

## **Dialect contact in the history of English**

Peter Trudgill

Ever since its inception, the English language has experienced a more or less continuous process of geographical expansion, sometimes slower, sometimes faster, as a result of colonisation and settlement in new areas by its speakers. In nearly all cases, this expansion has been accompanied in the newly settled area by contact between English speakers from different regions of the homeland, wherever that was. And this dialect contact has typically had linguistic consequences, including new-dialect formation (Trudgill, 1986; 2004). Dialect contact has also frequently occurred as a result of urbanisation. But although most histories of English note the role of language contact in the history of the language, dialect contact receives much less attention. In this paper I focus attention on dialect contact in order to suggest that in a number of respects it is of equal or greater importance in English linguistic history; and I present a number of cases from the last 1,500 years or so in an attempt to illustrate that point.

**Brandl, Doegen and the recording campaign in German prisoner-of-war camps during World War I – a neglected resource for English dialectology**

Christian Liebl

Between 1915 and 1918, members of the newly-formed *Königlich Preußische Phonographische Kommission* produced a total of 1,650 gramophone discs featuring some 250 languages and dialects as spoken by POWs in more than 70 camps throughout Germany. The Austrian-born Anglicist Alois Brandl (1855–1940) was responsible for English dialects, with the linguist Wilhelm Doegen (1877–1967) being mainly in charge of the technical side of the recording sessions. Brandl himself visited over a dozen camps, his informants coming mostly from various parts of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The standard text chosen to be spoken into the gramophone was the *Parable of the Prodigal Son*, additional matter comprising e.g. numbers, folk songs/lyrics and narratives. Apart from twenty gramophone discs which were published in 1926/27 in the series *Lautbibliothek* (complete with transcriptions), the rest of the recordings, together with ample documentation (including biographical details of the speakers), lay dormant for decades in the *Berliner Lautarchiv*; yet even after their digitisation in the 1990s, access is still difficult.

The paper is intended as a preliminary introduction to both this field research and the resulting corpus, which seems to be of potential interest not only as rare acoustic evidence of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century British varieties, but also as another pioneering example of systematic dialect study – a ‘missing link’ between previous investigations (e.g. those conducted by A.J. Ellis and Joseph Wright) and the subsequent *Survey of English Dialects*.

## Historical perspectives on the low-back vowel merger

Stefan Dollinger

The low-back vowel merger, or the merger of the THOUGHT, LOT and PALM vowels, has been identified as a key phonological feature of “particular importance” for Canadian English (Boberg 2008: 135). The merger is often considered the triggering event for the Canadian Shift (e.g. Clark, Elms & Yousef 1995, Roeder & Jamarsz 2010: 397), which has recently been identified as a pan-Canadian phenomenon (Boberg 2010: 203-4) and gives thus rise to systematic phonetic variation that sets CanE apart from a number of American varieties.

This paper exploits pathways for historical real-time evidence of the merger that reaches beyond the temporal depth of apparent-time studies. While the low-back merger is the most salient characteristic of CanE, it is found over half of the populated geographical area of North America. While ubiquitous in Canada, the American West, in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern New England, the merger has been entrenched in Canada for some time. Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 65) conclude that “[o]nly in Canada” the merger shows no correlation with age and seems to be firmly established (with the notable exception of pre-rhotic contexts, the NORTH class). Gregg (1957: 22) offers real-time evidence for a merger for Vancouver, and Avis (1956: fn3) for Ontario, suggesting that by the 1950s the merger was found from Ontario to British Columbia over an expanse of more than 4000 kilometres. Historical textual evidence indicates its presence in Ontario as early as 1832 (Chamber 1993), but its origins remain disputed (Boberg 2010: 103) and its spread over the northern half of the continent is unclear.

