1st AMC Symposium, 9-10 June 2016
Historical Dialectology

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Angus McIntosh Centre for Historical Linguistics

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences

PLENARY TALKS

Michael Benskin (University of Oslo)
The Middle English surveys: A retrospect and some prospects

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Margaret Laing (University of Edinburgh)
Roger Lass (University of Edinburgh)

Old and Middle English spellings for OE _hw-_, with special reference to the 'qu-' type: In celebration of LAEME, (e)LALME, LAOS and CoNE

There is a wide array of spellings attested from OE through ME and into Older Scots for the initial 'OE _hw-_' cluster in words such as WHEN, WHERE, WHAT, WHO, WHICH. We have isolated 57 different spellings from the earliest attested Old English to ca 1500. They have been gleaned from searches of the DOE Web Corpus, LAEME, eLALME (supplemented by MED) and LAOS.

We present:
  (a) a taxonomy of the 57 spellings, showing what changes (whether phonological or orthographic) are likely to have been involved in creating the shape of each variant. Of the 57 variants 14 begin with 'q'. Our account of these spellings follows that of Lass & Laing forthcoming and assumes that those of the 'qu-' type (without additional 'h') represent [kw];
  (b) a diachronic account of the complex and interchanging patterns of lenition and fortition, including reversals, involved in the history of OE _hw-_ at this period;
  (c) an excursus on the 'q' forms with reference to:
      (i) geographical distributions (LAEME, eLALME, and cf. Kristensson 1967 and 1995; McIntosh 1969 and Benskin 1989),
      (ii) alliterative evidence (cf Oakden 1930; McLaughlin 1963; Minkova 2003 and 2004),
      (iii) the related lenition of original [kw] in e.g. [(h)wik] for 'quick' (cf SED and Laker 2002);
  (d) a CoNE-style etymology of OE hw- showing the changes as listed in CoNE's Corpus of Changes.

This paper celebrates Angus McIntosh's scholarly legacy, in particular as a medieval dialectologist. We illustrate how the four main electronic resources, in the tradition of LALME, and hosted by AMC, can be used in harness in an integrated scholarly argument.

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CoNE = Roger Lass, Margaret Laing, Rhona Alcorn and Keith Williamson, _A Corpus of Narrative Etymologies from Proto-Old English to Early Middle English and accompanying Corpus of Changes_. Edinburgh: Version 1.1, 2013-, ©The University of Edinburgh. [http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/CoNE/CoNE.html].

DOE Web Corpus = Dictionary of Old English, Web Corpus. [http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/pub/web-corpus.html.

eLALME = Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing 2013–. *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* with webscripts by Vasilis Karaiskos and Keith Williamson. [http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html]   Edinburgh: © The Authors and The University of Edinburgh.

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PAPERS AND POSTERS

Rhona Alcorn (University of Edinburgh)
Robert Truswell (University of Edinburgh)

A Parsed Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English

We describe ongoing work aiming to parse a 200k-word portion of the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME, Laing 2013-) in the format of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2, Kroch and Taylor 2000). By the time of the symposium, c.100k words will have been completed. This will bridge the divide between these two corpora, fill a data gap in PPCME2, bring LAEME data to a new audience, and open up new possibilities for research into syntactic variation in the history of English.

LAEME contains c.650k words from 1150-1325, annotated with lexels and grammels (functionally close to lemmata and POS tags, respectively). The grammels include information not only about part of speech but also grammatical function and certain nonlocal dependencies. The lexels contain syntactically relevant information on certain polyfunctional words (e.g. distinguishing "auxiliary" and "main verb" uses of pre- modals). LAEME therefore already contains a wealth of syntactic information, but because syntactic structure is not explicit in the current annotation system, that information cannot easily be automatically queried, and manual sorting of examples can be laborious.

PPCME2 contains c.1.2m tagged and parsed words from 1150-1500. However, the century between *Ancrene Riwle* and *Ayenbite of Inwyt* is represented only by the 3.5k- word *Kentish Sermons*. This is a crucial period in the history of English word order, noun phrase structure, negation, and relativization, among other phenomena. PPCME2 has been used successfully to investigate variation and change in all these areas, and the 100- year data gap is a recurring problem for such research.

We are parsing LAEME texts from 1250-1325 not already parsed in PPCME2 or the Parsed Corpus of Middle English Poetry (PCMEP, Zimmermann 2015). This will fill the PPCME2 data gap, and make LAEME more accessible to diachronic syntacticians. It also opens up new avenues for parsed historical corpus research, such as comparisons between verse and prose, comparisons among multiple manuscript copies of the same text, and more systematic study of dialectal syntactic variation.

In this talk, we discuss the considerations motivating the parsing of LAEME, demonstrate the automatic process for converting the syntactic information in LAEME into a preliminary parse (subsequently hand-corrected), and (data permitting) show prospects for using these new data to illuminate the above topics in Middle English syntactic change. We also discuss the potential for producing complete parsed versions of LAEME and the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS, Williamson 2008-).

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Hans C. Boas (University of Texas at Austin)
Marc Pierce (University of Texas at Austin)

The Development of the *for ... zu* Construction in Texas German

This paper discusses the *for ... zu* construction in Texas German. Part one summarizes Börjars & Burridge (2011), who show that Pennsylvania German *fer* ('for') has developed from an allative preposition to a purposive marker to an infinitival marker. In contrast to several West Germanic languages with comparable purposive constructions, Pennsylvania German has lost the original infinitival marker *zu* ('to'), which Börjars & Burridge (2011: 405) label apparently "unique amongst varieties of German."

(1)   Ich nemm die schuh zum schumacher fer g'fixt waere.
         I   take   the shoes to.the cobbler   for mended be
         'I take the shoes to the cobbler (in order for them) to be mended.'

Part two demonstrates that Pennsylvania German is not alone in having lost the infinitival marker *zu*, as Texas German (TxG) exhibits both variants of the *for ... zu* construction (i.e. with and without *zu*), as in (2).

(2)   a.   Die ham achtzigtausend Dollar aufgedan, for hier Land zu kaufen in Texas.
                 they had eighty thousand dollars saved   for here land to buy   in Texas
                 'They had saved $80,000 in order to buy land here in Texas'
         b.   Aber sie hat immer mitgeholfen wenn's Zeit war for ernten un was.
                 but she had always   helped   when it time was for harvest and what
                 'But she always helped when it was time to harvest'

Part three explores the development of the *for...zu* construction in TxG in order to place it within the larger context of German dialect syntax. We see the distribution of the TxG *for ... zu* construction as the result of the following interlocking factors. First, this construction stems from the original donor dialects of TxG, i.e. those dialects of German spoken by the early settlers. As various regional dialects of German use some version of the *for ... zu* construction, and a number of developments found in TxG can be accounted for in this manner (Boas 2009), this may well have played a role. Second, this type of change is quite common cross- linguistically (Börjars & Burridge 2011), suggesting that this construction may be a (relatively) straightforward case of grammaticalization. Finally, language contact must be considered: given the existence of a parallel construction in English, the contact situation between speakers of English and speakers of TxG would presumably reinforce the use of this construction.

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María José Carrillo-Linares (University of Huelva)
Keith Williamson (University of Edinburgh)

Lexis in relation to other linguistic layers in the copying of Middle English texts: A case-study of Oxford, St John's College 57

In investigating Middle English word geography, examination of copies of the same work is of prime importance (McIntosh 1973; 1977). As part of the word geography project being undertaken at the University of Huelva, one of the works under investigation is the *Prick of Conscience* (*PoC*). The extant 115 manuscripts derive from a northern original. They have a wide dialectal distribution across England (Lewis and McIntosh 1982; LALME) and reveal a wide range of scribal languages in their orthographies and morphologies. Likewise, the manuscripts show variation in dialectal lexical items and this information has been recorded as part of the project. While the *PoC* manuscripts afford a rich seam of dialectal material, the proliferation of copies and their complex histories of transmission raise challenging questions about dialectal variation at different linguistic levels, especially in the treatment of lexis by copyists. How did a 'translating' scribe recast the language of his exemplar into his own written variety? Did he treat lexis differently from morphology or from orthography?

