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Reassessing orthoepic evidence for ‘non-standard’ speech in Early Modern Britain

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MA(Hons), MPhil

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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September 2025

Abstract

For well over a century, early forms of English vernacular linguistic scholarship—or orthoepy—have been used by historical linguists to explore the pronunciation of Early Modern English (e.g. Ellis 1871; Dobson 1968; Ekwall 1975). However, these texts have almost exclusively been used as evidence for the London-based, so-called ‘standard’ accent.

These texts are part of the very early stages of a standardising ideology in English, so their use for that purpose makes sense, but these authors also provide evidence for Scots and for varieties of English besides that used by educated London speakers. These non-London varieties are under-researched for the early modern period, and the focus is usually on theatre, poetry, and letters. By examining how orthoepic texts can be used as evidence for ‘non-standard’ accents, this study will reveal how alternative histories of English and Scots can be found in supposedly standardising texts, and will contribute to the decentring of English historical linguistics.

In this study, orthoepic authors are divided into ‘first-hand’ and ‘second-hand’ witnesses. The former group are authors who are themselves speakers of ‘non-standard’ accents, and the latter are usually speakers of the ‘standard’ accent. The first-hand witnesses’ works are analysed for various evidence types which may provide clues as to features of ‘non-standard’ accents, such as their spelling choices, evidence uncovered through multilingual comparison, and direct commentary on variation. These texts include the work of Welshman William Salesbury (*A Briefe and Playne Introduction* and *A Dictionary in Welsh and English*), Scot Alexander Hume’s *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue*, and Lincolnshire-born Alexander Gil’s *Logonomia Anglica*, amongst others. The commentary on variation found in the works of the second-hand witnesses is likewise interrogated, including the works of John Hart (*The opening of the unreasonable writing of our English toung, An Orthographie, and A methode of comefortunate beginning for all unlearned*), John Wallis’ *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* and *Tractatus de Loquela*, and Sir Thomas Smith’s *De recta et emendate linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*. Within these texts, numerous features of a variety of accents have been found, particularly relating to Scots and Northern English. Welsh English features are found in a smaller number of texts (particularly in the work of William Salesbury), and features of Southern, Eastern, and Western English are only rarely found in the texts examined. This evidence is then drawn together to demonstrate which ‘non-standard’ features are observed

most often by these authors, such as L-vocalisation, /x/-retention, and the Northern and Scots retention of ME \bar{a} . Finally, the attitudes of these orthoepists towards ‘non-standard’ speech are discussed, particularly with regards to how they differ between varieties. While traditionally orthoepy has been seen to regard ‘non-standard’ variants in a generally negative sense, in this study orthoepists’ attitudes towards these accents are found to vary, with Welsh English generally being neutrally received, while Northern English and Scots are treated neutrally or even positively.

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Acknowledgement

I am indebted to my supervisors, Professor Joanna Kopaczyk-McPherson and Professor Jeremy Smith, for their support, advice, hard work, and endless patience throughout this process. I am more grateful than I can say.

Many thanks are also due to my family and friends for their unwavering support, which has kept me going over the years.

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council [grant number AH/R012717/1]. I am very grateful to the Scottish Graduate School for the Arts and Humanities for awarding me this scholarship.

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Abbreviations

DSL – Dictionaries of the Scots Language / Dictionars o the Scots Leid

EEBO – Early English Books Online

ESEE – Educated South-Eastern English (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.2)

EModE – Early Modern English

EModSc – Early Modern Scots

LModE – Late Modern English

ME – Middle English

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OE – Old English

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

OSc – Older Scots

Introduction

Practically as soon as significant scholarship on the English language began, as far back as the sixteenth century, the dialect used by the educated classes of the South-East—specifically London and the ancient Universities—was taken as the ideal form of a new ‘standard’ variety. This idea has persisted into more recent scholarship. However, these Early Modern linguistic scholars provide evidence of speech outside of the South-East of England, sometimes intentionally, sometimes unintentionally. I argue that this evidence demonstrates that the concept of Early Modern ‘Standard English’ oversimplifies the reality, at least at the phonological level.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a wish to ‘fix’ the English language arose amongst some of the educated circles of society, and what is known as orthoepy took shape as one of the responses to this desire. Works on spelling reform and instructions on the best form of pronunciation were published from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, as orthoepists sought to assert a standard form of English, to act as the highest version of the language and provide a benchmark for speakers and writers. This promotion of a standard not only had an effect on the language itself, but also on the way the history of English has been researched and studied ever since. It has resulted in scholarship portraying the history of the English language as what Lass (1976: xi) has called “a single-minded march towards RP”. Early Modern English as spoken by those who were not educated South-Easterners has traditionally been underrepresented by historical linguists.

A shift has occurred over the past half-century or so, however. Some researchers have moved on to discuss dialects of Early Modern English, such as Wakelin (1977; 1982), Beal (2004), Wales (2006), and Ruano-García (2020). Older Scots has also received more attention in the last few decades, as can be seen in works such as McClure (1994) and Aitken (2002). Various sources have been used to study historical Early Modern English dialects and Older Scots, but the evidence of orthoepy has, I argue, been under-exploited. This makes sense in many ways; orthoepy is designed, for the most part, to promote one form of the language and so evidence of other forms is limited. It would not be true, however, to say that there is no evidence of ‘non-standard’ speech to be found in this type of text; a number of these authors either discuss features of non-standard speech, or provide evidence of such features through, for example, their spelling choices when they themselves would have non-standard accents. These aspects of orthoepic texts, though they have been touched on by Dobson (1968) and Wakelin (1977; 1982), have typically been

glossed over. Dobson (1968), who produced an extremely detailed study of many orthoepic texts as evidence of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English pronunciation, has no real interest in features which deviate from the so-called standard, so his treatment of these features is frequently dismissive, and some aspects require reassessment. Wakelin (1977; 1982) uses orthoepy for the specific purposes of examining features of non-standard phonology, but this is carried out on a limited scale.

In this study I do not intend to offer a comprehensive reconstruction of Early Modern English or Scots, although some reconstructive work will be necessary in order to illustrate what features the orthoepists are discussing. One of my main aims is to examine a set of orthoepic texts to identify and map what features of Scots and non-standard English can be found in them, and how these features are described, using a traditional source for non-traditional purposes. I examine these texts as a series of case studies, before making comparisons between them. This study analyses fifteen works by eleven authors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all of which engage with speech deemed ‘non-standard’. I then discuss what features are evidenced most frequently by these authors, and finally I re-examine the attitudes of these orthoepists towards such usage, investigating whether or not they were truly hostile to these accents.

1 Previous scholarship and study aims

The study of historical English phonology is a field which has been of interest to historical linguists for many years, stretching back at least into the mid-nineteenth century (e.g. Ellis 1869–1889; Sweet 1888; Wyld 1920; see section 1.2.2). Considerable effort has been expended on reconstructing the accents of ‘unstandardised’ Old and Middle English, and the accents of Late Modern English have also attracted much attention, especially since the pioneering work of great nineteenth-century scholars such as Joseph Wright (1905), or in more recent research by (e.g.) John Wells (1982). However, interest in Early Modern English dialectal variation has been comparatively—and perhaps surprisingly—restricted. Scots has, perhaps, been the most successful ‘dialect’ in this respect; though acknowledged as a language in its own right in more recent decades, Scots has also been treated as a dialect of English in work on historical linguistics for a long time. Early Modern Scots (see section 1.2.3) has received lots of individual attention, but the ‘non-standard’ dialects of Early Modern English (e.g. Northern English, Western English, etc.) have not been so favoured.

In this chapter, I provide an account of the linguistic landscape of early modern Britain, expanding past the South-Eastern form of English which receives so much attention. Following this, I discuss the research context of this thesis, examining the scholarly background on Early Modern English and Early Modern Scots pronunciation, and the source materials used in this field. I then discuss my research questions, and finally I tackle some questions of terminology relating to standardisation and periodisation.

1.1 Historical and linguistic context of early modern Britain

It is worth taking some time first to outline some of the major points of the linguistic situation in early modern Britain. This will provide some context for the following chapters, particularly Chapters 3 and 4, so that the early modern authors’ experience of language can be more fully understood. The authors whose works I examine in Chapter 3 in particular will require some contextualisation; the authors examined in these chapters came from Wales, Scotland, and the North of England, and so some background on their native speech and speech communities will aid in the interpretation of ‘non-standard’ and Scots speech there. It is also important to showcase, at least in broad strokes, the range of linguistic circumstances existing in this time period, in order to demonstrate the narrow

focus of historical linguistic scholarship more effectively. In terms of languages, I will address English, Scots, and some Welsh, and the parts of Britain I primarily describe are the North of England, Scotland, and Wales.

The rise of scholarship on the vernacular in England (e.g. the works of John Hart, Sir Thomas Smith, and Alexander Gil) leads to a promotion of a form of Early Modern English (henceforth EModE) spoken by educated South-Easterners, as the orthoepists—whose works, ideas, and preferences will be explored more in section 1.2.1 and Chapter 2—seek to ‘fix’ the language. By and large, they promote the idea of selecting a standard for spelling, and usually pronunciation. The favoured orthography and accent are both usually the forms used by the court and the educated classes within a triangle formed of London and the Universities. Spelling and speech still saw considerable variation across mainland Britain.

This preferred accent of English was, however, far from the only form of the language in existence. Accent areas such as (broadly speaking) Northern, Western, Eastern, and Southern were also part of the linguistic landscape, and feature in discussions from authors of the period. Welsh English, Irish English, and Scots also rate mentions from early modern authors, to varying degrees. Scots and the English of Northern England share a number of common features. One factor amongst several is the Northern Great Vowel Shift, which results in Northern English and Scots both having long vowel systems which differ significantly from that of Southern English, retaining the unshifted back vowels which all raise in the South (see e.g. Smith 2004; see also section 1.2.3). Northern English in the early modern period is the subject of commentary from a handful of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors (see section 1.2.1). The speech of the North is by some labelled as “uncorrupted” and “plain”, for example by Alexander Gil (Blank 1996: 100; Ruano-García 2020: 191; see also section 3.8). To others, it is the subject of jokes, for example Richard Kereford (Wales 2006: 76; see section 1.2.1). The boundary of Northern English is a topic of interest to several authors, including Puttenham and Harrison (Ruano-García 2020: 189).

McClure (1994: 33) describes the variety of opinions on Scots in the early modern period, stating that “the views that the speech of the Scottish and of the English kingdoms were essentially the same, essentially different, or even different dialects of the same language” are all on display in the sixteenth century. On a phonological level, there was a considerable amount of similarity between Early Modern Scots (EModSc; see section

1.4.2) and Northern EModE. This is discussed by Wakelin (1977: 5), McClure (1994: 47), and Blank (1996: 157). Blank (1996: 159–60) points out that early modern literary representations of Scots speakers are very similar to those of Northern English speakers, and in fact are often not clearly distinct, requiring character context in order to tell the difference. Like Northern EModE, EModSc displays the Northern Great Vowel Shift (see Smith 2004; Aitken 2003).

The scene in Wales also requires particular attention for the sake of the Welsh authors discussed in Chapter 3, though Wales is generally left out of accounts of EModE. This is unsurprising, as very little English was used in Wales in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but Wales was still part of the English-speaking sphere, even in a small way.

Wales had experienced several centuries of English control by the sixteenth century, which included some pockets of English—and therefore English-speaking—settlement (Thomas 1994: 94). A major point of interest, though, is the formal annexation of Wales during the reign of Henry VIII. In 1536 and 1543, the ‘Acts of Union’ were passed, in which Wales was formally classified as part of the realm of England (Jones 1988: 7). This also meant that Wales was placed under the English legal system (Jones 1988: 7). The impact on the Welsh linguistic situation comes from one stipulation in the Acts:

“...henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner, Office, or Fees within this Realm of England.”

(Jones 1988: 7).

Effectively, this clause forbade any use of the Welsh language in any official capacity in Wales, necessitating the use of English instead.

It seems to be generally agreed amongst scholars that this clause did result in an increase in the number of the Welsh gentry who spoke English (e.g. Minkova 2014: 16; Jones 1998: 7), though they do also note a gradual rise in the number of Welsh English speakers beforehand, as knowledge of English would be a practical asset. The number of Welsh English speakers remained low, however, with Jenkins (1992: 59) estimating the figure to sit below 10% of the population, and over 90% being monoglot Welsh speakers. It seems probable that the 10% of English speakers includes those in the English settlements mentioned above, though Jenkins does not specify. There were, according to Evans (2019:

216–7), several thousand Welsh people in sixteenth-century London, but this is still not a large number of Welsh English speakers compared to Welsh monoglot speakers. The English language did not expand in usage in Wales much until the nineteenth century, which is the point at which Thomas (1994) begins to address the subject of Welsh English in more depth. A sort of Welsh English is, however, observable in early modern theatre, with Blank (1996) analysing the representations of Welsh English speech found in the works of playwrights like Shakespeare (Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and Captain Fluellen in *Henry V*) and Dekker (the Ambassador in *The Welsh Ambassador*, an Englishman pretending to be Welsh). In actual Welsh English usage, evidence is limited; Thomas (1994: 109–10) acknowledges that some features of Welsh phonology would certainly carry over to English usage, but states that written usage is “overwhelmingly that of written standard English”, citing sixteenth-century wills as evidence.

This account is not a complete picture of the linguistic landscape of early modern Britain—an undertaking which would likely fill an entire book by itself—but it goes some way to demonstrating the linguistic variety to be found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain. This, however, is not the image painted by much of the prominent scholarship on the subject of EModE speech. The focus there is heavily on the so-called ‘standard’ form of the language, or the form used by the educated classes based in the South-East of England, as shall be seen in section 1.2.2.

1.2 Research context

1.2.1 Sources used in the study of Early Modern English phonology

Various sources come into play in the study of historical phonology, and the study of EModE phonology is no different. Minkova sums up the options available, and some of their issues, quite succinctly:

“In addition to the analysis of written sources, spelling deviations and rhyming practice, the student of EModE phonology is both assisted and hampered by metalinguistic evidence: numerous contemporary commentaries and manuals on spelling and pronunciation, homophone lists, puns, informal private letters, court transcriptions and literary references, all of which can be illuminating and contradictory” (Minkova 2014: 234).

This list demonstrates just how many options a historical phonologist has. Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004: 287) employ a number of other sources: diaries, civic records, wills and testaments, and vows of chastity, as well as family letters and courtroom depositions as mentioned by Minkova (2014: 234). Letters have been used for several decades as phonological evidence, including Zachrisson (1913) over a century ago, and Smith (2006: 138) more recently. Salmon (1999: 43) particularly mentions women's letters and other writings; due to a lower literacy rate, women's writing can often have a phonographic basis that aids in the study of phonology. Place names also have a role to play in historical phonology; Fisiak (1994) uses place names to identify areas in which /f/ is vocalised in EModE.

Minkova (2014: 234) identifies literature as a source of information. Literature is a major source of evidence used throughout the study of EModE phonology, particularly Shakespeare's work, which has been used by numerous scholars (see section 1.2.2). Other literary sources are also used, including poetry. McClure, for example, uses Barbour's *Brus* to identify the extent to which EModSc phonology resembles that of Northern EModE (McClure 1994: 43). Dobson (1968: 2–6) and Evans (2019) both make use of the *Welsh Hymn to the Virgin*, and both Wales (2006: 52) and Ruano-García (2020: 192) point to broadsides and ballads as useful sources particularly for Northern EModE. Wakelin (1977: 4), though, points out that when studying dialectal pronunciations through literary representations in plays at least, caution must be exercised, as the authors were often not speakers of the dialect in question themselves, and also there could be a number of character-driven motivations for how a dialect is represented.

Probably the most widely used source, however, is the text type covered by Minkova's (2014: 234) list: "contemporary commentaries and manuals on spelling and pronunciation, [and] homophone lists". Orthoepy is used as a major source in most studies of EModE pronunciation. In fact, it seems to be rare for no mention of orthoepy to be made in such a study. Almost all of the works cited in 1.2.2 refer to orthoepy at some point, whether that should be in a smaller supporting role, or as the primary source of evidence. These texts include systematic (more or less) descriptions of English sounds, and commentary on when they are used. This kind of text is not produced in English, or for English, before the sixteenth century, so for EModE phonological studies, it is an innovative genre. Along with this new source, however, comes a new mindset which impacts the evidence they provide.

Orthoepy is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) as “[t]hat branch of linguistics which deals with pronunciation, phonology; spec. the study of the relationship between pronunciation and a system of writing or spelling”. Lass (1999: 59) notes one definition given as “practitioners of ‘the science of (correct) pronunciation’”, which he finds misleading when it comes to the “early phoneticians” as not all, he says, were interested in ‘correctness’. Many were interested in this concept, but in any case this definition is narrower than that provided by both the OED and Minkova (2014: 23), who uses ‘orthoepists’ to refer to “[t]he people who, from the sixteenth century onwards, were writing manuals for native speakers and for foreigners and who were proposing spelling reforms”. For the purposes of this study, I will be using the broader sense, particularly the definition given by Minkova (2014: 23), including spelling reformers and manual writers as part of the term ‘orthoepy’. It was from around the mid-sixteenth century that the variability of English spelling, and the pronunciation of the language, became a common topic of discussion. Writers began to publish works examining the state of English spelling and pronunciation and the relationship between them, usually taking the attitude that one or both must be ‘fixed’. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, numerous works were published on the matter, such as Sir Thomas Smith’s *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus* in 1568, Alexander Gil’s *Logonomia Anglica* in 1619, and Owen Price’s *The Vocal Organ* in 1665 (see Dobson 1968 for accounts of these and many other such works).

Orthoepy, then, is a major source of evidence for the study of EModE ‘standard’ phonology. When orthoepy is discussed by scholars, there is often some mention of the attitudes and opinions displayed by the authors of such texts to any usage they consider inferior. In 1.2.2 it will be seen that there is a scholarly fascination with the idea of an Early Modern standard English accent, which has likely been aided by the attitudes of early modern orthoepists. With these early modern authors advocating for a supposedly standard accent and the ongoing standardisation of spelling (see e.g. Salmon 1999), it is perhaps unsurprising that linguists have focused on the study of ‘standard’ EModE, including for speech. It is quite common, therefore, when orthoepy is brought under review, for quotations from these early modern authors to be used to demonstrate the scope of the favoured accent, and the disapproval shown towards other accents. Salmon (1999: 16–7), for example, points to Sir Thomas Smith’s dislike for the speech of “country folk” and “dainty women”, and also notes Hart’s statement that spelling in print should not be reflective of the speech of Northerners or Westerners, though their own private correspondence to their neighbours might do so.

In introducing EModE pronunciation, Barber (1997: 103) notes that though there was “considerable variety of pronunciation” paired with some tolerance of variation, there were “disparaging references ... made to rustic, regional, and vulgar styles of pronunciation”. Previously, Wakelin (1977: 35) noted the unfavourable comparisons with the ‘standard’ from the sixteenth century. One comment which features frequently in accounts of disdain for the ‘non-standard’ is from George Puttenham in *The Art of Poesie* (1589 [1970]: 157):

“...ye fhall therefore take the vsuall speech of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue”.

This quotation appears in Wyld (1920: 103; 1927: 147), Wakelin (1977: 27), Freeborn (1998: 306–7), Görlach (1999: 495), and Wales (2006: 76). Puttenham sets a very specific limit on the area in which ‘proper’ speech originates, and he was not the only one to be so particular. John Hart states that his spelling system “represents London English ‘where the generall flowerr of all English countrie speaches’” (Kniezsa 1994: 157), and, according to Freeborn (1998: 292), Hart believed that a one-to-one sound-to-spelling mapping would spell the end of variation in accents and bring about a single, “perfect” way of speaking. Perhaps at odds with this notion was Hart’s acceptance that ‘non-standard’ spelling was acceptable in private writings, for example in letters within one’s community, though the spelling system in London printing should be standardised and not reflect usage outside of the London area (Salmon 1999: 16). In a similar vein to Hart’s disdain for variation, Edmund Coote sees dialectal speech as the chief cause of spelling errors (Wakelin 1977: 37).

Alexander Gil (writing in 1621), another orthoepist, is labelled by Lass (1999: 59) as “puristic”, due to his condemnation of pronunciations which are “provincial”, “vulgar”, “newfangled”, and “affected”, as in the speech of a particular group he calls the Mopsæ (see 4.1.2). Gil favours the idea that speakers and writers should follow “in language the practice of the learned” (Kniezsa 1994: 159, after Danielsson 1972b: 86). Gil is one of the authors who comments specifically on Northern English, and his attitude to the North is raised by a few scholars: he views Northern English as “uncorrupted, remote, and plain”, while South-Western English is that of “country bumpkins” (Ruano-García 2020: 191; Blank 1996: 100; Görlach 1999: 485). The North is of interest to other authors too, including Puttenham, who notes the River Trent as a boundary between forms of English in a similar way, and another being Richard Kereford, who makes “what could be the first ‘North of Watford’ joke”, describing the spotting of a ‘Northern’ man as a “sport”.

