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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

As the summer and the 2008 European Football Championship have reached Vienna, it is time for the new 'hot' issue of VIEWS – particularly for those who are looking for some reading distractions after the football craze! The four contributions presented in this latest issue follow two broad thematic

threads: detailed diachronic empirical studies of Old and Middle English and issues in language policy and perceptions of non-standard language varieties.

The first contribution by Elisabeth Haidinger presents an investigation into the symbolic and ideological status and the perceptions held towards Scots and Austrian German. After providing definitions of key concepts, like language variety, and of the two varieties in question, Haidinger reviews salient literature and attitude studies about Scots and Austrian German. Shedding light on the problematic and liminal status of and prevalent attitudes toward each of the two varieties independently, Haidinger goes on to compare the two sociolinguistic situations and points out similarities and differences between the positions of and attitudes towards Scots and Austrian German.

The second contribution takes us into the field of historical phonology, as Christian Liebl deals with the reflexes of OE \bar{a} in ME place-names. His detailed analysis of the attested material offers new insights into the possible dating of the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ shift and related sound-changes and discusses the various influences, both dialectal and phonological, that had an impact on the formers' implementation.

Lotte Sommerer's contribution is concerned with the emergence of the definite article in English and its possible roots in the OE noun phrase and, particularly, early demonstrative usage. Using data from the Parker and Peterborough Chronicles in two computer readable corpora she suggests that the development of the definite article was initiated by a combination of frequency effects and analogy processes, and directs the reader's attention to some important, related phenomena.

The final contribution by Johann Unger thematically ties in with the first contribution as we return to issues of language policy and the linguistic situation in Scotland. After providing a brief introduction to the formal linguistic properties of Scots as a variety, the main body of Unger's paper is concerned with the history of Scots and traces its development from its early origins till today.

We hope that you will enjoy the inspiring contributions of this year's summer issue and would be happy to include your comments in form of a reply to one of the articles in our next issue.

THE EDITORS

Scotland and Austria: a critical discussion of language status and perceptions of Scots and Austrian German

*Elisabeth Haidinger, Vienna**

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with a comparison of the complex sociolinguistic situations of Scotland and Austria with respect to the language status of and perceptions held towards Scots and Austrian German. At the heart of the debate about Scots and Austrian German lies the controversy as to whether they should be treated as distinct languages or dialects, regional or national varieties of English and German respectively (cf. McClure 1988, Smith 2000, Jones 2002 for Scots and Muhr 1995, Scheuringer 2001, Wiesinger 2002 for Austrian German). It should be noted that, in discussing Scots and Austrian German, affirmations regarding their status will not specifically refer to their linguistic nature such as vocabulary and grammar. Rather, I will analyse their symbolic and ideological status and investigate the perception held towards their medium of communication (cf. Craith 2003: 62).

Against the backdrop of the socio-political debate about Scots and Austrian German and the debate about the very nature of ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, the purpose and grounds of comparison of these two linguistic entities is to demonstrate that the issue of Scots and Austrian German is not only a linguistic question but fundamentally a political and cultural matter, influenced by ideological beliefs and attitudes (cf. Trudgill 2004).

Based on the assumption that the status of Scots and Austrian German is indeterminate and that both are perceived as being in a socially and culturally inferior position vis-à-vis English and German, I will attempt to analyse the underlying factors which determine the perception of one language variety as the more powerful, prestigious and ‘proper’ form of speech and another as the less prestigious, non-standard, incorrect variety (cf. Thomas 2005: 174).

* The author’s email for correspondence: e.haidinger@gmx.at.

For this analysis, I reviewed the relevant literature and interpreted findings from attitude surveys to make accessible to the reader the controversial positions of Scots and Austrian German.¹ In discussing their status and perception, I will also address aspects of language policy and the political and cultural debate surrounding these problematic entities in Scotland and Austria by highlighting major achievements and shortcomings. Given the nature of language as a cultural construct, speakers bring certain cultural notions to their dealings with language, which may also “influence, sometimes rather profoundly, the implementation of language policies” (Schiffman 2006: 112). The politics surrounding status planning and prestige allocation is frequently linked with “the ideological character of processes for the determination of which language problems are allocated policy attention” (Lo Bianco 2004: 749). Furthermore, changing attitudes of the public may lead to greater pressure for the development of policies that might affect the status of a language in society. As Lo Bianco (2004: 738) puts it so accurately:

Language problems always arise in concrete historical contexts and these inevitably involve rival interests reflecting “loaded” relations among ethnic, political, social, bureaucratic, and class groupings, and other kinds of ideological splits and controversies, including personal ones.

As to the structure of this paper, I will first provide explanations and definitions of vital concepts before moving on to discussing definitions of Scots and Austrian German. Then I will analyse the problematic status of and prevalent attitudes toward Scots. The next part of the paper portrays the debate about the status of Austrian German and analyses people’s attitudes towards it. Finally, I will outline the major similarities and differences found between the sociolinguistic positions of Scots and Austrian German. In the last section of this paper, I will give an outlook of the future of Scots and Austrian German and make some tentative suggestions for improvement.

2. Terminological issues

2.1. Language variety

The concept of language variety, or variety for short, can be defined as “a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution” (Hudson 2001: 22), i.e. it can cover languages, dialects, and registers etc., and it can be considered

¹ This analysis is based on my MA thesis (Haidinger 2007). This thesis was written at the Department of English at the University of Vienna under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Dieter Kastovsky.

larger than a language as well as confined to few items. I agree with Hudson that the term should be used as a more general one, which covers concepts of languages and dialects. This should allow for the discussion of why certain varieties are regarded as distinct languages whereas others are considered dialects of the same language (cf. Hudson 2001: 23). I regard it as necessary that, in this paper, the term variety is used as a neutral term for referring to any linguistic system with a distribution in social space (cf. Milroy & Milroy 1999, Wardhaugh 2002).

2.2. Attitude and language attitude

As stated in the introduction of this paper, the perception of Scots and Austrian German amongst their respective speakers and the perception of these varieties abroad will be illustrated by means of language attitude surveys. The concept of ‘attitude’ and ‘language attitude’ in particular, proves difficult to define due to its non-monolithic nature. The definition I believe to be most adequate for this paper is provided by Sarnoff (1970: 279 quoted in Garrett, Coupland & Williams 2003: 2-3), who defines ‘attitude’ as a “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects”. A ‘language attitude’ is “any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers” (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982: 7). However, due to the highly complex and psychologically manifested (cf. Oppenheim 2005) construct of ‘attitude’, and ‘language attitude’ in particular, this paper will use the term ‘language attitude’ not as a technical term per se, but rather as a term that refers to the speaker’s perception of language varieties and the resulting value judgements and evaluations (cf. Edwards 1985: 155).

2.3. Standard and non-standard

In debating the language status of Scots and Austrian German, a concept which needs to be addressed is the, to some degree, idealised understanding reflected in the polarity of standard and non-standard varieties. The idealistic and politicised notion of a ‘standard’ is based on the assumption that there is one uniform and internally coherent, monolithic entity. In effect, however, there is a great deal of variability within the standard itself that people are often not willing to admit (cf. Leith 1983: 33-34, Milroy & Milroy 1993: 3-4).

An exemplary instance of politicisation of languages is the determination to transform certain varieties into standard varieties as the language of public institutions such as the government, education, law, business and media. As Mar-Molinero (2006: 9) explains, the use of such standard varieties is the

result of ideological ideas and beliefs about a community's linguistic repertoire. Consequently, such language ideologies might "underpin laws and regulations that guide a society's language use" (ibid).²

The debate over standard and non-standard languages is inextricably linked with aspects of correct vs. incorrect speech. Notions of "good" and "bad", "lower class", "vulgar", superior and dialectal or inferior are typical subjective value judgements that continually come up in these discussions. Jones (2002: 24) brings it to the point when arguing that the term standard is prone to be misinterpreted, and that the term is "[...] unfortunate since it implies some kind of linguistic, even cultural, superiority over non-standard 'dialectal' types".

As will be shown in sections 3 and 4 of this paper, subjective and judgmental statements are frequently applied to Scots and Austrian German, encompassing notions of "good" and "bad", correct vs. incorrect, "lower class", "vulgar", "ugly" and "inferior" (cf. Aitken 1981 for Scots and Moosmüller 1991 for Austrian German). Trudgill (1974: 29) explains that these subjective labels attached to a variety presuppose the existence of a more pleasing alternative:

This view maintains that some linguistic varieties are inherently more attractive [...] and that these varieties have become accepted as standards or have acquired prestige simply because they are more attractive.

In the case of Scots and Austrian German, the accepted standards in Scotland and Austria are Scottish Standard English and Austrian Standard German. Trudgill (1974: 29) continues that

[...] different varieties of the same language are objectively as pleasant as each other but are perceived positively or negatively because of particular cultural pressures operating in each language community.

These positive or negative perceptions about Scots and Austrian German and the social stigma attached to certain varieties in particular will be investigated in the following sections.

² A detailed discussion of language ideology is provided by Woolard (1998).

3. The Scots language in Scotland

3.1. The struggle to define Scots

Scots is a controversial entity and proves difficult to define. The great deal of confusion existing around Scots arises from the debate about whether Scots should be classified as a separate language or a variety or dialect of English (cf. Kay 1986, McClure 1988). Some experts (cf. Smith 2000: 159) regard Scots as a variety of English, grounding their reasoning on linguistic criteria and the minor opposition between Scots and English in terms of phonology, morphology and lexis. Others emphasise extra-linguistic criteria such as politics, history and culture as the key factors for determining whether the entity Scots is a distinct language (cf. McClure 1988: 3, Miltner 2000: 42, Bergs 2001: 2, Corbett 2007: 1).

The difficulty of assigning equivocal labels such as language or dialect to Scots is elaborated by Leith (1983: 161):

To call Scots a dialect of English is to ignore its development during Scottish independence, and to reduce its status to that of the regional dialects of England, unless we use the term dialect in a more specialised sense, to refer to regional varieties with their own traditions of writing (as we speak of the dialects of English in medieval times). In sum, the terms dialect and language are not fine enough to apply unequivocally to Scots.

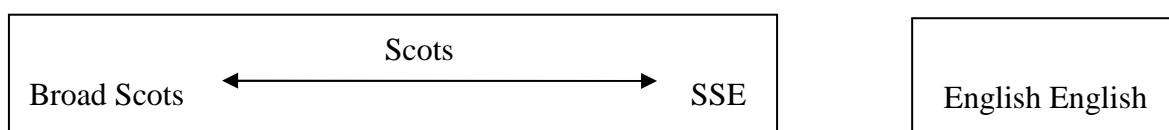
Miller (1993: 99-100) adds that the indeterminate status of Scots, i.e. “not clearly Scottish English but not clearly standard written English either”, can best be solved by the adoption of a continuum, i.e. a “language continuum ranging from Broad Scots to Scottish Standard English” (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003: 2). Scottish Standard English (SSE) is the variety of English that has become the Scottish standard, defined as “Standard English with a Scottish accent” (Hansen, Carls & Lucko 1996: 68, Smith 2000: 162).

In my view, the proposition of a language continuum proves useful for the following reasons. On the one hand, it would appear too simplistic to define the current status of Scots as a separate language from English. As Unger elaborates (this issue), Scots used to be standardised and was developing towards the official language of Scotland between the 16th and 18th centuries. However, for historical reasons, Standard English became the dominant linguistic model and Scots became “dialectalised” as a part of English (Millar 2007a: 15) and was turned into a “socially conditioned dialect” (Millar 2006: 64). Scholars argue that the incomplete standardisation process of Scots, i.e. the absence of a fully codified standard grammar and

orthography (cf. Macafee 1981: 33-37, Bergs 2001: 3) is insufficient for defining Scots as an independent language.

On the other hand, it seems to be as simplistic to treat Scots as a mere dialect of English since Scots itself “is not uniform but shows considerable local and social variation, so that it is not *one* dialect but several” (McClure 1988: 18). In addition, Scots has undergone a cultural and literary revival in the 20th century and has maintained its position as “a literary language which acts as a national symbol for many people” (Millar 2007a: 15). Therefore, the concept I propose for the definition of Scots can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 1: The Scots-Scottish Standard English continuum



An incoherent unit, Scots finds itself on a continuum between Broad Scots, which Unger (this issue) defines as “varieties most different from Scottish Standard English” and Scottish Standard English (SSE). Scots itself is spoken in a variety of forms all over Scotland and has considerable overlaps with Scottish Standard English, in particular in terms of phonological features. Outside this continuum, English English, a term employed in this paper for referring to British Standard English as regards grammar and lexis and combination with the RP accent (cf. Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 2), is the factor that exerts major linguistic and ideological influence on Scots.

While keeping in mind the complexity behind labelling Scots, I will refer to it as a *language* in this paper, in the sense of a language having its own structure, literature and dialects. In applying the term language, I also refer to the first official recognition of Scots as a regional or minority *language* (my emphasis) under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.³

3.2. The status and perception of Scots

The current status and prevailing perceptions of Scots merit closer examination, in order to deal with the assumption that Scots suffers from low prestige and low recognition and is perceived as being in a socially and culturally inferior position vis-à-vis English.

Since there is no standard Scots in the way that there is Standard English, Scots is often regarded as a “corrupted” and “inferior” form of English (cf.

³ The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and its effect on Scots will be discussed in section 3.2 of this paper.

Millar 2007b). Furthermore, Scots is viewed as a cultural and heritage resource rather than a functional medium of communication in all walks of life (cf. Unger in press). This adds to the public perception that “speaking properly” means “speaking English”. The considerable lack of consensus and understanding of what Scots is leads to the perception that “one person’s ‘broad Scots’ is another’s ‘bad English’” (Unger in press). As McClure (1988: 19) explains, it is usually non-linguistic factors that influence reactions to modes of speech such as “social attitudes, aesthetic feelings, or simple personal prejudice”.

The studies analysed have shown that such value judgements are, indeed, commonly found. Frequently, Scots is labelled “bad English” and degraded to a form of slang and substandard form of language in terms of its social acceptability, while Scottish Standard English is clearly the preferred medium in formal contexts, in education and the media (cf. Menzies 1991, Bateman 2000, Riedl 2004).

Stereotypical labelling and diverging attitudes towards Scots can also be noticed in terms of lexis and grammar, as explained by Unger (in press): “Scots lexis is seen as good, whereas Scots grammar is seen as bad, due to the [...] perception of Standard English grammar as being ‘correct’, and everything else being ‘wrong’”. These evaluations demonstrate that the mere linguistic issue of Scots has already turned into a socio-cultural one, being ideologically tainted. Obviously, notions such as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ or what is viewed as ‘adequate’ and ‘standard’ in society implies social and cultural value judgements about the language as well as its speakers.

As regards identity, solidarity and power, some studies have demonstrated that extra-linguistic factors play a vital role in the perception of Scots. Both Bateman’s (2000) and Menzies’ (1991) survey obtained similar findings with regard to feelings of identity, with Scots being perceived positively in terms of expressing cultural identity, but negatively in terms of social prestige. Evaluations of Scots included the labels “informal”, “natural”, “spoken”, “spontaneous” and “pride”, whereas the standard variety was labelled “formal”, “written” and “educational”. According to other studies (cf. Riedl 2004: 103, Nihtinen 2006: 45), though, Scots is not necessarily perceived as a marker of Scottish identity and as significant for maintaining Scottish traditions and customs. Rather, feelings of Scottish identity could be expressed in any language or variety used in Scotland today (cf. Nihtinen 2006: 45).

Bearing in mind feelings of national identity, the debate about Scots as a linguistic and cultural issue also becomes a political one, as is claimed by Murdoch (cf. 1996: 28). In the light of the correlation of language attitudes

with the political phenomenon of nationalism and identity, I refer to Billig (1995: 34) and Trudgill (2004: 2-4), who discuss the relationship between language and dialect and the nation-state development. Billig (1995: 34) argues that languages often become a symbol of national identity in the discussion of forming a nation. Dialects are converted into national languages in order to facilitate the foundation of a nation. These dialect-to-language formations are based on attempts to “establish separate language status” or “denial of dialect status” (Trudgill 2004: 5). As regards Scots, the language is exactly at the centre of this debate about dialect or language status and finds itself fighting against the lack of prestige it faces, due to its relegation to the status of dialect.

Millar (2007b) boils the problematic position Scots faces down to the following characteristics: “lack of recognition of the problem [Scots has] by most Scots speakers; lack of a literate adult population and lack of government support and comprehension”. At the heart of the problem of Scots lies “the low awareness of the speakers themselves of the existence of Scots as a distinct language” (Evaluation Report of the Committee of Experts 2007: 6), the strong presence and ideological dominance of the official language English in many areas of Scottish life, with English having a legal and social status superior to that of Scots, and the lack of proper funding as well as the lack of information about this linguistic entity as such within Scotland as well as outside of Scotland.

Attempts to standardise Scots and thus accentuate its autonomy and separate language status with respect to English are present in Scotland. Groups and associations supporting and promoting Scots include, for instance, the Scots Language Society, the Scots Language Resource Centre, Scottish Language Dictionaries, Dictionary of the Scottish Tongue and the Association for the Scottish Literary Studies (cf. The Scottish Government 2007). These groups predominantly intend to raise the profile of Scots in order to remove or diminish the existing prejudice and reservations towards Scots and to demand change in terms of its language status. In terms of concrete government support and language policy for Scots, I refer to Unger’s contribution (this issue). I want to confine myself here to some of the discussions about and attitudes prevalent towards the promotion of Scots in these domains.

The absence of a legislation pertaining to the Scots language and the attitude of UK policymakers, for whom Scots in Scotland is considered a low priority (cf. Millar 2006), is seen as a strong impediment to the promotion of Scots for all purposes of life. What language activists and movements thus demand is greater legislative support and more comprehensive language

planning policies to promote the use of Scots in all areas of life (cf. McClure 2002). Positive steps taken and policies instituted for Scots on EU, national and local levels, for example, involve the creation of a “Cross-Party Group on the Scots Language” and a “Cultural Strategy” (cf. Scottish Executive 2000), which provides some supportive measures for Scots. Mention should also be made of a policy created by the Scottish Executive in 2007, “A Strategy for Scotland’s Languages”, which aims to raise the profile of Scots and boost its position as “an integral part of our cultural heritage” (The Scottish Government 2007).⁴

In general, however, it is argued that the policies affecting Scots are often perceived as “being merely half-hearted” (EurActiv 2007) and that the implementation is often “ill-thought and buried in a swathe of other cultural issues” (Millar 2006: 63). The following examples show some of the gaps that seem necessary to be bridged concerning the current position of Scots.

As has been mentioned in section 3.1, Scots is officially recognised under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (henceforth the Charter). The Charter is based on two main parts: Part II applying to all regional or minority languages in the state and Part III to languages specifically chosen by the state. As regards Scots, the UK ratified the Charter in 2001 (cf. European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages 1992: 5-10). Despite this major political achievement, only Part II, more general in kind, of the Charter is applied to Scots. Part III of the Charter, on the other hand, is much more specific, with concrete provisions for application. Some scholars argue that the Charter has had zero effect on the current position of Scots (cf. Millar 2006). Irene McGugan, a former MSP, even claims that signing only Part II is “indicative of the fact that Scots is viewed as an inferior language” (McGugan 2002: 23).

All criticism notwithstanding, it should be conceded that the official recognition of Scots under the Charter is still a very first and, indeed, positive step towards a greater promotion and protection of the language. It is argued that through this inclusion, “Scot speakers in Scotland have a new-found confidence” (Craith 2003: 62). The ratification of Part III of the Charter may be considered a future target for the UK government, as is hypothetically discussed by Millar (2007b), despite the fact that it would probably cause considerable problems, such as immense funding implications.⁵

⁴ This policy has faced considerable criticism by language activists and academics alike (cf. Unger forthcoming).

⁵ At a conference in Belfast, Millar (2007b) discussed the effects of a future Ratification of Part III of the Charter for Scots.

Other impediments for the protection and promotion of the Scots language, from the point of view of Scots activists, are lacking statistical information and the vital field of education. To increase awareness about the language and to judge what the state of the language actually is, the first step would definitely be to provide statistics on the number of speakers and a measurement of their linguistic competence by an inclusion of a language question on Scots in the Census (cf. Macafee 1996).⁶ While the latter, education, is considered the key domain for revitalising Scots, changing the perceptions of it and strengthening its current position, it is widely neglected in the educational system of Scotland. Representatives of speakers of Scots recognise an urgent need to shift the “[...] teaching *of* Scots to teaching *in* Scots” (Evaluation Report of the Committee of Experts 2007: 13) since Scots is merely taught as an incidental part of English lessons, and not in the form of separate classes (cf. *ibid.*).

It is obvious that the fields of education, standardisation, census statistics and awareness-raising need to be addressed in the future, since merely treating Scots as a “cultural heritage language” (Evaluation Report of the Committee of Experts 2007: 8) will not change its current position. According to McClure (2002: 191) it will be mainly “politicians and educationists” who will be in the position to provide most support. To which extent legislative acts and concrete language policies prove effective for the actual use of Scots, however, is another issue that shall not be the focus of this paper.⁷

Let us now move on to the next section, which deals with Austrian German and a critical discussion of its language status and perceptions about this debated linguistic entity.

4. Austrian German

4.1. The struggle to define Austrian German

The question of how to classify a given speech form is never easy. Austrian German poses such a problem due to the obvious lack of a clearly defined language status and the lack of linguistic awareness among the speakers themselves. In Austria, the official language of the republic is German (cf. Austrian Government 2005). What, then, is understood by Austrian German?

⁶ It is estimated that about 30% of the Scottish population are able to speak Scots to a greater or lesser degree (cf. State Periodical Report 2002: 7).

⁷ For a comprehensive discussion of the effectiveness of language policy and Scots, cf. Millar (2006).

Is it a dialect, regional or national variety of the German language spoken in Germany? In this paper, for the sake of simplicity, I employ the term German German in a generalised way to refer to the German as used in Germany. However, it has to be considered that German German is not a unified and internally coherent entity due to the complex linguistic landscape of Germany, characterised by extensive geographical variation.

In attempting to define what Austrian German actually is, I have come across a number of different definitions and diverging approaches taken by scholars (e.g. Schrodtt 1995, Wiesinger 2002, Zeman 2003), which will not further be dealt with in this paper.⁸ The abundance of diverging positions available shows that for some researchers, Austrian German seems to be more a question of definition, and not so much a question of the legitimacy of this variety of German in Austria (cf. Wiesinger 1995: 64), whereas others emphasise the clear nationalist demarcation of Austria from Germany by means of the linguistic characteristics (cf. Muhr 1995). In doing so, the assumed linguistic matter is turned into a cultural and also political one, as will be discussed in 4.2.

In an earlier study I have proposed the following definition of Austrian German: “a national variety with reservation” (Haidinger 2007: 67). This definition is, on the one hand, in accordance with the concept of pluricentricity that regards German as a “pluricentric language, i.e. [a] language that has several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms” (Kloss 1978: 66-67, quoted in Clyne 1995: 20). On the other hand, the Austrian language variety cannot be seen in complete opposition to the German variety due to its high degree of interrelatedness with German German in morphology, phonology and lexis.⁹ In addition, German German is frequently considered the more powerful, “normative” centre, with Austrian German regarded as deviant from it (cf. Grzega 2000).¹⁰ I argue that Austrian German, therefore, is not to be seen as a national variety in its fullest sense, but “with reservation”, bearing in mind the considerable lack of codification of the Austrian German variety at the phonological and grammatical level (cf. Ammon 1995a: 115).

In Austria, the linguistic landscape is characterised by a standard-dialect continuum, with a relatively high acceptability of dialect use and many dialect

⁸ For an overview of different approaches and definitions for Austrian German see Haidinger (2007).

