIenna English Working paperS

Volume 3 Number 2 December, 1994

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Letter from the Editors

So, this has been the third year of VIEWS.

We are particularly grateful to the Senate of the University of Vienna for generously funding the production of this issue.

This number is again different from the previous one in at least two respects: First, it is predominantly diachronic (though readers will be accustomed by now to not finding a single paper on OE -ian!) *and second, it is not quite as Vienna-based in terms of where the contributions were produced – a bit more international!*

There is nothing really innovative about VIEWS *3/2, except for the contributions themselves, of course - and, yes, we have footnotes now, rather than endnotes. We are becoming established, it seems. Whether this is good news, or bad news, we leave to the reader to figure out. Displaying completely un-Viennese optimism, we have decided to take some pride in it.*

Finally, we should like to remind you again of the intended interactive nature of VIEWS*: strangely, the 'diachronists' seem to be much better at that than the 'synchronists'. In a sense, Bammesberger's contribution in this issue is an answer to a statement by Roger Lass - though the latter's volume on Old English came out with CUP, and not as a special issue of* VIEWS. *T'is pity. Anyway, as usual, you will find plenty to react to in this issue, so why not give us* your VIEWS *on Germanic geminates, the future of South African English or 'Emigranto'? Here once more our address (mind the new fax number):*

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The Editors

Note to contibutors:

Your contributions should reach us on computer disks (or via e-mail) in any standard IBM compatible word processing format (MS Word, Word for Windows, Wordperfect [for Windows], Word Star, R.T.F., ASCII ...) together with a printout showing character format, special symbols, formulae, tables etc.

Small Indo-European and less Lithuanian: Lass on Old English

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1. My first reaction on seeing and then reading Lass (1994) was one of pure joy. The general purpose of this work is expressed as follows: "*Old English* is a companion to Old English studies and to historical studies of early English in general. It is also an introduction to Indo-European studies in the particular sense in which they underpin the history of English". Given Lass's expertise in the field of linguistics and English linguistics in particular, we may have high expectations in this book. On the whole I believe that no reader will be disappointed. The book certainly is what its subtitle promises: *A historical linguistic companion.* I feel obliged, however, to point out a number of details which to my mind should be revised in reissuing the book. I most sincerely hope that it will be widely used.

2. I fully accept Lass's basic assumption that students of English need a certain amount of historical background information. The essential questions are: How much do they need? What kind is useful for them? In order to answer these questions it may be best to first show how Lass organized his material. His general plan is crystal clear:

　　Part I: Historical prelude (7-29)
　　Part II: Old English phonology (31-102)
　　Part III: Morphophonemic intermezzo (103-119)
　　Part IV: Morphology, lexis and syntax (121-240)
　　Part V: Historical postlude (241-252)

This sequence is to my mind totally convincing. But there are two main issues which I wanted to indicate in the title given to this paper: I believe that we need a limited, but reliably clear dose of Indo-European; Lithuanian, on the other hand, is hardly necessary in this context.

3. I take the second point first. I don't think that many students of English have any knowledge of Lithuanian. I regret to say this since Lithuanian is really very close to my heart. I have worked on Lithuanian for many years. But I think we just have to accept the fact that students of English have no time for Lithuanian. Admittedly it would be useful if they could follow up information provided on Lithuanian. But then of course this information ought to be absolutely reliable. Unfortunately Lass is not particularly strong in this respect. I will give some instances in 4. and 7.

4. On p. 107 Lass writes with regard to the root IE *stā-* (Lat. st**a**re 'stand': "*o*-grade in Lith. *stuo-mas* 'growth, shape'." This is partly incorrect. The verbal root for 'stand' is Lith. *sto-* (from IE *st**a**-). A form with the vowel IE ***o*** > Lith. *uo* does in fact occur, but this is basically a stem in *-men-*, whose nominative singular has the shape *stuomuõ* (ge- nitive *stuomeñs*). The substantives in *-uo* are a limited class, whereas masculines in *-as* are extremely frequent. A secondary stem *stúomas* 'idle person' should be kept apart from the abstract noun *stuomuõ* 'growth' (see also Szemerényi 1989:92).

A somewhat similar and at the same time troublesome point must be made with regard to Lass's discussion of Lith. *stógas* 'roof'. He quotes this form in his discussion of the ablaut system (p. 105). He seems to think that *stógas* represents somehow an Indo-European *o*-grade (of the root *(s)teg-*). But this is not so, since IE *o* regularly appears as *a* in Lithuanian. Therefore *stógas* must be projected back to a preform *st**a**g-o-*, which is admittedly difficult to explain. Nevertheless this is the form we need. I could take further details, but I think the two examples chosen make clear what I want to say: For students of English the details of Lithuanian comparative grammar, complicated as they are in many respects, lead to no further insights, even if they are presented correctly. If the material is incorrect, only unnecessary confusion can result.

5. As a transition from Lithuanian to Indo-European I will use the pa- radigm of declension markers for *o*-stems (of the type IE *w̥lkʷos*, Gmc. *wulfaz*, see below 12.) as given on p. 128 (see the following page). This will allow me to take up the wider issue of comparative linguistics. In particular we want to examine the comparative material students need. I am convinced that no student can be expected to ''learn'' these things. But if a keen student ever felt urged to check the forms given in the paradigm, he/she would be surprised that quite a few are incorrect. Decades of teaching have continuously confronted me with the inquisitive student who wants to know why different forms are offered in our sources. Incorrect forms have devastating consequences.

TABLE (1)

		Skr	Lith	Lat	Gr	Go	OE
sg	nom	-a-s	-a-s	-u-s	-o-s	-s	-Ø
	voc	-a	-e	-e	-	-Ø	-
	acc	-a-m	-a	-u-m	-o-n	-Ø	-Ø
	gen	-a-sya	-o	-**i**	-o-io	-is	-es
	dat	-**a**-ya	-ui	-**o**	-**o**-i	-a	-e
	abl	-a-d	-	-**o**	-	-	-
	loc	-e	-e	-	-	-	-
	ins	-a	-u	-	-	-	-

TABLE (1) contd.

pl							
	nom	-**a**-s	-a-i	-**i**	-o-i	-**o**s	-as
	acc	-**a**-s	-i-s	-**o**-s	-o-i	-**o**s	-as
	gen	-a-m	-u	-**o**-rum	-**o**-n	-**e**	-a
	dat	-e-bhyas	-a-ms	-**i**s	-o-isi	-a-ms	-um
	loc	-e-su	-uose	-	-	-	-
	ins	-a-is	-a-is	-	-	-	-

6. In commenting on the list given in 5. I will limit myself to what can be considered as definitely incorrect forms. I omit all minor points on which there may be differences of opinion and interpretation. Thus I will not discuss any further the analysis of Skt. -*a*ya as -*a*-ya, although it should be mentioned in passing that the most plausible analysis of this marker is as consisting of a particle -*a* following what was the inherited ending -*a*y for dative singular; then it would be preferable to write -*a*y-a instead of -*a-ya*.

7. Of the six languages represented, only the endings for Old English (-ø, -*es, -e, -as, -a, -um*) and Latin (-*u-s, -e, -u-m, -**i**, -**o**, -**o**-s, -**o**-rum, -**i**s*) are listed correctly. The remaining lists must be corrected as follows:
Sanskrit: sg abl -*a*-d, sg ins -*a* (in the classical period the ending is -*ena*), pl acc -*a*ns, pl gen -*an*a*m*
Lithuanian: sg acc -*ą* (admittedly nowadays identical in pronunciation with -*a*), pl acc -*us*, pl gen -*ų* (identical in pronunciation with -*u*)
Greek: sg voc -*e*, pl acc -*ous* (in dialects also -*ons*)
Gothic: pl acc -*ans*, pl dat -*am* (pl acc Go. *dagans* and pl dat *dagam* are quoted correctly on p. 129).
It will be obvious that a listing of this sort is of no use. It is rather confusing and harmful.

8. But I should stress that Lass has the to my mind right approach, and I am very grateful to Lass for having taken the trouble of writing this book which will win new adherents to Indo-European studies. At the same time we must be very careful to present the material in the most reliable way. I can only say that I am fully aware of the difficulties. Having written a few textbooks myself I know how easily errors creep in. It is practically impossible to check every detail, and I am sure that many errors can be detected in my own publications.[1] I offer a few further remarks below in the hope that they will be viewed as positive and constructive criticism.

9. Presenting the findings and results of Indo-European scholarship is a daunting enterprise. It is probably safe to say that Lass has relied on the best

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[1]Readers interested in following up both the parallels and the differences in approach between Lass and myself may want to consult my 1989 book, which continues earlier publications (1984, 1984a, 1984b).- Textbooks ought to be consistent in the system of abbreviations; Lass uses ''L'' and ''Lat'' for ''Latin'' etc., which should be avoided.

textbook available now, namely Szemerényi (1989). But this covers phonology and morphology only. He included syntax and the lexicon as well. His approach is basically a structural one, which I am fully in agreement with. But then we are bound to have difficulties, if the philological details are not properly taken into account.

10. Since I said that Lithuanian is hardly usable and students cannot be expected to study other out of the way Indo-European languages, the question arises as to what language(s) should be referred to as representing Indo-European. To my mind the best candidate is Latin. After all we still expect our students to ''do'' Latin, many study Romance languages, therefore they must have a good knowledge of Latin grammar (both Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin). I therefore recommend that much of the comparative material that Lass draws from the various Indo-European languages should be replaced by Latin.

11. In the first instance the Latin must be correct. On p. 172 I find a paradigm *fer-o, fer-i-s, fer-i-t* etc. This would be a good illustration for the thematic present. But it so happens that the Classical Latin present is (2sing.) *fers*, (3sing.) *fert*. Admittedly these forms are anything but easy to explain, but quoting non-existing forms is of course just confusing. Lass could have taken a paradigm like *tego, tegis, tegit* which would have suited his exposition.

A more complicated issue is raised by the reconstruction of */feEk-/ (p. 112) as preform for Lat. *fec-* (perfect stem of *facere* 'make'). This is meant to represent a laryngeal /E/, but clearly the laryngeal would be reconstructed for a stage of Proto-Indo-European, when the phoneme /f/ did not occur. Therefore the correct reconstruction would be */dheEk-/. Again these are technical points, but they must be taken care of if we expect students to follow up the discussion.

12. It will be necessary to include some Greek and occasional forms from Sanskrit. These must be analyzed correctly. On p. 117 Lass gives the word for 'wolf', IE *$w\underset{\circ}{l}k^w$-o-s*, with stress on the thematic vowel; he even goes on to offer ''Skt *vṛk-áḥ*'' (the stress is in fact on *ṛ*). Root stress is indicated also by Gk. *lúkos* and the consonantism of Gmc. *wulf-a-*. On the following page he quotes Skr *pas-yati* 'he sees', which must be corrected to *paś-yati*. These and similar errors are bound to cause difficulty for the student.

13. Structural considerations can easily lead astray. Lass gives the correct ablaut system for the Germanic strong verbs. But he should not have chosen the verb for 'eat' as example for class V. On p. 154 he puts down a Gothic preterite *at*, which is not only unattested but also incorrectly reconstructed. All we have attested is *fret*(*un*) (infinitive *fra-itan*), and this leaves no doubt that the singular of the preterite of Gothic *itan* was *et*. The singular of this preterite in Old English is *ǣt*, Anglian *et* (Lass has OE *æt* on p. 154 and again on p. 162). The form is hard to explain, but there is no doubt about its reality. On p.

118 Lass mentions the past participle of *brecan* as *brecen*; again this is what one might expect from structural considerations, but the form actually is *brocen*. With regard to the verbal system he should have used Seebold (1970), which would have made many points clearer.

14. One further observation concerns some name forms Lass adduces. He uses runic inscriptions, but does not always give the relevant information. Thus the form *bidawarijaz* (p. 12 and p. 205) is said by Antonsen (1975:30) to have *i*, which certainly affects the linguistic analysis. The form *glaaugiz* (p. 205) would also require lengthy discussion, because what Lass writes as *gla* has actually the 'yew' rune, and it is by no means agreed what this rune stands for (hardly /a/).

The most serious offence against the rules of onomastic studies occurs in the comment on *Edith* (from OE *Ēadgȳþ*): ''Edith is a determinative 'the pourer of blessings'.'' (p. 205). It is absolutely impossible to connect *-gȳþ* in any way with OE *geotan* 'pour', because the paradigm of the root *geot-* never has root final *-þ-*. The second element of *Ēadgȳþ* is to be related to OE *guþ* 'battle' (from Gmc. **gunþ-*): *Ēadgȳþ* is a bahuvrihi just like *Alfred* (p. 205).

15. In concluding these brief remarks I wish to stress that ultimately I am on the same wavelength as Lass, even if there are differences of opinion, which also reflect differences in temperament. The following quotation should serve for showing my basic agreement with Lass in our approach to Historical English: ''Crudely, the plural of *mouse* is *mice* because OE *mus* had the nom/acc plural *mȳs*, and OE /y:/ comes down into modern English as /aɪ/" (p. 9). Yes, this is what our subject is about.

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Constraints operating on Germanic geminations

András Cser

0. Introduction

0.1. Preliminary and outline

The purpose of this paper is to analyse those changes that produced geminate consonants in the history of Germanic and partly in daughter languages, Old English, Scandinavian and Old High German. The changes (or simply the geminates present in a language at a certain stage) will be described, and it will be demonstrated, through an analysis of the geminates and geminations, that a principle is at work behind the phenomena which allows or disallows obstruents to appear as geminates; this principle is based on a hierarchy defined by properties of sound segments to be introduced below.

An explanation will be offered for two aspects of how the geminations to be discussed happened. The first is the selection of consonants that undergo doubling, the second is the strengthening that can be observed in different stages and different dialects of Germanic. In order to demonstrate that a certain hierarchy is at work in the process of allowing geminates to appear in the language, we will consider markedness, sonority and the complexity of categorial representation in (one version of) dependency phonology, where reference will be made to Durand (1990); these three notions are introduced in 0.2; nevertheless, in this paper it is not our purpose to investigate in depth any of these (not wholly uncontroversial) theoretical constructs that we will make use of. These three hierarchies seem to give the same ordering within the subset of obstruents, which is relevant to geminations in such a way that *it is always the least marked/sonorous/complex obstruents that are allowed to geminate*. This will be shown in the analysis of the geminations in 1.1 through 1.7.

The first change to produce geminates in the history of Germanic, Nasal Assimilation, took place before the series of changes in the obstruent system termed Grimm's Law was completed, and was fed by the voicing of pre-tonic intervocalic and final fricatives (Verner's Law), therefore it can only be discussed within this relatively wide context. The first section (1.1) will focus on these three phenomena of the early history of Germanic. Holtzmann's Law

(the gemination of intervocalic glides) is discussed in 1.2, West Germanic Gemination before *j* in 1.3, West Germanic Gemination before liquids in 1.4, Old English consonant-doubling in 1.5; then, a bird's-eye view is given of Scandinavian (1.6) and Old High German (1.7) geminates/geminations.

Since, for reasons of space and ease of exposition, this paper is not concerned with the prosodic status and properties of geminates, a somewhat pre-theoretical definition of a *geminate* will suffice: it is *a sequence of two identical sound segments neither of which is part of a syllable nucleus* (to exclude eg. [ij, uw], though, with the exception of 1.2, sonorants will not be discussed). Otherwise we shall not be concerned with the problem of the syllabification of geminates.

As for notation, I will use the IPA phonetic notation only when necessary for disambiguation, otherwise I keep the traditional notation used in historical linguistics (e.g. *ō* for /o:/); data from languages that are written will be given in the spelling of that language.

