En[dj]uring [tʃ]unes or ma[tj]ure [dʒ]ukes? Palatalisation in eighteenth-century English: Evidence from the Eighteenth-Century English Phonology Database

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9th Studies in the History of the English Language Conference (SHEL-9)
UBC, Vancouver, 5-7 June 2015

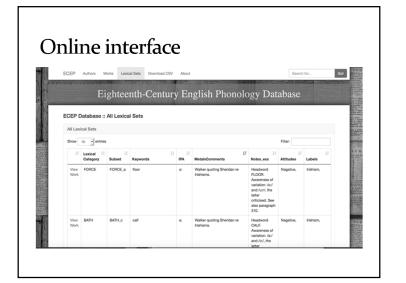
ECEP: Eighteenth-Century English Phonology database

- Project website: http://hridigital.shef.ac.uk/eighteenth-century-english-phonology
- Aims and scope
 - Resource to investigate the social, geographical, chronological, phonological, and lexical distribution of variants in 18C English
- Team
 - Joan C. Beal, Ranjan Sen, Nuria Yáñez-Bouza, Christine Wallis, Technical support: Sheffield HRI
- Data
 - Wells' (1982) lexical sets for vocalic variation and supplementary sets for consonant variation e.g. DEUCE set, WHALE set
- Metadata on authors (e.g. dates, place, social class) and works (e.g. year, place, type, audience)

The evidence....

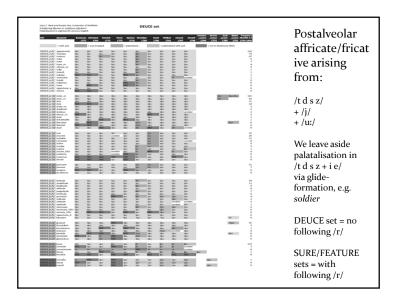
- 'The eighteenth century produced no writers to compare either with the spelling reformers who are our main source up to 1644... or with the phoneticians who... carry us on from 1653... to 1687' (Dobson 1957: 311)
- REALLY?

- 'Five times as many works on elocution were published between 1760 and 1800 than prior to 1760' (Benzie 1972: 52)
 - Pronouncing Dictionaries, e.g. Walker (1791)
 - Orthoepistic works (spelling books, works on spelling reform), e.g. Elphinston (1786/7, 1790)
 - Elocution manuals, e.g. Sheridan (1762)
 - Grammars, e.g. Ward (1765)



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The Starting Point

- Minkova (2014: 141-5) on palatalisations
 - \bullet Evidence for it in /sj/ from the 13th cent.
 - But in /tj dj/ only from 16th or 17th cents
 - Interestingly, from /di/, e.g. soldier, rather than /dju:/
- Sound change well underway by start of 18th cent.

Analysing the Data (1): Chronology and stigmatisation

- Less common \rightarrow more common \rightarrow less common
- Sheridan (1780; late in career) the arch-palataliser
- Walker (1791): predictable, 'rule'-based
- Even less in Jones' (1797 and 1798) Sheridan Improved
 - Fascinating changes from more palatalising 2^{nd} ed. to less 3^{rd} ed.
- Reconstructed picture of first half of 18th cent.
 - $\bullet\,$ Yod-dropping in unstressed syllables before /r/
 - Variable palatalisation, mainly (i) in unstressed syllables, (ii) in /s/, (iv) before /r/

Analysing the Data (1): Chronology

- 1750-1775: only /s z/, only before /r/
 - Except Perry (t)issue
- Kenrick (1773: 32):

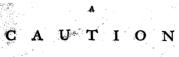
fons, but because a very general custom prevails, even among the politest speakers, of giving the salone the force of the in many words, such as nature, creature, &c. which are pronounced nucleurs, createbure, and that too emphaniae gratia.