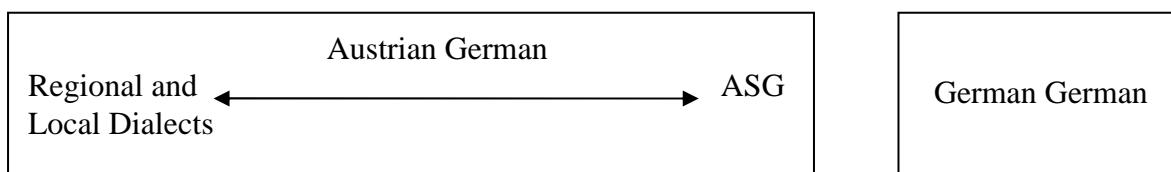
⁹ For an outline of the major linguistic characteristics of Austrian German in comparison to German German, cf. Haidinger (2007).

¹⁰ For the concept of pluricentricity and, especially, asymmetrical pluricentricity of languages, cf. Clyne (1992).

forms constituting a vital part in the Austrian standard variety (cf. Pollak 1992: 84). Austrian Standard German is codified in an official dictionary, the “Österreichische Wörterbuch” (cf. ÖWB 2001), which is widely accepted and used at school. This dictionary is seen as the foundation for the initiation of an independent Austrian language policy (cf. De Cillia 1995). As to the grammatical system, however, the standard variety in Austria adheres very much to the standard in Germany, with only minor differences. In terms of pronunciation and lexis, though, the differences are much more significant and noticeable.¹¹

To sum up, Austrian German is best conceptualised along a continuum, with two different poles of regional and local dialects and an existing standard form, in need of further codification. At the same time, the dominant variety German German exerts linguistic as well as ideological influence on Austrian German.

Figure 2: The standard-dialect continuum of Austrian German



4.2. The status and perceptions of Austrian German

The backdrop for the socio-linguistic debate over Austrian German is provided by the stigmatised view that Austrian German is perceived as socially and culturally inferior and less prestigious, even non-standard or dialectal vis-à-vis German German in Austria, and especially abroad (cf. De Cillia 1995). Stereotypical attributes such as “traditional”, “pleasant”, “careless” or “inferior” (cf. Takahashi 1996) as well as “complicated” and “funny” (cf. Markhardt 2005: 343) are commonly attributed to Austrian German. Muhr (cf. 1995: 81) names the following three characteristics as indicative of attitudes towards Austrian German, commonly found within and outside of Austria: First, German German is regarded as a superior linguistic variety to Austrian German. Second, the degree of insecurity concerning the norms of Austrian German leads to negative evaluations and, at times, rejections of the variety, which is repeatedly degraded to the status of a

¹¹ Cf. Ammon (1995b) for an outline of the major linguistic characteristics of Austrian German in terms of phonology, morphology and lexis.

dialect. And, third, the lack of knowledge about the linguistic characteristics of Austrian German in terms of lexis, phonology or morphology as well as the general lack of awareness of the language variety add to negative language attitudes amongst Austrians towards their own variety. Apart from that, De Cillia and Wodak (cf. 2006: 76) remark that among many speakers, there is also a considerable lack of awareness of the existence of an independent standard variety in Austria, since Austrian German is, by many speakers themselves, rather considered the sum of colloquial and dialectal speech forms.

As stated earlier, dialects form a vital part in the Austrian linguistic landscape and are accepted to a considerable degree. Moosmüller's (cf. 1991: 149) investigation of the speech production and perception of Austrian dialects showed that Austrians, on the one hand, made extensive use of dialectal speech and romanticised it, while, on the other hand, they stigmatised it (cf. *ibid.*). Speakers of dialects are frequently regarded as lower middle class and associated with lack of education, low social status and even bad behaviour. The stigmatised value judgements seem to confirm the overall negative perception of dialect speech and the low status of dialects in Austria, although dialect use is a common speech habit in Austria (cf. Moosmüller 1995: 273).

Steinegger's comprehensive survey (1998: 371-378) on the linguistic usage of dialect and standard variety in Austria and linguistic evaluations of Austrians according to social and situational criteria shows that the use of dialects, most commonly within the family and with friends, clearly serves to express group identity and solidarity. The use of the more prestigious standard variety, i.e. Austrian Standard German, is associated with social factors such as class, certain jobs and institutions, and thus guarantees higher social status.

As far as the status of Austrian German vs. German German is concerned, De Cillia (p.c. 29 May 2007) puts forward a simple but accurate explanation for the lack of prestige and low social status of Austrian German: the absence of linguistic self-consciousness among Austrians and the absence of Austrian German as a debated linguistic and cultural issue, especially in the influential field of education, including teacher training. Ammon (1995b: 490-491) adds that the unequal level of codification of the Austrian language variety as regards grammar books, spelling and pronunciation dictionaries unquestionably has an impact on the status of Austrian German. This leads to the view that the fully codified German variety is more correct or 'better' than the Austrian variety. Indeed, both arguments appear to be valid and are important factors to be considered in comprehending prevalent attitudes towards Austrian German.

As already mentioned, Austrian German not only suffers from image problems in Austria, amongst its speakers, but even more so abroad. The Austrian German language variety is frequently regarded as a dialect of German that deviates from the norm, since the most authentic German is invariably identified with Germany. These prevalent attitudes are confirmed by two major studies carried out by Ransmayr (2005) and Markhardt (2005). The former examined the current status and prestige of Austrian German at universities in Europe, whereas the latter analysed the status of Austrian German among translators and interpreters in the European Union.

Both studies clearly confirmed the image problems Austrian German faces, resulting from absence of knowledge about this language variety. Ransmayr (2005: 365) concluded from her study that the concept of German as a pluricentric language was not prevalent at German language departments abroad. As a result, German German is considered the standard model to be followed in language teaching, while Austrian German is seen as a dialect or regional variety, which is considered more difficult to both teach and learn. Similarly, Markhardt (2005: 348) observed that the majority of interpreters and translators working for the EU gave preference to the use of the German standard variety, since the Austrian variety was considered substandard and frequently posed problems in the translation process due to differing lexis, sentence structure and pronunciation.

From the results of both studies on the perception of Austrian German abroad, it can be concluded that the widening debate about what standard and non-standard, or even sub-standard, varieties constitute is often based on idealised and monocentric views about languages, standard, variation and norms. The less variation and the more uniformity, the better, it appears. It is in this sense that “the powerful ‘ideologies of language’ condition language choice, from the level of selecting a national language down to what one will speak, and how, in a given conversational situation” (Joseph 2004: 359).

In reconsidering the interrelation of language and identity, it has been found that Austrian German does not necessarily play a central role in the construction of an Austrian identity (cf. De Cillia 1995: 11). In Austria, in fact, there is very little demand for a nationally recognised variety of Austrian German as a clear marker of identity amongst the Austrians themselves. Since the language awareness of Austrian German is not very strong, the public pressure for the development of coherent language policies or planning, with the aim to strengthen the position of Austrian German vis-à-vis German

German, is almost inexistent.¹² The 1990s, however, brought with them an upsurge of interest in the language spoken in Austria. A body of research set out to deal with Austrian German academically, albeit from different angles, and promoted active cultural and educational policies, with the intention of emphasising the pluricentric concept of German and establishing Austrian German as a legitimised language variety (cf. De Cillia 1995: 12). Initiatives include, for example, the development of an independent Austrian German Diploma, the foundation of the Austria Institute to promote Austrian German abroad and the Association Austrian Exchange Service (ÖAD), which provides, for example, language assistantships abroad to promote the Austrian culture and its language. These initiatives show that the debate about Austrian German has become a major cultural issue in terms of its representation abroad in order to increase its prestige and acceptance and to clarify that Austrian German is not an inferior dialect of German.

The relation between Austrian identity and Austrian German was politicised by the famous Protocol 10, implemented in 1994 as an integral part of the EU membership treaty. This protocol grants parity of status to 23 selected Austrian German lexical items with their equivalent German words within the European Union (cf. Markhardt 2005: 161). Nonetheless, this protocol has been fiercely criticised¹³, since this policy rather seems to be a mere symbolic act and an instrument for politicising Austrian identity construction (cf. De Cillia & Wodak 2006: 78). In the long run, this act neither had any major impact on the actual language use nor on the perception of Austrian German (cf. Markhardt 2005: 346). In addition, Protocol 10 merely covers lexical differences between Austrian German and German German, while the fields of morphology and phonology are completely ignored. This, so far unique, political measure has had zero effect on the acknowledgement of Austrian German as an independent variety of the German language and on public attitudes in general, although it contributed to increasing language awareness, as illustrated by the public debate created in the media.

In conclusion, the debate about the language status of Austrian German shows two extreme positions that need to be addressed: on the one hand, supporters of the pluricentric concept who regard active language policies and planning, i.e. political intervention, as paramount for improving the image of Austrian German (cf. De Cillia 1995, Muhr 2003: 206-208); and on the other

¹² For an in-depth discussion of language, policies and identity in Austria, cf. De Cillia and Wodak (2006) and De Cillia (1995).

¹³ Cf. Pollak (1994) for major criticism of Protocol 10.

hand, those who believe the debate should concern the field of history or sociology, and not linguistics. For Scheuringer (p.c. 8 June 2007), the entire discussion has emphasised feelings of nationalism and linguistic emancipation too much. In addition, he fears that the proposal of separatist language policies would enhance further linguistic demarcation from Germany and affect the status of Austrian German adversely.

Let us now turn to the comparison section, which aims to emphasise the most significant similarities and differences in attitudes towards Scots and Austrian German, bearing in mind the findings on their status and perceptions discussed in this paper.

5. Scots and Austrian German – a comparison of key factors

Indeed, there are clear parallels between the two linguistic situations discussed, even if there are major differences, too. The levels of comparison involve the debate about Scots and Austrian German as to their language status and perception, the terminological issue as such, the standard-dialect dimension, the relationship between identity and language, and the interplay of language, politics and culture. These factors, as has been argued in this paper, are intertwined and seem to be stronger and more important in the debate about Scots and Austrian German than purely linguistic ones.

5.1 The debated status of Austrian German and Scots

Despite the different cultural, political and historical background of Austria and Scotland, their linguistic situations are characterised by similar problems with regard to the status of Austrian German and Scots. Both entities are considered controversial outside their countries, and partly by their own speakers, as to whether they are dialects, national varieties or separate languages of English and German, respectively. This controversy is due to people's attitudes to the language itself and the overall lack of knowledge, insufficient language awareness and the absence of both entities as a more seriously debated linguistic and cultural issue. The linguistic and ideological dominance and hegemony of the dominating varieties English and German is an influential factor in the debate about and perception of the status of Scots and Austrian German, leading to classifications such as inferior, less prestigious and even non-standard or substandard. As a result, Scots and Austrian German are surrounded by prejudice, ignorance of their existence and image problems, inside and especially outside their speech area.

5.2 Terminology: language and national variety

In this paper, I have treated Scots as a language and not a variety of English. However, I do not regard it as a language to be viewed completely separate from English, due to the sharing of a common ancestor and the high interrelatedness between English and Scots as well as the fact that Scots is, at present, mostly a spoken language and still has to develop its own written standard to be granted parity of status with “de-facto” standard English. By treating Scots as a language, I also intended to clarify that it was not to be viewed as an impoverished or substandard dialect of English. In comparison, I defined Austrian German as a national variety, though with reservation, of the German language, and not as a distinct language in the narrow sense of the word.

In this context a fundamental difference is found in the classification of Scots as a regional or minority language which may be in danger of extinction if it is not used actively or compulsorily promoted in all areas of public life. In Austria, by contrast, the official language is German, with Austrian German as its national variety with its own partly standardised form and a range of widely accepted dialects. Thus, there is no need to literally safeguard this variety, although the need for a targeted language and cultural policy to promote greater linguistic self-confidence is obvious. In short, language promotion *and* maintenance is crucial for Scots, whereas Austrian German requires promotion rather than preservation.

5.3 The standard-dialect dimension in Scotland and Austria

In Scotland and Austria, similar attitudes can be observed towards dialect use: on the one hand, speakers make use of dialectal speech and romanticise it, while, on the other hand, they stigmatise it. Scots and Austrian German labour under a common problem: the controversial issue of codification and standardisation. The stigmatised view that Scots and Austrian German are considered non-standard is rooted in the idealised concept about standard and non-standard varieties. In Austria, after all, there exists a standard form, Austrian Standard German, although many people lack awareness of its existence. In comparison, there is no agreed written form for Scots, a ‘standard Scots’, which seems to contribute to the false impression that Scots is a ‘bad’ or ‘corrupt’ form of English rather than an individual variety, let alone a separate language. The uneven level of codification unequivocally affects the status of Scots and Austrian German in societies that classify each as an inferior speech form.

5.4 Language and identity

In Scotland, the extra-linguistic factor of nationalism and identity is far more prominent and influential than in Austria. This may be due to historical reasons but also to devolution¹⁴ that brought about partial sovereignty and substantial self-government for Scotland. The devolved Scottish Parliament determines much of Scotland's policies, also with respect to language policies. In this context, language as a marker of Scottishness plays a crucial role, although the link between Scots and Scottish nationalism has been questioned. By contrast, Austria is an independent state with its own identity, and hence it does not rely on the creation of a separate language as an aid to achieving any culturally or nationally based autonomy.¹⁵

5.5 Language, culture and politics

In discussing the status of Scots and Austrian German, cultural and socio-political factors play a prominent role. While Scots and Austrian German are in a similar position in attaining equal status to the dominant varieties (of German and English), the efforts taken for achieving this differ greatly. Scots is increasingly attracting governmental attention, through cultural campaigns and the launching of strategies as well as the formulation of language policies which aim to increase the recognition and revive the use of Scots. Nonetheless, the policy commitment to Scots in Scotland still seems to be weak. In Austria, on the contrary, the demands for the formulation of language planning and educational or cultural policies are rather limited, predominantly due to the minor interest taken by Austrians in their own language variety. Hence, Austrian German is a far less debated issue in the academic, cultural or political sphere than is Scots, although growing efforts in promoting the pluricentric concept of German and stressing the autonomy of Austrian German are noticeable, mainly through cultural marketing of Austria as such.

¹⁴ Devolution is defined as “the delegation of power from a central government to local bodies” (The Scottish Parliament).

¹⁵ By the end of World War II, increased identification with the Austrian nation could be observed among many Austrians. The long injected concept of one German nation and language by the Nazi Regime led to the growing desire of developing a unique and independent Austrian identity and state, with historical, cultural and linguistic factors distinct from Germany. For a detailed discussion see De Cillia and Wodak (2006).

6. Conclusion: the future of Scots and Austrian German

I believe I have shown in this paper that both Scots and Austrian German lie at the interface between linguistics, politics and culture. The debate involves a complex mix of social, cultural and political factors, which influence language choices and which are characterised by ideological attitudes and beliefs. Ultimately, the essential task to be accomplished for both linguistic entities, Scots and Austrian German, is to give users and decision-makers a better understanding of what these languages are like, not only from a linguistic perspective but also in relation to “national affiliation and individual social and cultural identity, and the plurilingual assets and potential of every speaker” (Language Policy Division 2007: 106).

Undoubtedly, a crucial part in influencing the future development of Scots and Austrian German will be played by encouraging positive attitudes towards them in governmental actors as well as in the speakers themselves. With respect to Scots, endeavours to promote the language should not result in attempts to turn it into a ‘dominating’ language, since this would not be consistent with the idea of multilingualism. The majority language (English) should not be treated as mutually exclusive to the minority language (Scots). Yet, for the best case scenario, it is required to start focusing upon educational provisions and general awareness-raising of Scots among the English-speaking majority population, as is already done by NGOs such as the Scots Language Society (cf. Vieyetz 2004: 23-24).

Macafee (1996: 6) stresses that “the political and cultural will to keep Scots separate is crucial to its future survival”. In this sense, it will be in the hands of a conglomerate of politicians, educationists, scholars, language activists and, most importantly, daily users of the language, to affect the position of Scots in everyday life.

As has been shown for the case of Austrian German, there is not the same demand for promoting its use as there is for Scots. Nonetheless, there is the demand for minimising the stigmatised and misconceived view that Austrian German is a dialect or substandard form of German. In order to break free from this short-sighted vision, work needs to be done predominantly on the front of education and educational advertising about the existence of national varieties of German. Yet, the debate about Austrian German should not become a debate about encouraging a further demarcation from the German language variety, since this would not be in compliance with the concept of multilingualism. This concept is, in fact, not about opposition and competition between standard varieties and non-standard varieties, but rather about awareness-raising and encouraging greater loyalty to and acceptance of linguistic divergence. A large measure of responsibility attaches to the people

using the language. If their own interest in this linguistic matter can be aroused and increased, then Austrian German will be dealt with as a legitimate and serious issue to a much greater extent than it has been so far.

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Nothing New in the North? The Reflexes of OE \bar{a} in Early Middle English Place-Names

*Christian Liebl, Vienna**

1. Introduction

There can hardly be an account of the history of the English language which does not treat the important phonological change of (OE) /ɑ:/ > (ME) /ɔ:/ (as in /stɑ:n/ > /stɔ:n/ ‘stone’).¹ When it comes to the vexed question of determining the date of this phonemic shift in the North of England, however, most of the standard handbooks remain silent, or are at best rather vague – possibly also as a result of the well-known dearth and shortcomings of Early Middle English literary and documentary sources for the area concerned (cf. Laing 1993, 2000).² In this paper, then, an attempt will be made to shed more light on this issue, by evaluating evidence from place-name spellings chiefly culled from the county surveys of the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) and some of its unpublished material.

2. The advantages and limitations of place-name spellings

Thanks to *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)*, Late Middle English texts can now be placed reasonably well. While, for research

* The author’s e-mail for correspondence: Christian.Liebl@oeaw.ac.at.

¹ The present contribution is based on my unpublished M.A. thesis (Liebl 2002); for my view of the origins and early geographical diffusion of this sound-change see also Liebl (2006). ‘/ɑ:/ > /ɔ:/’ (henceforth $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, for the sake of convenience) is meant to refer not only to the shift in its effect on isolated OE \bar{a} but also to all the other contexts to be considered, viz. $\bar{a}+w$ as well as $\bar{a}+mb/nd/ng/ld$ (where $\check{a} > \bar{a}$ through the somewhat patchy quantitative change known as Homorganic Lengthening).

² For our purposes, the umbrella term ‘the North’ is intended to comprise the northern parts of the West Midlands (Cheshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire), the North proper (Lancashire, the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire) and Lincolnshire; the North Riding of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland have been omitted, since *o*-spellings are clearly not native to these counties. The map in the Appendix (Fig. 2) may prove helpful in locating the English counties prior to the local government reorganisation of 1974.

into Early Middle English dialectology, the ongoing (electronic) publication of *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME)* has already proved an invaluable tool, scholars have also long recognised the value of toponomastic evidence, which is more plentiful and on the whole admits of a more precise dating and localisation than textual sources – or at least theoretically, since there are at least the following four caveats to observe (see also the critical remarks in Clark 1992a, 1992b).

2.1 ‘Traditional’ and ‘phonetic’ spellings

According to Sedgefield (1925: 5), place-name spellings may be either “traditional” (corresponding to the form found in the document copied *literatim* by the scribe) or “phonetic” (with the scribes writing “down what they heard from local speakers in court or on the spot”).

2.2 Etymological transparency

Much will depend on the level of etymological transparency of a place-name. As long as place-name elements containing OE \bar{a} are interpreted as independent words, they will “have a normal, and regular phonetic development” identical with that of “ordinary constituents of the English vocabulary” (Wyld 1925: 133); this might include all sorts of shortening processes (cf. 2.4.), which – if operating prior to the shift – would result in the preservation of <a>. Once the place-name elements concerned have lost their transparency, they will crystallise and, as a result, often cease to be subject to phonological changes affecting independent words; if this occurs before the shift, <a> will be retained not only in traditional, but also ‘phonetic’ spelling – a case in point being the element *-ham* (cf. 2.4.).

2.3 The nature of place-name sources

In theory, a place-name spelling found in a document couched in Latin ought to reflect the (written) dialect of the area in which the place is situated; in practice, however, matters are far more complicated, since it is occasionally quite impossible to determine which of the three major groups of place-name sources – ‘local’, ‘central’ and ‘undecided provenance’ – a document is to be assigned to.

Local sources were “probably for the most part written down by local scribes [...] representing more accurately the actual pronunciation of the name” (Cameron 1961: 22). Central documents, however, were largely “produced for a centralized bureaucracy” and hence “written down by scribes

of the Chancery or of some other administrative department at Westminster”; consequently, “their spellings may indicate a pronunciation for some particular name which was not that current in the district itself” (ibid.: 21f.).

Documents of ‘undecided provenance’ partly correspond to Bohman’s (1944: 6) “half-central” documents said to have been “written locally but in the presence of itinerant royal officials, and probably by them or by their clerks”. Clearly enough, then, toponyms in local documents on the whole supply the most reliable evidence of local dialect – even though it is often not the originals of local documents that have been preserved, but later copies or “summary copies made at the county level or higher [e.g. at the Exchequer]” by non-local scribes (Crowley 1980: 176). There is however evidence that the forms in such copies do not materially differ from the local ones (cf. Kristensson 1976: 56, Sundby 1963: 10).

2.4 Shortening processes

The interpretation of *a*-spellings is further complicated by various Old English/Early Middle English shortening processes (e.g. SHOCC and TRISH)³ as well as the shortening of OE *ā* in place-name compounds. As Campbell (1959: §88) points out, the “half-stress of second elements which did not retain their original semantic force fully, and that of the second elements of proper names, tended to be much reduced: their vowels were shortened [...]” (cf. also Luick and Jordan, *ibid.*, as well as Hogg 1992: §§2.87ff.). Judging by the discussion in the literature (e.g. Fulk 1992), the matter is rather intricate – and it seems virtually impossible to decide whether, in Early Middle English, a place-name compound still fully retained its “original semantic force” in the second element (and hence vowel length in both) or had ceased to be transparent, resulting in the reduction and, ultimately, the loss of secondary stress and shortening in both elements. Consequently, it is thus not always clear whether <a> is due to reduction of *ā* > *ǣ* prior to our sound-change or rather denotes preservation of /a:/. Interestingly, *o*-spellings have turned out to feature most prominently when occurring in the second elements of place-name compounds and in simplex forms, while <o> in first elements can be found far less frequently, no doubt as a result of such shortening processes.

³ On SHOCC (Shortening before Consonant Clusters) and TRISH (Trisyllabic Shortening) see Ritt (1994), who – much like Minkova & Stockwell (1998) – seems to call into question the very existence of TRISH and hence also the assumption of two separate rules; see also Fulk (1998) and, for the traditional accounts, e.g. Luick ([1964], 1: §§204f., 352ff., 386f.) and Jordan (1974: §§23f.).

3. The date of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ in the North

To begin with, let us look at some traditional accounts. Jordan (1974: §44), for example, suggests the following progress for our sound-change:

In the beginning of the 13th cent. it may, if dating from pl. n. [place-names] is not deceiving, have reached in the West the Ribble transversing Lancashire, in the course of the century also the lower Humber [...]

Similarly Brunner (1960: 270): $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ “ist im nördl. Mittelland erst Anfang des 13.Jhs. nachweisbar”; cf. also Smith (EPNS XXXVI: 80f.) on \bar{a} in the West Riding of Yorkshire:

[...] in the southern part of the Riding (south of the R. Wharfe, the south of Craven and the lower Ribble valley) it underwent the midland rounding to \bar{o} in the early thirteenth century [...]