Kereford's Northerners were not particularly Northern, however, as his limit was "xxxi [20] mylles north from London" (Wales 2006: 76). Wales' (2006: 76) other boundary-drawing author is William Harrison (writing in 1587), also mentioned by Ruano-García (2020: 189), and both of them describe Harrison's separation of England into three parts with two rivers as his boundaries. One region is to be found south of the Thames, the second between the Thames and the Trent, and the third north of the Trent (Wales 2006: 76; Ruano-García 2020: 189). Scotland is, in Harrison's view, a separate linguistic entity, distinguished from Northern English, which is in turn distinguished from that of the rest of England (Wales 2006: 76). This additional line is not so often drawn by these authors, so while this is not necessarily surprising, it is often left unsaid.

The orthoepists are not entirely viewed as trustworthy authorities, however. Stein (1994) and Milroy (1994) both warn against being misled by quotations from orthoepists when studying EModE. Görlach points out that a number of them have "axes to grind" (1999: 411), and that they do not always agree with each other (1999: 488), which would undermine them and their work as a monolithic authority. It is generally the case, though, that their attitudes seem to have been taken as some sort of rule by scholars. The works of this relatively small number of people have often been taken for granted as indicating a general attitude across at least somewhat educated EModE speakers, which is the case in a lot of the studies referenced in section 1.2.2. There is continuity between their attitudes and those of the eighteenth-century prescriptivists, which may influence their interpretation.

Mugglestone (1995: 13–25) outlines the thread between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries regarding the codification of a 'correct' pronunciation system, though noting that the sixteenth-century authors like Hart and Puttenham are describing a "still largely localized form of spoken English", while Thomas Sheridan and his contemporaries in the eighteenth century are codifying "a non-localized, supra-regional 'standard'" which was intended to eliminate variation in speech (Mugglestone 1995: 16). To illustrate both this difference and also the continuity across these centuries, Mugglestone (1995: 16–8) directly compares the interests of Puttenham and Sheridan, finding a number of similarities in their approaches to their ideas about a 'standard'. She also points out, however, that their approach to the 'standard' differs in that Sheridan is much more intent on enforcing a 'standard' pronunciation system (Mugglestone 1995: 18–9). Puttenham is not a linguistic scholar of Hart and Gill's type; he is writing about his opinions on best poetic practice. Coles, Hart, and Cooper are also compared with Sheridan, so through these authors the line drawn from the sixteenth century reformers through to the eighteenth century

prescriptivists by Mugglestone (1995: 13–25) illustrates the continuity between the standardising sources of all three centuries. This progression reflects Lass’ (1976: xi) observation of the “single-minded march” towards the standard. But as Mugglestone (1995) proves, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepy was distinct from the linguistic prescriptivism which followed it; though there is a considerable amount of agreement from orthoepists on their choice of which form should be the standard, this does not equate to a definitively selected and established standard amongst English speakers. If it did, orthoepists would be writing about what *is* the standard form, not what *should* be the standard, as they do. This contrasts with Sheridan and his contemporaries, who promote a supposedly accepted standard form.

1.2.2 Scholarship on Early Modern English and Early Modern Scots pronunciation

Scholarship on EModE pronunciation has had a very heavy focus on the so-called ‘standard’ form associated with the educated classes based in London and the surrounding areas for as long as it has been studied. Lass (1976: xi) notes this, and makes the following statement regarding the direction of scholarship:

“From a reading of the historical literature ... one could be forgiven for thinking that the historical development of English has been a single-minded march towards RP or Kenyon-Knott American English: Scots, Northern and North-Midland English, and many other dialects with their own individual structures and histories have been relegated to footnotes or ignored.” (Lass 1976: xi).

This idea of the “single-minded march” towards a Standard English is one that persists throughout scholarship on EModE in particular, both as an underlying bias and as the critique made by Lass (1976: xi). An account of the historical literature that he will have been referring to will demonstrate this. In this section I discuss previous research on EModE pronunciation, with some detail on engagement with ‘non-standard’ pronunciations.

Two major late Victorian scholars, Alexander J. Ellis and Henry Sweet, are of similar minds as far as EModE pronunciation goes, though their overall ideas look different at first glance. Ellis’ *Early English Pronunciation* is a five-volume study covering a twenty-year period of publication between 1869 and 1889, and centuries’ worth of English phonology

from the fourteenth century to the speech of Ellis' time. The second half of Volume IV and the entirety of Volume V are concerned with variation in the variety of dialectal English pronunciations in the late Victorian period, in which Ellis includes Scots. Ellis seems, then, to be interesting in dialectal variation, but his handling of EModE pronunciation in Volume III (Ellis 1871) is focused on the standard. Sweet (1888) leans towards the 'standard' too, not just in EModE but earlier when discussing Middle English (henceforth ME) speech; he treats the Southern ME dialect as an emerging 'standard' (Sweet 1888: 154). He alludes to the sixteenth-century orthoepists, noting that writers from all over England and Wales are "describing the sounds of one and the same dialect, although, of course, the influence of the native speech shows itself occasionally" and insists that this means a 'standard' English must be recognised in opposition to 'non-standard', dialectal forms of English (Sweet 1888: 154). Sweet mentions some 'non-standard' dialectal features on occasion, but this does not occur frequently. While Ellis' attentions to dialectology may lead us to believe that he differs from Sweet in his interests, when it comes to EModE, they take a very similar standpoint, and one which can be seen throughout historical linguistic scholarship: the pronunciation described by educated writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the 'standard', and the only system of real interest for EModE phonological research.

'Non-standard' accents were not completely ignored on all fronts. Alongside the completion of the *English Dialect Dictionary*, Joseph Wright published his *English Dialect Grammar* in 1905, detailing accent variation in English (and in effect, Scots) across Britain at the turn of the twentieth century. Though Wright notes that this work was not designed to trace the development of English phonology across history (1905: v), this work is very useful to the historical phonologist at least as supporting evidence, in the event that a feature may have survived in certain accents into Wright's day.

The first half of the twentieth century sees little differentiation from this affection for the historical 'standard'. Zachrisson (1913) and Wyld (1920; 1927) both rely heavily on the idea of a 'standard' in historical English, and both propose that English was standardising significantly in the fifteenth century (Zachrisson 1913: 3, 43; Wyld 1927: 146–7). Certainly, they both treat English as essentially having a 'standard' form in the sixteenth century. Both criticise Ellis and Sweet for their handling of their sources, but ultimately they follow their predecessors in their interest in only 'standard' EModE. Zachrisson (1913) begins his account in 1400, so there is some of what would now be considered ME in his work. Wyld (1927) approaches English historical phonology across a broader timeline, including Old English (henceforth OE) and ME. Both state that their only interest

in ‘non-standard’ dialectal features is in how they contribute to the development of the ‘standard’ (Zachrisson 1913: 55; Wyld 1927: 16). Wyld, in fact, points out how difficult it is to account for the entire history of English pronunciation in so short a work as one book, and as a solution happily throws off most English dialects, because they “are of very little importance as representatives of English speech, and for our present purpose we can afford to let them go” besides their use for demonstrating the development of the ‘standard’ (Wyld 1927: 16). This leads to his account of OE and ME including discussion of a variety of dialects, but this stops at the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the remainder of his work focuses entirely on the ‘standard’ (Wyld 1927). Zachrisson (1913) does not entirely avoid mentioning ‘non-standard’ dialectal speech, but does seem to sidestep it as frequently as possible. His main sources are the works of the orthoepists, and also private letters. The letters seem to give him some trouble, as they contain more dialectal forms than published works, which he does not care for, but he comforts himself that these dialectal spellings are “sporadic” and that these forms were “often known to have been wrong by the writer” (Zachrisson 1913: 43).

Another of Zachrisson’s works, concerning the debate around the most appropriate choice for a standard accent of English, demonstrates an interesting approach to Northern EModE (Zachrisson 1914). In this article, he engages with a debate which was apparently ongoing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century about whether RP was the best choice for the standard accent of English, or if Northern English should rather be the accent of choice (Zachrisson 1914). While some of his predecessors and contemporaries were extolling the virtues of Northern English (and Scottish English), such as Sir Harry Johnston and Poet Laureate Robert Bridges, Zachrisson sharply criticises this viewpoint, and to prove his point, embarks on a quest to prove that Northern English pronunciation possessed its uniformity only because “it was based on the speech of London” (1914: 415). To demonstrate his conclusion, he traces features of Northern English in the early twentieth century back to EModE speech of the London area, and insists that “seen from an historical point of view, Northern English is merely a variety of the Standard speech of the Capital” (Zachrisson 1914: 417). This article, though focused in large part on the speech of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, demonstrates Zachrisson’s attitude towards historical dialects too: he will not even allow Northern EModE to be the ancestor of twentieth century Northern English, so it is no wonder that in his account of EModE pronunciation (Zachrisson 1913) he has so little interest in the dialects of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Ekwall's *A History of Modern English Sounds and Morphology* (1975), originally *Historische neuenglische Laut- und Formenlehre*, was first published in 1914, but here I will discuss a translation of the fourth edition, from 1965. Alan Ward, the translator, asserts that there were no substantial revisions to the text over time, in which case the approach is likely to reflect that of the early twentieth century. In the introduction, while Ekwall claims that the origins of a standard English go back to the fourteenth century and that a standard form from the London area was accepted by the sixteenth century, he allows that “[t]he colloquial language long continued to be dependent on the dialects, as direct evidence from the 16th and 17th centuries show” (Ekwall 1975: 1). He decides nevertheless only to handle the ‘standard’ form. He favours rhymes and grammarians as sources, but claims that spellings are more limited as sources as they become more rooted in convention than a representation of pronunciation (Ekwall 1975: 1–3). Throughout, Ekwall does (as promised) focus on what he terms the standard language, and where he makes references to specific examples of evidence, it comes from the orthoepists. Ward adds notes throughout the text, frequently referring to work by figures like Dobson and Luick, whose works were published after Ekwall's original publication.

One of the best-known accounts of EModE phonology is E.J. Dobson's *English Pronunciation 1500–1700* (1968). Dobson's main interest is in the “developing standard spoken language of the early Modern English period” (1968: vii), and his preferred source material is the work of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepists. He provides his opinions on the work of some of his predecessors, criticising Wyld and Zachrisson for their “intolerance” of the orthoepists (Dobson 1968: vii), the former of whom produced work which he views as “hasty and careless”, and the latter of whom uses what he sees as unreliable sources (Dobson 1968: x). He also finds Luick's work unconvincing, although he does have positive comments for all three of these scholars (Dobson 1968: x). He is favourable towards the work of Ekwall, but finds the efforts of Ellis and Sweet to be outdated, though they are important works (Dobson 1968: x). Although Dobson notes that their opinions (presumably on sound values, though this is not explicitly stated) all differ from each other's and his opinions differ yet again, one thing is consistent: their focus on the ‘standard’ form of EModE.

Dobson does not completely ignore dialectal features found in his source material, but this does not indicate a more favourable attitude towards ‘non-standard’ speech than his predecessors. His acknowledgement of the existence of ‘non-standard’ pronunciations refers to them as being outwith the “expected norms”, though he believes that “indeed I

think I may claim that in this book the variety of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century speech is more fully demonstrated than in previous works” (Dobson 1968: vii). In relation to the studies I have described before this point, this is a fair statement. It is also fair to say that his handling of these variations is often dismissive. Of Peter Levins’ *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (see section 3.6), he opines that “inconsistencies and errors limit the value of Levins’ rhymes as evidence of pronunciation; a further limitation results from his own pronunciation having been strongly dialectal” (Dobson 1968: 21). Of Alexander Hume’s *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue* (see section 3.4), Dobson states that its “only importance is that it provides interesting information on the pronunciation of Latin and of Scottish English” (Dobson 1968: 317), with which he is generally unconcerned. He continues to criticise Hume’s work (frequently—as I will argue later—unjustly), culminating in the assertion that the *Orthographie* is “amusing rather than useful” (Dobson 1968: 321).

Dobson is therefore frequently dismissive of the more ‘non-standard’ or non-London-based evidence and often views it as a fault in these works. He has demonstrably little interest in the matter, but when ‘non-standard’ forms appear in a text, he does generally comment on them. In some places, as will be seen in Chapters 3 and 4, Dobson does miss out or misinterpret information on these ‘non-standard’ forms.

Another study on EModE phonology produced around the same time as the first edition of Dobson’s work is Kökeritz’ investigation into Shakespeare’s pronunciation (1953). This work has a narrower focus than Dobson or any of the other scholars mentioned here take: Kökeritz’s interest is specifically in the pronunciation of the playwright himself, rather than in EModE generally. Kökeritz acknowledges his place in a century-old tradition of studying pronunciation in Shakespeare’s works (1953: 46), and states that his interest comes in part from a wish to aid in the study of Shakespeare’s plays and poems (1953: vi). He notes that often ‘Shakespeare’s pronunciation’ and ‘Elizabethan pronunciation’ are taken to mean the same thing, and he criticises this conflation as unhelpful for the perception of EModE (1953: 3). He argues that reconstructing Shakespeare’s accent is possible through analysing the spellings of the First Folio and the Quartos, necessarily allowing for the impact of revisions by the printers (1953: 5). Reconstructing Shakespeare’s pronunciation, in Kökeritz’s opinion, requires an understanding of contemporary London usage, alongside an appreciation of the Warwickshire influence that he believes is observable in Shakespeare’s work, and of the impact of the “artificial

language of the pedantic schoolmaster”, to which Shakespeare would have been exposed at school and which he mocks in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (1953: 3–4).

Kökeritz accepts the term ‘Standard English’ for EModE with the caveat that it is not to be understood in the same sense as it would be in the twentieth century (1953: 7–10). Early Modern ‘Standard’ English had, he states, “neither the currency nor the uniformity of its present-day equivalent”, was “a trend, not a fixed system”, and was therefore “highly variable and fluid” (1953: 7). Though he believes that a spoken ‘standard’ was emerging during Shakespeare’s lifetime, he acknowledges that this was not a “rigid” standard, and draws attention to the case of Walter Raleigh, whose Devon dialect seems not to have impeded his rise to social prominence at the English court (1953: 7–9).

Kökeritz mainly analyses evidence from within Shakespeare’s works, particularly his spellings, as noted above. He also examines the writings of orthoepists as evidence for EModE pronunciation, but he is critical of some of them; he argues that Gil in particular promotes an “artificial” pronunciation, while also criticising him for using “a modified form of his native Lincolnshire dialect” (Kökeritz 1953: 18). He also uses a few private documents as evidence for EModE pronunciation. ‘Non-standard’ speech receives little attention, with the Warwickshire dialect being the main point of ‘non-standard’ interest as Shakespeare’s presumed native accent.

Another work focused on Shakespearean pronunciation, though adopting a broader approach than Kökeritz, similarly does not take much interest in ‘non-standard’ English. Cercignani (1981) takes as his primary source material, as Kökeritz did, the works of Shakespeare and of the early modern orthoepists. He also notes the common use of “Shakespeare’s pronunciation” as a term meaning Early Modern or Elizabethan pronunciation, which he criticises (Cercignani 1981: vii). Unlike his predecessor Kökeritz, however, Cercignani insists that it is not possible to reconstruct the precise pronunciation of Shakespeare himself, but that Shakespeare’s works can be very useful in studying Elizabethan pronunciation more generally (Cercignani 1981: 1–2). Cercignani focuses on the pronunciation of the ‘standard’, much as his predecessors did. He criticises Kökeritz for using “minor and derivative sources” as evidence rather than “the best English writers on orthography and pronunciation” (Cercignani 1981: 6). This implies an accepted ‘correctness’ in the language in question; Cercignani implies a set of accepted authorities, ignored by Kökeritz. As a result, ‘non-standard’ accents feature rarely.

Lass' (1976) work on English phonology in which he criticises the "single-minded march" towards a standard is, as fits his critique, less standard-focused than the work of the scholars mentioned above. As far as EModE goes, the Great Vowel Shift takes up the first part of this work and therefore EModE features here. Lass (1976) pays considerable attention to Scots, Northern English, and North-Midland English as well as Southern English. A large portion of his discussion concerns the impact of ME vowels on later dialects, so beyond the question of the Great Vowel Shift, EModE does not feature much. The treatment of the EModE and Early Modern Scots (hereafter EModSc) results of the Great Vowel Shift shows, however, more investment in 'non-standard' Early Modern speech than the conventional histories named above had allowed. However, Lass's criticism of the "single-minded march" to Standard English in historical linguistics is something that does appear to have been taken to heart to a point in the decades that followed.

Jones (1989), for instance, is a little more interested in 'non-standard' dialects than Cercignani though he is still primarily focused on the London 'standard', even if he does not dismiss other dialects out of hand. He is interested, as many of these scholars are, in the work of the orthoepists when he discusses the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and appears less than impressed with what he describes as "an almost obsessive concern for some supposed rectitude in human speech form and substance" (Jones 1989: 196). Though the London 'standard' forms are largely the point of interest in his work, he accounts for the Northern Great Vowel Shift, referring back to Lass on the subject (Jones 1989: 233). This is the most substantial of Jones' endeavours with 'non-standard' EModE dialects.

Wakelin (1977; 1982) as a historical dialectologist shows an interest in EModE 'non-standard' dialects as well as those from other periods. In his general introduction to English dialects, he notes the new movement in the sixteenth century to treat the speech of educated Southerners as the 'best' speech, pointing out the comments made by George Puttenham and the seventeenth-century orthoepists to this effect (Wakelin 1977: 27–8; the comments to which Wakelin refers are addressed in section 1.2.1). He notes that 'standard' EModE would be far less restrictive in terms of variant pronunciations than would be understood by the term in the twentieth century, also raising that the more concerted effort to 'fix' pronunciation came in the eighteenth century (Wakelin 1977: 28). He describes large amounts of work done on ME dialectology (Wakelin 1977: 31–5). EModE speech, however, does not seem by Wakelin's (1977) account to have received so much attention in historical linguistics. He describes a number of 'non-standard' features across time,

including the early modern period, and discusses a handful of comments made by orthoepists on ‘non-standard’ speech (Wakelin 1977: 37–41).

Wakelin also specifically examines “regional” speech of the sixteenth century elsewhere (1982). This article, being only a short study, could not be counted as thorough account of accent variation in sixteenth-century English, but it does far more for EModE dialectology in speech than any of the works I have described up to this point. He notes the contrast between the views of available evidence for dialectal variation in ME as opposed to EModE, and aims to provide an overview of variation in the sixteenth century (Wakelin 1982: 1). His source materials include orthoepy, spelling variants, and imitations of dialects in literature.

Wells’ *Accents of English* (1982) was published in the same year as Wakelin’s (1982) article. Though the primary aim of this work is to observe phonological features of accent varieties around the time of writing, Wells includes a section on residualisms, discussing several phonological changes which occurred across the history of the English language. Wells also developed the concept of the standard lexical set, providing reference words for vowels based on the usage of the ‘standard’ British English and American English accents. He then used these reference words to name phonological phenomena, most notably for the purposes of this study ‘the FOOT-STRUT split’ (this phenomenon, regarding the splitting of /ʊ/ and /ʌ/, will be outlined in section 1.2.3).

Milroy (1994) and Kastovsky (1994), though they do not provide accounts of EModE phonology, do discuss the state of affairs as far as the study of ‘non-standard’ EModE goes. Kastovsky (1994: 1) quotes Görlach (1988) in calling EModE regional variation “the ‘Cinderella of historical English linguistics’”, while Milroy (1994) disputes the appropriateness of the term ‘standard’ with regards to EModE phonology. He instead talks about supra-localised norms, criticising the “backwards projection” of modern standard phonology in historical linguistics (Milroy 1994: 19–20, 23). He refers to the history of English phonology as “not a history of the standard at all, but a history of vernaculars”, concurring with Lass (1976) in his criticism of the “single-minded march” towards RP and stating that this tradition flattens the history from its “multidimensional” reality to appear “unidimensional” (Milroy 1994: 22–3). At the same time, Fisiak (1994) and Lutz (1994) both examine specific features of EModE regional pronunciations. Fisiak (1994) investigates the voicing of initial /f/ according to Southern, Western, and Eastern place-name evidence, while Lutz (1994) focuses on the vocalisation of post-vocalic /r/. Lutz

(1994) notes that post-vocalic /r/ vocalisation has been studied before, but that she has disputes with previous work on the subject. This article focuses on the North and Scotland, while the Fisiak (1994) article largely concerns the South, West, and East of England. In these two studies, it can be seen that interest in EModE ‘non-standard’ speech continues to develop. Between these four scholars, we can see a shift in the general approach to EModE towards engagement with ‘non-standard’ EModE features. These articles are very valuable as part of a movement towards the study of EModE variation, both regarding scholarly intent (Milroy 1994; Kastovsky 1994) and in taking action on the matter (Fisiak 1994; Lutz 1994), but in the thirty years since their publication the approach to EModE variation has remained fairly piecemeal.

