VIEW[Z]

VIenna English Working paperS

Contents

Letter from the Editors: Views re-viewed

Hello again, we hope you are all either enjoying your winter and/or getting on with all those things you've had to postpone during the past term.

When we called our working papers VIEWS, this was meant to be an operative word, reflecting the intention to produce not so much finished papers as comments and opinions open-ended enough to provide a forum for discussion.

The principal reason for this was personal. We represent a group of linguists working in a variety of different areas of enquiry, and we realised that as long as each of us was staying within the boundaries of our respective 'research programmes', we didn't have much to say to one another. The 'nice' and 'finished' papers each of us produced to get them published in appropriate journals or conference proceedings were typically neither noticed, nor reacted to by anybody else within our department. During coffee breaks and lunches we preferred to talk about the weather, the family or the latest computer virus. But when linguistic matters came up, our conversation remained sadly superficial: 'Congratulations on your book... hard luck, try another journal... glad to hear your talk was well received'. What we actually SAID in our papers, talks, books was hardly ever taken up seriously. And of course, we had our excuses. After all, we were all working within different paradigms, and had different problems to solve. It was easy, then, to slip into the error of thinking that we didn't have anything to say to and learn from each other. Why should a sociolinguist quarrel with a semanticist, what does the phonologist have to do with the discourse analyst, why should the historical philologist talk to the syntactitian? Moreover, like everybody else, we were probably afraid of criticism, frightened of argument and anxious not to lose face. So, for much too long, we preferred to stay put within our safe little compartments, each of us working our own scene, and each of us getting more and more uncomfortable about it. So, we decided to launch the VIEWS project, getting us together to talk, challenge each others' ideas, profit from each others' insights and establish some sense of community.

This isolation that we wanted VIEWS to remedy, was, we felt and still feel, mirrored in the state of the linguistic community as a whole. There seems to be a general tendency to diversify and to create more and more ever smaller ecological niches in which ever more hermetic types of discourse have settled into dull vegetative stability. Linguists co-exist peacefully, quietly, uncontroversially as individual scholars, while at the same time their community seems to be falling apart, with fewer common concerns to bring them together.

Therefore, we believe that VIEWS was not just what our department needed to get its members to talk to each other, but that it represented very much what the linguistic community as a whole seems to require: open dialogue as opposed to finished monologue.

But the conventions we wanted to challenge are, we discovered, extremely influential, and over the four years of our publication there has been a tendency towards the very completed and closed papers that it was our intention to avoid. In other words there is a tendency to revert to type. We felt therefore that some editorial intervention was called for to get us back on track, so as to better foreground the process of academic discussion that we feel is so necessary for all of us.

With this in mind, we have decided to change our editorial policy. Instead of the usual practice of editing behind the scenes we decided to take up the challenge of making overt and explicit the process by which ideas/theories are developed through critical interaction, and this can be said to be an exercise in open editing. We want to try out what it means to be a genuinely interactive forum which attributes equal importance to both writing and reacting. What this means is that comments from members of the editorial board on particular contributions will be put in print, and in turn be open to critical comment.

We should like to invite you to join us in this experiment, and this has implications for the kind of contributions we would like to attract. The emphasis now will be on CONTRIBUTIONS. These might indeed be short papers of the conventional kind, but could also be ideas, notes, arguments, questions, attacks or responses, which could be anything in length from one pithy paragraph to a few pages.

This is therefore NOT a call for PAPERS in the usual sense, but for CONTRIBUTIONS in the sense we have outlined here.

We would like to follow the policy, then, of reflecting the process rather than the product of scholarly inquiry. In short, we want to avoid the danger of VIEWS becoming an organ of the 'Dead Linguists' Society'. So we would like to invite your participation in this project. We will start in the next issue. Watch this space. CONTRIBUTIONS [sic!] please to:

VIEWS
c/o Institut für Anglistik & Amerikanistik der Universität Wien
Universitätsstraße 7
A-1010; Austria

> *fax*   **(intern.) 43 1 40 60 444**
> **e-***mail*   **NIKOLAUS.RITT@UNIVIE.AC.AT**
> **WWW**   **http://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik**

The Editors

Language attitudes of L2 learners to native and non-native varieties of English.
Work in progress on pronunciation teaching at the English Department, University of Vienna[1]

Christiane Dalton-Puffer, Gunther Kaltenböck, Ute Smit
University of Vienna

1. Motivation

Without doubt, the teaching of pronunciation plays a crucial role in second language learning. Good pronunciation is indeed indispensable for adequate communication in a foreign language and is, moreover, to a large extent responsible for one's first impression of a learner's L2 competence. The importance of pronunciation teaching is even more strikingly obvious in the context of language teaching at university level, which involves the training of future language teachers. Not only will the teacher's pronunciation provide a model for generations of pupils but s/he will also have to be able to correct the mistakes of others. It is not surprising therefore that pronunciation matters have always ranked highly on the agenda in our department which, in fact, looks back on a long-standing tradition of English pronunciation teaching. While teaching methods have evolved over the years and the focus of interest has shifted somewhat more to suprasegmentals (cf. Dalton & Seidlhofer 1994), the overall importance attributed to pronunciation remains unchanged.

In the present curriculum of our department the teaching of English pronunciation is mainly taken care of by a special course, 'Sprechpraktikum', which has the twofold aim of improving performance in spoken English and increasing knowledge of the basic theory that underlies it. It is a one semester course of two hours a week plus two hours of obligatory language laboratory sessions, which provide for additional practice and consolidation. The students enrolling for this course are typically in the second year of their studies and are

---

[1]Note to the reader: This is a report on work in progress and not intended to represent a finished paper (cf. new *VIEWS* policy stated above). Rather than coming up with definite conclusions we present our first results and tentative interpretations which, we hope, will trigger off some reader response. Points which we particularly offer for discussion have been marked with a ☺.

expected to be familiar with the basic theoretical concepts of phonetics taught in the phonetics lectures. The course covers individual sounds, stress and intonation with special emphasis on those features which prove particularly difficult for Austrian speakers of English. The final exam involves the reading of both a prepared and an unseen text as well as free conversation.

It is its emphasis on spoken language and oral production that distinguishes this course from most other courses offered in the department (For most students this is the only oral exam in the entire course of their studies). The assessment of pronunciation and spoken performance, however, accounts for some inherently problematic issues, especially with regard to minimum requirements for passing or, more generally, the type of accent to be aimed for. ☺ The implicit aim of this course is for students to achieve a native-like accent (i.e. Received Pronunciation[2] or General American). This objective is clearly supported by the findings of various attitudinal studies (cf., e.g., Teufel 1995 this issue) pointing out that L2 learners with little or no noticeable foreign accent in the target language are generally rated more favourably by native speakers than learners with a strong foreign accent. It goes without saying, however, that this ideal standard of pronunciation is achieved by only a very small percentage of students, which raises the question of whether the aspired aim of near-nativeness is indeed feasible. Moreover, it is interesting that there is a certain number of students whose pronunciation improves considerably less than that of some of their fellow students, with their overall level of achievement remaining fairly low - a phenomenon that is difficult to account for.☺ It is observations like these that generated our interest and provided the starting point for our investigation. The questions to be asked can thus be summarised as follows:

(i) First, is the idea of native-like performance tenable as a realistic norm for a pronunciation course such as 'Sprechpraktikum', and if not, what <u>are</u> useful models for pronunciation teaching?

(ii) Second, can the lack of improvement of individual students be attributed to a lack of motivation? More precisely, is there a correlation of successful pronunciation learning and students' attitudes towards the pronunciation of the target language? Indeed, many studies report a direct relationship between attitudes and motivation on the one hand, and attained proficiency on the other; others, however, do not confirm these findings (cf., e.g., Gardner 1982 for an overview).

---

[2]It should be pointed out that the concept of RP is interpreted here in a fairly loose manner which allows a certain extent of local features.☺

Any attempt to find answers to these questions will have to take into account a variety of different parameters. Thus it will be necessary to investigate the attitudes of Austrian learners towards different native English accents (e.g. American, British) as well as non-native accents of English such as different forms of 'Austrian English' (i.e. English with an Austrian accent) and compare them with native speaker reactions to these accents, especially their evaluation of an Austrian accent. A comparison of students' evaluations of native and non-native (i.e. Austrian) accents of English promises to be particularly interesting for determining different degrees of motivation for perfecting a particular accent, which in turn can be linked to the achieved stage of proficiency in that accent. We can hypothesise that positive attitudes towards a particular accent will correspond with a higher level of achievement, (i.e. better pronunciation of this accent), while negative attitudes will correspond with lower attainment.☺ A study of students' motivation, of course, would also have to take into account their reasons for studying English (e.g. whether or not they want to go into teaching) and, more generally, parameters such as integrative or instrumental orientation of the learners (cf. Gardner & Lambert 1972: 3), i.e. whether the student is interested in eventually being accepted as a member of the other group or whether the purpose of learning a language is mainly utilitarian. Thus, integratively motivated students have been shown (cf. Oller et al. 1977: 2) to be typically higher achievers in a second language than instrumentally motivated learners, with the contrast being most obvious in skills needed for face-to-face interaction. Spoken language and, more specifically, pronunciation therefore seem to be especially suited for such an investigation. On a somewhat deeper, social psychological level, different evaluations of native and non-native accents can be linked to questions of identity and identification with a particular language group. Following Oller et al. (1977), we could argue, for instance, that students whose self-image (or how they would <u>like</u> to be) corresponds more closely with their description of the target language group than that of the native language group will more readily identify with the target group and therefore be more successful in attaining a native-like L2 accent than others whose self-image is closer to that of their own group.☺ No doubt, students with a highly developed sense of identification with the target language community are more likely to achieve a high level of proficiency in this language than others.

As a first step towards answering some of these questions, we carried out a study with the aim of assessing students' attitudes towards a selection of native (British and American) and non-native (Austrian British and Austrian American) accents of English.

2. Methodology and test design

The methodological groundwork in the study of language attitudes was done in the 1970s with a spate of studies (many of them now classics) set in L1 and L2 contexts. In L1 contexts the emphasis is on establishing attitude patterns between a group of native listeners and a number of native speakers exhibiting different (regional/social) accents. The classic methodological device in this context is that of the matched guise study: The subjects evaluate the voices on the tape by means of attributing values on several semantic differential scales (such as intelligent------------unintelligent).

In L2 contexts research interests have typically lain in correlating language attainment in the target language with attitudinal and motivational factors located in the learners. In these studies information is usually elicited by more direct methods such as answering direct questions.

Even though our interest lies in a L2 context it was obvious that for the question at hand a matched guise study would be the given methodological choice. We do not hesitate to admit, though, that transferring the matched guise technique from a monolingual to a multilingual context creates certain problems. Unlike bidialectals, there are few bilinguals who appear equally authentic L1 speakers in both their guises. In short, it was necessary to employ a kind of watered-down matched guise technique involving different speakers. There is very little one can do in this case to control variables regarding the stimulus voices themselves, especially since voice quality and people's putative reactions to it are far from being understood/grasped in a methodical/scientific way.☺

We did, however, try to do what we can in that all speakers are female university graduates, between 30 and 40 years old and were chosen avoiding too obvious differences in voice quality. They appeared on the tape in the following order:

Voice 1 Austrian British English - "ÖE (Br)"
Voice 2 Austrian American English - "ÖE (Am)"
Voice 3 British English - "BrE"
Voice 4 American English - "AmE"
Voice 5 British English - "BrE"

The two non-native (Austrian) speakers were rated independently to have a weak but recognisable accent. Speaker 4 comes from the Chicago area, speaker 5 from South London. Speaker 3 is from the south of England but has been living in Austria for 20 years. To us the speaker had a neutral type of English with a colouring of Austrian German. Our motivation in including her voice (and the reason why there are two native BrE but only one native AmE

voice) was to use it as a distracter and to introduce a distance, as it were, between the native and the non-native voices. In connection with the decision of which speakers to include into our sample tape one problem became obvious: there is no hard and fast definition of what counts as a neutral, standard accent.☺

The speakers were asked to read a text on bilingualism which we thought was emotionally neutral and which also tied in with the university setting of our study. Both, readers and listeners, were given matching instructions saying that the taping was done in the interest of finding speakers for the publishing of an audio-book on child language development. We decided to do this in order to avoid the situational vacuum typical of the average matched guise study. We believe that this decision has advantages on two levels. In the actual test-situation the given context makes it more plausible that the subjects should evaluate a person on grounds of her voice alone. On a more theoretical level it seems highly questionable to obtain evaluations of speech per se. In reality, people react to speech in specific situations and the same voice or speaker may well get different evaluations in different contexts. As context-free speech evaluation is not normal, it is more than likely that the subjects will (consciously or subconsciously) construct a context for themselves. Pre-defining that context gave us a certain amount of control over what influences the subjects' evaluations. (We are the first to admit that it is hard to systematise what this situational influence amounts to, but this way at least we have roughly the same ill-defined influence in all cases.)

The subjects' evaluations of the five speakers were captured in two ways. A list of twelve (mostly adjectival) attributes was given and subjects were asked to indicate to what degree this attribute applied to the speaker. The adjectives were chosen so as to reflect both status and solidarity values. The exact format we used is a variant of the semantic differential technique and we believe that placing the "don't know" option (= 0) to the right has the advantage of undercutting people's tendency to go for the middle values in case they cannot quite make up their minds. Here is an example:

(1)
This person is/has ...

LIKEABLE	++	+	-	--	0
INTELLIGENT	++	+	-	--	0
etc.					

++ = I agree totally. + = I agree partly. - = I disagree partly. -- = I disagree totally.
0 = Does not apply to the speaker.

The remaining adjectives were: EDUCATED; SELFISH; SUCCESSFUL: SENSE OF HUMOUR; KIND; ORGANISED; RUDE; DETERMINED; HONEST; AMBITIOUS.

The evaluations captured in this way are assumed to be emotive in nature, thus answering to one aspect of what is commonly held to make up an attitude (as opposed to feelings or opinions). The cognitive aspect of "attitude" we attempted to cover by two summary statements:

(2)

	++	+	-	--	0
I think this person would be a good radio presenter.	++	+	-	--	0
I would like this person to be a friend.	++	+	-	--	0

Altogether, the elicitation methods employed are indirect rather than direct. The question in the background, waiting to be answered, is of course something like: "Do you think this sounds good and do you want to sound like it?".☺

As far as independent variables are concerned, we were particularly interested in one that relates directly to our working hypotheses. We assume that a respondent's evaluation of a particular English accent is influenced by whether his/her leanings are more towards American or British English. This variable was termed PREFERRED ACCENT. Because of our compulsory "improve your pronunciation"-course (see section 1) we were able to tap this information via asking the subjects which option they had settled for/were going to settle for.

The test was administered as part of the opening session of several courses in October 1995. In case there were any hidden traumas regarding departmental expectations about pronunciation standards, subjects were told that researchers from another Austrian university had approached us to collect data for their study.

3. First results

The test population consisted of 132 students of English, most of whom are L1 speakers of German and between 19 and 22 years of age. Reflecting our department's general student population, about 65% of the respondents intend becoming English teachers, and the female respondents outnumbered their male colleagues by almost 7:1.

The responses show that British English, traditionally preferred in Austria, is still the most popular model: more than two thirds of the respondents attempt to learn British English and its standard accent - RP. This orientation towards British English is, of course, also supported by the British Isles' geographical position. While about 30% of the respondents have already spent more than one month in Britain, only 17% have been to the USA, and a mere 4% to

Canada, Australia or other English-speaking countries farther afield. This means that almost half of the respondents have not had the chance to experience English in one of its native environments.

As the respondents were asked to evaluate varieties of a, to most of them, still foreign language, it could not be presupposed that they would be able to identify them correctly. Misidentifications - especially undetected ones - could have led to misinterpretations of the data. Consequently, we asked the respondents to identify the speakers' places of origin while listening, for a second time, to the first sentences of the speech samples. In general, the students did not have problems with this task, and the hit-rate lies above 85% for all the speakers, except for voice 2. This speaker's Austrian American accent seems to have been so convincingly American, that only 17% recognised her mother-tongue. Even of the respondents whose preferred accent is GA the majority of over 70% thought they had listened to a native American.

On average, the responses given by the 132 respondents show very clearly how the five speakers were evaluated as regards their abilities as readers of audio books. The speaker of neutral BrE (voice 3) was rated first, followed by the two other native speakers (voices 4 and 5) and the Austrian American one (voice 2). The most negative evaluations were given to the Austrian British English speaker (voice 1). While not all of these numerical differences have been tested as statistically significant, the ratings for all the attributes and the two statements illustrate the same order of preference - voice 3 first, voice 1 last, and the other three voices in-between. Due to this consistency, we interpret the evaluations as reliable and accept them as representing the test population's attitude pattern. We find it, however, tricky to interpret the highly positive evaluations of voice 3, i.e. the more neutral BrE ☺. Not only was it the first native accent to be rated, specifically placed for that reason as "distractor voice", but it also comes close to the British accent on ELT tapes used in Austrian classrooms and is therefore the type of standard accent Austrian students are most familiar with and might, for that reason, rate more positively than other native accents.
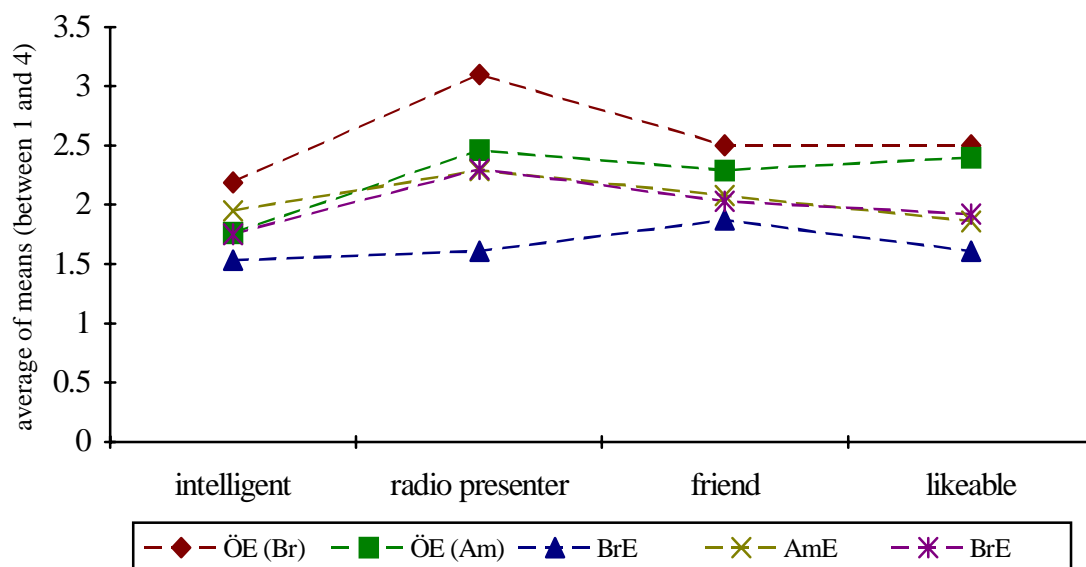
Figure 1: General evaluations of five voices (for INTELLIGENT, *"radio presenter", "friend",* LIKEABLE)

Representative of all the attributes, figure 1 illustrates this order of preference for INTELLIGENT and LIKEABLE as well as for the two statements, "friend" and "radio presenter" (the lower the mean the more positive the evaluation). While, on the solidarity level ("friend"), native and non-native accents are not very clearly distinguished, the reactions to "radio announcer" reveal the clear distinctions made between the accents as regards their social status: ☺ the neutral British accent is judged much more positively than the other two native accents and, fourth in place, the Austrian American accent. By far the least attractive accent is the Austrian British one, i.e. the one most often heard in Austria and spoken by the students themselves.