This paper offers a case study of the copy of the *PoC* preserved in Oxford, St John's College MS 57 (SJC57). This copy was undertaken by a profesional scribe who was also responsible for some of the most popular works of his time, including among them several copies of the prose Brut chronicle and the unique version of the Tale of Beryn in Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland's MSS 55 (LALME LP 6040), localised in Essex. The text in SJC57 was copied from an exemplar in more northerly language and it is closely related in the stemma of the *PoC* with four other manuscripts, two in Lancashire language and two in Medieval Hiberno-English. The language of SJC57 will be compared with the languages of these manuscripts and that of the Alnwick Castle MS to determine how the languages differ at different linguistic levels and what they reveal about the SJC57 scribe's attitude to translation. An analysis of the dialectal lexicon will be undertaken by comparing the vocabulary in this copy with the data recorded for around 60 other copies of the *PoC*, and our previous studies on the distributions of certain lexical items. For the morphological and syntactic levels we have tagged different sections along the whole manuscript with the objective of evaluating the scribe´s dependance on his sources given that there are some features not found in Essex. The kinds of these features, their extent and distribution in SJC57 will be examined as also their occurrence, or not, in the *PoC* manuscripts to which SJC57 is related (see the manuscript references below).

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Rebecca Colleran (University of Edinburgh)

When languages divide: Disentangling contact and inheritance in closely related languages

Old English (OE) and Old Frisian (OFr) display enormous similarities in phonological innovation, lexis, idiom and morphology. The idea that they share an immediate common ancestor, however, was shot down in the eighties due to changing theories about how language change spreads, along with methodological concerns regarding the tree model. After much wrangling, the 'Anglo-Frisian' was ousted in favor of a dialect continuum model that included Old Saxon and perhaps Old Low Franconian, and there the matter has rested.

Now, however, new discoveries in archaeology (Nieuwhof 2009, 2013) and population genetics (Weale et al. 2002) suggest that in abandoning Anglo-Frisian, we may be discarding more insights than we gain.

In the past 30 years, the field of contact linguistics has developed from a catch-all explanation for unexplained changes to a set of specific tools and mechanisms for examining phenomena from phonology to pragmatics (see e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2005). Almost all of the research, however, concentrates on contact between languages that are distantly related, if at all. This paper explores the complications inherent in teasing out whether similarities in two closely related languages are due to 'genealogical' inheritance or post-separation contact.

To do so, the project has to address the assumptions that underlie family trees and dialect continua in the historical record. Looking back from a distance of a thousand or more years, when can we regard two lects as having turned into separate languages? How do the traces left by language contact differ from those left by dialect contact or common development? And how do we account scientifically for the nebulous concept of *drift*?

This project collates tools from a variety of linguistic sub-disciplines, many of which have developed in the years since Frisian studies settled on its dialect continuum approach to OE/OFr relations. Shared grammaticalizations due to shared ancestry develop differently from those due to contact (Heine and Nomachi 2013; Pat-El 2013; Robbeets 2013); language/dialect perceptions in speakers' minds play a role in determining outcomes of contact between similar languages (Maguire 2012; Trudgill 2000); and newly digitized corpora make it possible to track forms across all of OFr's textual history (Fryske Akademy 2009).

'The Anglo-Frisian question' has, in the best neogrammarian tradition, largely been addressed from a phonological perspective, with a side of toponymy. In this project, I combine advances in language and dialect contact and Germanic syntax with grammaticalization data from the OFr corpus to paint a more balanced picture.

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Nynke de Haas (UiL-OTS, Utrecht University)

The Middle English Northern Subject Rule teased apart: Syntax and variation in the adjacency condition

The Northern Subject Rule (NSR) is one of few well-documented points of morphosyntactic dialect variation in early English (cf. Cole 2012a,b for Old English; de Haas 2011, in preparation, for Middle English). The NSR is typically analysed as a combination of two conditions on verbal inflection: the subject condition (under which pronoun subjects trigger different inflection than full noun phrase subjects) and the adjacency condition (under which the inflection with pronoun subjects is only triggered when verb and subject are adjacent).

However, in present-day English NSR dialects, syntactic configurations in which the subject and the finite verb are nonadjacent do not uniformly affect verbal inflection (cf. Buchstaller, Corrigan, Holmberg & Maguire 2013). De Haas (in preparation) has found a similar pattern in late Middle English local documents from the MEG corpus (Stenroos, Mäkinen, Horobin & Smith 2011). One of the remaining questions is what role various syntactic contexts play in the NSR in early Middle English.

This paper will present a detailed syntactic analysis of early Middle English data from a corpus of localized early Middle English texts from Northern England and the Northern Midlands, comprising texts mainly from LAEME (Laing & Lass 2008-), and integrate it with existing findings. This will add more detail to our knowledge of the syntactic conditions governing verbal inflection in the NSR in Middle English.

The paper will also yield insight into diatopic and diachronic variation in Middle English verbal inflection by plotting the locations of origin of all corpus texts on maps, indicating the strength of the NSR conditions in various locations and, to the extent that this is possible, in different time periods. It will be shown that although the traditional dialect differences between Northern, East Midlands and West Midlands dialect areas remain visible (especially in the verbal morphology employed), the primary dialect division revealed by the NSR variation is one between North and South. The early Middle English data show strong NSR patterns in the Northern dialect area, with a transitional zone extending southward into the Northern Midlands. By comparison, the late Middle English material shows an extended core NSR area which included northern parts of the East Midlands and a transitional zone extending further than before into the East and West Midlands.

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Isabel de la Cruz-Cabanillas (University of Alcalá)

Medical Recipes in Glasgow University Library Manuscript Ferguson 147: Evidence for Linguistic Provenance

The present study discusses the language and linguistic provenance of a collection of medical recipes in Glasgow University Library Manuscript Ferguson 147 (ff. 63r-91r). The hitherto unexplored compilation contains mostly medical recipes for different diseases, but prognostic texts and charms also form part of this miscellany. The analysis offered here is grounded in the model supplied by *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (McIntosh et al., 1986). Following the methodology developed by the authors of this work, I will try to localise the text dialectally using the Fit-Technique (Benskin, 1991) taking into consideration the combination of forms and features which are found in it. By identifying the Profile in LALME one should be able to establish its provenance. Theoretically, the provenance would be that of the scribe, although sometimes this could be misleading since the same scribe copying from various sources could produce different Linguistic Profiles. In fact, Carrillo Linares (2005) studied the *Antidotarium Nicholai*, also held in this manuscript, and referred to a western origin, but no specific LALME Linguistic Profile has been identified so far. By comparing the information provided by her with the forms found in the recipe collection, it is apparent that some of the forms do not coincide, even if Ker (1977: 892) identified one single hand throughout the manuscript. Very often these compilations are unique. Both Eggins & Martins (1997: 230-231) and Taavitsainen (2001: 2) mention the fact that the realisations of texts vary according to the target audience in terms of the style of writing adjusting it to professional, lay or more heterogeneous readership according to their knowledge of the topic. Thus, the scribe could enlarge the original compendia with some other recipes from different sources. Without reaching a level which constitutes a *Mischprache* (Benkins & Laing, 1981), the choices of scribes are several, as they have passive and active repertoires, and their selection in a particular text does not mean that they would do the same in other contexts. It would be ideal to have parallel texts by the same copyist to compare the results of the analysis of every text, but to my knowledge there is no other text which is genetically related. Thus, as the manuscript does not have any extra linguistic evidence of provenance, the language is the only resource available to place it geographically.