Around the same time, Barber (1993; 1997) shows that the ‘standard’ focus is still alive and well. Barber’s works are more in the vein of handbooks, one being a general history of the English language (Barber 1993) and the other focusing specifically on EModE (Barber 1997). Both of these texts focus on the London ‘standard’ form of English, but Barber does bring in other dialects and Scots in both works. These other dialects are generally handled by additional comments made in comparison to the London forms. Forms found in the north of England receive a fair amount of attention as is often seen in later works on the matter. Scots also receives some attention in *The English Language* (Barber 1993: 114), and even Welsh English from the early modern period is briefly discussed (1993: 194), which is less common. Overall, Barber acknowledges variation in EModE, and does point out some variation from a number of places, but is primarily concerned with the London ‘standard’.

The handbooks of recent years often take on a similar attitude to that taken by Barber. The work of Baugh & Cable (2002) also shows the ‘standard’ focus, but as the first edition of this handbook was published in 1951, even into the fifth edition of 2002 there are old-fashioned value judgements surrounding dialects and standardisation. It might seem odd that I have placed this text so far along in the timeline of EModE scholarship given its origins in the 1950s, but the retention of the attitudes shown by the authors into the 2000s is, I would argue, demonstrative of the way EModE is introduced to new audiences. Though Baugh & Cable’s (2002) chapter on EModE contains very few comments on the matter of dialects, that chapter and the preceding one on ME do raise the subject on occasion. Having discussed some phonological differences in ME dialects, the following statement is made: “Such variety was fortunately lessened toward the end of the Middle English period by the general adoption of a standard written (and later spoken) English”

(Baugh & Cable 2002: 192). The idea that this reduction of variety was in any way ‘fortunate’ is a value judgement which seems to reflect the prescriptive interests seen in the twentieth-century origins of the work. Throughout their discussion of the ME and EModE periods, Baugh & Cable demonstrate their interest in the development of the ‘standard’ form of English, and via comments like the above, their lack of interest in other dialects. Though other dialects do make some appearances in this work, they are particularly infrequent in the discussion of EModE.

Another handbook published around the time of Baugh & Cable’s fifth edition is the work of Freeborn (1998). Though this work is presented as focusing on the movement to a ‘standard’ form of the language, it contains a considerable amount of nuanced discussion about other dialects. It is common in such works to discuss the dialects of OE and ME in detail, and Freeborn (1998) certainly does this; his description of ME dialects stretches across five chapters. However, while other dialects will generally be mentioned infrequently when authors discuss the EModE period, Freeborn makes a point of their continuance. He discusses the scarcity of written evidence from this period (Freeborn 1998: 305), the attitudes seen in the period towards non-London-based varieties, and points to some theatrical presentations of certain dialects for readers to consider (Freeborn 1998: 308–9, 370–2). Freeborn puts in the effort here to introduce readers to variation in EModE, rather than cutting off the idea in the late ME period as is more common in handbooks on historical English linguistics, and thus does not confine EModE dialectology to the more specialist works.

Whether the *Cambridge History of the English Language* (1992–2001) constitutes a very long and in-depth handbook (or set of handbooks) or is viewed as a more specialist endeavour, something it has in common with handbooks of historical English linguistics is its broad scope with ‘standard’ English as the focus through much of the work. This is not to say that dialectal variation receives no attention—that is certainly not true. The entirety of the fifth volume (Burchfield 1994) concerns variation in the English language across time, and the third volume (Lass (ed.) 1999), describing EModE, contains a chapter detailing regional and social variation (Görlach 1999). This account of EModE variation, while long and demonstrating an interest in variation, addresses a monumental task that simply needs more space. The scale of the content that Görlach (1999) valiantly covers here could realistically fill a volume on its own. He addresses variation at multiple levels of language from numerous factors, while also examining attitudes towards variation. Variation in phonology naturally receives limited attention here. Lass’ chapter on EModE

phonology provides a detailed account of the phonology of ‘standard’ English, though he does also describe the Northern Great Vowel Shift (Lass 1999: 72–3). It must be said, however, that often the mentions of ‘non-standard’ dialects are small notes tacked onto the ends of longer descriptions of the London ‘standard’ forms. This is true also of Salmon’s (1999) account of EModE orthography, in which phonology is frequently discussed but ‘non-standard’ dialects rarely feature.

The volume on variation in English (Burchfield 1994) concerns English as used outside of England, and thus includes accounts of the language in Scotland (McClure 1994) and Wales (Thomas 1994). McClure’s chapter on Scots and Scottish forms of English maintains that, by and large, Scots speech does not appear to have been anglicised around the early modern period as the written language gradually was (McClure 1994: 33–7). McClure also includes a detailed account of the Older Scots (hereafter OSc) phonological system, particularly the vowels and their history (McClure 1994: 47–64). In his account of the history of Welsh English, Thomas (1994) does not provide much detail on the language in the early modern period, mostly because very few Welsh people used English and there is little evidence of many Welsh English-specific features. In Chapter 3, I discuss a few features of Welsh EModE as found in the works of two Welsh orthoepists writing about English. Overall, in the *Cambridge History* there is a considerable amount of work on variation in historical English (and Scots), but as far as Early Modern phonology goes, Scots is the only ‘non-standard’ form to be described in detail.

Northern EModE receives further attention around this time. Smith (2004; 2007) pays particular attention to the Northern Great Vowel Shift, both in its own right and in connection with the Southern Great Vowel Shift. Beal (2004) points to a few Northern features in the period immediately prior to the eighteenth century, and Fernández-Cuesta & Rodríguez-Ledesma (2004) specifically examine features of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Northern English as found in legal documents, commenting on phonological features such as Northern retention of OE /a:/ and the non-palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ (see section 1.2.3 for both) through their analysis of their source documents’ spelling patterns. Northern English is not the only EModE ‘non-standard’ accent which receives attention; Welsh English makes some small headway, as another accent which receives attention from Beal (2004), and Wmffre (2003) focuses on Welsh English and Cornish English accents of the early modern period. Blank (1996) takes an interest in ‘non-standard’ EModE and EModSc accents across the board, but her study specifically tackles representations made of these accents in early modern theatre, so the implications made for

EModE and EModSc speech are a little more tentative. Her study features Northern English, Scots, Welsh English, and ‘non-standard’ forms of Southern English as represented by early modern playwrights and poets. Blank’s (1996) discussion of Welsh English theatrical representations come in particularly useful in this study (see section 3.2), where teasing out features of Welsh EModE pronunciation requires less conventional methods of investigation. However, orthoepy is essentially overlooked as a source amongst these works, where the main point of concern is non-standard speech.

The patterns continue into more recent scholarship. Handbooks continue to push the ‘standard’ phonology from the early modern period, as demonstrated by Gramley (2019) and Schlüter’s (2017) chapter in Bergs & Brinton (2017). Gramley seems to suggest that in the sixteenth century a ‘standard’ pronunciation was established (2019: 146), and mentions of ‘non-standard’ speech are very limited. The Northern Great Vowel Shift does appear (Gramley 2019: 150–1). His handling of the lack of a FOOT-STRUT /ʊ/-/ʌ/ split in the North (see section 1.2.3), while present, is vague in comparison to the way he describes the split in the South (Gramley 2019: 152).

The Shakespeare angle continues to appear, as can be seen in the work of David Crystal. One of Crystal’s works on this topic is a dictionary of “Original Shakespearean Pronunciation” (Crystal 2016). He notes his specific interest in the staging of ‘Original Pronunciation’ Shakespeare plays, and refers to this work as “applied historical phonology” (Crystal 2016: ix), acknowledging the specialism of the subject within the study of speech in the past. Even so, this specialist, applied version of historical phonology demonstrates a thread throughout the field in which Shakespeare’s work and the pronunciation of it, one way or another, is very prominent. Crystal makes reference to both Cercignani (1981) and Kökeritz (1953) in explaining how he handles the evidence in Shakespeare’s works (2016: xiii), and adds Dobson (1968) to the list when explaining the evidence used in reconstruction: “spellings, rhymes, puns, and observations by contemporary writers” (Crystal 2016: xx). So, like Cercignani and Kökeritz, Crystal’s primary evidence base is the internal evidence of First Folio and Quarto spellings and Shakespeare’s puns and rhyme system, and the external evidence of orthoepy. He does not comment much on orthoepy beyond a general overview of the difficulties of interpreting their evidence (Crystal 2016: xx–xxi). Potential issues, as far as Crystal is concerned, include the passage of time between texts, authors’ regional backgrounds, and the possibility that they were describing the speech of different parts of society (2016: xx). The

second of these issues—the regional backgrounds of authors—is a point of particular interest in this study (see section 2.5.1).

Minkova's (2014) work gives an overview of historical English phonology, so though technically a textbook, it is more specialised than the handbooks mentioned in this section. Considering that this text is still centred largely on the evolution of the 'standard' form of the language, the dialectal variation seen in speech receives a considerable amount of attention. Minkova points out early on that "standard forms of pronunciation develop slowly, and frequently exist alongside other forms even in individuals" (2014: 19). She states that a 'standard' pronunciation in England was codified in the nineteenth century, and states that the focus on Southern Standard British English (SSBE) was chosen in her work for the sake of practicality (Minkova 2014: 19–20).

When Minkova discusses EModE phonology, she makes frequent reference to forms of English besides that of educated London-based speakers. She briefly accounts for the sheer volume and range of source material to be drawn upon, from printed works to handwritten documents to metalinguistic sources like orthoepy (Minkova 2014: 234–5). She illustrates the FOOT-STRUT [ʌ]-[ʊ] split both in the north and the south (Minkova 2014: 245–8), the development of the variation between [ɑ:], [æ:] and [æ] in words like *bath*, *after*, etc. (Minkova 2014: 240–2), and so on. Often it appears that, due to the movement towards standardising the language, EModE dialects receive less attention than their earlier counterparts, but Minkova discusses variation in features frequently, having also acknowledged the slant towards the speech of educated Londoners being evidenced as opposed to other dialects (2014: 235). This is, perhaps, due to the fact that this work deals with fewer levels of language than the general 'history of English' studies, and so it has more space to handle dialectal variation. Nevertheless, the attention paid to this variation is a positive move away from the intense focus on the 'standard' form found in most earlier works.

In addition, specific interest in 'non-standard' forms continues too. Wales (2006) examines the history of Northern English specifically, and the pronunciation of Early Modern Northern English receives considerable attention as part of her study. Her evidence base includes orthoepy, literature, as well as tracing forward from earlier forms of speech, and attitudes towards Northern English feature heavily too. Ruano-García (2020) also examines Early Modern Northern English, citing the scholarly movement to a focus on regional centres instead of a linear standardising process (Ruano-García 2020: 186). He

examines early modern commentary on Northern English, including some orthoepy, such as a handful of comments from Gil and Simon Daines (Ruano-García 2020: 190; see sections 3.8 and 4.6 respectively). He investigates some Northern EModE features as seen in theatrical representations, as well as attitudes towards this dialect.

Scots has been discussed a few times in the sources I have mentioned above, as part of studies on English phonology. Wakelin (1977), Blank (1996), Smith (2004), and Minkova (2014) all handle Scots in at least parts of their work. Scots has, however, also received considerable attention in its own right as a separate language. Perhaps the most significant book-length study in Older Scots (henceforth OSc) phonology is A.J. Aitken's *Older Scottish Vowels* (2003), including work by Caroline Macafee and building on earlier work by both authors. Aitken (2002) provides a detailed account of the development of OSc vowels, including EModSc, though his description of this period is slightly less detailed than earlier periods. This study has been the primary reference point for work on OSc phonology since its publication, and Aitken's earlier work also acts as a major source for works preceding *Older Scottish Vowels*. Macafee (2003) employs some of Aitken's work in her account of OSc phonology, including EModSc. Johnston (1997) also discusses some of Aitken's earlier work amongst others, discussing the developments of OSc phonology up until 1700 in detail, and developing a lexical-set reference system for OSc vowels based upon that proposed by Wells (1982). Millar (2023), in his account of historical Scots phonology and its changes across time, takes Johnston's (1997) lexical sets and develops them further, having done so in previous work, though he also refers to Aitken's vowel numbers (Millar 2023: 87, and references there cited). Smith's (2012: 26–32) outline of OSc speech uses Aitken's vowel system, and also includes a number of consonantal features. McClure (1994) provides an overview of OSc phonology in his chapter on 'English in Scotland', which is mentioned above. Though included in a work on historical English, McClure does to some degree acknowledge Scots as a separate language, noting that its "best claim" to this comes in the fifteenth century (McClure 1994: 32). EModSc phonology is included in McClure's account of OSc phonology, including the changes in the vowel system (derived from Aitken's work), and consonantal features including L-vocalisation, medial V-loss, and consonant cluster reduction (McClure 1994: 47–64). The study of OSc phonology does not have quite as long of a history as that of EModE, but it has received robust treatment since it has been of scholarly interest.

There is one clear point of consistency throughout the history of EModE phonological study: the focus on the 'standard' accent is never lost. From the earliest scholarship to the

most recent accounts of EModE speech, the London-based educated ‘standard’ accent prevails as the preferred system. In spite of this, there has been a movement in more recent decades towards including more on the ‘non-standard’ accents, rather than just cutting them off at 1500 or even earlier. Scots, though it continues to have a role in general conversations about EModE phonology, also features in scholarship separately from English in later decades. Finally, there is one thread which continues through the scholarship: ‘Shakespeare’s pronunciation’. From Kökeritz (1953) to Cercignani (1981) to Crystal (2016), the draw of Shakespeare in the field of EModE phonology continues. This is not necessarily surprising; Shakespeare’s works have been used in as evidence for EModE speech before (e.g. Ellis 1871), and as the best known EModE author, it seems logical that there would be some connection made between the two. Perhaps the interest in Shakespeare contributes in some small way to the heavy leaning on the ‘standard’; if the pronunciation reflected in Shakespeare’s work is generally the ‘standard’ form, and Shakespeare is a large part of the literary canon, then in theory this could contribute to the notions of prestige and standardisation, contributing to the temptation for scholars to project back. Lass (1987: 61) notes that a role in “serious” literature is a signifier of a standard language, so perhaps this serves as confirmation to some scholars, even subconsciously.

Historical dialectology as a field also has a long history, including treatments of English phonology. ME has received a considerable amount of attention, including some large-scale projects. ME dialects feature in the work of Wyld (1927) and Wright (1905), with the latter using OE and ME dialectal features to examine dialectal features of his own day. Wakelin (1977) discusses ME dialectal variation in speech, referring to a number of prior studies, including Kristensson (1967). The contrast between the Northern and Southern Great Vowel Shifts has featured in a number of studies, as mentioned above in this section: Lass (1976), Jones (1989), and Smith (2004; 2007) all describe the variation in this set of sound changes through ME and into EModE. A series of major projects now housed at the University of Edinburgh target ME and OS: the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME), the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME), the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS), and the Corpus of Narrative Etymologies (CoNE). These projects address variation in ME on a large scale, and are used in many more recent studies on ME dialectology (e.g. Stenroos 2004; Alcorn et al. 2018).

Late Modern English (henceforth LModE) has also received considerable attention in historical dialectology. Wright’s *English Dialect Dictionary* (1905), a comprehensive work

which traces OE and ME features through to the language of Wright's time, is used often in the study of historical dialectology, for example in the studies within Markus, Upton & Heuberger (2010). Beal (2004), whose work I have mentioned with regards to EModE phonology earlier in this section, in that particular study examines eighteenth-century (so LModE) "marks of disgrace", or "non-standard" features. Welsh English historical accounts often start to include linguistic detail rather than just contextual information in the nineteenth century, for example in Thomas (1994; 1997) and Awbery (1997). On Northern English, Wales (2006) provides an overview of the Northern LModE situation, including a number of phonological features.

To my knowledge, EModE phonological dialectology has not escalated to the sorts of large-scale works seen for the likes of ME and LModE. Studies on EModE dialectal speech tend to be on a narrower scale, illustrated by some of the work in this section. I have not accounted here for the huge amount of work undertaken on other levels of language in the study of historical dialectology, though my search through the subject area assures me that there is an ever-increasing amount, and EModE dialectology is no exception. The phonological side of this, however, appears to be lagging somewhat.

1.2.3 Known features of Early Modern Northern English and Early Modern Scots speech

As has been seen in section 1.2.2, there are works which discuss features of 'non-standard' EModE and EModSc speech, though less frequently than the features of 'standard' English speech. In this section I recount the more commonly discussed features of Northern English and Scots, and in the next section I address the more commonly discussed features of Welsh English. These are the most frequently observed accents in my sources, so while scholars also discuss some features of Eastern, Western, and Southern English, for example, I will address these only where they are discussed in my sources. The accounts provided here will not be exhaustive lists, instead focusing on the features most often observed by scholars.

The interconnected nature of Northern English and Scots makes it practical to address the features of both together. The Northern speech of this period receives attention primarily in opposition to South-Eastern English pronunciation: typically, scholars (e.g. Lass 1999; Minkova 2014) will afford a significant amount of space to the phonology of 'standard' English, and Northern English will be discussed more briefly afterwards. Sometimes, however, Northern English will receive more comprehensive attention. The Northern Great

Vowel Shift, for example, has been examined in detail in Smith (2007). Blank (1996) explores theatrical and literary evidence, and both attitudes towards and features of Northern English have been examined in Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004) and Ruano-García (2020).

Scots has received a considerable amount of individual attention over the years, particularly in the past few decades. Probably the most well-known and thorough exploration of Older Scots vowels is Aitken's study (2002), published posthumously and edited by Macafee. This study is thorough in its investigation of the Older Scots vowel inventory across time, but it is noted that the work is incomplete (e.g. Macafee's note in Aitken 2002: 151). It also appears that, while the pre-1375 discussion is quite detailed, the post-1375 section is slightly less so. Aitken is less specific on the vowels of the early modern period than he is on earlier vowel values. This is the case, at least, in the discursive element of the study, as one of his charts (Aitken 2002: 152–6) outlines the development of vowels particularly across the span of the sixteenth century. Aitken's work on OSc vowels has been described as authoritative (e.g. Smith 2012: 29), and features in numerous works on historical Scots. Aitken's system will be the reference point in the present study too. Smith (2012: 29–30) bases his discussion of the Older Scots vowels on Aitken's work, but makes a couple of changes. Firstly, for Vowel 5, he replaces the lowered /o:/, which he views as “overly narrow”, with /ɔ:/, and for Vowel 7 he replaces /y:/ with /ø:/, arguing that the presence of /ø:/ in modern Scots dialects is a residualism of an early Scots form which later moved to /y:/ (Smith 2012: 30). He also notes that the Older Scots short vowels (Aitken's vowels 15–9) “have barely changed to this day” (Smith 2012: 29). Furthermore, Macafee's chapter on Older Scots phonology in the *Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (2003) incorporates Aitken's material and material from her work with Aitken. Johnston (1997) provides a detailed account of changes found in Scots vowels before 1700, and Millar's (2023) account extends into the twenty-first century.

The fronting of ME \bar{o} , as in OSc Vowel 7 above, is also observed in Northern English. Wakelin (1982: 5) states that ME \bar{o} (/o:/) became /y:/ or /ø:/, and Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004: 290, 303) note the use of <u> spellings to represent ME \bar{o} (/o:/) in the North, for example <gud> *good*. Ruano-García (2020: 195) uses the examples of <luke> *look*, while Blank (1996: 105) provides <gude> *good* and <buke> *book*. According to Smith (2006: 138), the fronted reflex of ME \bar{o} is also seen in Alice Radcliffe's writing, from early 16th-century Lancashire.

Certain Scots vowels are discussed in other works. Wakelin (1977: 37) notes Sir Thomas Smith's point that Northerners and Scots pronounce *bull* as /byl/. Minkova (2014: 264) points to the evidence of Scottish rhymes that /ɛ:/ had been identified with /æ:/ by 1500. Smith (2012: 31) states that "unstressed vowels ... are often, especially in Middle Scots, spelt <i, y>, pronounced /ɪ/, e.g. *stanis* /ste:nɪs/". Baugh and Cable (2002: 236), though they discuss very little outside of 'standard' English, do mention the retention of OE *ā* in Scots and the North. Barber (1993: 196) and Freeborn (1998: 302) point out the retention of /hu:s/ in Scots. Wales (2006: 52) points out a few vowel features that Scots shared with Northern English: *hame* for *home*, *mus* for *mouse*, *baith* for *both*, *twa* for *two*, *wrang* for *wrong*, and *mair* for *more*. The retention of ME *ā* is possibly one of the most widely recognised features of Northern English of this, where this vowel in Southern varieties had undergone a rounding process to /o:/ (Wakelin 1982: 5). This is discussed by Wakelin (1977: 89; 1982: 5), Blank (1996: 105), Baugh & Cable (2002: 190), Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004: 289, 303), Wales (2006: 51–2), Ruano-García (2020: 195), and inevitably more.

Another of the most commonly discussed vowel features in both accents is the phenomenon of the Northern Great Vowel Shift. This process has been detailed in full or in part by several scholars, for example Freeborn (1998: 302), Johnston (1997: 69–70), Smith (1996: 99–101; 2004: 310–1; 2007: 138–40), Wales (2006: 48), Minkova (2014: 248–67), Gramley (2019: 150–1), and Millar (2023: 90–4). The Southern Great Vowel Shift involves the raising of the long vowels, and the diphthongisation of the close vowels /i:/ and /u:/ (see e.g. Smith 2007: 129–34; Minkova 2014: 248–67). The basis of the Northern Great Vowel Shift is that only the long front vowels shifted, rather than both long front and long back vowels as in the Midlands and the South (Smith 1996: 99–101). According to Smith (1996: 100–1) and references there cited, the lack of a shift in the back vowels was probably related to the fronting of OE *ō*, which resulted in less pressure towards the Shift in the Northern back vowels than in the Midland and Southern back vowels, where this fronting did not occur. Smith (1996: 101; 2004: 310–1) also notes that the Northern Shift may have occurred earlier than the Midland and Southern Shift.