The consistency of evaluations is not only a feature of the complete test population but also of the two subgroups according to PREFERRED ACCENT. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the evaluations of the two statements, which are typical examples of the general response pattern.
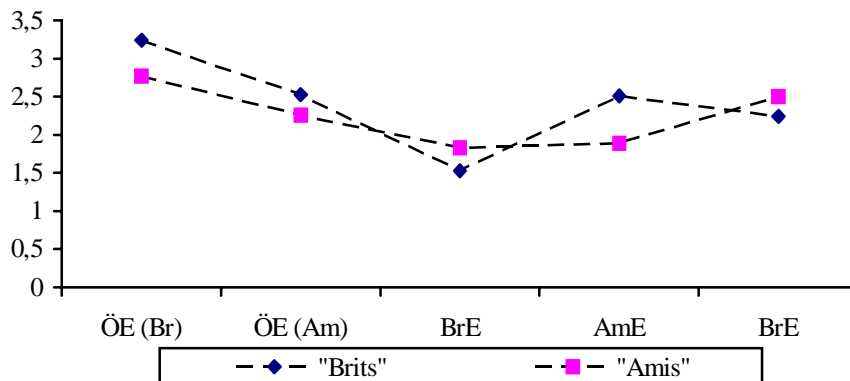
Figure 2: Evaluations of five voices for "radio presenter" according to PREFERRED ACCENT
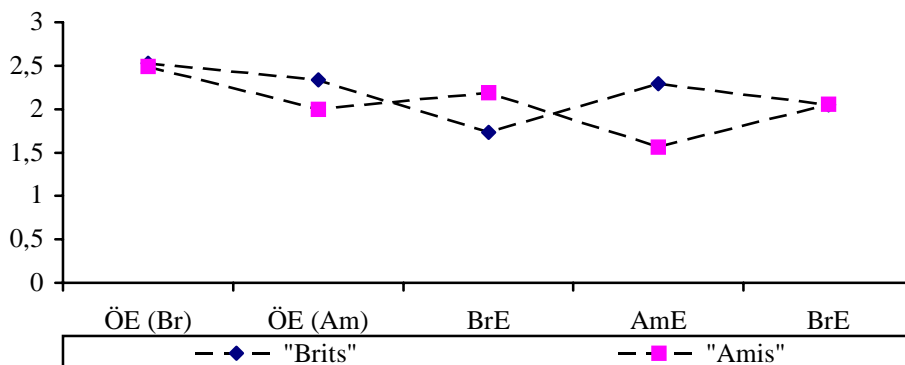

Figure 3: Evaluations of five voices for "friend" according to PREFERRED ACCENT

Both figures show that the minority group - "Amis" - is in general more tolerant in their rankings. They are more positive to the non-native accents, and also to the native accent that is not their personal favourite, than the majority group of those learning British English - "Brits". In particular, the more localisable British English was equally acceptable to "Amis" and "Brits". From a statistical point of view, however, the only significant differences in evaluation concern the native American accent. Here the lower means for the "Amis" can be interpreted as genuinely representing more positive attitudes.

To sum up these first results, the test population displayed a consistent attitude pattern: the native speakers were preferred to the non-native ones. More specifically, the neutral BrE speaker was rated best, the Austrian British speaker last and the other three in-between. This means that the Austrian American speaker was ranked similarly to two native speakers; a result that has to be seen in correlation with the high percentage of respondents misidentifying her as a native American. That the general attitudes towards the three native speakers are not representative of all respondents became clear

when comparing the responses of the two subgroups "Amis" and "Brits". While the latter, numerically much larger, subgroup rated the neutral BrE speaker first and the AmE speaker only slightly better than the Austrian British speaker, the former one displayed its own pattern of evaluation. The "Amis" rated the AmE speaker more positively than the BrE speakers, but, in contrast to the "Brits", were in general more tolerant towards other accents - maybe thereby revealing a (stereo)typical American attitude.

4.

Instead of a definite conclusion, which is difficult to draw anyway at this stage of our investigation, we would like to encourage our readers to comment on the above. You might want to give us your thoughts/ideas on:

☺ the setup of the study and the methodology applied here (possible weaknesses, voice quality and people's putative reactions to it, etc.)

☺ whether similar studies are being carried out elsewhere

☺ our interpretation of the results, e.g.:

  (i) our explanations why voice 3 was preferred to voice 5

  (ii) why the results showed a stronger differentiation on the status than on the solidarity level

☺ the role pronunciation (teaching) plays in your department

☺ any similar pronunciation courses in other English departments (what they look like, what kind of exam, evaluation criteria, etc.)

☺ how "neutral BrE" or "localisable BrE" (RP and near-RP?) can be defined in a practical situation and whether three people's intuitions that seem to match are "enough" for deciding.

☺ other aspects that might be worth looking into

We are looking forward to receiving your comments!

References

Baker, Colin. 1992. *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Chiba, Reiko, Hiroko Matsuura, Asako Yamamoto. 1995. "Japanese attitudes towards English accents". *World Englishes* 14: 77-86.

Cooper, Robert L. and Joshua Fishman. 1974. "The study of language attitudes". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3: 5-19.

Dalton, Christiane and Barbara Seidlhofer. 1994. *Pronunciation*. Oxford: O.U.P.

Flaitz, Jeffra. 1988. *The ideology of English. French perceptions of English as a world language.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gardner, Robert C. 1982. "Language attitudes and language learning". Ellen B. Ryan and Howard Giles (eds). *Attitudes towards language variation. Social and applied contexts.* London: Edward Arnold, 132-147.

Gardner, Robert C. and Wallace E. Lambert. 1972. *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Giles, Howard and Ellen B. Ryan. (eds.) 1982. *Attitudes towards language variation. Social and applied contexts*. London: Edward Arnold.

Lambert, Wallace E., Howard Giles and Omer Picard. 1975. "Language attitudes in a French-American community". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 4: 127-152.

Oller, John, W., Alan J. Hudson and Phyllis Fei Liu. 1977. "Attitudes and attained proficiency in ESL: A sociolinguistic study of native speakers of Chinese in the United States". *Language Learning* 27: 1-27.

Pierson D. Pierson, Gail S. Fu and Sik-yum Lee. 1980. "An analysis of the relationship between language attitudes and English attainment of secondary students in HongKong". *Language Learning* 30: 289-316.

Smit, Ute. 1994. *Language attitudes, language planning and education: the case of English in South Africa*. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis. University of Vienna.

Teufel, Gunda. 1995. "Language attitudes of Anglo-Australian high-school students towards German-accented English". *VIEWS* 4(2).

Weber, Ann L. 1992. *Social psychology*. New York: Harper Collins.

Williams, Frederick. 1974. "The identification of linguistic attitudes". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3: 21-32.

Early contact and parallels between English and Celtic[1]

Raymond Hickey, University of Essen

0 Introduction

If one looks at English over the 1500 years of its attested development then certain changes are immediately obvious. From a point of view of typology there is something which obviously needs to be explained in the history of English, namely the rate at which the language has changed from a synthetic language with a complicated system of inflections in the nominal and verbal area to an analytic language in which grammatical relations are largely expressed by word order and by the increased functionalisation of prepositions.

To begin with I should state my stance on the issue of typological change in English: the central hypothesis of this paper is that there may well have been a low-level influence from British Celtic on Old English whereby the phonetic make-up of the former with its lenition of consonants in weak environments and reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables may well have infected the pronunciation of Old English and at least accelerated any tendency to phonetic opacity and attrition in unstressed syllables which may have been present in the existing varieties of the language leading ultimately to changes in morphology which we perceive as a shift in language type when viewed over a long period.

This paper will address general questions concerning types of contact and shift (sections 1 and 2), offer a brief history of Celtic-Germanic contact (sections 3 to 5), consider the linguistic nature of the contact (sections 6 to 8) and its consequences (sections 9 and 10). Those readers primarily interested in the linguistic arguments should concentrate on the part of the paper from section 6 onwards.

THE RELATIVE TYPOLOGY OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES. The slow but constant movement in more or less one typological direction, the Sapirian drift

---

from synthetic to analytic, is a development which is typical of most Indo-European languages but the rate of change varies considerably. Indeed if one takes the group of Germanic languages on their own, then one sees that the changes are greatest in English and least in German with the remaining languages ranging somewhere in between. This can be illustrated with four variables, grammatical gender, case, plural formation and verbal inflections.

(1)

GENDER

German	3	(Masc., Fem., Neuter)
Swedish, Dutch	2	(Masc.+Fem., Neuter)
English	0	(only natural gender)

CASE

German	4	(Nom., Acc., Gen., Dat.)
Swedish	2	(Nom., Gen.; object case for pronouns only)
English	0	(Nom., Gen.; object case for pronouns only)

PLURAL FORMATION

German	Nasals, /r/, Umlaut, /ə/, /s/, zero and combinations of these
Swedish	Nasals, /r/, Umlaut, /ə/, /s/, zero and some combinations
English	/s/ and a small group of irregular nouns

MAX. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT FORMS IN PRESENT TENSE

German	5	*(spreche, sprichst, spricht, sprechen, sprecht)*
Swedish	1	*(talar)*
English	2	*(speak, speaks)*

This simple taxonomy is just a bare indication of the present-day situation in the languages listed. The status of the different items varies. Thus in German the genitive has all but disappeared as the case of a verbal complement whereas the dative is alive and very common. However the overall picture has general validity: English has lost most of its inflections and German has retained most of its endings (cf. the many forms of verbs).

1 Contact and typological shift

The question which arises when considering the typology of English is whether one can postulate a reason for the extent of the shift which it has undergone. To begin with one can say that there is a standard wisdom on this point: this assumes that contact with other languages is responsible for the typological change. The basic idea is that in a situation where speakers are confronted with others whose language they do not understand, they simplify their own and of course the members of this other group also simplify when they are speaking the language of those they are in contact with. This scenario when applied to

Old English would assume that English was simplified as a result of contact with Old Norse as carried by the Scandinavian invaders and later settlers as of the late 8th century. Support for this can be gleaned from northern dialects of Old English which are more 'progressive', ie they undergo more morphological change than the corresponding dialects in the south.

POLISH. When viewing a matter such as the present one it is good to play the devil's advocate now and again. Let me tackle the adage that strong language contact induces change. There are many annoying counterexamples which militate against this being regarded as any kind of explanation for English. Take Polish as a case in point.

(2)

(i) Old shift of /r̩/ *rz* → /ʒ/ as inverbal prefix *prze*, Russian *pre*, cf. R. *khodit'* 'walk' and *prekhodit'* 'arrive' vs P. *chodzic'* 'walk' and *przechodzic'* 'pass by, cross over'.

(ii) Recent vocalisation of velarised /l/ [ł] easily recognisable in place names like *Lodz*[wud̩ʑ], or *Wroclaw*, [vrɔswaf].

Apart from the old shift of palatal /r/ to fricative (Stieber, 1973:69f.) and the vocalisation of /ł/ virtually nothing has happened to the phonetics of the language and this in a situation where language contact with Germans, Baltic language speakers and various kinds of Slavs has been a perennial feature of the country's history.

Incidentally I don't think one can use 'external' arguments like the fact that the Poles did not necessarily harmonise with their German neighbours so they did not let their language be affected by them. They certainly borrowed enough words from German and have been doing so for a long time as the phonological adaption of old loans such as *rynek* 'square' from *Ring* show, alongside such everyday words as *Dach* 'roof' which match the phonotactics of Polish.

TUSCAN ITALIAN. Another example of lack of change is provided by Tuscan Italian which has remained remarkably intact since at least the days of Dante (1265-1321). It may even be the case that characteristic but unwritten features of Tuscan like the *gorgia toscana* (a sandhi phenomenon consisting of intervocalic fricativisation and initial gemination due to absorption of preceding final consonants, (Rohlfs, 1949/50:290ff.; 321ff.) was already a feature of late medieval Tuscan.

(3)

Tuscan Italian *gorgia toscana*
/porta, a forta, tre pporte/ from Latin *porta, ad portam, tres portae*

This is all the more astounding given the enormous dialectal diversity and change in Italy. I also think that the argument that the literary standard (which Tuscan was and is) retarded language change is weak. There may be some validity to this argument in the case of countries where such a standard arose later (post-Renaissance) but more often than not this question is bound up with the creation of an orthographical and morphological standard after the introduction of printing and, in the case of English, with the increasingly prescriptive attitude of writers from the early modern period onwards.

The upshot of these considerations is that there is certainly no simple equation between the ostensible amount of contact and the degree of change. Furthermore a language can undergo major typological re-alignment without this being induced by external circumstances. Irish is a good example here: the language shed virtually all its inherited inflections and massively reduced the quantity of grammatical categories with only quite temperate contact (with Norse and later Anglo-Norman) in the decisive periods of typological shift (Old and Middle Irish, 600 - 1200).

It is the predictive nature of the 'contact causes change' assumption which is unacceptable. If one retreats from this strong claim then one can still hold that contact can induce change. Indeed it can do so on a large scale. And as authors like Thomason and Kaufman (1988:35-64) are at pains to point out, there is no area, eg inflectional morphology or core vocabulary, which is immune from change in an appropriate contact situation. What one must do is to differentiate various types of contact and the external situations in which it occurs and then classify the resulting kinds of change. Allow me to now discuss a number of scenarios for language contact.

2 Types of contact

Any discussion of language contact and ensuing transfer must take the various types of contact[2] and the results for the languages involved in this contact into account. For the present discussion one must distinguish two basic types. The first is *direct transfer* where the effect is immediate, frequently with alteration in the structure of the recipient language. Immediate influence on closed classes of a language (morphology and syntax) presumes intensity of contact with fairly widespread bilingualism and a lack of external constraints such as a notion of standard, perpetuated by general education and a literate public. The point about bilingualism is important: given that every language is a self-contained and internally structured system then there is normally no need to accept structure from an external source, unless matters have come to such an

---

[2]See Appel and Muysken (1986:153ff.) for a taxonomy of contact.

impasse that structural re-organisation is imperative. But even here the deadlock does not have to be solved by extraneous means, a language can right itself by re-structuring from within, pidgins being the classic example of this which not just carry out palliative therapy on themselves but create structure so as to put flesh on the skeleton of the arising language. In a situation of bilingualism, however, speakers use two languages, frequently with one acquired subsequent to the other with the result that the second is acquired less perfectly than the first. In such instances they may well feel the need for an equivalent in the second language to structural options, say aspectual categories, pronominal distinctions or lexical differentiation[3], which they are acquainted with from their first language. This sets the stage for interference in the classical Weinreichian sense.

The second main type can be termed *delayed effect* contact. The effect is not immediate. There is no structural upheaval in the recipient language but a gradual acceptance of features in the other language due to prolonged exposure within a single geographical area. The speakers of the donor language do not have to enjoy a position of prestige within the social community of the recipient language. Characteristic of such a scenario is low-level influence in a general sense: 'speech habits' migrate from one language to another. These may lead later to structural if not indeed typological change. The development of Gaulish French [y] (from Latin *U* [u]), if it has its origins in contact with Celtic (not undisputed by any means), must have arisen in this manner. This view of gradual change is of course more Neogrammarian than one which presupposes the sudden appearance of a contact phenomenon in a recipient language. If Celtic had /y/ at the time of the initial development of Latin to French in Gaul (which is postulated but not demonstrated) then an abrupt appearence could only have occurred in a scenario which assumes lexical diffusion: the Romance speakers started borrowing words from the Celts and among these words would have been some with /y/ and this pronuciation would have then spread to encompass native sections of their vocabulary causing a shift of *U* to /y/. However this situation is unlikely to have obtained as there are so few loans from Celtic in Romance; the keyword *bruise* is a good example but it is hardly probable that the pronunciation of this word led to the Romance speakers using

---

[3]And of course a language may borrow a structural principle or property from another without borrowing an instantiation of this (Moravcsik, 1978:102f.) as with Munda languages borrowing the sequence Modifier - Modified from Dravidian languages or Kwa languages (Nupe, Yoruba, Ewe, Igbo) borrowing Possession - Possessor sequences from Bantu languages.

the putative /y/ which it contained in Celtic for all their occurrences in Romance of inherited *U*.[4]

RELATIONSHIP OF LANGUAGES IN CONTACT. When looking at contact situations one is dealing with two or more language groups and the relation between these is never exactly equal. One group will represent a superstrate, a socially superior group, and another will be a substrate, a less prestigious group. The intermediary position, that of adstrate, where two groups are equal is one which does not appear to exist in practice although it is a theoretical option.

Now the assumption of sociolinguistics is that the speakers of the substrate emulate the speech of the superstrate, particularly in a language shift scenario (as opposed to one where borrowing into the substrate is the main manifestation of contact). It is difficult to find real-life situations which illustrate this in any pure form but I suppose the situation with Modern Irish comes close to it. Here you have a moribund Celtic language spoken by not much more than 30,000 people as a first language. These speakers are abandoning their language rapidly, which is hardly suprising seeing as how it is pitted against the world language English. English is furthermore exercising a strong influence on the lexicon and syntax of Modern Irish while in the opposite direction there is little or no influence. Hence one can claim that English is the superstrate and Irish the substrate in the contact areas of the west of Ireland today.

Before turning my attention to the situation in England after the mid-5th century, allow me to sketch briefly first the history of Celtic and the relations between Celtic and Germanic up to their renewed contact in Britain.

3 Brief history

Knowledge of the Celts in pre-history is derived from (i) references to them in the works of classical authors (the earliest is Herodotus, 5th century BC, from whom comes the term 'Celt': Greek *Keltoi* 'Celts', later Latin *Celtae*) and (ii) archaeological remains (Schlette, 1979:13-43; Laing, 1979:1-14). For the latter one can consult the chapter 'Ethnogenesis: Who were the Celts?' (1987:211-249) in which Renfrew gives a very broad overview of the supposed distribution and movement of the Celts since their appeerence in history. He furthermore touches on the question of the spread of the Celts to Britain which he does not see as consisting of identifiable migrations but successive waves

---

[4]See Wartburg (1951:36-51) for a detailed discussion of arguments for and against a Celtic source for French /y/.

over a very long period starting perhaps as early as 2000 BC with the Beaker People.