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Maike Edelhoff (Université du Luxembourg & Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz)

The emergence of an isogloss: Diminutives in the dialects of the German-Luxembourgish border region

Up until the 19th century, the Luxembourgish language (Lux.) as spoken in Luxembourg was part of the Middle-German dialect continuum commonly known as the Rhenish fan. With the founding of the Luxembourgish nation state in 1839, however, Lux. has started to emancipate itself from the German dialects and has since become its own ausbau language (cf. Kloss 1980, Gilles 1998). Apart from this sociolinguistic emancipation, structural differences between Lux. and its closely related Moselle-Franconian (Msfr.) dialects on the German state territory have increasingly been observed (e.g. phonology cf. Gilles 1998, lexicon cf. Bruch 1985) and thus suggest the development of a linguistic border coinciding with the political one between Germany and Luxembourg. However, up until now, it has been unclear if all linguistic levels are concerned — this talk will focus on the morphological level.

So why choose diminution? The majority of Middle- and Upper-German dialects, hence also the Msfr. dialects and the Lux. language, have productive diminutive systems (cf. Schirmunski 2010). In both varieties, diminution is a process of derivation with the suffix *-chen* (or its allomorph *-elchen*, depending on the phonological environment). However similar this process seems, the major difference becomes apparent in the gender assignment. While the Msfr. suffix *-(el)chen* assigns neuter gender to the product, the Lux. suffix does not, or put differently, the Msfr. suffix serves as the head of the complex word, while the Lux. suffix does not.

1)   Lux.   *de Bam* (M)   ⇒   *de Beem-chen* (M)
       Msfr.   *de Bam* (M)   ⇒   *dat Beem-chen* (N)

This finding is surprising: although the two varieties are closely related and have only been growing apart for less than two centuries, the differences have already reached the morphological level. Hence, the aim of this talk is twofold:

1. Tracing the development of the gender assignment for diminutives in the area: How and when did the gender assignment drift apart? What can be said about earlier stages of the varieties?
2. Taking a close look at the status quo: Has the differing gender assignment caused an isogloss at the political border? How homogenous are both sides of the border?

The database for this talk consists of linguistic atlases (esp. "Deutscher Sprachatlas" and "Luxemburgischer Sprachatlas"), a historical corpus of the Lux. and Msfr. varieties and a dialect survey on diminutives in the area in question.

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Melissa Farasyn (Ghent University)

Agreement patterns in non-restrictive relative clauses in the Middle Low German dialects

This presentation focuses on agreement patterns in Middle Low German (MLG) non-restrictive relative clauses, particularly in relative clauses with a first or second person antecedent. This implies the following kinds of structures, in which agreement has to be achieved between antecedent, relative pronoun and VfinRel:

(1)   O here de du my geschapen hefst
        O lord REL you me created have-2SG
        'O lord who has created me'
                                    (Ey(n) Jnnige clage to gode, Münster, 1480)

(2)   dat=tu mijn vader woldest wesen de mijn schepper bist
        that=you my father would be REL [ ] my creator are-2SG
        'that thou wouldst be my father, who [thou] art my creator'
                                    (Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)

MLG appears to take an intermediate position between English (e.g. Heck & Cuartero 2011), which allows head noun and relative pronoun agreement (I, who am/is tall), and Present-day (High) German (Ito & Mester 2000, Trutkowski & Weiß 2016), which allows relative pronoun or resumptive agreement (ich, der/die groß ist vs. ich, der/die ich groß bin), as the two patterns attested in the MLG dialects are head noun agreement and resumptive agreement, while agreement with the relative pronoun (RelP) does not seem to be attested at all (3rd person relatives are ambiguous and cannot be used as evidence).

We argue that these two MLG patterns are two sides of the same coin, and that MLG only ever has resumptive agreement. In cases like (2) we propose that there is a null resumptive. It spells out the person features of the head, which are transferred to it via the RelP in an agreement chain (Kratzer 2009), mediated by the coordinate-like structure of NRRCs (e.g. Koster 2000). The RelP can only spell out gender and number features, but is highly syncretic in MLG (de = masc/fem sg/pl), so resumptive agreement (overt/covert) is preferred in case of non-3rd person heads.

Further evidence for this analysis will be shown by looking at the conclusions from a study about null pronominal subjects in MLG (Farasyn & Breitbarth 2015), revealing some remarkable similarities to phenomena found in this study as well, as for example a strong influence from the discourse and the frequent occurrence of deficient pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999) in the

position right after C.

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Melissa Farasyn (Ghent University)
Mariya Koleva (Ghent University)

The role of language variation in constructing a Middle Low German corpus

Middle Low German (MLG) is a cover term for a group of dialects spoken in northern Germany from about 1250 until 1600. The language was only partly standardized, i.e. some leading regional scribal languages incorporated language features from the neighbouring dialects. This talk reports on the construction of a tagged and parsed corpus of Historical Low German. The corpus will contain Old Saxon and MLG, but is currently focusing on the MLG part. Syntactic annotation is the feature that sets it apart from other initiatives working on digital corpora of historical German varieties. The corpus is balanced concerning genre and scribal languages. Furthermore, all texts are dated and localized, not translated, and in prose. The coverage of documents satisfying these criteria facilitates research into the spread of linguistic change within a language area, as done for the spread of a new expression of negation in MLG by Breitbarth (2014). However, it also implies that the texts contain variation in spelling, morphology, syntax..., both between scribal languages and within individual scribal languages. This variation entails challenges for the creation of an automatic POS- and morphology tagger. In a non-standardized historical language we cannot rely on an equivalent uniform contemporary Low German word list as a target dictionary to which to change the spelling. Since the language only pre-existed in the spoken dialects, relying on a modern word form is not possible either; although this would have made spelling normalization easily possible with normalization software like VARD2 or Norma. We will discuss how we overcame this problem. Furthermore, variation in lexicon and morphology increase the sparsity of the input data for the machine learner: a well-performing automatic tagger trained on one dialect can perform considerably worse when applied on other dialects and alternative learning methods based on features have to be developed. For the automatic parser, syntactic peculiarities can be detected in some dialects. We have to look at all the different dialects to create the necessary tags and elements to indicate diverging structures. As a last point we discuss the role of genre-typical

structures, and how to counter this effect to create a corpus which facilitates reliable syntactic research.

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Julia Fernández Cuesta (Universidad de Sevilla)
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Reduced forms in the nominal morphology of the Lindisfarne Gospel Gloss. A case of accusative /dative syncretism?

One of the most characteristic features of the grammar of the Lindisfarne Gospel Gloss is the frequent absence of the dative singular inflexion in the paradigm of the strong masculine and neuter declension (*a*-stems), that is, endingless forms of the nominative/accusative cases predominate in contexts in which dative singular in -*e* would be expected, especially in monosyllabic nouns such as *dæg*, *gast*, *wulf*, *god*, *hus* and *scip*, where the zero ending is found side by side with -*e*: *dæge*, *gaste*, *wulfe*, *gode*, *huse* and *scipe*. Ross (1960: 38) interprets the forms in -*e* as instances of a 'rudimentary dative', although quantitative analysis of the gloss shows that these forms are not uncommon, especially with certain types of nouns.

The aim of this paper is to assess to what extent the dative singular is still found as a separate case in the paradigms of masculine and neuter a-stems and of athematic nouns. To this end a quantitative analysis of 30 nouns belonging to these declensions has been carried out in contexts where they gloss a Latin accusative or dative form. Special attention has been paid to the syntactic context (presence or absence of a preposition) and the type of verb. The results of our analysis have been compared to the Rushworth Gospel Gloss in order to determine the degree of similarity/divergence between both of them.

Methodological issues will be addressed, such as the importance of collating the standard editions of *Lindisfarne* with the original manuscript, and the value of quantitative analyses in assessing change in progress in Old Northumbrian.

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Markku Filppula (University of Eastern Finland)

Tolkien's 'philological provinces' revisited and reinterpreted: Dialect convergence areas in the north-western parts of the British Isles

J.R.R. Tolkien launched the notion of 'philological province' in his O'Donnell lecture entitled "English and Welsh", where he discussed some phonological and syntactic features of English against the background of possible early contact influences from Welsh (Brythonic). One of his conclusions was that the north-west of Europe should be seen and studied as a "single philological province" because it is "so interconnected in race, culture, history, and linguistic fusions" (Tolkien 1963: 33). One of the linguistic features discussed by Tolkien was the twofold paradigm of the verb 'to be' in Old English; this, according to him, was probably a result of linguistic contact with Welsh and thus formed part of the Anglo-Welsh philological province.