One vowel feature found in Northern English and not Scots was the lack of a FOOT-STRUT split—or /ʊ/-/ʌ/. While the South saw a split of the /ʊ/ vowel into /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ (see e.g. Beal 2004: 335), as did Scotland (e.g. Johnston 1997: 84), this split did not occur in the North. Beal (2004: 335) states that the split seems to have been in place in the South by the eighteenth century, evidenced by John Kirkby in 1746. Presumably if it is clearly

evidenced in the first half of the eighteenth century, then the split was likely to be in progress at least in the later part of the period in question for this study. Kirkby, according to Beal (2004: 335), was from Cumbria and did have the split in his own accent, but noted that other speakers in the North did not. This is also mentioned by Wales (2006: 103). Minkova (2014: 245) points out that the split was not seen in the North and the Midlands.

A number of consonantal features appear in both Northern English and Scots. One such feature is L-vocalisation. The process of L-vocalisation crosses into the realm of Scots vowels, which is perhaps why it is raised so frequently in scholarly discussions. According to McClure (1994: 48), L-vocalisation is seen from the early fifteenth century. Presumably, then, it would be found in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries too. Smith (2012: 31) regards L-vocalisation as a minor Scots feature and notes also that it was a source of some long vowels, e.g. /ul/ → /u:/. Minkova (2014: 130–1) states that L-vocalisation, or the loss of single-coda /l/, was seen in both Scots and Northern English by the seventeenth century. Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004: 294) find orthographic evidence of L-vocalisation in their collection of Northern texts. Ruano-García (2020: 195) finds L-vocalisation in spellings like <aw> *all*, Blank (1996: 109) in <fause> *false*, and the process is also observed by Johnston (1997: 107–8) and Millar (2023: 120–1).

The retention of /k/ and /g/ in Northern English and Scots is also mentioned often. While /k/ and /g/ were in some circumstances palatalised in the south, the North retained the velar pronunciations. Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004: 292) have orthographic evidence of this at least in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Ruano-García (2020: 195) notes that /k/ is retained in <blenk> *blench*, and the /k/ retention in either or both accents is also mentioned by Blank (1996: 105), Johnston (1997: 100), Baugh & Cable (2002: 192), Wales (2006: 52, 57), and Smith (2012: 27–8).

The retention of the velar fricative /x/ in both accents is discussed by several scholars. Wakelin (1977: 101) notes that /x/ and /ç/ are retained in some forms of Scots and Northern English speech into the late twentieth century. Jones (1989: 239) discusses the retention of <gh> in Northern English, which seems to mean /x/, though this is not entirely clear. Salmon (1999: 15) associates /x/ with <ch> spellings, stating that they were present in Northern English from the fifteenth century. Wales (2006: 51) notes “velar articulations in words like *loch* and *night*” in Northern English and in Scots. This feature is also observed in Scots by Millar (2023: 117).

In both Scots and some forms of Northern English, the pronunciation of the /r/ phoneme can be realised differently from Southern forms of English. The use of a trilled /r/ in Scots and Northern English is noted as a shared feature by Wales (2006: 51). One particular form of Northern English differs again, demonstrating the ‘Northumbrian Burr’, which is discussed frequently by scholars. The Northumbrian Burr is a “variant pronunciation of /r/” (Beal 2004: 337), which was realised as [ʀ] (Wakelin 1982: 15). Wakelin (1982: 15) believes that the development of this uvular variety occurred during the late sixteenth or earlier seventeenth century. As possible evidence for this, Wakelin notes that “Thomas Tonkis, writing in 1613, identifies English /r/ with French /r/”, but he also states that this cannot be certainly identified (Wakelin 1982: 15). He notes that the first certain comment relating to it from Defoe in 1724 (Wakelin 1982: 16).¹

The ‘standard’ /ʃ/ can, in both Scots and Northern English, be replaced by /s/. Initial /ʃ/ in words like *shall* or *should* could be pronounced as /s/ in the North, according to Smith (2006: 138) and Ruano-García (2020: 195). Fernández Cuesta & Rodríguez Ledesma (2004: 293) point to the spelling of *shall* and *should* with <s>, but do not directly connect this to a phonological feature. The same feature is observed in Scots by Johnston (1997: 105) and Smith (2012: 28, 47–8). In Northern English, initial /ʃ/ could also be pronounced as /sk/, according to Wakelin (1977: 132) and Wales (2006: 57). This could also be seen finally, but was sometimes reduced to /st/ or just /s/, as Wakelin (1977: 132) states.

Blank (1996: 105) states that Northern speech also saw some loss of final consonants, for example <sel> *self*. It is accounted for in Scots, alongside the form <seln> with final /-ln/, by Johnston (1997: 107). One consonantal feature which seems to be specific to Northern English is the metathesis of /r/ in clusters. Blank (1996: 105) demonstrates /r/ metathesis in words like <brunt> *burned*, <brast> *burst*.

There are also some consonantal features which are apparently specific to Scots. Smith (2012: 28) lists the pronunciations of final <s> and <v(e)> as points of interest, though it is not entirely clear at what point in the history of Scots this takes place. He states that both

¹ Beal (2004: 337–8) also discusses the fact that the Northumbrian Burr was first mentioned with any certainty in the eighteenth century, as well as recounting the legend of its origins: the Burr was believed to originate from the speech of Henry Percy, or Hotspur, a prominent figure in the Wars of the Roses and the heir to the duchy of Northumberland during the reign of Henry IV until his death in 1403. Beal (2004: 337–8) states that while it has been a folk belief that the people of Northumbria adopted this pronunciation in Hotspur’s honour, it is highly unlikely that this is the case. Wales (2006: 100–1) also recounts this myth, and adds that besides Defoe, there is another 1724 reference to the Northumbrian Burr by Hugh Jones.

were pronounced as voiceless sounds: /s/ and /f/ respectively, where Southern English would have /z/ and /v/, and that final <v(e)> was in fact often spelt <f(f)> (Smith 2012: 28). Another limitation to the use of /v/ in Older Scots is V-loss. McClure (1994: 51) notes that medial and final /v/ could be lost in Middle Scots (which includes the early modern period), and is also mentioned by Smith (2012: 31). The common example is *devil*, which appears as something like <deill> for /di:l/ (e.g. Smith 2012: 31).

1.2.4 Known features of Early Modern Welsh English

The treatment of Welsh English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially of Welsh English pronunciation, has been very limited in modern scholarship. Histories of the English language in Wales will point out how limited the use of English was in the country up until the nineteenth century. Thomas's chapter on the subject in the *Cambridge History of the English Language* describes the history of Wales in relation to England and the English language, and throughout his account of the earlier centuries he observes frequently how few people in Wales spoke English (1994: 94–100; see section 1.1). He also notes that the “tipping of the linguistic scales” in Wales was the nineteenth century, when educational policies enforced the use of the English language on Welsh schools (Thomas 1994: 100). Görlach also states that “the effective anglicisation of Wales did not start until the sixteenth century, and Wales was still predominantly Welsh-speaking in the nineteenth century” (1999: 468). There was, however, some English usage amongst the Welsh population from the sixteenth century, however, in the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542 (see section 1.1). Evans (2019: 215–6) discusses the movement of Welsh people to London in the sixteenth century, which is also mentioned by Thomas (1994: 96–7). Thomas also points out the number of Welsh gentry who moved to England (particularly London) under Tudor rule (1994: 96–7). So, the scene is set in a Wales in which power is held almost exclusively by English speakers, who make up a minority of the population, and a number of its gentry have moved to England.

It has been noted that there is very little evidence of Welsh English to be found in this period. Thomas states that “first-hand evidence for the nature of Welsh English before the twentieth century is very limited, and awaits further investigation” (1994: 109). He adds that in the early modern period, the “English language documented in the usage of native Welsh writers is that of standard English, seldom distinguishable from that of England”, and asserts that though the phonological elements were likely to be influenced by Welsh, the “model for written usage was overwhelmingly that of standard written English”

(Thomas 1994: 109). By ‘standard’ English, it appears that he means educated London orthography. He notes the lack of regional features found in sixteenth century wills in Wales, and the fact that though there is some evidence of Welsh influence in personal letters, this evidence is not extensive (Thomas 1994: 110). We are, however, presented with an indication that there was a form of English with Welsh characteristics; Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto point to a comment made by a Welsh gentleman in the seventeenth century, in which the man states that he is sending his son to London so that his English might not be marred by “his mother tongue which doth commonly infect men of our countrie” (2008: 139).

It seems that, by and large, scholars shy away from features found in Early Modern Welsh English, particularly phonological features. Later periods receive more attention, which is not surprising given the fact that English usage was fairly limited in Wales up until the nineteenth century. Both Thomas (1994; 1997) and Awbery (1997) avoid much discussion of the actual features of Welsh English in the early modern period, discussing later periods in more depth. Though Wmffre (2003) states that his intention is to examine phonology of Welsh English (and Cornish English) from 1500 onwards, there is in fact very little discussion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

When scholars do discuss features of Welsh English in the early modern period, it is usually the case that they use literary representations as evidence. In most cases, they point out that a representation of a Welsh person speaking English in a play is not necessarily a realistic representation. Thomas, for example, states that playwrights at this time “drew on conventions of colloquial speech to reflect lowly social status or comedic role rather than regional affiliation”, with some of Shakespeare’s Welsh characters demonstrating both localisable Welsh features and features from “general vernacular usage” (1994: 107), but he also states that these caricatures must be “salient” even allowing for these conventions (1994: 109). Likewise, Blank (1996: 2) makes it clear that her book centres on literary dialects, which cannot be assumed simply to equate to ‘real’ dialects. It must be presumed, however, that these literary dialects developed from observations of the speech of real people. Undoubtedly they will not be accurate representations of the speech used in the real world, as has been noted by Thomas (1994) and Blank (1996), but these representations must, in theory, have developed from an existing dialect heard by these playwrights and their audiences if they were to be recognised as Welsh characters. We can use these sources in conjunction with other sources to pick out phonological features of Welsh English.

The features to be found in literary representations of Welsh English have been set out by Blank (1996: 134) quite succinctly:

- Devoicing of initial voiced plosives /b, d, g/ to /p, t, k/, e.g. <prave> for *brave*
- Voicing of medial or final voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ to /b, d, g/, e.g. <tawge> for *talk*
- Devoicing of /v/, e.g. <falorous> for *valorous*
- Devoicing of medial² /z/, e.g. <asse> for *as*
- <sh, ch, j> or /ʃ, tʃ, dʒ/ pronounced as /s/, e.g. <Welse> for *Welsh* or <sentilman> for *gentleman*
- <ch, j> also pronounced as /ʃ/, e.g. <Shesu> for *Jesus*
- Initial <w> often silent, e.g. <urld> for *world*

Thomas examines the features found specifically in Shakespeare’s representations of Welsh English (1994: 107–8). Henry V’s Fluellen, he says, switches /p/ for /b/ in *born*, while Sir Hugh Evans in *Merry Wives of Windsor* extends the “representation of voiced consonants as being voiceless ... to include an f for v in ‘fery’, and t for d in ‘ort’ (‘word’)”, where he also points out the loss of initial /w/ (Thomas 1994: 107). All of this, he states, can be attributed to the influence of Welsh; the stronger aspiration of Welsh voiced plosives would lead native English speakers to perceive Welsh speakers as pronouncing voiceless plosives where they would expect voiced ones (Thomas 1994: 107). The loss of initial /w/ stems from the fact that Welsh does not have any “sequence of semi-vowel followed by a homorganic or near-homorganic vowel”, but states that in the case of Sir Hugh, this is likewise the result of “objective observation by the hearer” (Thomas 1994: 107–8). Another literary source sometimes mentioned is the Welsh *Hymn to the Virgin*, a fifteenth-century work which Evans describes as “written in an English which is inflected by Welsh or by English speech in Wales” (2019: 214). Dobson (1968: 3–6) analyses the Welsh *Hymn* too, but it is necessary to tread carefully with Dobson’s work; he focuses on the London ‘standard’ form of English, and is dismissive of dialectal variation demonstrated in the texts he analyses, as discussed in section 1.2.2. Likewise, care must be

² Though Blank (1996: 134) states that this occurs medially, the example she provides is of an occurrence in final position.

taken with Dobson's analysis of other texts written by Welsh authors on the English language, such as William Salesbury. These texts and Dobson's assessment of them will be examined in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

Beal (2004: 333–4) points out the Welsh features noted by Thomas Sheridan in *A General Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1780. Though this is several decades outside of the time period dealt with in the present study, this evidence is certainly worth considering. Beal discusses Sheridan's description of the seven consonants that “the Welsh never pronounce”, which are three plosives or the “pure mutes” as Sheridan labels them, and four fricatives which Sheridan refers to as “aspirate semivowels” (Beal 2004: 333–4). The three “pure mutes” are three voiced plosives, /b/, /g/, and /d/, which are replaced by three “impure” mutes, or /p/, /k/, and /t/ respectively (Beal 2004: 333–4). Sheridan represents these changes by saying that the Welsh pronounce *blood* as “plut”, *God* as “Cot”, and *dear* as “tear” (Beal 2004: 333–4). The four fricatives that Sheridan described as “aspirate semivowels” are the voiced fricatives /v/, /z/, /ð/, and /ʒ/ (Beal 2004: 333–4). The Welsh replace these, according to Sheridan, with four “flat” semivowels: their voiceless counterparts, respectively /f/, /s/, /θ/, and /ʃ/ (Beal 2004: 333–4). This accords somewhat with Blank's (1996: 134) account of Welsh English devoicing, but there are some discrepancies.

It must be kept in mind that the English spoken by native Welsh speakers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will have been different from the Welsh English heard today. The “tipping of the linguistic scales” mentioned by Thomas (1994: 100)—and so the real explosion of English speech in Wales—began in the nineteenth century, when educational policies changed. At that point there were different ideas about the role of English and its ‘appropriate’ pronunciation than we see in the early modern period, besides the fact that the pronunciation of both English and Welsh had changed in the centuries between these points. The teaching of the English language during its real ascendancy will have fit nineteenth-century standards (and later). The Welsh English speakers of the early modern period, then, will have been impacted differently by the way they learned the language, and their speech will have differed in many ways. Thus the value of evidence for more recent forms of Welsh English are likely to have limited use in this study.

The Welsh English of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will have been perhaps the earliest form of this dialect. It was evidently spoken by very few people (as demonstrated in section 1.1), but the literary representations seen during that period indicate that there

was a form of English recognised as ‘Welsh’. We are, then, handling the very initial stages of a dialect as it begins to emerge, and we are doing so with a small pool of evidence. However, as we are dealing with speakers learning a second language (likely at a later age than they will have learned their native Welsh), it seems reasonable to believe that phonological features of Welsh will have had some form of impact on their English. That appears to be the case for the Welsh characters of early modern English drama, who will have had to have been recognisable as Welsh to audiences: as we have seen above, certain features demonstrated in drama seem to match up to features of the Welsh language. We should be able to proceed on the basis that Welsh pronunciation will have impacted the pronunciation of this early Welsh English.

This is not an exhaustive list of all features observed by linguists from all early modern accents of English and Scots; it is not the aim of this study to fully reconstruct any accent. Rather, this account of commonly observed features in the accents most relevant to this study is intended to provide a background for the analysis undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4.

1.3 Research questions

Orthoepy has, as seen in section 1.2, been a major source of information for Early Modern standard English speech for well over a century. The role of such works as sources of evidence for other forms of English and for Scots speech, however, has been far less thoroughly examined. This can also be said for the contrast between work on supposedly ‘standard’ EModE speech and other accents from the same period. This study asks several questions concerning orthoepy and non-standard speech. The first question is twofold.

1. What evidence for ‘non-standard’ Early Modern English and Early Modern Scots speech can be found in the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepists, and in what ways is this evidence provided?

In the first part of this question, I ask what non-standard features of pronunciation appear in the work of orthoepists. I focus primarily on variation according to location, which tends to receive more attention from orthoepists than other factors, but I also include any evidence of variation associated with characteristics such as gender and class. The second aspect of this question concerns how this evidence is provided. In this study I investigate the manner in which variation is demonstrated as well as what features of variation are

raised. To do this, I examine spellings, commentary on phonetics and on variation, and multilingual comparisons, in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

The second main question I ask in this study is the basis for the first part of Chapter 5:

2. What ‘non-standard’ features appear most commonly in orthoepic texts?

In Chapters 3 and 4, I will have discussed case studies of individual authors and the evidence of non-standard speech on display in their works. At the start of Chapter 5, I assemble evidence from across these sources (which are discussed in section 2.5) to demonstrate patterns in the ‘non-standard’ features observed by orthoepists, or which are observable in their usage, moving from a series of targeted investigations to an interrogation of the broader picture. As the focus regarding orthoepy has previously been on its place in the ‘standard’ form of English, the overall picture of ‘non-standard’ pronunciation has received limited attention at best. In this study I shift the focus to the forms of speech which have typically been overlooked when orthoepy is studied.

The final question is the basis for the last part of Chapter 5:

3. What are the orthoepists’ attitudes towards ‘non-standard’ forms, and how do they differ across varieties?

This is not exactly a new question; as can be seen in section 1.2.1, the attitudes of orthoepists to ‘non-standard’ speech has been discussed in a general sense by scholars across time. But as the focus has not been on the evidence of ‘non-standard’ speech in orthoepy before, it is worth re-examining this question here. As with the question of patterns in observed or observable ‘non-standard’ features above, this larger picture of the ‘non-standard’ in orthoepy has received little attention previously, so I intend to address this question in some depth and from an angle detached from the favouring of the ‘standard’. While the ‘standard’ will inevitably have a place in this discussion, comparing ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ forms is not the only point of comparison to make here. The views of orthoepists on different ‘non-standard’ varieties can also be compared to examine attitudes to varieties beyond the notion that ‘non-standard speech is bad in the eyes of orthoepists’, which can be seen in section 1.2.1.

As stated in the introduction to this study, my intent with this work is to offer new insights into a very traditional source. Orthoepy has been employed as a major source of evidence for ‘standard’ English speech in historical linguistics for about a century and a half (as seen in section 1.2). This, however, is not the whole story for this type of text. Scholars have previously touched on forms outwith the ‘standard’ in orthoepy, but these aspects of orthoepy have been under-researched in much previous scholarship. I aim to demonstrate some of the nuances at play in orthoepic handlings of ‘non-standard’ forms of English, and of Scots. This study does not exhaustively unearth ‘non-standard’ evidence in all orthoepic sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but I aim to do so in more depth than has previously been achieved, and without the ‘standard’ focus that is usually associated with the study of orthoepy.

1.4 Standardisation and terminology

1.4.1 Standardisation

As has been demonstrated throughout this chapter (in particular in section 1.2.2), arguments regarding the existence of a ‘standard’ in historical English have been part of scholarly work on the language for over a century. Milroy (2002) outlines the way that nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship handled the history of standardisation. He points out that the ‘standard’ was the focus point of most scholarship for several decades (Milroy 2002: 7). He notes – and disapproves of – the equating of the prestige form of EModE with a ‘standard’, as is seen so frequently in scholarship (Milroy 2002: 13). Scholarship on historical English linguistics generally tends to concentrate on this educated, elite variety from London and the surrounding area after about 1500, as has been seen in section 1.2.2. Overall, the skew from the EModE period is towards this ‘standard’ form. Even writers who freely and frequently acknowledge that there is a tendency to lean towards the ‘standard’ and that other varieties have been underrepresented in scholarship, will then state that they will focus on the ‘standard’ variety as they reach the early modern period (e.g. Freeborn 1998). But if writers are acknowledging that standardisation processes were ongoing, not complete, and that other varieties were widely spoken and written, why are these other varieties not afforded a more robust treatment? This is how OE and ME are often treated, so why not EModE? The impression given by this approach is that standardisation processes and variation cannot coexist, and that the commencement of standardisation processes means that variation must be side-lined as is it, in effect, ‘on the way out’. Scholarship on present-day English has demonstrated clearly that this is

untrue. The EModE period appears almost to be a gap in the study of ‘non-standard’ variants of English, producing this image of a new ‘standard’ variety to which all other forms are inferior, but this is an inaccurate impression created by the skew in scholarship.