0.1. Complexity, sonority and markedness

In the version of dependency phonology presented in Durand (1990), features that have similar functions are grouped into submatrices called *gestures*. The locational gesture comprises features responsible for the place of articulation of a segment. The categorial gesture is subdivided into an initiatory subgesture and a phonatory subgesture; the former includes the primitives of airstream mechanisms, the latter (the only one that we shall be concerned with) includes what were in the SPE framework major class features of sound segments. The representations of these phonological classes are given with the help of the two primitive components **V** and **C** (=vocalicness and consonantality) which can stand alone, govern each other or be symmetrically related. These representations are the following (Durand 1990:298-299):

(1) The phonatory subgestures of sound segments

vowels:	V
liquids:	V>{V,C}
nasals:	V>C
voiced fricatives:	{V,C}>V
voiceless fricatives:	V,C
voiced stops:	C>V
voiceless stops:	C

(I use the symbol ">" for the governing relationship; braces and comma indicate symmetrical status)

As can be seen, obstruents (which contain a governing C) can be ranked according to *infrasegmental complexity*: voiceless stops are the least complex, voiced stops and voiceless fricatives are equally complex in that they contain two elements each between which only one relation holds, voiced fricatives are

the most complex obstruents because they are composed of three elements which are ordered by two relations[1].

This ranking, not incidentally, corresponds to Durand's (and others') *sonority hierarchy*, at least as defined within the class of obstruents, with the slight difference in the relationship between voiced stops and voiceless fricatives (Durand 1990:210):

SONORITY INDEX	SOUND
4	voiced fricatives
3	voiceless fricatives
2	voiced stops
1	voiceless stops

Furthermore, this also seems to be the *markedness hierarchy*, that is, statistical frequency, and implications of presence in the phonological system of a language[2]. More precisely, voiced obstruents are more marked than voiceless ones, fricatives are more marked than stops. This gives a partial ordering of categories within the class of obstruents, namely, voiceless stops are the least marked, voiced stops and voiceless fricatives are marked to the same extent, voiced fricatives are the most marked. Obviously this is what dependency phonology tries to capture with the growing complexity of the phonatory subgesture.

Another dimension of markedness will also come into consideration, namely, the relative unmarkedness of coronals as opposed to other places of articulation (Greenberg 1978). Let us now take a look from this point of view

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[1]In this paper, reference will not be made to other aspects of Dependency Phonology.

[2]Gamkrelidze (1978) (partly with reference to Jakobson), Greenberg (1978), Ferguson (1978), though the views espoused in these are not unambiguous with respect to markedness relationships within the class of obstruents. Gamkrelidze claims that in the labial group, the unmarked members of the oppositions are the voiced stop and the voiced fricative (*v* and *b* as opposed to *f* and *p*, respectively), whereas in the velar group it is the exact opposite. Furthermore, in his excellent analysis of *ð→d* and *d→ð* changes and alternations in different languages, Ferguson warns against regarding *d* as the more "natural" of the two sounds, though in the same article he admits that it is the *ð→d* change which leads to the simplification of the phonological system.

For a detailed discussion (and severe criticism) of markedness in general and with respect to consonants, see Lass (1984:132 ff.) and references there. The seven charcteristics of marked segments as opposed to unmarked ones enumerated on p. 132 are the following: marked segments (i) are less common cross-linguistically; (ii) tend not to appear in positions of neutralization; (iii) have lower text-frequency; (iv) appear later in language acquisition; (v) tend to be absorbed in the unmarked category in case of phonemic merger; (vi) are less stable historically; (vii) imply the existence of their unmarked counterpart.

at the changes that produced geminate consonants in Germanic and Old English.

1. The geminations and their analyses

1.1. Grimm's Law, Verner's Law and Nasal Assimilation

The first important sound change which contributed to the multiplication of geminates in Germanic was the assimilation of *n* to preceding voiced obstruents in pre-tonic position (to which we shall refer as the *lokkr*-rule, Streitberg 1896:138-9; Brugmann 1933:190-191; Martinet 1937:86). This change is hypothesized by KLUGE (quoted in Martinet (1937) and Abrahams (1949)), whose chronology can be considered to be the most plausible one, to have taken place between two phases of the operation of Grimm's Law, more precisely, after aspirated voiced stops changed into voiced fricatives (*bh > ß*) but before voiced stops changed into voiceless stops (*b > p*). Thus *ßn, ðn* and *γn* changed into *ßß, ðð,* and *γγ,* respectively; similarly, original *bn, dn* and *gn* into *bb, dd* and *gg*. Geminate voiced fricatives then strengthened to geminate voiced stops, which resulted in neutralization[3]. The final act of Grimm's Law turned all voiced stops, including geminates, into voiceless stops.

In summary, the chronology of these processes is as follows (see also the chart in the appendix, 1.1):

(2) Kluge's Chronology of Grimm's Law, Verner's Law and Nasal Assimilation
    i.   (Grimm's Law I.) voiced aspirated stops > voiced fricatives (*bh > ß*)
    ii.   (Grimm's Law II.) voiceless stops > voiceless fricatives (*p > f*)
    iii.   Verner's Law (*afá > aßá*)
    iv.(a) assimilation of *n* (*ßn > ßß*, The *lokkr* rule)
    iv.(b) geminate voiced fricatives > geminate voiced stops (*ßß > bb*)
    v.   (Grimm's Law III.) voiced stops > voiceless stops (*b > p*)

The *lokkr*-rule can be formulated as follows:

  (3) Nasal Assimilation (The *lokkr*-rule)
        n → C_i / C_i[-son, +voice] ___ V [+stress]

Examples of this series of changes are: IE **lug-nó-* > Lith. *lùgnas* 'pliable', Gk. λύγινος *(lýginos)* 'pleated', which display the nasal after a single obstruent and are cognate with ON *lokkr*, OE *loc*, OHG *loc* 'lock, curl', in which there is no nasal, but an (originally) geminate voiceless plosive;

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[3]Though it is, of course, impossible to tell whether geminate voiced fricatives ever contrasted with geminate voiced stops at all; this question is ultimately immaterial.

similarly, IE *ligh-ná-* > Gk. λιχνευω *(likhnéuō)* 'taste', but OE *liccian*, OHG *lecchōn* 'lick' (examples from Prokosch 1939:70)[4].

This change thus produced a neutralization of the three series of stops in the environment that triggered it:

(4) The neutralizations resulting from Verner's Law and Nasal Assimilation

IE	GrLI,II	VL	NA	Str	GrLIII

apná —— afná ⌐
abhná —— aßná ⌐ aßná —— aßßa ⌐
abná —————————————— abba — abba —— appa
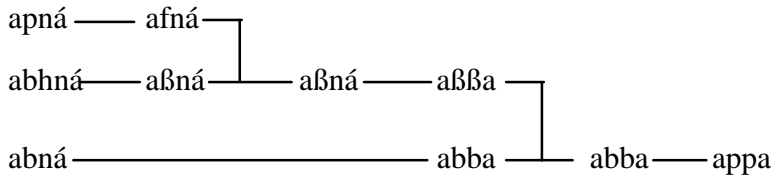
(IE=Indo-European, GrL=Grimm's Law, VL=Verner's Law, NA=Nasal Assimilation, Str=Strengthening)

There are, however, alternative hypotheses of these processes. Here Streitberg's, Prokosch's and Twaddell's views are briefly sketched and arguments will be given in order to demonstrate the superiority of Kluge's hypothesis.

With respect to Germanic voiced fricatives, STREITBERG claims that they changed into voiced stops in two positions: (a) post-nasally, (b) when geminated (as in words affected by the *lokkr*-rule, Streitberg 1896:116). Given this assumption, however, it would be difficult to explain why geminate voiced stops, but not post-nasal voiced stops, were devoiced in the last step of Grimm's Law. It seems more plausible to hypothesize that at this stage, voiced fricatives had no stop allophones post-nasally (or word-initially, as they later developed): if they had, these would have undergone the same development as geminates (=devoicing in Grimm's Law III), there being no difference between them and original, hitherto intact Indo-European voiced stops. Structurally speaking, this *strengthening* placed a distributional constraint on voiced fricatives, barring them from gemination.

PROKOSCH (1939) hypothesizes the same chronology but a different process of gemination. Of the latter he writes: "voiced spirants became stops, *b d g*, after nasals, and apparently also before *n*. Thus, before an accented *n*-suffix the three series *p t k ... (bh dh gh)*, and *b d g* became identical, namely, *bn dn gn*. [Note that Prokosch here lists Indo-European consonants. The voiceless fricatives fall in with voiced fricatives due to Verner's Law ('before an *accented n*-suffix', see also (4) above).] Through assimilation of *n* to the preceding voiced stops [=*lokkr*-rule], *bb dd gg* resulted, which became *pp tt kk* in Step IV [of Grimm's Law, the same as (2v) = GL III. above]" (Prokosch

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[4]Words such as Gothic *gawaknan* (referred to in Prokosch 1939:70) might be, but are not necessarily, counterevidence.

1939:69-70). Prokosch does not find it important to point out that voiced fricatives could not have post-nasal stop allophones (e. g. *[nd]) when nasal assimilation took place, since then these would have been devoiced (*[nð] > *[nd] > [nt]) along with the geminates that had resulted from the assimilation (though obviously he is aware of this, as can be seen from his full chronology and detailed discussion of Germanic and High German obstruent changes, Prokosch 1939:52 ff.). It would follow from this assumption that we ought to postulate stop allophones of voiced fricatives in pre-nasal position (/ðn/ = [dn]), but not post-nasally (/nð/ = [nð]), before the operation of Grimm's Law was completed. Such a hypothesis is not impossible, though somewhat less likely than Kluge's theory. To support this last claim we might refer to the typology of strengthenings and weakenings with respect to syllable structure (consonants in coda position tend to weaken rather than strengthen)[5].

TWADDELL hypothesizes a different chronology but the same process of gemination as Prokosch (quoted in Abrahams 1949:76):

(5) Twaddell's chronology
  i. voiceless stops and voiceless aspirated stops > voiceless fricatives (*p/ph > f*)
  ii. Verner's Law (*afá > aßá*)
  iii. Fixing of accent on first syllable (*aßá > áßa*)
  iv. voiced aspirated stops > voiced fricatives (*bh > ß*)
  v. *ßn/ðn/ɣn > bn/dn/gn > bb/dd/gg*
  vi. voiced stops > voiceless stops (*b > p*)

Regarding gemination, this postulates the same kind of unexplained strengthening of voiced fricatives in pre-nasal position as Prokosch's conception.

In summary, what is important regarding Nasal Assimilation (The *lokkr-* rule) is that, even though geminates resulted from the assimilation, voiced fricatives were not allowed to appear as geminates and therefore strengthened to geminate voiced stops (then the most unmarked members of the obstruent system, in lack of voiceless stops). The fact that they underwent devoicing later is just natural within the context of Grimm's Law.

1.2. Holtzmann's Law

In (Post-Grimm's Law) Germanic, the only obstruents that could occur as geminates were *p, t, k* and *s*, but all sonorant nonglides were allowed as

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[5]Ferguson (1978:435) on the typology of ð ↔ d alternations and changes: "the stop outcome is favored by word-initial, post-nasal or post-liquid, and stressed positions...the spirant outcome is favored by post-vocalic positions, including intervocalic, pre-consonantal and pre-junctural". This means in this case that words of the form [an.da] and [að.na] are more likely in a language that has both these sounds than [ad.na] and [an.ða] (the dot indicates syllable boundary).

geminates (Campbell 1959:163-4)[6]. These geminates are attested in OE *hoppian* 'hop', *cnotta* 'knot', *liccian* 'lick', *wisse* 'knew', *swimman* 'swim', *rinnan* 'run', *wulle* 'wool' and *steorra* 'star'. No fricatives except *s* could geminate, though Germanic had six other fricative phonemes: *f, θ, x* and *ß, ð, γ.* Voiced stops [b,d,g] are most likely to have been, for a certain period of time, allophones of the voiced fricatives post-nasally and, (perhaps with the exception of *g*,) word-initially[7]; in these positions they were naturally not capable of gemination. *Thus in Germanic there existed geminate forms only of the most unmarked obstruents*, i. e. voiceless stops and *s*, which is the most unmarked of the voiceless fricatives according to place of articulation (coronal).

A process, however, peculiar to Germanic was the gemination of glides in intervocalic position, after a short vowel (*Holtzmann's Law;* Brugmann 1933:96-97, 107-108; Streitberg 1896:60-61; Martinet 1937:76; Lehmann 1952:36-46; Campbell 1959:45-47 (§ 120.1,2), Haugen 1976:109). Formally:

(6) Holtzmann's Law (The *twaddjē* -rule)
$$C_i[\text{-cns}] \rightarrow C_iC_i \, / \, V \, \_ \, V$$

Examples are Gmc. **twaj*-V > **twajj*V 'two' GEN., **waja-* > **wajja-* 'wall', **triwi-* > **triwwi-* 'true'. Evidence in North and East Germanic is quite conspicuous, since these geminates further developed into obstruent clusters written *-ggw-* and *-ddj/ggj-*, whereas in West Germanic the spelling is a less unambiguous guide. In these languages, by the time written records appear, geminate glides are reflected in the form of single glides or diphthongs (after syntagmatic fusion with the preceding vowel)[8]. Reflexes are Goth. *twaddjē*, OIc. *tueggia*, OS *tweio*, OHG *zweio*, cf. Skt. *dváyōs* 'two' GEN.; Goth. *waddjus* 'wall', OIc. *veggr*, OE *wǣġ;* Goth. *triggws* 'true', OIc. *tryggr*, OE *trēowe*, OS and OHG *triuwi* (see also the chart in the appendix, (1.2)). A

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[6]Hypotheses concerning the origins of Indo-European geminates are to be found in Prokosch (1939:69) and Martinet (1937), a book devoted wholly to this problem, see also references there. The explanations appeal to onomatopoeia, suffixation and language contact.

[7]The appearance of the stop allophones of voiced fricatives and their distribution in Germanic and its daughter languages is a moot question (Prokosch 1939:75 ff., Brugmann 1933:190, Martinet 1937:121-122), but it is certain that the strengthening was gradual and dependent on dialect (complete in High German), place of articulation (*d* earlier and more extensively than *b* and *g*) and position within the word (mostly word-initially and post-nasally).

[8]The precise nature of the development of geminate glides in West Germanic languages (apart from the fact that they did not survive as geminate glides) and the relevance of syllable structure to these phenomena will not be discussed here, though it is certainly an extremely interesting and complex question which might give insight into prosodic aspects of Holtzmann's Law and concomitant changes.

detailed presentation of OE, OS and OHG orthographical evidence is to be found in Lehmann (1952, see references there).

The change does not appear to have affected all intervocalic glides: either its lexical diffusion was incomplete or it was conditioned by factors that are no longer evident for us. Some linguists explain the change with reference to Indo-European stress patterns, some argue that the geminates were not geminates at all but a diphthong was followed by a single glide (Brugmann 1933, Martinet 1937); Meillet (see references in Martinet 1937) resorts to the expressive function of the geminating words. Lehmann claims that the gemination of glides can only be explained if we postulate laryngeals in their vicinity (Lehmann 1952:41-46). A detailed list of further examples is given in his book. For a conspectus of previous scholarship, see Martinet (1937), Lehmann (1952).

What concerns us here with respect to Holtzmann's Law is the following: it seems to be a well-founded hypothesis that, at a certain stage in the development of Germanic, geminate glides appeared in the phonological system of the language. They were not tolerated long, however: in two of the three main dialects, they strengthened to obstruents (probably stops), in the third, they weakened again. Given that they *did not survive* in any of the individual dialects (at least for a long time), it seems probable that the elimination of the geminate glides started relatively early. Even though sonorants will not be discussed here[9], one might draw conclusions from this fact: *Holtzmann's Law* and the concomitant processes may also be taken as representing *a tendency in sound change which disallows highly marked geminates to integrate into the phonological system of a language.*

1.3. The West Germanic Gemination

In West Germanic, a rule doubled consonants when they followed a short vowel and preceded *j* (Brugmann 1933:222-223; Prokosch 1939:87-88; Campbell 1959:167). This affected all obstruents and sonorants except *r*. The rule can be formulated as follows (see also the chart in the appendix, 1.3):

(7) The West Germanic Gemination (The *scieppan*-rule)
$$C_i{}^* \rightarrow C_iC_i \ / \ V[\text{-long}] \ \_ \ j \qquad {}^*:\text{exc. } /r/$$

Examples are: **skapjan* > OS *skeppian*, OE *scieppan* and many other verbs which originally formed their infinitives with *-jan*, such as *sellan* 'sell',

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[9]With a slight modification of the hypothesis set up at the beginning of the paper, we might suggest that the preference-ranking for gemination operates independently within the class of obstruents and sonorants. This could then explain why geminate glides were not adopted in Primitive Germanic, but it would also predict that geminate nasals were prior to geminate liquids, which is highly questionable.

fremman 'do', *cnyssan* 'knock', nouns and adjectives with stem-forming *-j-*, e.g. *cynn* 'race' (cf. Goth. *kunjis*), *nytt* 'useful'.