It is argued in this paper that there exist different kinds of philological provinces, some larger than others, with some embracing several different languages while others are confined to different varieties of a language. Some varieties of English spoken in the western and north-western parts of the British Isles and Ireland provide an example of a philological province that covers both larger and smaller areas, depending on the linguistic feature at issue. The focus in this paper will be on syntactic features that have been found to be shared to varying degrees by these varieties. The features examined include wider use of the progressive form of verbs in contexts that go beyond the constraints of Standard English grammar, nonstandard uses of the definite article, absolute or 'unbound' uses of reflexive pronouns, and inverted word order in indirect questions.

Apart from my own research and previous studies by other scholars into varieties of English in these areas (see, e.g. Sabban 1982; Macafee and Ó Baoill; Miller 1993 and 2008; Filppula 1999 and

2006), I will rely on data from *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013), and *The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (Dryer and Haspelmath 2013). It is argued that the distinctive nature of the mentioned varieties can best be explained by the kind of close contacts between languages/dialects and 'linguistic fusions' discussed by Tolkien. These have then led to the emergence of what could be called a north-western linguistic convergence area.

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Anne-Christine Gardner (University of Zurich)

Mapping the productivity of derivational suffixes: Regional variation in Early Middle English

Measuring and comparing the productivity of word formation processes, and affixes in particular, is notoriously fraught with difficulties and appears to be a vexed question in lexical studies (Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2013: 580ff.). Yet, advances have been made, most notably by Suomela (2007/2014) and Säily (2014) who propose a statistical method for comparing measures such as type frequency across (sub-)corpora of differing sizes, and recent studies highlight the range of measures or indicators available, including token and type frequency, new types, hybrid formations and hapax legomena amongst others, which need to be considered in order to achieve a fuller understanding of suffixal productivity (e.g. Gardner 2014; Palmer 2015).

This paper will discuss the productivity of abstract noun-forming suffixes and visualise the regional distribution of these suffixes and their derivatives on the basis of data collected from the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME) and presented in Gardner (2014). The detailed datings and localisations of texts offered by LAEME facilitate a fine-grained analysis of the derivational system beyond the confines of subperiods spanning 70 to 100 years or traditional dialect regions. A mapping technique applied by Studer-Joho (2014) will be used to visualise productivity measures and competition between suffixes and groups derivatives. Gardner (2014) shows, for instance, that the productivity of suffixes like -HOOD, -NESS and -SHIP varied greatly during the Early Middle English period, both from a diachronic and a diatopic viewpoint. Although -NESS is the most enduringly productive

suffix overall, it faced considerable competition from other suffixes which was often restricted to a particular time period and region(s). There are numerous parallel derivatives which feature the same base but a different suffix, for instance *cleanness* ~ *cleanship* or *wickedness* ~ *wickedhood*, which can carry the same meaning as a study of the texts and their entries in the *Middle English Dictionary* and *Oxford English Dictionary* reveal; the regional distribution of words containing the less common -SHIP or -HOOD typically reflects the localised productivity of these suffixes. In the centuries after the Norman Conquest certain derivational suffixes could still be used interchangeably, as it seems, and regional lexical variation abounded; the system would slowly be regulated, deleting 'superfluous' synonyms and moving towards a semantic specialisation of the suffixes and/or derivatives at a later stage.

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Trinidad Guzmán-González (University of León, Spain)

'He was a good hammer, was he': Gender as marker for south-western dialects of English. A corpus-based study from a diachronic perspective.

In standard English and most dialects (Mainstream and Traditional, following Trudgill 1990: 5) gender assignment in unmarked registers involves the use of *he* for human males, *she* for human females and *it* for everything else, with a certain degree of variation for nouns of animals and some objects (like ships). In other dialects, however, rather different systems have been described: thus, in southwestern England the usage of masculine personal pronouns for nouns other than human males had already been mentioned by, among others, Elworthy, Barnes, and Ellis, and more recently, by Ihalanen and Wakelin (all of them cited in Wagner 2005: 215- 221). The main assignment criterion has been variously characterised, with the feature [+count] as a plausible generalisation (Trudgill 1990: 88; Paddock 1991: 34-35). The data for these studies come from oral materials -in the case of Susanne Wagner's, from the *Survey of English Dialects* and from "various collections of an oral-history type" (2005: 211-317).

This paper envisages the history of the grammatical category of gender as a shift from the Old English overt formal (cum some semantic criteria in anaphora) into the modern covert semantic system (Guzmán-González 2015: 200) and dialects as varieties which did not enter the mainstream processes of standardisation. In order to explore the possibility that this particular gender system might very well be the result of early tendencies in the English language (cf. Jones 1988), the research employs lists of Units of Anaphoric Reference ("fragments of texts containing an idea concerning, a description of, an event about, or an action performed by the referent of a pronoun or pronouns, constituting an individual *piece of communication*, a *pragmatic unit...* Guzmán-González 2015: 202). These lists have been drawn by the manual scanning of subsections of the *Salamanca Corpus of English Dialect Texts* (c. 1500-c.1950), the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (MEG_C), the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* and the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English 1150-1325* (*LAEME*). The geographical scope is the same of Wagner's (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire). This choice of sources aims at tracing the usage described as back in time as possible; but other questions addressed are comparability (given the heterogeneous nature of the data) and above all, the complex relationship between speech and writing in the case of dialectal traits (real vs fictional representations, for example) while insights about the real composite nature of languages are also expected to be gained.

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Klaus Hofmann (University of Vienna)

Formal variation and hybridity in early modern Scots: A case study of Anglicisation in legal-administrative records

This paper examines formal variation in Scottish local legal–administrative records during the Anglicisation of the Middle Scots written language in the early modern period. The study makes use of

hitherto unexplored archive material, viz. a series of court and council record books from the burgh of Dunfermline (1573–1723).

The primary source material has been prepared in the form of a digital corpus representing the written idiolects of individual town clerks and scribes. These idiolects have been reconstructed on the basis of palaeographic and other extralinguistic evidence contained in the record books themselves. The Dunfermline corpus may be seen as an initial effort to complement the existing version of *LAOS (1380–1500)* by extending its temporal reach into the early modern period. An additional aim of the project was to enrich linguistic analysis by emphasising the utility of extralinguistic information, in particular regarding the socio-historical circumstances of legal–administrative text production in Scottish burghs (cf. Kopaczyk 2013).

The analytic focus of the paper is on individual scribal responses to contact and competition between the established Middle Scots and the incoming Early Modern English orthographic models. The corpus evidence suggests that the existence of two models did not only engender variation *among* different texts produced in Scotland during that time (cf. Devitt 1989; Meurman-Solin 1993), but that it also lead to increased variation *within* written idiolects. Most intriguing in this regard is the emergence of 'hybrid' forms (e.g. for the weak past inflection), which are neither typically Scots (1) nor English (2), but rather combine features of both (3 & 4):

(1) … and hes evir sensyne refuis**it** and postpon**it** to pey …
     (Scribe C, 29 Oct 1607)

(2) And first compear**ed** Thomas Mitchell …
     (Scribe J, 5 Oct 1702)

(3) The which day compeir**id** personallie in judgement Andrew Cunningham …
     (Scribe H', 22 Nov 1671)

(4) The quhilk day David Paplay his seasing ordain**et** to be transum**et** in his awin favores …
     (Scribe E, 20 June 1643)

While it has been pointed out that the emergence of this kind of formal variation may reflect the 'taking off' of an S-curve-shaped diffusion process (Devitt 1989: 44-45), it is interesting to note that the distribution of variants within the scribal idiolects is not random, but instead exhibits a high degree of phonological and lexical conditioning. Thus, while idiosyncratic, the individual spelling systems are internally largely consistent and do not reflect orthographic "chaos" (MacQueen 1957: 73) but rather individual attempts to arrive at orthographic stability during a time marked by competing normative pressures.