There is an identifiable culture known after the location Hallstatt in Austria. This was early Iron Age (*c* 800-450 BC), though other authors (not just Renfrew) see in the preceding Bronze Age Urnfield culture, and perhaps the *tumulus* ('earth mound') culture in central Europe north of the Alps, the first appearence of the Celts in an area roughly from the Rhineland across Bavaria to Bohemia. The late Iron Age is represented by the La Tène (*c* 450-100 BC) stratum of Celtic culture named after a site in Switzerland.

The coming of the Celts to Britain is difficult to date and can be placed in any period from a distant 2000 BC when the Bronze Age Beaker Folk came to Britain to a more recent 600 BC when the Iron Age people arrived in successive waves (Dillon and Chadwick, 1967:4). The last distinct wave of immigration is of the Belgae in the first century BC (Caesar mentions that they cross from northern Gaul to Britain). This gives the following picture for Britain.[5]

(4)

0.	Pre-Iron Age settlers?	
1.	Hallstatt stratum	600 BC →
2.	La Tène stratum	300 BC →
3.	Invasions of the Belgae	100 BC
4.	Immigration from Gaul on Roman subjugation	58-50 BC

The Celtic languages today comprise six languages with greater or lesser degrees of vitality. These fall into two main groups traditionally known as *Brythonic* or *Brittonic* (P-Celtic in type) and *Goidelic* from the *Goídil*, modern *Gaels* (Q-Celtic in type).

(5)

P-CELTIC	Q-CELTIC
Welsh, Cornish, Breton	Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx

The distinction between P- and Q-Celtic is based on the realisation of words with inherited IE /k(w)-/. In the Q-Celtic branch this is retained whereas in the P-Celtic branch it is shifted to /p/.[6]

---

[5]For a good archaeological history of Celtic Britain, see Laing (1979), chapters two and three, on the stages up to the end of the Roman period.

[6]In early stages of Celtic /p/ and /k(w)/ are mutually exclusive in the respective branches which is why one has a shift to the velar with early loans in Irish such as Latin *planta* → *cland* 'children'; *Patricius* → *Cothrige* (later borrowed as *Pátraic*). In the P-Celtic branch many instances of /p/ are in fact retentions as with the number 'five' for instance cf. IE **pempe* 'five', Welsh *pump* but Old Irish *cóic*.

(6)

IRISH	WELSH	
ceann	*pen*	'head'[7]
mac	*mab* (← /map/)	'son'
ceathair	*pedwar*	'four' (IE *$qetw\bar{o}r$)

Note that the distinction between the two main types of Celtic already existed on the continent. Celtiberian like Irish is Q-Celtic whereas Gaulish and Welsh are P-Celtic. One should also be aware of the fact that Breton is *not* a remnant of Gaulish but is due to a wave of immigration from Cornwall to Brittany as a consequence of the pressure brought to bear on the Celts in the south-west of England by the Germanic invaders.

All the languages just mentioned belong to a branch of Indo-European known itself as Celtic. Its relationship to other branches is unclear, formerly scholars thought that there was an earlier unity between Italic and Celtic on certain morphological grounds.[8] On a firmer footing is the location of the Celts. There are two archaeologically defined cultures which are associated with the Celts in the latter half of the first millenium BC, the earlier Hallstatt and the somewhat later La Tène culture (see above).

One can safely say that the La Tène Celts were located in central Europe in a band stretching from eastern France across to approximately present-day south-west Poland. Onomastic evidence helps us in determining this, for instance the names of the river Rhine (← Celtic *$R\bar{e}nos$ ← IE *reinos*, Schmidt, 1986:206) and Isar and names of regions like Bohemia (*Böhmen*, the area of the *Boii*, the wood-dwellers, Chadwick, 1971:52; Krahe, 1954:123) are Celtic in origin. Not all the hitherto accepted Celtic origins for place names can be upheld, however. Vennemann (1994:275) sees *Isar*, for instance, as Old European (his own, not Krahe's, which he takes to be pre-Indo-European, agglutinative in structure and hence identifiable *vis à vis* the later subgroups of Indo-European) with *Is-*cognate with Basque stem *iz-* 'water'.

In approximately the 6th century BC the Celts began a period of expansion. They moved in virtually every direction. There are references to them in western and central Turkey, in the historical province of Galatia, (Dressler, 1967), best known because of St. Paul's epistle to the church there, and of course the Celts were in Italy and sacked Rome in 390 BC. Another thrust of the Celts was to the west and north. One section moved into the Iberian peninsula and is responsible for Celtiberian, recorded in a number of

---

[7]Possibly related to Latin *caput* 'head', Skr. *kapālam* 'skull'.

[8]See Baldi (1983:47ff.) for a precise overview of the relevant facts. Krahe (1954:83-98) offers a comprehensive overview and concludes that the shared features of both subgroups do not speak for a Celtic-Italic unity but are relics of their common ancestry.

inscriptions. The group which moved north, north-west occupied the centre and north of France, historically Gaul and moved on across the English channel.

Linguistic evidence for continental Celtic is scanty but there is enough of it to realise that the language forms spoken on the mainland of Europe still retained much of the morphology which it had inherited from IE.

(7)

GAULISH	OLD IRISH	WELSH	
uxellos	*uasal*	*uchel*	'high, noble'
vindos	*find*	*gwynn*	'fair, beautiful'
nertomaros	*nertmar*	*nerthfawr*	'strong, powerful'

It is clear from just a few forms that adjectival and nominal endings were present in Gaulish, clusters like /ks/ and /nd/ still existed and internal voiced stops had not yet been fricativized, or at least this was not so systematic a feature of Gaulish for it to be orthographically recognised.

The latter point is important. Allow me to expand on it for a moment. One of the features of all Celtic languages is that the initial consonants of words change their form under clearly defined grammatical conditions. This is known as lenition, a weakening of articulation. In this context it means the shift of stop to fricative or of voiceless to voiced fricatives as part of a morphological process. Here are a few examples from Modern Irish and Modern Welsh.

(8)

IRISH

cat		'cat'	
a chat	/ə xat/	'his cat'	
a cat	/ə kat/	'her cat'	
a gcat	/ə gat/	'their cat'	

WELSH

eibib	/i bib/	'his pipe'	(← *pib*)
ei fara	/i varə/	'his bread'	(← *bara*)
ei chorff	/i xorf/	'her body'	(← *corff*)

Bear in mind that in all the Celtic languages the reaction to the gradual decay of the inherited inflections of Indo-European was to functionalise the phonetic lenition present in each language (probably at around the 5th century AD in Britain and Ireland, ie in P- and Q-Celtic, independently; Jackson, 1953:561 assumes the second half of the fifth century).

What is curious here is that each language group adopted the same solution which, seen typologically, is not a very obvious reaction to inflectional attrition. Given this situation I think one is justified in assuming that the seeds of lenition, the weakening of consonants, was already present in the continental forms of Celtic. Indeed authorities like Jackson (1953:546) would seem to

assume that in Continental Celtic there was a systematic distinction between geminate and simplex consonants and this developed into the opposition non-lenited # lenited later with the demise of distinctive length for consonants. The geminates occurred in absolute initial position (strong syllable onset) and internally where they derived from previous clusters, eg *-mm-* from *-sm-*. Where the cluster was still present, eg *lt* or *χt*, no lenition is later observable. Evidence is present for the fricativisation of labials on the continent, eg in that of /m/ to /v,w/. Tovar (1961:79ff.) provides instances and calls this lenition (in the simple sense of a shift from stop to fricative which is accepted usage in Celtic studies). Furthermore he would seem to subsume under this process the very early loss of **p* which is the defining feature of early Celtic (Irish *athair*, Latin *pater* to quote the standard example).

4 The earliest Celtic-Germanic contact

It is accepted that the Celts occupied central Europe in the first millenium BC and that the Germanic peoples came in contact with them when they moved southwards into roughly the same area. Furthermore there is consensus that the embryonic Italic group was initially north of the Alps and hence broadly speaking in the area of the Celts. These facts concerning the undifferentiated Indo-European subgroups led older scholars to postulate clusters of these subgroups, the most notable of which are the following.

1) KRAHE *Old European* Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Baltic, Illyrian

2) MEILLET *West Indo-European* Celtic, Italic, Germanic

3) KUHN Nordwestblock Germanic and Celtic plus non-Germanic, non-Celtic Indo-European languages in northern Europe.

Before considering Germanic and Celtic one should mention that periodically some scholars have maintained that there was a developmental stage at which Italic and Celtic formed a unity. This opinion rests on a number of phonological and morphological parallels (see Baldi, 1983:47ff. for a convenient summary) which tend nowadays not to be regarded as evidence for a period of unity but, inasmuch as they represent innovations, to be at most the result of contact while Italic was in roughly the same part of central Europe as Celtic, ie before it spread south of the Alps.

Turning to Germanic one sees that a major defining feature of it as a branch of Indo-European is the initial stress accent which separates it from other more conservative sub-groups of the family such as Slavic or Baltic. The fixing of stress can be postulated to have occurred by about around 500 BC at a time when both Celtic and Germanic were spoken in central Europe (Salmons, 1984:269ff., 1992:87ff.). Salmons notes that accent shift, particularly a fixed, stress accent is a common feature in language contact situations and postulates

that this held for the Germanic - Celtic interface at this early stage and assumes (1984:274) that the Celtic group was dominant over the Germanic one.[9] However stress is not a good parameter with which to establish the nature of contact between languages and the notion that initial fixed accent is somehow typical for contact is not supported by cross-linguistic evidence. For instance while it is true that extreme southern dialects of Polish have initial stress (rather than the penultimate type which is general) as a contact feature from Czech, other languages show a movement away from initial stress, eg southern Irish which adopted stress later in words on long vowels from Anglo-Norman. The variable stress in the latter can indeed be seen as a simplification of the accentual system as the placement is governed solely by syllable coda weight and does not require an appeal to units like lexical root.

The notion of ascendancy of the Celts over their Germanic neighbours in the first millenium BC is one which has a long pedigree. It goes back to Indo-Europeanists like Alfred Holder and Hermann Osthoff at the end of the last century. The basis for their assumption is lexical. Here is a brief resumé of the facts.

There are two important loans from Celtic in Germanic at this early stage (Elston, 1934:160ff. is the most comprehensive treatment, others worth consulting are Lane, 1933 and Dillon, 1943). The first is the stem which is seen in German names like *Friedrich; Heinrich* (the latter element is related to *Reich* 'domain; empire') and which is cognate with Latin *rex* 'king'. This word had the original meaning of 'prince' or 'ruler' (Goth. *reiks*) and was first recognised by Hermann Osthoff in 1884 to be a loan from Celtic. The reasoning is as follows. Latin *rex : rēgis*, Gallic *rix*, Old Irish *rí*, Sanskrit *raj* show that the IE word must have contained along $\bar{e}$. In Gothic this $\bar{e}$ more or less remains, spelt *ei*: *qeins, qēns* 'wife, woman' (in some instances *i*). In West and North Germanic the vowel is lowered to $\bar{a}$: Goth. *mēna*, OHG *māno*, Old Norse *máni* 'moon'. The high vowel in Germanic **rīks* (Holder, 1896:1198) is taken as proof that it is not a continuation of an IE root *reg'-* but a loan from Celtic which has regular raising of IE $\bar{e}$ to $\bar{\imath}$.

The second keyword (Elston, 1934:166ff.) is *ambactus* (see also Holder, 1896:114). This Gallo-Latin form corresponds to Goth. *andbahts* and still has a reflex in German *Amt* 'office', *Beamter* 'civil servant'. The etymology is Celtic **ambi-* 'around' and **actos*, the past participle of IE **ag'-* 'drive', and the meaning in Gothic is 'vassal' or 'servant'. Note that there is some doubt as to whether the word came from Celtic directly: it could have been a loan from

---

[9]Salmons (1984:118) is inconclusive on the direction of influence (Celtic to Germanic or vice versa) and just points to Celtic domination. On the latter notion see the comprehensive discussion in Elston (1934:57ff.).

Latin; the *ht* /xt/ sequence might have been an adaption of /kt/ to the phonology of Gothic, a very common type of alteration, and not necessarily proof that it was borrowed into Germanic before the First Consonant Shift. It is beyond doubt that the word was well established in Gothic at the time of Wulfila's Bible as it has the noun and the verb *andbahtjan* 'to serve' along with the derivative noun *andbahti* 'office, service'. The first Latin attestation is from c.170 BC in the writings of a poet Ennius who uses it in the sense of 'Gallic slave' (Elston, 1934:168).

Another shared lexical item in Celtic and Germanic is that for 'iron' which is Germanic **isarna* and Celtic **isarno* (Holder, 1896:75). This root is only attested in these two sub-groups[10] of IE (Kluge-Mitzka, 1975:160f.) as is the word for 'lead', cf. German *Lot*, Irish *luaidhe*. As the proto-IE population is taken to have been in the transition between stone and metals in the period immediately before dispersion, the knowledge of metallurgy is ascribed in particular to the Celtic and Germanic subgroups. Much has also been made of the fact that Latin *gladius* 'sword' (Old Irish *claideb*, Thurneysen, 1946 :103) would appear to have been a Celtic loan (Holder, 1896:2023). However there is archaeological evidence that the Celts in the Hallstatt period (middle of the first millenium BC) gained their ability to forge iron from a previous Illyrian culture in the Middle Danube region (Elston, 1934:179f.; this idea was supported by Pokorny as well, see also Krahe, 1954:122f.).

In the opposite direction there are Germanic loans in Celtic, eg the words for *breeches* (Gaulish *brac(c)a*, OHG *bruoh)*, *shirt* (Old Irish *caimis*, OHG *hemidi*). A balanced summary of the arguments concerning the nature of the mutual influence is to be found in Elston (1934:185ff.). He sees the relation of the two groups as one defined first and foremost by trade rather than by any considerable bilingualism. He also sees no firm ground for assuming that the Celts dominated the Germanic tribes in the parts of Germany where there was extensive contact (along the Rhine valley).

Phonological parallels between Celtic and Germanic are accidental if they occur at all. Specifically there is no connection between the first consonant shift and lenition as is later developed in Celtic. The consonant shift is an unconditional change whereas lenition is an external sandhi phenomenon which arose between a grammatical and a lexical word; Salmons (1992:118) quotes Schrodt (1986:105) approvingly in his rejection of a possible parallelism between Celtic lenition and the Germanic sound shift.

---

[10]There are other words like that for 'hostage' which may be of cultural significance, cf. German *Geisel*, Irish *giall* (Kluge-Mitzka, 1975: 242).

4.1 Accent and lenition in Celtic

Two matters need to be broached when viewing Celtic - Germanic contact and possible influence of the former on the latter. These are interconnected but will be considered separately to begin with. The first is the nature of accent and the second the phonetic weakening (lenition) which is a characteristic of Celtic and which has led to radical typological changes in all these languages.

An examination of accent must consider two aspects, its place in the word and its nature.The standard assumption is that the accent in early Celtic was a pitch accent, that is accented syllables were spoken with a noted increase in frequency, the other two possible parameters length and loudness (amplitude) not varying significantly. This pitch accent also has the labels 'tonic accent' or 'musical accent'. Its opposite is stress accent; German authors use the pair of terms 'musikalischer Akzent' und 'Druckakzent' ('accent of pressure' by which is meant loudness). Note that pitch accent is tacitly taken to mean an increase in frequency for acoustic prominence. A drop in frequency is also a possibility but this is usually associated with the stress accent type so that lowering the frequency of vowels is accompanied by an increase in amplitude (as in Modern German).

It is not necessary in this paper to go into the individual arguments for and against pitch type accent for early stages of IE languages.[11] The main view is that ablaut can supposedly be better explained if one assumes variations in pitch, these then accounting for alternations in vowel quality.

ACCENT IN CONTINENTAL CELTIC. The scholars who have concerned themselves with continental Celtic assume that the accent in common Celtic was of the pitch type. Dottin (1920:103f.) refers to 'un accent tonique' / 'un accent de hauteur' and states that by the time of Gaulish this must have been 'un accent d'intensité'. But the position of the accent shows a certain freedom.[12] The antepenult is the most common position, but there are stressed penults and some cases of initial stress.

More recently there has been extended consideration of the question of accent placement in early Celtic. Salmons (1992:146ff.) sees Celtic along with

---

[11]The 'standard' view is that Indo-European had some kind of pitch accent, see Lehmann (1974) and Rix (1976) on Greek with general remarks. Some authors have argued that the original language had tonal features, notably Jucquois (1970), see Kortlandt (1986) for the view that this arose much later due to the loss of laryngeals, on the latter see the contributions in Vennemann (ed.) (1989).

[12]Note that variable position of stress in a word does not imply a pitch type accent. Russian has morphologically determined accent placement and is very definitely a stress type language; Finnish has initial accent and tends more to a pitch type (though I grant that this division is not strictly binary).

Germanic and Italic as having initial stress from a very early stage (first half of the first millenium BC) and the source of this being a substrate, in his opinion western Finno-Ugric languages in the region of the Baltic. Vennemann (1994:272) rightly rejects this as the location for the contact is too far in the east of Europe. He pleads for a language of the Old European language group which he identifies as the forerunner of present-day Basque on the basis of his major re-evaluation of Krahe's Old European hydronymy. There is evidence that Basque had an initial accent previously although the situation today is dialectally quite diverse (Vennemann, 1994:257f.).

Disregarding the question of origin for a moment both authors see western forms of Celtic (Irish and Celtiberian) as more archaic, in keeping with their geographical peripherality, and as preserving an original initial accent which arose at a very early stage, possible through contact. One should perhaps point out here that Old Basque, like Celtic, did not have *p*. Scholars such as Michelena (1977) believe that Old Basque did not have either /p/ or /m/ but that these arose through later phonetic developments such as assimilations and Hualde (1991:10f.) does not list /p/ in his 'common consonant inventory' for Basque.

Its remains a matter of opinion whether one accepts Vennemann's standpoint (1994:246) that the language of Old European hydronymy led to Italic, Celtic and Germanic developing initial stress (with temporal staggering). What is indisputable is that unambiguous signs of initial stress are present in each language group from the very beginning: (i) Syncope in the second syllable with variable word length (there would be no way of determining accent position by working backwards from the end of a word which would always produce this syncope); (ii) Syllables have greatest complexity in initial position which points to this being accented; (iii) At least in Germanic and Celtic, alliteration is found in the earliest verse, something which is indicative of initial stress.

Within the continental Celtic conglomerate Gaulish must be given separate consideration. The standard work on comparative Celtic, Lewis/Pedersen (1937:68f.), maintains that the accent in Gaulish was on the antepenult or the penult and that this 'may represent a trace of the free IE accent', cf. *Balódurum* : Fr. *Balleure*; *Cambóritum* : Fr. *Chambort*; *Eburóuices* : Fr. *Evreux*. They point out that those syllables which immediately precede or follow the stressed syllable are most likely to reduction and/or syncope. As with Jackson, Lewis/Pedersen are reticent about the accent in earlier forms of Celtic.