Movement towards a new understanding of the process of standardisation with regards to English has been outlined recently by Wright (2020a), Criado-Peña (2022), and Sylvester (2026). Wright’s work has for some time opposed the traditional notion of the single-ancestor Chancery Standard theory, and in her volume *The Multilingual Origins of English* she and her contributors present evidence for an alternative theory in which, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, supralocal centres developed across the country, with regional features gradually disappearing, with contact with Latin and French impacting the process (Wright (ed.). 2020; Wright 2020b: 12-4). Wright (2020b: 13) posits that the Chancery Standard theory was popular not only due to its catchy title, but “also because top-down imposition by the Crown fits with modern perceptions of medieval feudalism”. This is all in relation to the written language (Wright 2020b: 3), and pronunciation does not feature, but the overall redirection away from the idea of top-down imposition from one single point of origin is worth noting in relation to pronunciation and orthoepy, which traditionally is viewed in a similar way. The source of authority may not be the Crown, but the orthoepists are typically schoolmasters, and in their texts they wield their authority as experts in the ways of the learned, imparting their wisdom on the matter to their readers—or their students.

What can be said about the existence of a ‘standard’ pronunciation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain? Firstly, and perhaps most importantly for the present study, the work of orthoepists themselves indicates that there was not a ‘standard’ pronunciation. Criado-Peña (2022: 298) notes that one potential understanding of the concept of ‘standard pronunciation’ is that it is a reference point rather than a uniform usage. For much of the period studied here, even this is difficult to argue. Orthoepists were putting forward the idea that a particular form of English pronunciation *should* be used, not that it was an established ‘standard’. The portion of the population speaking the variety these writers favoured is hardly indicative of a ‘standard’; the frequency with which orthoepists point out—and usually express disappointment with—variation in speech, as well as their insistence upon establishing a ‘proper’ form of pronunciation, indicates an anxiety, but also makes it evident that no accepted ‘standard’ pronunciation existed. Rather, English phonology and spelling in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, as far as orthoepy shows, was in Haugen’s earlier stages of standardisation: “selection of norm” primarily,

moving towards or perhaps into “codification of form” by the end of the period (Haugen 1966: 933). Mugglestone states that the written language, at least, was subject to a strong sense that there was a standard form (1995: 10). In her view, the standardisation of speech followed a similar route and timeline to those seen in the spelling system, and she explains the progression through the stages of selection and codification through the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (Mugglestone 1995: 13–8), comparing George Puttenham and Thomas Sheridan on either side of the period to demonstrate the point (Mugglestone 1995: 18–9). It appears from Mugglestone’s account that speech remains in the selection stage longer than spelling, and thus likely does not undergo codification until the eighteenth century (1995: 13–8).

When standardisation in historical English as a whole is examined in academic work, pronunciation is rarely mentioned, although in works on historical pronunciation, standardisation is a major point of interest. Orthography receives a large proportion of the attention as far as EModE goes, but pronunciation—though it is closely linked to orthography in the orthoepic texts—is hardly ever found in examinations of standardising processes in this period. This makes it all the more peculiar that the educated London-based EModE variety is referred to as ‘Standard English’. It is almost as if ‘standard’ pronunciation is taken as guaranteed. Milroy criticises Dobson’s (1968) argument that an “early modern standard English” existed, while his work actually describes “an elite variety – defined by social status of speakers rather than standardness of language” (2002: 11). Milroy then states that “what has been described as sixteenth century standard pronunciation would be more correctly labelled: the pronunciation of gentlemen and persons of rank including members of the Royal Court” (2002: 13). In Milroy’s opinion, the existence of a standard form of speech in 1600 as far as the “general consciousness” went is unlikely (2002: 13). As stated above, this would mean that according to Haugen’s (1966: 933) stages of standardisation, English phonology in the sixteenth century and the turn of the seventeenth was in the process of selecting norms. Moessner deliberately omits pronunciation from her chapter on EModE standardisation because during that period, “there were at least two phoneme systems which existed side by side” (2017: 183). Mugglestone (2026: 262-3) notes that the concept of a phonological ‘standard’ is complex and dependent on the definition selected, and points out that Alexander Ellis debated if there was even a ‘standard’ in the mid-eighteenth century. She also notes that early attempts by writers to “identify a phoneme inventory does not ... suggest either the existence of a clear-cut norm, nor its supraregional distribution” (Mugglestone 2026: 247).

Overall, the concept of a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ‘standard’ English pronunciation is misleading.

Milroy (2002) explains in considerable depth that scholarship on the history of the English language has largely been focused towards building up “a canon for the orthodox history of English” (2002: 6), and that the concept of the ‘standard’ language is the ideology underpinning many scholarly works. This ideological framework, he says, prompts the categorisation of varieties as either legitimate or illegitimate, and gives “legalistic—and frequently moral—overtones” to the term ‘correct’ (Milroy 2002: 8). He presents the idea that scholarship on historical English has treated the history of the ‘standard’ variety as being the “legitimate history of English”, and that this treatment has continued due to these scholars’ authority, which he then illustrates with an examination of scholars such as Sweet, Wyld, Jespersen, and Dobson (Milroy 2002: 10–1). This treatment can be seen in section 1.2.2, where the works of these scholars and many more portray and contribute to the “legitimate history of English”. Arguably, this attitude and the narrow focus could be traced back even further than the Victorian scholars Milroy begins with, to the orthoepists who are the key sources of this study; their insistence on establishing a ‘correct’ usage lines up with the later obsession with the ‘standard’ that supposedly existed at any given point. Milroy distinguishes “standard” from “elite”, by pointing out that a “standard” is not defined purely by status as an “elite” form is (Milroy 2002: 13), but many scholars do seem to treat the two as one and the same regarding the early modern period.

1.4.2 Terminology, regionality, and ‘standards’

The London variant of English, therefore, can hardly be called a ‘standard’, as it has been thus far. The view that this variety should be aimed at was held by such a small minority of people that, as Milroy says, there was no “general consciousness” of a “standard” (2002: 13). Therefore, as the educated London variety was not a ‘standard’ by modern analysis or by contemporary perceptions, it is not appropriate to use this label. Nor do I wish to continue doing as I have done throughout this chapter, placing ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ in inverted commas on all of the many occasions I would need to use these words. New terms, then, are required for this study.

If we cannot call the pronunciation of educated Londoners ‘standard English’ at this time (though this is conventional), what should it be referred to as? Milroy provides the very accurate label of “the pronunciation of gentlemen and persons of rank including members

of the Royal Court” (2002: 13), but this is rather unwieldy as a term for regular use. We would be better served to call this variant ‘educated London English’, or perhaps if we were to be slightly less narrow geographically and wanted to include the speech of the universities, we may favour ‘educated south-eastern English’. From the comments of orthoepists, it appears to be necessary to retain some level of geographic specificity. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘Educated South-Eastern English’ will be used, abbreviating to ESEE.

So far, the attention has been solely on standardisation in English. However, this project also deals with Scots. While the standardisation of historical English appears frequently in scholarship, standardisation does not feature very often in accounts of historical Scots. Scots is described as undergoing a degree of standardisation before the process of anglicisation begins (see e.g. McClure 1996: 22; Kopaczyk 2013a: 6–7), but the key point to note for the present study is that Scots was (and remains) a separate entity from English, especially the London variety, which it is much less similar to than it is to Northern English. It has been observed that Scots forms a dialectal continuum with English, with Northern English mentioned in particular in some cases (see e.g. Kopaczyk 2013: 6; Millar 2023: 17). Handbooks and some other scholarship (usually older work) often refer to Scots only briefly and as a dialect of English (though there are older studies specifically concerning Scots dialects, e.g. Murray 1873 and Wilson 1915 both handle various features of Lowland Scots, and a study on one Scots accent by Zai 1942), while more recent work often treats it separately, as was seen in section 1.2.2. On a phonological level, the question of standardisation in Scots is not strictly relevant here, and the orthoepic texts used in this study are by writers who lived in or around Edinburgh, thus this area will be the focal point for the examination of Scots here.

One further terminological issue which needs to be addressed is how best to collectively refer to the ‘non-standard’ dialects. I do not wish to simply refer to them as ‘non-standard’ dialects’, having established already that there was not a ‘standard’ pronunciation at the time. Nor is it appropriate, in a similar vein, to refer to them simply as ‘dialects’ in opposition to the ‘standard’, or in opposition to ‘ESEE’. To do this would suggest that ESEE is not also a dialect, which is inaccurate. The collective term must include dialectal variations stemming from location, class, and more, besides this. The most appropriate term for my purposes is ‘non-ESEE’ for varieties of English not associated with educated South-Eastern speakers, and Scots, as a separate language, will be referred to individually.

I have, so far, used the terms ‘dialect’ and ‘accent’. Wakelin differentiates these terms thus: “*accent* is distinguished from *dialect* as referring only to the phonetic or the phonological level of dialectal speech” (1977: 84). Wells generally describes the difference between the two in the same way, though he adds that he prefers the term ‘variety’ to ‘dialect’ as a general term, reserving ‘dialect’ as part of the phrase “traditional-dialect” (1982: 3). For the avoidance of doubt, I use ‘dialect’ as a broader term, encompassing all levels of language (grammar, phonology, lexical items, etc), to denote a form of a language associated usually with a specific region. I use ‘accent’ as a narrower term, under the umbrella of ‘dialect’, specifically regarding the usage of sound in a dialect.

I have at times throughout this chapter employed the term ‘Early Modern Scots’, or EModSc. This is not a conventional term; the traditional term for Scots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is Middle Scots. The traditional periodisation of Scots has been challenged by Kopaczyk (2013b), however.

The traditional periodisation of Scots comes from Aitken, and Kopaczyk (2013b: 239) visualises it as in Figure 1.

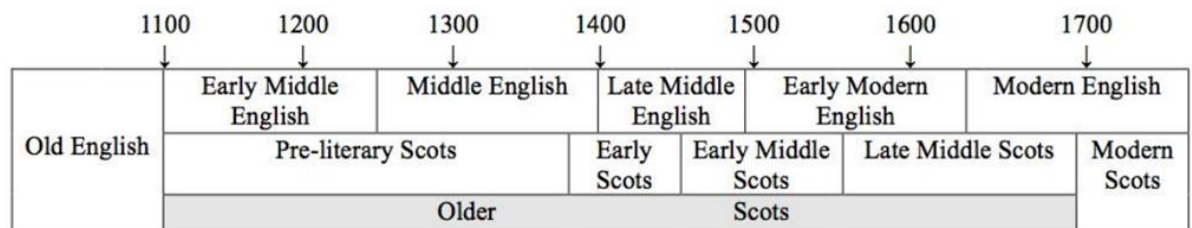


Figure 1: Aitken’s traditional periodisation of Scots (Kopaczyk 2013b: 239)

The traditional system is criticised by Kopaczyk (2013b: 233–4; Kopaczyk-McPherson 2026: 441–2), who notes that it leads to misconceptions; particularly concerning the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which by virtue of bearing the moniker ‘Middle’, are often seen as continuing or imitating the medieval period. In Kopaczyk’s (2013b: 239–40) opinion, the traditional periodisation lacks rationale, with no explanation given as to why certain labels are used. She proposes alternative periodisations of Scots, and in doing so puts forward the term Early Modern Scots, which covers most of the period of interest for this study. Millar (2023: 10) points out that the traditional periodisation still holds considerable sway; while he appreciates Kopaczyk’s (2013b) periodisation, he holds to the traditional system in his work as most of the scholarship on Scots does so. While this is a practical consideration for a general account on historical Scots, it is not particularly

concerning for the purposes of this study. Placing Scots in a more equal relationship with English is of more interest, and I therefore adopt Kopaczyk's (2013b) term 'Early Modern Scots', or EModSc.

2 Orthoepy

As this study focuses on evidence of non-ESEE speech in orthoepic texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is necessary here to expand upon what this source material is and how it can be used. This is the purpose of this chapter. Firstly, I will discuss some features of orthoepy as a genre, establishing the parameters of the source materials used in this work. Then, as orthoepy is part of a long tradition of linguistic thought in Western Europe, I will outline the scholarly background of these kinds of texts, to illuminate the thought processes which led the authors to produce their work in the way they did. This will be followed by an explanation of the doctrine of *littera*, a particularly important aspect of linguistic thought for orthoepy. Then I will discuss how orthoepy changed over time, before turning to the role of a ‘standard’ in orthoepic texts and the thinking of the authors. Finally, this chapter will include discussions about the use of orthoepy as evidence for ESEE, non-ESEE, and Scots pronunciation. The latter two subjects being the focus of this study, this final section includes an outline of the aims, methods, and layout of the remainder of this work.

2.1 What is orthoepy? Early vernacular linguistic scholarship in Britain

Before any attention is paid to the role of orthoepy in the study of historical phonology, we must establish exactly what orthoepy is, and the tradition of linguistic thought this text type existed in and was influenced by. Illustrating the characteristics of these texts and outlining the linguistic tradition that led to their creation will allow for a better understanding of how they are used traditionally in the study of historical phonology, and how they can be used in the study of ‘non-standard’ historical accents.

2.1.1 Orthoepy as a genre

I have provided a definition of orthoepy in section 1.2.1, but the features of the genre bear further discussion here. Writers such as Sir Thomas Smith, Richard Mulcaster, John Hart, and many more wrote about the lack of a set English spelling system and, in most cases, the variability in English pronunciation (visible in their criticisms of other speakers: see 1.2.1). Almost invariably, they wanted to set down one set system of spelling, selecting norms to develop a standard form (Haugen 1966: 933). Many of them also wanted to at least expand the usage of one ‘preferred’ system of pronunciation too, if not carry out some level of pronunciation reform. Salmon (1994: 1–3; 1999:14) discusses the reasons why

such works were created: the growth of literacy, the development of printing, the perceived impracticalities of non-standardised and therefore irregular orthography, the issue of homophones and homographs, and the study and teaching of other languages, amongst other reasons. Many of the reasons put forward by Salmon are practical, but these motives would also have promoted the drive for a ‘standard’ written system, hence the production of these texts.

Orthoepists themselves frequently comment on their reasons for promoting standardisation. These vary in the particulars, but the core reasons appear to be a sense that it would be logical to reform spelling, that it is natural that the speech of the court should be considered the ‘standard’ or best practice, and that various groups of people promoted ‘inferior’ forms of language in different ways. Salmon (1999: 16–7) notes the attitudes of several authors on the superiority of ESEE practices, including John Hart (section 4.4), Sir Thomas Smith (section 4.3), and Edmund Coote. These authors variously criticise non-ESEE speech, subject to region, gender, and class (see section 1.2.1). The importance of the idea of a ‘standard’ in English for orthoepists is something I expand on later in section 2.3.

There appears to have been a spectrum of orthoepic systems in existence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moessner (2017: 171) notes Nevalainen’s (2006: 32) categorisation of orthoepic styles: at one end of the spectrum we find the “phonemic” approach, and at the other end we find the “logographic” approach, “distinguishing words pronounced alike ... by spelling them differently”. It would be worth adding to the second categorisation that a ‘conventional’ approach crosses over with the logographic approach; there are some writers who, though the practicality of spelling homophones differently is a benefit of a non-phonographic system, are more of the opinion that codifying common practices is the best method of standardising spelling, for example Mulcaster. In this thesis, the categorisations ‘phonographic’ and ‘conventional’ will be used. Many orthoepists fall somewhere in between these two poles.

Some orthoepists favour a system which relies on one-to-one mapping of sound to symbol, or a “phonemic” (or phonographic) system (Salmon 1999: 13, 16, 33). John Hart is one such figure (Lass 1999: 59; Nevalainen 2006: 32); his 1569 work *An Orthographie* includes a section in which he writes in his “phonetically-based” (or phonographic) script (Lass 1999: 59). Hart’s spelling differs considerably from any conventional orthographic system of the time. He uses diacritics on vowels, uses <z> instead of <s> for /z/ in words

like <exersiz> *exercise*, and seems to omit the grapheme <c> entirely, instead using either <k> or <s> depending on the sound used. Hart also uses several unconventional symbols to represent sounds like /θ/, /ð/, and /ʃ/. It is not surprising that Hart's system did not catch on (Nevalainen 2006: 33); it deviates quite a way from what most people were used to, and the new symbols would not have helped his case. It should be noted that Hart does fall back on convention in some circumstance. For example, he uses <x> to represent /ks/ e.g. <exersiz> *exercise*. He does not, however, use <x> to represent /ks/ in all situations; he spells *perfection* as <perfeksion>, rather than the <x> he had used in <exersiz>. This seems to be due to convention; there is no phonetic or phonemic difference indicated between these two spellings, with both appearing to represent /ks/. So, Hart is not consistent about his 'one spelling for one sound' rule.

Other writers are more inclined to favour a spelling system based on convention and consistency (Salmon 1999: 34–5). Richard Mulcaster prefers this system and in his 1582 *First Part of the Elementarie* he demonstrates his disapproval of spelling reform on the basis of pronunciation. He views pronunciation as too variable, especially across regions, to be a suitable basis, preferring to employ a system based on the developing conventional spellings (Nevalainen 2006: 35). As Salmon (1999: 34) points out, Mulcaster spends a considerable amount of time in the *Elementarie* explaining the importance of "reason" and "custom" in orthography, and "how an originally phonemic writing-system evolved into one where usage and convention played a major part". Both Nevalainen (2006: 35–6) and Salmon (1999: 34) note how influential Mulcaster seems to have been; the more conventional orthographic system, of the type that Mulcaster favoured, won out in the seventeenth century. Salmon (1999: 34) states that Mulcaster's influence was seen "not directly, but through the works of school teachers and grammarians". Nevalainen (2006: 36) points out the similarities of style between the *Elementarie* and later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century textbooks like Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Maister*. Mulcaster's work will be discussed in more detail later on in this study 3.7, but here it is simply important to note that his general thinking on the relationship between sound and spelling was that other factors must be considered, and that as language had evolved, sound had in some places given way to 'custom' and 'reason' as influences over spelling.

A number of writers fell somewhere in the middle of these two positions. One example of such a writer is Alexander Hume, whose work *An Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue* was never published, but the manuscript seems to have been written sometime around 1617. As shall be seen in section 3.4, Hume's position on matters of

pronunciation and spelling are rather unusual in this field, but setting that aside, he does position himself somewhere between a phonographic system in the style of Hart and a conventional system in the style of Mulcaster. Hume leans towards a phonographic system, but in several cases, he willingly accepts the role of convention in representing certain sounds. For example, he tolerates the use of <-ce> to represent /s/ in *peace* or *vice*, and the use of <ch> to represent /ʃ/ (Wheatley 1870: 14–5). As we have seen from Nevalainen (2006: 35–6) and Salmon’s (1999: 34) comments on Mulcaster, around the seventeenth century the conventional-leaning orthographic system was more popular, but in the sixteenth century and the earlier seventeenth century, the favoured system seems to have leaned towards the phonographic.

2.1.2 Classical tradition of linguistic thought

In order to understand the way orthoepists thought about their languages, it is important here to account for the tradition of thought which they followed, and how it had evolved over time. These scholars were significantly impacted by the works of other writers from centuries before them, such as Aristotle and Donatus (see Law 2003), and were particularly impacted by the doctrine of *littera*.

Parts of speech occupy a considerable amount of space in the study of historical linguistic thought. A large portion of Law’s (2003) account of the history of linguistic thought is dedicated to this topic, as it appears that much classical scholarship on language focuses on such matters of grammatical categorisation, and also on meaning. Conversely, while the study of sound and spelling has taken place during roughly the same period in the western tradition, it does not enjoy the same amount of attention from writers across that time. In this section, I only focus on those elements of linguistic thought which relate to sound and spelling; while the early modern authors relevant to this study usually have an interest in parts of speech, this is not relevant to the focal questions here.

Law (2003: 13) describes the Greeks as “the first Europeans to study language systematically” as they engaged with a variety of linguistic topics, including structure, meaning, language change, and sounds and symbols. Woodard (2023: 105) notes that there was a “sophisticated understanding of phonological relationships” amongst Mycenaean Greeks as far back as the second century BCE, and later he describes a strand of Greek scholarly work on speech sounds and their divisions into classes. Plato, he says, categorised sounds as having “voice” (*phōnē*) or “no voice”, which corresponds to our

modern understanding of vowels and consonants respectively (Woodard 2023: 108). Plato also included “noise” (*psóphos*) as a quality which was relevant to speech sounds, relating to consonants only; vowels do not have “noise” *psóphos*, only “voice” *phōnē* (Woodard 2023: 108). Western thought therefore engages with speech sounds and spelling early on, though it appears that these occupied less space in Classical thought than, for example, grammatical systems. Another categorisation originating in the Greek tradition is that of the *hēmíphōna*, which has become the “semivowel” in English (and is seen frequently in the work of Early Modern English orthoepists); the original Greek category can be found in the works of Crysippus, Dionysius Thrax, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Woodard 2023: 111–2). In Woodard’s view, the concept is understood somewhat differently between Classical Greek thinkers and the early modern scholars, but the *hēmíphōna* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus do correspond largely to the semivowels of the Early Modern English scholars (Woodard 2023: 111). The three-category division of speech sounds which can be seen in the work of the early modern orthoepists is also to be seen in Aristotle’s *Poetica*, with Woodard demonstrating the categorisation as shown in Figure 2:

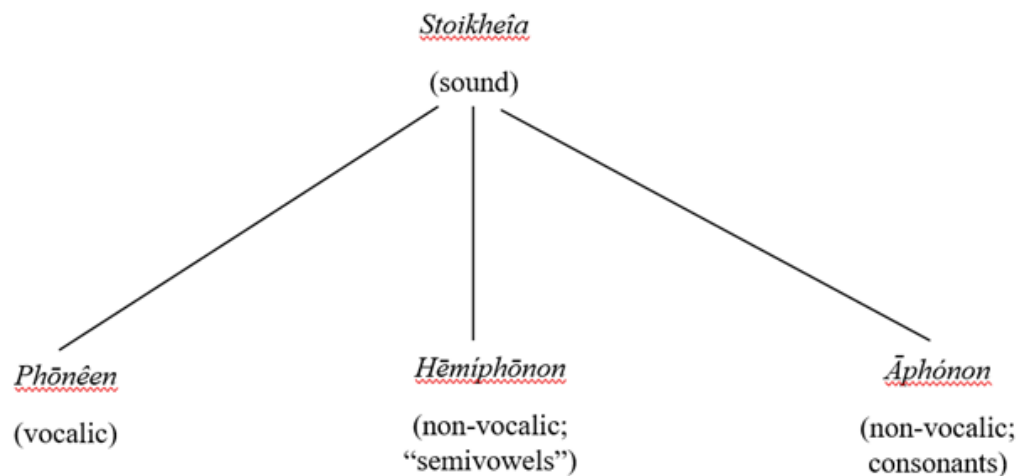


Figure 2. Aristotle's classification of speech sounds (Woodard 2023: 112)

This three-category system is carried down to the early modern orthoepists, many of whom use an effectively identical system to categorise the sounds of English. A scholar known as Pseudo-Aristotle, writing several centuries after Aristotle, demonstrates awareness of the separation of vowels *phōnēeta* and consonants *āphōna* (Woodard 2023: 106). So, the Classical Greek tradition of categorising sounds seems to change little between its origin and its later realisation in early modern work.