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Alpo Honkapohja (University of Zurich)

"Rutland and Northamptonshire forms in alchemical and medical manuscripts from London, how and why?": The dialect of the Sloane Group

This paper presents a dialectological and codicological analysis of six manuscripts that are part of the so-called Sloane Group of Middle English manuscripts, identified by Linda Voigts (1990), and characterised by 'striking physical similarity' (28) with wide margins, but very confined writing area and small compressed Secretary hands. The manuscripts can be dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century and connected to London based on scribal signatures in some of the manuscripts. In the talk, I present the results of my eLALME-based (Benskin et. 2013) study and place them in wider context, comparing them with the *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT) corpus as well as performing a palaeographical analysis on the scribal hands.

As Samuels noted, localising partly standardised documents from the mid- to late 15th century 'bristles with problems' (1981). The late date and the expected southern provenance mean that the dialect of the Sloane Group cannot be studied by a classic 'fit' technique (see e.g. Britton 2000, Davis 1983). For this reason, I use a somewhat modified application of the technique, performing separate analyses on features which are characteristic of incipient London standard(s) (cf. Samuels 1989 [1963]) and ones which may display local 'colouring' (cf. Benskin 1992). To determine the spread of London or standard English forms.

The results show a mixture of forms which are part of the emergent London standards (Types III and IV, cf. Samuels 1989 [1963]) and various Midland forms. Interestingly, all of the manuscripts are written in the same dialect, which is a mixture of London forms and ones which can be localised to four Central-Midland counties, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire, but is not the same as Type I Central Midlands standard (cf. Samuels 1963 [1989], Taavitsainen 2000) or the Chauliac/*Rosarium* Type, commonly found in surgical manuscripts (cf. McIntosh 1983 [1989], Taavitsainen 2004).

Furthermore, I consider implications of this uniform and address the difficult question of how many scribes participated in the copying of these manuscripts. Voigts notes that these manuscripts "display a number of hands, but all scripts are based on a compressed secretary hand" (29). However, as these manuscripts were copied over a period of several years, and the scribe(s) use a different hand for Latin, Middle English and French, it is possible that the vast majority of text may have been copied by one scribe.

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Remco Knooihuizen (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)
Pavel Iosad (The University of Edinburgh)

Vowel length in Shetland Norn: Contact, change, and competing systems

Traditional Shetland Scots dialect is generally seen as a relatively archaic form of Scots with a significant Scandinavian substrate component. This reflects the history of the dialect, with migration from the 16th century onwards causing a language shift from Shetland Norn, the now-extinct vernacular of the islands, to Scots.

One of the areas in which Scandinavian influence is apparent is the distribution of vowel length: Shetland Scots generally follows the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (Aitken, 1981), but also shows the complementary distribution of consonant and vowel length known from modern North Germanic languages (Mather & Speitel, 1986; van Leyden, 2002).

During the earliest development of Shetland Scots, three different systems of vowel length can be argued to have been in contact:

1.   (Nearly) unconstrained vowel length, as in Old Norse;
2.   Scandinavian combinatory vowel length (Kristján Árnason, 1980; though see Kristoffersen, 2011);
3.   The Scottish Vowel Length Rule.

All these systems were in the process of change in our time period, with System 1 giving way to System 2 across Scandinavia, and the SVLR also developing at about the same time. In both System 2 and the SVLR, we also observe the rise of an interaction between vowel quantity and 'tense/lax' quality. Thus, the system in Shetland Norn presents a set of interesting questions for the study of historical dialectology, language contact and historical phonology.

The influence of Norn on Shetland Scots is difficult to ascertain due to the extreme paucity of primary sources for the former. The most extensive source is Jakobsen's (1908–1921) *Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland* with c. 10,000 headwords of Scandinavian origin in the dialect. Although this data was collected about a century after the death of Shetland Norn (Barnes, 1998) and the transcriptions are explicitly phonetic with no reference to a phonemic system, the data has previously been used to explain contact and change in the phonology of Shetland varieties (Knooihuizen, 2013).

This paper gives a detailed account of the distribution of vowel length in a 2,500-token sample of Jakobsen's *Dictionary*, and compares it to the contact systems. We show that clear traces of all three systems, as well as local innovations, are found in the data. We also place the Shetland Norn data in the context of both Scots and Scandinavian historical phonology.

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Stephen Laker (Kyushu University)

Origin and context of English dialectal '*en* 'him'

The etymology of the southern dialectal form *en* 'him' is debated. One suggestion is that it is a relic of the Old English masculine accusative pronoun *hine* 'him' (Ellis 1889). Another is that it derives from *him* > *en* under weak stress (Britton 1994). Yet another is that it derives from, or was influenced by, a similar British Celtic masculine pronoun (Klemola 2013). This paper seeks to resolve the matter by taking a closer look at the Medieval and Modern English data on the basis of *LAEME* and other sources.

In addition, we compare related pronominal forms and developments in other Germanic languages, especially Frisian, to add further clarification. The sum of the evidence supports the traditional interpretation that dialectal *en* is most likely a relic enclitic form of Old English *hine*. Beyond this result, we observe some general dialectal differences in the development of enclitic pronouns in southern vs. northern dialects of Middle English and beyond.

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Warren Maguire (University of Edinburgh)

The phonology of early nineteenth-century Tyneside English as revealed in Thomas Wilson's *The Pitman's Pay*

> *This myed me maister for mysel',*
> *Wi' shorter wark and better pays;*
> *And at maw awn hand didn't fyel*
> *Te suin get bits o' canny claes.*

Between 1826 and 1830 the Tyneside poet Thomas Wilson (born 1773, Gateshead) published the dialect poem *The Pitman's Pay* (TPP), which described the working and domestic life of the Tyneside pitman. This long poem (in three parts, running to 1376 lines of iambic tetrameter, mostly written in Tyneside dialect) constitutes one of the earliest and most substantial pieces of Tyneside dialect literature. TPP has several characteristics which make it ideal for linguistic analysis:

- It introduced many of the orthographic conventions for representing Tyneside dialect so that its spellings don't just follow established practices;
- It preceded the first linguistic description of Tyneside English (Ellis 1889) by 60 years;
- Its length provides large numbers of tokens of many linguistic features;
- The non-standard spelling system was employed in a consistent fashion to represent Wilson's Tyneside dialect accurately; importantly, TPP was published an 'Author's Edition' and was not subject to the kind of changes (orthographic and otherwise) made by some editors of Tyneside dialect literature (see Harker 1972);
- It has a regular rhyme scheme (ABAB) with almost all of the 568 rhyming pairs in the dialect part of the poem being exact rhymes.

In this presentation, I describe my analysis of the phonology of early 19th century Tyneside English as revealed in TPP. This is based on the spellings and rhymes found in TPP and a comparison of these with data from later studies of northeast English dialects (e.g. Orton & Dieth 1962-71; Rydland 1998). In particular, I examine the reflexes of Northern Middle English /aː/ (e.g. *name*) and /ai/ (e.g. *main*) in the poem, showing that not only were these vowels kept distinct in the dialect (probably as [eː] vs. [jɛ]) but also that Thomas Wilson faithfully represented this distinction in TPP. In demonstrating Wilson's accuracy, this analysis shows that TPP is a unique source for understanding the phonological history of northeast English dialects from a period well before the first linguistic records of them. This study is intended to be the first step in the compilation of a glossary of the dialect of TPP which will reconstruct the phonology of early 19th century Tyneside English in rich detail.

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Hermann Moisl (Newcastle University, UK)

Topological mapping for visualisation of high-dimensional historical linguistic data

Discovery of the chronological or geographical distribution of collections of historical text can be more reliable when based on multivariate rather than on univariate data because, assuming that the variables describe different aspects of the texts in question, multivariate data necessarily provides a more complete description [Nerbonne 2006]. Where the multivariate data is high-dimensional, however, its complexity can defy analyis using traditional philological methods [Moisl 2015, chs. 1, 2, 6]. A variety of mathematical and statistical methods is available for help in such cases [Gries 2009]; the present discussion proposes topological mapping [de Berg *et al* 1997] of high-dimensional data abstracted from historical text corpora into low-dimensional space as a way of visualising structure which may be latent in the data but invisible to direct inspection.