For my own part, nevertheless, I cannot discover the euphony; and though the contrary mode be reprobated, as vulgar, by certain mighty fine speakers, I think it more conformable to the general scheme of English pronunciation; for though, in order to make the word

they are more quickly or flowly pronounced. But why the t, when followed by neither i nor t, is to take the form of tb, I cannot conceive: it is my opinion, a species of affectation that should be discountenanced; unless we are to impute it to the tendency in the metropolitan pronunciation of prefacing the sound of u with a y consonant; or, which is the same thing, converting the t or t preceding into tb or tb, as in nature, medium, &c. These

Sheridan (1780; late in career): The arch-palataliser

- Came to be stigmatised over the century
- Sheridan repeatedly singled out for criticism on precisely this issue, e.g. Anonymous 'A Caution'



Nature, torture,

TO GENTLEMEN WHO USE

But palatalisation not one of the 'Irish' features represented in 19th-SHERIDAN'S DICTIONARY. century literature (Hickey 2012)

The errors which expose his fystem to the sixpence... the book may be censure and ridicule of the learned, I attribute to habitual influence. He was an IRISHMAN:

'His dictionary... is not worth considered rather as a national disgrace than ornament' (18-19)

Jones (1797 2nd ed., 1798 3rd ed.)

The foregoing are inflances, among others, in which that celebrated Orthoepift is inconfiftent with himfelf: but in examples like the following, it is strongly to be presumed that he is erroneous upon principle, and his misconceptions are therefore the more carefully to be avoided: The word convey ranked by Mr. Sheridan kon-vi, as If pronounced conver; heir, as If pronounced conversion, recipient, president, president the pronunciation of one of the most favourite comedians of the present day, who, I observe, whenever the word tutor occurs in his part invariably pro nounces it is flooter. With equal propriety might Mr. S. have marked due to be pronounced dissel, or jewel.

Jones 1798: iv, developing 1797: viii

"IT must be confessed, that Mr. Sheridan's Dictionary is greatly superior to any thing that preceded it; but here fincerity obliges me to stop Numerous instances of impropriety, inconsistency, and want of acquaintance with the analogies of the language, sufficiently show how imperfeet his Dictionary is upon the whole, and what ample room was left for attempting another, that might better answer the purpose of a guide to pronunciation. His credit with the world necessarily subjects him to animadversion, because the errors of such a writer are dangerous in proportion to his reputation."

3rd ed. has this quotation on the page immediately following the title page. In 2nd ed. this page is blank.

Walker's (1791) rules

- Data
 - Stressed: /s/ before /r/: sure and related words
 - Pre-stress: derived alternation in /t s/: maturátion, tutórial
 - Post-stress: fricatives, and /t d/ only before hiatus or /r/
- Principles
 - 376, 450, 459-64: /t d s z/ when 'after the accent' palatalised before i/e-initial diphthongs, 'where it must be remembered that *u* is a diphthong' (approving of Sheridan's *nature*)
 - 376: 'Duke and reduce, pronounced juke and re-juce, where the accent is after the d, cannot be too much reprobated'
 - 454-5: súre, súgar are the only permitted exceptions to this 'analogy (= rule) due to 'custom'
 - 'a want of attending to this analogy has betrayed Mr. Sheridan into a series of mistakes' in *suicide*, *presume*, *resume*; 'it may be asked why is not *suit*... pronounced *shoot*'... 'Mr Sheridan's greatest fault'

Jones (1797 2nd ed., 1798 3rd ed.)

- Jones 3 eliminates palatalised:
 - Stressed syllable, e.g. [sj]uture
 - Unstressed /t/ if not before /r/ (so restricting further than Walker), e.g. punc[tj]ual
 - Unstressed /t/ before onset /r/, e.g. cen[tj]ury vs. feature
 - Unstressed /d/, e.g. proce[di]ure
 - also: j-dropping, even when palatalised, e.g. $i[\int]ue > i[\int]ue$
 - except sporadically unstressed before /r/, e.g. censure, future, pleasure
- Jones 3 retains palatalised (+ yod):
 - Unstressed /s/
 - Stressed /s/ before /r/, but not onset /r/ in assurance
- Jones 3 adds palatalised:
 - Unstressed /z/, e.g. casual
 - Stressed /s/ in supine
 - Pre-stress /t/ alternation (like Walker), e.g. maturation