Later authors do not share this earlier view. Again Salmons in his treatment (1992:152ff.) of Gaulish and Brittonic accent assumes that Gaulish had initial accent. Dottin (1920:103ff.) notes expiratory accent but not place. Altheim

(1951) notes that those names with evidence for initial accent in Gaulish (with syncope of second syllables) are found in regions which were Romanized last. Olmsted (1989) remarks on the high incidence of alliteration in the Gaulish inscription of Larzac (pointing to initial accent).

ACCENT IN BRITISH. This is an unsettled matter ultimately deriving from the uncertainty about Gaulish. Here are the standard views: Jackson (1953:265f.) assumes that before the separation of Welsh and Cornish/Breton the accent fell on the then penultimate syllable which became the ultimate shortly afterwards with the loss of final unstressed syllables.[13] Jackson assumes that this was a stress accent given the reduction of weak syllables and contradicts assumptions about a tonic accent made by other authors such as Loth (1934:3). He avoids any commitment on an older different accentual type and says that nothing is known about a Common Celtic accent (Pedersen, 1913,I:256; Lewis/Pedersen, 1938:68f.) and mentions that the Irish accent need not have any relevance for British, ie that the accent system of the former probably represents an older state of affairs with the Gaulish/British accent an innovation.

Thurneysen (1883-5:311)[14] apparently believed earlier that the British accent was initial and that there was a secondary stress on the penult. As Jackson points out this worked well for quadrisyllables but not for trisyllables such as *trinitas* (Irish *tríonóid* showing a long vowel in the originally penultimate syllable which points to stress on this syllable). Thurneysen apparently changed his mind and later claimed that from the second to the fifth century the accent 'tended to be on the penultimate'. (Jackson, 1953:266).

On the nature of accent one can say that for Q-Celtic there is one clear indication of strong stress accent: Irish developed a system of palatal and non-palatal consonants on a systematic level just as Slavic did or Arabic did with respect to pharyngealisation (the so-called 'emphatic' consonants). This type of development is characteristic of languages which have a strong stress accent on a certain syllable. Those languages which have fewer differences in stress do not tend to polarise consonant articulations. If these do, for instance in the case

---

[13]A look at Modern Welsh and Modern Breton (except the dialect of Vannes which has ultimate stress, Jackson, 1967:67) reveals a penultimate accent much as in Polish or Italian. The conclusion here is that there was an accent shift back one syllable to retain penultimate stress after apocope. Holmer (1938:82) is of the opinion that this shift set in more or less simultaneously with the apocope thus maintaining the stress pattern of British despite loss of final unstressed syllables, see also Jackson (1953:682ff.). The Vannes dialect of Breton can be interpreted as retaining the original stress pattern (penultimate) which after the loss of endings was thereafter on the final syllable.

[14]To be precise Thurneysen states 'Vielmehr scheint mir die irische Betonung [which was initial - RH] *alt*- und *gemeinkeltisch*' (emphasis Thurneysen's).

of palatalisation, then the result is typically not an affricate or if so this is then simplified to fricative (Finnish [t] - [s] or Latin [k] to French [ʃ] via [tʃ]).

LENITION IN CONTINENTAL CELTIC. When talking of lenition in Celtic one must distinguish between its existence as a phonetic phenomenon and its establishment and orthographical recognition as a morphological device. In this latter function lenition appears in British quite late (opinions differ but there is general consensus that it is to be posited at around the fifth century AD, Jackson, 1953:695).

Phonetic lenition is a much older phenomenon and evidence for its occurrence in Continental Celtic is not overwhelming given the scanty nature of the attestations but nonetheless it is enough to be certain about its existence (see examples in section 3 above). Some instances of lenition are recognisable due to 'misspellings'. Dottin (1920:67) mentions the lenition of /b/ to /v/ which is seen occasionally in these misspellings and thus assumes that it was definitely a Continental Celtic phenomenon.[15]

The lenition of labials links up with the morphologised lenition in Modern Irish and Welsh where these segments are subject to fricativisation. Earlier it was assumed that the initial segment which resulted from lenition was also nasalised, ie [ṽ]. The lack of stop lenition in Continental Celtic is not positive evidence of its non-existence as it may well have been present but not orthographically indicated. Indeed this situation obtained even for Old Irish where lenition of voiced stops was not usually indicated (Quin, 1975:8).

Phonetic weakening of this sort is the pre-condition for the apocope which set in during the first few centuries AD and which led to the loss of final unstressed syllables by the advent of the Germanic period proper by the mid-5th century.

THE POSITION WITH LATIN. Any consideration of developments in Celtic must take Latin as spoken in Britain in the first centuries after the turning of time into account. The general consensus is that British Latin was peripheral and conservative. Loanword evidence can be advanced to attest this. Starting probably in the first century and completed definitely by the third, Latin *v* and *b* collapsed as [ß] (Gratwick, 1982:17ff.). However this is not reflected in the loanwords from British Latin into British as these show unshifted /b/ which is then subject to lenition after the 5th century (Jackson, 1953:413; 548). Gratwick (1982:62f.) thinks that some Latin loans must have entered even before the turning of time and that once they had entered British remained

---

[15] For Old Irish Thurneysen (1946:27) maintains that 'stress is expiratory and very intense, as may be seen from the reduction of unstressed syllables'. He does not speculate, however, on what stress was like in other forms of Insular Celtic or in Continental Celtic nor does he seem to have an opinion as to how the initial stress of Irish arose.

unchanged as fossilised traits of the phonology of the original language. There is also much dissent among scholars on the number of bilinguals in Roman Britain (Gratwick, 1982:70 seems to think that the over-correct loanwords do not point in this direction).

5 The fate of the Celts

It is known that the Germanic tribes had harassed the southern shores of England[16] before they invaded the country in a concerted effort. Furthermore we know that there was an ostensible reason for their invading the country, a Celtic lord (Vortigern according to Bede and less reliably to the Welsh accounts of Gildas and Nennius) sought help abroad much as happened in the late 12th century in Ireland with the Celts and Anglo-Normans (including marriage to a daughter of one of the new partners). Now the standard view is that the Germanic invaders conquered the Celts[17] and pushed them back to the western and northern edge of the country, to present-day Wales, Cornwall in the west and south-west and towards the Scottish border in the north.

The central issue here is to what extent the Germanic tribes actually displaced the Celts. The simplest view, if you like, is that the Germanic tribes conquered the Celts expelling them from the easily accessible areas in the south and east of the country, hence their distribution on the fringe of Britain today. However this is quite improbable. What conceivable motivation would the Germanic tribes have had for banishing the Celts? After all it would have been far more to their advantage to have put the Celts to work for them, to retain them as servants.[18] There is a clear piece of internal linguistic evidence that this did in fact take place. The word *wealh*[19] not only had the meaning

---

[16] There was a Roman office of Count of the Saxon Shore *Comes litoris Saxonici* who was responsible for defending this southern flank, Partridge (1982:11).

[17] For the present discussion it is irrelevant what the exact ethnic status of the Celts was, ie whether ordinary Celts or Romanised Celts were involved, though there may have been some social distinction between the two at the time the Germanic invaders arrived in England.

[18] This the Romans had done before them. In fact they won the Celts over as allies who after a period became naturalised Romans (Partridge, 1982: 16ff.).

[19] This word is found in a variety of compounds such as *Cornwall*, *walnut* (← OE *wealh-hnutu*) 'foreigner's nut', OE *wealh-hafoc* 'foreign hawk, falcon'; its adjectival form gives us the present-day form *Welsh* (an ethnic designation and surname) and other names such as *Wallace* (from the Anglo-Norman *waleis*). It also exists in German where it came to mean 'Romance' probably at first as a designation for those people who came to occupy areas formerly settled by Celts (Kluge-Mitzka, 1975:851), these being the *Volcae* referred to by Latin authors. In this meaning the word is found in many contexts, eg *Kauderwelsch* 'incomprehensible mixture of languages' (originally from *Kauer*, ie Chur in Switzerland), *Rotwelsch* 'thieves' language'. The term for French-speaking Belgians, *Walloons*, and the

'foreigner' in general but 'Celt' or 'Welshman' in particular and came to be used in the sense of 'servant, slave' (cf. *wielen* 'female slave' which contains the same root, Holthausen, 1974:393) which would appear to be an indication of the status of the Celts *vis à vis* the Germanic settlers.

Note that later invasions of England do not support the notion of banishing the local population, neither the Scandinavian nor the Anglo-Norman invasion of England. In fact we know quite clearly from the latter that the policy pursued was one of replacing the leading figures in society, the nobility and the higher clergy, but not of expelling the indigenous population from their native areas.

Recall also that the Germanic settlers retained Celtic town-names like *London* (← *Londinium* 'place of someone called Londinos'?), *Leeds* (← *Ladenses* 'people living by the strongly flowing river', *pace* Förster and Ekwall), names of regions like *Kent* (← *Cantium*, uncertain perhaps 'coastal district' or 'land of the host or armies', Mills, 1991:193) and river names like *Avon* ('river', cf. Modern Irish *abhainn*), *Ouse* ('water', Ekwall, 1928:317; cf. Irish *uisce*), *Trent* ('trespasser', ie river which overflows its banks). These would seem to imply that they felt no obvious desire to replace these by purely Germanic terms. This situation is different from, say, that after the Second World War where there was a system of active expulsion of Germans from their former eastern provinces in the geographically realigned Poland with a consistent policy of Polonisation.

So assume for a moment that the Germanic tribes lived in areas also populated by Celts[20] after they had subjugated them. What kind of contact would there have been between the two groups? One obvious contact would have been that of service, the Celts having worked for their Germanic superiors in which case the Germanic speakers would have had to communicate with their Celtic servants.

Important for our considerations here is the possibilty that the Celts may well have mixed with the Germanic tribes on a par, at least early on in the life of speakers, ie Celtic and Germanic children may well have intermingled, this

---

Swiss usage meaning 'French-speaking area' as in *Wallis* both derive from the same root. Other German words representing the same etymon are *Wallach* 'gelding' from *Walachei* 'Wal(l)achia' which takes its name from Bulgarian *vlach* which in its turn is a loan from German, cf. Old High German *wal(a)hisc*. The German surname *Walch* also shows the root. In Old Norse forms with the same root offer an indication of the status of the Celts in early Germanic Britain: *valsk-r* 'foreign, captive'; the (plural) noun *valir* 'French' is a reflection of the German usage as are modern Scandinavian forms like Swedish *välsk* 'Gaulish'.

[20]Onomastic evidence can also be used to determine the extent of Celtic settlement in Britain. For example, the name *Cumberland* 'land of the Cymry, ie the British Celts' attests to the presence of Celts in the north-west of England.

providing an important locus for language contact. This type of contact could have been among the children of following generations of Germanic settlers. At an early age they would have come into contact with the Celts, as playmates or at least with Celtic carepersons who would have retained their Celtic speech-habits.

5.1 Other parallels

How plausible is this scenario? The question is best answered by considering other attestations of this type of contact later in history. A well-known example is that of the southern United States. It has been repeatedly noted by authors that the language of the whites in the southern states is not that dissimilar to that of the blacks of the region[21]. Now it is known that the whites had black nurses for their children so that the speech of the blacks may well have had an influence on the whites in a formative period of development of each successive generation until of course the practice of keeping black nurses was abandoned.

The point here is that the influence among the Germanic settlers took place at a crucial period in the lives of children (during first language acquisition) and during a time when possible prestige group thinking and its negative consequences for attitudes towards the Celts had not yet developed.

The type of contact scenario where concubinage and/or mixed marriage took place is somewhat less likely. After all if the Celts were conquered by the Germanic tribes and put to work by them then considerations of social prestige would make co-habitation with (adult) Celts unlikely. One should not confuse this contact situation with that of the Scandinavians later. The latter were first cousins of the Old English and spoke a language or set of varieties of a language which were not too far removed from the different forms of Old English. Nor does the situation with the Romans in the first few centuries AD afford a viable parallel. Their policy was one of winning over the local population into an alliance, a necessity given the enormous geographical extension of the Roman sphere of influence and their relatively restricted numbers. This was then carried further with the Romanisation of a sizeable portion of the Celtic population. But the Germanic invaders were concerned with subjugating the Celtic population, not necessarily banishing them but forcing them into a position of social inferiority so as to curtail their role as competitors.

---

[21]Dillard's (1992:93ff.) 'The development of Southern' gives an account of the various views on southern speech in the United States.

Let me at this point substantiate the argument that the Germanic invaders subjugated but did not banish the Celts by describing a similar situation which arose later. The parallel is provided by the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the late 12th century. Here one had a situation in which a fairly small number of militarily powerful foreigners managed to conquer large parts of the south and east of the country. They established bases in the countryside among the subdued Irish, getting the latter to work for them.[22] When not immediately threatened they must have had contact with the Irish of the surrounding countryside. It is known from contemporary references that they also carried on trade with the Irish and many French loanwords from this area provide ample evidence of this (words like 'carpenter', 'tailor', 'service'; military terms like 'archer' and titles like 'squire', 'duke', 'baron' are all Anglo-Norman loans in Irish).

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE. It should be mentioned at this point that the view represented here is not obvious from historical accounts of the situation in Britain in the Dark Ages. What historical records we have such as the *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* 'Concerning the ruin and conquest of Britain' (Winterbottom, 1978) by the 6th century British monk Gildas (*c* 516-573) paint picture of continuous warfare between Celts and Germanic tribes (Berresford-Ellis, 1993), but again what would one expect of historical writings? It would be most improbable to find accounts of day-to-day contact between the two groups. History in the Dark Ages was in effect military history. Furthermore the existence of such fortifications as Hadrian's Wall (from AD 122) in the north (between Northumbria and southern Scotland) or much later of Offa's Dyke (an early 8th century rampart dividing Wales and England) does not imply that there was an impenetrable divide between Celt and Roman or Celt and Saxon/Angle in the entire island of Britain as these defences only demarcated the more inaccessible mountainous parts in the west and extreme north.

5.2 Was Celtic really a substrate?

It would be hasty to assume that Celtic was a permanent substrate in Anglo-Saxon England; a more differentiated view of the matter would seem to be called for. Bear in mind that the Irish St. Columba[23] brought Christianity to the

---

[22]This is very obvious from architectural evidence. The Normans in Ireland built castles and fortresses in the countryside known as 'keeps' in which they were able to barricade themselves and survive a siege.

[23]Recall that Ireland was itself Christianised in the early 5th century. The official and by no means incontrovertible version of the event sees St. Patrick (a Welshman) as the person who brought the new religion to the country early in the fifth century.

North and that this was a major cultural influence (Richter, 1982) until in 664 at the Synod of Whitby the matter was decided in favour of Rome by King Oswy of Northumbria. Columba (*c* 521-597) established his centre on the island of Iona in the west of Scotland in the middle of the 6th century (*c* 563).

Another important fact connected with religious contacts is that the English took over a system of writing from Ireland which was an insular adaption of the Latin alphabet used for both Latin and Old Irish (Scragg, 1974:3). The rise of vernacular literature in England is accompanied by an influence from Old Irish poetry which pre-dates the earliest English writings (Wright, 1993; Reichl, 1982:168 assumes that the Anglo-Saxon writers were acquainted with Irish literature and accepted impulses from it, particularly in the Old English elegies). These points would suggest that in the literary and ecclesiastical spheres the Celts, or at least the Irish, enjoyed a relatively high status.

6 Manifestations of contact

Before proceeding any further one should note that the result of contact can be seen on various levels of language and that different types of contact affect different levels. One can start from the obvious observation that with superstrate influence the field which shows most influence from the more prestigious language is that of lexis. The standard example from the history of English is that of French, particularly Central French, with its heavy lexical influence on English. Again scholars always remark that the type of contact between Scandinavians and English differed from that between English and French in that the former was a day-to-day contact and this facilitated the borrowing of every-day items, witness words like *take, call, skirt, sky,* and of course the morphology of English was affected by the borrowing of the forms of the third person plural in /θ/ (*they, their*), though this was motivated by internal factors in the grammar of northern English dialects of the time.

The point about the day-to-day nature of Scandinavian contact is not disputed. Its probability can be shown by reverse cases, so to speak, such as the borrowings from English in present-day German where the lack of contact between speakers precludes any morphological influence of the former language on the latter. Trying to determine the influence of Celtic languages on English is more difficult because there has been varying contact at different periods and the nature of the evidence is inconclusive.

LEXICON. The effect of Celtic languages on the lexicon of English for the entire period of its attestation is slight to say the least.[24] Old English shows a

---

[24]See Lockwood (1965-8) and Breeze (1994) for discussions of recent forms and Förster (1921) on older loans.

couple of loans such as *bannoc* 'flat loaf of unleavened bread', *brocc* 'badger', *drȳ* 'magician' (from Old Irish *druí* 'druid'). Modern English has only a couple of undisputed terms like *galore* (← *go leor*) and some uncertain ones besides, such as *dig/twig* 'understand, grasp' which is taken (Hamp, 1981; Ahlqvist, 1988) to derive from Irish *tuig* 'understand' (the /w/ in English is a rendering of the back off-glide from the non-palatal /t/ at the beginning of the word).

SYNTAX. Syntactic borrowings in the history of English are indeed scarce or at the very least difficult to prove. A case in point is the zero object relative as in *The man I met is my cousin* which according to some scholars, like Jespersen, himself a Dane, may have arisen due to Scandinavian influence.[25] Influence from the syntax of Celtic languages has been postulated by Poussa (1990) who takes issue with the view propagated by Ellegård (1953) that periphrastic *do* arose from causative *do* by semantic bleaching and believes that it goes back to the Old English period and to contact in Wessex with Celtic speakers. She postulates a creolisation situation where *do* was used in affirmative sentences followed by a later linking with *be* to render the habitual present which was present as a category in Insular Celtic and uses Irish English evidence to support this view. In an other article, Poussa (1991) argues for a Celtic source of the relativisers *what* and *as* because there are no suitable models within the Germanic languages and maintains that the contact situation between the Celtic tribes and the initial Germanic invaders would have been favourable for such transfer.

PHONETICS/PHONOLOGY. This is a broad area and needs to be further differentiated for the present discussion. At the top end of the spectrum of sound-related phenomena one has phonological items and processes. These may be borrowed into a language but usually they are concomitant with lexical borrowings as the diphthong /ɔi/ or initial voiced fricatives (with support from southern varieties) in Middle English would seem to indicate (*point; veal, zeal,* etc.).

At the lower end of the phonetics/phonology cline one has non-distinctive sound phenomena including allophonic realisations, phonetic reductions and mergers, what one could bundle under the heading 'allegro phenomena'. It is these which are of particular interest. The stance I am adopting is that these low-level phenomena may well have been part of Celtic influence on Germanic in the (early) Old English period.

