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La construcció de les llengües : Mites, Normes i Emocions Girona, June 26th, 2013



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How did lexicographers whose aim was to eliminate variation end up creating a system perfectly suited to record variation?



Some context

- The evolution of transcription systems:
 - The multipurpose «accent»
 - Diacritics: the limits of «signposting»
 - True «respelling»



Some context



- the influence of printers in the 17th century: a practical outlook
- by 1700, stabilized orthography; attempts at reform abandoned



Some context



- Socio-economic and political pressures (urbanization, Acts of Union) brought people of different origins together
- Pronunciation standards hardened and became key marker of social status
- Manuals and grammars proliferated, and a new genre appeared:

pronouncing dictionaries



Thomas Dyche 1707, 1723



 in Dictionary of All Words, simple stress mark

concórdant
concórporate
cóncourse
concréte
concrétion
concúbinage
cóncubine
concúbicate
concúpiscence
concúpiscence
concúpiscence

hor-net	jal"per	lad-der
hor-ror	jave-lin	la-den
horfe-leech	jay-lor	la-dle
ho″stage	jea/lous	la-dy

 but in earlier Guide to the English Tongue,
 "Double Accent" shows graphic convention and spoken reality simultaneously



Nathan Bailey, 1740



An Universal Etymological Dictionary, 9th edition

DES'TINY Readers, Gypties or Fortune-Tellers.

DES'TITUTE [deflitué, F. deflitutus, L.] left, forfaken

DESTITU'TION, a leaving or forfaking. F. of L.

To DESTRO'Y [dêtruire, of destruere, L.] to throw down, to ruin or lay waste, to deface, to kill.

DESTRUC'TION, a Destroying, Ruin, Overthrow. F. of L.

DESTRUC'TIVE, apt to destroy or ruin, pernicious. L.

DESTRUCT'IVELY, perniciously.

DESTRUCT'IVENESS, the being destructive or penicious.

"discriminant accent"

- develops from practice of placing stress mark after syllable;
- distinguishes open vs. closed syllables, and thereby long vs. short vowels



"Signposting": Buchanan 1757



Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio

- (') The common accent, placed over a vowel in a word, denotes that the voice must be raised upon that syllable: but when it is placed reverse over an (?) at the end of a word, it denotes that the final (?) must be sounded.
 - (-) Long accent placed over a vowel denotes it to be long.

All letters in roman character in the alphabetical words are filent, or not pronounced.

- (u) Short accent placed over a vowel, denotes it to be short.
- (· ·) Diaeresis placed over two vowels, denotes that they are both sounded, or parted into two syllables.
- «quiescent letters» shown to have different status, but not removed
- array of diacritics derived from linguistic tradition (macrons, breves, diaeresis)

Accquittal, or acquittance, (S.) 1. A ädage, (S.) A proverb. L. being discharged from the suspicion Ada'gio, (A.) In music, slow in move-of a crime. 2. A receipt. F. ment, grave, solemn.

äcre, (S.) A superficial measure of ädamant, (S.) A diamond. L.



"Signposting": Buchanan 1757



Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio

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First metaphonological representation:

stage in the «second revolution of grammatisation» (Auroux 1994)



"Signposting": Kenrick 1773



A New Dictionary of the English Language

OAR — OAR. n. f. [ane, Saxon; perhaps by allusion to the common expression of plowing the water, from the same root with ear, to plow, are, Latin.] A long pole with a broad end, by which vessels are driven in the water, the resistance made by water to the oar pushing on the vessel.

On'RY - OAR-Y. adj. [from oar.] Having the form or use of oars.

OATCAKE. n. f. [oat and cake.] Cake made of the meal of oats.

OA'TEN - OAT-EN. adj. [from oat.] Made of oats; bearing oats.

OATH — OATH. n. f. [aith, Gothick; at, Saxon.] The difference between the noun oath, and the verb fivear, is very observable, as it may show that our oldest dialect is formed from different languages.] An affirmation, negation, or promise, corroborated by the attestation of the Divine Being.

OA'TMA'LT. n. f. [oat and malt.] Malt made of oats.

On TMEAL - OAT-MEAL, OF OAT-MEAL. n. f. [oat and meal.] Flower made by grinding oats.

OATS — OATS. n f. [azen, Saxon.] A grain which, in England, is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.