Interestingly, however, voiced fricatives became stops when they were geminated, so **biðjan* gives OE *biddan*, OS *biddian*, OHG *bitten* 'ask', cf. Goth. *bidjan*, ON *biþia*, **xaßjan* became OE *hebban* 'raise', and **liɣjan* became **liggjan*, later *licǧan* 'lie' by palatalization of *g*. (Velars in Old English, whether geminated or not, underwent palatalization before *j*, whence *wecǧan* 'awake' from **wakjan* and *licǧan*, see above.) As can be seen, when geminated, voiced fricatives appear as their stop allophones which were otherwise confined to post-nasal and, with the exception of *g*, word-initial position[10]. A tentative solution to the problem why this strengthening happened could be again given with reference to the reluctance of voiced fricatives to geminate due to their high level of markedness, whereas the West-Germanic Gemination produced geminates out of voiceless stops (*scieppan*) and voiceless fricatives (*cnyssan*) without changing their category; so after geminate voiceless stops, geminate voiced stops and geminate voiceless fricatives (which are equally marked/sonorous/complex segments) came into being at the same time.

1.4. Pre-liquid gemination in West Germanic

Another, minor gemination which is treated by some linguists (e.g. Prokosch 1939:87-89) under the same heading as the gemination before *j* took place in West Germanic. This rule doubled (voiceless) stops and *x* after short vowels, before (unaccented short vowel plus) *l* or *r* (Campbell 1959:167-8). The rule can be specified in the following form (see also the chart in the appendix, 1.4):

(8) Pre-liquid gemination (The *appul*-rule)
$$C_i^* \text{ [-cont]} \rightarrow C_i C_i \text{ / V [-long] } \_ \text{ (V [-long]) } \{l/r\} \qquad {}^*\!: + /x/$$

Examples are: OS *appul*, OE *æppel* 'apple', cf. ON *eple*; OS *luttil*, OHG *luzzil* 'little', cf. Goth. *leitils*, ON *lītell*; furthermore, OHG *snottar*, OE *snottor*

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[10]The question of the plosive allophones of voiced fricatives (or, in some Germanic languages, vice versa) has already been touched upon, see note 7. Apart from High German, in which the strengthening was complete, the rest of the West Germanic languages usually display plosive [d] in every position, [b] word-initially and post-nasally, [g] only post-nasally (evidence for the last comes, among others, from Old English palatalization: whenever word-initial *g* underwent palatalization due to a following palatal vowel, it always palatalized into [j], which was characteristic of original [ɣ], whereas post-nasally into [dʒ] which is characteristic of [g], e.g. *ǧeard* [jæard] (MoE *yard*) from Gmc. **garð-*, cf. G *Garten*, but *singǎn* (MoE *singe*) from **singjan*, cf. G *sengen*. In gemination, however, every West Germanic language displays the plosive allophone. Considering all these, it seems that the strengthening of voiced fricatives in gemination cannot be explained with reference to this general tendency.

'wise', OE *wæccer* 'awake' and *hweohhol* 'wheel'. This gemination occasionally happened after long vowels too: OS *hlūttar*, OE *hlūttor* 'pure', cf. Goth. *hlūtrs*.

Regarding this gemination, it is important that it *only affected voiceless stops, the most unmarked category of obstruents* (I see no explanation for the gemination of *x* [as in *hweohhol*] as opposed to, say, *s*).

1.5. The Old English consonant-doubling

By the time written documents appear, Old English has the following geminates: [pp, tt, kk, bb, dd, gg, ttʃ, ddʒ; ff, ss, θθ, xx; mm, nn, ll, rr], that is, all Old English consonants except glides can geminate (if we do not regard *hl*, *hr*, *hn* and *hw* as separate phonemes: since these can only occur in word-initial position, they are not capable of gemination, see Campbell 1959:21-22).

The first consonant-doubling rule in Old English operates in exactly the same environment as the second West Germanic gemination (the *appul*-rule): it doubles consonants (usually after short vowels) that are brought into the vicinity of *l* or *r* by vowel-syncopation or suffixation (Campbell 1959:182-3). Interestingly, the literature on this change only cites examples where *coronal obstruents geminate: miččle* 'much', *bettra* 'better', *ætġæddre* 'together', Expressed formally (see also the chart in the appendix, 1.5):

(9) The Old English consonant-doubling (The *bettra*-rule)
C_i [+cor, -son] → $C_i C_i$ / V [-long] _ {l/r}

(To be precise, this change occasionally happened after long vowels too: *āttor* 'poison', *tūddor* 'progeny' both modelled after inflected forms.) The consonants affected in the examples are *t, d, ċ, þ*, and there is one instance of geminated *l* and *p*.

In the case of this consonant-doubling, which seems to have affected only coronal obstruents, we may resort to the second dimension of markedness, namely, the *relative unmarkedness of coronals as opposed to other places of articulation*.

1.6. Geminations in Scandinavian[11]

In Proto-Scandinavian, all consonants could be geminated "except the spirants [f, θ, h] and the glides" (Haugen 1976:155). The spirant *s* is, however, an exception to the constraint that applies to the rest of the fricatives. (As can be seen, the situation has hardly changed since Germanic times, see 1.2.) This restriction was so strong that those spirants which later geminated became stops consequently (e.g. *spuþþōn > sputta* 'spit', Haugen 1976:155). Similarly,

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[11]This section is based on Haugen (1976).

geminate *ð*, which resulted from the assimilation of *zð* clusters, turned into *dd* in ON.

Later, in Old Scandinavian (roughly between 1050 and 1350), *n* completely assimilated to a following voiceless stop, a rule which operated primarily in the Western dialect but is reported to show instances elsewhere too. This gives the following West-ON - East-ON parallels: *soppr-swampr* 'mushroom', *brattr-brantr* 'steep', *ekkja-ænkia* 'widow' (Haugen 1976:154-6). The geminations that happened later in the history of the Scandinavian languages are of no interest now: they seem to operate quite freely on various kinds of consonants (see also the chart in the appendix, 1.6).

Thus, in Scandinavian we again witness the tendency for *voiceless stops and the most unmarked (coronal) fricative* s *to geminate more readily* than any other obstruent. Furthermore, we have seen that *geminate fricatives turned into stops*, at least in early times. It is also true of the assimilation of *n* that it increased the incidence of *geminate voiceless stops* only.

1.7. Geminates in Old High German[12]

The most frequent geminates in Old High German (before the OHG Consonant Shift) were the voiceless stops *p, t, k* and the fricative *s* (Reiffenstein 1965:61 ff., Keller 1978:140 ff.). Examples are: *sippa* 'relation', *snottar* 'clever', *rucki* [-kk-] 'back', *missen* 'to miss'. Other geminate fricatives were extremely rare: *heffen* 'to raise', *fethdhah* 'wing' and *lahhān* 'to laugh' are three of the few words with *ff, θθ, hh*.

When intervocalic voiceless stops went over into geminate fricatives (this was part of the OHG Consonant Shift), the new *ff*-s and *hh*-s (as in *offan* < **opan* and *mahhōn* < **makōn*) absorbed the original geminate fricatives, but in the coronal region, *zz* from **V*t*V (as in *wizzan* < **witan* 'to know'), whatever its pronunciation was, did not merge with original *ss*, and thus a new phoneme was born (this means that the *ff* in *offan* was interpreted as the *ff* in *heffen*, the *hh* in *mahhōn* as the *hh* in *lāhhē* , but the *zz* in *wizzan* was clearly distinguished from the *ss* in *missen* until the end of the Middle High German period. See also the chart in the appendix, 1.7.)

As we can see, the same is true of Old High German before the OHG Consonant Shift as of Scandinavian. After the Consonant Shift, when new geminates had resulted from intervocalic voiceless stops, *two geminates were tolerated in the coronal region (ss, zz)* but only one elsewhere (labial *ff* and velar *hh*).

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[12]This section is based on Keller (1978) and Reiffenstein (1965).

1.8. Conclusion

From this analysis of early Germanic geminates and geminations it appears to be a reasonable assumption that the least complex / sonorous / marked obstruents are the primary targets of gemination rules, and more complex / sonorous / marked geminates are only allowed to appear after and along with less complex / sonorous / marked geminates. This explains both aspects of the changes, selection of consonants as well as strengthening phenomena.

I hope to have shown, through the example of Germanic and Germanic languages, that the hierarchies of markedness, sonority and complexity of the phonatory subgesture, which give the same ordering within the class of obstruents, play a crucial role in determining what sorts of geminates are allowed to appear in a language in the course of its history. The most compulsive corroboration of such a hypothesis would be, of course, the typological investigation of a wide corpus of languages, but, unfortunately, the literature on the typology of phonemic systems is hardly informative regarding geminates (e.g. Maddieson 1984).

Appendix

A conspectus of the geminations and related processes

The time axis is horizontal.
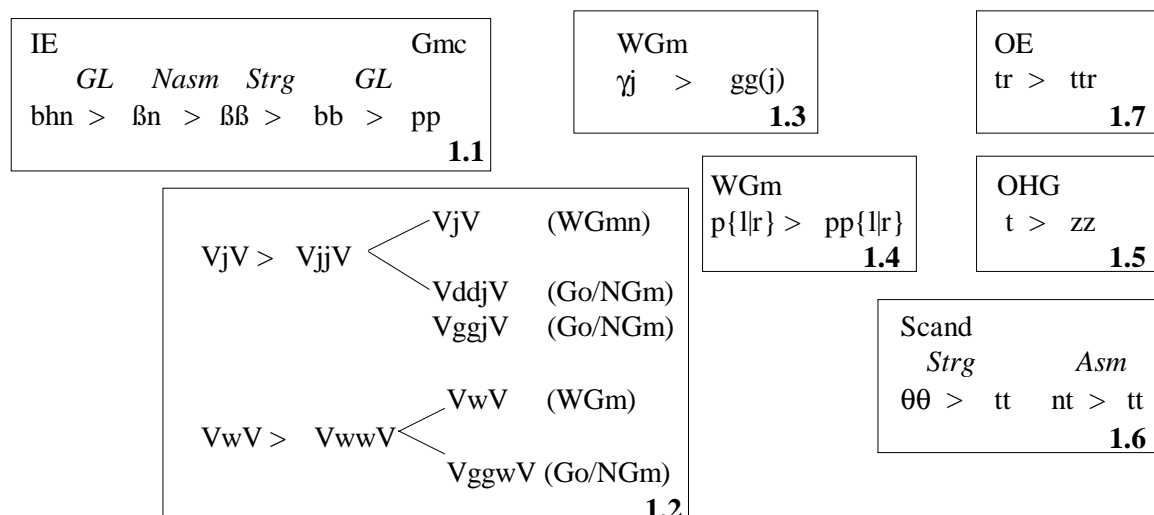
abbreviations: Asm - Assimilation; GL - Grimm's Law; HL - Holtzmann's Law; NAsm - Nasal Assimilation; OHGCS - Old High German Consonant Shift; PrLG - Pre-Liquid Gemination; Strg - Strengthening.

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Code-switching in 'Emigranto'[1]

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1. Introduction

The goals of the empirical study this article is based on were framed in primarily descriptive terms. The project was designed to provide a sociolinguistic profile of a linguistic minority community in Great Britain which hitherto has not been studied, i.e. the Austrian German/English bilinguals[2]. Since approx. 60%[3] of the Austrians residing in Britain are pre-Word War II refugees and since only these German/English bilinguals form a well defined speech community, a natural focus of the project was evident. The profile of the linguistic minority community in question was to include an account of patterns of language use, and a general picture of attitudes of community members towards German, English and the mixed code 'Emigranto'.

The linguistic analysis of the data was to attempt answers to the following questions:

(a) Is code-switching[4] a mode of discourse in the community studied, or do the German/English bilinguals use code-switching meta-linguistically, i.e. do they draw attention to a change in code?

(b) *Why* do the Jewish refugees living in an English speaking environment switch, or which discourse functions does code-switching serve in this community?

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[1]It was the German speaking refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria who settled in G.B. and the USA who coined the term 'Emigranto' in the early 1940ies. 'Emigranto' denotes the "englisch-deutsche Kauderwelsch" (Fischer 1978: 477), i.e. the German/English mixed discourse, spoken by the - mainly Jewish - emigrants. Like TEXMEX, e.g., 'Emigranto' is subject to linguistic studies but no linguistic notion.

[2]Only ex-Austrians were chosen as subjects because the interviewer is of a similar background as the core-group of informants. The importance of shared ethnic background of the interviewer and his or her subjects for eliciting natural data has long been recognized in sociolinguistics.

[3]Accurate figures are impossible to obtain because neither the Austrian Embassy in London nor Jewish organizations keep records suitable for representative sampling. We only know that between 27 000 and 30 000 Austrians fled to Britain between 1936 and 1941.

[4]In this paper, I shall employ the term CODE-SWITCHING in the sense in which Gumperz (1982: 59) has defined it, i.e. as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech blonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." MIXING, on the other hand, seves as an umbrella term for both code-switching and borrowing.

(c) *Where*, i.e. at which syntactic boundaries do my informants switch most frequently?

(d) Are we dealing with a 'stable' bilingual community, or are there signs of language shift, or even attrition or loss of one of the two languages involved?

2. Methodology

2.1. Sampling procedures

The principal methodological problem I encountered early on in this project was that of identifying a systematic means of sampling which would guarantee the generalizability of my results. Obtaining representative samples is particularly problematic with minorities, because minorities are distributed in a non random way, and this makes conventional sampling frames inadequate. Furthermore, the lack of language questions in the Census in Great Britian - German is not even recognized as a minority language - means that census data are of no avail[5].

Other conventional ways of sampling, such as search of local electoral registers and scanning of telephone directories for distinctive names, were of little or no use for this project, either. This is because of two reasons: first, approximately 3000 Austrians (Muchitsch 1992:497) joined the British Army between 1941 and 1943. Those men who were sent to Germany and Austria as British soldiers were strongly advised to change their German names to "more English sounding ones" (interview Buko). Secondly, many of the girls who came to Britain on a 'Kindertransport' and some women holding a 'domestic permit' married British citizens. Since it was impossible to obtain or create a list that contains the entire target population, strict probability sampling techniques could not be used for this project.

I eventually used two main sources, separately and combined, in order to set up a sampling frame for the target community: membership lists of various Austrian organizations in Britain and a list of clients of an Austrian lawyer who deals with pension claims and other legal problems encountered by Austrians living in Britain. This solicitor had to emigrate to Britain in 1938 and is therefore well known among the Austrian Jewish refugees residing in the U.K. From these lists, however, subjects were chosen in a random way. To this body of subjects other informants were added by referral (snowball sampling).

Each of these sources has its limitations. Since rigorous sampling proved impracticable and because of the mixed nature of sampling strategies eventually adopted, it is difficult to assess the representativeness of the

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[5]Kettmann's (1992: 272-84) study of "German as an immigrant language in the USA" is based on US census figures for German mother tongue speakers.

findings presented in this paper in a strictly statistical sense. The policy of selecting informants, however, was in accordance with the principal focus of the study: to 'uncover' sociolinguistic facts about the Autrian German/English bilinguals in the U.K.

2.2. The informants

I recorded conversations with well over eighty people. Since some of the data consist of low quality recordings, only 55 speakers could be included in the linguistic analysis. 38% of all informants are male, 62% female. They are between 20 and 86 years of age and approx. 80% are over fifty.