Analysing the Data (1): Chronology

- 'First' yod-dropping only in earlier sources
 - Notably in all phonemes in unstressed syllables before /r/, e.g. century, verdure, censure, seizure, creature, procedure, treasure
 - Mostly in Buchanan, Johnston, Kenrick, Perry
 - Spence (1775) is latest to do this
- Then 'second' yod-dropping in later sources
 - Any phoneme in stressed syllable
 - Sheridan (1780) is earliest, only 1 e.g. dual
 - Scott (1786) is arch-stressed-yod-dropper, mostly in fricatives, but variants in /d/ recognised
 - Clearly only most frequent words
 - /d/ duke, duty, /s z/ top half of items listed by frequency

Analysing the Data (3): Stress

- Stressed: DEUCE_a, SURE_a
 - · Palatalisation generally resisted
 - As noted by Walker
 - Exception SURE_a /s/, e.g. sure: see (4) Rhoticity
- Post-stress: DEUCE b, SURE b, FEATURE
- Most common context, sensitive to (5) Phoneme
- As noted by Walker
- Also most common context for yod-dropping: see (1) Chronology
- Pre-stress: DEUCE c, SURE c (less data)
 - Palatalisation arguably resisted more than in _b, but see (5)
 Phoneme for patterns
 - Walker (+ Jones 3) stress-sensitive: [tj]útor but [ʧ]utórial, mó[dj(i)]ule but variant mo[dʒj]ulátion, ma[tj]úre but ma[ʧ]urátion

Analysing the Data (2): Geography

- Difficult to separate from chronology/stigmatisation
- Sheridan (of course!) Irish: most palatalisation
- Little palatalisation in Scottish sources
 - Buchanan (1757) and notably Scott (1786) have no palatalised forms whatsoever
 - Perry (1775) only in unstressed /s/, all fricatives before /r/
- Spence (1775) from Newcastle: also little
 - Only stressed /s/ + unstressed /z/ before /r/
- Recall Kenrick's 'metropolitan pronunciation' with yod and/or palatalised C
 - Restitution of yod led to more palatalised variants

Analysing the Data (4): Rhoticity

- All sources are consistently rhotic
- Significantly more palatalisation when /r/ follows (SURE-FEATURE) than when /r/ does not (DEUCE)
 - Walker, Sheridan, Kenrick, Perry, Jones
- Especially when post-stress (SURE_b, FEATURE)
 - Even Spence /z/ (clo[3]ure, plea[3]ure), but not /t d s/ (nature, procedure, pressure)
- Palatalised forms lexicalised in PDE, e.g. pleasure
 - PDE-based categorisation SURE_b (full V) vs. FEATURE (schwa) seems to be frequency-based
 - e.g. maxima SURE_b: censure (8) vs. FEATURE: nature (196)
 - Some differences between them (V quality, palatalisation in /t/) discernable in 18th cent.
- Yod-dropping before /r/: see (1) Chronology

Analysing the Data (4): Rhoticity

- Especially in /s/: even when stressed (SURE_a)
 - Even Kenrick, Perry, Spence /s/: [ʃ(j)] in *sure*, *surety*
- /t d/ resisted when stressed
 - ma[tj]ure, [dj]ure, vs. [ʃ(j)]ure
 - Sheridan *fu*[ʧ]*úrity* analogical on *fú*[ʧ]*ure*
 - But note absence of word-initial /t/ in SURE a
 - Context where /t/ is palatalised in DEUCE_a set
- Some resistance post-stress (SURE_c)
 - No palatalisation in /d/ (3 words)
 - Only Walker and Jones3 in ma[§j]urátion (not Sheridan!): (despite) analogy on stressed ma[tj]úre
 - More common in /s/ again? Perry, Sheridan, Walker, Jones3 in mensurátion