Luick ([1964], 1: §369), on the other hand, while aware of thirteenth-century *o*-spellings in Lancashire place-names (ibid.: Anm.2), opts for a later date:

Das nördliche Mittelland und vielleicht auch sein Westrand (Shropshire) folgten noch langsamer: das südliche Yorkshire hatte in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts jedenfalls noch einen dem \bar{a} näherstehenden Laut.

Luick’s view, however, is not borne out by our place-name data; this has already been suspected by Ekwall (1938: 164f.), who infers from his material that $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ operated “even in Yorkshire and Lancashire as early as the former half of the thirteenth century”. Dietz (1988: 51), too, points out that $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ “took place in the northern Midlands much earlier than Luick [...] supposed”. And indeed, the toponomastic evidence presented in this paper seems to suggest that in most counties of the North $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ may have taken place during the first half of the thirteenth century, with *o*-spellings ranging from 6 to 29 per cent (cf. Appendix/II. and the summary statistics below, especially table 1). Admittedly, though, “some of the earliest surviving texts in Northern Middle English”, presumably written around 1250 in the West Riding of Yorkshire, still almost exclusively have <a> (cf. *LAEME* and Brown 1932: nos.67-68). Yet, as we shall see, such discrepancy between onomastic and literary evidence is not uncommon; perhaps the retention of <a> here represents a conservative feature prompted by the religious nature of these texts – four short poems (including the Lord’s Prayer and Hail Mary) and the *Creed*, preserved on a single folio in MS British Library Cotton Cleopatra B vi.

Dietz (1989b: 143), at any rate, posits that $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ could not have been effected until after 1250; in the following, then, I shall try to unravel his complex argumentation and discuss evidence in support of an earlier dating.

3.1 The problem of *ou* > *au*

As Dietz (1989b: 142) reports, the spatial distribution of the reflexes of OE \bar{a} + w/γ for the period 1350-1450 as illustrated in *LALME* dot maps – “497f. (*own*), 812ff. (*know*) und 887f. (*soul*)” (ibid.) – differs from that of isolated \bar{a} , where *o*-spellings appear as far north as the “Humber-Ribble-Linie”, i.e. the \bar{a}/\bar{o} -isogloss established by Dietz (1989b: 136) on the basis of *LALME* and running from the River Lune estuary via Cloughton, Clitheroe, Colne, Steeton (River Aire), Knaresborough (River Nidd), Bardsey, Bradford, Huddersfield, Morley, River Aire (west of Snaith) and Thorne to the northern tip of Nottinghamshire:

Übereinstimmend belegen sie <au ~ aw> in zwei Regionen. Die westliche umfaßt Lancashire, ein grenznahees Stück im benachbarten Yorkshire, Cheshire und Nordwest-Derbyshire, die östliche den Großteil des \bar{o} -Gebietes von Südost-Yorkshire und fast ganz Lincolnshire. Von dort greift au längs der Grenze nach Ost-Nottinghamshire und Ost-Leicestershire über. Vereinzelt begegnet es auch im Norden von Norfolk [...]

It is the more difficult to account for this striking discrepancy, since the original distribution will have become distorted by *ou* > *au*, a change first noted by Knigge in Middle English texts from Kent and the North-West Midlands (cf. Luick [1964], 1: §408/2 and Anm.3).

According to Giffhorn’s investigation (Giffhorn 1979: 14ff., 66ff.), based on both Middle English and modern dialects, the change whereby *ou* became *au* involves words of the type *know* (< OE \bar{a} + w/γ) and *grow* (< OE \bar{o} + w , o + γ and $\check{\bar{o}}$ + w). It is first attested in the early thirteenth century, albeit only sporadically, with *au* becoming more frequent from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards, but nowhere affecting all lexical items. Early instances may be found in the place-name spellings adduced by Giffhorn (1979: 63f.), such as <Houbauton> (< OE *boza*; Devon, 1238 Ass) or <Le Stauwe> (< OE *stōw*; Gloucestershire, 1221 Ass); in view of the retention of <a> (for OE \bar{a}) also in other contexts, Giffhorn’s <iknawen> and frequent <sawle> from MS Oxford Bodleian Library Digby 4 of *Poema Morale*, however, offer no compelling evidence for *ou* > *au* (ibid.: 36; cf. Marcus 1934: §12).

On the basis of dot map 774 (*four(th)*), the only *grow*-word included in *LALME*, Dietz (1989b: 142) argues that, of the counties under consideration, Lancashire, the extreme west of Yorkshire, Cheshire and North Derbyshire show evidence of *ou* > *au*; this is corroborated by instances of the change recorded in late-thirteenth/early-fourteenth-century toponyms from Cheshire and Lancashire (Kristensson 1987: 169; Giffhorn 1979: 35). Since in these areas <aw ~ au> could thus go back to either \bar{a} or \bar{o} – with the former

allegedly being the only possibility in the East Midlands – Dietz (1989b: 142f.) concludes accordingly:

*Die Velarisierung muß zumindest in Yorkshire später als im südlichen Mittelland eingetreten sein, so daß die Diphthongbildung noch auf der Stufe \bar{a} [a:] erfolgte, die bis zur Verschmelzung mit dem nach 1200 vokalisiertem stimmhaften Tektalspiranten bewahrt blieb. Da der Typus *own* einer jüngeren Schicht mittelenglischer Diphthonge angehört, setzt die Gleichbehandlung von $\bar{a}w$ und $\bar{a}y$ in Süd-Yorkshire zwingend voraus, daß \bar{a} dort bis weit in das 13. Jahrhundert fortbestand. Die Sprachgeographie Lancashires und Yorkshires stützt den naheliegenden Parallelschluß, daß *au* im nordwestlichen Mittelland ebenfalls auf $\bar{a}u$ zurückgeht und nicht erst aus *ou* hervorgegangen ist. Dieser Befund widerspricht freilich Ekwalls auf frühe onomastische *o*-Schreibungen gegründeter Auffassung, daß der Wandel $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ auch im nördlichen Mittelland allenthalben schon um 1250 durchgeführt war. Da die Entwicklung von *u*-Diphthongen $< y$ zeitlich nicht weiter zurückverlegt werden kann und eine retardierende Wirkung von *w* oder *y* auf die Velarisierung von \bar{a} aus phonetischen Gründen auszuschließen ist, läßt sich der Zeitraum ihres Vollzuges im Nordmittelland auf die zweite Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts einengen.*

Paradoxically, in the very first sentence of his account Dietz (1989b: 135) seems to agree with Ekwall and myself saying that $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ “bald nach 1200 auch das nördliche Mittelland erreicht”; what looks like a contradiction is thus interpreted by Dietz (pers. comm.):

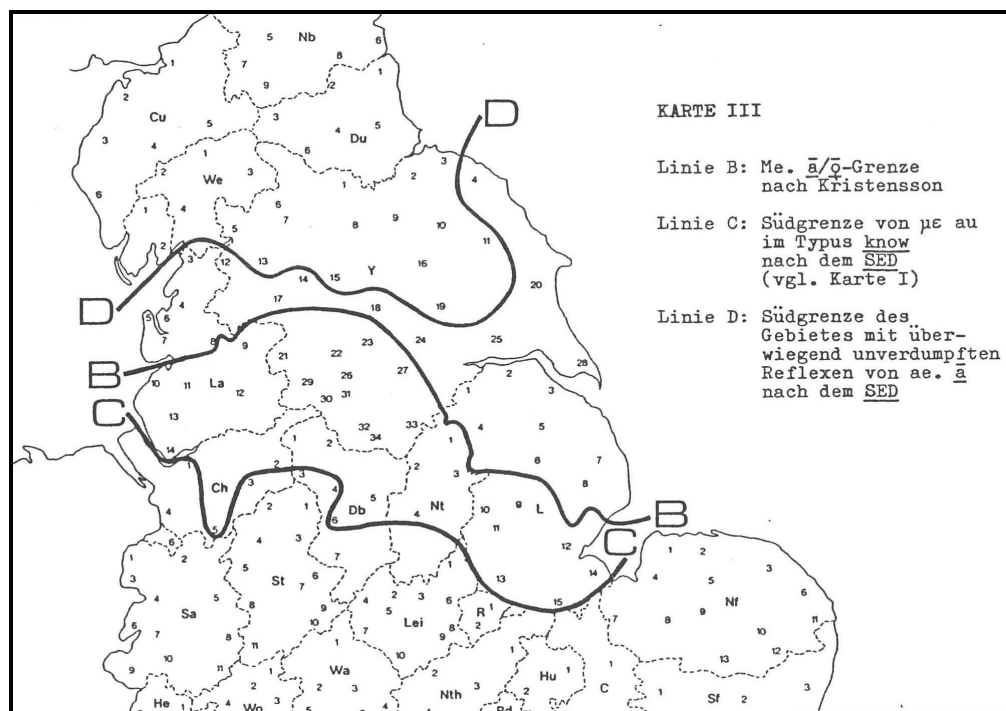
Der von Ihnen offenbar vermutete Widerspruch zwischen meinen Aussagen [...] besteht nicht. Die erste bezieht sich auf den Beginn des auch im NML [northern Midlands] von Süden nach Norden voranschreitenden Wandels $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, die zweite auf den Vollzug, d. h. den Abschluß.

In the light of the present investigation, however, Dietz’s theory seems largely untenable – as is Giffhorn’s (1979: 52) assertion, echoing Luick, that $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ did not reach the North Midlands until the first half of the fourteenth century. Before we look more closely at the arguments put forward by Dietz and Giffhorn, it seems worthwhile to familiarise ourselves with Giffhorn’s map III (cf. Fig. 1 below), described by him as follows (Giffhorn 1979: 50, 52f.):

*Denn in einem durch die \bar{a}/\bar{o} -Isoglosse nach Norden und durch die Linie C [...] nach Süden hin abgegrenzten nordmittelländischen Gebiet, das sich in einem breiten Gürtel vom südlichen La quer durch Teile von Ch, Db, Y und Nt bis hin zum südlichen L erstreckt, ist $\mu\epsilon au$ [i.e. the reflex of ME *au*] – sieht man von einigen isolierten Fällen (La 9, Y 22, L 9, 13) ab – ausschließlich beim Typus *know* belegt, womit die Vermutung naheliegt, daß der Typus *know* in diesen Gegenden eine andere Entwicklung genommen hat [i.e. other than *ou* $>$ *au* ...] Dort, wo Verdampfung und Verschmelzung zur Entstehung eines *me*. Diphthongs *ou* geführt haben [i.e. south of line C], ist $\mu\epsilon au$ das Resultat eines Übergangs von *ou* $>$ *au*, während dort, wo die Verdampfung erst nach Abschluß der Diphthongbildung erfolgt ist [i.e. between lines B and C], $\mu\epsilon au$ die Bewahrung einer diphthongischen*

Stufe *au* repräsentiert, auf die der Verdampfungsprozeß keinen Einfluß mehr nehmen kann.

Figure 1. The \bar{a}/\bar{o} -isogloss and the reflexes of OE \bar{a} / ME *au* (Giffhorn 1979: 51)



3.2 The evidence for \bar{o} in the North

Admittedly, twelfth-century *o*-spellings in place-names north of Giffhorn's line C are comparatively rare and often not of a clearly local nature (see Appendix/I., tables 3-11). Yet the wealth of toponomastic material presented in Appendix/II. for those counties (or parts thereof) which lie between Giffhorn's lines C and B – Lancashire, Cheshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire (i.e. Kesteven and Holland) – suggests that in those areas (perhaps with the exception of Lancashire) $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ occurred during the first half of the thirteenth century. And while it is true that in general only a fraction of the *o*-spellings stems from unequivocally local sources, frequent <a> or <a ~ o> in central documents would seem to indicate that regional <a> was not automatically rendered as <o> by London scribes; the evidence for early \bar{o} afforded by central sources thus can hardly be dismissed as irrelevant. The following two tables represent a synopsis of thirteenth-century onomastic data for the North.⁴

⁴ In both tables the information is listed according to the respective phonetic environment and half-century, with the total for each county appearing in the final column; the total for the first half of the thirteenth

Table 1. Summary statistics for the North (1201-1300): *o*-spellings (percentages)

COUNTIES	<o>		<ow>		<omb> etc.		<old>		TOTAL
	-1250	-1300	-1250	-1300	-1250	-1300	-1250	-1300	\bar{q}
Cheshire	16	34	25	52	~	~	4	41.5	34.5
Derbyshire	28	62	43	77	~	~	4.5	42	50.5
Nottinghamshire	18.5	23	0	25	27	23	25	31	22
[Lancashire]	8	14	14	58	~	~	0	13	14
ERY	3	0	–	–	7	2	0	0	2
WRY	7	19.5	18.5	37.5	5	9	6	37	14
[Lincs/Holland]	31	57	–	61.5	12.5	35	0	50	37.5
[Lincs/Kesteven]	13.5	22	25	44	10	31	27	41	23.5
[Lincs/Lindsey]	5	3	0	–	5	2	6	16	5
TOTAL	13		29		7		6		21

Table 2. Summary statistics for the North (1201-1300): ratios of *a*-/*o*-spellings (absolute figures)

COUNTIES	<a> / <o>		<aw> / <ow>		<amb> / <omb> etc.		<ald> / <old>		TOTAL
	-1250	-1300	-1250	-1300	-1250	-1300	-1250	-1300	\bar{a} / \bar{q}
Cheshire	66 / 13	173 / 91	15 / 5	50 / 55	~	~	24 / 1	38 / 27	366/192
Derby	119 / 47	82 / 135	29 / 22	24 / 80	~	~	21 / 1	15 / 11	290/296
Notts	44 / 10	43 / 13	3 / 0	3 / 1	11 / 4	17 / 5	3 / 1	9 / 4	133/38
[Lancs]	68 / 6	69 / 11	6 / 1	5 / 7	~	~	11 / 0	13 / 2	172/27
ERY	37 / 1	61 / 0	–	–	26 / 2	53 / 1	17 / 0	16 / 0	210/4
WRY	242 / 17	383 / 93	22 / 5	30 / 18	163 / 9	340 / 32	33 / 2	57 / 34	1270/210
[Lincs/H]	11 / 5	26 / 34	–	5 / 8	42 / 6	45 / 24	5 / 0	7 / 7	141/84
[Lincs/K]	64 / 10	80 / 23	3 / 1	5 / 4	81 / 9	125 / 57	11 / 4	10 / 7	379/115
[Lincs/L]	143 / 8	139 / 4	4 / 0	–	207 / 11	277 / 6	63 / 4	56 / 11	889/44
TOTAL	794/117		82/34		530/41		188/13		3850/1010

Although, in Ekwall's (1938: 165) opinion, $\bar{a} > \bar{q}$ in Lancashire is likewise to be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, the place-name spellings

century has been calculated separately. Admittedly, the value of a quantitative analysis will be somewhat diminished by the uneven or incomplete coverage of counties in EPNS monographs and elsewhere; however, in relative figures the results may not differ too much, since the comprehensive treatment in later EPNS volumes will have yielded more instances of both <a> and <o>. The picture might also be distorted by the fact that not all counties furnish data that can readily be made use of. Thus '~' signifies the occurrence of <o> for Gmc. **ā* before nasals (as in *mon* 'man'), and spellings like <lond> etc. have accordingly been disregarded in those counties, since they would not provide unambiguous proof of $\bar{a} > \bar{q}$. Square brackets enclose counties for which either unpublished EPNS material has been used or only investigations other than EPNS surveys exist (or which have not yet been fully covered by the EPNS). '0' denotes the absence of <o>, with '–' indicating that neither <a> nor <o> is attested; 'ERY' = East Riding of Yorkshire, 'WRY' = West Riding of Yorkshire. While every effort has been made to ensure the correctness of figures (which anyway should be taken *cum grano salis*), a deviation of $\pm 2\%$ will have to be allowed for.

available in Ekwall (1922) do not seem to be of a sufficiently local character to fully warrant his assertion; and our suspicion also ought to be aroused by Lancashire being one of the few counties with virtually no twelfth-century evidence of whatever kind for \bar{o} (cf. table 6 in Appendix/I.). More light on the matter is shed by King's 1991 PhD thesis, based on a phonological examination of spellings in the Whalley Coucher Book (Davis 1958: no.1028), which, despite being a monastic cartulary from the 1340s, is, on the whole, said to offer accurate and reliable forms (for further details see King 1991: 21ff., esp. 65ff.; cf. Appendix/I., comments on table 3). Although King lists evidence for \bar{o} before 1250 from some ten toponyms (with perhaps three times as many actual spellings; *ibid.*: 277-280), the conclusion arrived at is this (*ibid.*: 306):

[...] the general estimate of c1200 for the change is too early for SLa [...]. This study suggests the second half of the thirteenth century as the period when relevant PN els [elements], having arrived in the county, saw the most advance through it before reaching exhaustion on an outer boundary with a conservative form.

Still, while Jordan's dating (quoted above) is clearly too early, a case could now be made for assigning the incipient stages of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ in the south of Lancashire to the first half of the thirteenth century, provided that the forms from the Whalley Coucher Book are indeed trustworthy; to be on the safe side, though, the second half seems more probable.

While Kristensson's (1967: 32) assumption that – notwithstanding the abundance of <o> in Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1327/1332 – $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ in Kesteven and Holland “never took place and that the \bar{o} -forms had spread from adjoining counties” may not easily be invalidated, it is by no means universally accepted. Ekwall (1938: 163), for example, surmises that “Holland might have had \bar{o} from the first” (but fails to adduce any corroborative evidence); and Dietz (1978: 189) argues like this:

Umgekehrt lassen sich die spärlichen Belege für \bar{a} in Kesteven und Holland, sofern sie nicht ebenfalls auf das Konto bestimmter Schreiber zu setzen sind, als besonders für Namen typische Restformen auffassen, die sich dem Wandel $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ entzogen haben, ohne daß \bar{o} deswegen auch in Südlincolnshire aus den Nachbardialekten eingeschleppt worden sein muß, wie G. Kristensson in seiner allzu statischen Betrachtungsweise folgert.

At any rate, at least Kesteven has <o> in some local sources of the first half of the thirteenth century, and by 1300 \bar{o} is amply attested in both Kesteven and Holland (see tables 18+19 in Appendix/II. and the summary statistics above). It is however interesting to note that in (the south of) Lincolnshire “OE /ɑ:/ may have followed the ‘Northern’ fronting to /a:/'” (Anderson & Britton 1999: 325, n.48), for which rhymes, rather than “place-name evidence”, offer some

examples: witness *dame* : *hame* in MS British Library Additional 23986 of the *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* (cf. Bennett & Smithers [1974]: 197ff.) or *hame* : *name* in the dialect of Robert Mannyng of Brunne (i.e. Bourne in Kesteven; cf. Boerner 1904: §45). As for Lindsey, what few *o*-spellings there are will not permit of positing $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ before 1300, let alone before 1250 (cf. also Kristensson 1967: 31f. and his map 17). On the whole, this accords with $\langle a \sim o \rangle$ in *Hauelok* (cf. Smithers 1987: lxxviff., although $\langle aw \rangle$ could be due to *ou* > *au*), while the retention of \bar{a} in Lindsey is also confirmed by $\langle a \rangle$ in a ten-line verse in MS Cambridge University Library Ff.VI.15, which can be associated with Louth Park Cistercian Abbey (both manuscripts have been assigned to the first quarter of the fourteenth century; see *LAEME* and Laing 1978: 14ff.). Such evidence, however, is slightly at odds with $\langle a \sim o \rangle$ (at an approximate ratio of 1:2) in the earlier *Interludium*, dated *c.*1300 and fitted by *LAEME* in North-West Lincolnshire (cf. Bennett & Smithers [1974]: 197ff.); clearly, though, Lincolnshire texts from around 1300 regularly containing $\langle o \rangle$ will come from outside Lindsey.⁵

Moreover, considering $\langle ow \sim ou \rangle$ in thirteenth-century place-name spellings from Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Holland and Kesteven, Giffhorn's (1979: 109f.) claim that – judging by evidence from Middle English and Modern English dialects – there never existed a Middle English diphthong /ou/ in *know*-words north of line C is clearly not substantiated by the tables in Appendix/II. and the summary statistics above (equally problematic is of course Oakden's map in Jordan 1974: 126). Nor is it confirmed by the early-fourteenth-century Lay Subsidy Rolls examined by Kristensson (1967: 27ff. and his map 18; 1987: 26ff.), where $\langle ow \sim ou \rangle$ can be found alongside $\langle ogh \rangle$; incidentally, $\langle gh \rangle$ – such as in frequent *-mogh* (< OE *māge*, ON *mágr*) – in Lancashire Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332 need not automatically indicate “that velar γ lingered on longer” in that county (Kristensson 1967: 206; so already Ekwall 1913: 604), but might simply be a conservative spelling for vocalised γ

⁵ There is another interesting aspect concerning $\langle a \rangle$ in Lindsey and Ekwall's (1938: 163) remark that “the majority of the names with \bar{a} preserved are Scandinavian in origin”; surprised by the occasional appearance of *dale* (< OE *dāl*) “as far south as Norfolk”, Sandred (1997a: 589; cf. also 1997b: 209f.) comments as follows on ME *dale* in Lincolnshire:

[...] it also varies with OS cand *deill* [...] In this case it is possible that ME *dale* is the result of anglicization of OS cand *deill*, because OE /a:/ often corresponded to OS cand /ei/ [...]

Are we then to assume that, by the same token, $\langle stan \rangle$ etc. is really due to anglicisation of ON *steinn* etc.? At any rate, in those EPNS volumes for Lindsey investigated, $\langle dale \rangle$ does not even occur, while $\langle o \rangle$ is the rule in Kesteven and Norfolk (but there is $\langle a \rangle$ twice in Holland).

(witness rhymes such as *knau* : *lagh* in *Cursor Mundi*, composed a1325; Strandberg 1919: §438). While <ow ~ ou> thus appears in both Kesteven and Holland, Lindsey will indeed have belonged to the *au*-area (note also the rhymes in *Hauelok*).

3.3 Digression: the interpretation of <ow ~ ou>

At this point we must pause for a moment and briefly deal with what looks like a puzzling inconsistency concerning the appearance of <ow ~ ou> (< OE $\bar{a} + w$) in thirteenth-century place-names in general; cf. Giffhorn (1979: 52f.):

[...] wohingegen die Verschmelzung velarer Vokale mit dem Vokalisierungsprodukt von ursprünglich heterosyllabischem w zu einem Diphthong (bei tautosyllabischem w erfolgt die Diphthongbildung bereits in ae. Zeit) ohne erkennbare zeitliche oder regionale Staffelung um 1200 beendet sein dürfte.

As a result, it seems to follow that once $\bar{a} + w$ had coalesced (accompanied by shortening of $\bar{a} > \check{a}$ in both hetero- and tautosyllabic contexts by 1200; Luick [1964], 1: §373), $\bar{a}w > \bar{q}w$ was no longer possible, and we should thus not expect to find <ow ~ ou> in areas where either $\bar{a} > \bar{q}$ did not take place until after 1200 or only $\bar{a}w$ is attested before 1200 (i.e. where apparently $\bar{a}w > au$ preceded $\bar{a} > \bar{q}$). And yet in the thirteenth century <ow ~ ou> appears also in places where evidence for $\bar{a} > \bar{q}$ before 1200 is problematic, with twelfth-century <ow ~ ou> found in merely ten counties or so (cf. Appendix/I. and Liebl 2002: 135ff.). Admittedly, the latter may at least partly be accounted for by the fact that $\bar{a}w$ is not at all well attested in the first place; and to some extent <ow ~ ou> may also be the result of forms having infiltrated from \bar{q} -areas (a popular but not always very convincing explanation). Here, then, is how Luick ([1964], 1: §373, Anm.1) approaches the matter:

Aber auch die Verschmelzung von $\bar{e} + i$ und $\bar{q} + u$ gehört schon dieser Periode an, denn ihre Ergebnisse erfuhren durch einen Vorgang des 13. Jahrhunderts eine Umbildung (§ 408) [i.e. $\bar{e}i > ai$, $ou > au$]. Somit haben sich diese Verschmelzungen wohl im Laufe und vielleicht gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts in der angegebenen Abstufung vollzogen. Die vielfach verbreitete Ansicht, daß sich die langen Vokale in solchen Verbindungen bis in die spätere mittelenglische Zeit als Längen erhielten, ist für die Fälle nicht zutreffend: die erwähnten Wandlungen des 13. Jahrhunderts sind an Kürze gebunden. Wenn auch dort, wo das ae. \bar{a} erst im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert die Stufe \bar{q} erreichte [...], das Ergebnis der Verschmelzung qu und nicht au ist, so ist nicht daraus zu schließen, daß diese hier später eintrat, sondern nur, daß das bereits verschmolzene und verkürzte \bar{a} qualitativ von dem älteren \check{a} verschieden war und die einmal angenommene Bewegung weiterführte.