Sample members can be divided into three groups. The largest group are the pre-World War II refugees, who make up 61% of the informants. These speakers have been in contact with the English language and culture for more than half a century now. To bring out the characteristics of 'Emigranto', I compared the linguistic behaviour of this community to that of two other groups of Austrian German/English bilinguals in the U.K. The first group consists of nine (17% of the total sample) Austrian women who married British soldiers after WWII and settled in the U.K. in the late 1940s. Except for one woman who worked for an Austrian organization in the U.K, they had little or no contact to other native speakers of German. The third and least homogeneous group are 12 subjects who either emigrated to Britain after 1955 or are of Austrian and British parents.

Apart from the 9% of respondents who were brought up with both languages, only two percent of the subjects arrived in Britain as children (0-7 years of age). Another 9% had come as pre-adolescents (8-13), and 20% arrived in their adolescence (14-18). The majority of my informants (60%) emigrated as adults when patterns of language use tend to have crystallized. The most striking characteristic of the English spoken by this group is the fairly strong German accent. From a morphological and syntactic point of view, however, they have to be regarded as fluent bilinguals.

Among the core-group of sample members patterns of language use at home vary considerably. Most of them spoke only or mostly English when their children were little. When the second generation moved out of their parents' households, the older generation partly went back to German, or continued using English, or mixed. At the time of the data collection for this project, most bilingual couples spoke mainly English and only occasionally German in their private homes. German or rather 'Emigranto', however, is the lingua franca at a leisure centre run by a Jewish refugee organization which has

become a second home for many widows and widowers among my respondents.[6]

All members of the second group have high proficiency in English but none of the British husbands is fluent in German. Hence English is used at home. Apart from the fact that they all followed their respective partners to the U.K. in the late 1940s, the second group of informants has not got much in common. Furthermore, they lack a centre comparable to the one mentioned above. The third group of respondents, finally, does not even share one feature of their personal histories. They are even more assimilated to the English society than the second group and they use English in most situations unless they live or work with other German/English bilinguals.

2.3. Data collection

With reference to the Linguistic Minorities Project[7] Martin-Jones (1991: 50) notes that the design of research projects and the drawing of samples need to be well grounded in ethnographic observation and clearly informed by historical and social analysis of the migration experience of different groups and the different local conditions of settlement. Because most of the published literature on Austrians in Britain focuses on the more political aspects of exile and less on the actual experience of the first generation migrants from their time of arrival in Britain, I conducted one-to-one interviews with a subsample of my respondents. In these interviews I gained the sociolinguistic background knowledge necessary for interpreting the linguistic data. In order to divert attention away from language and allow more casual and undirected speech to emerge, I pretended to collect oral histories. Another way of bypassing some of the constraints of the interview situation[8] was to record the subjects at their own homes. The initial phrases of politeness were usually exchanged in English, but then the interviewees chose the language of conversation.

The majority of data was collected among groups of two to four speakers in other informal settings, in which the interaction of members overrides the effect of observation, and gives a more direct view of natural speech with less

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[6]The fact that only one of my informants knows Yiddish was somewhat surprising. On the other hand, all of my respondents originate from non-orthodox families who spoke German in their Austrian homes. Even the one informant who speaks Yiddish did not aquire it in Vienna but when working for and living with a Jewish orthodox family in Stamford Hill, London.

[7]The LMP was started in the UK in 1980 and included 19 local surveys of linguistic-minority groups of migrant and refugee origin.

[8]Cf. Labov's 'Observer's Paradox': "... the means used to gather the data interfere with the data to be gathered", or "Any systematic observation of a speaker defines a formal context in which more than the minimum attention is paid to speech" (Labov 1978: 43&209)

influence of the observer. The interviewer's ethnic background, her nationality and her familiarity with the setting and with participants allowed her to enter local network situations, such as Kaluki game and gossip sessions, 'Feierabend Club' meetings and lunch breaks at offices.

One sixth of the data was recorded at a leisure centre of a Jewish refugee organization, a particularly good place for gathering natural linguistic data. The low-quality tape-recordings of highly informal, lively verbal interchanges were extremely difficult to transcribe and could not be used for the quantitative analysis. But as a corrective of the interview situation, these data are very valuable.

The corpus is based on recorded speech data in both interview and 'natural' settings. The data presented in this study, then, range from casual speech among family members and friends (informal, intra-group communication) to more formal and self-conscious discourse used in discussing concepts such as history, politics, culture and language.

3. Attitudes towards code-switching

Attitudes toward code-switching differ considerably among the three groups of my informants. The wives of the British WWII soldiers, for example, draw a strict line between their life in Austria, which is of course associated with German, and their married life in Britain. They view code-switching negatively and were found to engage in it only for stylistic/rhetorical or humorous reasons. Members of the second 'control' group tend to view the fact that they are working and living in London positively. They regard their (sometimes not very profound) knowledge of English as part of their multi-culturalism and therefore view code-switching and borrowing positively.

Having been thrust into a different cultural and linguistic environment, the core group of my informants developed a high degree of metalinguistic awareness. The sociolinguistic interviews revealed that my respondents' two languages and the mixed code 'Emigranto' are subject to conscious evaluation.

What Myers-Scotton calls the "folk explanation"[9] of code-switching was the prevailing answer given by sample members. The below informant, a language coach for singers performing in German operas and 'Lieder' recitals, first attributes mixing to (a) 'laziness' and 'carelessness' on part of the speakers who mix German and English. However, the more sophisticated her analysis gets, the more she attributes mixing (b) to the ageing process and to

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[9]Speakers switch because they can express themselves better in the other language, or because they are more used to speaking the other code, or because the other code is more appropriate in certain situations. (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a: 107).

other socio-historical factors. Many respondents from the refugee-group report that they mix more the older they get.

(1)

It is partly a form of not wanting to be bothered. [...] the regressive process that reestablishes itself in older people who have not bothered and ... in essence, to perfect either language.[...] They have lost their mother tongue and they never acquired English sufficiently to use it fully and completely. So when they regress, as is the case with memory, [...], the earliest possible linguistic experiences reestablish themselves. [...] this process is reinforced by the the environment [...] I think you will find that the bulk of people who go to this centre [the leisure centre mentioned above] have never really got beyond a certain point in English, and I think this is not necessarily determined by their social background or their jobs. It is a particular cut-off from both languages which happened as a result of the trauma of emigration. It is determined, initially, a subconscious desire to forget about the German language, in the first instance, a long time ago, when they first emigrated [...] I'm thinking of wartime. I'm not saying it's deliberate. (interview Fran)

The explanatory force of the above argument cannot be neglected, however, it cannot be generalized either. Firstly because the majority of informants from the refugee-group belonged to the Viennese 'Bildungsbürgertum' and are very proud of their "Burgtheaterdeutsch" (interview Lane) and report to have made a distinct effort to learn "good English" (interview Gottl) to help their children and to further their own careers. In other words, they DID bother to keep their German and to perfect their English. The second counter-argument comes from Scotton (1982a) who reports about a study on attitudes towards code-switching and motivations for mixing in which 97% (sic?!) of the bilingual subjects did NOT choose those possible responses from a questionaire which are often put foreward as folk-explanations of code-switching. The third counter-argument concerns the linguist's attitude towards code-switching. John Gumperz's work has convinced most other linguists working on this subject within a socio-pragmatic framework that code-switching is an example *par excellence* of skilled performance (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a).

Attitudes towards code-mixing and the mixed language 'Emigranto' among the core-group of my informants are either VERY NEGATIVE or NEUTRAL (i.e. mixing as an undesirable but ACCEPTED linguistic behaviour). It was fascinating to find that all respondents from this group who accept code-switching as an integral part of community speech norms live in NW London (Swiss Cottage, Finchley Road and Hampstead).

(2)

Es [NW London] is' ja MORE eine BOHEMIAN...so, YOU KNOW, deswegen sind wir doch alle hier, weil es war nicht so typisch Englisch. Das war so...CONTINENTAL Geschäfte und das Essen, das war auch schon immer so. Natürlich haben wir alle hier zusammengewohnt ... (interview Bron)

Those of my subjects who still live in the "bohemian" or cosmopolitan part of London meet up rather frequently at the centres of refugee organizations which

are based in the above boroughs. I have already mentioned that German, or rather 'Emigranto', is the *lingua franca* at the Association of Jewish Refugees Day-centre. Thus, the informants who live close enough to the centre to be able to move almost exclusively in refugee-circles, have almost daily contact with other L1 speakers of German. Although they express a desire for English and German to remain separate languages in their repertoire, they are fully cognizant of the prevalence of code-switching in their community and have accepted their pattern of language use.

(3)

Leider Gottes, wir sprechen ein schlechtes [Deutsch], wir sprechen ein bißchen Englisch, ein bißchen Deutsch... (interview Bron)

Schrecklich, einfach schrecklich, wie wir sprechen. Deutsch-Englisch, Englisch-Deutsch... (interview Jenn)

Viele Sachen fallen einem schon nicht mehr ein auf Deutsch und man fangt an Deutsch zu sprechen und kommt ins Englische rüber, oder man spricht Englisch und kommt ins Deutsche rüber. Und ich bin nicht die einzige. Wir sind alle so. (ibid.)

Not quite. The project described in this paper revealed that the Austrian Jewish refugees residing in Britain "are not all like that". A subject from Northcroft (London W13) clearly REJECTS mixing:

(4)

In the beginning everybody spoke a bit of a mixture but this we wanted to avoid because that's pretty horrible, the mixture, which is not the one or the other. (interview Sper)

Code-switching and the mixed language 'Emigranto' have NEGATIVE affective value for those informants who moved away from NW London. They regard 'Emigranto' as an extreme form of language mixing or linguistic borrowing attributable to a lack of education, 'careless' use of one or both languages, improper control of the two grammars, or simply lapses of the mind. All of them report to have mixed a lot at the time of their arrival in Britain but claim to have stopped doing so some time ago.

(5)

Und wir haben sehr viel gemischt am Anfang [...] Wir haben Deutsch gesprochen und plötzlich englische Phrasen hineingegeben, aus Faulheit, aus ... weil man hat, man hat etwas in Englisch viel präzieser mit drei Worten ausdrücken können als...und wir haben uns dann sehr bemüht, das nicht zu machen...(interview Arie)

I then provoked an interesting afterthought when questioning this folk explanation of code-switching, i.e. that bilinguals mix because of laziness.

Ich glaube es ist weil ... oder wir haben schon mehr in Englisch gedacht, auch wenn wir Deutsch gesprochen haben. (interview Arie)

The German language, though endowed with affective import, is widely seen as having less instrumental value than English by this group of informants but not by those living in NW London. We shall see below how this difference in

attitudes is consistent with different code-switching behaviours in the core group of my informants, i.e. the British '38ers.[10]

4. Contrasting patterns of code-switching

Literature today distinguishes two basic patterns of code-switching, SMOOTH and FLAGGED[11].

The term SMOOTH CODE-SWITCHING describes a pattern of mixing two or more languages which is such an integral part of a community linguistic repertoire that it could be said to function as a *mode* of interaction similar to monolingual language use. Switching occurs with smooth transitions, and no special rhetorical effect is accomplished thereby.

The investigation of speakers' own attitudes towards the language(s) they speak revealed that they are fully cognizant of the prevalence of code-switching in their community and see nothing wrong with it. Their reason for switching is in essence because they ARE bilingual and this mode of discourse is appropriate to their dual identity[12]. As a rule, they do not consider one language as better for specific interaction or conversational purposes, or that

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[10]Attitudes toward code-switching of community members match the social and historical picture I gained. Jewish immigrants to Britain traditionally settled in the economical centre and moved to the outskirts when socially and economically successful. The same happened in the case of the pre-WWII immigrants. Those who could not afford to move to Hampstead straight away, initially settled in Finchley Road and Swiss Cottage. The refugees who remained 'working class' stayed there. Those who climbed the social ladder and became '(lower) middle class' moved to the districts which were new middle class outskirts in the 1960s and 70s (Golders Green , Northcroft, Wembley, etc.). Only few informants moved back to NW London when widowed.

[11]SMOOTH switching was first described by Shana Poplack (1980) in a series of studies carried out in a STABLE bilingual Puerto Rican community in East Harlem, New York. Data were collected by a group member through participant observation and in interview sessions.

Myers-Scotton's 'code-switching itself as the unmarked choice', or UNMARKED CODE-SWITCHING (1993: 117ff.) resembles Poplack's SMOOTH CODE-SWITCHING in many ways; e.g. "In such switching, speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages ... The other types of switching do not show the same to-and-fro nature ..." Furthermore unmarked code-switching only occurs in special, i.e. stable, communities.

FLAGGED switching was first found in a research project investigating the French spoken in the national capital region of Canada, and the effects on it of close and sustained contact with English (Poplack 1983). Lengthy informal interviews were carried out by local francophone interviewers.

[12]One of the conditions which must be met for Myers-Scotton's UNMARKED CODE-SWITCHING is that "the interaction has to be of a type in which speakers wish to symbolize the dual memberships that such CS calls up." Furthermore, "such interactions will be informal and involve only ingroup members." (Myers-Scotton 1993a:119)

certain concepts could be more felicitously expressed in one language than the other.

The characteristics of this kind of 'smooth' code-switching are: a smooth transition between elements from one code and the other[13], unmarked by false starts, hesitations or lengthy pauses; an apparent 'unawareness' of the particular alternations between languages (despite a general awareness of using both codes in the discourse), insofar as the switched item is not accompanied by metalinguistic commentary, does not constitute a repetition of an adjacent segment, is made up of larger constituents than just a single noun inserted into a sentence in the other code, and is used for purposes other than that of conveying untranslatable or ethnically bound items (Poplack 1988: 218).

In the second basic pattern of code-switching, FLAGGED SWITCHING, virtually every switch serves a rhetorical purpose; i.e. 'flagged' code-switchers draw attention to the switch by any one of a number of discourse devices.

For speakers in 'flagged' code-switching situations, one language is usually endowed with affective import but is regarded as having less instrumental value than the other, i.e. one way of saying it is often shorter, more succinct, and more apt or expressive. The inverse assessment is made of the other code. Descriptions of 'flagged' code-switching furthermore often include the metaphors of mixing and borrowing.

In 'flagged' code-switching it is most of the time possible to determine a 'base' language, i.e. one of the monolingual grammars involved in switching is basic to a particular discourse. Flagged code-switched speech contains liberal amounts of incorporations from the other language whose status as loanword or code-switch is unclear. The majority of switches fall into the same four major types of discourse functions: (a) when the switch provides the apt expression or what Poplack (1988: 226) calls *mot juste*, (b) the switch occurs while discussing language or engaging in metalinguistic commentary, (c) where the switch calls attention to or brackets an intervention from the other language, and finally, (d) in the context of explaining, specifying or translating. Flagged code-switches break up the speech flow, draw attention to a change in code, and the contrast between the two languages is used to underline the rhetorical appropriateness of the bilingual's speech.

As for attitudes towards code-switching, we now notice that those of my core-group informants living in NW London fall in with the 'flagged' code-switchers, whereas the Austrian Jewish refugees living outside the traditional settlement area agree with the 'smooth' ones. When trying to answer the question what the differences in code-switching patterns between the flagged

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[13]Unmarked code-switching may include alternating sentences, according to Myers-Scotton (1993b), but may more typically include a good deal of intrasentential switching.

and the smooth bilinguals should be ascribed to, Poplack suggests that the differences in attitudes in the two situations may be partly determinant of the contrasting code-switching patterns (Poplack 1988: 232). We shall see below how this difference in attitudes is consistent with differing code-switching behaviours in the two groups of Austrian Jewish refugees.

Poplack rules out the possibility that the divergence between her two studies is due to differences in data collection techniques and that the result might therefore be an artefact of her methodology[14]. I, however, would not entirely exclude some influence of data collection techniques on the results of my study.

Due to the lack of a 'community'-centre in all other areas but NW London, I had to fall back on more one-to-one interviews. For the same reason the social distance along the axis of familiarity between the informants and the interviewer was greater than in NW London. I was simply not as well known among and familiar with these ('flagged') informants. The NW London data, on the other hand, consist of more group recordings in natural settings because I could just leave microphone and tape recorder in the room while participating in the activities my subjects were performing at the time.