The three-category division of sounds is certainly maintained into some Roman scholarship. Quintilian also divides speech sounds into vowels, semivowels, and consonants or mutes (Law 2003: 62). Law (2003: 62) notes additionally that Quintilian also discusses some orthographic issues, so pronunciation and spelling both seem to hold at least some sway over the Latin linguistic tradition. As far as pronunciation and orthography are concerned, the major player in Roman scholarship is Donatus, with his *Ars Maior*. Donatus is the main figure mentioned in descriptions of the doctrine of *littera*. Donatus' work was "studied continuously up to the sixteenth century, and provided a model for countless other works well into the early modern period" (Law 2003: 65). Woodard's judgement of Donatus is that his "impact on language study in the west would be pervasive and long-lasting" (Woodard 2023: 142). The first book of *Ars Maior* handles sound in general (or *vox*), as well as speech sounds and letters (or *littera*), including the doctrine of *littera*. Donatus categorises the *littera* as part of *vox* (Woodard 2023: 143).

The doctrine of *littera* can be used to explain the interplay between sound, symbol, and convention, as well as accounting for the central theoretical basis for orthoepic works. This doctrine stems from classical works, in particular Aelius Donatus' *Ars Maior* (Lass & Laing 2013). The concept was used by later European scholars, including the English orthoepists (Abercrombie 1949: 58; see section 2.1.3). The *littera* has three "attributes", as Abercrombie puts it: the *nomen*, which is the name of the letter; the *figura*, which is the written symbol (which we now would denote in this manner: <⤵>); and the *potestas*, which is the sound produced (which we now would record as: /t/ or [t]) (Abercrombie 1949: 58–9). Lass & Laing (2013) note Donatus's statement that the different three aspects of the *littera* are inseparable from the *littera* itself: "each *littera* has a *potestas*, as inseparable from it as its name and shape" (Lass & Laing 2013). So we must assume the three aspects are, indirectly, inseparable from each other.

We may visualise the relationships between the attributes as shown in Figure 3.

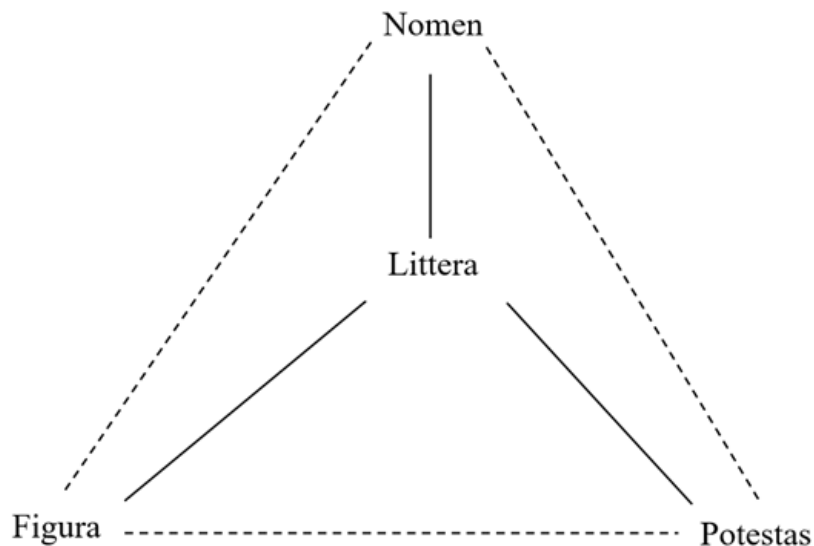


Figure 3 Visualisation of the doctrine of *littera*

The standard lines represent direct links, while the dashed lines represent indirect connections via the overarching concept of the *littera*. This would indicate a sound-spelling relationship that inherently maps one-to-one; it is phonographic.

The medieval period saw very little interest in sound and spelling as an area of study. As in antiquity, there was much more interest in the study of parts of speech and meaning, as reflected by Kelly (2023), and which Law (2003) states was due to a number of reasons. Medieval writers on language were not interested in form; sound, spelling, and word form were of little to no interest (Law 2003: 109). Parts of speech were largely of practical interest to enable scholars to understand Latin (Law 2003: 109; 125). One major medieval interest within the developing universities was universality, which became a driving force in linguistic study, and medieval scholars typically saw aspects of form, such as sound and spelling, as incompatible with this interest (Law 2003: 161–3; Formigari 2023: 215).

Though sound and spelling—again as in antiquity—were not generally considered points of interest in the medieval period, there was a small group of scholars who paid these features some attention. In the thirteenth century, scholars at Oxford sought to examine the production of speech sounds and the letter forms to which they were attached, through the lens of Aristotle’s ideas of motion from his *Physics* (Law 2003: 169). Aristotelian ideas of motion were influential in several fields (Law 2003: 165–6), but the main point of interest here is the work done on phonetics. A largely anonymous group of scholars, of which one of the few named members was Robert Grosseteste (later Bishop of Lincoln), worked to apply Aristotelian ideas of motion to the *litterae* and speech sounds (Law 2003: 169).

Grosseteste theorised that “since art ... imitates nature, and nature does everything in the best way possible, the letters of the alphabet necessarily represented the shapes created inwardly when we speak” (Law 2003: 169). Or, letter form reflects articulation, at least in Grosseteste’s opinion. It is possible, perhaps probable, that the Oxford scholars were influenced by scholars of Hebrew; Law notes both that phonetics was of particular interest in Hebrew grammars from the tenth century (2003: 241), and that Grosseteste showed some curiosity about Hebrew (2003: 171). Perhaps Grosseteste and his contemporaries took inspiration from the Hebrew grammars. Either way, Law (2003: 171) notes that the Grosseteste group’s work was little noticed by their medieval peers, and though the doctrine of *littera* continued to hold a place in western linguistic thought, the study of speech sounds was not a subject that medieval scholars particularly cared to study. The fortunes of phonetic study were to rise in the Renaissance, as western linguistic thought changed.

The Renaissance brought to western thought an inclination to study things for their own sake, rather than the wish to find some universal truth as had been the prevailing ideology of the medieval period (Formigari 2023: 215). Sound and spelling were two areas of linguistic study which benefitted from this shift in thinking. Law (2003: 210) notes that before about 1450, no major new ideas about language came from non-Classical sources. Formigari (2023: 215) notes that the fifteenth century saw the start of a “gradual loss of linguistic universalism” as part of the rise of vernaculars due to the role of Latin in society shrinking, coupled with a new move towards “the description of languages and the creation of instruments for this description”. This, Law points out, was part of a wider trend to examine the observable phenomena in the world, including the evolution of the sciences and changes in travel patterns (Law 2003: 213–20). Greek and Latin linguistic scholarship enjoyed increased attention as part of the Classical revival, and Greek works in particular received more attention due to the movement of Greek-speaking scholars west out of the Ottoman empire and the subsequent uptick in Greek study in western Europe (Law 2003: 223–6). The ideas of Classical scholars such as Quintilian, Cicero, and Varro therefore became even more relevant, and Greek and Latin were lauded. Latin became a model of excellence in the eyes of western linguistic scholars, and was taken as a role model for vernaculars in its fixedness and its suitability for use in discussions of high-brow topics like philosophy and theology (Law 2003: 232). The doctrine of *littera*, established in Classical scholarship, would have been a very useful tool to early modern scholars in their new ventures to describe the sounds and spelling of their languages, and—as the orthoepists do—to ‘correct’ and regularise these features. EModE was no exception, with

scholars frequently referencing Latin writers and modelling their works on Latin grammars. Latin was the ideal language to them, and when they described sounds in English and Scots, they frequently used Latin as a reference point, particularly before articulatory phonetic descriptions gained traction in the mid-seventeenth century. The Classical tradition was extremely important to the way in which early modern scholars thought and wrote, and the doctrine of *littera* was particularly impactful on the texts used in this study.

Latin, however, is not necessarily as straightforward a reference point as implied by the orthoepists. Crystal (2016: xlvii) refers to the pronunciation of Latin in the early sixteenth century as “a matter of great controversy”, and Allen accounts for the effects of native speech on Latin pronunciation in England (1965: 102–3). In the fifteenth century, he says, there was an attempt to reform Latin pronunciation spearheaded by Erasmus, which was taken up by John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith at Cambridge, as well as the reform of Greek pronunciation (Allen 1965: 103–4; Dobson 1968: 38–40). The new pronunciation, never particularly widely adopted, was ultimately struck down by the Great Vowel Shift: “...and so any reforms in Latin or Greek pronunciation underwent these vowel-changes as sub-dialects of English” (Allen 1965: 104–5). Crystal (2016: xlvii) notes some criticism of the English pronunciation of Latin, which centred around how difficult it was to understand. For Greek, Allen helpfully provides a diagram of the development of the vowels in England over time (1987: 147), but he does not do so for Latin. He does state, however, that typically “the traditional pronunciation is of course often equivalent to a reading in terms of English spelling conventions” (Allen 1965: 105). In essence, this means that the use of Latin as a reference point for orthoepists becomes circular. English sounds are interpreted by the use of Latin sounds, but the Latin sounds are affected by English sounds. One major question which might be asked with regards to non-ESEE speech, in response to this, is how does this relate to Northern English and Scots? The Great Vowel Shift, which affects all long vowels in ESEE, only affects the front vowels in Northern English and Scots (see e.g. Smith 2004). So, in theory, Latin in Scotland and the North of England would be pronounced differently to Latin in the South of England, especially concerning the long back vowels. On the other hand, there is the question of the impact of teachers. Those learning Latin, wherever they might be, could be learning from teachers from anywhere, and be learning pronunciations of Latin impacted by their teachers’ background. It is best in this study to simply bear in mind the various possibilities regarding Latin, particularly the impact of the Great Vowel Shift on the vowels, while interpreting evidence put forward by the orthoepists.

2.1.3 The doctrine of *littera*'s implications for orthoepy

This doctrine stems from classical works, in particular Aelius Donatus' *Ars Maior* (see above in section 2.1.2). The concept was used by later European scholars, including the English orthoepists (Abercrombie 1949: 58). As noted above in section 2.1.2, the doctrine of *littera* produces a phonographic system in which one sound is associated with one letter form and vice versa. In Latin, where the doctrine originated, this makes sense. However, English has struggled to maintain such a sound-spelling relationship since English speakers first began to use the Roman alphabet (Salmon 1999: 14). By the sixteenth century, sound changes and orthographic developments had led to an orthographic system which could not be said to directly represent sounds as would be seen in Latin, for example. In English, multiple symbols could be used to represent one sound (like <j>, <g>, and <dg> all being used to represent /dʒ/), and multiple sounds could be represented by one symbol (like <g> representing /g/ and /dʒ/). There was also significant variation between the orthographic systems of individual writers; a lack of standardised spelling meant that there was no standard way of teaching spelling. Some work on early modern spelling and pronunciation has pointed out the fact that women in particular, being in receipt of very little formal education, show considerable variation in spelling (Salmon 1999: 15–6, 30).

The orthoepists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were all educated men, and therefore knew Latin and much of the classical work on grammar. Indeed, the style of early modern education placed Latin on a pedestal, just as it held a place of distinction and practical importance at the top of early modern European society (see Jensen 1996: 63). Linguistically, they saw it as an ideal point of reference (Minkova 2014: 23); the language was fixed orthographically, and there was a general understanding that there was a one-to-one mapping of sounds to symbols. Orthoepists usually took Latin as their reference point, to some extent, in their quest to regulate English spelling. In section 2.1.2, Donatus' role in the history of western linguistic scholarship was touched upon; both Law (2003: 65) and Woodard (2023: 142) note that Donatus' work was a mainstay of linguistic thought and education for well over a millennium, and the role that the doctrine of *littera* plays in early modern orthoepy is testament to that. Both the Latin language and its scholarship was deeply influential to these writers, whose education centred so heavily on the language.

It should also be considered that the concept of a one-to-one mapping of sound to spelling in a standardised English orthographic system would have implications for pronunciation in orthoepy, intentional or not. If these writers follow the doctrine of *littera*, then one

symbol represents one sound. Therefore, when the symbol is used, it should represent to all readers that one sound. If spelling is standardised on these grounds across the country, then the location of a speaker or reader would be irrelevant (hypothetically speaking) and the symbol would represent to them the same sound that it represents to anyone else in the country. As these spellings are generally put forward by educated London speakers on the basis of their own speech, speakers in any area would be adopting the sound system of an educated London speaker, and this London ‘standard’ would be spread across the country. Some orthoepists, for example Mulcaster (see section 3.7), do say that pronunciation is not useful as a basis for spelling because of regional variation. However, the prevalence of this phonographic type of orthoepy and the reliance on educated London pronunciation clearly demonstrates the idea held by these writers that this form of pronunciation should be the favoured variety. Its potential impact would initially be only on educated people, as one would have to be able to read in order to take on the information and the attitudes displayed in these texts until they were accepted enough to be taught in other ways, for example as part of an educational system or through the language attitudes of society more widely. This would mean that many women and poorer people would be in a different linguistic class not only regarding reading and writing, but they would be set apart in their pronunciation too, until such a time as the ‘correct’ pronunciation might be imposed upon them. The speech of women and poorer people is criticised by some orthoepists, such as Gil (section 4.2).

Another aspect that we see in these works is the degree to which they directly wish to change or codify the pronunciation ‘system’. This will be discussed in more depth below in section 2.2, but to some degree almost all of these writers favour a certain kind of pronunciation. Some simply use it as the basis for their comments, while others go further and assert the need for change (as they see it, at least). This need for change may mean spreading one pronunciation across more speakers, or it may mean making reforms generally which would be implemented with all speakers.

2.2 Changes in orthoepy over time and common features across texts

If we look at the way Dobson (1968) sets out his investigation of orthoepic texts as sources of evidence for EModE pronunciation, we can get a rough outline of generally how orthoepy changes over time. Setting aside what Dobson considers “minor sources”, the general pattern is that reform, particularly of spelling, is the primary function of this

scholarship in the sixteenth century and the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and then in the seventeenth century, phonetic description begins to appear.

The earlier scholarship often relies on multilingual comparison in order to illustrate sound qualities, particularly using Latin. The use of commonly taught sound qualities provide a solid point of reference for readers, provided they had a basic knowledge of Latin. This would certainly have kept the field of the audience quite narrow; literacy itself was limited, but knowledge of Latin would be more so. Women, for example, would be less likely to have the classical educational background to understand the texts as they were intended by the authors (Salmon 1999: 15–6). As mentioned in section 2.1.2, Latin pronunciation was affected by native English speech, but ultimately the reference to another language would likely prove a barrier to those without education in Latin.

In the seventeenth century, a form of articulatory phonetic description enters the scene. This is not exactly of the type we see in modern phonetics, but the descriptions of articulators making contact are a precursor to modern understanding; the articulators towards the front of the vocal tract are described in some detail, while those towards the back are less clearly defined by early modern writers, tending to simply be referred to as one unit and the sounds employing them as “guttural” (see e.g. Hume’s comments, Wheatley 1870: 18). There are also some descriptions of air flow, in the vein of modern manner of articulation. Theoretically, this could accommodate a slightly larger audience, as it does not rely on any knowledge of Latin, only the ability to read English and to understand (or rather, interpret) the descriptions given by the authors. The phonetically-inclined orthoepists often employ the three-category division of sounds found in Classical scholarship (see section 2.1.2), into vowels, semivowels, and mutes. This separation can sometimes be used as a structure for the order in which letters or sounds are discussed, but even when separated in this manner, sounds will typically be discussed in alphabetical order, a characteristic which spans across orthoepy in this time period.

These are only very general patterns, but the shift from reliance on Latin to articulatory phonetic descriptors seems to be an overall trend. Another is that there seems to be a slight shift from a focus on reforming spelling and pronunciation to a tendency to enforce a supposedly correct system of both. From about the mid-seventeenth century, orthoepists seem overall to let the notion of reform fall out of prominence, and to imply more that there is, to some extent, an established set of forms to employ. Discussion about reform and selecting optimal forms does not stop, but it seems to peter out. Earlier texts (from the

sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries) aim to establish what ‘correct’ spelling and speech is, while later texts (from the mid-seventeenth century) start to move into the more prescriptive ideas which would take off in the eighteenth century, as demonstrated by Mugglestone (1995). So, there appears to be a movement from selection towards codification (Haugen 1966: 933), though the selection process was not ‘complete’ as such.

Though there is certainly plenty of variation in how these texts are set up, there are common themes, including the shift from multilingual comparison to phonetic description (see section 2.1.1), the gradual embedding of ESEE into the role of being the ‘standard’ language (see section 2.3), and the heavy emphasis on Classical ideas and education (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3). Latin takes on a central role in many orthoepic texts, and the doctrine of *littera* is key to the understanding of orthoepists; spelling and sound is treated as inextricably linked. Every orthoepic text is, however, individual, and so handling the evidence presented in each of them regarding pronunciation – especially that of non-ESEE and Scots – requires individual approaches.

2.3 Orthoepy and the ‘standard’

I have briefly discussed the existence of a ‘standard’ English in the previous chapter and rejected the term in favour of ESEE (see section 1.4.1), but the idea bears further discussion as it relates to orthoepy. Despite the push for a standard form of the language at all levels, it is evident that in this period, there was no such thing as a ‘standard’ language, if that is taken to mean a form which is widely adopted, or generally perceived as the aspirational form. While orthoepists were promoting ESEE as the aspirational standard for both spelling and speech, it is not clear that this idea was adopted beyond small pockets of society. Certainly, from the perspective of this study, the two most important levels of language were not standardised: pronunciation and spelling. It seems that the push for a ‘standard’ form of English begins in the sixteenth century, or at least the written record of this idea begins in the sixteenth century as seen in the works of Peter Levins, John Baret, and Edmund Coote, for example. I have discussed some of the motivations behind this in section 2.1.1. Orthoepy, spelling reform, etc. is the most overt form of this standardising aim, and arguably the most prominent.

One notable feature of these works is the attention they pay to a specific dialect of the English language. The favoured basis of spelling and pronunciation is, for most of these writers, the usage of educated Londoners and those in the area surrounding the city,

including the universities in Oxford and Cambridge. As many of the orthoepists were Londoners who had attended these universities, they were in most cases promoting their own usage to some degree. Speakers of other dialects are often criticised by orthoepists. Sir Thomas Smith, for example, compares southerners with speakers north of the Trent, as well as scorning “country folk” (Salmon 1999:16). John Hart claimed that his phonetic alphabet would help “speakers of Lowland Scots ... and ... speakers of Welsh and Irish ... who all wanted to “improve” their accents” (Salmon 1994: 3). His model of pronunciation was the speech of educated Londoners (Salmon 1994: 3), so Hart was trying to impose the pronunciation of the south-east on speakers in other areas, and even in other countries such as Scotland and Ireland. He graciously allows that a speaker of another dialect might use their local system of spelling “to serue hys neyghbors” (Lass 1987: 67), but beyond this he is promoting the usage of the London area. George Puttenham’s *The Art of English Poesie* limits the scope of ‘good’ pronunciation to a sixty-mile radius around London (1589 [1970]: 157; section 1.2.1). Edmund Coote’s *The English Schoole-Maister*, originally published in 1596 but running into over fifty editions in later years, labels “the use of dialectal pronunciations as the chief source of spelling errors” (Dobson 1968: 34), and Alexander Gil in his *Logonomia Anglica* (1619) disparages pronunciations which were “provincial and vulgar” or “new-fangled and affected”, such as that of the “Mopsæ” (Lass 1999: 59), whom Gil describes rather snidely as being “our fashionable ladies” who “affect a thin voice” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103). Gil discusses the Mopsæ within his account of Eastern English, so it appears that these women were reasonably affluent individuals (if they were “fashionable”) living in or not far from the area producing ESEE. Kempe criticises women for misteaching children the language and its ‘proper’ use in 1558 (Salmon 1999: 17). Criticisms are aimed at women, the young, the poor, the uneducated, and those living outside of the capital.