Clearly enough, since spellings like <sawle> or <slaw> testify to \bar{a} in the *Ormulum* (Anderson & Britton 1999: 327ff.), \bar{a} could not have been shortened

before *c.*1180. And as for the *terminus ante quem*, the changes referred to by Luick above do not really force us to assume that the formation of such diphthongs must have been completed by *c.*1200: Luick ([1964], 1: §408) himself dates *ei* > *ai* to the end of the thirteenth century (Jordan 1974: §95 has “second half of the 13th cent.”), while, as we have seen, *ou* > *au*, “geographically somewhat more limited” than the former change (*ibid.*: §105, Rem.1), is to be assigned to the 1220s at the earliest, though it is probably not before the fourteenth century that it can be observed “in sämtlichen Teilen des englischen Sprachgebiets” (Giffhorn 1979: 66). As far as I can see, there is thus no compelling evidence that would prevent us from assigning the formation of these diphthongs (or, more precisely, the coalescence, with concomitant shortening of \bar{a}) to the first half of the thirteenth century, by which time \bar{a} > \bar{o} must have taken place in nearly all the relevant counties; in other words, <ow ~ ou> will result from \bar{a} > \bar{o} preceding $\bar{a}w$ > *au*, thereby affecting \bar{a} while it is still long. But then, all this may be much ado about nothing: after all, the solution proposed by Lass (1992: 51) seems to obviate the problem quite elegantly, if not completely convincingly:

The southern development of OE [a:ɣ], [a:w] is parallel to that of OE /a:/ to /ɔ:/; it looks as if [a] before a vowel or vowel-like segment in the south always became [ɔ]. Thus (given neutralisation of length as described above), the history of [a:w] (= [aaw]) would be: [aaw] > [aw] > [au] > [ɔu], parallel to that of /a:/ (= [aa]), i.e. [aa] > [ɔɔ].

This appears to be similar to Luick’s explanation, only less involved. What Luick seems to say is that prior to merging OE \bar{a} had already adopted a certain degree of rounding and continued to develop to \bar{o} even after having been shortened as the first element of the new diphthong; still, the nature of this qualitative difference remains unexplained. The development sketched by Lass runs counter to that normally suggested, which requires that “ \bar{a} even before the merger joined the neutralizing to /ɔ:/” (Jordan 1974: §105).

3.4 Three possible explanations

Now, rather than looking for a single way to account for the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the onomastic data investigated by Ekwall, Kristensson and myself, and the evidence provided by Dietz, *LALME* and Giffhorn on the other, I should like to focus on three issues; a combination of the first two appears to be the most viable explanation.

First, *ou* > *au* was of wider currency than assumed by Dietz, for upon closer inspection of dot map 774 in volume I of *LALME* it turns out that <au ~ aw> also appears twice in the east of the West Riding of Yorkshire and once

in Nottinghamshire (see McClure 1973: 192 for some onomastic evidence in the latter county); on Kristensson's (1987: 29, 169) misinterpretation of the Shropshire surname *de Plowedene* as an inverted spelling reflecting *ou* > *au* see Dietz (1990b: 203f.). Importantly, the geographical distribution of the reflexes of ME *au* on the basis of the *Survey of English Dialects* (*SED*) as depicted on Giffhorn's (1979: 30) map is not identical with the situation obtaining in Middle English (for which see *ibid.*: 34ff.). Giffhorn himself concedes as much, admitting the possibility that the region in the North-West Midlands where ME *au* was more frequent also in *grow*-words may originally have reached much further south than evidence from Modern English dialects would suggest (*ibid.*: 35); even so, he denies the possibility of *ou* > *au* in *know*-words north of line C (*ibid.*: 52, 68), presumably also because *SED* – contrary to *LALME* – has virtually no *grow*-words with the reflex of ME *au* between lines B and C. Yet *au* is apparently likewise attested in areas for which no instances have been provided by *LALME*; this is hardly surprising, given the 'patchy' nature of *ou* > *au* and the fact that dot map 774 is based on just one lexical item (additionally, sometimes "the <o> spelling conceals an unrounded pronunciation", as in "the rhyme of *knowe*, *drowe*, and *lawe*" in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*; cf. Jordan 1974: §118, Rem.1). In Lincolnshire, for example, Lindsey offers several thirteenth-century spellings of <Horkestau> (Horkstow, < OE *stōw*; EPNS LXIV/LXV: 39, 158, 163) as well as <Fuglestau> (Fulstow, < OE *stōw*; EPNS LXXI: 76), which, since dated "1160-70", would be the earliest example of *ou* > *au*, though it possibly comes from a later copy. In Richard Misyn's Middle English translations of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and *Emendatio Vitae* (made in 1434 and 1435 respectively), both <flaw> and <grawe> (*MED*: s.vv. *flouen*, *grouen*) can be found (but 'four(th)' is <four ~ fowr(e) ~ fowrt>); and while "it is uncertain whether Misyn was originally from Lincoln", the language of the scribe responsible for the manuscript from which the two spellings have been taken – MS Oxford Corpus Christi College 236 (not "136", as in Jordan 1974: §5 and p.304, App.) – definitely belongs to Lincoln (see Laing 1989: 189, 192ff., 203, 208). Kesteven, too, has a few fourteenth-century place-name spellings suggestive of *ou* > *au*, as in Hough-on-the-Hill, Hougham or Stowe (Perrott 1979: 392); indeed, as Ekwall (1960: 253) notes, "*Hough(am)* for *Haugh(am)* is late [14th/15th c.] and probably an inverse spelling due to the common change of *ōu* to *au*". The change *ou* > *au*, then, clearly seems to play a key role in accounting for (the reflex of) ME *au* as presented in *LALME* and Giffhorn.

Second, I suggest that, to some extent, <aw ~ au> may also be the result of influence from regions north of the \bar{a}/\bar{o} -isogloss where \bar{a} > \bar{o} was no native

development, viz. Lindsey, the East Riding and the northern parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire. This could, for example, be due to immigration from the \bar{a} -areas of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (as suggested by the entries in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1327 and 1332; cf. Dietz 1978: 192 and Kristensson 1977: 7) – or ‘dialect mixture’, a universal panacea no doubt, but here quite justifiably invoked, since *LALME*, surprisingly, attests <a> in an area south of Kristensson’s isogloss; Dietz (1989b: 139) explains:

Der onomastische Befund stützt demnach die Auffassung Kristenssons, daß der Raum Huddersfield – Bradford – Leeds im 14. Jahrhundert zum \bar{q} -Gebiet gehört. Wenn der LALME im 15. Jahrhundert auch <a> belegt, wird es sich um Dialektmischung mit nördlicherem \bar{a} handeln, das in drei der vier dort lokalisierten Handschriften aus der Vorlage übernommen sein kann. [...] Die a-Formen der literarischen Skripta strahlen offenbar noch weiter nach Süden aus, denn sie finden sich unter anderem im Schlußteil des Evangelienkommentars von Ms. Egerton 842 (Hand D), den der Sprachatlas nach Dinnington (östlich Sheffield) verlegt.

The discrepancy between onomastic and textual evidence as regards <aw ~ au> may thus well be attributed to similar reasons. After all, Dietz himself suggests that the presence of the reflex of ME *au* in Nottinghamshire is due to influence from the neighbouring counties of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and North Derbyshire (ibid.: 143); however, as pointed out above, there is also evidence of *ou* > *au* in that county.

Third, at least as far as the vocalisation of γ in North-West Worcestershire is concerned, the inverted spelling <maze> (< OE *māwan*) in the Lambeth Homilies (c.1200/s. xiii in.) may provide a *terminus ante quem* less vague than (and perhaps even preceding) Dietz’s “nach 1200” (see Stadlmann 1921: 80 and *LAEME*). Early evidence also comes from the Trinity Homilies (s. xii ex.; assigned by *LAEME* to Essex/Suffolk and Berkshire) and *Vices and Virtues*, written in Essex in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Brunner (1965: §214/8; followed by Fisiak 1968: 51) argues for even earlier vocalisation:

Nach velaren Vokalen steht für γ in ganz späten Hss. (11. und 12. Jahrhundert) bisweilen w, namentlich nach u in suwian schweigen für s(w)uzian [...], ādrūwian vertrocknen für ādrūzian; dann nach o in zeswōwunz Ohnmacht neben zeswōzen ohnmächtig, bowa Bogen für boza; nach a in utlawa Geächteter für utlaza, u.a.

However, neither *bowa* nor *utlawa* can be found in *MCOE*, while *MED* records both from MS Worcester Cathedral F 174 (dated 1225-1250 in Ker 1937: 29), as has already been suspected by Flasdieck (1951: 238ff.). Most of the other *w*-spellings are frequently attested in *MCOE*, but it may be doubtful to what extent they can indeed be considered early examples of γ > *w*; perhaps doublets such as *hweogol* ~ *hweowol* ‘wheel’ also played a role (Hogg 1992: §4.9/3).

Clear cases of vocalisation surface in MSS British Library Cotton Cleopatra C vi and Nero A xiv of the *Ancrene Riwe*, the former probably written in the early 1230s in Herefordshire, the latter not much later in Worcestershire (see *LAEME*; Jordan 1974: §186, Rem.1; Flasdieck 1951: 236). Yet Flasdieck assigns $y > u$ in the North Midlands to the “2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, jedenfalls kaum vor 1250” (ibid.), in which he has obviously been followed by Dietz. What is interesting, though, is Flasdieck’s observation that the vocalisation is not necessarily attested earlier in the South than in the North (ibid.):

Im Norden zeigt die erst c 1300 einsetzende Überlieferung durchweg w, aber die Wortformen verraten, daß der größte Teil des Sprachraumes, namentlich Schottland, den Übergang bereits vor c 1250 vollzog, während [...] die Landstriche von Südwestschottland, Ostyorkshire, Süddurham erst in der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts folgten. Der nördliche Norden geht also dem südlichen Teil samt dem Nordmittelland voraus, und eine fortlaufende Süd-Nord-Staffelung der Aufgabe des [y] ist nicht festzustellen.

While this is important in principle, the geographical diffusion (or the consequences for the situation obtaining in the West Riding of Yorkshire) may well be open to debate, pending a detailed analysis of onomastic material. It is also unclear just how much time elapsed between vocalisation and the formation of actual diphthongs by “Verschmelzung”; Luick ([1964], 1: §402, Anm.1) is rather vague:

Wahrscheinlich ist die Verschmelzung erst einige Zeit nach der Entwicklung des \bar{u} aus $\bar{3}$ erfolgt. [...] die Verschmelzung wird etwas später erfolgt sein, im wesentlichen im 13. Jahrhundert [...]

Dobson (Dobson & Harrison 1979: 148) thinks that “the development of a diphthong *au*” observed in MS Bodleian Library Tanner 169* (probably written in Cheshire in the third quarter of the thirteenth century; cf. *LAEME*) “is against a date much before 1250”. Still, perhaps it is not altogether impossible to assume that $\bar{a}y > au$ prior to $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ in the counties concerned, hence $\langle aw \sim au \rangle$ in *LALME*; this explanation, however, will be the least likely, so that we had better fall back on the two suggestions made above.

4. Concluding remarks

The toponomastic material presented in the Appendix (and, synoptically, in the summary statistics in 3.3. above) seems to be substantial enough to warrant the assumption that in Cheshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire (and perhaps even Lincolnshire – i.e. Kesteven and Holland – and Lancashire?) $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ will have been effected by

1250 (*pace* Luick, Dietz and Giffhorn). Evidence to the contrary is provided by what little textual material we have, as well as by the distribution of <aw ~ au> (< OE $\bar{a} + w/\gamma$); the latter is however obscured by the change of *ou* > *au* (more widespread than generally believed) and, possibly, influence from neighbouring dialects. A related question concerns the appearance of <ow ~ ou> (< OE $\bar{a} + w$) in areas where the formation of the diphthong preceded $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$; one way out would be to assign the coalescence (and concomitant shortening) to the first half of the thirteenth century, but there may be other explanations. Arguably, this paper may thus not conclusively have solved the question of dating $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ in the North; yet, if nothing else, it has at least been possible to offer some new insights into an old problem.

Appendix

Introduction

The tables in the Appendix present the relevant toponyms from the North which exhibit *o*-spellings

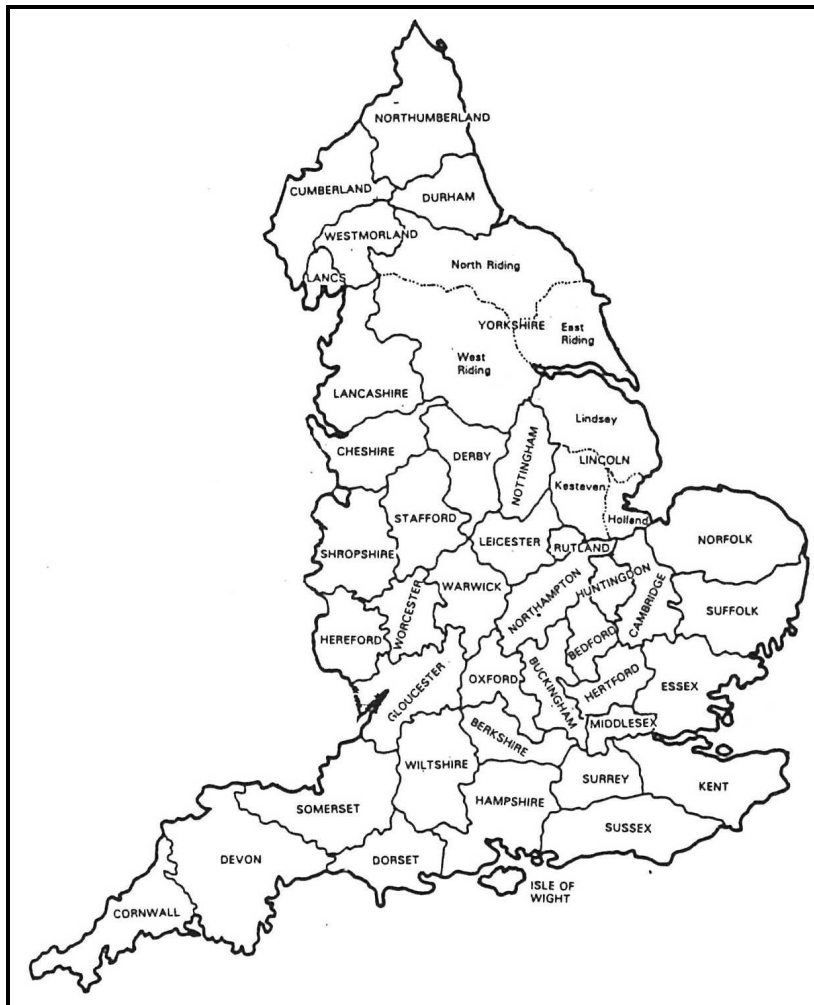
- I. in the second half of the twelfth century (tables 3-11), and
- II. in the first half of the thirteenth century (tables 12-20).

The first column in the tables gives the reference for the entry, preceded by the respective Old English (Anglian)/Old Norse place-name elements: volume (if applicable) and page number of the EPNS monograph or Ekwall (1922, for Lancashire) and Ekwall (1938), together with the modern form of the name, which – for minor names, field-names (denoted by final ‘f’) or street-names (denoted by ‘s’) – is frequently unavailable. Unpublished material has been used only in the case of Lincolnshire, viz.:

1. the theses by Kirkman (1950) and Payling (1940), dealing with Holland (names from the latter can be recognised by ‘P’ at the beginning of the entry), as well as Perrott (1979) for Kesteven;
2. data culled from file cards – identifiable by ‘S’ in front of the parish name – and a huge collection of field-names assembled by the late Professor Kenneth Cameron (here ‘f’ is added to the parish name without page reference).

This is followed by the *o*-spellings and the EPNS abbreviations of their sources, with ‘Hy2’/‘Hy3’ standing for ‘*temp.* Henry II/III’, ‘112’/‘e13’/‘113’ for ‘early/late 12th/13th century’, ‘ef’/‘eft’ or ‘ep’/‘ept’ for ‘et frequently (to)’/‘et *passim* (to)’, and bracketed figures preceding the source indicate the date of copying or the number of spellings found in that source; the third column lists only the sources in which *a*-spellings are attested. In Appendix/II., the figures for the occurrence of <o> and <a> in the second half of the thirteenth century appear in the fourth column.

Figure 2. The counties of England before 1974 (adapted from Spittal & Field 1990: map after p.xix)



I. The onomastic evidence for the North (1151-1200)

Table 3. Cheshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
ān 'one', stān 'stone'		
III/200 Onston	<i>Oneston</i> 1184 P, <i>Honeston</i> 1185 (2), 1186 P, <i>Aneston</i> 1182, 1183 P	1182, 1183 P
gāra 'gore'		
III/307/f	<i>Gorstanescroft</i> 1170 Facs	—
crāwe 'crow'		
II/223 Cranage	<i>Croulach</i> 1188 Tab	112 Orm
hlāw 'mound'		
IV/185 Stanlow Abbey	<i>Stanlow</i> 1178-89 Chol, Facs eft 1614	1172-78, c1190 Bun, 1172-78 Facs, 1172-78, 1178, 1178-81, 1178-90, 1186-91 Whall eft 1819

Comments

There are some sources here suggesting that \bar{o} may indeed be local, viz. ‘Facs’ (referring to *Facsimiles of Early Cheshire Charters*) and ‘Chol’ (the Cholmondeley Deeds in the Cheshire Record Office), perhaps supported by <Heegrove> for High Grove (EPNS XLIV: 244), a spelling from the reign of Richard I (1189-1199) listed in Earwaker’s *East Cheshire* of 1877; although in view of numerous *e*-forms an etymon *grāfe* has been postulated, <o> may result from alternation with *grāf* (as in Greasby in EPNS XLVII: 291, unless <o> is simply a scribal error). On the other hand we find frequent <a> in ‘Whall’, MS British Library Egerton 3126 (c.1342?) of the Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey, the Cistercian abbey founded at Stanlow in 1172, with the monks moving to Whalley (in neighbouring Lancashire) in 1296 (cf. Davis 1958: no.1028 and see above). In Cranage, ‘Tab’ stands for the *MSS. of the Leicester-Warren Family at Tabley House*, where “the material is mostly seventeenth-century copy”, but <o> is also attested in Domesday Book. Fluctuation in the Pipe Rolls might again mirror the local situation, whereas the nature of the other *a*-spellings remains unclear. <Rylondis> and <Stanilondis> (both “c1200 *Fitt*”, i.e. the Fitton Charters preserved in the Lancashire Record Office; EPNS XLIV: 230f.) as well as the field-name <Tungesharplond> (“c1200 *Vern*”, referring to the manuscripts of Lord Vernon of Sudbury Hall in Derbyshire; EPNS XLVII: 115) are problematic in that they could also reflect <o> for Gmc. **ǣ* before nasals. Admittedly, twelfth-century evidence for either <an> or <on> is rare, and only three examples can be adduced for the latter, viz. <Honcolawe> (“112 *AddCh*”, with the personal name **Haneca*; EPNS XLVI: 89) and the field-names <Maidenis Lone> (“112 *MainwB*”, a form from the manuscripts of Mainwaring of Peover; EPNS XLV: 85) and <Gomellehs> (“112 *Facs*”, with the Old Norse personal name *Gamall*; EPNS XLIV: 253). Yet during the thirteenth century numerous *o*-spellings occur, and for the period 1290-1350 Kristensson (1987: 10) concludes that Cheshire doubtless “belonged to the *mon*-area”.

Table 4. Derbyshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
hlāw ‘mound’		
II/499 Sawley	<i>Sallou</i> , -low(e) 1176 RegLich, 1195 P, c1200 Darley	1166, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188 P, 1196 ChancR
II/501 Shardlow	<i>Sardeloua</i> c1200 AddCh	–

Comments

Since both “1176 RegLich” and “c1200 Darley” refer to *o*-forms from later, albeit (more or less) local, cartularies – viz. the ‘Magnum Registrum Album’

(c.1317-29) of Lichfield Cathedral (Staffordshire) and, apparently, MS British Library Cotton Titus C ix, the late-thirteenth-century cartulary of Darley Abbey (Davis 1958: nos.563 and 299) – they are not entirely reliable (similarly <Wro> “1200 Darley”; EPNS XXVIII: 442); regrettably, no details are available concerning ‘*AddCh*’, the Additional Charters in the British Museum. Mention must also be made of <Thurlokebotham> for Thurlowbooth (EPNS XXVIII: 438), apparently found in an unpublished document at Belvoir Castle, *temp.* Henry II (1154-1189), with two further *o*-forms from the cartulary of Darley Abbey; the relevant etymon is ODan *Purlakr* (ON *Thorlákr?*), the second element corresponding to that in ON *Áslákr*. A misprint may however be responsible for the claim that “e12 DbCh”, a Derbyshire charter, preserves an *o*-spelling of Dronfield (*ibid.*: 243), as Ekwall (1960: s.v.) assigns it to the thirteenth century, with <o> otherwise not attested before 1282.

Table 5. Nottinghamshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
āc ‘oak-tree’		
108 Shireoaks	<i>Schirokes</i> c1160 DukRec	–
*slāhett ‘sloe thicket’		
109 Sloswick Fm	<i>Sloswik(e)</i> Hy2 DukRec	c1200 <i>Welbeck</i>
stān ‘stone’		
252 Kingston on Soar	<i>Kyneston</i> 1198 Fees	1158 (2) <i>DurhamDandC</i> , Ric1 Hastings
wald ‘woodland’		
259 Six Hills	<i>Seggeswold</i> c1200 <i>Garendon</i>	–

Comments

The trustworthiness of the two spellings from White’s *Dukery Records* and the one from the *Book of Fees* cannot be ascertained, but the former may be compared with <a> in the fourteenth-century cartulary of Welbeck Abbey; <Seggeswold>, however, appears in a near local source, MS British Library Lansdowne 415, containing “elements of at least two cartularies” of Garendon Abbey in neighbouring Leicestershire, “written in 12th-13th cent. charter- and book-hands” (Davis 1958: no.49). “*Longedale Hy2 NewsteadB*” (EPNS XVII: 130) may owe its <o> to a later copyist, as the cartulary of Newstead Priory actually dates from 1286 (Davis 1958: no.693).

Table 6. Lancashire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
Wulfstān		
61 Wolstenholme	<i>Wolstonholme</i> c1180 Whit	a1193 Whit

Comments

Our only *o*-spelling is taken from Whitaker's *History of the Original Parish of Whalley*, and its reliability can therefore not be ascertained. Otherwise there is only <Longetre> and <Longetuna> in Lancashire charters dated "c1190" and "1153-60" (Ekwall 1922: 127, 136), which in the light of Kristensson (1967: 8ff. and his maps 3-4) will have to be interpreted rather as <o> (< Gmc. *ǣ) before nasals; it is thus particularly peculiar that Ekwall (1922) does not yield any instances of *ō* for the twelfth century and only two for the thirteenth – in Ramsgreave and Capernwray (ibid.: 73, 187) – as opposed to a total of some 40 examples of *ǣ*.