The discussion is in three main parts. The first part gives intuitively accessible accounts of several relevant mathematical concepts: vectors spaces, manifolds in vector space, the nature of nonlinearity, and dimensionality reduction. The second outlines the nature of topological mapping as a tesselation of a possibly-nonlinear high-dimensional data manifold onto a low-dimensional linear one. The third uses an implementation of topological mapping, the self-organizing map [Kohonen 2001; Moisl & Jones 2005; Moisl 2015, 158-80], to analyze data abstracted from a corpus of English-language texts from different historical periods, and shows how the map is able to identify the known relative chronology of the texts.

Based on a combination of theoretical expectations and test results, the conclusion is that topological mapping is a useful tool for identification of chronological and / or geographical

distributions of multi-text historical and dialectological corpora where these distributions are unknown or poorly understood.

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Benjamin Molineaux (University of Edinburgh)
Joanna Kopaczyk (University of Edinburgh)

L-vocalisation in fifteenth-century Scots: The earliest spread of a 'characteristic' Scots feature

To this day, L-vocalisation (LV) represents "a persistent and vigorous feature of working-class speech" (Stewart-Smith et al. 2006: 77) in Lowland Scotland. The origins of this "characteristic Scots change" (McClure 1992: 48), can be traced back to the medieval period, where a process of diphthongisation or lengthening of back vowels before coda-[ɫ] ultimately led to complete loss of the lateral (e.g. OE *healf* > OSc *hawff*; OE *bolster* > OSc *bouster*; OE *full* > OSc *fow*, cf. Johnston 1997: 90). Based on a number of single attestations of <l>-less forms in predominantly literary texts, as well as evidence from reverse spellings (e.g. *half* for 'have'), and rhyme correspondences (e.g. <bolt> 'bolt' rhymed with <nowt> 'cattle'), Aitken & Macafee (2002: 101-4) claim that the change began in the early fifteenth century, and that it is restricted, predominantly, to contexts where the lateral preceded labial or velar consonants (cf. *half* and *folk*), or where it is in final position (cf. OE *eall(e* > OSc *aw*). Aitken and Macafee also state that whether or not the changes' "place of origin was south Scotland or, as the modern dialect reflexes would permit us to believe, northern England, they doubtless took time to spread throughout the country" (2002: 103). The frequency and spacio-temporal distribution of these data, however, have not been examined in any detail, in order to trace its advance.

This paper will address the earliest distribution of Scots LV from a quantitative perspective, using data from the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS), which includes c.1250 local burgh texts from the relevant period (1380-1500). Based on attestations of <l>-less forms, reverse spellings, and the use of pre-/l/ diphthongal graphemes (e.g. *auld* for 'old'), the spread, first of diphthongal spellings, and then or <l>-loss are mapped over time and space. Emphasis is placed on the relative chronologies and lexical and geographic distributions of LV in different phonological contexts, including morpheme-final, pre-labial, pre-velar and (more lexically sporadic) pre-alveolar. Particular attention is also paid to the often under-explored /l/~Ø alternation in borrowed items from (Norman) French (cf. *realme~reaume* 'realm') and their influence on the OSc sound and spelling systems overall. The results show low-level presence of the phenomenon throughout the corpus, but no signs of a categorical change in any of the target contexts. Finally, the paper will also consider Scots LV in counterpoint to available NME data in

an attempt to evaluate the uniqueness of the Scots pattern among the Insular West Germanic languages.

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Donald Alasdair Morrison (University of Manchester)
George Walkden (University of Manchester)

Regional variation in Jespersen's Cycle in Early Middle English

In this paper we investigate the place of origin of the change from Jespersen's Cycle (JC) stage II – bipartite *ne + not* – to stage III, *not* alone. Wallage (2005, 2008) has shown that this change takes place during Middle English, but notes (2005: 68, 208) that it is difficult to draw regional conclusions, since the corpus he used – the PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000) – is not well balanced for dialect in the crucial period 1250–1350.

We use the LAEME corpus (Laing & Lass 2008) to investigate the dialectal distribution in more detail, finding that the change must have begun in Northern and Eastern England. In the period 1300–1350, 50.5% of n=457 Northern and Midlands examples of sentential negation display stage III, compared to only 1.6% of n=428 Southern examples, where stages I and II are still dominant. Mixed-effects regression analysis using Rbrul (Johnson 2009) shows a strong effect of region and time period. Certain linguistic factors also play a role: the presence of the negative conjunction *nor* disfavours the presence of *not*, contra Jack (1978: 299).

Our results are consilient with those of Ingham (2006: 90), who shows for Late Middle English that *ne* is retained more often in Southern texts. Following Ingham (2008), we attribute the early onset of the change to contact with Scandinavian: Scandinavian is known to have undergone JC earlier in its history (Eyþórsson 2002), and the geographical distribution of early English Stage III fits neatly with the boundaries of the Danelaw.

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Donka Minkova (UCLA)
Examining the evidence for phonemic affricates: ME /t͡ʃ/, /d͡ʒ/ or [t-ʃ], [d-ʒ]?

The affricates /t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ are regularly included in the OE consonantal inventory, yet dating the reanalysis from stop-fricative sequences to singleton contrastive phonemes remains problematic. The Velar Palatalisation ((VP)) entry in CoNE "glosses over much controversy and complication, including the relationship of the palatalisation with the associated **affrication** and assibilation." This study explores the evidence for and against the unitary nature of the original sequence in ME. Using the CoNE Corpus of Changes, I look at the phonological correlates of ((VP)): Dental palatalisation (FETCH, ORCHARD), Final k-palatalisation and weakening (*k > [c]), and Palatal hardening ([ʃ] > [tʃ]: *charpe* SHARP; *chaw* SHOW). The most revealing of these processes is Palatal hardening, a change previously unidentified, original with CoNE. It is variable, but "regionally widespread, occurring in LAEME texts both from the SWML and from the North". If one accepts CoNE's assumption that this is a genuine phonetic change, which I share, this as yet untapped information opens a new window into the perception of affricates as compositional in early ME. The next part of the study surveys the orthographic correlates of affrication: Orthographic Remapping of Palatal c; Orthographic remapping of g; Spread of 'k', and Diacritic final 'e'. The last change (*brigge* for BRIDGE implying [bridd͡ʒ] not [brigg]) is a new component in the account of affrication, suggesting yet another way of scribal conceptualization of the nature of affricates. The last part of the project looks at the treatment of the ME affricates in verse. A preliminary search suggests continuity of bi-segmental perception of the 'future' unitary affricates – the statement is based on Orm's use of <ssh> in the seventh foot of the septenarius, where the stressed syllable has to be heavy, so if the vowel is short, the intervocalic element has to be a consonant cluster, see the placement of OE *hnesc* in: *& 3iff þu in herrte iss arefull, & milde, & soffte, & nesshe* (1460-1). The compositionality of the affricates in ME is also testable in 'irregular' alliteration: *time…he tok : child* (*William of Palerne* 4674), *telle and teche : charite* (*Piers Plowman* C XIX. 2). Such evidence suggests that the poet has not decided whether the segments we call affricates are singletons or sequences, prompting a revision of the time-line of phonemic affrication in English.

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Afra Pujol i Campeny (University of Cambridge)

Language Contact in 13ᵗʰ-Century Catalonia: Data from the *Llibre dels Feyts del Rey En Jaume*

El Llibre dels Feyts del Rey En Jaume (edited in Bruguera 1991) is the first of the four Catalan Chronicles, a historiographical genre that narrates the feats of the kings of the Crown of Aragon (Aurell 2005, 2008). It is the first extensive example of Old Catalan narrative outside the legal and religious milieus (where texts dating from the 10ᵗʰ and 12ᵗʰ century have been found, respectively). Based on evidence drawn from this text, I will: (i) present the linguistic varieties found in the text, including Old Catalan (Ferrando Francès, 2001, Bruguera 2002), Old Occitan, Old French, Old Castilian and Latin; and explore how they interacted in 13ᵗʰ century Catalonia, and (ii) explain the absence of Aragonese in the text.