Salmon (1999) discusses a few of the causes of standardisation in English, which are typically practical considerations, and two at least originate in the national distribution of the written word. Firstly, she points to the creation of organisations such as guilds and the Royal Chancery in the fifteenth century, which required documents to be sent around the country, and secondly to the introduction of print later in the same century (Salmon 1999: 15). A rivalry appears to have developed between orthoepists and printers, or at least the orthoepists and spelling reformers believed so. There are numerous examples of authors pushing for spelling reform and simultaneously criticising the orthographical choices made by printers. Alexander Hume, for example, criticises printers as well as writers for “caring for noe more arte then may win the pennie”, resulting in their refusal to “paen them-selves

to knau whither it be orthographie or skaiographie that doeth the turne” (Wheatley 1870: 2).

The lack of a standard form of spelling evidently produced some controversy, and has also meant that the use of spelling in print as evidence in historical linguistics comes with an additional set of problems; it is difficult to tell if a spelling represents the author’s choice or the printer’s. To some extent, these issues are lessened in the texts of orthoepists/spelling reformers, as the spelling in certain parts of their texts at least is central to their arguments, but it is still difficult to be certain. Between these two small groups, the drive for standardisation (at least in terms of orthography) was both practical and ideological. The printers were in a better position to create and develop conventions, as they oversaw the production of texts being distributed widely across society and their usages might influence their readers, but standardised spelling must have relied on education—and therefore the deliberate selection of preferred forms—too. Even if many of the orthoepists’ ideas of spelling reform were not successful, their general interest in a standard was taken on.

In terms of pronunciation, there certainly seems to have been other people who agreed with the orthoepists’ ideas of a ‘correct’ or ‘ideal’ pronunciation, as a handful of recorded comments from outside of the world of early modern vernacular linguistic scholarship show. Puttenham’s comment (see section 1.2.1) shows that he was one such figure, as this work is about poetry rather than language. This movement gained traction in the eighteenth century, for example, producing work by figures such as Thomas Sheridan, who was well known for promoting a ‘correct’ pronunciation to the point of lecturing on the subject (Mugglestone 1995: 19–21).

Despite the work carried out by the orthoepists, a ‘standard’ form of the language in the early modern period does not appear to exist even amongst these authors; there is considerable variation in the spelling systems of the orthoepists even when they are not employing their own proposed systems, let alone what could be said of pronunciation. Had the language been standardised at this point, it is probable that fewer of these texts would have been produced. Arguably, these texts could be seen as demonstrating a new awareness of the concept of a ‘standard’. Certainly, they do not demonstrate an established standard either in spelling or pronunciation, though they are pushing for just that. It is worth noting that, in her overview of the concept of an emerging phonological standard in English, Mugglestone (2026) focuses almost entirely on the eighteenth century and the

writers on ‘standard’ pronunciation. Authors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are treated as largely contextual. Commonly, the London variant is referred to in modern scholarly writing as ‘the standard’, although it was not truly established as such during this period, hence my use of the term ESEE for this form of language (see section 1.4.1).

It is effectively impossible to fully separate sound from spelling when handling orthoepic texts as a genre. Although several texts aim primarily to reform English spelling, they very often incorporate discussions about pronunciation. Likewise, it is highly unusual to find an early modern account of pronunciation which does not rely on spelling as a tool for description; sounds are related to letter forms. The doctrine of *littera*, outlined in 2.1.2, accounts for this, as sound and letter form are connected in the eyes of early modern scholars. I have already argued across this and the previous chapter that spelling reform aiming at standardisation, especially in scholarship that relies on the doctrine of *littera*, can imply a push to standardise pronunciation. If there is a direct mapping between sound and letter form, or *potestas* and *figura*, then it is possible (even probable) that orthoepists would be proposing a specific *potestas* for the *figura*, derived from ESEE in most cases. There is also the possibility that an orthoepist might allow for several realisations of the *potestas* to be associated with a *figura*, but the typical standard-focused mindset of orthoepy means that the number of *potestas* realisations an orthoepist would allow would be quite limited, and would result in an implied push for a ‘standard’ accent.

As orthoepists were typically promoting a ‘standard’ form of the language, non-ESEE evidence is likely to be limited due to a perception of these dialects’ inferiority. In what are typically quite short publications, it would make little sense for an author to occupy much space with linguistic features they were dismissing as ‘incorrect’ or unfavourable, which likely feeds into the limited occurrences of non-ESEE features at least as far as intentional evidence goes, with most of the space in these publications being occupied by ESEE features. Orthoepy, spelling reform, and early modern vernacular linguistic scholarship arguably begins the long-standing focus on ESEE in scholarship. It certainly seems that there is a consistent thread through almost five hundred years, in which the early modern period is treated as having a standard or almost standard pronunciation and that other accents are irrelevant, not simply from the mid-nineteenth century (as in section 1.2.2). The standardising focus of these early modern texts is perhaps part of the reason why, for so long, scholarship on EModE pronunciation and orthography has leaned so heavily on ESEE, the ‘standard’ form; it is as if the advent of this interest in such a useful source for phonology and orthography is the start of a thread throughout centuries of scholarship on

these features in this period. With orthoepy being such a key source in the study of EModE phonology and orthography, the standardising focus in EModE orthoepy, coupled with the knowledge of later scholars about the standardisation of English, could produce this modern scholarly preoccupation with an Early Modern ‘standard’.

Scots seems to occupy a different role in the eyes of early modern orthoepists. It is not common for Scots speakers to be mentioned as part of an orthoepist’s intended audience, at least explicitly. There are certainly some who do mention Scots speakers; John Hart, for example, includes Scots speakers as a group for whom his phonetic alphabet could be helpful in improving their accents, alongside the Welsh and the Irish (Salmon 1994: 3). Alexander Hume also pays significant attention to Scots and speakers of Scots, as his *Orthographie* (c.1617) is intended to handle English and Scots together, standardising both. Otherwise, Scots seems to receive little attention as far as standardisation or ‘correction’ goes. This in some cases could be due to a view that Scots is a separate entity to English, but in other cases it may be that Hart’s handling of Scots is demonstrative of why it is infrequently mentioned. Salmon (1994: 3) points out that the Welsh and the Irish are treated as bilingual by Hart in Welsh or Irish and in English. The Scots, however, he treats as monolingual English speakers (Salmon 1994: 3). To Hart, Scots is not a separate language, but rather another dialect of English which is to be ‘corrected’ under the rules of ESEE. It may be that other orthoepists share this view, leading to a lack of commentary on the standardisation of Scots specifically. The position of Scots will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

2.4 Orthoepy as evidence for ESEE pronunciation

The value of orthoepy as evidence for pronunciation is, perhaps, most easily demonstrated by Dobson’s work (1968). Minkova (2014: 23) gives a succinct assessment of the use of orthoepic works in the analysis of historical phonology: “Their detailed comparisons with Latin, French and Italian and the attempts at phonetic description, albeit imperfect and open to different interpretations, provide a better record of contemporary variation than any of the previous sources”. These writers’ reliance on the doctrine of *littera* has its uses, as demonstrated in 2.1.3. The idea of a direct connection of sound to symbol results in the phonographic spelling seen in many of these writers’ works, which we can use (with care) to understand the way they perceived the sounds they were hearing and analysing. The role of orthoepy in the study of historical English phonology can be seen in section 1.2. The study of ESEE pronunciation is the primary beneficiary of the use of orthoepy as a source

because most orthoepists promote ESEE speech and spelling as the ideal form to use as a standard, and they are usually speakers of ESEE themselves.

Some of these writers provide fairly systematic phonetic analyses at a level not seen in the English language before their time, and their use of other languages as reference points gives us a framework to understand (to a degree) their comments on the pronunciation of English. While we must of course employ these comments and descriptions with some caution – though Hart is often regarded as an exceptional phonetician (Lass 1999: 60, Salmon 1994: 3), this cannot be said of all orthoepists—modern linguists will often employ the orthoepists’ commentary and their numerous example words as evidence (see section 1.2). Their work is often used to trace sound developments forward from ME—how is a given ME vowel demonstrated in the texts of these writers? Does the use of a phonetic spelling system equate that ME vowel with another ME vowel? Is that ME vowel described as similar to a Latin or French vowel that we have an established value for? Though these descriptions are, as Minkova (2014: 23) points out, not always easy to interpret, they provide a significant amount of material for us to work with. We cannot, of course, reconstruct the phonological situation of the period solely from these works, but they add another dimension to our enquiries beyond the use of, for example, the analysis of spellings or rhyme schemes.

2.5 Materials and methods

2.5.1 Source materials

Despite the fact that orthoepic texts typically demonstrate ESEE speech, and are used as evidence for the reconstruction of ESEE, these works are not only useful in the study of this favoured accent. It is possible to extract non-ESEE and Scots features from orthoepic texts, though this evidence occurs less frequently than that for ESEE features. This evidence is presented in different ways by the authors in question, both intentionally and unintentionally, and one of the aims of this study is to examine the various evidence types available for the study of non-ESEE and Scots speech in these works.

Though in section 1.2.1 I stated that typically orthoepists would focus on ESEE speech and write quite dismissively about other varieties, some authors took a slightly different view of certain varieties. Alexander Hume is one notable example; while Hart celebrates the potential for his spelling system to ‘improve’ the accents of the Scots, Welsh, and Irish (see section 4.4), Hume would prefer to combine the pronunciations found in Scotland and

in England (presumably somewhere in the south) into a new pronunciation system to be used across both nations. Hume values the pronunciation of Scots as much as he values the pronunciation of southern English, and selects features based on what he views as the most logical grounds (see section 3.4 for more on Hume).

The dialect of the North of England also receives some more positive attention from certain writers. Though, as we have seen, it was often criticised, there are some writers who value the northern dialect for its literary potential. This particular dialect, Alexander Gil stated, was a “purer” and “older” form of the language, and when used in what they considered an appropriate manner (which seems to be sparingly) it could be an excellent dialect to use for poetry (Görlach 1999: 485; see section 3.8 for Gil on Northern English). Besides these comments, Ruano-García points out that in early modern literature, “the North was usually rendered as an old, uncorrupted, remote and plain dialect embodied in the persona of a simple, frank, honest northerner that was portrayed as appealing too” (Ruano-García 2020: 191). This is, of course, very limited in the way of a positive attitude towards Northern speech, and many writers simply scorn it or ignore it, but as Ruano-García points out, it at least fares better than the speech of the South-West (2020: 191).

Though there is some positive attention paid to non-ESEE and Scots speech, much of the orthoepists’ commentary does lean towards the negative. Gil may be positively inclined towards Northern English, but he is less so towards other dialects; he states, for example, that Western English “has the most barbarous flavour” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103). These negative comments are as important as the positive ones. There are also plenty of comments which make no value judgement but simply observe variation. Owen Price (1668 [1972]: 16) notes that “...the Welch, & Scots do fill pronounce gh, thorow the throat”. He appears unperturbed by this variant, either to promote it or to condemn it. These texts have a significant bent towards a ‘standard’ and against variation as a whole, so the range of value judgements displayed is quite interesting. Chapter 5 of this study will investigate the sorts of value judgements made by these authors, and question if there are any patterns which can be observed amongst them. Northern English, as we have seen, is noted to have received some more positive attention from some authors, but what else can be observed about attitudes towards non-ESEE varieties? Are some seen as more acceptable than others? What factors may affect this?

Besides explicit commentary on variation, some of these authors provide us with evidence for non-ESEE simply from their own usages. It can be tempting to assume a focus on

ESEE in orthoepy as we look back, given that these texts tend to promote a ‘standard’ and ESEE is what took on that role, and therefore that this is what the authors are using, but this is not always the case. Some authors provide evidence for non-ESEE and Scots unintentionally.

One interesting additional factor regarding the evidence of non-ESEE and Scots pronunciation in these texts is the impact of witness types. Some of these authors would be non-ESEE or Scots speakers themselves, so these I count as ‘first-hand’ witnesses. Their evidence comes from within non-ESEE dialects and Scots, with these authors effectively demonstrating their own usage. Other authors I describe as ‘second-hand’ witnesses. They are ESEE speakers, native to the South-East and apparently promoting their own variety of English. Their evidence is more external, coming from commentary made on specific variants.

These two types of witnesses provide us with differing types of evidence, so they will be treated separately in this study. While the second-hand witnesses exclusively provide evidence through explicit commentary on variation, the first-hand witnesses provide more of a range of evidence types. This can include explicit commentary on variation, but there are other evidence types to be found too, including orthographic choices, phonetic or phonemic descriptions varying from the ‘standard’, and multilingual comparisons. The first-hand and second-hand witnesses will be examined separately in this study, in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively. In Chapter 3, the sources are grouped firstly by geography, and within these groups they are then ordered chronologically. Chapter 4 begins with Alexander Gil as a second-hand witness, whose evidence as a first-hand witness ends Chapter 3. Then I move on to Sir Thomas Smith, whose status as a second-hand witness is slightly more complex than the other authors in the remainder of the chapter. John Hart and John Wallis follow as second-hand witnesses whose works are traditionally considered major sources, and Daines ends the chapter as a ‘minor’ source (see Dobson 1968 and his categorisation of sources).

Chapter 3, first-hand witnesses:

- Section 3.2: William Salesbury, *Dictionary in Welshe and Englyshe*, 1547; *Brief and Playne Introduction*, 1550. (Wales).

- Section 3.3: Owen Price, *The Vocal Organ*, 1665; *English Orthography*, 1668. (Wales).
- Section 3.4: Alexander Hume, *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue*, c.1617. (Scotland).
- Section 3.5: George Ridpath, *Shorthand Yet Shorter*, 1687. (Scotland).
- Section 3.6: Peter Levins, *Manipulus vocabulorum*, 1570. (Northern England).
- Section 3.7: Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie*, 1582. (Northern England).
- Section 3.8: Alexander Gil, *Logonomia anglica*, 1619. (Northern England).

Chapter 4, second-hand witnesses:

- Section 4.2: Alexander Gil, *Logonomia anglica*, 1619.
- Section 4.3: Sir Thomas Smith, *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*, 1568.
- Section 4.4: John Hart, *The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our inglish toung*, 1551; *An Orthographie*, 1569; *A Methode or comfortable beginning for all unlearned, whereby they may be taught to read English*, 1570.
- Section 4.5: John Wallis, *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* and *Tractatus de loquela*, 1653–1765.
- Section 4.6: Simon Daines, *Orthoepia anglicana*, 1640.

It is worth making one brief note on George Ridpath, whose work on shorthand is used in this study (section 3.5). This text is not an orthoepic work in the traditional sense, but it does have value for this study in a similar way to orthoepic works. The connection between spelling and pronunciation is important in his work, as in the work of all of the other early linguistic scholars discussed in this study. He relies on phonographic representation to a point in his shorthand system. William Salesbury's works are not orthoepic in the

traditional sense either, being designed to teach the reader another language, but he describes the sounds of English and Welsh in the same way that the orthoepists do, hence his inclusion in this study (see section 3.2).

Many of the texts that I have used in this study exist in facsimile reprints of the original publications. These reprints preserve the original format of the texts, including (crucially) their spellings. This is the case for Salesbury's *Dictionary*, both of Price's texts, Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, and Daines' *Orthoepia anglicana*. For two other texts, I have been able to see the original texts: Ridpath's *Shorthand Yet Shorter* (1687), and the manuscript of Hume's *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue* (c.1617, Royal MS 17 A XI). With the latter, I have been able to establish the accuracy of Henry B. Wheatley's edition of Hume's original text (Wheatley 1870). This edition is from the Early English Text Society's collection, and another of these is Peter Levins' *Manipulus vocabulorum* (Wheatley 1867). I have also used an edition of Hart's collected works by Danielsson (1955). Finally, there are a couple of texts which are originally in Latin and Welsh, for which I have had to use translations. For Salesbury's *Introduction* I have used the translation in Ellis (1871), for Gil's *Logonomia anglica* I have used the translation by Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b), and for Wallis' work I have used the translation by Kemp (1972). So, it has not been possible for me to employ the original formats of all of my sources, but I have kept to the originals as much as possible.

2.5.2 Methods

There is a significant amount of variation in the way these sources provide evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech, which necessitates a variety of methods to tease out the information. These are often specific to the author, and there is no one system in place beyond simply keeping an open mind about how the authors may present the evidence. Though Dobson provides little in the way of methodological details in his study of such materials, he does make it clear that the individuality of the texts is a key feature of the first volume (1968: viii). This is likewise the case in this study. General qualitative analysis is required in this study, paying attention to how sounds are described by different authors, if and how they record variation between accents, and what their orthographic choices could imply. This is primarily an exercise in close reading, seeking potential evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech on a range of fronts. I have sought out any explicit mention of non-ESEE or Scots accents in each text, which is the most straightforward form of evidence to uncover. These comments can appear in any of the sources used in this thesis,

whether they were written by first- or second-hand witnesses. Besides reference to other researchers' analysis of these comments and of non-ESEE and Scots variants, analysing these comments from orthoepists can require interpreting the authors' phonetic descriptions (e.g. what might an author mean by 'guttural'; see section 3.4), or referring to ESEE phonology if such sounds are mentioned by the author. Hickey raises the question of "fidelity of dialect representation" in the study of 'non-standard' English, stating that a text may only be reliable as a source if it is a "faithful rendering" of the variety it is meant to represent (2010: 8). In the case of the orthoepists' direct commentary on non-ESEE or Scots accents, this is not a question with which I am concerned; faithful or not, the features put forward are explicitly designated as non-ESEE or Scots, and therefore must be approached as such.

The first-hand witnesses demonstrate non-ESEE and Scots speech in other ways, however, which typically require more investigation. Multilingual comparisons can also be straightforward, if the comparisons are between English and Scots; this can also be interpreted as the sort of explicit commentary mentioned previously. Comparisons between English and other languages, however, can be more difficult to interpret. Where these comparisons are made, I have considered what sound values can be expected in ESEE and in the other language(s) of comparison, seeking any discrepancies and questioning why they might exist. This is particularly important for interpreting the work of Salesbury (see section 3.2), whose comparisons between Welsh and English sounds can be used to suggest certain variants appearing in EMod Welsh English.

Spellings also play a major role as evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech in the works of the first-hand witnesses. I have, while reading the sources for Chapter 3, made note of any spellings which are known to be conventional representations of non-ESEE or Scots speech, or which might possibly depart from the bank of conventional EModE spellings. I then sought out these spellings (or similar spellings) in a series of secondary sources to investigate their origins and their potential as representatives of non-ESEE or Scots speech. To do this I have primarily used the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL), Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* (1905), and Early English Books Online (EEBO).

I have made reference in Chapters 3 and 4 to notes on non-ESEE and Scots pronunciations made by several scholars to whose work I have made reference in Chapter 1, particularly where they discuss orthoepists and non-ESEE or Scots speech. Mainly, I have made

reference to Dobson's *English Pronunciation 1500–1700* (1968) in these cases. Dobson's work was the catalyst for my decision to undertake this study, as while reading some of his discussions of orthoepists, I found that his comments on non-standard speech deserved significant reconsideration. With regards to the Scottish author Alexander Hume, for example, Dobson seems to forget that Hume's intention is to find a middle ground of sorts between Southern English and Scots (see section 3.4), and his treatment of Hume is accordingly dismissive. I have in other places found that I disagree with Dobson's (1968) interpretation of possible non-ESEE or Scots evidence (see Levins in section 3.6, for example). In a sense, this study operates as a counterpart to Dobson (1968), addressing the same source type from the perspective in which Dobson was uninterested.

There is no intention with this study to suggest that we can reconstruct entire non-ESEE or Scots accents from these sources. As has been noted in both Chapter 1 and above in the present chapter, these texts are primarily concerned with ESEE, so there are limitations on their uses for reconstructing non-ESEE and Scots accents. Reconstruction is not, however, the primary aim of this study. The intention of this study is to investigate how variation is shown in orthoepic texts, which is the primary aim of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Therefore the faithfulness of any representation is less important than both the fact that it *is* represented, and the questions of *what* is represented and *how*.

Chapter 5 will discuss the non-ESEE and Scots features which appear most commonly in the texts examined in Chapters 3 and 4, and the different ways in which they are demonstrated by different authors. This will demonstrate what features are most often observed by orthoepists, and also what features appear in their own usages if they are non-ESEE or Scots speakers. In Chapter 5, I will discuss overall trends and attitudes found in the sources towards accents or isolated features of speech other than the 'standard', and how these attitudes can vary accent to accent.

It must also be noted that there is material in some of these texts which is ambiguous. In Chapters 3 and 4, where I analyse the material present in orthoepic texts for non-ESEE and Scots accents, some examples are drawn out which *may* demonstrate variation, but may be the result of other factors, such as typesetting errors. Though some of the possible evidence cannot be definitively marked as non-ESEE or Scots features, I have included them as I believe it is important to at least note the possibility of variation; they may open routes for further study.