Table 7. East Riding of Yorkshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
sand 'sand'		
68/s Wassand	Wathsonde c1155 YCh	1156-7 YCh, 12 Dane, 1145-60 LeonardR, Hy2 Gilbert ept c1400
vǣtt-vangr 'field for the trial of a legal action'		
128 Wetwang	Wetwong(e) 1191, 1197 P, Wettewong 1196 P	c1155 AddCh, 1145-56, 1164-78 (2) LeonardR, 1194 P ept 1376

Comments

Kristensson's (1967: 1ff.) lists for 1290-1350 yield no <o> for Gmc. *ǣ before nasals in this county, which seems to be confirmed by the statement that in this context there are "no ME spellings with *o*" (EPNS XIV: xxviii). In actual fact, however, I have found one thirteenth-century *o*-form each for Flotmanby (< *mann*; ibid.: 116), Loaningdale (< *lane*; ibid.: 172) and Kirby Grindalythe (< *cran*; ibid.: 125) – in the light of which the spellings above need not necessarily reflect $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$.

Table 8. West Riding of Yorkshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
brād 'broad'		
III/241 Bradford	Brodeforth Ric1 Arm	112 Kirkst
brād 'broad', hald¹ 'protection'		
II/58/f	Brodhold 1175-7 Templar	–
stān 'stone'		
I/147 North Anston	Aneston' 1200 OblR	a1172, 1186-1213, 1176-89, 1189-1201 YCh
hlāw 'mound'		
II/174 East Ardsley	Herdesloue 1166 P	1154-91 Nost, 1194, 1196 P, c1200 Selby, 12 Brett, 12 Dugd, 1185 Templar
hald¹ 'protection'		
I/99/f	Holdefed 12 YCh	–

Comments

In the absence of definitely local sources no watertight case can be made for <o> beginning to supplant <a> for OE *ā* in this county. The possibility should however not be dismissed altogether, even though the forms from the cartularies of Kirkstall Abbey, Nostell Priory, Selby Abbey and the Priory of Monk Bretton (Davis 1958: nos.518, 721, 877, 674) seem to point to retention of *ā*; the trustworthiness of *o*-spellings specified “12 *Nost*”/“112 *Nost*”, “1165-77 *Furn*”, “12 *Font*” or “12 *Pont*/1170 *Pont*” is diminished by the circumstance that they are culled from later cartulary copies, an important fact generally omitted in the main text (cf. EPNS XXX: 89; XXXI: 277, 313; XXXIII: 85f., 93, 255; XXXV: 234); the bibliography in EPNS XXXVI duly acknowledges the later date of the cartulary of Nostell Priory – Davis (1958: no.721) says “13th cent. (aft. 1263)” – but fails to do so in the entries for the cartularies of Furness Abbey (written in 1412; Davis 1958: no.428), Fountains Abbey (“15th cent.”; *ibid.*: no.414) and Pontefract Priory (“mid-13th cent. (aft. 1240)”; *ibid.*: no.782). Mention must also be made of two field-names (with OE *wang* as final element): <Rauennis-, Rauenescrowong> “1166-99 YCh” and <Botildewellewong> “c1200 (1189-1201) YCh”, recorded in the parishes of Conisbrough and Anston in Upper Strafforth Wapentake (EPNS XXX: 129, 149). Unlike Elland (<Elond> in “1164-96 YCh”; EPNS XXXIII: 43), they do not lie in either Agbrigg or Morley Wapentakes in the south-west of the county bordering Lancashire, where there is some evidence of <o> for Gmc. **ǣ* before nasals (cf. EPNS XXXVI: 78; Kristensson 1967: 8f.; Dietz 1989a: 304f.); they may thus well reflect *ō*, but no certainty is possible.

Table 9. Lincolnshire / Holland

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
<i>stān</i> ‘stone’		
P/115 Boston	<i>bostoñ</i> 1195 FF	112 DuDCCh
<i>land</i> ‘land’		
S/Crowland Upland	<i>Vppalonda</i> c1125 Ord	–
1 Holland	<i>Hoilondia</i> 1171-84 Dane	1154-60 Dane, 1156, 1158, 1173, 1178 eft 1195 (2) P, 1199 FF, Hy2 HarlCh, c1154 AC, c1155 France, 1166 RBE

Comments

“c1125 Ord” presumably refers to an entry in the holograph manuscript of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Ordericus Vitalis (1075-1142/43), who was, however, a Shropshire man, so that there is at least the remote possibility that

<o> stands for Gmc. *ǣ before nasals, as was the rule in that county (cf. Kristensson 1987: 10); the character of most of the other sources is unclear.

Table 10. Lincolnshire / Kesteven

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
dāl 'share'		
Irnham/f	<i>dolþweit</i> a1176 AddCh	–
stān 'stone'		
510 Syston	<i>Seideston</i> 1198 P	1192, 1195, 1199 (2) P, 1196 (2) ChancR, c1200 RA
Áslákr		
95 Aslackby	<i>Hoselochebi</i> 1136-54 AD	1167, 1179-80, 1180-1, 1185-6, 1187-8, 1190 (2), 1193-5 P, 1185 Templar, c1154 Dane, c1160, a1170, a1189 Semp, 1200 FF, 1180-1 ChancR, 1200 Cur
*Heorulāf / *Herelāf		
468 Harlaxton	<i>Herloueston</i> c1160 SR (LNQ ix)	1174, 1175 P, 1185 Templar, 1191-1200 BS
land 'land'		
123 Bridge End (Holland Bridge)	<i>Hoilondebrige</i> 1199 ChR	1199 CartAnt
sand 'sand'		
Lenton/f	<i>Sondwang</i> Hy2 AddCh	–
vangr 'garden'		
Edenham/f	<i>Swinestedwong'</i> lHy2 Anc	–
cald 'cold'		
Silk Willoughby/f	<i>Coldmarham</i> c1165 Semp38	–

Comments

“1136-54 AD” is perhaps the only definitely local (?) source here, yet not least because of the overwhelming number of *a*-spellings <Hoselochebi> may not be entirely reliable: for while the Old Norse personal name *Áslákr* can also be found in the material adduced by Kristensson (1967: 18; 1987: 19; 1995: 7) to illustrate $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, Feilitzen (1937: 168), in his study of Domesday Book, concludes: “*Aseloc* may have *o* for *a* by scribal error. If the form is genuine, however, it might perhaps be derived from ODan *Aslogh* [...]”. As regards “c1160 SR”, this looks like a Subsidy Roll, but the date seems impossibly early, since it was apparently not until 1188 that “the tax on moveables was introduced by Henry II” (Gross 1900: 334). Local character may perhaps also be assumed for ‘Semp’ (*Charters relating to the Priory of Sempringham* in Lincolnshire) and ‘Anc’ (Ancaster Muniments in Lincolnshire Archives Office); the spelling in the former may be compared with “Coldmarham 1160 Semp” (today’s Mareham Grange; Perrott 1979: 57), for which the file card however reads <Caldmarham>.

Table 11. Lincolnshire / Lindsey

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>
crāwe ‘crow’		
VI/169/f	Crouthornehul 112 Dane	lHy2 Dane
land ‘land’		
VI/170/f	Wetelont lHy2 Dane	112 Dane

Comments

Neither of the two spellings need necessarily be local, ‘Dane’ being a source of undecided provenance. Incidentally, there seem to be two further, equally problematic, cases of <o> for OE *ā*: “*Aslocahou* (sic) c1115 LS”, a form containing the personal name *Áslákr* again (cf. the preceding comments), represents the only *o*-spelling for Aslaoe Wapentake in this position (EPNS LXXVII: 133); the second instance has been noticed by Ekwall (1938: 166):

[...] there is a remarkably early example of o just in one Lincs. place-name, viz. Rohage 1155 DC (original MS), corresponding to Rahága in another contemporary document. The locality was in Gayton le Wold (Lindsey). The example is interesting as one of the earliest instances of the rounded vowel that can be exactly dated. However, the grant recorded in the charter was not made by a local landowner, but by Conan, duke of Brittany, and the charter was issued at Redon in Brittany. The form Rohage is doubtless due to a scribe who spoke a more southerly dialect. Rahaga (Rohage) ‘enclosure for roedeer’ was virtually a common noun and liable to be modified by a scribe.

‘DC’ stands for “Danelaw Charters, Ed. Stenton” (ibid.: 168) and is thus presumably identical with ‘Dane’ (cf. also the issue of etymological transparency mentioned in 2.2. above).

II. The onomastic evidence for the North (1201-1250)

Table 12. Cheshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
āc ‘oak-tree’			
III/307/f	<i>Hocul</i> 1248 Rich	1180-1220 Chol, 1240-50 Rich	– / 2
II/117/f	<i>quitehockes</i> e13 AddCh	–	–
brād ‘broad’			
II/268/f	<i>Brodmeadowe</i> 1232 Orm	–	–
gāra ‘gore’			
II/249/f	<i>Gorefield</i> c1220 AddCh/AddRoll	c1230 AddCh/AddRoll	–
hār² ‘grey’			
II/89/f	<i>Horewythynis</i> Hy3 MainwB	–	–
stān ‘stone’			
I/242 Sharston Green & Hall	<i>Sharston</i> 1248 Ipm ef	–	1 / –
III/302 Beeston	<i>Beeston</i> 1237 P, <i>Beston</i> 1240 P eft 1561	1240 Lib, 1240, 1247, 1250 (2) P	3 / 4
III/303 Beeston Castle	<i>Beston</i> 1245 P	1238, 1242 Lib, P	–
Ācwulf			
II/252 Occlestone	<i>Oc(c)liston</i> c1233 AddCh	e13 Facs, Chest, Dieul, e13, Hy3 Tab, c1230, c1233 AddCh, a1245 MidCh, Hy3 Orm, ChRR	2 / 2
hlāw ‘mound’			
II/89/f	<i>Pykedelow</i> Hy3 MainwB	–	–
rāw ‘row’			
II/54/f	<i>Culnerowe</i> c1245 CoLegh	–	–
ald ‘old’, gāra ‘gore’			
III/178	<i>Holdgore</i> 1216-72 MainwB	–	–

Comments

None of the sources is of a clearly local character, although local origin may well be assumed for ‘MainwB’.

Table 13. Derbyshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
āc ‘oak-tree’			
II/324/f	<i>Feirokesflat</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
II/388 Matlock	<i>Matloc</i> , <i>-ok(e)</i> 1204 P, Cur, 1247 Woll	1204 Cur, 1239 Lib, 1233 DbCh	4 / 2
brād ‘broad’			
I/55/f	<i>Broddacris</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
I/61 Bradshaw Hall	<i>Brodeshawe</i> , <i>-scawe</i> Hy3 (2) For	Hy3 For	–
I/164/f	<i>Brodemedue</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
brād ‘broad’, rāw ‘row’			
I/164/f	<i>Brodegrewerowe</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
dāl ‘share’			
I/110 Hassop Hall	<i>Hallefordolis</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
II/259/f	<i>Scorttedoles</i> Hy3 Derbyshire	–	1 / –
II/307/f	<i>Scrittendoles</i> Hy3 HarlCh	–	–
fāg ‘variegated’			
I/115 Phoside Fm	<i>Fouweside</i> , <i>Fouside</i> Hy3 (2) For	Hy3 For	1 / –
hār² ‘grey’			
I/99 Horwich End	<i>Horwick</i> Hy3 For	–	4 / –
hār² ‘grey’, stān ‘stone’			
III/519/f	<i>Horestone</i> Hy3 WollCh	–	–
rā¹ ‘roe’ / rā² ‘land-mark’			
I/162 Rowland	<i>Rolund</i> 1230 FF, Hy3 WollCh, <i>Roland</i> 1236 Cl, c1250 BelCh	Hy3 WollCh	1 / –
snād ‘something cut off’			
I/74/f	<i>Snoda</i> c1240 BelCh	–	1 / –
stān ‘stone’			
I/164/f	<i>Stoniacre</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
I/38/f	<i>Reuestonis</i> Hy3 (2) BelCh	–	–
I/55/f	<i>Sclidrestonesforlong</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
I/55/f Wistan	<i>Wichestonflat</i> c1250 BelCh	1208 FF	–
I/77 Mainstone Fm	<i>Meindenstonfeld</i> , <i>Meinstonesfeld</i> 1223 (2) CIR	1225 CIR, 1229 Cl, Hy3 (2) For	2 / –
I/176 Wheston	<i>Weston</i> 1225 CIR, 1230 Cl	1231 Cl	5 / 2
I/111/f	<i>Stoun</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
stān ‘stone’, hlāw ‘mound’			
I/55/f	<i>Stonilowe</i> c1250 BelCh	–	–
hlāw ‘mound’			
I/25 Coarselow Wood	<i>Costelowe</i> c1220 FMS	–	– / 1
I/40 Baslow	<i>Basselowe</i> 1242 Fees	–	1 / –
I/70 Bleaklow Stones	<i>Blakelowe</i> Hy3 For	–	1 / –
I/131 Great Hucklow	<i>Hu(c)klowe</i> Hy3 DbCh ept 1285 Ch	e13 Rufford	3 / 2
I/183 Moatlow Knob	<i>Motloue</i> c1250 BelCh	–	2 / –
II/261/f Great Lowe	<i>Lowe</i> Hy3 DbCh	–	–

Comments

Local nature may possibly be granted to ‘BelCh’ (“Unpublished documents at Belvoir Castle”) and ‘DbCh’ (*Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters*), but detailed information is lacking.

Table 14. Nottinghamshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
āc ‘oak-tree’			
82 Hodsock	<i>Hoddeshok</i> 1232 FF, <i>Hodeshok</i> c1250 HMCVar	e13 HMCVar, 1204 FF, 1206 (2) PatR, 1227 CIR, 1242 Fees	3 / 6
108 Shireoaks	<i>Schirokes</i> John DukRec	–	1 / 3
stīg-rāp ‘stirrup’			
98 Styrrup	<i>Stirop</i> 1235, 1242 Fees, <i>Styrop</i> 1242 Fees	Ric1 (1232) Ch, c1230 HMCVar, 1235 Fees ept 1387, John DukRec	1 / 2

Table 15. Lancashire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
āc ‘oak-tree’			
180 Akefrith	<i>Okesrith</i> 1246 FF	–	–
skāli ‘temporary hut’			
56 Scholefield	<i>Scholfele</i> 1212 LI	–	–
141 Davyscoles	<i>Daniscole</i> 1246 Ass	1246 Ass	– / 1
stān ‘stone’			
127 Standish	<i>Stonidis</i> 1246 Ass	1207, 1213 P, 1212 Fees, 1245, 1246 (3) Ass	– / 4
79 Simonstone	<i>Simundeston</i> 1246 Ass	–	3 / 3
(v)rā ‘nook’			
187 Capernwray	<i>Coupanewro</i> 1246 Ass	1212 LI, 1228 CI, 1246 Ass	–
hlāw ‘mound’			
152 Wharles	<i>Quarlous</i> 1249 Ipm	–	1 / 1

Table 16. East Riding of Yorkshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
cāf ‘swift’			
223 South Cave	<i>Cova</i> 1212 Cur	1228 Pat, 1246 Ass ept 1523	– / 3
mangere ‘trader’			
290/sHaymongergate	<i>Haymongeregata</i> 1240 FF	–	– / 1 ef
vǣtt-vangr ‘field for the trial of a legal action’			
128 Wetwang	<i>Wetewong(e)</i> 1233 Ebor	–	– / 1

Comments

The only definitely local source here is ‘Ebor’, though it cannot be ruled out completely that <o> may here denote <o> for Gmc. *ǎ before nasals.

Table 17. West Riding of Yorkshire

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
āc ‘oak-tree’			
VI/7 Oakworth	<i>Ocwrdē</i> 1246 YI	1246 Ass, Hy3 Arm	1 / 7
VI/181/f	<i>Nerokēbēreb’c</i> Hy3 Puds	–	–
brād ‘broad’			
I/318 Broad Royd Head	<i>Broderode</i> 1219 FF	–	–
III/159 Broad Bottom	<i>Brodbothm</i> c1250 HAS	–	1 / –
III/253/f	<i>Broddescroft</i> 1226 FF	–	–
dāl ‘share’			
I/74/f	<i>Haluedol’</i> 1208 FF	–	–
I/161/f	<i>Fordoles</i> Hy3 Hnt	–	1 / –
I/161/f	<i>Moredoles</i> Hy3 Hnt	–	1 / –
skāli ‘temporary hut’			
III/240/f	<i>Hunlosscoles</i> e13 YD	–	–
I/265 Scholey’s Bridge	<i>Scolay</i> 1230 DodsN	1246 Ass	2 / –
stān ‘stone’			
I/45 Blaxton	<i>Blacston</i> 1213 CIR	–	– / 1
I/147 North Anston	<i>Aneston’</i> 1203 YCh	1199 (1232) Ch, 1203 YCh, c1219 Fees, 1246 Ass	– / 6
V/19 Great Ribston	<i>Rybbeston</i> 1205 ObIR	1220-4 YD, 1226 YCh, 1227 Ch	– / 3
(v)rā ‘nook’			
I/51/f	<i>Cribbewro</i> 1222 FF	–	–
V/132 Grayston Plain	<i>Grastanwro</i> 1230 Ebor	–	–
IV/82 Wray Wood	<i>Le Wro</i> 1246 FF	–	– / 2
Pāpa			
III/15 Popeley Ho	<i>Popelay</i> Hy3 Arm	1189-1216 Calv	1 / 0
*ōr-blāwere ‘ore-blower’			
V/42 Kirkby Overblow	<i>-Hornblower</i> 1212 Abbr	1242 Ebor	– / 3
crāwe ‘crow’			
II/218 Crawshaw	<i>Croweshagh</i> 1208 FF	–	–
hlāw ‘mound’			
I/190 Tinsley	<i>Tynesloue</i> 1240 Ebor	1230 Ebor	3 / 1
II/174 East Ardsley	<i>Erdeslowe</i> 1219 FF, <i>-loue</i> c1235 Puds	1202, 1208, 1226, 1234 FF, Hy3 BM, 1246 Ass, 1208 Cur	3 / 6
land ‘land’			
IV/101 Brierlands	<i>Brerilond</i> 1246 FF	–	–
lang ‘long’			
VI/78/f	<i>Longerodes</i> 1208 YCh	–	–
VI/205 Lanshaw Brook	<i>Longshae</i> 1220-30 YD	–	–
fald ‘fold’			
I/89 Stotfold	<i>Stodfolde</i> 12 (mid13) Pont	–	3 / 1
IV/93/f	<i>Ganesfold</i> 1170 (mid13) Pont	–	–

Comments

There is unfortunately not enough information available to assess the nature of all the sources listed here; clearly local documents include ‘Ebor’ and ‘Pont’ (the mid-thirteenth-century cartulary of Pontefract Priory; Davis 1958: no.782), but perhaps also ‘YD’ (*Yorkshire Deeds*), ‘YI’ (*Yorkshire Inquisitions post mortem*) and ‘Puds’ (*The Pudsay Deeds*) may be added with some justification (cf. Ekwall 1938: 148).

Table 18. Lincolnshire / Holland

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
nān-mann ‘no man’			
18 Noman’sland Hirne	<i>Nomannesland</i> 1227 Ch	–	3 / 1
stān ‘stone’			
P/115 Boston	<i>Boston</i> 1235 Pat eft 1504, 1241 Ch eft 1349, 1249 Ipm eft 1501, 1250 Misc eft 1377	–	3 / 1
land ‘land’			
1 Holland	<i>Hoylond</i> John Ch, c1220 FP, 1237 Cl, 1241 FC	1201, 1209 P, 1202, 1206 Ass ep, 1204 FF, John PatR, Ch, 1219 RA, 1209-19 (2), 1219 Welles	2 / 9
38/f	<i>Fenlond</i> 1250 FC	–	–
sand ‘sand’			
110/f	<i>Sondiholm</i> 1208 FF	–	–

Table 19. Lincolnshire / Kesteven

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
āc ‘oak-tree’			
223 Eagle	<i>Hocle</i> 1244 InstBen	c1240 InstBen	–
blá(r) ‘dark’			
Scredington/f	<i>Blomild</i> c1240-50 RA	–	–
brād ‘broad’			
Long Bennington/f	<i>brodeng’</i> Hy3 WAM	–	–
Stamford/f	<i>Broding</i> Hy3 TT	–	–
gāra ‘gore’			
Stamford/f	<i>Gorebrodhalfak’</i> Hy3 TT	–	–
hālig ‘holy’			
Great Ponton/f	<i>Holewell’</i> 1202 FF	–	–
(ge)lād ‘water-course’			
Bourne/f	<i>Tollo(n)lod(e)</i> 1234 (2) FF	–	–
Áslákr			
95 Aslackby	<i>Aslockeby</i> 1212 Fees	1201 (2), 1212 (2) Cur eft 1548, 1202 (2) FF, 1226 Welles	2 / 6
*Heorulāf / *Herelāf			
468 Harlaxton	<i>Herloweston</i> 1246 Ipm	1222 Cur, 1234 Welles, 1226, 1240, 1245 FF, 1242-3 Fees	1 / 5

land 'land'			
Londonthorpe/f	<i>Brunneslond</i> 1160-70 (c1225) RA	–	–
sand 'sand', vangr 'garden'			
Lenton/f	<i>Sondwong'</i> Hy3 AddCh	e13 AddCh	–
lang 'long'			
Swinstead/f	<i>Longeland</i> 1220 FF	–	–
Lenton/f	<i>Longe</i> Hy3 AddCh	–	–
vangr 'garden'			
Long Bennington/f	<i>Clayhilwong'</i> Hy3 WAM	–	1 / –
Long Bennington/f	<i>Hennewonge</i> Hy3 (3) WAM	–	–

Comments

In addition to 'RA' (the 'Registrum Antiquissimum', a general cartulary of Lincoln Cathedral, c.1225; Davis 1958: no.583), the other local source seems to be 'TT'.

Table 20. Lincolnshire / Lindsey

elements / refs.	<o>	<a>	1251- o / a
brād 'broad'			
VI/116/f	<i>super crofta Brod'</i> 1212 FF	–	–
VI/136/f	<i>Est broddeyle, Westbroddeylle</i> 1238 FF	–	–
stān 'stone'			
I/41 Stonebow	<i>Stonebegh</i> 1231 FF	1219-20 DC	– / 4
IV/14/f	<i>Stonfurlang</i> 1219 FF	–	–
V/116 Humberston	<i>Humbreston</i> 1226 CIR, <i>Humberston</i> 1242-43 Fees	1202 Ass, 1212 Fees, 1223 Cur, 1226 FineR, 1235 IB, 1238 RRG	1 / 6
Alstān			
VI/106/f	<i>Alston Pit</i> 1240-50 RA iv	–	–
land 'land'			
I/85/s Newland	<i>Newlond(e)</i> Hy3 HarlCh	1206 Ass, 1231 FF, Hy3 HarlCh	– / 2
III/75/f	<i>Auethlonde</i> a1205 RA	a1205, e13 RA	–
VI/186/f	<i>Bureslond</i> Hy3 HarlCh	–	–
VI/186/f	<i>Duranteslond'</i> Hy3 HarlCh	–	–
kaupa-land 'purchased land'			
VI/73/f	<i>Couplond</i> eHy3 CollTop	–	–
sand 'sand'			
IV/75/f Sandy Bush	<i>Sondehou</i> eHy2 (e13) NCot	–	–
lang 'long'			
III/78 North Owersby	<i>Longe Ouresbi</i> 1219 Ass	–	– / 3
lang 'long strip of land'			
VI/202/f	<i>scortwestlonges</i> c1227 Foster	–	– / 2
vangr 'garden'			
VI/186/f	<i>Kockelwong</i> Hy3 HarlCh	–	–
VI/196/f	<i>milne wong</i> c1230 CCLeases	–	–
wrang 'crooked or twisted in shape'			
III/26/f	<i>Wrongelandes</i> e13 HarlCh	e13, Hy3 HarlCh	– / 2

ald 'old'			
V/150/f	<i>holdlande(s)</i> 112 (2) (e13) NCot	–	–
VI/74/f	<i>Ouldeholm</i> Hy3 Coll Top	–	–
wald 'woodland'			
IV/134 Wold Newton	<i>Woldneuton</i> 1248 RRG	1202, 1206 Ass, 1214, 1235 FF, 1236, 1238 RRG	4 / 8

Comments

'RA' and 'NCot' (the early-thirteenth-century cartulary of Nun Cotham Priory; Davis 1958: no.726) are of course local, and the same may perhaps be true of 'RRG' (*Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, bishop of Lincoln).