(i) The linguistic diversity in *LFRJ*: Varieties other than Old Catalan are mainly found in direct speech, where they are used to emphasise the difference in geographical origin, and potentially, in linguistic and political identity of non-Catalan characters:

a. "E sempre el rey   de Castela **fizo   lo clamar** (...)"   OSp[1]
    and always the king of Castille made him call.INF
    And then the king of Castille asked for him to be summoned (...).

b. "**Yeu faray**   venir   las escalas de **Montpeylier** (...)"   OOc
      I   will.do come.INF the ladders of Montpelier
    I will make them bring the ladders from Montpelier.

The study of these cases of code switching and its effect on the surrounding text sheds light on the relation between language and identity in 13th century Catalonia, and the construction of the other through the opposition Romance speakers/Christians vs. Arabic speakers/muslims.

(ii) The absence of code switching into Aragonese: In spite of it being a language used in official documents of the Crown of Aragon from the 13th century Colón 2002), and in spite of the other four Romance varieties occurring in the text, there is not a single case of explicit code-switching into Aragonese (Martines Peres 2012). I will argue that its absence is the reflection of a sociolinguistic context in which Aragonese was already a marked variety, contending with Old Catalan and Old Castilian (Colón 2002), varieties associated with political power.

Conclusion: In 13ᵗʰ century Catalonia there was already a link between language and identity, seen in the usage of code switching, although for the purpose of the text, otherness was associated to Arabic. At the same time, Aragonese had already become a marked variety and had started retreating in favour of Catalan and Castilian.

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[1] Bold font signals code switching between Old Catalan and other varieties.

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Justyna Rogos-Hebda (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland)

Charting the 'visual dialect' of Harley 2278

General introduction to the original LALME outlines a typology of scribal interactions with the copy-text, ranging from literatim transcription, through *Mischsprache*, to progressive interdialectal translation. That typology, illustrative of the dynamics between the dialect of the scribe and that of his exemplar, is manifested in the multivariant *figurae* featuring on the manuscript page, i.e. in the"visual text" (cf. Kendall et al. 2013). Enhanced access to the visual text - the manuscript with its linguistic *and* bibliographic codes - and the creation of new digital platforms, like eLALME, allows reassessments of dialectal material in Middle English sources. This paper focuses on one such reassessment, namely that of "old" LALME's linguistic profile 8470, which emerged from the revisions of electronic LALME as LP 4470. The profiles referring to BL MS Harley 2278, a presentation copy of Lydgate's *Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund,* underline the importance of orthographic, that is, visual evidence for the study of Middle English dialects. Other elements of the visual text, however, are just as significant for the medieval reader trying to make sense of the text before his or her eyes. It is the aim of this presentation to zoom in onto the "visual dialect" of Harley 2278, i.e. the minutiae of *mise en page,* abbreviation, type of script or ink colour, to observe how those elements of the visible text signify on a pragmatic level. Combining the methods of pragmaphilology (Jacobs and Jucker 1995) and visual pragmatics (Machan 2011), the paper will try to unpack the idiosyncracies of the visual profile of the manuscript under scrutiny.

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Daniel Schreier (University of Zurich)

The transmission issue and historical dialectology

'Why do (new) dialects get the features they have?' (Hickey 2003) is a widely discussed issue in contact dialectology. Whereas there is by and large consensus that koiné formation involves processes such as mixing, leveling and regularisation, it is not at all clear to what extent these are socially, linguistically or sociolinguistically motivated (Trudgill 2004). The present paper argues that when a new endolocal system emerges out of contact between distinct input systems, involving "competition-selection" decisions (Mufwene 2001), then the key to understand this process must be based on a socially sensitive understanding of transmission.

In this paper, I will give evidence for the concept of 'primary transmitters' (Schreier 2014). Focusing on the role of female caregivers particularly (Kerswill & Williams 2000), I provide evidence that when looking at transmission and feature selection, we must be sensitive to the children's most immediate environment and focus primarily on those who spend most time with children: mothers. Based on historical examples from the South Atlantic and elsewhere, I will discuss the sociohistorical context of dialect contact (interaction of structurally similar systems in colonial contexts with high levels of intra- and inter-individual levels of variation), arguing that it is central for selection in highly dynamic contact scenarios, where the outcome is not predetermined but emerging via interaction of speakers.

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María del Mar Sierra Ródríguez (University of Seville)

Was there a schwa in Northern Old English? Evidence from the Lindisfarne Gospel gloss

Evidence of possible phonological change in progress in the early stages of English may reside in orthographic variation. This is especially true for the Northern texts, where there is a greater degree of variation due to the fact that they are relatively free from the influence of the southern West Saxon Schriftsprache.

The aim of this paper is to assess whether there is evidence for the neutralization of the unstressed vowels of the inflexions in the Lindisfarne Gospel gloss. Previous studies dealing with the erosion and neutralization of the unstressed vowels of the inflections are mostly of a theoretical character and do not offer any quantitative analysis of the data and its implications for the presence of a neutral vowel schwa (or several schwas, as suggested by Ross (1937)) in Old English.

The focus of this study is the question of the vocalic variation found in the verbal inflexions for third person singular and plural of the present indicative found in the Lindisfarne gloss. Tokens were divided into groups according to the type and class of verb, and the rate of e/a alternation obtained in relation to the etymologically expected vowel in each case. Factors taken into consideration were person (singular/plural), verb class (strong/weak) and, within the group of weak verbs, the distinction between class I and class II. Quantitative analysis has been tested by means of statistical tests (chi-square and analysis of variance). Minor groups were treated separately for the sake of clarity.

My results so far point to the loss of phonological distinctiveness of unaccented vowels in the present indicative verbal morphology of the gloss. Thus, neutralization of unstressed vowels into a neutral schwa, which is regarded as a characteristic of Middle English, have started in tenth-century Old English, at least in the North.

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Daisy Smith (University of Edinburgh)

The predictability of {-S} abbreviation in Older Scots manuscripts according to stem-final _littera_

Older Scots (OSc) scribes used various orthographic forms to denote the noun plural {-S} inflection. Examples taken from *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (*LAOS*) (Williamson, 2008) are:

1. **acct(i)onis causis & q(ua)rellis** (text no.27 [Gordon Papers, 1491])
   'actions, causes and quarrels'

2. **litil schippeȝ fercostꝉ and batꝉ** (text no.128 [letter of James II, 1447])
   'little ships, farcosts and boats'

3. **sowmes gudꝉ & clamys** (text no.4 [letter of quitclaim, 1478/79])
   'sums, goods and claims'

In (1)-(3), the {-S} morpheme is variously realised as <-is>, <-eʒ>, <-es>, <-ys> and by the abbreviation <-ʔ>. Most accounts of OSc inflections discuss only the <-is/-ys> form as a distinguishing characteristic of OSc in comparison with the <-es> form more common in Middle English texts (Kuipers 1967; King 1997; Aitken and Macafee 2002). Much less has been said about <-ʔ>.

In modern transcriptions, abbreviations are often expanded, whether silently or otherwise, in the interest of clarity and readability. This forces editors to make a decision as to which form they will use to consistently represent the abbreviation symbol (McIntosh et. al. 1986). The chosen form is generally the most common fully-realised variant, meaning that in English texts, <-ʔ> is expanded to <-es> and in Scots texts to <-is>. Whilst this is a perfectly reasonable and reader-friendly practice, it results in a distortion of the palaeographic reality of the manuscripts involved.