So even if my methodology influenced the results, we have the striking fact that two contrasting patterns of code-switching, i.e. SMOOTH and FLAGGED, can be found within ONE rather narrowly defined linguistic minority community. Before I procede to the quantitative analysis of my data, I would like to give one example from my corpus illustrating FLAGGED code-switching

(6)

> I made an application, the Z... WIE HEISST DIE BANK...JA, DIE CA, they needed somebody with specialist knowledge of organizing factories, and this is my job, this is BETRIEBSORGANISATION ...so, and there was somebody in the CA who wrote to me...(interview Lane)

and one illustrating SMOOTH code-switching

(7)

> D: ...UND DANN HABEN WIR JEDES JAHR EINE reunion UND [...] HEUER FAHREN WIR NACH Harringate for a/A long-es weekend, ... VON FREITAG BIS MONTAG UND DAS SIND ALLES EX-ÖSTERREICHERINNEN...
> T: ...'Young Austrians'...
> M: That's a joke.
> T: When you booked you had to say, "We want to book for the 'Young Austrian' reunion..." UND DANN KOMMEN DIE ALTEN WEIBER DAHER...
> D: ...VOR 53 JAHREN WAREN WIR JA JÜNGER...
> M: Speak for yourself.

---

[14]Note, however, that in New York a group member collected the corpus through participant observation and in sociolinguistic interviews, whereas local francophone interviewers carried out lengthy informal interviews for the French/English data base.

> L: ...WAS SICH DER receptionist DENKT, WENN ER LIEST 'Young Austrians'...
> T: Reunion, Reunion can be...
> D: ABER 'S/s very nice UND DANN MACHEN'S IMMER VORTRÄGE...

The ways the two other groups of Austrians in Britain combine German and English are still different. I have already pointed out that the wives of the British WWII soldiers view code-switching negatively and were found to engage in it only for stylistic/rhetorical or humorous reasons. At the same time they borrow extensively from both languages, depending on which language they chose for the interview[15]. The same holds true for the second 'control' group. Some speakers belonging to this group furthermore switch rather frequently because they fail to think of certain English words.

5. Quantitative analysis

My German/English corpus revealed a total of 2793 instances of switched categories. This may seem a fairly high figure compared to other studies but group recordings do yield more switches than interviews. Furthermore, the general goal of the project was to present an overall picture of the linguistic behaviour of the Austrian (Jewish) community in Britain, and since the corpus was just about small enough to study all the switched material, no language contact phenomena were excluded from the original analysis. The language of the switch was not noted since assigning a 'base' language to the 'Emigranto' corpus, which constitutes the vast majority of the code-switched data base, could only have been achieved on a very arbitrary basis because of the to-and-fro nature of this discouse.

5.1. Extra-sentential and 'flagged' code-switches

For the quantitative analysis I kept with the distinction between the 'smooth' or predominantly intra-sentential and the 'flagged' mode of mixing although it is certainly not always clearcut, as we shall see in the discussion. I would first like to list those switches which serve discourse functions in the speech of my informants. Poplack's (1988:255) list of types of 'flagged' code-switches was modified according to my data base and extended to include switches in the immediate proximity of hesitation pauses. Extra-sentential and 'tag' switches (including interjections, idiomatic expressions, fillers, affirmative and negative

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[15]Another aspect of my study not to be presented in this paper deals with distinguishing code-switching and borrowing. The speakers belonging to the two 'control' groups were found to borrow smaller, i.e. usually one-word, units. They furthermore tend to integrate these units on the morphological level, if possible, i.e. when borrowing from English into German.

particles and tags), and 'situational' or externally conditioned switches are also included in Table 1.

Table 1[16]: Distribution of extra-sentential and 'flagged' code-switches among informants from NW London and other boroughs within Greater London (# of tokens of each type)

type of code-switch	NW	other	total	%
false start	31	18	49	2,8%
repetition, translation & explanation	12	47	59	3,5%
hesitation	8	13	21	1,2%
'mot juste'	-	10	10	0,6%
meta-linguistic commentary	3	33	36	2,1%
reported speech & single lexical item quote	45	79	124	7,3%
situational	10	25	45	2,6%
proper names & place names	38	81	119	6,9%
'tags' etc.	181	74	255	14,9%
extra-sentential	127	18	125	8,5%
at speaker turn boundary	797	46	843	49,4%
totals	1.262	444	1.706	

We note first that switches at speaker turn boundaries account for almost half of the switches listed in Table 1. Speech samples involving switches at speaker turn boundaries are usually only quoted in pragmatic studies of language contact. The only quantitative analysis to include this switch point is Poplack's (1988) article on 'flagged' switching in French/English bilingualism, according to which her francophone Canadian informants changed languages at speaker turns only 3,4% of the total sample. Poplack's corpus, however, is exclusively based on lengthy one-to-one interviews.

In the part of my data base which was collected in informal interviews with one to two speakers residing outside NW London, i.e. the 'flagged' code-switchers, switches at speaker turn boundaries account for 2,7% of the switches listed in Table 1 (1,6% of the total number of switches). Where participant observation technique was employed, i.e. in the group recordings of the 'smooth' code-switchers in NW London, the same switch site accounts for 46,7% of the switches listed in Table 1, and 28% of the total number of switches. Groups of speakers for whom mixing is such an integral part of the community linguistic repertoire that it can be said to function as a discourse mode thus do not negotiate a 'base' language in which they incorporate material from their other code. The following example illustrates that the

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[16]Myers-Scotton (1993a: 54) criticises Gumperz's catalogue of discourse functions of code-switching for being a "disparate catalogue" in which some headings are structurally based, whereas others refer to motivations. The same holds true for Poplack's and my table as well, but arriving at a standardized table of discourse functions of code-switching does pose problems, cf. Rindler-Schjerve (1994).

conversation does not break down despite continuous code-switching at speaker turn boundaries.

(7)

> L: [reporting her accident] ... he took the number and his name...
> M: Dorit didn't tell me. Dorit told me ...
> D. ICH HAB' GEGLAUBT the lorry is/IS' ...
> L: No, the lorry didn't do ...
> D: DER WIND HAT'S AUFGEBLASEN UND DER lorry HAT ...
> L: But the lorry didn't ...
> D: ... lock the door AUF. DAS HABEN WIR GEDACHT, WEISST?

Other 'flagged' switches lend further support to the hypothesis that two contrasting patterns of code switching are employed by the German/English bilinguals recorded for this study. Note, for example, that the 'smooth' code-switchers living in NW London use NO apt expressions, unlike the informant from Twickenham who provided a very nice example of a *mot juste* expression.

(8)

> You know, in those days in Vienna - it probably still is a bit like that now - in order to be accepted, and *be* somebody, it was good if you looked like EIN HERR DIREKTOR, you know. If you went into a restaurant and looked like that, you got the best seat ... (interview Gold)

Furthermore, the quantitative analysis only revealed 3 instances of meta-linguistic commentary among the bilinguals for whom code-switching functions as a discourse mode. The 'flagged' code-switchers, on the other hand, changed language while commenting on linguistic behaviour 33 times, as in

(9)

> ... because there are also some German words which are MEHR TREFFEND than the English word ... (interview Arie)

Moreover, those of my informants who demonstrate the less intimate type of code-switching change language 47 times in the context of (a) explaining, (b) translating & repeating, and (c) specifying, whereas the `smooth' mixers use code-switching only 12 times for this purpose.

(10)

> (a) He was a lieutenant, OBERLEUTNANT, and his father ... (interview Mr. Dutc)
>
> (b) In meiner Kindheit hat man geschaut, daß man ein ROOF, Dach über dem Kopf hat ... (interview Coll)
>
> (c) My name, my MÄDCHENNAME was WEISS, so my father changed it to 'White' ... (interview Mrs. Dutc)

The purely quantitative analysis of code-switches after false starts is not particularly telling. Therefore I would like to illustrate how 'smooth' and how 'flagged' code-switchers handle false starts. 'Flagged' switchers usually grope for a word they fail to think of in the language they are presently speaking. They therefore change to their other language to fill the lexical gap. A strong

tendency to switch back to the original language after a single lexical borrowing can be observed, as in example (11a). 'Smooth' switchers' false starts, on the other hand, are reminiscent of false starts in monolingual discourse, and these speakers hardly ever switch back to the original code after a single constituent in the other language, as in (11b).

(11)

(a) ... they had a special PROPAGANDA ..., a special VÖLKISCHE BEOBACHTER, a special paper to make out that you were Jewish ... (interview Mrs. Dutc)

(b) ... nur wegen der M. möcht' ich nicht ... I MEAN, I WOULD LIKE TO, aber da im Hotel zu wohnen wegen ihr?

Finally I would like to support Poplack's (1980: 589) and Myers-Scotton's (1993) finding that membership in close-knit communities favours the more intimate configuration of code-switching, i.e. 'smooth', while membership in looser groups of speakers favours emblematic or 'flagged' switching[17]. In the case of extra-sentential and tag-switches, individual switches cannot, in most cases, be attributed to stylistic or discourse functions. Note, however, that the Austrians living in NW London used switched tags 181 times, whereas the 'flagged' code-switchers switched tags less than half the time. The figures for inter-sentential switching are less telling but also supportive of the above argument.

5.2. Intra-sentential code-switches

After having dealt with 'flagged', extra-sentential and tag switches, I would like to turn to segments which are, from a syntactic point of view, more intimately linked with the remainder of the utterance. I analysed the German/English corpus within the framework of phrase structure grammar because Romaine (1989:145) convincingly argued that (a) government relations are relaxed in certain types of language contact situations, and that (b) code-switching data have no bearing on abstract principles such as government because code-switching sites are surface-structure properties. Each instance of an intra-sentential switch was coded according to its syntactic function in the utterance along with the syntactic categories of the segments which immediately preceded and followed it. In order to get a picture of how the switched material is integrated in the discourse, I decided to focus on the syntactic context of code-switches. Sentence (12), for example, was coded as follows

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[17]Cf. "Certain conditions must be met for unmarked CS. First, the speakers must be bilingual peers; such switching typically does not happen when there is a socio-economical differential between speakers or when they are strangers." (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 119)

(12)

Sie	haben	's	PROLONGED	auf	ANOTHER TWO WEEKS.
pron (S)	aux	pron (O)	verb	prep	noun phrase

Romaine (1989:134) rightly hinted at the problems involved in counting code-switches. From the above example I included three switches (pron(O)/V, V/prep, and prep/NP)) in Table 2 but sentences like (12) clearly show the limits of a purely quantitative analysis. Table 2 contains the absolute switch frequencies at a limited number of boundary types. Boundary types were selected in order to illustrate the difference between 'smooth' and 'flagged' code-switching patterns.

Table 2. Intra-sentential code-switching rates at different syntactic boundaries

syntactic boundary type	NW	other	total	%[18]
DET / (ADJ) N	77	130	207	19%
DET / (ADJ) N (loanword[19])	27	76	103	9,5%
ADJ / N(P)	31	49	80	7,4%
__ / PRED ADJ / __	32	9	41	3,8%
__ / ADV(P) / __	55	23	78	7,1%
__ / coordinate CONJ	51	37	88	8%
coordinate CONJ / __	24	15	39	3,6%
__ / coordinate CONJ / __	6	23	29	2,6%
__ / subordinate CONJ	35	8	43	4%

After tags (cf. Table1), which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without violating any grammatical rule, nouns (cf. Table 2) have been found to be the most frequently switched category in most quantitative studies of mixing (e.g. Timm (1975), Wentz (1977), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980)), including mine. Note that those informants who do NOT live in the core group of the community, i.e. the 'flagged' speakers, use almost twice as many single noun switches as the speakers for whom code-switching is a discourse mode. The firgures for switched loanwords are even more striking[20]. In chapter 4 we noted that in 'flagged' code-switched discourse it is easier to determine a 'base' language which contains liberal amounts of incorporations whose status as loanword or code-switch is unclear and that these incorporations frequently convey untranslatable or ethnically bound items.

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[18]Percentages of intra-sentential switches do not add up to 100 because not all boundary types where switches occur in the data base were included in Table 2.

[19]Nouns which qualified for dictionary (*OED* and *Duden*) status, e.g. *Blitz*, *Anschluß*, *computer*, *cash*, etc., and nouns which are widely used in the speech community, e.g. *Kindertransport*, *Gymnasium*, *boy-friend*, etc. were regarded as loanwords.

[20]The relatively large number of switched loanwords in the 'flagged' corpus is mainly due to the frequent use of a limited number of types of loanwords: *Anschluß*, for example, revealed 6 tokens, *Kindertransport* 5, and *Gymnasium* even 11 tokens.

Bearing the aforesaid in mind, we see that the 'flagged' code-switchers still switch more frequently between ADJ and N(P), the difference, however, is no longer as striking. That is, the more complex syntactic structures become, the more hesitant 'flagged' code-switchers are to actually switch. This becomes even more obvious as we move further downwards in Table 2. Sentences like (13) were primarily generated by 'smooth' code-switchers.

(13)
Sie hat gesagt, zuerst hat's SLOW angefangen BUT THEN IT GOT VERY LIVELY AND INTERESTING.

Switch sites in the proximity of conjunctions are highly controversial in literature on code-switching. Gumperz (1982: 88), for example, claims that coordinate and subordinate conjunctions always go with the phrase they conjoin. The reasons he gives in support of this argument is semantic or pragmatic unity. Sankoff and Poplack's (1981: 34) and my study lend assistance to this finding. Note, however, that for speakers for whom code-switching is a mode of interaction similar to monolingual use, a switch in the proximity of conjunctions seems to be less disturbing to semantic and pragmatic unity than for 'flagged' code-switchers. The 'flagged' switchers, on the other hand, switch a SINGLE conjunction almost four times as frequently as the 'smooth' ones.

6. Does mixing lead to language shift, attrition or death in the community studied?

The question if code-switching is a stage in a process of language shift which will finally lead to attrition or loss of one of the two codes involved is difficult to answer in a synchronic study like the present one. I can thus only rely on the memory of my informants when sketching the emergence and development of 'Emigranto'. According to the emigrants themselves, 'Emigranto' came into being when this term was coined, i.e. in the early 1940s. Between approx. 1950 and 1970, when the refugees were working members of the British society, they spoke mainly English. Since their retirement, however, their 'smooth' and 'flagged' patterns of language use seem to have stabilized.

The speech of only five of my informants shows signs of linguistic convergence. Attrition of L1 skills was observed among another five informants who emigrated at a very early age and who use their 'mother-tongue' rarely. Apart from few examples of syntactic transference, no other change processes seem to have taken place in the community studied, and attrition is not categorical. Therefore German as a minority language in the U.K. is expected to 'die' with the majority of its speakers, i.e. the Austrian and German Jewish refugees. The second-generation refugees are mostly no active bilinguals and the post-WWII immigrants integrate more easily into the

linguistic majority community because they are geographically more scattered and because they do not share a similar socio-historical background.

7. Final remarks

For the project this paper is based on I studied code-switching within two frameworks - a sociolinguistic and a morpho-syntactic framework.

One of the most important findings of the sociolinguistic study is that two contrasting patterns of code-switching exist within the Austrian linguistic minority community in Great Britain. The analysis of the data collected from bilinguals who live in the traditional settlement area of central-European immigrants, i.e. NW London, revealed that code-switching between German and English is such an integral part of the community's linguistic repertoire that it can be said to function as a mode of interaction similar to monolingual use. This kind of fluent or 'smooth' code-switching contrasts with the type of functionally marked 'flagged' code-switching observed among the informants with less contact to the core group of the community. Among these socially and geographically more isolated bilinguals patterns of bilingual language use as well as speakers' attitudes towards language contact phenomena are consistent with highlighting, flagging or otherwise calling attention to the switch. Indeed, in order for the switch to accomplish its purpose it ought to be marked at the discourse level and should not pass unnoticed. The high rate of borrowed material in the speech samples collected among this part of the community is also characteristic of the less intimate type of code-mixing.

Signs of syntactic transference were noticed among a subsample of informants. German and English have been in close contact in the Jewish refugee community in the U.K. for more than fifty years now. This, however, does not seem to lead to language shift, attrition or loss of one of the languages on a community wide basis. The code-group of my informants can thus be said to form a stable bilingual community and their language, 'Emigranto', is rather dying a 'natural' death.

After having been ignored or at least neglected for more than half a century, my informants appreciated a little bit of - not only linguistic - attention.