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Noun phrase typology and the emergence of the definite article: analogy, accommodation and frequency effects

*Lotte Sommerer, Vienna**

Why is it that grammaticalization clines are set in motion in some languages but not in others, or set in motion at some stage of language and not at another? (Hawkins 2004: 82)

1. Introduction

This paper discusses certain general developments in the OE noun phrase which might have led to the emergence of the functional category ‘article’. It aims to shed light on the actuation of the change and especially wants to investigate the role and fate of the demonstrative as well as surrounding conditions in the general NP that might have influenced the process. The paper will argue for the existence of a multi-level frequency and analogy effect which triggered the observable process.

So far the diachronic emergence of the article has been interpreted as:

- triggered by the loss of nominal morphology especially in the adjective paradigm (cf. e.g. Philipsen 1887; Behaghel 1923; Christophersen 1939; Heinrichs 1954; Mustanoja 1960; Giusti 1993; Holmberg 1993)
- functional reanalysis towards or within Determiner-Phrase structure (cf. e.g. Philippi 1997; Lyons 1999; Roberts & Roussou 2003; Osawa 2007)
- a grammaticalization path *par excellence* (cf. e.g. Traugott 1982, Lehmann 1982[95]; Himmelmann 1997; Lyons 1999; Hawkins 2004)

* The author’s e-mail for correspondence: lotte.sommerer@univie.ac.at.

For example, Himmelmann (1997), based on Greenberg et al. (1978) and Lehmann (1982), postulates the following grammaticalization path for deictic particles:

Deictic Particle + Categorical Noun > Demonstrative Pronoun > Demonstrative Determiner > Weakly Demonstrative Definite Determiner > Definite Article > Affixal Article > Noun Marker (Himmelmann 1997: 23)

Generally, these lines of investigation have their merit. As a matter of fact, somewhere in the process some kind of reanalysis or reinterpretation must have taken place in the underlying grammar (whatever this grammar looks like) in order for a default marker to arise. Moreover, most of Lehmann's grammaticalization parameters (1982[95]: 164) can indeed be identified in article development in English. Nevertheless, some challenges remain. Although all of the accounts mentioned above provide schemes that more or less fit the phenomena descriptively, they are explanatorily weak because they do not really concentrate on the causes of the actuation of the change.

Several essential questions have to be answered in order to fully explain the emergence of the article:

- Why does the demonstrative become the article in English and not another element?
- What changes must have taken place in the underlying grammar in order for a form to rise on the syntactic surface and a new category to emerge?
- Why and how does this functional category finally spread in the grammar?
- What surrounding or preceding factors trigger this particular development?

The paper does not aim to present a detailed formal account of the change from an 'articleless' grammar ($G_{\text{demonstrative}}$ at t_1) to one that obligatorily uses this functional category to fill an existing determiner slot in the prehead (G_{article} at t_2), although work of this descriptive kind is being pursued. It rather intends to concentrate on the last point mentioned above: discuss developments in OE demonstrative usage which might have prepared the ground from which the article emerged.

To the best of my knowledge, no existing study on the article bases its assumptions on a large text sample using a computer accessible corpus. Consequently, I have the following goals in this paper:

- check claims that have repeatedly been made in handbooks
- fill the empirical gap and analyze texts using a corpus search program
- deal with early demonstrative usage and its role in the process

- link the emergence of the article to “broader” developments or surrounding conditions

The findings presented here are part of a larger research project and therefore work in progress. Nevertheless, the proposal with all its tentative suggestions might be able to complement and add to current alternative views on the subject.

2. The phenomenon

It is established knowledge that the definite English article *the* developed out of the dependent OE deictic demonstrative *sē* (- *sēo* - *þæt*) as an overt and obligatory marker expressing definiteness¹ in a subset of NPs. Historically, the *sē* paradigm is a continuation of the Proto Germanic pronominal stems **sa*, **sō*, **þat* (*Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* 1966: 914), which began to follow two distinct paths during the OE period. On the one hand, it has preserved “its pure demonstrative signification” (Christophersen 1939: 96) translatable as today’s *that*, on the other hand it has developed into a new functional category: the article *the* (cf. Christophersen 1939: 84; Mustanoja 1960: 169; Mitchell 1985: 127ff).

	singular			plural
	masc.	fem.	neuter.	all genders
Nom	<i>sē, se</i>	<i>sēo</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>þā</i>
Acc	<i>þone</i>	<i>þā</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>þā</i>
Gen	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þære, þāre</i>	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þāra, þāra</i>
Dat	<i>þām, þām</i>	<i>þære, þāre</i>	<i>þām, þām</i>	<i>þām, þām</i>

Table 1: Declension of *sē* in Early West Saxon (Hogg 1992:143)

In Present Day English putting an article is the default structure with singular count, plural count and non-count nouns (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 5.12) and according to some internet statistics, *the* is the most common word in the English language (followed by *of* and *to*)². Today the definite article is such a central element of the modern NP that the rise of such a functional category may seem ‘unavoidable’ in retrospect, but it is highly problematic and circular to explain the rise of a category by the sheer fact that it exists today.

However, article usage is not a general tendency among languages. There are languages that do not have an indefinite article (e.g. Icelandic or Arabic)

¹ On the notion of definiteness see Chesterman 1991; 1993; Givón 1979; Greenberg et al. 1978; Hawkins 1978, 1991, 2004; Lyons 1999).

² <http://www.world-english.org/english500.htm>

and others that have no article at all (e.g. Finnish or Russian; cf. McColl Millar 2000: 275). Another interesting typological fact is that grammatical definiteness can be marked in various ways: one finds pre- vs. posthead or free vs. bound morphological forms. Moreover, articles can not only develop out of demonstratives but also out of possessive pronouns, classifiers and other elements (Lyons 1999: 48). Finally, within the Indo-European languages article emergence is a rather late development, especially in the Germanic languages. Gothic, Old High German, Old Saxon and Old English had no definite article as such (Philippi 1997: 62).

What we have in these languages is a rather restrictive use of demonstratives that can not easily be labelled article usage. Although Lass (1992: 112) states that

[t]he Old English equivalent of the definite article was a fully inflected deictic ('demonstrative') adjective/pronoun, quite elaborately marked for case, number and gender,

various problems arise if one simply equates OE *se* with PDE *the*, because *se* was used in a different way than today's article.

According to *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985[95]) the definite article *the* belongs to the closed-class set of determiners which occur before the noun acting as head of the noun phrase. By doing so the article determines the kind of reference a particular noun has. Definite reference is typically indicated by the definite article, but there are also other determiners with a similar function³, for example demonstrative or possessive pronouns.

Most importantly, the article has no other function than preceding the noun. Most other determiners have the additional function of a pronoun: *I don't trust that man* vs. *That's our man in Havana* (dependent usage vs. independent usage of the demonstrative). Unlike other determiners the article has no lexical meaning but solely contributes definite status to the nouns it determines. It is used to mark the phrase it introduces as definite, "as referring to something which can be identified uniquely in the general knowledge

³ Among the class of determiners three groups can be distinguished: Pre-, central and post determiners. These three classes have been set up on the basis of their position in the noun phrase in relation to each other; for example, we do not find a central determiner before a predeterminer. Generally, central determiners "are mutually exclusive with each other, [...] [they are] in a choice relation, ie they occur one instead of each other." (Quirk et al. 1985[95]: 5.12).

shared by the speaker and hearer” (Quirk et al. 1985[95]: 266).⁴ Essentially, it reduces the scope of possible reference of a common noun.

The dependent demonstrative pronoun behaves in a similar way to the article but it is not completely alike. In terms of semantic content, the demonstrative is not empty. According to some researchers, the demonstrative falls within the general class of deictic expressions, whose function is to ‘point to’ an entity in the situation or elsewhere in a sentence. One of the differences between an article and a demonstrative is that the demonstrative expresses deixis (Sommerstein 1972; Lyons 1977). Many researchers believe that the distance component is the only difference that distinguishes *this/ that* from *the* as the definite article is neutral with respect to distance. According to Lehmann (1982[95]: 164) the demonstrative loses the deictic feature through a process of ‘semantic bleaching/attrition’. The question will be to identify the grammatical change which ultimately led to the loss of this deictic component.

Regarding the OE situation the literature maintains that the use of the demonstrative *se* is not obligatory at all. Whereas it can be found regularly in sentences as (1)-(3) it freely varies with zero in poetry (4) and with proper nouns (5). Moreover, constructions as in (6) exist where a demonstrative as well as a possessive pronoun precede the head noun, which is impossible in Present Day English.

- (1)⁵ **se** *deada cniht*
the/that dead boy (ÆCHom i. 492)
- (2) Men ne cunnon secgan to soðe...hwa **þæm hlæste** onfeng
 people cannot say for sure who **the/that cargo** received OE (Beowulf 50)
- (3) þa Eadmund clypode ænne bisceop þe him þa gehendost wæs
 then Eadmund summoned a bishop who him then dearest was
- þa forhtode **se bisceop**
 then was afraid **the/that bishop** (Ælfric Saints XXXII.56)
- (4) stonc ða æfter **stane** stearcheort onfand **feondes fotlast**
 Moved then quickly along **by the/that rock** stout-hearted, found **enemy’s footstep**
 (Beowulf 2288)

⁴ Himmelmann (1997: 36) nicely sums up the most important uses put down by Hawkins (1978: 106-149). Hawkins himself reflects on the work of Christophersen (1939). See further Quirk et al. (1985[95]: 266) for several ways in which the identity of the referent may be determined.

⁵ The following examples are taken from Mitchell (1985: 131ff), Traugott (1992: 172) and Philippi (1997: 62)

- (5) Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices...
In this year Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom...

& **se Cynewulf** oft miclumgefeotum feaht uuiþ Bretwalum
and **that Cynewulf** often big battles fought against Brit-Welsh (Chronicle A 755.1)

- (6) þa com þar gan in to me heofoncund Wisdom, & **þæt min murnede mod** mid his
then came there going in to me heavenly Wisdom, **and that my sad spirit** with his

wordum gegrette
words greeted (Bo.3.8.15)

In other words, Old English sometimes does not employ the demonstrative when one might expect an article in PDE and vice versa. As a consequence, one finds a heated debate in the literature whether the demonstrative should already be analyzed as an article in Old English. However, this discussion is considered to be beside the point by many researchers as linguists might have created an ‘unreal’ problem when trying to impose modern terminology on older structures (cf. Quirk and Wrenn 1958: 70; Mitchell 1985: 329; Christophersen 1939).

3. Theoretical framework

As far as theory is concerned this paper is based on a generalized Darwinian approach to language evolution and change (cf. Dawkins 1989; Dennett 1995; Lass 1997 or Ritt 2004), in which constituents of linguistic competence are regarded as neural association patterns (cf. Rumelhart & McClelland 1986; Pulvermüller 2002) whose transmission among speakers is driven by an imitation instinct that manifests itself most prominently in ‘accommodation’.

The proposed framework is also highly compatible with non-nativist emergent grammar theory (MacWhinney 1999), Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & Coupland 1991) and research on human learning abilities in first language acquisition and AI (e.g. Tomasello 2003; Bates & Goodman 1999; Aslin et al 1998, 1999; Steels et al. 2002). Moreover, it bases its assumptions on findings in frequency studies which postulate that it is high token frequency which provides the triggering device for many changes (cf. e.g. Bybee & Hopper 2001; Bybee 2003; Haiman 1994; Boyland 1996) and also on studies on analogical reasoning in linguistics and cognitive science (cf. Hofstadter 1995; Gentner et al. 2001; Anttila 2003; Itkonen 2005).

Based on the model some claims and hypotheses for this paper are:

- Mostly, speakers imitate linguistic strings with high frequency, and so frequency has an influence on language change.

- Speakers accommodate their style of speaking to become more like that of their addressees based on a universal, perennial need for social approval and mutual intelligibility
- Generally, speakers are cognitively highly capable of analogical reasoning, pattern recognition and pattern abstraction on many levels simultaneously.
- The general structure of the whole OE NP and various developments within it (role of the demonstrative, fate of Genitive -NP, Heaviness, etc.) had a severe effect on the particular emergence of the article.
- The observable reinterpretation of the demonstrative as default article seems to have led to the increased production of the very types of NP patterns that had been frequent in the first place due to a complex multi-level frequency and analogy effect.

4. Textual evidence

The empirical study includes a large quantitative analysis of definite NP types in the Peterborough and Parker Chronicles in the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)⁶ and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2)⁷ corpus. For analysis the Corpus Search Program⁸ was used. In order to investigate the emergence of the definite article on a larger quantitative basis I considered it important to choose written records which, among other things, fulfill the following criteria: a) coverage of the period of interest, b) different scribes, c) no Latin translation, d) prose rather than poetry, e) accessible via computer, and f) syntactical annotation.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, which are a collection of annals in Old English telling the history of the Anglo-Saxon tribes and of which 9 manuscripts have survived, seem to qualify as textual evidence, as they fulfil all the criteria mentioned above. The *Peterborough Chronicle* is the latest of all the surviving manuscripts and was maintained longest. It is not only an important source on Old English but also on Early Middle English. The last entries in the manuscript are among the earliest examples of Middle English. The variety of different styles makes the Chronicle one of the leading evidence of the English language before the Conquest. The *Parker Chronicle* is the oldest surviving manuscript of the Chronicle. As the *Parker Chronicle*

⁶ <http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm>

⁷ <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-2/index.htm>

⁸ <http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net/index.html>

mirrors the oldest linguistic stage it seems of interest to analyse this manuscript next to its cousin. Linguistically it “was not brought into conformity with the late West Saxon literary standard.” (Swanton 1996: xxi).

As the emergence of the article is a diachronic process it seemed necessary to split up the texts into certain diachronic periods: 6 for the Peterborough manuscript, 3 for the *Parker Chronicle*.⁹

source file	<i>cochronE.o34.psd</i>				<i>cmpeterb.m1.psd</i>	
main periods	PI.psd (OE, YCOE) 0-991		PII.psd (OE, YCOE) 992-1121		PIII.psd (ME, PPCME2) 1122-1154	
subperiods	PIa.psd	PIb.psd	PIIa.psd	PIIb.psd	PIIIa.psd	PIIIb.psd
coverage	< 731	733-991	992-1070	1071-1121	1122-1131	1132-1154
NPs total	3035	3293	4532	5112	2353	1215
remarks					1 st continuation	2 nd continuation
source file	<i>cochronA.o23.psd</i>					
main period	AI.psd	AII.psd	AIII.psd			
coverage	< 731	733-891	892-1070			
NPs total	1866	2084	2258			
remarks	AI.psd can be compared with PIa.psd in terms of temporal coverage		1070 the Parker manuscript ends			

Table 2: Diachronic periods in the Peterborough and Parker manuscript

There are four periods (PIa-PIIb) in the OE part (*cochronE.o34.psd*) and two in the ME part (*cmpeterb.m1.psd*), the latter including the famous two ME continuations, which are treated separately as PIIIa and PIIIb. If searches were conducted on the various subperiods, the output was normalized accordingly for statistics and calculations. This paper is only going to present findings for the OE part.¹⁰

In the *Parker Chronicle* (*cochronA.o23.psd*) only three periods (AI, AII, AIII) were created as the text has fewer words and ends in 1070. Essentially,

⁹ Searches were conducted on the complete text files and these periods.

¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that the OE part of the Peterborough manuscript only consists of 40,000 words. Some might consider this an insufficient text sample. However, within 40,000 words one finds 15,000 NPs, a fact that has led to my personal opinion that the sample is sufficient for a pilot study like this.

the *Parker Chronicle* is rather understood as a control corpus which mostly functions as a checking device to see if findings in it support findings in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, or if observed tendencies must be regarded as textual artifacts.

5. Preparatory observations: general OE NP structure & definite NP patterns

As the modern definite article is part of the prehead I mainly investigated the OE prehead and those elements that mark the NP as ‘definite’ (as demonstratives, possessives but also genitive constructions).¹¹

Determination			premodification	Head	Postmodification complementation
Predet.	Det.	Postdet.	Modifier		
Determinatives	Demonstrative Pronoun	Quantifier	Adjective	Common Noun	Prepositional Phrase
Numerical expressions	Possessive Pronoun	Numeral	Participle	Proper Noun	Relative Clause, non-finite clause, etc.,
fractions	Genitive P.		Ordinal numeral	Pronoun	of - Apposition
	Article		Noun	Adjective	
	Interrogative				
	Quantifier				

Table 3: Modern English Noun Phrase structure

Regarding the head especially common and proper nouns were focused on. Only the findings for the common noun will be presented as the story of the

¹¹ Even for PDE the structure of the general noun phrase is a highly discussed issue and several models exist. It would go beyond the scope of this paper to discuss these different models. However, for the following pages a general structure as in Table 3 will be presupposed although the author is aware that it is rather dangerous to apply such modern categorization to older structures.

article appears to be, above all other things, a story about its relationship with the common noun.

At the beginning of this project the idea was to read and analyze texts from all genres qualitatively without the help of a search program. At first sight and especially after reading the handbooks, the OE NP seemed to be full of variation and free word order. As already mentioned in section 2, especially regarding the use of the dependent demonstrative OE structures are very different from structures one finds today in the literature. However, during this initial ‘reading exercise’ and while I was collecting all kinds of OE NP patterns (some of which are listed below) it turned out that generally and on the syntactic surface things appeared to be much more structured than expected.

Combinations	NP					
	PreHead				Head	PostHead
Definite context:						
<i>proper noun</i>					Herodes	
<i>dem + proper noun</i>		se			Ualentius	
<i>dem + common noun</i>		seo			ea	
<i>poss + common noun</i>		his			sunu	
<i>ZERO + common noun</i>					biscepsetl	
<i>ZERO + adj + common noun</i>				micle	ege	
<i>proper noun(gen) + common noun</i>		Limene			mupan	
<i>num + common noun</i>			vii		winter	
<i>dem + com. noun (gen) + noun</i>		þæs		landes	cysta	
<i>dem + num + common noun</i>		þa	xii		apostolas	
<i>dem+ num + com.noun + NP(gen)</i>		þam	xlii		geare	his rices
<i>predet. + dem + noun</i>	ealre	þære			fierde	
<i>poss + common noun + proper noun</i>		his			broþor	Horsan
<i>dem + adj (weak) + common noun</i>		sio		oþeru	fierde	
<i>dem + adj(gen) + noun(gen) + noun</i>		þæs		miclan wuda	eastende	
<i>quant + proper noun(gen) + noun</i>		oþre		Æðeredes	ealdormonnes	
<i>dem + adj(superl.) + common noun</i>		þone		mæstan	dæl	
<i>common noun + noun (gen)</i>					frympe	middangeardes
<i>proper noun + dem + common noun</i>					Marcus	se godspellere
<i>dem + common noun + adj</i>		þa			scipu	eall
<i>Etc.</i>						
Indefinite context:						
<i>ZERO+ common noun</i>					stafas	
<i>ān + common noun</i>		anne			siþ	
<i>sum + num + common noun</i>		sum		hund	scipa	
<i>ZERO + adj (strong) + com.noun</i>				blind	man	
<i>Etc.....</i>						

Table 4: Old English NP combinations in the *Parker Chronicle* (1- 449) & *Peterborough Chronicle* (893-894)

As the examples show, modern default structures (in terms of current word order rules) are already very frequent in Old English. This does not mean that variation does not occur, but if it does these other variants occur rarely. The prehead positions are filled quite heavily and although posthead modification does occur, it is not that frequent.

Additionally, another crucial observation was made: while I was reading I rarely found a noun phrase with a common noun in a semantically definite context which is not marked by a prehead element that overtly marks it as being definite. There is either a demonstrative or a possessive or a genitive construction somewhere in the prehead that marks the head as definite. Let's assume there is a common noun which is the Head in a definite NP:

N (CNhead)

Let's also assume that a prehead with functional slots can be filled by various elements.

_ + _ + _ + N (CNhead)

Then it is very often the case that the prehead is filled with at least one element (X) that makes the NP definite.

_ + _ + X + N (CNhead)

Of course the NP can be longer (adjectival modifiers, etc) as the speaker probably has the communicative intention to express 'more'. However, the essential point is that definite NPs with common nouns that stand on their own are very rare. The famous cases where one finds no element that overtly marks the noun are rare. Or to put it more simply, if the NP is definite the common noun that functions as the head is almost always preceded by at least one element. This gives you a structure as shown below:

X + N(CNhead)

Now, all the reader is asked to do is to keep this particular X + N pattern in mind.

6. Corpus analysis

After these preparatory observations I moved on to analyse the YCOE and the PPCME on a larger scale using the Corpus Search program. Several searches were run to find out about the frequency of certain NP-combinations, word order and the position and occurrence of the demonstrative in general. The

initial searches were simply seen as test runs to check the overall frequencies of certain structures. Generally, the output reveals interesting facts on various levels.

A couple of observations shall be mentioned briefly: first of all, with 2057 hits, the pattern ‘Demonstrative + Common Noun’ (ex.7) is much more frequent than ‘Demonstrative + Proper Noun’ (73 hits, ex.8) although the construction exists. Note that these 73 instances include plural cases as *Ɔa ferdon Ɔa Pihtas*. (cochronE, ChronE_[Plummer]:0.13.12), a construction which still exists today. Only 36 instances show a combination with singular proper nouns (personal names), which doesn’t exist anymore. The few instances where we find a combination as in (8) show that such a pattern is already very rare in Old English, which might be due to the fact that a proper noun or a name is inherently definite on its own and doesn’t need overt definiteness marking.

- (7) ta noldon hi faron ofer **Ɔone ford**.
They would not cross over **the/that ford**
(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:0.30.27)
- (8) **se Cynewulf** rixade xxxi wintra.
The/that Cynewulf ruled thirty-one winters.
(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:755.39.775)

Besides, examples (9) and (10) show that patterns like ‘Demonstrative + Possessive + Adjective + Common Noun’ as well as the word order variation ‘Possessive + Demonstrative + Adjective + Common Noun’ exist.