The present paper traces the origins of the low-back merger by using Linguistic Atlas data from Kurath et al. (1972) and Allen (1973-6) and historical textual sources for both fiction and authentic materials (Dollinger 2006). It will be shown that analysis of individual atlas responses offers new perspectives to the existing picture. The results seem to strengthen the point of view that the merger was imported in the wake of the American Revolution from two regions and spread across Canada in two separate, but parallel movements: on the one hand, from Western Pennsylvania to Ontario and westwards to the Pacific (with textual evidence from 1799) and from New England to the Maritimes provinces (with literary dialect evidence from the 1830s). Analysis of the linguistic atlas data suggests that in the Maritimes the merger was entrenched as early as the 1880s, thus finding real-time evidence supporting the link of the merger and the onset of the Canadian Shift in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **Knowledge changes may trigger language changes**

Wilfried Wieden

Evidence suggests that certain types of knowledge, such as experiential knowledge, are less closely bound to verbal representation, than other types, such as socially shared knowledge. Accordingly it is assumed that the effects of knowledge development on language are clearly constrained. It is the objective of this paper to make explicit certain contingencies between the two process variables by discussing

1. Possible associative (functional) relationships between units of knowledge on the one hand, and units of language on the other, e.g.
  - conceptual units of knowledge may have a fixed lexical address, may have a temporary phrasal address, may have no verbal address, ...
  - logical sub-categories of conceptual units may have a fixed address (e.g. a separate lexical unit, or compounds), a temporary address (e.g. noun phrase), or a non-verbal address
  - associative relationships among conceptual units normally do not have a permanent verbal address, but may be made explicit temporarily through syntactic units.

Reference will be made (among others) to semantic models such as <conceptual graphs> (e.g. Sowa 2000) or <prototype theory> (e.g. Rosch 1978).

2. Possible associative (functional) relationships between types of knowledge change, such as
  - quantitative changes
    - i.e. new knowledge has been developed over the years in a growing range of domains of study, with growing cross-cultural knowledge transfer
  - qualitative changes
    - e.g. knowledge has become more abstract, more specific, more complex in the wake of social and scientific development.

and certain forms of language change like metaphoric extension, cross-linguistic borrowing, word formation processes, or systemic (holistic) changes of the English language.

The suggested product – process distinction is adduced to address possible mutual relationships between temporary and sustainable processes in the knowledge and language domains.

**Linguistic choices relating to dress and textiles across different text types  
produced in medieval Britain**

Louise Sylvester & Mark Chambers

In November 2009, work began on a three-year Leverhulme Trust-funded project entitled Medieval Dress and Textile Vocabulary in Unpublished Sources. The project aims to assemble a corpus of previously unpublished texts from the Royal Wardrobe accounts and petitions to Parliament relating to dress and textiles in the medieval period. The documents are notable not only for the lack of scholarly interest they have attracted – they are sometimes used by economic historians but are otherwise scarcely known – but also for the languages they contain, most notably, Latin, Anglo-French and Middle English; often more than one of these varieties appears in the same document.

A secondary aim of the project is to edit representative documents from this new corpus and bring them together with a range of literary and non-literary texts to produce a reader provisionally entitled *Medieval Dress & Textiles: A Multilingual Anthology*. The intention of the volume is to provide a way in to the legal and administrative register of medieval Britain and a set of data with which to test theories about linguistic choices in this period.

Thus far chapters featuring extracts from wills, romances, and the sumptuary laws have been drafted. This paper examines the terminology of cloth and clothing found in these different text types, investigating the linguistic choices made by the writers. The investigation focuses on the degrees of technicality of the terms; their place in the lexical hierarchy; and the relationship of this information to the language choices in the text samples and we hope very much that it will be of interest to the celebrant of this event.