(14)
  Sie will STUDY, wie wir sprechen ... ha, ha, ha! Ich hab' nie geglaubt, daß DAS jemanden interessiert!

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Sprechereinstellungen zu Varietäten des Englischen im „Neuen" Südafrika.
Erste Auswertungen einer Felduntersuchung[1]

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In meinem Beitrag möchte ich die Voraussetzungen, methodischen und praktischen Grundüberlegungen, Untersuchungsziele und einige vorläufige Ergebnisse einer Feldarbeit beschreiben, die ich zu Beginn des Jahres 1993 in Grahamstown, einer Kleinstadt in der östlichen Kapprovinz Südafrikas, durchgeführt habe. In dieser Untersuchung, die in einen sozialpsychologischen und soziolinguistischen Rahmen gestellt ist, wurden High School Schüler aller ethnolinguistischer Gruppen der Stadt mit dem Ziel befragt, die Vielfalt der Einstellungen dieser Informanten zum südafrikanischen Englisch, dessen Varietäten, sowie deren Verwendung im Bildungsbereich im "Neuen" Südafrika zu erfassen.

1. Voraussetzungen

Seit dem angekündigten Ende der Apartheid befindet sich Südafrika in einer Zeit des politischen und sozialen Wandels mit einer Vielzahl von Problemen, die von den verschiedenen Gruppierungen angesprochen und gelöst werden müssen, um ein friedliches "Neues" Südafrikas zu ermöglichen.

Wie in fast allen Aspekten, ist das Land auch linguistisch gesehen sehr heterogen. Die fast 40 Millionen Einwohner teilen sich elf standardisierte Sprachen, von denen bis zur ersten allgemeinen Wahl im April 1994 zwei, nämlich Englisch und Afrikaans, als offizielle Sprachen anerkannt waren. Mit dem Amtsantritt der neuen Regierung wurde die mit Ende 1993 beschlossene neue Verfassung eingesetzt, die eine gesetzliche Gleichstellung aller 11 Sprachen beinhaltet. Da die praktische Sprachsituation nicht über Nacht geändert werden kann, wird seit Mai 1994 zwar nun die Gleichberechtigung aller Sprachen gefordert, allerdings aber unter Anerkennung und Nutzung der gegenwärtigen Umstände. Dies bedeutet, daß bis auf weiteres die Funktion von Englisch als Lingua Franca und als Hauptunterrichtssprache im sekundären und tertiären Unterrichtsbereich aufrechterhalten bleibt (ANC 1992:30). Genauere

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[1]Dieser Artikel entspricht der schriftlichen Fassung des Vortrags, den ich bei der Österreichischen Linguistentagung im Oktober 1993 gehalten habe, und reflektiert daher den Stand der Dinge und Ergebnisse vom September 1993.

Pläne mit praktischen Vorschlägen unter Berücksichtigung der veränderten Gegebenheiten und der Erwartungen der betroffenen Bevölkerungsgruppen bzw. -schichten liegen aber noch nicht vor.

Um eine realisierbare Sprachplanung zu ermöglichen, sollten neben der generellen Einschätzung der Lage auch die Erwartungen und Einstellungen der einzelnen Sprecher erfaßt werden.

2. Methodische und praktische Grundüberlegungen

Sprechereinstellungen, d.h. "jedes affektive, kognitive bzw. verhaltensbezogene Anzeichen von beurteilender Reaktion zu verschiedenen Sprachvarietäten bzw. deren Sprecher"[2] sind immer an einen bestimmten Referenten gebunden. Da dies das Feld der zu untersuchenden Einstellungen, die ja objektspezifisch sind, ungeheuerlich groß werden läßt, ist es unerläßlich, eine Vielzahl von Untersuchungen durchzuführen und dabei jede in ihrem Umfang klar abzugrenzen. Dementsprechend versteht sich die vorliegende Untersuchung als ein Projekt, dem noch viele ähnliche folgen müßten.

Unabhängig vom politischen Gesinnungswandel genießt Englisch nicht nur viel Prestige, sondern gilt auch als instrumentell wichtigste Sprache Südafrikas. Daher kommt es nicht unerwartet, daß jüngere Befragungen gezeigt haben, daß der Großteil der Bevölkerung Englisch als Unterrichtssprache den Vorzug gibt[3]. Dieser Umstand wurde als Grundlage zur Zielsetzung der vorliegenden Untersuchung genommen, die nicht nur die Einstellungen zu Englisch im Unterricht feststellen sollte, sondern auch zu den verschiedenen südafrikanischen Varietäten des Englischen.

Englisch wird in Südafrika von ca. 3,5 Millionen als Muttersprache gesprochen und ist für ungefähr 14 weitere Millionen Zweit- oder Drittsprache[4]. Im Ganzen können sich also 17,5 Millionen Einwohner oder 44% der Gesamtbevölkerung auf Englisch verständigen[5]. Die dialektalen Unterschiede sind dementsprechend groß und spiegeln die sozialen Umstände, im speziellen das durch die Apartheid noch immer stark geprägte soziale Gefüge der Rassentrennung wider.

Es würde in diesem Rahmen zu weit gehen, die verschiedenen Varietäten vorzustellen, zu beschreiben und in ihren sozialen Kontext einzubetten. Ich möchte daher nur kurz die Varietäten erwähnen, die für die Untersuchung eine

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[2]Die Definition lautet im Original: "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers" (Ryan, E.B.; Giles, H.; Sebastian, R.J. 1982: 7)

[3]Diese Beobachtungen wurden und werden wiederholt gemacht, u.a. in Young, Ratcliffe (1991); Cronin (1990); Norton (1990); Southey, van Heerden (1988).

[4]Zahlen wurden von E. Kotzé aufgrund der Volksbefragung 1991 errechnet.

[5]Zahlen wurden von D. Young et al. (1991) verwendet.

Rolle gespielt haben. Dies waren die drei Varietäten, die von den Hauptbevölkerungsgruppen in Grahamstown geprochen werden und sich aufgrund der jeweiligen Erstsprachen unterscheiden lassen, nämlich das English der Xhosasprechenden, im folgenden Black English (BlE), das der Afrikaanssprechenden, im folgenden Afrikaans English (AfE), und das muttersprachliche Englisch oder Mother-tongue English (MtE).

Die Untersuchung wurde bewußt in der Zeit grundlegender Veränderungen angesetzt. Daher war es ein wichtiges Anliegen, das unmittelbar Bevorstehende im Bereich des Gebrauchs von Englisch im Unterricht einzubeziehen. Jüngere Stellungnahmen lassen darauf schließen, daß nicht die Frage "Englisch - ja oder nein" von Interesse sein wird, sondern eher "Englisch ja, aber in welcher Art". Diese Grundüberlegung wurde von Prof. N.S. Ndebele, einem bekannten Wissenschaftler der Opposition, direkt angesprochen. Er behauptete, daß sich das südafrikanische Englisch erneuern könnte durch den direkten Kontakt mit afrikanischen Sprachen[6]. Da ein Sprachwandel dieser Art tiefgreifende Konsequenzen mit sich ziehen würde, erschien es von besonderer Bedeutung, die Einstellungen von Mittelschülern, die die zukünftigen Entscheidungsträger des Landes sein werden, zu dem Fragenkomplex "Englisch ja, aber in welcher Art" zu erfassen.

Das Untersuchungsziel, d.h. die Einstellungen von Mittelschülern zu Varietäten des südafrikanischen Englisch im Unterricht festzustellen, bestand also aus zwei Teilen. Der erste Teil beschränkte sich auf drei Varietäten, die mit den wichtigsten entgegengesetzten Volksgruppen gleichzusetzen sind, wobei die dialektalen Unterschiede auf die phonologische Ebene, "accents", reduziert wurden. So wurde die soziale Bedeutung der Varietäten nicht verändert, aber die Untersuchung vereinfacht. Der zweite Teil war der Zukunftsidee eines systematisch "afrikanisierten" Englisch gewidmet. Dieses Englisch wird als Weiterführung des momentanen Standards, des "general South African English"[7] gesehen, d.h. als Kommunikationsmittel in allen offiziellen bzw. formellen Situationen. Aus diesem Grund wurde die Untersuchung so aufgebaut, daß im Kontext des Englischgebrauchs in der institutionalisierten Ausbildung der jetzige Standard (SAE), und das afrikanisierte Englisch (AE) gegenübergestellt wurden.

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[6]Im Original lautet das Zitat: "South African English must be open to the possibilities of its becoming a new language. This may ... result from the proximity of English to indigenous African languages." (Ndebele 1986:13)

[7]Englisch in Südafrika wurde in phonologisch/phonetischer Hinsicht das erste Mal von Lanham und Macdonald (1979) untersucht. In der Beschreibung der Varietäten wurde ein allgemein akzeptierter Standard identifiziert, den Mesthrie (1991) mit "general SAE" bezeichnet.

In diesen zwei Teilzielen wurden also Sprechereinstellungen erfragt, die aufgrund ihrer Beschaffenheit grundlegend unterschiedlich sind. Der erste Teil erfragte Einstellungen zu bestehenden Varietäten, d.h. solche, die bereits vollständig sozialisiert und internalisiert sind. Der zweite Teil aber konfrontierte eine bestehende Varietät, SAE, mit einer potentiell zukünftigen, AE, d.h. einer Varietät, die im Sozialsystem und -verständnis noch nicht eingebettet ist, und daher von den Informanten noch nicht internalisiert werden konnte. Aus diesem Grund bestand der zur Untersuchung gehörende Fragebogen aus zwei Teilen.

Teil 1 war eine Adaption des klassischen Matched-guise Tests[8]. Da aufgrund der sozialen Gegebenheiten kein Südafrikaner als kompetenter Sprecher aller drei zu untersuchenden Varietäten (BlE, AfE, MtE) aufwächst, mußten drei verschiedene Sprecher gewählt werden, um einen für den Test notwendigen Prosatext als Stimulus für die Schülerbeurteilungen zu lesen.

Teil 2 bestand aus einem direkten Test, der in zehn offenen Fragen verschiedene Einstellungen zum Thema des zukünftigen Standardenglisch zu erfassen versuchte. Dieser Test lehnte sich in Form und Anordnung an den Fragebogen an, der von Prof. Young in einer vergleichbaren Untersuchungs-situation in der westlichen Kapprovinz, Südafrika im Jahre 1991 erfolgreich verwendet wurde.

Für die vorliegende Untersuchung standen 282, d.h. ca. 10% aller Mittelschüler der letzten drei Jahrgänge der 10 High Schools Grahamstowns als Informanten zur Verfügung. Nach ihrer Schulzugehörigkeit konnten die Informanten in fünf Gruppen eingeteilt werden, deren Charakterisierung die jüngste Geschichte Südafrikas aufzeigt. Denn obwohl die Apartheid als politisches System der Vergangenheit angehört, sind die meisten sozialen Gefüge wie das Schulwesen noch sehr stark davon geprägt. Für jede Rassengruppe gab es ein eigenes Ministerium, eigene Schulen, eigene Ausbildungsstätten und auch eigene Lehrpläne. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß die letzten Jahre hier noch wenig Einfluß gehabt haben, und der Großteil der Schüler noch immer die Schulen besucht, die für die

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[8]Diese indirekte Methode hat sich seit den sechziger Jahren als die weitverbreitetste für die Befragung von Einstellungen etabliert. Ein inhaltlich möglichst neutraler Prosatext wird von einem oder mehreren Sprechern der zu untersuchenden Varietäten gelesen. Die Informanten werden dann gebeten, diese Bandaufnahmen anzuhören und die verschiedenen Stimmen, die für sie zu verschiedenen Personen gehören, anhand einer Liste von Charaktereigenschaften zu beurteilen. Auf diese Art wird derselbe Sprecher je nach der Varietät, in der gelesen wurde, beurteilt. So können Beurteilungsmuster als Evaluierung der Sprachvarietäten und nicht der Sprecherpersönlichkeiten klassifiziert werden.

Für eine Kurzbeschreibung der Matched-guise Methode siehe Giles, Bourhis (1976:294); für eine genauere Beschreibung der Methode und ihrer Anwendung siehe Agheyisi, Fishman (1970).

jeweilige Rasse bestimmt waren. Eine notwendige Folgerung daraus ist, daß die Schulzugehörigkeit eine starke soziale Aussagekraft hat, und sich daher als wichtigste unabhängige Variable dieser Untersuchung herausgestellt hat [9].

Die fünf Gruppen werden mit den Kurzbezeichnungen der jeweilig zuständigen Ministerien bezeichnet:

DET (= Department of Education and Training; 93 Informanten)

Diese Gruppe inkludiert die für die schwarzen Schüler bestimmten Schulen. In Grahamstown sind dies drei Schulen, die fast ausschließlich von Xhosa L1-sprechenden Schülern besucht werden.

DEC (= Department of Education and Culture; 30 Informanten)

Zu dieser Kategorie zählt die eine Schule Grahamstowns, die ursprünglich für die sogenannten Coloureds bestimmt war, d.h. für gemischtrassige Schüler.

CED (= Cape Education Department)

Dieses Ministerium war für die weißen Schulen in der Kapprovinz zuständig. In Grahamstown gibt es drei solche Schulen. Um den sozialen Unterschieden zwischen Afrikaans und Englisch L1-sprechenden Weißen gerecht zu werden, mußte hier noch eine Unterscheidung nach den Unterrichtssprachen getroffen werden:

CED-A (38 Informanten): die eine Schule mit Unterrichtssprache Afrikaans,
CED-E (41 Informanten): die zwei Schulen mit Unterrichtssprache Englisch.
PRV (= die Privatschulen; 80 Informanten)

Da Grahamstown eine traditionelle Schulstadt der Englisch L1-sprechenden weißen Südafrikaner ist, gibt es drei Privatschulen nach englischem Muster. Obwohl diese Schulen keiner staatlichen Behörde unterliegen, waren die jeweiligen Kirchen als zuständige Stellen gezwungen, ihre Schulen rassisch eindeutig zu deklarieren.

3. Test und vorläufige Ergebnisse

3.1. Teil 1 (Sprecherbeurteilungstest)

Um die Verwendung von Tonbandaufnahmen überzeigend erscheinen zu lassen, wurden die Informanten angewiesen, die Sprecher als potentielle Radiosprecher im Neuen Südafrika zu beurteilen. Die "Sprecher" waren drei Akademikerinnen, L1 Sprecherinnen der gewünschten Sprachen Xhosa, Afrikaans und Englisch. Sie lasen einen kurzen Zeitungsartikel über eine Preisverleihung für den Film *Sarafina*.

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[9]Die anderen in Erwägung gezogenenen Variablen - Alter, Geschlecht, Bildung und Beruf der Eltern, Muttersprache - korrelierten so stark mit der Variable Schulzugehörigkeit, daß eine Analyse der Daten in bezug auf den letztgenannten Faktor ausreichend war.

Die Informanten beurteilten die jeweilige Sprecherin in bezug auf eine Liste von 16 Charaktereigenschaften, die sich in die folgenden fünf Dimensionen anordnen ließen:

I.   Kompetenz (educated, successful, leader, sophisticated);
II.   Karrierebewußtsein (ambitious, organised, intelligent);
III.   Persönliche Integrität (honest, generous, likeable, reliable);
IV.   Soziale Attraktivität (courteous, friendly, sense of humour);
V.   Selbsteinschätzung (self-confident, outgoing).

Anschließend nahmen die Informanten noch Stellung zu zwei Aussagen:

1.   Diese Person hätte ich gerne als Radiosprecherin.
2.   Ich wäre gerne mit dieser Person befreundet.

Da die zwei Aussagen gleichsam als Zusammenfassung der 16 Eigenschaften dienen, können die Beurteilungsmuster zu den Dimensionen I, II, III und IV, V mit den dazugehörigen zu den beiden Aussagen - 1 und 2 respektive - veranschaulicht werden. In den folgenden Graphiken werden pro Schulgruppe (horizontale Achse) die Mittelwerte der Beurteilungen (vertikale Achse) der drei Varietäten des Englischen gezeigt. Da die Informanten vier Antwortmöglichkeiten hatten, die mit den numerischen Werten 1 (völlige Zustimmung), 2 (teilweise Zustimmung), 3 (teilweise Ablehnung) und 4 (völlige Ablehnung) versehen wurden, liegen die Werte zwischen 1 und 4, wobei ein niedriger Wert einer besseren Beurteilung entspricht.