- (9) ac he teah forð **Ɔa his ealdan wrenceas**.
But he brought out **that his old tricks**
(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1003.6.1640)
- (10) **his Ɔa haligan sawle** to Godes rice asende.
His the/that holy soul to God’s kingdom sent
(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1012.12.1834)

A structure like this is impossible in Present Day English, as the determiner slot can only be filled by one element. The existence of such structures has been used repeatedly to argue against a DP-analysis in Old English.¹² Only an

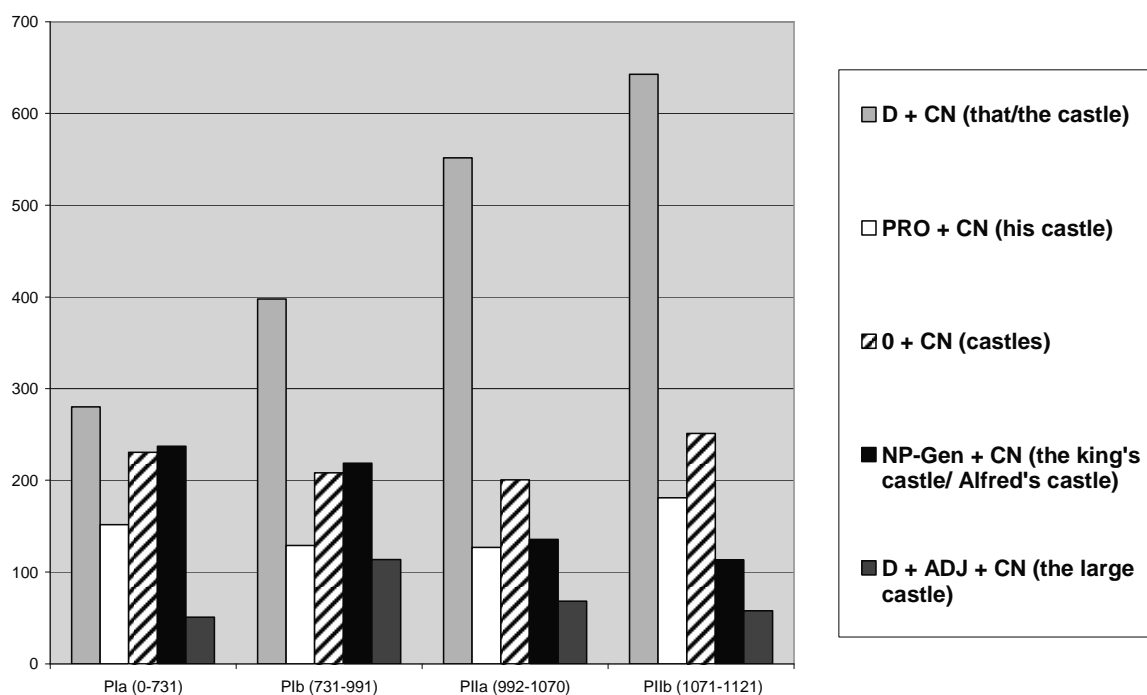
¹² From the formalist/generativist point of view the change from demonstrative into article is seen as an internal semantic-syntactic, abrupt reinterpretation of the grammatical system, where new functional material is created by categorical reanalysis of lexical or already functional material (Lightfoot 1991; van Gelderen 1993, 2004; van Kemenade & Nigel 1997; Roberts & Roussou 2003). If the category of definiteness is interpreted as a functional head, the emergence of a definite article represents the

NP-analysis would enable us to have two determinative elements next to each other. However, as we only find 3 instances of such constructions, it is hard to interpret their relevance. The important point here is that they again are very rare. Interestingly, neither a pattern like ‘Demonstrative + Possessive + Common Noun’ nor ‘Possessive + Demonstrative + Common Noun’ can be found in the source texts, something the researcher might expect if she/he takes the suggested NP analysis for granted. Unfortunately, it would go beyond the scope of this paper to discuss questions like these. Rather, I primarily want to draw the reader’s attention to graph 1 below.

6.1 Definite NP-patterns: the rise of the demonstrative

Graph 1 shows the results of 5 searches that were run on the 4 subperiods of the OE part of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. All of them show the diachronic developments of certain NP patterns (mostly definite NP patterns). All the searches have a common noun as their head with a certain element immediately preceding that head.

appearance of the grammatical category of definiteness in a language triggered through the interaction of reanalysis and semantic weakening. On a syntactic level the structure of the phrase is changed through the creation of a DP-projection. The earlier D-less NPs change into DPs via the emergence of a D-paradigm for nominals. What makes such a process possible is the broad functional overlap between demonstrative and definite article, which can be seen as a deictically unmarked demonstrative (Lyons 1999: 323; Osawa 2007). The highly debated question in the formalist framework is if OE still had NP structure where a D-projection doesn’t exist yet and one finds demonstratives or other elements only specifying the nominal, or if Old English already had DP structure with DP being a projection of the functional category determiner (cf. Abney 1987; Abraham 1997 and Leiss 2007).



Graph 1: NP ecology in NPs with common noun as head (normalized in 5000 NPs) in the *Peterborough Chronicle*

The first bar shows the combination of a demonstrative immediately preceding a common noun, e.g. *that/the castle*.¹³ The white bar represents the ‘Pronoun + Common Noun’ combination, e.g. *his castle*. The hatched bar shows those cases where a common noun (either singular or plural) stands on its own. It is the only search that includes indefinite contexts and also those cases of plural words and indefinite contexts where a common noun stands on its own. However, the rare cases of singular common nouns without overt marking in a definite context are included here as well. The author is well aware that it will be necessary to further investigate these cases and extract those instances in which a common noun (singular or plural) occurs in a definite context without any overt marking. The black bar gives the hits for a possessive construction before the head noun, something like *king’s castle*, *the king’s castle*, or *Alfred’s castle*. The last bar shows the development of ‘Demonstrative + Adjective + Common Noun’ something like *the large castle*.

¹³ As the corpora have not been tagged for number (no singular vs. plural distinction), the searches include singular as well as plural nouns. Moreover, note that for all of the searches below the query files were written in such a way that the particular structure searched for can always be preceded by several further elements or followed by other elements within the NP. The focus always lies on the head noun and the simple question is how many times certain elements hold the position immediately preceding it.

In the literature it has been claimed that the use of the demonstrative increases steadily through time. The findings in Graph 1 nicely support such statements. As can be seen demonstrative usage before common nouns increases drastically, with a peak in late Old English.¹⁴ The graph also shows that the pronoun combination remains stable in frequency, whereas prehead genitive constructions even decrease in frequency. This development has been shown in other studies as well (cf. Rosenbach 2002), and we know that in Middle English the *of*-genitive variant becomes stronger. Finally, ‘Determiner + Adjective + Noun’ use varies but does not increase.

As a reaction to these figures, one could lean back and conclude that it is quite obvious that the article develops out of the demonstrative: firstly, the demonstrative is closest in terms of semantic content (after all, the only semantic notion that has to get lost diachronically is the concept of deixis, which can take place through a process of semantic bleaching) and secondly, the demonstrative is already quite frequent in the beginning. Thus, one could interpret the rise of the demonstrative as a simple mathematical frequency effect, saying that those elements which are already most frequent in the beginning become even more frequent: a process which perpetually pushes itself further, comparable to the effect of ‘the rich becoming even richer while the poor becoming even poorer’. To a certain extent this combination of both facts seems a plausible explanation for the grammaticalization path “demonstrative > article”.

However, if one has a closer look the frequency of the demonstrative is not exorbitantly high. As powerful as the argument on semantic closeness might be, it does not seem to be powerful enough to explain why demonstrative usage rises that dramatically after all. In order to find additional or alternative answers, we should dig deeper and look for other mechanisms which might be responsible for the rise in demonstrative usage.

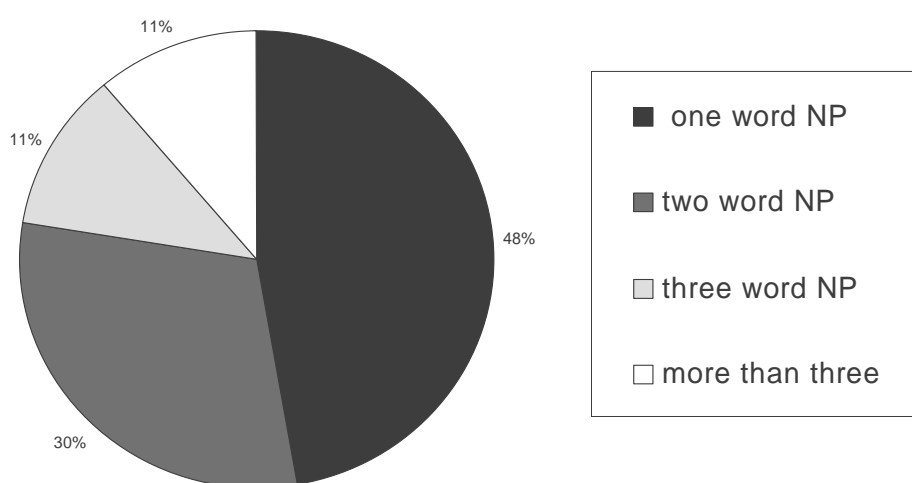
6.2 Heaviness

As a next step the notion of ‘heaviness’, which is related to notions of ‘linguistic complexity’, ‘syntactic weight’ and ‘syntactic length’ was analyzed (Crystal 2006: 90, 263, 499). ‘Weight’ is a relative concept which “relates the relative length/complexity of different elements of sentence structure” (Crystal 2006: 499). A clause as subject or object is considered to be heavier than a lexical NP. A pronoun as subject is considered less heavy than an NP with a prehead. The order of elements in languages seems to be influenced by

¹⁴ The *Parker Chronicle* shows very similar results. Demonstrative usage steadily increases there as well.

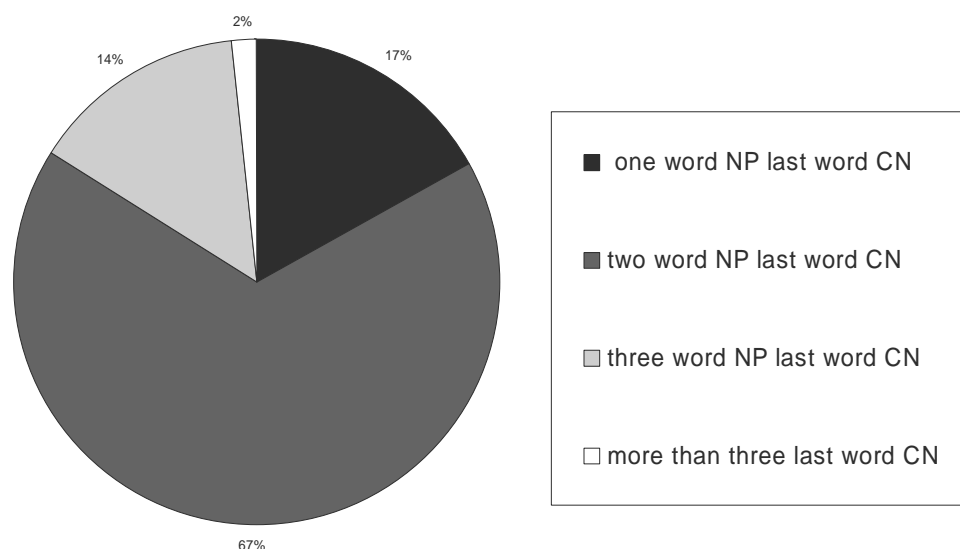
their heaviness. Short elements are, for example, positioned before longer ones in right-branching VO languages whereas longer elements tend to occur before short ones in left-branching OV languages (cf. Crystal 2006: 499).

In this paper, the question was how many NPs in the whole *Peterborough Chronicle* consist of one word, two words, three or more than three words. Graph 2 shows the result for all NPs. Quite logically, most NPs are one word NPs because this search includes the class of pronouns as well.



Graph 2: Heaviness in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (OE part)

However, with combinations that have a common noun as head things look completely different. In this case, two word NPs are the vast majority.



Graph 3: Heaviness in the NP when last word is a CN (*Peterborough Chronicle* OE part)

This kind of result led to the following question: what if there exists a preference of speakers to produce syntactic patterns that they experience as frequent and therefore typical of their language? What if there exists a general pattern preference for two word NPs with common nouns?

The assumption is the following: When the speaker hears a common noun, most of the time s/he will only find one element preceding it. It is important to understand that this general pattern preference includes definite as well as indefinite NPs. In Graph 3 NPs like: *my king, no king, one king, two kings, that king, great king...* are included. This leads to two different conclusions: a) the speaker observes that syntactically most of the time the common noun is preceded by another (one more) element; (a general 'X + CN preference') and b) the speaker becomes aware that the element before the common noun semantically always restricts the scope of possible reference. *My king, one king* or even *great king* all have one thing in common, they specify or determine the common noun in a particular way.

This consequently appears to have had an effect on the particular development of the article. If the speaker observes that X + N is generally most common with common nouns, s/he consequently might feel the need to fill the prehead slot in front of the common noun simply to stick to the observed preference of the speech community. Just to be on the safe side s/he is looking for an already existing element that can fill the slot without doing much harm in terms of content. S/He chooses the demonstrative as her/his prime candidate as, in terms of semantic load, all there is to it is the concept of deixis.

S/He even begins to favor this pattern in those definite cases where the noun stands alone and where overt marking was not the case before. Remember that also in the definite NP the X + N pattern is highly frequent. Observing this structural pattern preference on more than one level, the speaker's grammar probably undergoes some kind of reanalysis towards the emergence of a determiner slot before the noun.

Generally, people try to match the speech of the community because they want to belong. People accommodate their style of speaking to become more like that of their addressees based on a universal, perennial need for social approval and mutual intelligibility. Such socio-psychological 'accommodation processes'¹⁵ relate to the well researched concept of 'convergence' (cf. Giles & Clair 1979; Giles & Coupland 1991). Convergence has been defined as:

a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling gaze and so on (Giles & Coupland 1991: 63).

Several reasons exist why individuals consciously or unconsciously accommodate linguistically. They converge in order to "identify more closely with the listener, to win social approval, or simply to increase the communicative efficiency of the interaction" (Crystal 2006: 6).

Researchers have pointed out that, most of the time, to accommodate and converge towards a speech community seems to incur more rewards than costs (Homans 1961; Giles & Clair 1979: 48) as there is empirical evidence that people act more favorably to those individuals that converge to their way of speaking.¹⁶ Regarding diachrony, Trudgill (1986) argues that interpersonal

¹⁵ Note that accommodation has especially been discussed in Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT). However, accommodation has been recognized under a variety of labels, e.g. 'interactional synchrony', 'imitation', 'mimicry', 'approximation', 'attuning' or 'acculturation'. Moreover, many different academic approaches (e.g. Sociolinguistics, Pragmatics or Social Psychology) have used the interesting, albeit controversial, concept (cf. Giles & Coupland 1991). Also, much of the literature on long and medium-term language and dialect change can also be interpreted in convergence terms (cf. Trudgill 1986). This has led to various wider or more narrow definitions of the term 'accommodation'. What all academic approaches share is the basic idea that convergence "reflects, [...] a speaker's or a group's need (often non-conscious) for social integration or identification with another [...] [which] relies heavily on notions of similarity attraction (Byrne 1971) which, in its simplest form, suggests that as one person becomes 'more similar to' another, this increases the likelihood that the second will like the first" (Giles & Coupland 1991:72).

¹⁶ "[...][R]elative similarity in speech rates, response latences, language and accent is viewed more positively, on dimensions of social attractiveness, communicative effectiveness, perceived warmth, and co-operativeness (see Giles et al. 1987) "(Giles & Coupland 1991: 73).

convergence is a breeding ground for longer-term shifts in individual as well as group-level language usage. Thus individual accommodation processes can be seen in relation to language change and change of grammar.

Two points are essential here. First of all it is important to understand that without having access to others' internalized grammars, "[...] [the converging speakers] may construct very different grammars – as long as these generate nearly the same language" (*International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* 2003: 77). Secondly, such reasoning is deeply analogical. Hofstadter points out that "analogy making lies at the heart of intelligence" (1995: 63) and cognitive studies have shown that we must postulate an innate faculty of analogizing that is not domain-specific (Itkonen 2005: xi).

Analogy has been defined in many different ways, but this paper assumes a very general definition of 'creative analogy' as a problem-solving "relation of similarity" (Antilla 2003: 428). It is understood as a psychologically real phenomenon and is analyzed as a "historical process which projects a generalization from one set of expression to another" (*International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* 2003: 77) or "an attempted transfer of a structure from one domain of reality to another" (Antilla 2003: 430).

A linguistic analogical action is performed when the individual understands common similarities between two strings (generalization), abstracts a more abstract pattern (analogical reasoning) and applies this to a third instance (analogical extension).

When less central constructions or interpretations are subsumed under the central or prototypical one, it is natural to assume that the latter has been (analogously) extended to them (Itkonen 2005: 24).

I argue that the observed syntactic X + N pattern is a central, prototypical, productive derivational pattern. Itkonen also refers to the importance of frequency:

The form of a single word which is either exceptionally frequent or exceptionally significant may constitute a model after which the forms of semantically related words are reshaped (Itkonen 2005: 60).

What Itkonen postulates for the word level can easily be adopted for the OE NP. Finally, X + N and the assimilation to this pattern can also be interpreted as a diachronic kind of grammar optimization that takes place in language acquisition:

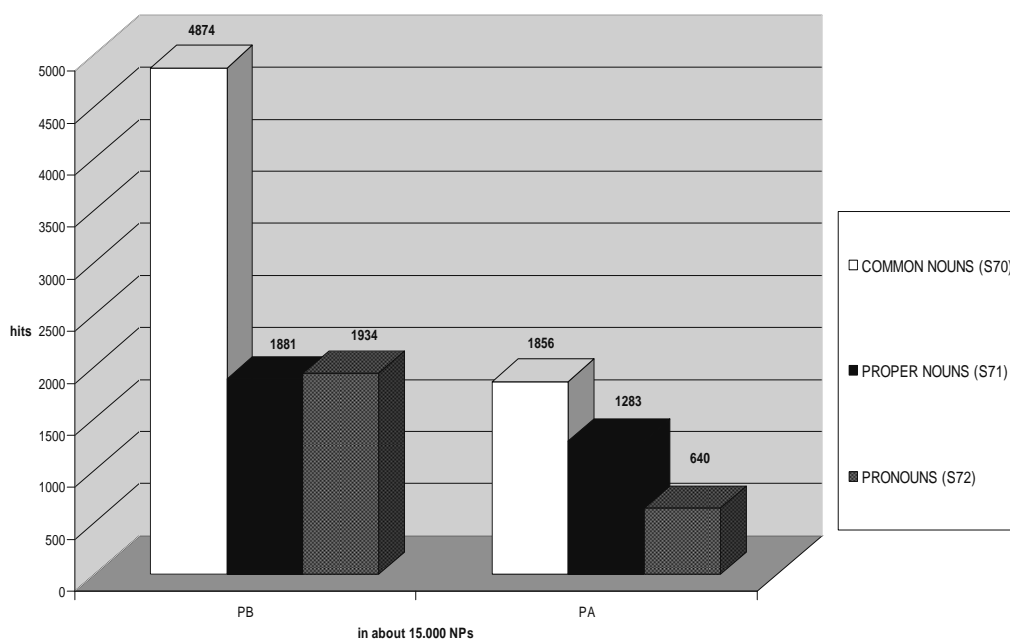
we can [...] treat analogy as a process of optimization of grammatical structure. We can take the acquisition process as the causal mechanism: if learners' successive grammars increase in coverage and complexity, the analogical change is "imperfect learning" occurring when rules of intermediate grammars (or forms

generated by them) are retained and become part of the linguistic norm. [...] The discontinuity of language transmission explains the possibility of radical reanalysis (International Encyclopedia of Linguistics 2003: 79).

6.3 Salience of the common noun

The proposed assumption is also based on the idea that the speaker is generally very sensitive about common nouns and their pattern preferences. Why should this be the case? On a superficial level, many one word NPs exist that do not show an X + N preference. Why should the speaker even become aware of this general X + N preference with common nouns if such NPs are embedded in a vast amount of ‘one word NPs’? Regarding this question I believe in what might be called the supremacy of the common noun.

The class of common nouns has a dominant position because of its high frequency. Several studies have shown that the common noun generally is a very prominent prototypical category from a psychological point of view (predominance of common nouns in early acquisition in first language acquisition studies: cf. Benedict 1979; Dromi 1987; Bates & Goodman 1999; Hoff 2001; Clark 2003; typological universal: cf. Whaley 1997). This prototypical character also gives the common noun a salient status in psychological computation. As can be seen in Graph 4, noun phrases that have a common noun as head are far more frequent than noun phrases with proper nouns or pronouns in both manuscripts.



Graph 4: Last position in NP is either CN, PN or ProN in the PB/ PA (OE part)

In Graph 4 the amount of common nouns is exorbitantly high and the graph also contradicts the fact that normally pronouns tend to be very frequent in a text. It might be the case that one faces a textual artifact here due to the fact that a chronicle reports on certain people or places and changes the topic quite often so that anaphoric back reference using a pronoun is not necessary. However, by the year 449 chronicle entries become longer in the *Peterborough Chronicle* and at least by then I believe that it has a narrative structure in which pronouns are used as anaphoric reference.

Still, one doesn't know without further researching other texts. Common nouns are also the most frequent group of nouns in the *Parker Chronicle*. In other words, common nouns are frequent in both cases. Also, even if pronouns were most frequent the speaker might not take their behavior into account at all. As a matter of fact, the syntactic behavior of pronouns differs vastly from the syntactic behavior of nouns as, for example, modification is not possible (**the nice she*). Although several grammars count pronouns as a subclass of nouns, it is highly debatable whether the speaker cognitively links pronoun usage to noun usage and therefore takes into account certain frequencies or the structure of pronoun NPs in his/her subconscious computational analogical reasoning.¹⁷

7. Interpretation: multilevel–frequency effects and analogical reasoning

The rise of OE demonstrative usage, which later on led to a certain change in the underlying grammar and the emergence of the article, was influenced by three processes on different levels, influencing each other in subtle ways. The following graph visually sums up what has been stated so far.

¹⁷ The author assumes that speakers differentiate between the subcategories common noun, proper noun and pronoun. Linguistic categories are a psycholinguistic reality, and although it is hard to pin down the exact cognitive processes on what is going on, categorization is not arbitrary and originates from semantic and syntactic features (cf. Aitchison 1998: 101). It has repeatedly been pointed out that especially syntactic features (position in certain syntactic slots) might even be more influential than semantic features when it comes to assigning categorical membership of certain words.

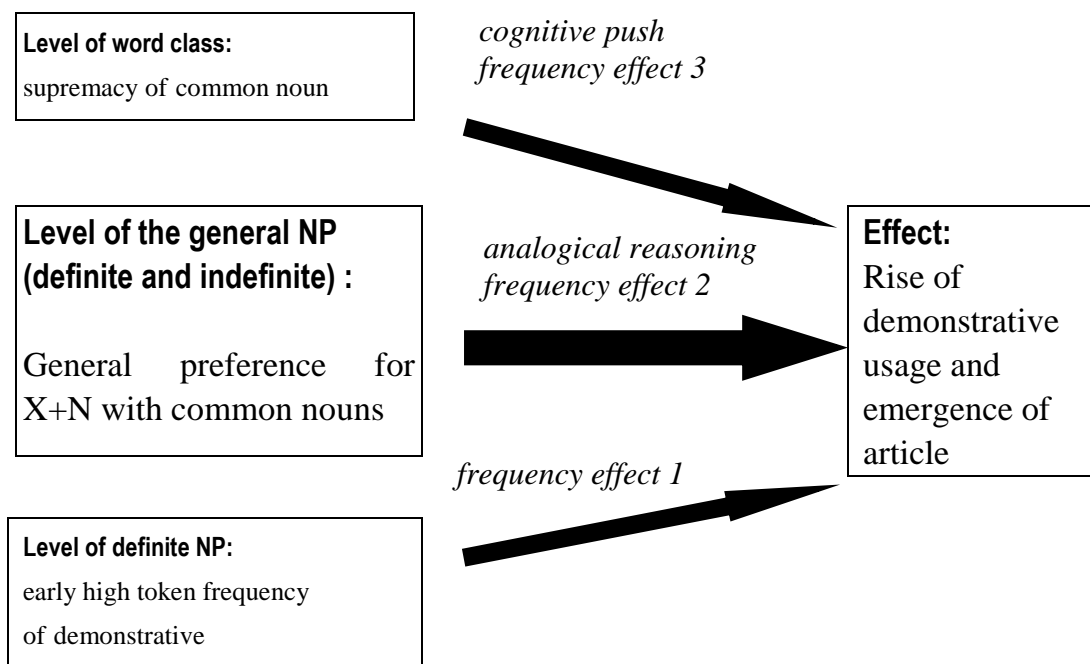


Figure 1: Multi-level frequency effects that trigger the rise of demonstrative usage in Old English

The first frequency effect takes place on the level of the definite noun phrase. The early high token frequency of the demonstrative has an influence on article emergence. As the demonstrative was already frequent in the beginning this might have favored an increase in frequency.