Allow me to demonstrate the likelihood of this by a modern example. Finland has a small percentage of Swedish-speakers, above all in the south,

---

[25]There is much counter-evidence here. For instance the zero subject relative as in *A man is outside wants to speak to you* is a feature of popular London in the south quite far from the central area of Scandinavian influence in the north.

chielfly in Helsinki and in the south-west, embracing such towns as Turku/Åbo. These speakers now represent only a few percent; true, their numbers were greater in previous centuries but they never represented a sizeable proportion of the entire population of Finland. However the Finlanders, the Swedish Finns, did form the economically and socially dominant class in Finland. From a sociolinguistic point of view one has a superstrate group (the Swedish-speakers) and a much larger substrate group (the Finns).

Now one of the prominent characteristics of Finnish Swedish is that it has a low, flat intonation. It does not have the fall-rise intonational pattern which is such a salient feature of mainland Swedish as in *tala* 'speak', *göra* 'do' (Selenius, 1974). I am deliberately ignoring the question of whether Finnish Swedish had and lost the central Swedish contrastive intonational pattern or never developed it in the first place. In either case, however, the low-tone, relatively level intonation (in non-initial syllables) can be traced to Finnish where it is a regular feature.

7 Low-level influence

Let me state that for the period immediately after the coming of the Germanic tribes to Britain I am assuming low-level influence on the speech of the latter. This stance can be put in categorical terms as follows. The phonetic makeup of British Celtic which included the weakening of consonants in voiced and inter-vocalic environments and vowel reduction in unstressed syllables came to influence the allophony of Old English and quickened any tendency to phonetic blurring and loss in unstressed syllables which may have existed already in varieties of Old English.

Now as mentioned above the phonetic make-up of a language encompasses in a broad sense speech habits, the way one pronounces words, the leeway one has in the realisation of systematic sound units. Here is another example of what is meant here, this time from modern German.

It is a characteristic of German dialects in a broad arc-shaped band from Saxony through Franconia across to Swabia and down to the Alemannic region in the south-west that voiceless consonants are lenited, ie spoken 'softly', in a manner which for other speakers of German, say North Germans or Bavarians would appear to be voiced: *backen* 'bake', *leiten* 'lead, conduct', *zerreißen* 'tear up', *Waffel* 'waffle' sound as if they contain /-g-, -d-, -z-, -v-/ respectively. It is part of the manner of speaking in these dialects that voiceless consonants are almost voiced intervocalically. Of course voiced consonants are more very clearly voiced in the same position so that there is no confusion between the

two classes of consonants, voiceless and voiced. The phonemic distinction in voice is retained in these as in other German dialects.

This intervocalic voicing is a low-level phenomenon in that it has no systematic status. Such phenomena tend furthermore to occur in certain areas and examples abound. Typical cases are the mid high realisation of /u/ [ʉ] in Ulster/Scottish English and Irish/Scots Gaelic, the occurrence of vowel epenthesis in heavy coda clusters in Irish and Irish English, the voicing of initial fricatives in the Low Countries (and southern England perhaps), the distribution of tone in the Baltic area as proposed by Jakobson, the development of a low front vowel /ɛ/ in Balkan languages, the lenition of intervocalic stops in Iberian Romance, the presence of retroflex consonants in both Indo-European and Dravidian languages in India, etc. There has been much speculation about such areal phenomena in the past and in general scholars tend to look for their origins in contact.[26]

One should, however, also consider this phenomenon from a sociolinguistic point of view for a moment. The usual assumption is that there is a certain locus for language change and that in any given situation certain groups in society will be more prestigious than others. It is assumed that the more prestigious group influences the less prestigious one. This certainly holds for the lexical level of language. However there is clear evidence for influence on more prestigious groups by less prestigious ones in low-level areas which encompass phenomena like the ones alluded to above in the German dialects considered.

The reason for quoting the case of Finnish Swedish above was to show that a group which is very clearly a superstrate can borrow low-level characteristics from another group which surrounds it, irrespective of how much the latter is a substrate. Switching to the situation in post-invasion Britain after of the mid-fifth century, there would seem to be no *a priori* objection to postulating an influence of the speech habits of the British Celts on the Germanic invaders cum settlers.

Now it is one thing to say that there is no *a priori* objection to influence and quite another to say that this actually occurred. To substantiate the arguments consider the development of the Celtic languages during

---

[26]If one wanted to push it one could point to the fact that lenition in German dialects is typical of the south-west and parts of Switzerland where Celtic contact was considerable but this is going back to something like 500 BC and would be a little far-fetched. Here I share the scepticism expressed long ago by Bloomfield (1933:386) and sympathetically echoed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:112), namely that such influence could have arisen long after the contact had ceased.

approximately the same period for which English is also attested. Let me start however with a brief consideration of Romance.

8 Areal features

With reference to the matter at hand, some authors have claimed that there were areal features of Celtic which had an influence on neighbouring languages.[27] The most notable representative of this view is André Martinet who suggested in 1952 that the lenition which is characteristic of Western Romance had its origin in that which is typical of Celtic. The type of phenomenon Martinet was thinking of was the loss of intervocalic consonants (with later apocope) or the loss of the first element of clusters in the transition of Latin to French and the synchronic alternation of stops and fricatives in Modern Spanish.

(9)

Latin	*OCTO*	→	French	*huit*	'eight'
	CATTUS	→		*chat*	'cat'
Spanish	*pagar*			[paɣar]	'pay'
	nada			[naða]	'nothing'
	escribir			[eskrißir]	'to write'
Latin	*FARINA*	→	Spanish	*harina*	'flour'[28]

Martinet was suggesting here a scenario for continental Celtic which I am putting forward for the early Old English period with regard to insular Celtic: a low-level feature of Celtic was the weakening of consonants, particularly in intervocalic position, and the reduction of unstressed syllables. This then spread as a speech habit to the Germanic settlers who were in contact with the Celts.

The development of the Celtic languages since their earliest attestations lends support to this view. Above I quoted examples from Gaulish and Old Irish. The later history of the latter shows if anything ever severer phonetic attrition. Here are some examples to illustrate this (Lewis/Pedersen, 1937:70ff.; the situation with Welsh is analogous).

---

[27]One phenomenon, which is somewhat discredited nowadays, is the development of the front rounded vowel /y/ in French under Celtic influence. The arguments for and against will not be dealt with here.

[28]This is perhaps a special case as Spanish /h/ from Latin *F* is often traced back to a Basque substratum in Ibero-Romance (see Tovar, 1957:49 who is rather noncommital on this point). It is true that Basque originally did not have /f/ (only latterly in loanwords) but the /h/ from *F* might just as well have been an internal development in Spanish. Of course the articulatory motivation for this may well stem ultimately from lenition as a make-up feature of Spanish which in its turn may be a contact feature. This puts the contact source at one remove but in fact increases its plausibility.

(10)

GENERAL LENITION

Old Irish		Modern Irish		
adhbhar	/aðvər/	*ábhar* /ɑ:r/		'matter'
ardughadh	/arduɣəð/	*ardú* /ardu:/		'raising'
cuidhbhe	/kɪð̥v̥ə/	*cuí* /ki:/		'appropriate'
biadh	/biəð/	*bia* /biə/		'food'

CASE SYNCRETISM

Old Irish	Middle Irish	
Nom. *céle*	*céle*	'companion'
Gen. *céli*	*céle*	
Dat. *céliu*	*céle*	

VERBAL SIMPLIFICATION

Middle Irish	Early Modern Irish	
do-bheir	*do-bheir*	'gives'
ad-chí	*do-chí*	'sees'
ro-ghabh	*do-ghabh*	'took'

A clear sequence of events can be recognized here. Between Old Irish and Middle Irish (600-900 and 900-1200 respectively) one has the loss of consonants and vowel reduction. This takes place on such a massive scale that the language thrusts forward towards morphological analyticity. After this in the development of Early Modern Irish (1200-1600) the verbal prefixes simplify to *do-*/də/, although some of them, such as *ro-* /rə/ (from /ro/) did not show consonantal lenition. A complex system of verb prefixes is something which is characteristic of a synthetic language (compare the prefixes still vital in Modern German, *auf, ab, zu, entgegen; be, er, ent, ver, zer*, etc.). With the shift to analytic in the nominal area, Irish adapted the verb system to comply to the new overall typological shape by reducing the number of these prefixes to a couple.

As the main issue in this paper is the possible effect of Celtic on English I will have to skip over many aspects of the developments in Celtic. Nonetheless one should point out that certainly Old Irish and probably Middle Welsh (the oldest form of the language) had adopted the word order VSO and that there is a Greenbergian implicational universal which states that languages of this type tend to be lacking in morphological case. This is seen as due to the fact that the verb (head) always comes first and the subject after this so that sentence constituents can always be easily identified by their position. Contrariwise SOV language tend to be agglutinative with many cases (see the not uncontroversial treatment of this tentative connection in Gil, 1986).

9 Later effects on language type

Low-level transfer in contact can have far-reaching consequences for the language effected. Like metereological erosion or biological decomposition it is slow but inexorable. Consider just a few words from modern English and modern German to begin with.

(11)

English:	*sofa* [səʊfə]	*canal* [kə'nɑ:l]	*Canada* [kænədə]
German:	*Sofa* [zo:fa]	*Kanal* [ka'na:l]	*Kanada* [kanada]

What is obvious here is that the unstressed /a/ in the English words is reduced to a central vowel, a schwa, while German keeps the pronunciation as /a/ which is normal for stressed syllables. Put in general terms: German retains unstressed short vowels at their full value whereas English does not; English also demonstates a strong tendency to diphthongize long vowels whereas (standard) German does not (rising diphthongs, as in [bout] *Boot*, and off-glides from long vowels, as in [guot] *gut*, are characteristic of many types of northern and southern German respectively, Keller, 1979:210-212, 347f.).

It would seem sufficient to point out such realisational differences in both languages. I am not sure to what extent attempts at formulating a systematic, ie basically non-phonetic, difference between *dominating* and *non-dominating* languages, as van Coetsem et al. (1981) have done, is of any relevance here. Particularly as these authors lump German and English together (as dominating types) and see both as opposing the non-dominating type of language, such as Finnish, which has a more or less pitch-oriented accent system. Furthermore in view of the maintainance of vowel contrasts in unstressed syllables it seems quite unrealistic to make statements such as 'German exhibits widespread vowel reduction in nonprominent syllables' (van Coetsem et al., 1981:298). The distinction made by these authors reminds me of that between stress- and syllable-timing. It is a convenient label at an initial stage of examination but needs very quickly to be refined and further differentiated in order to do justice to the phonetics of a particular language.

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF VOWEL REDUCTION? Bear in mind that Old English had stress on the lexical base of a word. This in effect meant on the first syllable of all words which did not have a prefix. Such prefixes occurred with a subset of verbs and with certain nominal compounds and of course in the past particple. Here one can see a clear lenition scale from a very early *ge* /gə/ to *ge-* /jə/ to /i, ɪ/ in Middle English with eventual loss.

PHONETIC BLURRING Now if affixes lack stress and their vowels are centralised they lose their distinctiveness. The most obvious consequence of this is that the internal structure of words becomes less and less transparent

with each generation of speakers. At some stage a morphologically complex word form is no longer analysable and henceforth regarded as an indivisible entity. A clear example of this in Modern English is formed by words which originally contained the preposition *on* before a noun.

(12)

a.	*asleep*	←	OE *on slǣpe*	lit. 'on sleep'
b.	*alive*	←	OE *on līfe*	lit. 'on life'
c.	*away*	←	OE *onweg*	lit. 'on way'

PHONETIC LOSS The extreme case of phonetic reduction is loss. Reduction of unstressed syllables consisted not only of the centralisation of vowels but of the loss of consonants and the later loss of syllable-bearing vowels. In the instance of *asleep*, etc. the nasal was lost entirely, the syllable-bearing vowel centralising from /ɔ/ to /ə/.

Note that the loss here is initiated by phonetic tendencies in the language. Higher levels of structure may play a role in the demise or survival of unstressed elements, however. The standard examples here are the Germanic prefix *with* and *under* (as in Modern English *withstand* and *understand*) which would seem to have gained support for their retention from the separate existence of the prepositions *with* and *under* (Lutz, 1991). Such structural considerations can be seen to operate in other areas as well. Take the survival of a phoneme pair /θ, ð/ in Modern English. Here the functional load of the two sounds is very slight (*thigh, thy; teeth, teethe* are some of the very few examples of minimal contrast) but the general distinction between voiceless and voiced elements in English is central, just think of the role it plays in pairs like *cease, seize; rice, rise,* etc.

SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS. The semantics of affixes would also appear to have played a role. Take a simple case like the negative prefix *un-*. This exists in Modern English as a productive suffix with an unambiguous role of negating a base. The phonetically similar verbal prefix *on-* has not survived, nor has the very general prefix *ā-*. In Old English neither had a single identifiable meaning, compare the following selection of verbs.

(13)

a.	*onslǣpan*	'fall asleep'		e.	*ālecgan*	'lay down'
b.	*onstellan*	'establish'		f.	*āhebban*	'lift up, raise'
c.	*onwendan*	'change'		g.	*ādrǣfan*	'drive away'
d.	*ācȳðan*	'make known'				

In a stage of the language in which the system of verb prefixes was crumbling such polyfunctional elements were especially vulnerable. One can for Old English more or less identify a function of movement for *ā* (see examples under e, f and g above) but the existence of so many verbs in which the directional

element was no longer recognisable probably led to a lexicalisation of verbs with this prefix with later generations and ultimately to its loss as it was not felt necessary to impart an identifiable semantic component to a base.

(14)

a.	*ābrecan*	'storm, ransack'
b.	*ācennan*	'give birth to, bring forth'
c.	*āhliehhan*	'deride, laugh at'
d.	*āstreccan*	'extend, stretch out'

As can be seen from the modern English glosses they were replaced by a verb plus adverb, by later Romance loans or again later by prepositions which were clearly delimited semantically (phrasal verbs).

10 Conclusion

The above observations have hopefully shown that while the adoption of phonetic speech habits does not affect the system of a language at the period at which they enter they can lead to far-reaching changes in the morphology of the language effected in the fullness of time. As they are non-systematic there is little awareness of them and so they are accomodated easily without disturbing the system.

One can think of delayed effect contact as setting a ball rolling which gains more and more momentum and may eventually lead to a restructuring of the grammar as was clearly the case in Celtic. In the case of English this is the switch from synthetic to analytic which was rendered necessary with the progressive weakening of inflectional endings and verb prefixes - something which did not occur in German to anything like a similar extent.

References

ADAMSON, SYLVIA ET AL. (eds.) 1990. *Papers from the 5th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam: JohnBenjamins.

AHLQVIST, ANDERS 1988."Of unknown [?] origin", *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 21: 69-73.

ALTHEIM, FRANZ 1951. *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*. Frankfurt: Klostermann.

APPEL, RENÉ and PIETER MUYSKEN 1986. *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.

BALDI, PHILIP 1983. *An introduction to the Indo-European languages*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

BAMMESBERGER, ALFRED and ALFRED WOLLMANN (eds.) 1990. *Britain 400-600: Language and history*. Heidelberg: Winter.

BERRESFORD ELLIS, PETER 1993. *Celt and Saxon. The struggle for Britain AD 410-937*. London: Constable.

BREEZE, ANDREW 1994."Celtic etymologies for Middle English *brag* 'boast', *gird* 'strike', and *lethe* 'soften'", *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 3: 135-148.

BROOKS, NICHOLAS (ed.) 1982. *Latin and the vernacular languages of early medieval Britain*. Leicester: University Press.

CASEY, P. J. 1979. *The end of Roman Britain. Papers arising from a conference, Durham 1978*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 71.

CHADWICK, NORA 1971. *The Celts*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

COETSEM, FRANS VAN and RONALD HENDRICKS and SUSAN MCCORMICK 1981. "Accent typology and sound change", *Lingua* 53: 295-315.

DELATTRE, PIERRE 1969/70. "La théorie celtique et les substrats", *Romance Philology* 23: 480-491.

DILLARD, JOEY LEE 1992. *A history of American English*. London: Longman.

DILLON, MYLES 1943."Germanic and Celtic", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 42: 492-498.

DILLON, MYLES and NORA CHADWICK 1972. *The Celtic realms*. 2nd edition. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

DOTTIN, GEORGES 1980 [1920]. *La langue gauloise. Grammaire, textes et glossaire*. Genève: Slatkine Reprints.

DRESSLER, WOLFGANG 1967. "Galatisches", In Meid (ed.) 147-154.

EKWALL, EILERT 1928. *English river-names*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

ELLEGÅRD, A. 1953. *The auxiliary* do. *The establishment and regulation of its use in English*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

ELSTON, C. S. 1934. *The earliest relations between Celts and Germans*. London: Methuen.

EMENEAU, M. B. 1956. "India as a linguistic area", *Linguistics* 32: 3-16.

EVANS, D. ELLIS 1983. "Continental Celtic and linguistic reconstruction", In MacEoin (ed.) 19-54.

EVANS, D. ELLIS (ed.) 1986. *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*. Oxford: University Press.

FÖRSTER, MAX 1921. *Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen. Eine sprachliche Untersuchung*. Halle/Saale: Niemeyer.

GIL, DAVID 1986. "A prosodic typology of language", *Folia Linguistica* 20: 165-231.

GRATWICK, A. S. 1982. "Latinitas Britannica: Was British Latinarchaic?", In Brooks (ed.) 1-79.

GREENBERG, JOSEPH 1966. *Language universals, with special reference to feature hierarchies*. The Hague: Mouton.

HACHMANN, ROLF and GEORGE KOSSACK and HANS KUHN 1962. *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz.

HAMP, ERIC P. 1990."The pre-Indo-European language of northern (central) Europe", In Markey and Greppin (eds.) 291-309.

HAMP, ERIC P. 1981."On the Celtic origin of English slang ≤dig/twig≥ 'understand'", *Comments on Etymology* 10:12: 2-3.

HAWKINS, JOHN 1983. *Word order universals*. New York: Academic Press.

HERREN, MICHAEL 1990. "Gildas and early British monosticism", In Bammesberger and Wollmann (eds.) 65-78.

HOLDER, ALFRED 1896. *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz. 2 Bde*. Leipzig: Teubner.

HOLMER, NILS 1938. "Remarques sur le passage E,O > A dans les langues celtiques", *Études Celtiques* 3: 72-85.

HOLTHAUSEN, FRIEDRICH 1974. *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2nd edition. Heidelberg: Winter.

HOPPER, PAUL and ELIZABETH CLOSS TRAUGOTT 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: University Press.

HUALDE, JOSÉ IGNACIO 1991. *Basque phonology*. London: Routledge.

HYMAN, LARRY (ed.) 1977. *Studies in stress and accent. Papers from Stressfest*. Los Angeles: University of California. *Southern California Papers in Linguistics* 4.

JACKSON, KENNETH 1953. *Language and history in early Britain*. Edinburgh: University Press.

JACKSON, KENNETH 1967. *A historical phonology of Breton*. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies.

JAKOBSON, ROMAN 1962 [1931]. "Über die phonologischen Sprachbünde", In Jakobson, 137-143.

JAKOBSON, ROMAN 1962. *Selected writings. I:Phonological studies*. Mouton: The Hague.

JUCQUOIS, GUY 1970. "La théorie de la racine en indo-européen", *La linguistique* 6:2: 69-102.