ABB. (1)

Aussage 1 (Diese Person hätte ich gerne als Radiosprecherin.)

ABB. (2)

Aussage 2 (Ich wäre gerne mit dieser Person befreundet.)
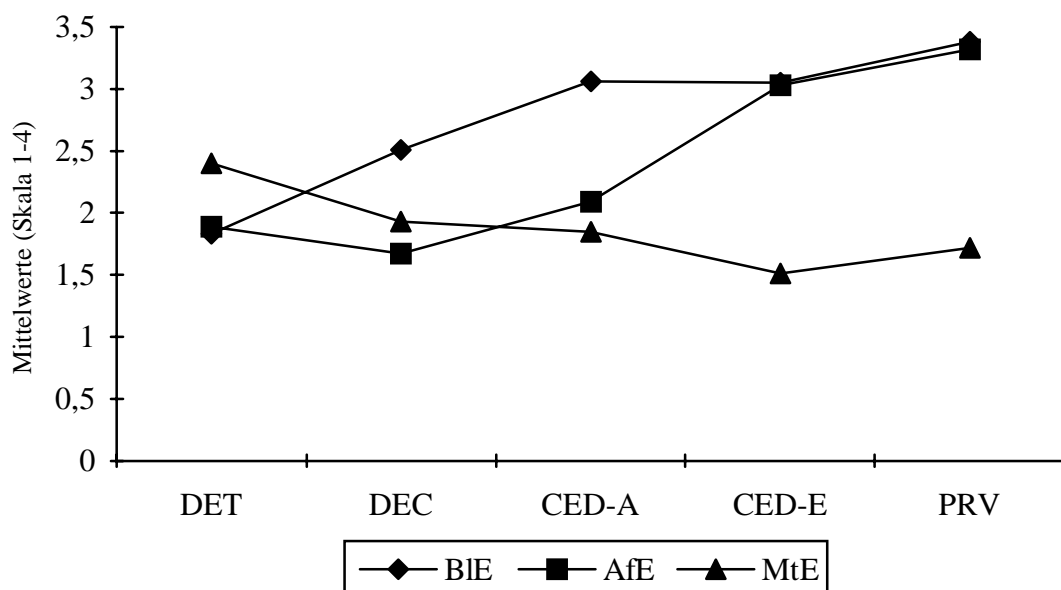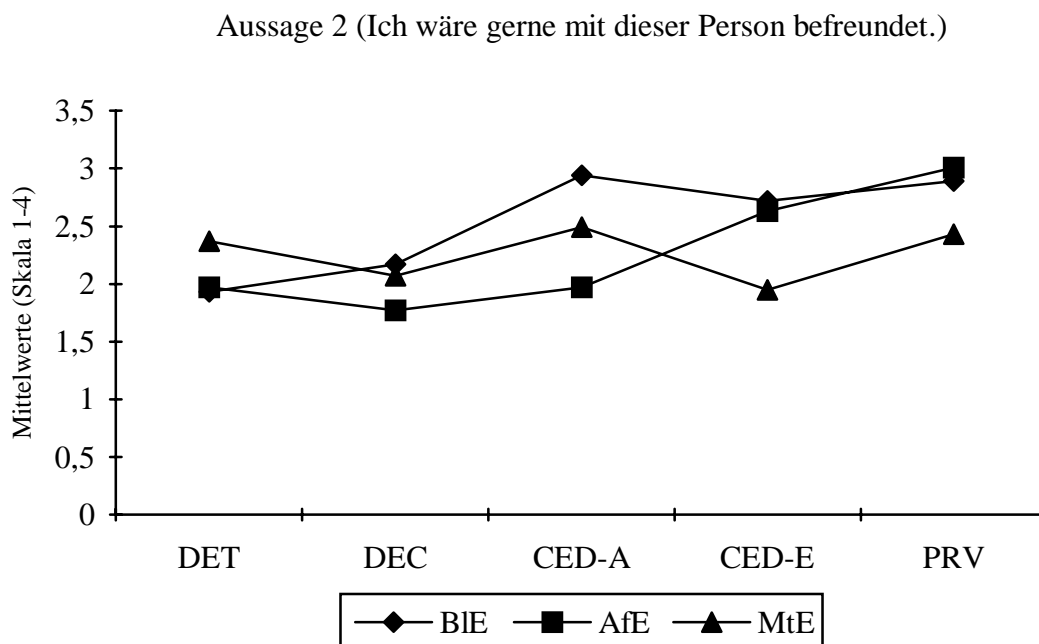
Wie in den beiden Graphiken gut erkennbar ist, zeigten die fünf Schulgruppen unterschiedliche Einstellungen zu den drei Varietäten des Englischen, die sich in statistischen Tests als signifikant erwiesen haben:

(a) Die DET Schüler zeigten ihre Abneigung für MtE und zogen die anderen beiden Varietäten vor.

(b) Die DEC Schüler bevorzugten AfE vor MtE und, an letzter Stelle, BlE.

(c) Die CED-A Antworten lassen zwei unterschiedliche Muster erkennen: MtE war die beliebteste Varietät für Aussage 1, für Aussage 2 war es hingegen AfE. BlE war in beiden Fällen am unerwünschten.

(d) Für die CED-E Schüler war MtE die überzeugendste Varietät, und die anderen beiden gleich unerwünscht.

(e) Die PRV Schüler verhielten sich ähnlich wie CED-E, allerdings waren ihre negativen Beurteilungen etwas ausgeprägter.

3.2. Teil 2 (direkte, offene Fragen)

Dieser Fragebogen begann mit einer Einleitung, die Information über Sprachvarietäten, Funktionen des Englischen und die Idee, Englisch zu afrikanisieren, bot. Anschließend wurden die Informanten aufgefordert, neun Fragen zur Thematik eines Standards im allgemeinen und eines "afrikanisierten" Englisch im spezielleren zu beantworten[10]. Die abschließende

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[10]Da es für diese "afrikanisierte" Varietät des Englischen keinerlei linguistische Beschreibung gibt, wurde den Informanten nur die vage Erklärung gegeben, daß das jetzige

Frage forderte sie schließlich auf, ihren persönlichen Vorschlag der zukünftigen Varietät des Englischen im Unterricht zu formulieren.

Die Antworten zur abschließenden Frage konnten in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt werden: die einen, die eine Änderung des Englischen als Annäherung an Afrika unterstützen (A in Abb. 3), und die anderen, die gegen eine solche Anpassung waren (B in Abb. 3).

Abb. (3)

Englisch im Unterricht im "Neuen Südafrika"
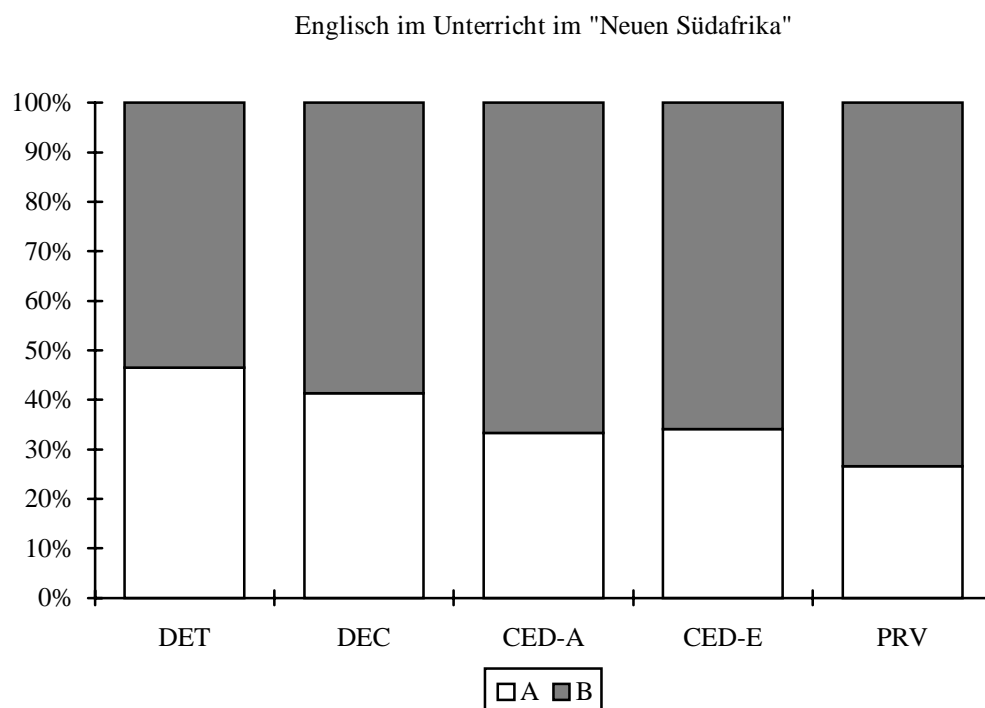
Die in Prozenten angegebenen Verhältnisse der beiden Antwortmöglichkeiten zeigen, wie unterschiedlich die fünf Schulgruppen auf die Frage reagierten:

Die größte Unterstützung für einen Sprachwandel kam von den DET, d.h. schwarzen Schülern (47%), gefolgt von den DEC oder gemischtrassigen Schülern mit 41%. Dieser Umstand weist darauf hin, daß einerseits beide Schülergruppen durch die Apartheid ähnlich benachteiligt wurden, aber daß anderseits die Muttersprache der meisten DEC Schüler Afrikaans ist und nicht eine der afrikanischen Sprachen, an die sich dieses neue Englisch anpassen soll.

Die drei hauptsächlich weißen Schulgruppen, CED-A, CED-E und PRV, zeigten hingegen weit weniger Aufgeschlossenheit gegenüber der Idee, Englisch an afrikanische Verhältnisse anzupassen.

Standardenglisch durch den Einbau von Sprachelementen afrikanischer Sprachen verändert werden soll.

3.3. Schlußbemerkungen

Wenn man versucht, die ersten Ergebnisse dieser Felduntersuchung in einen Zusammenhang mit den politischen und sozialen Veränderungen in Südafrika zu stellen, so läßt sich erkennen, daß der politische und soziale Wandel die Einstellungen der Schüler nicht unbeeinflußt gelassen hat:

Erstens wird MtE, d.h. Standard Englisch, nicht mehr länger unangetastet als einzig akzeptable Varietät für formelle Situationen eingeschätzt. Zumindest die Mehrheit der Informanten, die Englisch als Zweit- oder Drittsprache haben, zog es vor, ihre eigene Varietät in einer nationalen, unterrichtsorientierten Radiosendung zu hören.

Zweitens muß die Reaktion auf den Vorschlag, Englisch durch das Einbauen typischer Merkmale bewußt in eine afrikanische Sprache umzuändern, als unerwartet bezeichnet werden. Denn der Prozentsatz der Befürworter von 37% ist überraschend hoch, wenn man bedenkt, was ein solcher Sprachwandel mit sich ziehen würde[11].

Diese positive Einstellung zu echter, grundlegender Veränderung des bisherigen Systems scheint also darauf hinzuweisen, daß zumindest ein Teil der Jugend Südafrikas bereit ist, auch folgenschwere sprachplanerische Maßnahmen zu unterstützen, die einen echten Apartheidsabbau bedeuten und den Weg ins "Neue" Südafrika ebnen könnten.

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[11]Konsequenzen eines solchen Sprachwandels wären z.B. das Anpassen der Lehrpläne, die Neuerstellung des Unterrichtsmaterials oder das Umlehren und -lernen aller betroffenen Lehrer.

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An exercise in historical stylistics, in which I prefer sex to violence[1]

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There have been two prevailing metaphors as to the purpose of *VIEWS* so far: that of an oven for baking one's theories, and that of a forum for defending them from assault. Lass (*VIEWS* 2.2 1993: 104) refers to our editors as gladiators, which casts the contributors as Christians, Slaves, and Germanic-speakers. I therefore tentatively offer the editors (and you, gentle reader) a few toothsome scraps, in an attempt to assuage the Viennese gladiatorial ire and deflect it elsewhere.

0.1. Introduction to data

I have been reading some unpublished archives from the Early Modern period, and using the extracts reproduced below to initiate students into the mysteries of Early Modern English in its unedited state. The unpublished archives are the *Court Minute Books of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bedlam*, and the *Oxford Diocesan Papers of the Archdeacon's Court*. These manuscript books contain versions of the testimonies provided by witnesses to the said courts. Because witnesses provide evidence either for, or against, a defendant, I think we can assume that some of these testimonies were designed to have a persuasive effect on the members of the court. I also think I can tell which witnesses were biased in favour of which defendants. Let me show you what I mean:

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1. First example: London, 1598: Margaret Browne

My first example is a case of adultery, brought before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of London. Firstly, a summary of the case is given, and I reproduce this under Text A below. Next, the witness Margaret Browne presents her version of events. This is given as Text B. Then, her husband, Henry, tells the court what he saw, and the court records its verdict. These are given under Text C.

Text A: Summary

(Transcribed from Guildhall Library, London, Microfilm of MS Bridewell Royal Hospital Court Minutes Volume 4 (1597-1604), Microfilm Reel 3. An apostrophe denotes an abbreviation sign in the text. Punctuation as in the manuscript. < > denotes illegible or missing graphs).

> Margaret Browne the wyfe of Henrye Browne dwelling in Hounsditch in the parish of St Butholphes without Algate London saieth that her husbandis next adioyning to the house of one John Vnderhill A Broker where she sawe one William ffloyd A Bayley come to the house of the said John Vnderhill on Saterday last past before the date heereof in the forenoone of the saide daye and went vp into the Chamber of the said Vnderhill where Clement the wyfe of the said Vnderhill had in her hand a drawen rapier saying to the said ffloyd as he was co'ming vp the stayres haue you spoken with all your friend' wherevppon the said ffloyd did steppe vnto her and took her rapier from her and laied her the said Clement on the bed and there tourned vp her clothes he putting downe his hose therevpon laye vppon her and vsed her wherevpon this examinate saieth that whilst the said ffloyd was vsing of the said Clement she called her husband Henrye Browne who came presentlye to see the same thorough A hole into the Chamber and sawe the said ffloyd rise of from the bed from the said Clement wth his hose hanging about his heeles and sawe him pull vp his hose and she saieth that afterward' the said Clement tooke bread and butter and cheese out of her Cubberd and sett the same before the said ffloyd and willed him not to eate chease to much for feare his wa<r>e should be to shorte for that she looked for A good turne at his hand' in thafternoone /
>
> The said Henrye Browne being also present sayeth that the deposicion of the said Margaret Browne his wyfe is trewe saving that he did not see the said ffloyd vse her but sawe him come of from the bed from her and his hose hanging about his heeles /

Text B: Margaret Browne's deposition

> The Examinacions of Margaret Browne & Henrye Browne taken the Thirtieth daye of Maye 1598 before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen being seu'ally sworne whose deposicions followeth /
>
> Margaret Browne the wyfe of Henrye Browne Cittizen and Stacioner of London dwelling in Hounsditch in the parishe of St Butolphe wthout Bishopsgate in the ward of Bishopsgate London sayeth that vppon the Thirtenth daye of this p'sent moneth of Maye 1598 being Saterdaye Michaell ffludd and Clement Vnderhill the wyfe of John Vnderhill were making merrye together in the house of the said John Vnderhill being the next house vnto this deponent' house in the parish and ward aforesaid (he the said