## **Discipline-specific English vocabulary use in the 17th-century**

Lilo Moessner

The topic of this paper belongs to the wider field of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), here English for Specific Purposes (ESP). LSP or specialized discourse, as it is also called (Gotti 2003, Flowerdew and Gotti 2006), is not a reduced form of general language, but a variety of it, which exploits the resources of general language in a characteristic way. This holds for all structural levels of language, but is particularly conspicuous in its vocabulary. For Present-Day English (PDE), the type of specialized discourse which has attracted most attention recently is academic language or university language. The focus shifted from genre studies (Swales 1990) to research into disciplines (Hyland 2000/2004, Bhatia 2004, Biber 2006). Interdisciplinary variation and discipline specificity have been established on the basis of linguistic features on the levels of vocabulary, grammar, and rhetorical structure.

Against the background of PDE vocabulary studies, I will explore if vocabulary specificity of individual disciplines can also be discovered in Early Modern English texts, more precisely in those of the 17th century. The disciplines investigated are the natural sciences and medicine. The 17th century was chosen, because it is a period when appropriate vocabulary use was hotly debated and the codification of the English lexicon was advanced through the publication of the first English dictionaries. The natural sciences and medicine were chosen as disciplines, because they are usually considered to make use of a great deal of specialized vocabulary.

The corpus to be analysed comprises about 135,000 words. It consists of an ESP sub-corpus and a general language reference corpus of equal size. The ESP sub-corpus is divided into a natural science sub-corpus and a medicine sub-corpus. Both ESP sub-corpora contain 5 texts of about 6,000 words, authored by experts in their disciplines. The reference sub-corpus was extracted from part E3 (1640-1710) of the Helsinki Corpus. It comprises 10 texts of about 6,000 words each from 10 different 'types' of the Helsinki Corpus.

Adopting a similar research line as PDE disciplinary vocabulary studies (Brand 2008, Hyland and Tse 2007, Sutarsyah et al. 1994), I will address the following questions: Do the disciplinary vocabularies differ from each other and/or from the general vocabulary? Which word-classes and/or word-formation patterns are preferred by the disciplinary vocabularies? Are the words of the disciplinary vocabularies used with the same meanings as in the general vocabulary? Is it possible to establish discipline-specific collocations of individual words?

**Nominal/Adjective/Gerund/Verb? The first stages of the expansion of the *-ing* form as aspectual indicator**

Gabriella Mazzon

In spite of the numerous case studies available, both those belonging to traditional philology and those published in more recent years, there is still some debate on the developmental path of the BE + V-*ing* construction and on its values in Middle English. The paper analyses some corpus evidence on the *-nd/-ng-* alternation and on the alleged transfer of pre-aspectual values from the former to the latter in late ME, establishing a comparison between different types of text, of structure, and of context. The “competition” between the late OE - early ME *beon/wesan*+ -NDE participle and the originally nominal -NG(E) formation will thus be explored in some of its variants, having to do with factors including: the original *beon/wesan* difference, and the possible association of the latter with “temporary states”; the co-occurrence of the forms with prototypical pre-heads such as determiners and prepositions; other positioning issues; distribution over lexical verb types. This will lead to a more precise idea of the values associated with *-nd/-ng-* forms and of the oscillation/variation between the two, both within and outside their occurrence in finite clauses with “be” forms. Taking into account non-finite complements and gerund uses is also necessary because it seems that, both in the development of first-language acquisition and in the history of English, the *-ing* form is used with aspectual values before the appearance of the Aux. At the same time, the alleged “confusion” between nominal and participle forms (via the acquisition of more specifically verbal characteristics of the Noun) on the one hand, and Adjective and gerund on the other (via post-nominal positioning and co-occurrence with time-related adverbials) can be, if not clarified, at least explored more in detail to highlight the possible transition points in the development of the Early Modern constructions.

## **British-Celtic influence on Middle English relative clauses – a view on fronting phenomena**

Theresa-Susanna Illés

This paper presents the results of a quantitative analysis which seeks to examine the likelihood of early Celtic influence on (Old and) Middle English relative clause structures.