Of the 15,716 noun plural {-S} tokens in *LAOS,* approximately 50% are realised as <-ʔ>, 35% as <-is/-iʒ/-ys> and 10% as <-es/-eʒ>. <-is/-iʒ/-ys> is the most frequent of the unabbreviated forms, but the most frequent form overall is <-ʔ>. However, OSc texts often show a high level of internal variability in their realisation of the plural in=lection. (2) and (3) are examples of the 43% of *LAOS* texts containing {-S} inflections which include at least one <-es/-eʒ> form.

In this paper, I use mixed effects modelling to investigate the distribution of abbreviated and unabbreviated realisations of {-S} in *LAOS.* I demonstrate that the use of the <-ʔ> abbreviation in OSc texts is highly predictable based on stem-final *litterae.* Specifically, 70-90% of {-S} tokens that follow <c, d, f, g, k, r> and <t> are abbreviated to <-ʔ>. Following <l, b> and <h> <-ʔ> is used in 15-25% of tokens. Following other *litterae*, it is used in fewer than 2% of tokens.

I consider two potential interpretations of this correlation between the abbreviated form of {-S} and stem-final letter. On one hand, examining similarities between manuscript *figurae* to speculate on a palaeographical link between the pre-abbreviation letter forms and, on the other, considering potential *potestates*, or 'sound values'.

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Gjertrud F. Stenbrenden (University of Oslo)

The development of OE ǣ: ME spelling evidence

The available evidence for ME long-vowel changes, including the so-called 'Great Vowel Shift', is scattered, both temporally and geographically, and notoriously difficult to interpret. The problems are most serious for OE ǣ, whose phonetic correspondences and orthographic representations vary considerably even in OE. OE has ǣ from two sources: (a) ǣ[1] from WGmc ai+i, which is generally retained in all OE dialects (Sievers/Cook 1968: §§57, 62, 90; Campbell 1959: §197), except that it seems to have been raised before dentals (Luick 1914-40: §§187-8; Jordan 1968: §48, Anm.2); and (b) ǣ[2] from WGmc ā, which is retained in Saxon dialects, but is reflected as ē in Anglian and Kentish (Wright & Wright 1925: §119; Sievers/Cook 1968: §57; Campbell 1959: §257; Kristensson 1997). When use of <æ>, <ae>, etc. is discontinued after the Norman Conquest, matters only get worse, as the reflexes of both ǣ's come to be spelt <e(e)>, as indeed are reflexes of OE ē.

The proposed paper attempts to establish the course of change, phonetically as well as orthographically, for the reflexes of OE ǣ in Middle English dialects, and to determine the isoglosses for OE ǣ[2]. It makes use of corpora of ME spellings (LAEME, LALME, SMED), as well as other sources of spellings for ǣ.

Lutz (2004) sees the early ME raising of OE /æ:/ to [ɛ:] as a 'prelude' to the Great Vowel Shift, making the latter a push-chain process in traditional terminology. Hence, the paper seeks to establish the chronology of the full set of ME long-vowel changes to determine whether this claim is supported by the spellings, or whether the change ǣ > [ɛ:] in fact should be regarded as part of the 'great long-vowel shift' (Stenbrenden 2010).

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Patrick V. Stiles (University College London)

Branch and Wave: an early isogloss within the North–West Germanic dialect continuum

Proto-Germanic split first into Gothic (East Germanic) and North–West Germanic, the latter subsequently separating into North and West Germanic: the Scandinavian languages on the one hand; and English, Frisian, Dutch and Low and High German on the other.

   This neat picture is disturbed by the development of *-ai-* in medial syllables. Both North Germanic and Old English attest an early loss of this sequence that is not shared elsewhere. It is exemplified by the set: Go. *allaizō*, OIc. *allra*, OE *eal(l)ra*, OHG *allero*, strong genitive plural of the adjective "all". Both syncopating languages have innovated, but is the similarity the result of independent parallel developments? Probability and the comparative method would like to say no — and put the agreement early as a common change. Yet, dialectologically, the isogloss cuts across the North Germanic–West Germanic divide. Can such a geographically limited change represent a minor wave that predated the split into the North and West Germanic branches? Alternatively, could it constitute a later areal phenomenon, posterior to the divergence of the two branches?

   This 'ripple' will be examined in relation to the relative chronology of sound-changes affecting the *z*-cases of strong adjectives of a particular phonological structure, where both medial *-ai-* and *-a-* were liable to syncope. This reveals that it is indeed best regarded as a shared loss at an early stage.

   This finding turns out to have a bearing on the phonologization of *a*-umlaut in the North–West Germanic languages.

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Mapping Language Change in Early Middle English

Maps are powerful tools to illustrate the spatial distribution of linguistic features and "they can be used to assist us in the identification of unique spatial characteristics or distributions on landscapes" (Wikle 1997: 417). While there are several ways to map linguistic features, scholars working on Middle English are probably most familiar with the isogloss maps that prominently feature in Mossé (1952) or the dot maps from the *LALME* (*Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, McIntosh et al. 1986) and *LAEME* (*Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, Laing and Lass 2013-) projects. Isogloss maps tend to represent dialects as solid entities, whereas dot maps include different-sized dots representing the relative frequency of a feature, allowing for variation within each area.

In this paper we address some of the key issues surrounding the mapping of language change and variation in Early Middle English. We present a number of maps created on the basis of *LAEME* data to discuss how the known limitations of Early Middle English data (cf. Laing 2000) have to be tackled to visualize diatopic and diachronic variation in one map in an approachable way. The maps include, among others, the change from OE $\bar{a}$ > ME $\bar{\varrho}$ (cf. Studer-Joho 2014) or the decline of strong adjectival endings.

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Abdulkareem Yaseen (Newcastle University)

Another chapter in the Bedouinisation of the *qeltu* dialects of Iraqi Arabic

The significant events that encompassed Iraq's history have contributed to its complicated contemporary dialect distribution (Blanc, 1964). One of the key phenomena that have shaped the societal and, by extension, dialectal landscape of Iraq is Bedouinisation, which is the prevalence of

Bedouin social and ideological values in an urban society (Caskel, 1953). Iraqi Arabic dialects are divided into two main groups: *qeltu* and *gilit* (Blanc, 1964). *Qeltu* is a continuum of sedentary type varieties spoken in the west and largely north of Iraq, while the Bedouin-type *gilit* varieties are spoken in the rest of the country.

Two waves of Bedouinisation throughout the history of Iraq have been recorded, both with a rather parallel linguistic outcome— the encroachment of Bedouin-type *gilit* on the sedentary *qeltu*. The first wave took place in the Ottoman period, specifically between the 14th and 18th centuries following an influx of Bedouins into the growing towns that subsequently led to a Bedouinisation of previously sedentary dialects in central and southern Iraq (Blanc, 1964; Palva, 1994). This wave gradually introduced the Bedouin-type linguistic features e.g. voiced velar plosive [g] and the affrication of [k] in Iraq (Palva, 2009, p. 36). A second wave occurred largely in Baghdad in the early and mid of the 20th century, coupled with a political rise of Bedouinised people, thereby further entrenching *gilit* in Baghdad and making it a standard variety. According to Blanc (1964) and Abu-Haidar (1991), this wave has led to the declining of *qeltu* features spoken by Baghdadi Jews and Christians such as despiranisation (i.e. realisation of interdentals [θ, ð, ðˤ] as stops [t, d, dˤ] respectively, and *imala* 'inclination', which refers to the raising of /a/ to [ɛ:] in the contiguity of /i/, as in /baːrid/ → [bɛːɣid] 'cold'.

This paper presents original data to argue that a third wave is now continuing the spatial movement of the previous waves to reach other qeltu-speaking territory, in that traditional phonological traits (e.g. [q] and [ɔ:]) are being supplanted by mainstream *gilit*-type equivalents. It also combines observations in the literature (.e.g. Al-Ani (1976), Abu Haidar (2007)) to suggest that more *qeltu* dialects such as Hit, Ana, Tikrit, and Kirkuk are losing ground to *gilit*. This is largely to follow, it is suggested, from the movement of Bedouinised people, for different reasons, to those parts of Iraq over the past few decades forcing in the process their dialectal habits into the recipient communities.

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