KELLER, R. E. 1979 [1961]. *German dialects*. Manchester: University Press.

KLUGE, FRIEDRICH and WALTHER MITZKA 1975. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

KOCH, J. T. 1983. "The loss of final syllables and loss of declension in Brittonic", *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 30: 201-233.

KORTLANDT, FREDERICK 1986. "Proto-European tones?", *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 14: 153-160.

KRAHE, HANS 1954. *Sprache und Vorzeit. Europäische Vorgeschichte nach dem Zeugnis der Sprache*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer.

LAING, LLOYD 1979. *Celtic Britain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

LANE, GEORGE S. 1933. "The Germano-Celtic vocabulary", *Language* 9: 244-264.

LANSBERG, WILLIAM ROSS 1940. "Evidence of a Mediterranean substratum in Celtic", *Language* 16: 95-98.

LEHISTE, ILSE 1988. *Lectures on language contact*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

LEHMANN, WINFRED P. 1974. *Proto-Indo-European syntax*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

LEHMANN, WINFRED P. 1992. *Historical linguistics*. 3rd edition. London: Routledge.

LEWIS, HENRY and HOLGER PEDERSEN 1937. *A concise comparative Celtic grammar*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

LOCKWOOD, W. B. 1965-1968. "On Celtic loan-words in Modern English", *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 13,16: 261-275; 65-74.

LOTH, JOSEPH 1892. *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques (gallois, armoricain, cornique). Phonétique et commentaire*. Paris: Émil Bouillon.

LÖWE, HEINZ (ed.) 1982. *Die Iren und Europa im frühen Mittelalter, 2 Vols*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

LUTZ, ANGELIKA 1991. *Phonotaktisch gesteuerte Veränderungen in der Geschichte des Englischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

MACLENNAN, GEORGE W. (ed.) 1988. *Proceedings of the first North American congress of Celtic studies*. Ottawa: University Press.

MAJEWICZ, ELZBIETA 1984. "Celtic influences upon English and English influences upon Celtic languages", *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 27: 45-50.

MARKEY,THOMAS L. and J. GREPPIN (eds.) 1990. *When worlds collide: The Indo-Europeans and the pre-Indo-Europeans (Lake Como, Italy, February 8-13, 1988)*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

MARTINET, ANDRÉ 1952. "Celtic lenition and Western Romance consonants", *Language* 28: 192-217.

MCMANUS, DAMIAN 1982. *The Latin loan-words in Irish*. PhD thesis. Dublin: University College.

MEID, WOLFGANG 1967. *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Innsbruck: University Press. *InnsbruckerBeiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 13.

MEID, WOLFGANG 1990. "Englisch und sein britischer Hintergrund", In Bammesberger and Wollmann (eds.) 97-120.

MICHELENA, LUIS 1977. *Fonética histórica vasca*. San Sebastian: Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa.

MILLS, A. D. 1991. *A dictionary of English place names*. Oxford: University Press.

MORAVCSIK, EDITH A. 1978. "Language contact", In Greenberg (ed.) 93-122.

O'RAHILLY, THOMAS F. 1935. "The Goidels and their predecessors", Proceedings of the British Academy *The Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture* 323-372.

OLMSTED, GARRETT 1989. "The meter of the Gaulish inscription from Larzac", *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 17,1-2: 155-164.

PARTRIDGE, A. C. 1982. *A companion to Old and Middle English studies*. London: Deutsch.

PEDERSEN, HOLGER 1909. *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

POKORNY, JULIUS 1940. "Ériu and the coming of the Goidels", In Ryan (ed.) 237-243.

POKORNY, JULIUS 1948-1949. "Zur keltischen Namenkunde und Ethymologie", *Vox Romanica* 10: 220-267.

POKORNY, JULIUS 1949. "Zum nicht-indogermanischen Substrat im Inselkeltischen", *Die Sprache* 1:235-245.

POUSSA, PATRICIA 1990. "A contact-universal origin for periphrastic *do* with special consideration of Old English-Celtic contact", In Adamson et al. (eds.) 407-434.

POUSSA, PATRICIA 1991. "Origins of the non-standard relativizers *what* and *as* in English", In Ureland and Broderick (eds.) 295-315.

PREUßLER, WALTER 1938. "Keltischer Einfluß im Englischen", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 56: 178-191.

QUIN, E. Q. 1975. *Old-Irish workbook*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

REICHL, KARL 1982. "Zur Frage des irischen Einflusses auf die altenglische weltliche Dichtung", In Löwe (ed.) 138-168.

RENFREW, COLIN 1987. *Archaeology and language. The Puzzle of Indo-European origins*. London: Jonathan Cape.

RICHTER, MICHAEL 1982. "Der irische Hintergrund der angelsächsischen Mission", In Löwe (ed.) 120-137.

ROHLFS, GERHARD 1949-1954. *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten. 3 vols.* Bern: Francke.

RYAN, J. (ed.) 1940. *Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill.* Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles.

SALMONS, JOSEPHS C. 1992. *Accentual change and language contact. Comparative survey and a case study of early Northern Europe.* Stanford: University Press.

SALMONS, JOSEPH C. 1984. *The extent of language contact change: Germanic and Celtic.* PhD thesis. Austin: University of Texas.

SCHLETTE, FRIEDRICH 1979. *Kelten zwischen Alesia und Pergamon.* Berlin: Urania Verlag.

SCHMIDT, KARL-HORST 1986. "The Celtic languages in their European context", In Evans (ed.) 199-221.

SCHMOLL, U. 1959. *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

SCHRODT, RICHARD 1976. *Die germanische Lautverschiebung und ihre Stellung im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen.* 2nd edition. Wien: Halosar. *Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie*

SCRAGG, D. G. 1974. *A history of English spelling.* Manchester: University Press.

SELENIUS, EBBA 1974. *Hesingforsvensk ettordsaccentuering.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki. *Publications of the Institute of Phonetics 26*

THOMASON, SARAH and KAUFMAN, THOMAS 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

THURNEYSEN, RUDOLF 1883-5. "Zur irischen Accent- und Verslehre", *Revue Celtique* 6: 309-347.

TOVAR, ANTONIO 1957. *The Basque language.* Trans. by H. P. Houghton. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

TOVAR, ANTONIO 1961. *The ancient languages of Spain and Portugal.* New York: Vanni.

URELAND, P. STURE and GEORGE BRODERICK (eds.) 1991. *Language contact in the British Isles. Proceedings of the 8th International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

VENNEMANN, THEO (ed.) 1989. *The new sound of Indo-European. Essays in phonological reconstruction.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

VENNEMANN, THEO 1994. "Linguistic reconstruction in the context of European prehistory", *Transactions of the Philological Society.* 92:2215-284.

Some linguistic and cultural aspects of scientific discourse processing

Magda Kouřilová, Comenius University, Bratislava

1 Introduction

An important feature of scientific discourse is the fact that it is designed to induce a single interpretation. Incoherence and misinterpretation can however occur when the receiver's background competence - cognitive, socio-cultural and/or linguistic - fails to match the level expected by the sender of information.

In the present paper, I would like to address the problem of misencoding and misinterpreting messages in science reporting in the light of culture-specific differences in discourse management and processing. The focus will be on different options in creating discourse and in structuring textual interaction, including some aspects of the complex area of rhetorical conventions.

The problems I identify arise from the analysis of materials from two different sources. The first part of the corpus was kindly provided by the British Medical Journal (BMJ). It included manuscripts written by non-native speakers of English and submitted for publication to the BMJ, as well as their language-subedited versions, containing all corrections and changes done by the editorial staff of the BMJ.

The second source of data were peer reviews to papers submitted by Slovak doctors to British and American scientific journals (Kouřilová, 1995). The peer reviews, as quality judgements exerted by experts in the field, assessed the manuscripts primarily as to their scientific value and reliability but they also considered and criticized matters of language and style.

As English has become the lingua franca of medicine, peer reviews are an important genre also in the communication between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) of English. Though many discourse features operate by universal principles, they may vary in conceptualisation and verbalisation across cultures as there are cross-culturally different perceptions of what is appropriate language behaviour (Silva, 1993, Hinkel, 1994). It is, then, the NNS' lack of insight into the pragmatics of interactive functions of the

English language that account to a great extent for their failure to apply appropriate strategies for discourse processing.

The aim of my investigation in treating both sources of the corpus was to identify conventions characteristic of the use of English in science reporting in order to help NNS of English to share native speakers' assumptions and expectations. This is, in my opinion, a crucial precondition if NNS - as readers or listeners - are to interpret not only propositional but also affective meanings and not only explicit but also implicit messages in the producer's intentions. As producers of English scientific writing, on the other hand, NNS have to generate discourse matching or at least approximating to the native speakers' schematic conventions.

2 Culture-specific contextual beliefs and discourse pragmatics

To the extent that expository prose is a recognisable mode of communication in all languages, it can be said to have an underlying rhetorical structure common to all language groups. Yet there appear to be patterns of differences specific to particular languages and cultures.

NNS writing is often strategically, rhetorically and linguistically different from what is considered to be good English academic writing in features which determine the purpose, clarity and relevance of the communicative act as well as the rationality of argument, and which impose constraints on what is reasonable, necessary and appropriate (Silva, 1993).

NNS scientific writing seems to be deficient in one or several of the following discourse characteristics: planning at global and local levels; goal setting and focus; organisation and structure of the discourse and its segments; adequate justifying support; linking of inductive/deductive conclusions to preceding propositions; control over and variety in cohesion and modality resources; prospective readership adaptation; negotiability of ideas and opinions.

These 'deficiencies' are relative to the schematic norms of rhetorical appropriateness as accepted and expected by NS writers and readers. What happens is that NNS often transmit discoursal patterns typical of their own language but alien to English. Nationality can have a particularly marked effect (Hinkel, 1994). Papers of NNS appear to be disorganised, incohesive, out of focus because the rhetoric and/or thought processing violate the native speaker's expectations. And when expectations fail, utterances are likely to be dismissed as unprocessable.

As Europeans, Slovaks basically accept the fundamental concepts underlying Anglo-American academic writing, but they may operate in

different discoursal frameworks. The difference may not be as marked as between Anglo-American discourse management and Chinese, Vietnamese or Indonesian writing traditions reflecting Confucian and Taoist cultural heritage (Comrie, 1987), but several Anglo-American notions pertaining to writing are but vaguely perceived by our readers and writers of scientific discourse.

In the following subsections, I shall address some areas of potential incompatibility in the NS and NNS management of scientific discourse.

2.1 Linear discourse development versus indirectness and digressions

It would appear that the English NS expects a linear development in the sequence of thought by presenting the thesis, arguments and counterarguments and conclusions. The main idea is to be clearly stated, properly qualified and elaborated by supportive evidence, examples and illustrations, and related to all other ideas of the discourse. A coherent informative text should have a clear structure which spells out both the topics of discourse and their hierarchy of importance.

A rather frequent criticism of Slovak scientific writing is lack of supportive evidence, neglect of relevance of details, and lack of ability to show that the argument is well thought out. In the 80 peer reviews I analysed, there were more than 300 critical items concerning lack of data, evidence or explanation, insufficient justifying support, with main ideas inadequately qualified and elaborated. Many critical items were put rather bluntly, as e.g. "this paragraph screams for explanation".

Another cause of the un-English feel to Slovak texts is due to a preference for what we might call "indirection". Phenomena are often described in terms of what they are not, what they may or may not be, exhausting a whole range of potential circumstances. The influence of the Teutonic intellectual style may be implicated here to some extent. In German and Slovak sentences, the topic often has to be distilled from the intricate network of partial problems, considerations and parenthetical amplifications. Digressions, typical of philosophical writing, are more frequent in Slovak, German or French than in English scientific discourse.

Gosden (1992a) states that lack of proficiency in handling the development of the author's argument presents the greatest potential of distracting the reviewer's attention from judgement on the scientific merit of the research article. The corpus data strongly imply that classroom approaches should focus on this deficiency both in teaching writing and reading comprehension skills, especially in ESP classes.

2.2 Paragraphing strategies

In mastering the logical flow of thought, different languages and cultures have developed different paragraphing strategies. Literary paragraphs with their broad range of functions can be shaped by various strategies. The English expository paragraph, however, adheres to the established pattern of a logical unit, a frame for structuring thought into patterns.

The organisational device of physical and conceptual paragraphs as units of thought in English expository prose, which greatly promotes the reader's quick orientation in the discourse, is however an alien feature in Slovak, and not easily taught and learned. Paragraphs in Slovak, and also in English expository prose written by Slovaks, often fail to be genuine units of thought. This is manifested by paragraphs which are too long, with overlapping concepts on the one hand and by anaphora across paragraph boundaries on the other. The beginning of a new topical focus is in English at least as strong an anaphoric barrier as is the distance from the referent. Expository prose has little tolerance for the violation of these rules, which makes NNS discourse incohesive.

The Anglo-American paragraphing strategy in science reporting does not seem to be universal, or the manifestation of "natural" logic. For example, French paragraphing conventions are different. In French scientific discourse the number of paragraphs per page is about twice as high as in English, and the paragraph is a unit which divides the topic into subtopics. Régent (1985) studied English and French medical papers and found that on describing the same surgical process, the English paper used one paragraph, whereas the French paper presented each step in a separate paragraph, thus using five paragraphs for the presentation of the same process. It seems clear that paragraphing conventions vary widely across cultures. Which are to be followed will be a tactical matter and will depend on the community the writer wants to identify with.

In the case of scientists from different language and cultural backgrounds writing for English language journals, it would seem that rather than transmitting discoursal patterns typical of their own language, NNS should be taught to adopt the English way of patterning when writing in English to meet the native speaker's expectation.

2.3 Parataxis and hypotaxis

In English, degrees of subordination are often taken as an indication of good style. Hypotaxis in clause structure, when used appropriately, can facilitate comprehension because the relationship between the different units of propositional meaning is explicitly signalled and so less inference is called for.

Parataxis, on the other hand, where such links are not so signalled, makes more demands on interpretation. The use of short and long sentences with or without subordination is not only a matter of style and taste, the choice may have rhetorical impact. Thus, e.g., a sequence of short sentences without subordination is a device for involving the knowledgeable reader in the discourse, relying on his/her inferencing capacities. To a limited extent, it does have its place in peer writing where writer and reader share a large amount of background knowledge, but its use in other types of discourse, as, e.g., in textbooks, popularised versions of scientific reports, and lectures to university students may cause incoherence, quite simply because it implies shared knowledge that the readers do not have.

Although it would seem to be LINGUISTICALLY simpler, parataxis can actually cause difficulties of interpretation since it leaves much more to infer than does hypotaxis. Hypotaxis provides focus and prominence to important discourse entities and creates a differentiated hierarchical discourse structure in which foregrounding and backgrounding of information is signalled.

Too scanty use of hypotaxis, on the other hand, creates undifferentiated, non-hierarchical structure, difficult to follow and interpret coherently. Tyler et al. (1988) illustrate the significant difference in the use of relative clauses in NS and NNS planned spoken discourse, i.e. university lectures. In NS discourse the occurrence rate of relative clauses in their data was 30 per 1,000 words, whereas NNS used only 2 relative clauses per 1,000 words. This was considered to have considerably accounted for the reported low coherence of the NNS discourse, presented otherwise in good English.

In an authoritarian setting everything pronounced by the authority, whether it is a person, a party, or a book, is equally important. This results in lack of subordinating structures and each piece of information is given an apparently equal level of prominence. This raises the interesting socio-political possibility that the low use of hypotaxis in English scientific discourse written by Slovak authors may be partly due to a delayed aftermath of totalitarian practice.

Yet not only the absence but also the use of hypotactic constructions by NNS can contribute to incomprehensibility, particularly when it highlights wrong bits of information or fails NS expectations in any other way.

2.4 Speech acts

Another discourse area which is influenced by culture specific conventions is that of speech acts. Speech acts may operate by universal pragmatic principles but motivated by differences in cultural norms and assumptions they vary in conceptualisation and verbalisation across cultures (Wierzbicka, 1984).

Reynolds (1993), who studied Egyptian English used in editorials, states that

> Because illocutionary acts are 'acts', and as such malleable to preferences and desires of individual users, it may be natural to suppose that speakers from different cultures would not use them in the same way, that their usage might be culturally rather than linguistically determined.

He illustrates his statement by the significant differences he found between Egyptian and American English in the use of speech acts.

Let us consider the use of directives. In contrast to Slovak, English places heavy restrictions on the use of the imperative, which may be felt to be rather offensive. The absence of the addressee may imply the unworthiness of establishing an I - you relationship and excludes a reply or discussion. In Slovak the imperative is a usual option in issuing directives and it tends to be more neutral, while English makes extensive use of the interrogative and the interrogative-cum-conditional in the function of directives. When these forms are used, it can be argued that the addressee is implicitly viewed as an autonomous person who can comply or decline.

Directives are however not the only functions that interrogatives may exert. Webber (1994) studied the rate and function of questions in different medical journal genres. She identifies a broad range of functions exerted by questions, such as arousing interest, organising discourse, directing, criticising, indicating doubt, caution, etc. Slovak users of English may fail to understand the illocutionary function of these potentially ambiguous forms as they lack the native speaker's inferencing capacity and cultural logic. As producers of English discourse, on the other hand, they may stick to their native patterns, thus violating expectations of the English reader or listener.

In both languages, however, it is the status relationship between the producer and receiver of speech acts that specifically determines the actual meaning and illocutionary force of the message, as well as the strategies applied, as could be well illustrated in the peer reviews of the corpus.

The social matrix in communication by peer reviews is characterised by a great difference in power between the author of the manuscript who asks for admission of his/her contribution to the research fund of the scientific community and the reviewer who represents the community. In my corpus of peer reviews, the reviewer's authoritative position was strongly manifested not only by 550 items of blunt criticism but also by 29 personal commands using the imperative.

In other genres of peer writing (e.g. journal articles, monographs, conference proceedings) the social matrix suggests great distance between researchers but no difference in power (Myers, 1989). Blunt criticism in print

is so threatening that it is practically always avoided. Peer reviews, however, appear to provide an example of accumulated face threatening acts exceptional in written peer communication.

2.5 Negotiability of commitment

Slovak producers of English discourse appear to be less aware of subtle degrees of truth commitment and of potentially face threatening acts. This is largely due to their failure to recognize the pragmatic value and effect of the English modality system. The sad heritage of decades of dictatorship may also come into play here. Constant exposure to twisted and manipulated truth, constant exposure to being dictated to, and directed what to do and what to avoid rather than stimulated to choose and argue for one's choice, is bound to develop a habit of social behaviour that corrupts the ability to negotiate values honestly and logically.

In scientific discourse, the participants are engaged in epistemological activities of hypothesising, interpreting, justifying and evaluating in handling potential facts and events of the real world. The producer's attitude and intended level of commitment to the truth value of propositions requires skillful use of the devices of the English modality system. Making claims, denying or crediting rival claims, sharing assumptions, indicating knowledge gaps, assessing favourably or unfavourably, making concessions, emphasising or shifting focus, mitigating criticism, speculating - these and several other discourse functions require social negotiation by using appropriately modified statements.