The Celtic Hypothesis has been a hotly debated subject over the last years; it claims that certain syntactic features of Modern and early English are, at least partly, due to Celtic (direct or indirect) influence, viz., the *do*-periphrasis, expanded tense forms, the use of *self*, etc. One intensely contested issue is the structure of relative clauses, particularly preposition stranding and resumptive pronouns, as well as contact clauses (i.e. zero-pronoun) and clefting, which opponents of the hypothesis prefer to attribute to language internal causes, or influence from languages other than Celtic varieties (cf. Isaac 2003, Poppe 2006).

Due to the standardized language of most attested OE texts, and the resulting lack of local or dialectal material, it is assumed that influence from below would only become visible after the OE standard had disappeared. Hence a significant rise in usage of these features during the ME period may point to Celtic influence, particularly in areas generally claimed to have been “Celtic” for a longer period, or where Celtic varieties were (and still are) spoken in the closer vicinity, i.e. the south-west, mid west and north (cf. most recently Filppula et al. 2008).

This paper, based on my PhD project, concentrates on the phenomenon of clefting, which with regard to Celtic languages is usually referred to as *fronting*, since it is frequently used in emphasizing constructions, such as ModIr. *Bhí mé ann* ‘I was there’ as opposed to emphatic *Mise a bhí ann* ‘It is me that was there’ (cf. Ahlqvist 2002). Filppula et al. (2008: 72-84), while conceding that Celtic influence is, at least structurally, a possibility, also stress the relative lack of attention clefting has so far received within the Celtic Hypothesis; this paper aims to rectify this situation by investigating whether a quantitative study on the existing language material can offer any new insights. In the study the *Parsed Penn-Helsinki Corpus of Middle English* (PPCME2) was used to answer the following research questions: is it possible to make out a visible pattern of frequency over the ME period, as indicated above? If so, does this pattern conform to the expectations? And can such a quantitative study of ME syntax offer evidence for or against the Celtic Hypothesis? To avoid direct influence from source language or metrical constraints, only original ME prose texts were considered in the study. The present approach consequently provides a new perspective by supplying further data and assessing the probability of such an influence by quantitative means.



## Code-Mixing in Amitav Ghosh's novel *The Sea of Poppies*

Clausdirk Pollner

*Sea of Poppies* has an astonishing array of characters, with different language backgrounds: British English, American English, French, Hindi, Bengali, Pidgin English and Lascari, the latter used by native sailors as a kind of lingua franca. It comes as no surprise, then, that the novel makes use of all these languages and varieties, both in the narrative and certainly in the dialogues. "Code-mixed" items/loans are sometimes translated or paraphrased, sometimes the context makes their meaning clear. Take just two examples from the novel's first page: "[...] to where the holy Ganga disappeared into the Kala-Pani, the 'Black Water'." (3) "[...] later [...] Deeti would do a proper puja, with flowers and offerings." (3) Puja is not italicized, just taken for granted as the proper Indian word for devotional prayers. This short paper will look at such code-mixing strategies in some detail.

## English/Anglo-Norman code-switching in later medieval charter boundary clauses

Richard Ingham

Code mixing data offer prima facie evidence of the nature of multilingual language use in mediaeval England (Schendl 1997, 2002, Wright 2000, 2002, Schendl & Wright (eds.) 2011). The status of English as a mother tongue vernacular and Latin as an instructed foreign language is clear, but that of Anglo Norman, the French of England, has regularly been disputed, especially as to how far, by the later Middle Ages, it was in use as a spoken language in England, and therefore of the extent to which it could have participated in spoken language code-mixing. The present research continues that of Ingham (2009, 2011a, 2011b) into the use of French function words in Latin administrative texts in mediaeval England, focusing on the use of the French definite article in Latin charters of the 12th and 13th centuries. Data were taken from the boundary clause sections of charters in the DEEDS corpus (Gervers 1975). It is shown that these co-occur with English landscape feature nouns far more commonly when the latter are monosyllabic than when they are polysyllabic. Examples are:

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| (1)a ... et ultra le broc ad hestford unam rodam<br>'and beyond the brook at Hestford a rod (of land)'      | DEEDS 00110024 (1230)      |
| (1)b. ... decurrentis versus mere sicut per fossata<br>'running towards the mere as by the ditches'         | DEEDS 00770478 (1294)      |
| (2)a. ... et subtus le portwey iacet vna roda quem<br>'and below the portway lies a rod (of land) which...' | DEEDS 01050138 (1284-1285) |
| (2)b. .... de dimidia acra uersus portwei<br>'of half an acre towards the portway'                          | DEEDS 00040135 (1228)      |

Examples such as (1)b occurred under 20% of the time, those such as (2)b nearly 50% of the time. For a phonological property to have influenced the occurrence of code-switching so strikingly, it would seem that language users were switching in a way that was sensitive to their use in spoken language. Had the text simply reflected written usage, there would be no reason to expect such an outcome.

It is argued that Anglo-Norman users switched to English landscape feature nouns in their French discourse: the code-switched Det + N chunks in Latin texts are fragments of their spoken usage. French matrix language texts with English nouns show a similar pattern, e.g. (*Oak Book of Southampton*, c.1300):

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| (3)a. ... de la rue de ffuleflode, oue la straunde et lubriestrete soient iij. aldermans.<br>'From Fullflood St. with the Strand and Lubrie St. let there be 3 aldermen'  | OBS 58 |
| (3)b. Et si nul de la vile achate vins ou autre marchaundise que coustume deyue enter la huyrst et <u>langestone</u> .<br>'And if any townsperson buys wines or other goods owing custom duty between the Hurst and Longstone...' | OBS 64 |
| (4)a. ...oue toute wesheuthe desqes al chastel, soyent iij. aldermans.<br>'With all Westhyde as far as the castle, let there be 3 aldermen'   | OBS 60 |
| (4)b. Nul de milebrok ne de aillurs ne ameyne peisson outre la vile.<br>'No-one from Millbrook or elsewhere is to take fish outside the town'   | OBS 66 |

The polysyllabic location nouns (*westhythe*, *milebrook*) often behaved like place names, with no article, while the monosyllabic ones (*hurst*, *strand*) usually retained the article. In this respect, the distribution of French definite articles in Latin charters followed the use of English-French code-mixing in spoken usage at the time, a finding consistent with the use of later Anglo-Norman as an oral variety sensitive to phonological properties of the English nouns when code-mixing occurred.

## Linguistic transfer - bridges between bilinguals' languages

Eva Duran Eppler & Jane Davies

In this paper we view transfer as an enabling process that allows language users to create bridges among different subsets within their overall repertoire of linguistic forms, and so to use these bridges to facilitate communication.

We will illustrate linguistic transfer with examples from a corpus of German/English bilingual speech collected from Austrian Jewish refugees residing in London (Eppler 2003). The data illustrate that the bilinguals sometimes use grammatical structures that do not maintain separation between their repertoires, as in the following example:

\*TRU: **Sorry** # ich hab(e) dir [\*] doch vergessen Geld zu geben .  
%glo: Sorry # I have you MP forgotten money to give  
%tra: I forgot to give you money  
%SG: ich habe Dir Geld zu geben vergessen

In many of these cases, however, it is difficult to determine the source of transfer. This is due to the fact that, in the case of the Jewish refugees, three typologically similar languages are in contact: substratum influence from Yiddish must be considered (comment by Gabriell Drachman on a paper presented at ICLAVE 4, Cyprus 2007) and, because the refugees have been living in an L2 environment for over half a century, syntactic convergence (the process through which the speakers' monolingual grammars become more similar through contact) must also be examined.

We will suggest an interplay between the first, second and substratum languages which we interpret not as a form of negative transfer or interference but rather as a linguistic process used when the motivation to communicate overrides the maintenance of contextual separation between the bilingual's distinct languages.