- Numerals as diacritics: eliminating vagueness, lending entries a "scientific" air
- Modification of conventional orthography remains unthinkable

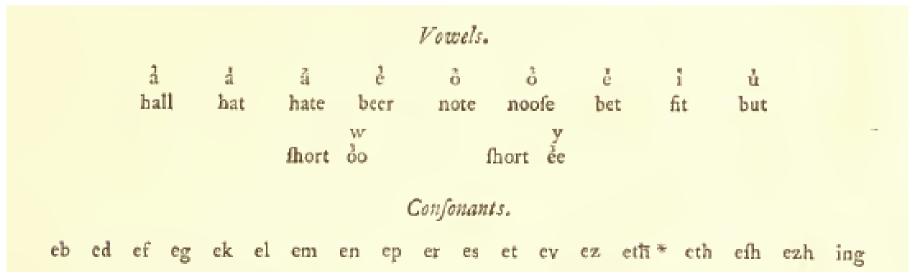


"Respelling": Sheridan 1762



Dissertation on the Causes of the Difficulties, which Occur in Learning the English Tongue

- inventor of superscript numbers (Kenrick uses them as diacritics, whereas Sheridan creates new graphemes)
- gives four clear rules for achieving bijectivity
- system adopted not bijective for prescriptive reasons





"Respelling": Sheridan 1780



A General Dictionary of the English Language

DILECTION, di-lek'-shun. s. The act of loving.

DILEMMA, di-lem'-mā. f. An argument equally conclusive by contrary suppositions; a difficult or doubtful choice.

DILIGENCE, dil'-y-jense. s. Industry, affiduity.

DILIGENT, dil'-y-jent. a. Constant in application; assiduous; constantly applied, profecuted with activity.

DILIGENTLY, dil'-y-jent-ly. ad. With affiduity, with heed and perfeverance.

DILL, dil'. f. An herb.

di2-le1k'-shu1n di2-le1m'ma1 di1l'-y1-je1nse di1l'-y1-je1ntly1 New representational system, using **new set of graphemes**:

- simple, i.e. most of the consonants;
- complex, i.e. most of the vowels;
- digraphs, several consonants and some diphthongs



Thomas Spence 1775



The Grand Repository of the English Language

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A'bacus, (\BIKIS) n. a counting table;
  the uppermost member of a pillar.
Abaft, (IBLFT) ad. behind; to the ftern.
Abáifance, (LBAZINS) n. a bow or curte-
  fy; respect.
Abandon, (LBLNDIN) v. to forfake; to
  defert.
Abase, (LBAS) v. to bring down; to humble.
Abasement, (LBASMINT) n. depression;
  humiliation.
Abash, (LBLSI) v. to put to the blush.
Abáte, (LBAT) v. to diminish; to lessen.
Abatement, LBATMINT) n. an allow-
  ance made.
Abb, (AB) n. the warp threads of cloth.
A'bbacy, (LBISE) n. the rights, privileges,
  or jurifdiction of an abbot.
A'bbefs, (ABIS) n. the governess of an ab-
  bey inhabited by women.
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New representational system, using **new set of graphemes**:

- Extended alphabet, with ligatures, halfletters and modified letters
- Bijective, phonemic, most like the IPA



Thomas Spence 1782



Thĭ Hĭstĭre ŏv Kruzonea, ŏr Rŏbĭnsĭn Kruzo'z Ilĭnd

Spelling reformer

Hark! hou thi Trümpit's Sound, Proklamz thi Würld around Thi Jubile!
Telz aul thi Poor opres'd, No mor tha shal be ses'd, Nor Landlordz mor molest Thar Propirte!

- reformed spelling different from dictionary «respellings»
- condescension? ("laborious part of the people")
- internalized graphic-phonic conventions from traditional orthography



Analysis



- Nostalgia
- Classicism
- Authoritarianism
- Aestheticism
- Coherentism
- Logicism
- Commonsensism
- Functionalism
- Asceticism

(Pullum 2004)

Conservative

Reformist



Conclusion: layers of prescriptivism



- 1. "Right" pronunciation:
- external social factor that is completely internalized into intellectual framework
- usage-based not rule-based
- pedagogical intent: motivation for every innovation, but also limitation



Conclusion: layers of prescriptivism



2. graphocentrism

first phase: orthography cannot be changed second phase: orthography can be modified, but remain benchmark (in transcription choices, in spelling pronunciation)



Conclusion: layers of prescriptivism



- 3. transcription systems themselves:
- reformist prescriptivist principles are applied to representation as opposed to language form itself
- "monmodèle" (Ballier 2007)





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Analysis



Prescriptivism about spelling prescriptivism about spoken language



• the Ormulum

ennglissh

crisstenndom

Dyche 1707

ho"stage

Bailey 1740

DESTITU'TION

DES'TITUTE



Conclusions



Prescriptivism about spelling, prescriptivism about spoken language

PI-LAS-TER

Kenrick 1773

ACADEMICK, åk-kå-dėm'-mik.

-Sheridan 1780

ABDIKASIIN

•Spence 1775, and 1782

Ländlördz

prescriptivists with different objects