Analysing the Data (5): Phoneme

DEUCE A (STRESSED): PHONEME, POSITION, FREQUENCY

- /t/ only Sheridan, word-initially: [f]une ~ a[tj]une
- /d/ resisted: Sheridan/Walker_var only in fi[tʒ]uciary/-ial
 Assimilatory: -cia-? Recall rhoticity assimilation
 - j-drop variants/forms in most frequent (Scott) duke, duty, and before hiatus? (Sheridan, Jones2) dual, but not duel
- /s/ mainly Sheridan, word-initially, less frequent words (or just not *suit-*): [sj]*uit ~ a*[sj]*ume ~* [ʃ]*uicide*
 - j-drop forms in most frequent (Scott) suit, assume, suitable, consume, suitor, suicide
- /z/ only Sheridan, all positions: pre[3]ume ~ [3]eugma
 - Exception exuberant: probably analysed prefix + stem-initial /u:/
 Cf. Walker Principle 454 on ex as first syllable of éxercise and exért
 - j-drop forms in most frequent (Scott) presume, resume

Analysing the Data (4): Rhoticity

- Why should following /r/ cause palatalisation?
- Anticipatory assimilation to post-alveolar tongue position of /r/? (cf. assimilation in fi[dʒ]u[ʃ]iary)
 - Perhaps even before 'clear' coda /r/ not 'dark' onset /r/
 - As in Jones3, where palatalisation before coda only
 - Cf. opposite clear onset /l/ vs. dark coda /l/ (Carter 2003, Carter & Local 2007)
- Breaking/diphthongisation of vowel before /r/
 - Sporadic instances in 2 or 3 dictionaries (not always same ones): Pour, resource, quart, quarter, near, pierce
 - Leading to overlong triphthongal nucleus [juə]
 - Simplified by preferring palatalised C + /və/
 - 'Clear' coda /r/ might explain why back /u/ breaks, as well as front /i/

Analysing the Data (5): Phoneme

DEUCE_B (POST-STRESS): MORE COMMON IN /S Z/ THAN /T D/

- /t/ Walker, Sheridan, Jones mainly before hiatus: punctual, sanctuary
- /d/ Walker before hiatus (arduous, gradual var)
- Sheridan /dʒʊ/ in module,-ate (DEUCE b), -ation (DEUCE c)
 - Cf. j-drop in Kenrick [dɪ] and Buchanan [dʌ]
 - Walker emphasises [dji] in variant pronunciation
 - Distinguish from model?
 - Very low frequency; very non-palatal [back] environment, inc. dark /l/ in module (derived forms palatalised by analogy?)
- /s z/ near-regular palatalisation in Walker, Sheridan, Perry, Jones
 - ca[zj]ual(ty) in Sheridan/Jones2, but vi[ʒj]ual; vice versa in Kenrick variant
 - j-drop in Buchanan, but even Sheridan does not drop [j] (as usual) in palatalised forms *casual(ty)*

Analysing the Data (5): Phoneme

DEUCE c (PRE-STRESS): PHONEME, POSITION

- More similar to DEUCE_a
- /t/ Sheridan word-initially: [tʃ]umultuous
- /d/ resisted (as DEUCE_a): adulation, duplicity
- /s/ only Sheridan (all frequencies), all e.g.s word-initial: [ʃ]uperior, [ʃ]uperb
- Little j-dropping

Analysing the Data (6): Word Frequency

- ARCHER 3.2 (2013) 1700-1999
- SURE bvs. FEATURE in PDE
- 'Second' yod-dropping in more frequent words
- Sheridan: Initial stressed /s/ palatalisation and /d/ in *module*, etc. in least frequent words
- More data required to establish firm patterns
- But the issue has only arisen because we have so much more data than has previously been considered!

Analysing the Data (5): Phoneme

- Why more in /s/?
 - High tongue position of palatal /j/ shapes frication noise: post-alveolar percepts
 - /z/ arguably more resistant to misperception as postalveolar as a result of lower intensity frication
- Why word-initial?
 - Unambiguous Cj onset with gestural blending/coarticulation
 - No 'ambisyllabicity' or pre-C perceptual cues to C-place
- Why before hiatus?
 - Glide dissimilation Cj...w > C...w
 - Cf. sewer tends to be pronounced 'shore' in these dicts

'it will remind us of the complexity of actual historical data and warn us against the temptation of accepting "neat" and all-embracing solutions for the phonological variation they provide'.

(C. Jones 1989: 269, referring to his discussion of evidence from Henry Machyn's diary for /h/ dropping/insertion in 16th-century English)

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