Epistemic modality provides flexibility in describing and assessing phenomena of the real world. Without this system language would be propositionally absolute and rigid. It is the system of epistemic modality of a given language that allows us to distinguish between what is said or written and what the sender of information thinks about the utterance. Holmes (1988) calls epistemic devices rhetorical tools for projecting modesty, honesty and politeness. To these I would add also caution, and that particularly in anticipation of peer criticism.

For most NNS, sensitive use of the rather complex English system of epistemic modality remains beyond the fossilised plateau of their communicative competence. NN users of English are exposed to a foreign culture without understanding the relevant background. Only few acquire insight into the intricate politeness conventions and the subtle shades of cognitive content indicated by modality devices, which can be important signals of the implied message. Their low awareness of modality, which overwhelmingly accounts for their misencoding and misinterpreting messages,

is to a great extent teaching and textbook induced. Both teachers and textbooks, even up-to-date ones, focus practically exclusively on modal auxiliaries. The rich repertoire of alternative devices and strategies of modality used in English scientific discourse is mostly ignored. And yet, without threatening the face of other members of the scientific community, important messages can be sent out in claiming, assessing or criticising by appropriate use of lexical means from practically all grammatical classes, organisational means including discourse development, paragraphing, rheme-theme choices, as well as by structural and syntactic means and strategies including the rhetorically dominated extratemporal functions of tenses.

Reviewers of English papers written by Slovak scientists often accuse them of being pretentious. Interestingly enough, when NNS make grammatical mistakes, these are attributed to their low language competence. When they however violate principles or conventions of appropriateness, it is their behaviour and personality that are blamed for the failure. And yet, more often than not, it is the NNS' insensitivity to discourse features manifested through the intricate English system of modality that makes the discourse appear overconfident and unjustifiably conclusive.

The NN user's sociocultural and pragmalinguistic failure accounted for critical items in the corpus concerning wrong use of extratemporal functions of tenses (e.g. "How dare you use the present tense!"), neglect of the communicative situation in passivisation or in the use of defining and non-defining relative clauses, lack of insight into the generalising value of the article (e.g."Your results do not justify the use of the definitive article."), the inability to master politeness markers as an integral part of the English cultural system, the failure to indicate the intended level of commitment to the proposition and to create knowledge claims whose status would be open to negotiation (e.g. "your findings may SUGGEST but they do not DEMONSTRATE that..."). Modality enables the writers to "hedge" their commitment to a proposition. Without access to the devices for such modality neither pragmalinguistic nor sociocultural competence can be acquired. And yet, such competence is critical to academic success and eventual membership in a professional discourse community (Hyland,1994).

In scientific discourse written by native speakers, I found 4.5 hedges per 100 words in the Introduction and Discussion, the interpretive sections of journal articles, whereas in the factual, reporting sections (Materials and Methods, Results) the number of hedges per 100 words averaged only 0.05 (Kouřilová, 1994). These findings indicate the high conventional use of modality devices in interactional and interpretive forms of NS discourse.

Both in spoken and written NS discourse there is a preference for hedged expressions of opinion and evaluation. A broad range of shields is available to mark the producer's commitment to the truth value of propositions and an equally broad range of approximators to mark the truth conditions of the propositions. Frequent reliance on other individuals' beliefs and the use of plausible reasoning are in the best tradition of scientific inquiry and rational thought processing. Marking such activities by hedges demonstrates scholarly orderliness in the producer's representation of knowledge.

3 Conclusions

When dealing with discourse we have to do with the rather flexible area of how the resources of the language code are put to use in the production of actual messages. One can hardly speak of rules, it is rather general conventional principles that become operative in discourse. Discourse conventions have to be studied from a multidimensional point of view considering the interacting social, cultural, cognitive and textual functions of a language. They are often viewed as norms of social behaviour, yet they are hard to learn for social outsiders, i.e. NN users of the language, as their internalisation requires intensive contact under conditions allowing maximum feedback.

Discourse conventionalisation, which is to a considerable extent culture-, discipline- and genre-specific, has significant social and epistemological implications. In scientific discourse it is particularly the match or conflict between the objective world and the world of the producer, evaluated not only in terms of facts but also of beliefs, expectations, conventions and tradition that requires a knowledgeable use of epistemic modality devices. This is strongly co- and context determined, so that pragmatic experience conditions linguistic competence. Understanding and generating scientific discourse requires not only professional insights but also academic literacy and familiarity with cultural conventions.

Utterances cannot be taken at their face value, deeper layers underneath the surface have to be revealed. The conceptual structures and reasoning processes of science may be very complex and removed from everyday experience by levels of abstraction. It is then only by means of complicated modality moves that the real world and its scientific representation can be approximated. The wealth of reality overwhelms any language so that it can express only part of reality. The more developed the modality system of a given language, the greater part of reality can be properly communicated.

Many means of the English modality system fall within the range of hidden grammar, absorbed subconsciously by NS, yet very difficult to teach and learn

by NNS. The social purposes of modality accomplish multiple ideational and interpersonal functions which have to be brought to the conscious awareness of NNS if they are to acquire at least a working knowledge of the strategies and conventions involved.

In sensitising the student to the functioning of English scientific discourse conventions the teacher, whether NS or NNS, should be aware of the errors and failures in discourse management typical of the given student's culture and make explicit what is problematical. This will most probably involve interactive skills of implying and inferring, discourse strategies that govern the progress of ideas, options for staging information with techniques of fore- and backgrounding, appropriate use of multifactorial modality devices to achieve subtle shades of meaning and commitment to the truth value of propositions, as well as many other discourse strategies subsuming grammatical and lexical choices and socio-cultural constraints.

References

Comrie, B. (ed.), *The world's major languages.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987.

Gosden, H., Discourse functions of marked theme in scientific research articles. *ESP Journal*, 11/3, 207-224, 1992.

Gosden, H., Research writing and non-native speakers: from the editors. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 1992(a), 1/2, 123-129.

Hinkel,E., Native and non-native speakers' pragmatic interpretations of English texts. *TESOL Quarterly*, 28/2,353-376, 1994.

Holmes, J., Doubt and certainty in ESL textbooks. *Applied Linguistics*, 9/1, 21-44, 1988.

Hyland,K., Hedging in academic writing and EAP textbooks. *ESP Journal*, 13/3, 239-256, 1994.

Kouřilová, M., Some problems posed by the system of epistemic modality in written scientific discourse. In: M.Brekke et al. (eds.), *Applications and implications of current LSP research*. J.Grieg AS, Norway, 639-646, 1994.

Kouřilová, M. Interactive functions of language in peer reviews of medical papers written by non-native users of English. (1995, submitted for publication in the *ESP Journal*.)

Myers, G., The pragmatics of politeness in scientific articles. *Applied Linguistics*, 10/1, 3-35, 1989.

Prince, E.F., On hedging in physician - physician discourse. In: R.J.di Pietro (ed.), *Linguistics and the professions*. Ablex, Hillsdale, NJ, 83-97, 1982.

Régent, O., A comparative approach to the learning of specialized written discourse. In: P.Riley (ed.), *Discourse and learning*. Longman, London, 105-120, 1985.

Reynolds, D.W., Illocutionary acts across languages: editorializing in Egyptian English. *World Englishes* 12, 35-46, 1993.

Silva, T., Toward an understanding of the distinct nature of L2 writing. *TESOL Quarterly* 27/4, 657-677, 1993.

Tyler, A.E., Jefferies, A.A., Davies, C.E., The effect of discourse structuring devices on listener perceptions of coherence in non-native university teachers' spoken discourse. *World Englishes*, 7, 101-110, 1988.

Webber, P., The function of questions in different medical journal genres. *ESP Journal*, 13/3, 257-268, 1994.

Wierzbicka, A., Different cultures, different languages, different speech acts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9, 145-178, 1985.

Language attitudes of Anglo-Australian high-school students towards German-accented English

Gunda Teufel

Introduction

In this article I will briefly summarise the methods used for the preparation, the implementation and the analysis of my field study as well as present some of the most interesting results. From April to May 1995, 213 male and female Anglo-Australian high-school students were asked to evaluate speakers of both sexes with different degrees of German accentedness. The main purpose of this set-up was to determine whether the degree of accentedness, the speaker's sex and the informants' sex have an impact on the informants' ratings. In order to illustrate the background against which this socio-psychological and sociolinguistic study is set, I will outline the historical and current socio-political situation in Australia as reflected in the various language policies. I will also introduce some aspects of the historical, socio-cultural and economic situation of the German-speaking migrants in Australia as well as point out how this specific linguistic community is and has been treated and viewed by the Anglo-Australian majority.

Socio-cultural background

Australia is a multicultural nation with about one third of its population of 18 million people made up of immigrants and their children originating from more than 120 countries from around the world. Except for Israel, no other developed country has a greater percentage of its population born overseas (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research 1995:2). While many people still come from the British Isles, there has been an influx of immigrants from Northern and Southern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. From 1966, highly skilled workers from the Middle East and Asia were permitted and the end of the White Australia Policy in 1972 finally allowed new arrivals to enter from all over the world (Iredale 1989:88). While in 1945 90 per cent of the Australian population were of Anglo-European background, this proportion had decreased to 60 per cent by 1987. Together with their children, the

migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB) have decidedly changed Australia's assumed monolingualism. Approximately every eighth Australian (and in the major cities this proportion rises to every fifth) now regularly uses a language other than English (LOTE) when talking with friends and families or on religious or social occasions. In the large number of around one hundred community languages which are regularly used in Australia, about a dozen can be described as 'major' minority languages: Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Polish, Spanish and the languages of former Yugoslavia. Unlike in the United States where the Hispanic minority outnumbers all other ethnic groups, there is no comparable 'majority minority language' in Australia. The number of speakers of the most widely used community language in Australia, Italian, is exceeded by the combined total of Greek and Chinese speakers (Clyne 1991:18-19). Although it is true that the various community languages are frequently used at home and in social or religious encounters, it has to be stressed that no minority group has completely refused to adopt the majority language. In the 1991 Census less than 1 per cent of the population said that they spoke English either "not well" or "not at all".

The way the Australian governments and people have dealt with the influx of immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds has undergone considerable changes throughout the last two centuries. In the early days of European settlement, there were no explicit limitations about which languages could or should be used in education, media, or in business transactions. In Victoria and Southern Australia there were settlements where German was the language of church, instruction and work (Seitz - Foster 1985:420).[1]

In the early 20th century, the establishment of English as the norm for instruction in schools started the wave of restrictions against LOTE. With the outbreak of the First World War, a period of aggressive monolingualism commenced: The use of LOTE was considered disloyal; people were abused for using LOTE on the streets; and telephone conversations in foreign languages were intercepted at times (Clyne 1991:13-15). The positive attitude hitherto exhibited towards German-speaking groups changed alongside with

---

[1]Germans were the first non-British settlers influential in the development of Australia. The arrival of German-speaking groups dates back as far as the 1830s, when a group of Lutherans, fleeing from the religious persecutions in Prussia under Frederick William III, migrated to South Australia. The Lutherans came as family groups, settled mainly in rural areas and formed tightly knit communities. Provided with sufficient capital and/or occupational skills, they retained cultural and social traditions for generations, taught their children German, established German schools, German clubs and published German newspapers (Seitz - Foster 1985:420).

the growing political tensions between Britain and Germany, giving rise to anti-German feelings which resulted in legislative and administrative actions directed against the German-speaking migrants (Perkins 1988:489).[2]

The jingoistic attitude continued throughout the period of mass immigration following World War II. The Australian government, realising that the thinly populated country desperately needed immigrants for its economic development, initiated a mass immigration program designed to double Australia's natural growth of population (Pittock 1975:24). Disappointed in their hopes of mainly attracting migrants from the United Kingdom, the Australian policy-makers promoted the idea of assimilation or 'Anglo-conformism' in order to keep Anglo-Australians favourably disposed to the large-scale immigration. Due to perceived linguistic, cultural and even racial affinities which should facilitate the process of assimilation, the Germans and Austrians were among the most welcome settlers (Bodi 1988:501). Immigration from these German-speaking countries had completely ceased in 1914, reinforced by immigrational restrictions, such as the Dictation Test. After a break, the first modern wave of German speakers arrived from 1938 onwards, including refugees from National Socialism, Templers[3], and displaced persons, such as ethnic Germans, "Volksdeutsche", from central and eastern Europe. Many of the refugees and displaced persons had a high educational background but were restricted to the unskilled, semi- and, on occasion, the skilled professions by a system which would not recognise non-British qualifications. Because hundreds of war-time anti-German propaganda films were shown in Australian cinemas and on TV, the newcomers made a conscious effort to suppress the German language and their cultural background and tried to assimilate to the Anglo-Australian way of life as quickly as possible, thereby forming a model immigrant group (Vondra 1981:13-17). Other ethnic groups, who were less willing to merge with the majority group, were subtly forced to conform by a system which made little attempt to meet the needs generated by migration. Interpreting and translating facilities were inadequate and few employment officers, social workers, and teachers had any knowledge of the languages spoken by the migrant group. Few public libraries had books in the respective foreign languages, ethnic

---

[2]All German citizens were required to notify the police of any change of address. The publication of German language newspapers was prohibited, and there were numerous instances in which the original German names of towns and streets were officially changed. The range of anti-German actions included verbal abuse, physical attacks, damage and destruction of property, accusations of espionage, dismissals from employment, expropriation of property and internment in camps (Perkins 1988:489).

[3]Swabian pietists who had been deported from their farming settlements in Palestine.

newspapers were required to publish sections in English, radio stations had to translate all their messages into English and television was a monolingual English domain. The situation did not change until well in the seventies when the national language policy started to reflect the change from a policy of assimilation to a policy of multiculturalism and multilingualism. Together with the educational institutions, the media and governmental translating and interpreting facilities, libraries have made great efforts to serve the ethnic communities (Clyne 1991).[4] The German-speaking community, the fifth largest group after Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs and Vietnamese, profits from all of these amenities. German programs are on air, German films are broadcast on TV, there is a wide range of German newspapers and magazines and German books are available at most public libraries. In addition to that, German language instruction is offered at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Since the 1960s, an increasing number of German-speaking migrants with tertiary qualifications and specialist skills have entered the country (1991 Census). The rapidly 'Australianizing' immigrants from German-speaking countries are among those migrant groups that readily suppress their background and try to merge as quickly as possible. They do not form any ethnic quarters, spread out, mix well with the rest, frequently marry out of their own group and show little desire to maintain their language (Clyne 1988:80). The German-speaking settlers in Australia are generally well-educated, socio-economically well established, hold white collar jobs and are identified with the middle class. By the Australians, who generally hold this elite migrant group in high professional esteem, the German-speaking migrants are stereotypically characterised as intelligent, industrious, ambitious, efficient, scientifically minded, determined, self-confident, and methodical.

After nearly twenty years of official multiculturalism, there is a growing acceptance of cultural diversity as a positive and valuable aspect of Australian society and Anglo-Australians have, generally, become less negative in their attitudes towards non-English speaking migrants. They recognise that there is a need to provide opportunities for minority groups to develop their cultures, provided that it takes place within a framework of shared values. Although the majority have accepted ethnic cultural elements such as food and dance, the promotion of ethnic languages is still regarded with suspicion. Even younger

---

[4]There are now more than 120 Australian newspapers publishing in over thirty community languages which present material on homeland, international events and Australian news, especially from the multicultural scene and the relevant ethnic communities. 27 radio stations broadcast in a total of 61 community languages and a governmental multicultural TV channel (SBS) offers films and other programs in more than thirty languages, with English subtitles.

educated people, who generally show more positive attitudes, are intolerant towards the maintenance of ethnic languages and there is a growing concern that ethnic groups should, at least in the public domain, promote uniquely Australian rather than ethnic values (Grimes 1993:107).

The study

Purpose

Apart from a general interest in the attitudes towards German-accented English, the purpose of this study was to find out whether the attitudes of the selected group, Anglo-Australian high-school students, towards speakers with a German accent are consistent with the above-mentioned stereotypes. For this it was necessary to determine whether the informants generally managed to identify the German-accented speakers as originating from a German-speaking background. It was presumed that the hit-rate of guessing the correct country of origin would increase with the degree of accentedness, with the strongest degree of German accent being most readily identified by the informants.

The second purpose of the study was to examine whether the degree of accentedness would influence the informants' ratings in a systematic, gradient way, that is either becoming more favourable with an increase of accentedness or more unfavourable. Ryan (1973) suggests that the reactions to varying degrees of accentedness will not be homogeneous. Based on the results of studies examining the attitude towards non-standard speech, the hypothesis of this study was that the ratings for the competence-stressing traits (e.g. intelligence) would become more favourable the less prominent the speaker's accent was. Investigators like Giles (1970) and Ball, Gallois and Callan (1989), e.g., showed that non-standard speakers tend to receive more unfavourable ratings on competence-stressing traits than standard speakers. The stronger the speakers' degree of accentedness is, the more they will be identified as non-standard speakers and will consequently be judged as such. On the other hand, Ball (1983) and Gallois and Callan (1981), e.g., had found that non-standard speakers frequently obtain more favourable ratings on solidarity-stressing traits than standard speakers. On the basis of these results, the cautious prediction that the same might take place in this setup, i.e. speakers with a strong German accent will receive more favourable ratings for social or solidarity traits than speakers with little accent, was made.

Finally, the study aimed to find out whether the sex of the speakers as well as the sex of the informants would have an impact on the evaluations. Gallois and Callan (1981) discovered that British and Australian male voices were evaluated more positively than female voices whereas Italian female voices

were evaluated more positively than Italian male speakers. Callan, Gallois and Forbes (1983) found that the evaluations of female informants resulted in different and generally more positive results than those of the male informants.

The method

To obtain the language attitudes of the informants a threefold questionnaire, combining both direct and indirect data-gathering methods, was devised. Presented with speech samples, the informants were required to comment upon their impressions of the speakers' voice by answering the open and closed questions on the questionnaire. Open questions (e.g. What do you think the speaker's native language is?) were used in order to determine how many informants would be able to identify the speaker's cultural and linguistic background. The closed questions on the questionnaire provided a particular format - 7-point bipolar semantic differential scales - on which the respondents had to record their responses. For the presentation of the speech samples, a modified version of the matched-guise technique was used. Employed by Gallois and Callan (1983), this technique is especially used when it is difficult or impossible to secure speakers who can exhibit native-like control over each of the varieties in question. Observing the other prerequisites of the matched-guise method,[5] the modified version uses different speakers to represent each language or language variety. This has the advantage of avoiding unnatural and feigned accents and of eliminating the possibility that speakers systematically vary their voice qualities in an attempt to exaggerate differences between their two guises. The obvious drawback of this modified version is the fact that it risks an imperfect match between the voice qualities of the various speakers. To counteract this effect, the four male and female speakers with different degrees of German accentedness (strong German accent, medium German accent, slight German accent, and no German accent, i.e. English L1 speaker) that were used on the sample tapes were chosen from an initial pool of 26 speakers according to the amount of German phonological, phonetic and phonotactic features.