John being from home) And as they were eating their victualls Vnderhills wyfe said vnto ffludd theis wordes eate no more chease for that it will make yor geere short and I meane to haue a good turne of you soone Ymediatlye after that he went vpp into her chamber and laye vppon her bed and there continued vntill six of the clocke or there about' att what tyme shee shutt in her shopp windowes and went vpp vnto him wth a Rapyer in her hand and asked him whether he had spoken wth all his friends or not he came to her and tooke the Rapyer out of her hands laying it a side tooke her in his armes and brought her to the beds feete and tooke vpp her clothes and she putt her hand into his hose And he kissed her and pulled her vppon him vppon the beds feete And after that they went to the beds side and he taking her in his armes did cast her vppon the bed he pluckt vpp her clothes to her thighes she pluckt them vpp higher (whereby this deponent sawe not onlye her hose being A Seawater greene colour and also her bare thighes) then he went vpp to her vppon the bed and putting downe his hose had carnall Copulacion with her and having so don he wyped his yard on her Smocke and this deponent had in the meane tyme called vpp the said Henrye Browne the husband of this deponent to see this deede who came and sawe ffludd come from the bed wth his hose downe wherevppon this deponent' husband went awaye and would see no more then this deponent sawe the said ffludd to go to a payle or a Tubb of water in the same Chamber and washed his yard then Vnderhills wyfe departed from him to fetch A pott of beere and out of the Cubberd in the table tooke bread and butter wch they did eate togither and then she lifted vpp the pott and said to him heere now I drinck to thee /

For those of you who are curious as to the outcome of the case:

Text C: The verdict

The said Henrye Browne saieth vppon his oth that his wyfe Margaret Browne did on the day and tyme abovesaid call him vpp in his Chamber where he saw thorowgh a great hole the said ffludd com from the said Clement of from her bed where she laye wth his hose hanging about his legges

This daye vppon the examinacion of Margaret Browne the wyfe of Henrye Browne Cittizen and Stacioner of London dwelling in Hounsditch in the parish of of (sic) St Butolphes without Bishopsgate London and of Henrye Browne husband of the said Margaret being sworne before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen the xxxth daye of Maye 1598 that the xiijth daye of this instant Moneth of Maye Michaell ffludd had the carnall knowledge of the bodye of Clement Vnderhill the wyfe of John Vnderhill as appeareth by their examinacions the said Michaell ffludd being present confesseth that he had thuse and carnall knowledge of the bodye of the said Clement Vnderhill whose examinacions appeareth ordered that the said Clement shalbe ponished the wch was don accordinglye and that the said ffludd in regard he confessed the same shall paye xxs towardes the reliefe of the poore of this Hospitall

1.1. The differences between texts A and B

These versions cast the factual content in different lights. Text A, the Court Summary, sounds at first as though it is describing a rape. It is only at the end

that Clement Underhill appears to be complicit in the act. Text B, Margaret Browne's testimony, implicates Clement Underhill from the start.[2]

It seems to me that Margaret Browne has it in for Clement Underhill. The summary makes it plain that the crime under consideration is that of adultery, and this is a crime perpetrated by the male. The point at issue is whether or not Fludd/Floyd 'used' Clement Underhill. Her compliance is not at issue. Margaret Browne on the other hand takes pains to show that Clement Underhill was equally guilty, as I shall now discuss.

1.1.1. Second person pronouns

Text A

1.
   (direct) haue you spoken with all your friend'

2.
   (indirect) and willed him not to eate chease to much for feare his wa\<r>e should be to shorte for that she looked for A good turne at his hand' in thafternoone

Text B

1.
   (direct) eate no more chease for that it will make yor geere short and I meane to haue a good turne of you soone

2.
   (indirect) and asked him whether he had spoken wth all his friends or not

3.
   (direct) heere now I drinck to thee

In Margaret Browne's version, Text B, Clement is represented as using the *thee* form. Hope (1993: 96) has demonstrated that by the 1570s, *thou* was already the marked form in Church Court records, and *you* the default polite term. Presumably Clement's use of *thee* denotes intimacy, although it is interesting that Margaret Browne has her saying *you* in her first utterance -

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[2]Due in part to the lack of sentence structure, these texts sound rather dense to today's readers. As I read it, Text B claims that Margaret Browne, peeping through a hole into the house next door, saw Clement Underhill and William Floyd/Michael Fludd (there's some discrepancy between the versions as to his name) having lunch whilst Clement's husband was away. During their lunchtime conversation Clement, an amateur chemist, mentioned some rather astonishing properties she had observed whilst studying cheese. Floyd/Fludd then went upstairs for the afternoon, and at closing time Clement Underhill followed, holding a rapier, for reasons unspecified. They then became friendly in the bedroom, and Margaret Browne excitedly called her husband Henry to come and watch, whilst she took fashion notes. Henry got there just in time to see Floyd/Fludd, who was upper-class about matters of personal hygiene, about to bathe before dinner. Mindful of Clement's observations, Floyd/Fludd and Clement Underhill then decided they would enjoy a light supper that evening of bread, butter, and beer.

which is equally intimate in meaning! Certainly, it is not unusual to find both forms in one utterance addressed to the same listener in Church Court narratives, which causes problems for the 'power and solidarity' model of Brown and Gilman (for a summary, see Hope (1993) and Nevanlinna and Taavitsainen (1994)). Clement's toast is presumably included to show that she welcomed Floyd/Fludd's advances, and was not forced against her will.

1.1.2. Clause connectives

Not only is extra information given in Text B, its clause structure also strikes me as significant: more particularly, its methods of coordination when describing the supposed act of adultery. I reproduce below the relevant sections, divided into clauses (clearly, there is no point in talking about sentence structure as sentences have only partially evolved in this text type):

Text A

1. wherevppon the said ffloyd did steppe vnto her	(main, syndetic)
2. and took her rapier from her	(main, syndetic)
3. and laied her the said Clement on the bed	(main, syndetic)
4. and there tourned vp her clothes	(main, syndetic)
5. he [putting downe his hose]	(subordinate, asyndetic)
6. therevpon laye vppon her	(main, syndetic)
7. and vsed her	(main, syndetic)

Text B

1. he came to her	(main, asyndetic)
2. and tooke the Rapyer out of her hands	(main, syndetic)
3. laying it a side	(subordinate, asyndetic)
4. tooke her in his armes	(main, asyndetic)
5. and brought her to the beds feete	(main, syndetic)
6. and tooke vpp her clothes	(main, syndetic)
7. and she putt her hand into his hose	(main, syndetic)
8. And he kissed her	(main, syndetic)
9. and pulled her vppon him vppon the beds feete	(main, syndetic)
10. And after that they went to the beds side	(main, syndetic)
11. and he [taking her in his armes]	(subordinate, asyndetic)
12. did cast her vppon the bed	(main, syndetic)
13. he pluckt vpp her clothes to her thighes	(main, asyndetic)
14. she pluckt them vpp higher	(main, asyndetic)
15. (whereby this deponent sawe not onlye her hose	(subordinate, syndetic)
16. being A Seawater greene colour	(subordinate, asyndetic)
17. and also [ ] her bare thighes)	(subordinate, syndetic)
18. then he went vpp to her vppon the bed	(main, syndetic)
19. and [putting downe his hose]	(subordinate, asyndetic)
20. had carnall Copulacion with her	(main, syndetic)
21. and [having so don]	(subordinate, asyndetic)
22. he wyped his yard on her Smocke	(main, asyndetic)

In Text B I suggest that a dramatic effect is caused by the switch from main clauses coordinated with *and* (clauses 5 to 10), to asyndetic and subordinate clauses (11 to 17). In particular, the lack of *and* at clauses 13 and 14, after so many *and*'s, has the effect (to my ear) of actions rushing headlong to a climax; an effect reinforced by the repetition of the verb *pluckt*. It sounds to me as though Margaret Browne (or the Court Recorder) structured her narrative so as to create suspense and excitement in the listener. An exciting narrative, where the listener becomes involved and eagerly anticipates the denouement, is presumably more believable than the unsensational account given in Text A. Text B may not, of course, be true. But it is quite difficult to say at what point disbelief might enter. It is hard to interrupt such an exorbitant *voyeuse* as Margaret Browne. Hers is a dramatic text with designs upon the listener, even to the point of melodrama.

2. Second example: Bampton, Oxfordshire; 1610: William Boner and Leticia Powell

(Transcribed from Oxford County Record Office MS Oxford Diocesan Papers C.25 fo 62-62v. An apostrophe denotes an abbreviation sign in the text. Punctuation as in the manuscript. < > denotes illegible or missing graphs.)

Text D: William Boner's deposition

Testes ex parte Joane Tull q'a Johem Baylie in quadam causa reformac'ons inocu' exa'iat vijo July 1610
Willmus Boner de Aston p'och de Bampton vbi mora' traxit ex quadeaginta An'os et vltra lxxviijo < > iurat et exa'iat deponit vt sequitur
De: ju' deponit that John Baylie is of Bampton of the dioc' of Oxon'
De 2du' et 3u' deponit that in lent last was a twelmonth This examinat and Joane Tull being in Bampton mill to se theire greist or corne grounde, John Baylie articulate came in to the saied mill where they were, and he began to iest and spar wth the saied Jone Tull, and saied vnto hir Tull can begett nothinge but wenches, but I can begett a boye, and then clappinge his hand vppon his breeches he saied here it is that will doe it pr'sentlie, and then the saied Joane Tull takinge a candle in hir hand that there was lighted, the saied Baylie did blow oute the same, and then the saied Joane Tull goinge backe the saied Baylie enquired for hir and this e'meat answered him that she was gone, and after that the grinder brought in the candle againe lighted wherebie he sawe the saied Joane where she was, and saied to hir, what were you there? and then he saied vnto hir he would helpe hir home wth hir griest, and she saied vnto him an honester man than thow shall helpe me home, and he answered then you shall haue none of my wh< > horses but I will make you trott ou'r the Ash close to borrow a horse of Towse et al's nescit deponent sup' illis arc'lis

Text E: Leticia Powell's deposition

Leticia Powell de Minster Lovell vbi mora' traxit p' Ann' et <Anua > apud Aston p'och de Bampton vbi mora' traxit p'oc'um etia' et <anva > apud wrax'n in Com'

Wilts xvj ano'm etats tests iurat deponit vt sequitur
Ad ' dicit that John Baylie is of Bampton of the dioc' of Oxford
Ad 2du' et 3u' deponit that this examinat beinge in Bampton Mill wth hir conteste
William Boner and tharticulate Joane Tull in lente last was a twelmoneth tharlate John
Baylie came into the saied mill where they were and beinge merie and sportinge wth
the saied Joane Tull he saied vnto hir I can begett a boye but Tull can begett nothinge
but squirt tayld wenches, and then layinge his hand onn' his breeches he saied here it
is that will doe it in lesse space then an hower and he saied it is fitt for thee to be
ocupied against a sacke and then the saied Joane Tull takinge the Candle in hir hand
he the saied Baylie Blew out the same and there enquired where the saied Joane was
and william Boner answered that she was gone, and when the grinder lighted the
candle againe, the saied Baylie seeinge the saied Joane Tull saied godswoones were
you there I will make you trott ou' Ash close to yor ffreind Towse to borrow a horse
to carie home ye meale et alr nescit
deponere sup' illis arclis

2.1. The differences between texts D and E

Again, the two witnesses give different reports. William Boner (who was 78
years old if I understand the Latin introduction correctly) was present in the
dark mill when Joan Tull and he were watching the miller grind their corn. He
saw the accused, John Baylie, enter and start flirting with Joan Tull. John
Baylie then blew out Joan's candle, which plunged the mill into darkness. John
Baylie called out to Joan Tull, but William Boner answered instead, saying she
had left. However, when the miller lighted the candle again, they discovered
that she was still there. John Baylie then offered to help her home with her
corn, but she refused his offer. He took this amiss and spitefully refused to lend
her a horse. Leticia Powell (who was 16 years old if I understand the Latin
correctly) reports substantially the same facts. However, her memory of the
actual exchange of dialogue is significantly different:

Concentrating on the passages of direct speech, we find that William Boner
claims that John Baylie said:

  1. Tull can begett nothinge but wenches, but I can begett a boye
  2. here it is that will doe it pr'sentlie
  3. what were you there?
  4. then you shall haue none of my wh< > horses but I will make you trott ou'r the
  Ash close to borrow a horse of Towse

whereas Leticia Powell claims that John Baylie said:

  1. I can begett a boye but Tull can begett nothinge but squirt tayld wenches
  2. here it is that will doe it in lesse space then an hower
  2a. it is fitt for thee to be ocupied against a sacke
  3. godswoones were you there
  4. I will make you trott ou' Ash close to yor ffreind Towse to borrow a horse to carie
  home ye meale

There are several reasons why I feel that Leticia Powell's version tells against John Baylie more strongly than William Boner's version:

2.1.1. *Occupy*

Leticia Powell includes comment 2a. about Joan Tull being fittingly occupied against a sack. (*Occupy OED* v. 8.: 'to have to do with sexually'.) *OED* notes that in the seventeenth century this sense was so prevalent that speakers avoided using the word altogether, and there are few attestations in any sense from this period.

2.1.2. Detail

Leticia Powell is more precise and detailed than William Boner. Rather than boasting of doing it "presentlie", as claimed by William Boner, Leticia Powell recalls John Baylie as claiming to do it "in lesse space then an hower". This may be a fabrication, of course. She reports further detail in John Baylie's last comment: "to yor ffreind Towse" and "to carie home ye meale". Extra detail does not in itself convince, but it does sound as though Leticia Powell was trying to be helpful to the court. By contrast, William Boner sounds as though he would rather not have been involved.

2.1.3. Oath

Leticia Powell recalls the exclamation "what" as the oath "godswoones". It is surely impossible to know now exactly what degree of profanity "godswoones" conveyed, but we can be fairly certain that however mild, it would not impress a Church Court in favour of the defendant.

2.1.4. *Squirt*

Leticia Powell includes comment about squirt-tailed wenches. (*Squirt OED* sb. 1. a.: 'Diarrhoea'.) This may be a literal description, as infants did suffer and die from diarrhoea; or it may be an unpleasant insult.

2.1.5. Riposte

Leticia Powell omits Joan Tull's riposte about asking an honester man than John Baylie to escort her home, thereby suppressing any possibility of Joan Tull's being found guilty of contributing to a misunderstanding. Her omission of this reply makes John Baylie's subsequent response about refusing Joan Tull a horse somewhat mystifying. It sounds to me as though she suppressed this information, rather than William Boner invented it.

2.1.6. Second person pronouns

Hope (1993: 92) has demonstrated that sixteenth-century Church Court records show speakers using both *you* and *thou* to the same listener, which again poses problems for the 'power and solidarity' model. William Boner claims that John Baylie addressed Joan Tull with *you*, but that Joan Tull replied with *thou*. So John Baylie, though sportive, was respectful; whereas Joan Tull either showed that she had taken offence, or behaved provocatively, according to whom you believe. It could be a misunderstanding, with Joan Tull overreacting to a jest, or she may have been expressing genuine fear and perturbance. According to William Boner's testimony, we can't know either way.

Leticia Powell however is unambiguous. She too reports that John Baylie addressed Joan Tull with the respectful *you* pronoun, but she omitted Joan Tull's response, thereby suppressing the information that could count against Joan Tull: her initiatory use of *thou* to John Baylie. But she supplies further information: that John Baylie said "it is fit for *thee* to be occupied against a sack". According to Leticia Powell, John Baylie initiated the disrespectful exchange, and he used both *thee* and *you* to Joan Tull. When I first transcribed this text I overlooked this clause, because it is squeezed in interlineally, as if it were an afterthought. Of course, we can't know whether Boner omitted this remark, or whether Powell invented it, but it reinforces the impression that Boner supports Baylie, and Powell supports Tull.

3. In which I question my legitimacy

I have tried to argue that we can sometimes tell who was trying to persuade the court, and hence that we can perform historical stylistics by comparing such persuasive texts with others from the same case. I attempted to show that Margaret Browne was trying to persuade the court of William Floyd/Michael Fludd and Clement Underhill's consensual adultery, and that Leticia Powell was trying to persuade the court of John Baylie's guilt.

If these were modern literary texts, with fictional characters, I should not hesitate to draw the conclusions I drew above. I would argue that if such linguistic constructions were in the text, then they would be interpreted in this or that way in this or that speech community. But drawing the conclusions I did, implies that I think I know how such constructions were interpreted by the listeners of the day. In other words, because such a usage of language has the effect it does on me, I posit that it had the same effect on the Early Modern listener. This is where my argument becomes circular. I am able to perform stylistic analysis on historical texts, but I am not certain whether it is altogether legitimate to do so.

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