The second frequency effect can be found on another and more abstract level, namely on the level of the general NP (including definite and indefinite NPs). There seems to exist a general 'X + N preference' with common nouns. The speaker prefers to fill at least one slot before the head noun. This quite superficial tendency and pattern preference might lead the speaker to take the X + N pattern as an exemplary model. One takes in many different surface structures, abstracts what they have in common, namely one element before the common noun, and then, through a process of analogical reasoning, uses this pattern on the level of the definite NP. The rise in frequency triggers a process of reanalysis. This kind of reanalysis leads to an increased usage of the demonstrative. Semantic bleaching and phonetic reduction are a consequence of this increase.

On a third level of word class, the psychological supremacy of the common noun and the speakers' awareness of preferred patterns might have pushed the process even further.

This account is compatible with subsequent developments in Modern English. Two cataphoric structures from Modern English come to mind, where the article is used in a context “where what follows the lead noun, rather than what precedes it, enables us to pinpoint the reference uniquely” (Quirk et al. 1985[95]: 5.32). The article is obligatory even when it is redundant because the content fulfills the determinating function. Interestingly, NPs with a posthead relative clause which fulfills the function of making the NP definite, still have an article in the beginning. It’s *the man who killed John F. Kennedy*, not **man who killed John F. Kennedy*. This kind of double marking would not be necessary in terms of definiteness or referentiality. Also in the second ill-formed phrase the speaker can make out the reference that is being talked about.

Something similar can be observed with *of*-genitive constructions. As we have seen the prehead genitive construction decreases and the post head *of*-construction mostly takes its place. Somehow, the demonstrative seems to step in for the genitive construction to fill the open slot in front of the noun. If one has a look at PDE noun phrases that include a post-head *of* genitive, one can see that it is incorrect to say something like **I met Queen of England*. The article *the* has to occur before the noun: *I met the Queen of England*. Essentially this can not be the case due to definiteness marking. *Of England* on its own already defines the NP. The prehead article seems to be there just to fulfill the criteria X + N. In this position the article might simply act as a semantically empty but “unambiguous signal” that cognitively helps the speaker to anticipate a following noun helping with “construction in comprehension as well as production models” (Hawkins 2004: 87) and serves to facilitate online processing. In the case of *England’s Queen* no article is needed as well, because the X slot is sufficiently filled by the Genitive construction.

Moreover, it could be possible that this general X + N preference in NPs with common noun as head has led to the emergence of the indefinite article as well. We know that Old English had no indefinite article. Compared to definiteness indefiniteness was completely unmarked in Old English. The indefinite article *a/an* developed out of the numeral *one*. As many languages show, this is not really necessary, a language can do perfectly without indefiniteness marking. The indefinite article emerged as a consequence to the prior emergence of the definite article to fill the determiner slot in the emerged DP as well as the general X + N criterion. This tentative suggestion will have to be further investigated in future research.

Many questions remain. One of them is why one cannot observe the possibility to use an article before proper nouns in English. Why does the

assumed X + N preference not seem to count in the case of proper nouns? As could be seen such a structure was possible but not frequent in Old English. However, it decreased. **I like the Susi* is considered grammatically incorrect in PDE.¹⁸ As has been pointed out in section 3.3, I believe that the speaker differentiates between categories. Proper nouns are different from common nouns. As the proper noun is inherently definite on its own and has unique reference and proper nouns generally have “unique denotation” (Quirk et al. 1985[95]: 288), this semantic feature seems to block the use of an additional marker that restricts the scope of the reference, since with proper nouns the reference is already down to one. A constraint with this subcategory seems likely.

Another structure that needs to be explained are phrases like *to school* or *in hospital*, where the sentence lacks a determiner as well. Again in German or Dutch the same sentence uses a determiner here.

8. Conclusion

This paper has tried to argue that the general structure of the whole OE NP (especially the notion of heaviness and a general prehead structure) had an effect on the rise of demonstrative usage which holds the seed for the particular emergence of the article *the*. What one can observe is an increased production of an X + CN pattern in definite NPs that is already most frequent in the general NP. This process is triggered by the high frequency of certain patterns and the speaker’s ability for analogical reasoning. In other words, one faces a complex multi-level frequency and analogy effect.

¹⁸ Interestingly, such structures can be found in many dialects of Italian and of German, e.g. *I mog die Anna* [I like the Anna] (Austrian German).

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YCOE – York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose

PPCME2 – The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English

<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm>

<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-2/index.htm>

<http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net/index.html>

A keek at Scots lang syne: A brief overview of the historical development of the Scots language

*Johann W. Unger, Lancaster and Vienna**

1. Introduction

There are three languages spoken today in Scotland that could reasonably be called autochthonous, namely English, Scottish Gaelic, and Scots. Calling the latter a language is considered controversial by some academics and even by some of its speakers, and the purpose of this article is to provide a brief overview of the historical circumstances that have led to this controversy. My own position is that whether Scots is ‘a language’ or not is a moot point, which in any case cannot be determined through investigation or description of a purely ‘linguistic’ nature, i.e. of linguistic patterns and structures. Rather, social, cultural and political factors must be taken into account (cf. the maxim popularly attributed to Max Weinreich, that ‘a language is a dialect with an army and a navy’). This is not to say that a linguistic investigation of Scots is not worthwhile, and indeed a great deal of work of this kind has been done in the last 30 years (e.g. Murison 1979; Aitken 1984; Macafee 1994; Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003b). Often Scots is defined in terms of its *differences* to English. Although I find this practice problematic (because it may strengthen the perception that Scots is inferior to English), it has the advantage of providing a description that is easily accessible to someone not familiar with Scots. Following Aitken (1979b) and many scholars since, I see Scots today as existing on a continuum with Scottish Standard English. Varieties most distant from Scottish Standard English can be called (*Broad*) *Scots*, while those which show only minor differences might be called (*Scottish*) *English*. These differences may occur at various linguistic levels:

1. **Lexis:** Scots has a large body of distinctive lexis which is unrelated or only distantly related to commonly used words in present-day English

* Contact e-mail address: johann.unger@univie.ac.at

(e.g. *keek* ‘glance’, *dreich* ‘dreary’, *speir* ‘ask’, etc.). A number of other lexemes are cognate with words in English, i.e. they are more closely related and often distinguished only by differing pronunciation or spelling (e.g. *lang* ‘long’, *baw* or *ba* ‘ball’, etc.). Finally, Scots lexis also overlaps with English lexis, so that some words are identical (in writing, at least), such as *information*, *first*, *time*, etc. It is worth noting that neologisms are also becoming more common in speech and especially in contemporary texts written in Scots, e.g. *stoorsooker* ‘vacuum cleaner’ (literally ‘dust sucker’).

2. **Syntax & morphology:** Although many of the syntactic and morphological patterns found in Scots are identical or very similar to those found in English, there are a few differences, such as the negative marker *na* or *nae* (e.g. *canna* ‘cannot’) and the use of the ending *-s* for verbs with third-person plural subjects (e.g. *whit fowk speaks Scots* ‘which people speak Scots’).
3. **Orthography & phonology:** There is no commonly accepted standard form of Scots, whether spoken or written. Thus, writers of Scots may invent their own orthography or may use historically common or prestigious forms (e.g. spellings favoured by Robert Burns). Some contemporary writers prefer to use spellings which are clearly different from their English cognates, so that for example they may prefer <oot> to <out> even if many Scots speakers would pronounce the latter as /ʉt/ regardless of its spelling. Scots has many phonological differences when compared with (most varieties of) English English, but because it shares many features with Scottish Standard English, these cannot be thought of as distinctive to Scots only. For example, both Scots and Scottish Standard English are rhotic and both typically realise the spelling <ch> as /x/ (e.g. in *loch*). Scots speakers may additionally realise the spelling <gh> as /x/, e.g. in *daughter* (also spelt <dochter> in Scots). The vowel systems of Scots and Scottish Standard English are also distinctive.¹

That there are clear differences between broad Scots and Scottish Standard English should be apparent to both linguists and laypeople. What is particularly worthy of further investigation, then, is why Scots is labelled as a language (or otherwise) by certain groups and individuals, who may be strongly motivated by particular language ideologies. One such investigation, a comparative analysis of attitudes towards Scots and attitudes towards

¹ Scottish vowels have been extensively described, e.g. recently for Urban Scots by Stuart-Smith (2003).

Austrian German, is presented in this issue of *Views* by Elisabeth Haidinger. With the present overview of the development of Scots I aim to give some historical context to the present sociolinguistic situation in Scotland and to Haidinger's findings. The overview is divided into three main sections: the early origins of Scots to the adjournment of the Scottish Parliament in 1707; from 1707 to the end of the nineteenth century; and from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. As this is a short article and Scots has a long history, I have of course had to leave out many important events. Fortunately, there is a growing body of literature on the history of Scots (some of it cited in this article), which should be consulted if more detailed information about any particular period is required.²

2. Origins–1707

The earliest origins of the Scots language can be traced to the Northumbrian dialects spoken by Anglo-Saxon settlers in the north-east of present-day England (Northumbria) and the south-east of present-day Scotland (Lothian). These settlers established themselves in the area between the rivers Forth and the Humber from the sixth century onwards (McClure 1997: 2). Although the language they spoke is usually called *Old English*, it could just as easily be called *Old Scots*, as it is an ancestor to both languages. In fact, the very earliest extant written records of any Old English variety are in the northern Anglian dialects (Kniezsa 1997: 24; McClure 1997: 2). From the ninth century, the Danelaw started to expand into northern and eastern England, and there is some debate as to the exact nature of the relationship between the more established Anglo-Saxon settlers in Lothian and the newer Anglo-Scandinavian settlers further south. Even if more precise details were known about this period, it would be difficult to determine which language variety most influenced later forms of Scots, because they shared a common origin and many lexical items (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 6).

From the eleventh century onwards, political changes further south again affected Scotland: some time after the Norman conquest of England, the originally mainly Gaelic-speaking Scottish monarchy was reorganised “on Anglo-Norman lines” (McClure 1997: 4) by Malcolm III and the monarchs who followed him. Margaret, an English princess who was fleeing from the Norman invasion of 1066, married Malcolm III, and brought with her a large retinue of Anglo-Saxon courtiers and attendants (Corbett, McClure and

² A more detailed overview is available in Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith (2003a). A number of articles on historical aspects of Scots are collected in Jones (1997).

Stuart-Smith 2003a: 7). Their youngest son, David I, was educated in the Norman-English court, and had a great influence both on the political structures of the Scottish realm and the language used by its ruling elite (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 7). During this period, the establishment of market towns or burghs, which served as sites of linguistic contact and centralised judiciary and economic power, led to an increase in the use of Anglo-Saxon languages in part because the institutions were imported from Anglo-Saxon speaking regions (McClure 1997: 4; Corbett 1997: 4). A further contributing factor may have been the rise in immigration due to refugees (Corbett 1997: 4) from the harsh conditions further south under William the Conqueror and his heirs, combined with the Scottish policy of granting land to settlers. These were not all native speakers of Anglo-Saxon languages, but often spoke cognate languages such as Flemish or Scandinavian languages, and the languages of the Anglo-Saxons were certainly closer to these languages than was Gaelic (McClure 1997: 5). Thus, both the political elite and the economically prosperous burgh-residents will have contributed to the shift away from Gaelic and towards the use of languages that contributed to the development of Scots.

The end of the House of Dunkeld (the last mainly Gaelic-speaking Celtic monarchs of Scotland) in the thirteenth century was another pivotal event in the development of Scots. The subsequent monarchs “began to identify themselves with the Lowland rather than the Highland part of their kingdom” (McClure 1997: 6), leading to a shift amongst the elite away from Gaelic and towards the language that would later be called Scots. In the thirteenth century, however, the (non-Celtic) languages spoken in Scotland and England were (confusingly) known to the inhabitants of Scotland as *Inglis* (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 8), while further south the name *Englisc* was used. An alternative name for the language, *Scottis*, later *Scots*, became common, though not universal, in the late 15th century (McClure 1997: 7; Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 8). This suggests that during this period Scots began to be seen as a distinct language from English.

The period from 1460-1560 has been called the “heyday of the Scots tongue” (Murison 1979:8, cited in Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 9). The documentary records of this period indicate that the use of Scots was not only widespread, but was present in all domains of public and private life (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 9), and can thus be considered as the de facto ‘official language’ of the non-Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland during this period. However, it was not long before the forces contributing to the anglicisation of Scots, that is to say its convergence with English, took hold (Meurman-Solin 1997: 3). These forces were varied and in some cases

very powerful. From the middle of the 16th century, Corbett *et al.* (2003a: 10) identify

increased variation that results from a tension between further divergence and the tendency towards convergence with English forms, as the two nations moved closer politically and, in some respects, culturally.

The actions of the ruling elite seem to have had a great impact on this process. The marriage of James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor of England in 1503 paved the way for the eventual Union of the Crowns two generations later, in 1603, when James VI of Scotland also became the ruler of England. This union meant that the Scottish court decamped to England, and eventually adopted the courtly norms (and also language) of their new home (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 10).

The Reformation also had an influence on the language use of Scottish people, via their religious practices. The most popular version of the Bible in Scotland in the latter half of the 16th century was produced by English Protestants exiled to Geneva (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 11), and the language they used was (southern) English. There is a suggestion that preachers translated readings *ad lib* into a language variety their congregations would understand and identify with, but these could not necessarily compete with the authority of the written word (Aitken 1979a: 91). Books in general were an anglicising force, with Scottish printers struggling to compete with the volume of books produced by their English counterparts (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 11). Although private letters and hand-written public documents also eventually followed this anglicising trend, it is unclear to what extent speech was affected. The legal profession remained one formal context in which Scots was widely used until the end of the 17th century (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003a: 11). The years between the Union of Crowns in 1603 and the Union of Parliaments in 1707 do, however, represent a watershed in the history of Scots. After being the 'official language' of state, church and law, and a language which was used in a wide variety of public and private contexts, it became a language which was widely suppressed. It continued to be used extensively within communities in spoken form, but not when communicating with outsiders or in formal or published writing.

3. 1707 – 1900

The period following the Union of Parliaments in 1707 showed, on the whole, a continuation of the marked decline of Scots use in private but especially in public life. Gradually, anglicising influences gained the upper hand in all

public domains – in the *Kirk* ('church'), in literature, in political institutions, in commerce, and in education (Aitken 1979a: 90). Nevertheless, this period also, ironically, produced the person who is probably the best-known user of Scots from a modern perspective, Robert Burns (1759–1796). The decline of Scots leading up to and throughout this period was principally a 'top-down' process. As Macafee (1994: 31) puts it:

The decline of Scots does not lie primarily in the loss of speakers, although this is important – Scots was largely given up by the economically and politically powerful classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

McClure (1995a: 7) describes the gradual expansion from the elite to other segments of society:

Whereas formerly the use of LSc [Scots] had been natural and unconsidered, it was now [after 1625] seen by an influential and increasingly numerous section of the population as undesirable.

Despite this, it seems that Scots (in some form) continued to be used, especially spoken Scots and non-literary and non-elite written Scots. The evidence for this lies in the well-documented attempt by various eighteenth century educators and grammarians (both English and Scottish) to eradicate 'Scotticisms' from public discourse (see Jones 1995). This of course raises the question of what exactly they were trying to eradicate, and shows that they felt there was something to eradicate in the first place. According to McClure (1995a: 9) this process was only possible because of the lack of a perceived association between Scotland as a nation and Scots as a national language:

It is significant that the Scots words and idioms which 18th-century literati were fond of compiling to remind themselves how not to speak were designated 'Scotticisms'. Had those men [sic] perceived their home speech as a national language, no such concept could have arisen: one does not look for Gallicisms in French.

Whatever the respective statuses of the dominant and declining language varieties, those on the receiving end of this eradication campaign used language which must have been markedly different from Southern English speech and writing. Though wide-ranging, the 'de-Scotticisation' of Scots did face some opposition – Jones (1995: 1) points to a number of contemporary linguistic commentators and public figures who "found this 'linguistic cleansing' profoundly distasteful and even un-patriotic". Nevertheless, schoolmasters beat pupils, audiences ridiculed speakers and persons of letters sought to publicly humiliate those whose language showed 'shortcomings'.

In the nineteenth century, mass literacy had a part to play in the hastening of the decline of Scots. As a written standard (almost always English) became increasingly accessible to the population, it brought with it the weight and

authority of ‘proper’, ‘correct’ language (see McClure 1995b: 22), leaving non-standardised written Scots as the ‘poor country cousin’. From this point to the denigration of spoken Scots it was then only a small step (see also Meurman-Solin 1997: 4). However, Scots survived and spoken Scots continued to be used throughout this period, even if it was only as (in the view of users and non-users alike) a ‘dialect of English’ or the language of ‘country bumpkins’. Industrialisation may have been another factor, as the need to assimilate to the forms of speech of a growing urban workforce (including many Gaelic speakers supplanted by the Highland Clearances, who would not have been native Scots speakers) may have led to the “virtual obliteration of the native dialects by the speech of immigrants from other parts of Scotland” (McClure 1995a: 11).

4. 1900 – Present

The early 20th Century brought with it a renewed interest in Scots as a written language. A group of poets and writers led by C M Grieve, writing as Hugh MacDiarmid, “set out to create a medium for literary expression by drawing on all the resources of Scots, present and past” (Price 1984: 189). This ‘Scottish Renaissance’ led to the publication of (mainly verse) texts in so-called ‘synthetic Scots’. This new form of Scots was not a revival of spoken Scots, then, but of written Scots, and a markedly literary form of written Scots at that. According to McClure (1995a: 12) it “has had no effect whatever on the spoken forms” of Scots. Furthermore, “every piece of writing in synthetic Scots is to some extent a linguistic experiment.” (McClure 1995b: 23). Nevertheless, MacDiarmid and his contemporaries were successful in at least one of their aims. They set out to prove that Scots could be used as a contemporary written language, and the substantial body of work they collectively produced certainly indicates their success.

Later in the 20th century, various movements seeking greater political independence for Scotland did not associate themselves explicitly with language issues as was the case, for example, in Catalonia (see Kay 1998). Macafee (2001) reports that there was no ‘politics of Scots’ until the 1990s. However, there was a noticeable shift in educational policy away from the previous overt and unapologetic suppression of certain language varieties, as exemplified in a 1952 report from the Scottish Education Department which recommended excluding “slovenly perversions of dialect” (quoted in Aitken 1979a: 98). Corporal punishment for the use of Scots was common into the late 20th century and was only formally outlawed in all Scottish schools in 2000 (see Unger *forthcoming*). Nevertheless, policy did not change overnight

to become notably pro-Scots. The continued decline of rural communities led to a further decline in traditional dialects of Scots, notably among younger age groups. At the same time, however, new dialects of Scots were emerging in inner cities (see Macafee 1994). A UK-wide change in broadcasting policy during and after World War II meant that at least Scottish Standard English was heard more in broadcast media. Throughout the century, Scots increasingly became a popular element of comedy in both broadcast and print media (e.g. ‘The Broons’, ‘Oor Wullie’, the work of Stanley Baxter, ‘Scotland the What?’, ‘Rab C Nesbitt’, ‘Chewin the Fat’, etc.). The year 1983 saw the publication of W L Lorimer’s translation into Scots of the New Testament (Lorimer 1983) and both this work and the first edition of the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Robinson 1985) enjoyed great popularity (Macafee 1996). From the 1970s onwards, a group of academics and Scots language activists gradually established a body of research on Scots; their work is cited frequently in the present article. Though this apparently increased public interest in Scots did not equal a change in the language attitudes and perceptions of the general public, it set the scene for language policy changes and initiatives after the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999.

Following devolution³, it seemed to take a while for Scots-related issues to come to the attention of the Scottish Parliament (see Millar 2006). Although the precarious situation of Gaelic was quickly recognised and (in some small way) addressed through such initiatives as Gaelic-language signage in the new Parliament building, and the right for Gaelic speakers to address their political representatives in their native language, Scots did not enjoy the same recognition nor promotion by policy. However, in 2003 the Cross Party Group on the Scots Language was established. This consisted of Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) from various political parties and invited academics, language activists, authors, and representatives of organisations connected to Scots. The Scottish Executive produced a draft consultation entitled ‘A Strategy for Scotland’s Languages’ in 2007, and although this was heavily criticised by activists and academics (see Unger forthcoming) and appears to have been scrapped by the incoming Scottish Government later in 2007, it at least mentioned Scots as one of the languages under its remit.

Other significant events in recent years include an increase in newly written works of poetry, fiction and educational books in Scots. There are now several publishers who specialise in publishing books in and about Scots

³ *Devolution* in this context refers to the process whereby control over a number of political and administrative structures was transferred from the Westminster parliament to the new Scottish Parliament.

or who publish books in Scots alongside works in other languages (e.g. Itchy Coe and Luath Press). A significant event in terms of educational policy was the introduction of an Advanced Higher paper specifically on Scots Language in 2000-2001, although no students selected this paper in its first year, and very few did in its second year (Scottish Qualifications Authority n.d.). One recent 'failure' (from the point of view of Scots activists) was the resistance by the General Register Office for Scotland to the inclusion of a question on Scots in the 2001 Census. Despite a campaign and support (albeit not unanimous) from a number of linguists and other academics, the decision was not to include the question. Another area (in this case outwith the control of the Scottish Parliament) in which the aims of Scots activists were thwarted was the ratification of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML). Although the UK government ratified two parts of the charter with respect to Scots in Scotland, it chose not to ratify the crucial third part, which deals with the practical application of the charter to policy and education (Millar 2006).⁴

5. Conclusion

Changes in the political and social structures of Scotland throughout its history have affected the development of Scots. Just as the Unions of Crown and Parliament played their part, their 'reversal' (the devolution process) has already had a highly significant impact on 'top-down' language policies in present-day Scotland. The change in leadership from the Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition that formed the Scottish Executive from 1999 to 2007 to the present Scottish Government formed by the Scottish National Party (SNP), who made several commitments concerning Scots in their election manifesto, may also prove to have a marked effect.⁵ These changes in language policy should be seen not in isolation, but as part of a global, conflicting process of accelerating language death on the one hand, and 'glocalisation' (Trudgill 2004), whereby new languages are recognised following shifts in national and regional identity politics, on the other.

⁴ For further discussion of the ECRML in Scotland, see Dunbar (2001)

⁵ This might not, however, be a positive effect: at the time of writing, the funding for the Scots Language Centre and Scottish Language Dictionaries (the two main publicly-funded bodies which promote Scots) is set to be withdrawn by the Scottish Government in 2009.

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How to contact us:



c/o

**Institut für Anglistik & Amerikanistik der Universität Wien
Universitätscampus AAKH, Spitalgasse 2, Hof 8
A – 1090 Vienna; Austria**

fax (intern.) 43 1 4277 9424

eMail theresa.illes@univie.ac.at

marie-luise.pitzl@univie.ac.at

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