The text the speakers had to read was a complete short story with moderate reading duration and the following content: A man who has finally saved enough money to visit his far-away parents compassionately leaves his ticket to a more needy person.[6] The reading time took an average of three minutes per speaker. The average age of the female German-accented speakers was 23.3; the male German-accented speakers had an average age of 25.3; the female

---

[5]For a detailed description of the matched-guise technique see Agheyisi - Fishman (1970).
[6]Lady Clinton.1967. "The ticket", in: Schad, Gustav (ed.), 9-10.

control speaker was 25 and the male English native speaker was 26. All of the speakers had primary and secondary education, some had already graduated from university while others were enrolled at a tertiary institution at the time of the recording. The speakers were placed in random order.

The informants

352 students of four Sydney non-governmental, religious high-schools voluntarily participated in the study. Of these, 182 were female and 170 were male. Only third-generation Australians who had never lived in foreign countries for longer than a month, who had never visited German-speaking countries and who spoke no German were included in the final sample. After this process of elimination 213 (113 female and 100 male) informants aged between eleven and eighteen remained as workable data for the statistical analysis.

The interview procedure

The interview was introduced as an experiment to determine how accurately people could evaluate the personality of an individual when speech cues were the only information they had about the person. It was pointed out to the informants that people frequently make judgements in this way, for example when they hear a stranger's voice on the radio or telephone. The informants had not been given any additional information about the experiment or the experimenter's country of origin. The interview took place during a normal class-room situation. All information needed for the successful completion of the questionnaires was given in writing. Remaining problems were clarified by the accordingly instructed coordinators that had been supplied by all four schools.

An instruction sheet informed them that they were going to hear a series of four male/female speakers read a short story and would be asked to give their first impression of each speaker as a person. The informants were told to familiarise themselves with the text before listening to the tape so that they would be able to pay attention to the voices only when listening to the tape. Each voice was only played once and the informants completed the questionnaire during an interval between the voices. In order to maintain the informants' level of interest, the interval gradually decreased from two minutes to one minute.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts: "Rating Questionnaire A", "Rating Questionnaire B" and "Personal Information". In the section entitled "Personal Information", the informants were asked to indicate their sex, age, place of birth, residence in countries other than Australia, travel experience and

duration of travel experience to foreign countries as well as knowledge of languages other than English. Apart from that, they also had to indicate their parents' place of birth. This information was needed to single out students from ethnic backgrounds.

In "Rating Questionnaire A" the informants were required to rate the voices on thirteen seven-point bipolar semantic differential scales. Developed by Osgood et al. in 1957, this method consists of scales which designate opposite extremes of a trait at either end and leave seven blank spaces between them. Typically, a semantic differential involves the evaluation of a concept or stimulus by rating it on scales comprised by adjectival opposites. The traits used in the present study comprised the following thirteen adjectival opposites which were presented in random order: INTELLIGENT - STUPID, INDUSTRIOUS - LAZY, DETERMINED - UNSURE, SELF-CONFIDENT - SHY, EFFICIENT - INEFFICIENT, SCIENTIFICALLY MINDED - NOT SCIENTIFICALLY MINDED, EDUCATED - UNEDUCATED, UPPER-CLASS - LOWER-CLASS, FRIENDLY - ARROGANT, SOCIABLE - UNSOCIABLE, HELPFUL - UNHELPFUL, SENSE OF HUMOUR - NO SENSE OF HUMOUR, NATIONALISTIC - NOT NATIONALISTIC. The adjectives had been specifically chosen because other matched guise studies (Ball 1983; Callan - Gallois 1982) and Katz and Braly adjective tests[7] (Katz - Braly 1933; Kippax 1977) have shown that the adjectives on the left hand sides were frequently associated with German speakers.

"Rating Questionnaire B" asked them to guess from which continent and country the speaker originated and what the speaker's native tongue was. In addition to that, they had to indicate on seven-point bipolar semantic differential scales how well the speaker seemed to understand what he/she was reading; how easy or difficult they found it to understand the speaker; and how comfortable they would feel in conversation with this person.

Results

The statistical analyses[8] of the data revealed a three-partite structure of the character traits. One of the factors was associated with the speaker's

---

[7]Katz and Braly adjective lists consist of a list of 84 adjectives. From these, informants have to choose the ones they consider typical for a specific ethnic group.

[8]For the statistical analysis of the data, the digits 1 through to 7 were assigned to the different spaces of the semantic differential scales, with 1 being associated with the right-most and most negative position. Answers on Rating Questionnaire B and on the Personal Information sheet were arbitrarily encoded with digits. Using these codes, the data from the original 352 students were fed into a Lotus 123 spreadsheet program. Informants from ethnic backgrounds were then singled out and the data of the remaining 213 informants were exported to the CSS Statistics program for statistical analysis. The semantic differential scales were factor analysed and rotated along the varimax and quartimax criteria.

competence and comprised the traits INTELLIGENT, INDUSTRIOUS, DETERMINED, SELF-CONFIDENT, EFFICIENT, SCIENTIFICALLY MINDED, EDUCATED and UPPER-CLASS. Another factor was related to the speaker's solidarity and consisted of the traits FRIENDLY, SOCIABLE, HELPFUL and SENSE OF HUMOUR. The trait NATIONALISTIC - NOT NATIONALISTIC constituted the third category.

In order to determine whether the attitudes of Anglo-Australian high-school students are consistent with the above-mentioned stereotypes, it was necessary to check how good the informants were in recognising the speakers' background. With 95.77% of right guesses, the Anglo-Australian male and female student informants clearly found it easiest to identify the background of the Anglo-Australian speaker. While the initial assumption that the accuracy rate would increase with the degree of accentedness could be confirmed by the results, a high percentage of the informants was found to have been unable to guess the correct background of the three German-accented voices. A mere 45.07% of the informants were able to identify S1's background and 43.19% of the informants correctly associated S2 with a German-speaking background. Those who were wrong in their guesses suggested a wide range of different countries for one and the same speaker. The speaker with the least prominent German accent was predominantly misidentified as being an English L1 speaker and originating from an English-speaking background - 56.81% of the informants thought so. These percentages show that a majority of the student informants could not identify the non-standard accent of the speakers as being German but, generally viewing them as non-standard speakers, gave them all sorts of ethnic labels when required to guess their background. Unlike in matched-guise studies in which it is clear that listeners are aware of the nationalities of the speakers, individually presented non-standard accents do not necessarily call up a particular national group stereotype. Rather, the reaction to the voice may reflect previous experience with accented English speech and not a general stereotype held about any particular group. This is something that will have to be taken into account when looking at the following results.

The comparison of the evaluation of the four degrees of accentedness revealed that the degree of the speaker's accentedness has a very significant impact on the informants' ratings. The initial hypothesis that the ratings for the competence-related traits would increase with a decrease of accentedness

---

The general descriptive statistics were then calculated per speaker and character trait. To determine any statistically significant difference between the evaluation of the four speakers, the ratings of the male and female speakers as well as the judgements of the male and female informants, the data were subjected to t-tests.

could be corroborated by the results of the study. The speaker with the most prominent German accent, i.e. the most non-standard speaker, was considered to be the least INTELLIGENT, INDUSTRIOUS, DETERMINED, SELF-CONFIDENT, EFFICIENT, SCIENTIFICALLY MINDED, EDUCATED and UPPER-CLASS of all four speakers. Interestingly, S3, the speaker with the least prominent German accent, i.e. the least non-standard features, outperformed the speaker with the Standard Australian English accent on most competence traits. This could be explained by the positive stereotype of Germans as very competent people but, following the argument of the previous paragraph, it is more likely that the favourable ratings were due to the fact that the informants frequently identified S3 as an English L1 speaker, originating from England. Previous language attitude studies carried out in Australia have revealed that Australians look to British English (especially RP) as the prestige variety. Like the phonetically similar Cultivated (or Educated) Australian English, RP speakers are rated higher on competence and status dimensions than speakers with a Standard Australian English, regional or ethnic accent (cf. e.g. Ball-Gallois-Callan 1989; Seggie-Fulmizi-Stewart 1982; Brotherton 1978; Ball 1983). The evaluations of the speaker's as well as of the informant's understanding of the text were found to be similar to the ratings on the competence-related traits, i.e. the ratings were found to increase with a decrease of accentedness. Contrary to the competence-stressing traits where S3 had frequently outperformed the native speaker, the speaker with the Standard Australian accent always received the most favourable ratings on this trait. An explanation for this might be the informants' greater familiarity with the Standard Australian English accent.

The assumption that non-standard speakers, and as such perhaps also German accented speakers, were likely to receive more favourable ratings on solidarity-related traits could also be confirmed. The most standard speaker, i.e. the speaker with the least prominent German accent, was considered to be the most ARROGANT, UNSOCIABLE, and UNHELPFUL of the four speakers and also received the worst ratings for the trait SENSE OF HUMOUR. The speaker with the Standard Australian accent was evaluated most positely on all four solidarity traits. As above, these results are best explained by the fact that the informants generally treated the speakers as being more or less standard in their linguistic behaviour. When asked to indicate how comfortable they would feel in conversation with the speakers, the informants rated the speakers with the stronger degrees of German accentedness most unfavourably. This apparent contradiction loses in power if we take into account that, in order to feel comfortable in conversation with a person, one also needs to understand them well. Apart from that, people tend to be most comfortable with what is most familiar to them. Therefore the Standard Australian English accent

received the most favourable ratings, followed by the fairly standard accented speaker. Future research might shed new light on this issue by, e.g., varying the context (e.g. contrasting the school context with a less formal context such as home). Similarly, informants could be asked to imagine themselves relating to German speakers in different social contexts, from accepting them as close relatives to barring them as visitors to their country.

A gradual, though statistically insignificant increase of positive ratings alongside with a decrease of accentedness was detected for the trait NATIONALISTIC - NOT NATIONALISTIC. At first sight, this result suggests that, in Australia, the German stereotype has changed since World War II. A study of the stereotypes of Australian students conducted by Kippax and Brigden in 1977 shows that 27.3% of the students considered Germans to be extremely nationalistic. 18 years later, the Australian high-school students do not appear to associate this character trait with Germans any longer. A reason for this change is that neither they, nor their parents have experienced the 3rd Reich. A more probable explanation for the lack of the classical German stereotype, though, is the informants' incapability of identifying the German background of the speakers. The ratings rather reflect generally held attitudes towards non-standard speakers.

The comparison of the evaluation of the male and the female speakers revealed an influence of the speaker's sex on the informants' ratings. Whereas the female speakers with the most prominent and the second-most prominent German accent were generally found to score higher than their male counterparts, it was the male speakers with little or no German accent who were evaluated more favourably. Recalling that S3 had generally been associated with an English-speaking background, these results are in accordance with the findings of Gallois and Callan (1981). They found that male British and Australian speakers were evaluated more positively than female speakers. On the other hand, Italian female voices were evaluated more positively than male speakers. Similar to Italian speakers, female German speakers, or rather female non-standard speakers, generally received more favourable ratings than male German speakers. With the evaluation of ten character traits reaching statistical significance, the influence of the speaker's sex was found to be most prominent for S3. The male speaker with the least prominent German accent was considered to be more INTELLIGENT, INDUSTRIOUS, DETERMINED, SELF-CONFIDENT, EFFICIENT, SCIENTIFICALLY MINDED, EDUCATED, UPPER-CLASS and NATIONALISTIC and to have more SENSE OF HUMOUR than his female counterpart. For S2, the difference in the evaluation of the male and the female speakers reached statistical significance for six traits. The female speaker was rated more INTELLIGENT, SELF-

CONFIDENT, DETERMINED, EFFICIENT, UPPER-CLASS and SOCIABLE. For S1 five traits were statistically significant. The female speaker received higher ratings for the traits INTELLIGENT, SELF-CONFIDENT, EFFICIENT, EDUCATED and UPPER-CLASS. Four traits were found to be statistically significant for S4. The male native speaker was considered to be FRIENDLIER, more SOCIABLE, HELPFUL and to have more SENSE OF HUMOUR than his female counterpart. The evaluations of the social attractiveness scales were again found to reflect the ratings of the competence-related traits: Whereas the informants indicated that they thought that the female S1 and S2 speakers were better at understanding what they were reading, they rated the male S3 and S4 speakers more favourably. Similarly, the informants stated that they found it easier to understand the female S1 and S2 speakers and the male S3 and S4 speakers. The speaker's sex had little to no influence on the evaluation of how comfortable the informants would feel in conversation with the speakers.

The informants' sex was found to have a very minor impact on the ratings. Generally speaking one can, however, state that female informants tend to be more favourable in their judgements than male informants. Other than suggested by Kramarae (1982) and Norell (1991), the results of the study did not show that women suggest a greater variety of accents than men - the male informants guessed 23 different countries of origin and the female informants suggested 22. With the exception of the evaluation of S3, the speaker's sex had little impact on the evaluations of the speaker's origin. The male speaker with little German accent was more frequently associated with an English-speaking background than his female counterpart. It is interesting to note that the informants associated the three male German-accented speakers with different backgrounds than their respective female counterparts. This again emphasises the difficulty the informants had in determining the background of the three non-standard speakers.

Conclusion

The results of the present study indicate that the degree of accentedness of a person speaking in English may have more influence on judgements made of that person by an Anglo-Australian student informant than his nationality. The majority of the informants were not able to identify the German background of the accented speakers but treated them as non-standard speakers in general. Research has shown that non-standard speakers with a regional, class or ethnic accent are at a disadvantage in settings which stress competence but receive more favourable ratings for traits stressing solidarity (cf., e.g., Callan-Gallois-Forbes 1983). The present study revealed that the most non-standard speakers received the least favourable ratings on the competence traits. On the other

hand, speakers with a very prominent degree of accentedness received higher scores on the solidarity traits than less non-standard speakers. These findings, consistent with the results of earlier research on the influence of accentedness on language attitudes (e.g. Carranza-Moffie 1977), emphasise the importance of taking the degree of accentedness into consideration when investigating attitudes towards accented speech.

Very non-standard female speakers, i.e. speakers with a prominent German accent, were evaluated more positively than male speakers but male speakers with little or no German accent outperformed their female counterparts. These results, in accordance with previous Australian research (c.f., e.g., Gallois - Callan 1981), show that it is important to take the speaker's sex into consideration when investigating ethnic stereotypes.

In the specific age group chosen for this study the informants' sex proved to have a negligible impact on the evaluation of the rating scales. In accordance with the results of previous studies (cf. e.g. Connell 1973), female informants were found to be more generous in their ratings than male informants. Future research investigating the language attitudes of adult Anglo-Australians might come up with a statistical significance of this frequently observed tendency.

References

Agheyisi, Rebecca & Fishman, Joshua A. 1970. "Language attitude studies. A brief survey of methodological approaches", Anthropological Linguistics 12:137-157.

Ball, Peter. 1983. "Stereotypes of Anglo-Saxon and Non-Anglo-Saxon accent: Some exploratory Australian studies with the matched-guise technique", Language Sciences 5:163-183.

Ball, Peter; Gallois, Cynthia; Callan, Victor. 1989. "Language attitudes: A perspective from social psychology", in: Collins, Peter & Blair, David (eds.), 89-102.

Bodi, L. 1988. "German culture", in: Jupp, J. (ed.), 501-504.

Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research. 1995. Australian immigration. Consolidated statistics. Number 18 1993-94. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Callan, V.J. & Gallois, Cynthia. 1982. "Language attitudes of Italo-Australian and Greek-Australian bilinguals", International Journal of Psychology 17:345-358.

Callan V.J.; Gallois, C.; Forbes,P. 1983. "Evaluative reactions to accented English. Ethnicity, sex role, and context", Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 14:407-426.

Clyne, Michael. 1988. "The German-Australian speech community: ethnic core values and language maintenance", International Journal of the Sociology of Language 72:67-83.

Clyne, Michael. 1991. "Australia's language policies: Are we going backwards?", Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 8:3-22.

Collins, Peter & Blair, David (eds.). 1989. Australian English. The language of a new society. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Connell, R.W. 1973. "Attitudes toward immigrants among Sydney teenagers", Australian Psychologist 8:193-202.

Gallois, Cynthia & Callan, Victor J. 1981. "Personality impressions elicited by accented English speech", Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 12:347-359.

Giles, Howard. 1970. "Evaluative reactions to accents", Educational Review 22:211-227.

Grimes, Seamus. 1993. "Residential segregation in Australian cities: A literature review", International Migration Review 27.1:103-120.

Iredale, R. 1989. "Barriers to migrant English occupations in Australia", International Migration 27.1:87-108.

Jeffries, S. 1988. "German settlement in Eastern Australia until 1914", in: Jupp, J. (ed.), 483-486.

Jupp, J. (ed.). 1988. The Australian people: An encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.

Katz, Daniel & Braly, Kenneth. 1933-34. "Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 28:280-290.

Kippax, S. & Brigden, D. 1977. "Australian stereotyping: A comparison", Australian Journal of Psychology 29:86-96.

Kramarae, Chris. 1982. "Gender: How she speaks", in: Ryan, Ellen Bouchard & Giles, Howard (eds.), 84-98.

Meyer, Charles. 1990. A history of Germans in Australia 1837-1945. 'A useful and valuable description of people'. Monash University: Monash University Publishing & Advertising Unit.

Norell, Pia. 1991. Native-speaker reactions to Swedish pronunciation errors in English: Recognition, intelligibility and attitude. Doctoral dissertation. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Osgood, Charles E.; Suci, George J.; Tannenbaum, Percy H. 1957. The measurement of meaning. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Perkins, J. 1988. "Germans in Australia during the First World War", in: Jupp, J. (ed.), 488-489.

Pittock, Barrie A. 1975. Beyond White Australia. A short history of race relations in Australia. Surry Hills: Race Relations Committee of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Australia.

Ryan, Ellen Bouchard. 1973. "Subjective reactions towards accented speech", in: Shuy, Roger W. & Fasold, Ralph W. (eds.), 60-73.

Ryan, Ellen Bouchard & Giles, Howard (eds.). 1982. Attitudes towards language variation. Social and applied contexts. London: Edward Arnold.

Seggie, Ian; Fulmizi, Carmel; Stewart, Judy. 1982. "Evaluations of personality traits and employment suitability based on various Australian accents", Australian Journal of Psychology 34:345-357.

Seitz, A. & Foster, Lois. 1985. "Dilemmas of immigration - Australian expectations, migrant responses: Germans in Melbourne", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology 21.3:414-430.

Tampke, Jhrgen (ed.). 1982. Wunderbar country. Germans look at Australia, 1850-1914. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.

Teufel, Gunda. 1995. Language attitudes of Anglo-Australian high-school students towards German-accented English. Unpublished thesis. University of Vienna.

Vondra, Josef. 1981. <u>German speaking settlers in Australia</u>. Melbourne: Cavalier Press.

***

Note to contributors:

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.