3 First-hand witnesses

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the evidence for non-ESEE and Scots pronunciation provided in the work of first-hand witnesses. As described in section 2.5.1, the first-hand witnesses are the authors who were themselves speakers of non-ESEE or Scots, or at least lived in and were surrounded by communities of non-ESEE or Scots speakers. The authors whose sources will be examined in this chapter correspond to three broad areas: Wales, Scotland, and the North of England.

Wales

Section 3.2: William Salesbury, *Dictionary in Welshe and Englyshe*, 1547; *Brief and Playne Introduction*, 1550.

Section 3.3: Owen Price, *The Vocal Organ*, 1665; *English Orthography*, 1668.

Scotland

Section 3.4: Alexander Hume, *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue*, c.1617.

Section 3.5: George Ridpath, *Shorthand Yet Shorter*, 1687.

North of England

Section 3.6: Peter Levins, *Manipulus vocabulorum*, 1570.

Section 3.7: Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie*, 1582.

Section 3.8: Alexander Gil, *Logonomia anglica*, 1619.

The basic initial strategy employed for drawing evidence from these texts is simply to keep an open mind about what could constitute evidence of non-ESEE or Scots speech, as part of the point of this study is to examine how these writers demonstrate variation, not just that they do so and what features they illustrate variation in. These texts vary in structure and content to a sufficient extent that finding this sort of information in them is individual to the author, requiring an exploratory, data-driven approach to uncover evidence of non-ESEE or Scots speech. These first-hand witness authors are the writers whose evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech is recorded in a multitude of ways, including direct commentary on variation, spelling choices, and multilingual comparisons, and it is difficult to know exactly what kind, or kinds, of evidence will be available in a text in advance (see

section 2.5). So, while reading through these texts, I have made note of any instance of these evidence types, or of just possible instances (particularly in relation to spelling choices) which might reveal features of non-ESEE or Scots speech, and investigated their potential as evidence with the use of secondary literature as found in section 1.2.2, and in sources such as the OED and the DSL as discussed in section 2.5.2.

Each author will be investigated individually in a separate section, arranged first by location and then by their publishing timeframe. Where an author has published multiple useful texts, these will be considered together in order to collate similar evidence from across the author's body of work. The biographical details for each author are included to outline the context in which they were writing and the factors which may have influenced them, in particular their family and community backgrounds, their education, and their professional lives and connections. The nature of each text is also described.

3.2 William Salesbury

3.2.1 Biography of William Salesbury

William Salesbury's life has been recounted in some depth by Jones (1994; 2004). William Salesbury was born before 1520, in Llansannan, Denbighshire. All that is really known of his early life is that he spent some time in Lancashire as a child, and had moved to Llanrwst by 1540. Jones (1994: 3) notes particularly that there is nothing known about Salesbury's education – he might have attended school in Lancashire, or he might have been educated in Wales, perhaps under the tutelage of an educated Welsh clergyman. He attended Oxford (it is not clear when), and his interest in Protestantism was probably founded there, but there is no record that he took a degree at the university. He is known to have gone to Thavies Inn, one of the inns of court, in 1550, the year in which he was serving the Lord Chancellor. He spent some time in London supervising the printing of some of his written works. During Mary I's reign he was likely back in Llanrwst – a sensible move as a devoted Protestant during England and Wales' official return to Catholicism – and he was in Abergwili, Carmarthenshire, between 1564 and 1566. It is unknown when exactly he died, but Jones (1994: 11) places the date around 1580.

Salesbury's written output was largely religious, but did include two language-based works: his *Dictionary in Welshe and Englyshe* in 1547 and his *Brief and Playne Introduction* in 1550 (revised in 1567). He was well-known for his abilities in numerous languages, with Sir Thomas Wiliems saying of him in 1574 that he “is the most learned

Briton not only in British, but also in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, German, and other languages” (Jones 1994: 7). He also translated numerous texts into English and into Welsh. Notably, he translated several religious texts into Welsh, promoting his native language as a vehicle for the Protestant faith alongside figures such as Richard Davies. Salesbury translated the gospels and epistles into Welsh for use in Sunday communion services and feast days, as well as being involved in the translation of the prayer book and the New Testament. Jones (1994: 11) refers to Salesbury as “the ear and mouthpiece of the Renaissance and Reformation in Wales” for three decades, and notes that “[t]he mechanics of language were of vital interest to William Salesbury” (1994: 32).

3.2.2 Salesbury’s *Dictionary* and *Briefe and Playne Introduction*

This study will use two of Salesbury’s texts to investigate Early Modern Welsh English speech: the *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (1547), and the *Briefe and playne introduction* (1550). Both of these texts are bilingual texts, designed to help with language-learning (as noted in section 2.5.1, this work is not strictly orthoepic, but exists in a very similar tradition).

Salesbury’s *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* was published in London in 1547. Salesbury’s intention was to aid Welsh speakers in learning English, and so some of the discursive sections of this text are written in Welsh. The present study will primarily use the translation found in Ellis (1871). The *Dictionary* is dedicated to Henry VIII, and the dedication (written in English, presumably for the benefit of the dedicatee and to demonstrate Salesbury’s interest in the language) discusses the law that the King passed to ensure the use of the same laws and language across both England and Wales. This was part of the ‘Acts of Union’ of 1536/1543, which formally annexed Wales to England and instituted English as the language of office (see section 1.1). Salesbury also explains his intentions in writing this dictionary, and praises the idea that English should be used in Wales; he states that the use of one language would produce “bonde and knotte of loue and frendshyppe” (Salesbury 1547 [1969]: 2r). It is also noted in the address to the reader (written in Welsh, as the remainder of the text is) that the King’s approval was given to this text. In this address, he also makes a few notes on the pronunciation of English for the benefit of his Welsh readers, particularly regarding the use of K, G, T, D, B, and V. He also notes certain spoken contracted forms (*godbiwio* for ‘God be with you’), and the variation seen in the pronunciation of <-ow(e)> (Salesbury 1547 [1969]: 4v; Ellis 1871: 773).

The next section of the text, a translation of which is provided in Ellis³ (1871: 768–87) from the original Welsh, outlines the types of ‘letters’ and discusses the pronunciation of each in English. This discussion is carried out in alphabetical order, with the addition of several consonant digraphs, e.g. <ll>, <sh>, <th>. Salesbury refers to various other languages in his descriptions: Welsh, of course, but also Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and German. The translation in Ellis (1871) provides transcriptions of what he perceives as the pronunciation described by Salesbury in his example words, but his conventions are (naturally) from the nineteenth century and it is unclear exactly how he has developed his transcriptions. Salesbury makes a few notes on “provincialisms”, and certain contracted written forms (e.g. <yt>) (Ellis 1871: 768–87). After this, he provides his Welsh-English dictionary, which makes up the remainder of the text.

The full title of the second text, the *Briefe and playne introduction*, is *A briefe and playne introduction, teachyng how to pronounce the letters in the British tong, (now cōmenly called Walsh) wherby an English man shal not only [with] ease read the said tong rightly: but markyng [the] same wel, it shal be a meauē for him with one labour and diligence to attaine to the true and natural pronunciation of other expediente and most excellentē languages*. It was printed in London in 1550, and came about, according to Salesbury, due to interest in the Welsh language from a number of people, including Englishmen who commonly traded with the Welsh, and Welshmen who had not learned the language of their homeland (Salesbury 1550 [1969]: 2v). He notes that he has previously written for the Welsh on how to pronounce English, and now he is turning his attention to the pronunciation of Welsh for an English-speaking audience (Salesbury 1550 [1969]: 3r–v).

Again, Salesbury discusses the pronunciation of ‘letters’, this time as they appear in Welsh, in relation to Latin and to English. As for the *Dictionary*, this is done alphabetically with the addition of some consonant digraphs. In the *Introduction*, he also includes sections regarding English words that demonstrate the ‘Welsh’ pronunciation of certain letters, and English words that are pronounced ‘most unlikely’ to the Welsh pronunciation. This text will be of less use in this study than the *Dictionary* due to its focus on Welsh instead of English, but it will be helpful when used in conjunction with information from the *Dictionary*.

³ Ellis did not translate this himself. The translation he has in his work “was kindly made by Mr. E. Jones, of the Hibernian Schools, Liverpool, and obligingly revised by Dr. Benjamin Davies, of Regent’s Park College, London, one of the Council of the Philological Society” (Ellis 1871: 769).

3.2.3 Salesbury's work as evidence for non-ESEE speech

These two texts by Salesbury will be used together to investigate the possibilities of a Welsh speaker's native influence on their pronunciation of English, though as mentioned above, the *Dictionary* is the text of primary concern as it comments on English.

Salesbury's explanations of sounds rely on multilingual comparison, usually between Welsh and English. He relies on the letter forms as the primary reference point, and as the organisational basis of both texts: they are structured in alphabetical order, with Salesbury referring to the sound values as they are associated with certain letters or combinations of letters. This is the conventional method at this time (see the discussion of the doctrine of *littera* in sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3). There is no phonetic description of sounds relying on an understanding of the vocal tract and the way it functions; this method tends to appear in later texts as is noted in section 2.2.

These texts can be used in this study to examine a potential Early Modern Welsh English accent. Salesbury compares and describes Welsh and English sounds, providing an opportunity to examine how a native Welsh speaker might interpret English sounds. It is therefore possible to hypothesise on how a native Welsh speaker might pronounce certain English sounds themselves. For example, if Salesbury states that a Welsh sound is the same as an English sound, and the independent information on reconstructed pronunciations for both languages corroborates this, then we can assume that there is very little to no difference between the English of native speakers and Welsh English for that sound. If, however, the reconstructed pronunciations of the two languages do not corroborate this statement, then the question would arise—in what way would a Welsh English speaker pronounce the English sound? Might they adopt the English sound as it was, or might there be interference from their native language? Furthermore, where Salesbury notes differences between the two languages, for example an English sound which does not exist in Welsh, the strategies that he employs may aid in estimating what the unfamiliar sound might sound like to a Welsh speaker and how this could affect their own English pronunciation. The implications of Salesbury's work on the study of a Welsh English accent have previously gone unstudied; Dobson (1968) for example shows no interest in how Salesbury might indicate features of a Welsh English accent. Though he does spend some time discussing potential 'dialectalisms' in Salesbury's work, these all relate to accents from England, usually the West.

There are several difficulties in working with Salesbury's texts to investigate Early Modern Welsh speech. The question of what dialects Salesbury is discussing in either text is one which really has no concrete answer; he never specifies. It seems to be assumed in most studies involving Salesbury's work that he is discussing ESEE. Given the time he spent in London and Oxford, around educated speakers, this seems to be a fair assumption, and therefore ESEE pronunciation will be used as the basis for Salesbury's English sounds. This is something that, however, should be approached with some caution, as Salesbury's work comes before any work of orthoepy promoting ESEE as the 'standard' accent (see section 2.3), so that ideological basis is less sound as far as Salesbury is concerned. Regarding Welsh, it seems likely that Salesbury would have relied on a northern dialect of the language, as a native of northern Wales. Though he did spend two years in Abergwili in the south of Wales, this did not happen until after the initial publications of the texts in use here. Relying on northern dialects of Welsh seems reasonable under these circumstances, but it should be borne in mind that Salesbury would likely have been familiar to some unknown extent with southern dialects. The impact of the English counties bordering with Wales is also not apparent from Salesbury's work; he makes no mention of them from a linguistic perspective. Other accounts of historical and modern Welsh English have discussed some impact on the dialect(s) from the west of England (e.g. Awbery 1997: 87–9), due to factors like trade and English settlements which wiped out the use of Welsh, but this appears to be absent from Salesbury's work. It would be difficult to bring in this perspective to the present study in any case; the more limited amount of work on non-ESEE dialects in England, being a key factor in the very existence of this study, means that there is little information on western English dialects to bring into this equation.

3.2.4 Evidence of a potential Early Modern Welsh English accent in Salesbury's work

Salesbury's work provides a handful of examples of possible differences between ESEE and a Welsh English pronunciation. Mostly, this involves consonants. Salesbury demonstrates potential differences in the pronunciation in English of voiced plosives, the voiceless postalveolar fricative, and the postalveolar affricates.

When theatrical representations of Welsh English speakers are discussed in modern scholarship, the devoicing of the voiced plosives tends to be the first point raised (see section 1.2.4). The voiced plosives /b d g/ are shown as being devoiced to /p t k/ in certain positions. It is a prominent feature amongst theatrical representations of Welsh English;

Blank calls it the most common distinguishing phonological feature of a Welsh character (1996: 134). Thomas Dekker’s *Welsh Ambassador*, though actually an Englishman pretending to be Welsh, says *prave* for *brave*, and Sir Hugh Evans of Shakespeare’s *Merry Wives of Windsor* says *ort* for *word*. It appears that this devoicing, at least in the theatrical accent, can occur word-initially and word-finally.

This stems from the devoicing of plosives in Welsh phonology. Hannahs (2013: 15) demonstrates this process, as shown in Table 1:

	/b/	/d/	/g/
Initial	[ˈb̥ara] <i>bara</i> ‘bread’	[d̥im] <i>dim</i> ‘nothing’	[g̥lo:] <i>glo</i> ‘coal’
Final	[heb̥] <i>heb</i> ‘without’	[ha:d̥] <i>had</i> ‘seed’	[ˈheɔ̥g̥] <i>hebog</i> ‘hawk’
After [s]	[sb̥ɔn] <i>sbon</i> ‘brand new’	[sd̥ɛ:n] <i>stên</i> ‘pitcher’	[sg̥rɛ:χ] <i>sgrech</i> ‘shriek’
Medial	[ˈk̥riβ̥] <i>cribo</i> ‘to comb’	[ˈnadi] <i>nadu</i> ‘howl’	[ˈnɛgɛs] <i>neges</i> ‘message’

Table 1: Welsh devoicing of voiced plosives (Hannahs 2013: 15)

In the *Dictionary* (1547 [1969]: 6r, 6v, 7v), Salesbury describes the letters B, D, and G as being pronounced identically in English and Welsh:

(1) “**B** in English and *b* in Welsh have the same sound, as in these words:

BABE *baab*...”

“**D** in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers, as may be understood in these words from the two languages: DUKE *duwk* ... *duc*”.

“**G** ... in English before A, O, U, and sometimes before E and Y is not distinguished from *g* Welsh ... thus GALAUNT *galawnt*”.

(Salesbury 1547, translation in Ellis 1871: 775–9).

Theoretically, this would indicate the voiced plosives as they are heard in English.

However, as we can see from Hannahs (2013: 15) above, in most positions, Welsh voiced stops are in fact devoiced: word-initially, word-finally, and after /s/. Salesbury (1547

[1969]) makes no comment on the devoicing, which implies that he might not have perceived the difference in the way that an English hearer would (and, as shown by the theatrical representations, they did perceive this difference). Salesbury is a notable linguist from this period, as seen in Wiliems' comment in section 3.2.1 and his explanations of sounds are very specific. Therefore, it may be suggested that—as a linguistically knowledgeable native Welsh speaker does not notice the devoiced allophones—other Welsh speakers learning English in this period may continue to use their Welsh devoiced plosives in their English speech because they are not aware of the difference. Devoicing is not mentioned in the *Introduction* (1550 [1969]) either in Salesbury's account of Welsh sounds; there, Salesbury focuses on initial consonant mutation, which is a different process. Here, a potential set of features in Early Modern Welsh English are demonstrated not by an explicit comment by a linguistic scholar, but rather by a noticeable lack of discussion of a phenomenon observable both in bilingual comparison and material from dialect observers instead of speakers—or, by second-hand witnesses instead of first-hand witnesses (see section 2.5.1).

Salesbury is more direct on the subject of the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. It seems that the affricates in question were not used in Welsh at this point. Hannahs (2013: 15–6) states that they enter Welsh through loanwords from English, or as a development from the palatalisation of the alveolar plosives preceding a high front vowel. The affricates are not mentioned by Willis (2009) as part of Welsh phonology up to 1500. Salesbury's descriptions indicate that this had not changed in the following fifty years, as his discussions of the relevant letters deviate from his typical multilingual comparisons.

Salesbury's descriptions of the affricates rely on his account of the voiceless postalveolar fricative, /ʃ/, under <sh>. This sound was apparently in some use in Welsh in the Early Modern period, but it is described by Willis (2009: 127) as being “a Middle Welsh innovation”. Salesbury's description of the sound associated with <sh> is:

(2) “**Sh** when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination *ssi*, thus SHAPE *ssiapp* ..., SHEPE *ssiip*...

SH coming after a vowel is pronounced *iss*, thus ASSHE *aiss* ... And wherever it is met with it hisses, like a roused serpent, not unlike the Hebrew letter called *schin* .*ש* And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish

when they begin to boil. Take this as an homely illustration lest you may not all be able to find an English tongue at hand to instruct you.”

(Salesbury 1547, translation in Ellis 1871: 783).

Salesbury uses several different methods to explain to a Welsh reader what this sound is. The use of <iss> and <ssi> spellings, combined with the reference to Hebrew, boiling shellfish, and angry snakes, with a final suggestion of finding a native English speaker, all suggest that Welsh speakers learning English could have trouble with the English /ʃ/ sound. Willis (2009) does not specify at what point in the Middle Welsh period this sound enters the language’s inventory, but between this and the manner in which Salesbury describes the sound in example (2), it seems that there would still have been a degree of unfamiliarity with /ʃ/ on the part of at least some Welsh speakers. Blank (1996: 135; see section 1.2.4) shows some evidence from Early Modern plays where Welsh characters replace the postalveolar fricative with an alveolar /s/, but she does also show the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ in some other positions, including as a replacement for other sounds. For example, <Welse> is seen for *Welsh* in Dekker’s *The Welsh Ambassador* (1642), but we also find <Shesu> for *Jesu* as “common in Anglo-Welsh oaths” (Blank 1996: 135). It seems that the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ could be used by some speakers of Early Modern Welsh and EMod Welsh English, but other speakers may have been unfamiliar with the sound and so demonstrate something more along the lines of the alveolar fricative /s/. Salesbury’s use of alternative descriptions and more creative spellings suggests some difficulty in conveying the sound to his audience.

Salesbury relies on the <si> spelling which he employs to describe /ʃ/ to support his comments on the postalveolar affricates. Firstly, the voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ is described under <ch>. Though it appears in the *Dictionary* before <sh>, a reader would likely see the connection between the two. Salesbury’s description of the voiceless affricate is quite short:

(3) “**Ch** is not at all like in English and in Welsh. And there are not in Welsh any letter or letters which correctly represent it, but the sound of *tsi* ... is as like it as brass is to gold, as in the following word CHURCHE *tsurts*”.

(Salesbury 1547, translation in Ellis 1871: 775)

Salesbury is consistent with his <si> spelling for the /ʃ/ sound, both in isolation and as the second part of the affricate. To carry through the implications found in the discussion of

the pronunciation of <sh> in example (2), it may be inferred that there would likewise be variation between the postalveolar and the alveolar in the affricate: /tʃ/ and /ts/, possibly. To some extent this is supported by theatrical evidence; though Blank (1996: 134–5) states that this affricate often becomes the fricatives /s/ or /ʃ/ in theatrical representations of Welsh English, the variation between alveolar and postalveolar is demonstrated (see section 1.2.4). While Salesbury refers to the <tsi> pronunciation as being “as like [the pronunciation of <ch>] as brass to gold” (Salesbury 1547, translation in Ellis 1871: 775), the connection between the two spellings, and apparently between the alveolar and the postalveolar sounds, is clearly drawn.

Finally, the voiced postalveolar affricate /dʒ/ is described primarily under <g>:

(4) “G is sounded in English very similar to CH, so similar indeed that Englishmen not well educated write the one for the other, as in the word CHURGE for CHURCHE *tsiurts* ... when G comes before E, I, or Y, it is sounded as CH in English”.

(Salesbury 1547, translation in Ellis 1871: 779)

There is no voicing indicated in Salesbury’s description. The voiced fricative, /ʒ/, does not appear in Welsh, so a voiceless (or at least partially devoiced) alternative seems like the logical realisation. As to the first element, the plosive element /d/, perhaps the apparent voicelessness there stems from the voicelessness of the second element, or perhaps it has some influence from the devoicing of plosives discussed at the beginning of this section and demonstrated by Hannahs (2013: 15; see Table 1). Ultimately, it appears that the Welsh English version of the voiced postalveolar affricate would be similar or identical to the outcome of its voiceless counterpart: /ts/ or /tʃ/. Blank (1996: 134–5) also indicates that the voiced affricate falls together with the voiceless in theatrical representations; she provides as examples <Shesu> for *Jesu* (which is “common in Anglo-Welsh oaths”), and <sentilman> for *gentleman* (e.g. in Dekker’s *The Welsh Ambassador* of 1642). The actual sounds she settles on from that evidence are fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ rather than affricates again (see section 1.2.4), but they are voiceless, so there is some similarity with Salesbury’s implications.

Here we see three sounds of limited familiarity to a native Welsh speaker, all of which are described for an audience of Welsh speakers. Salesbury is limited in how he can describe them; he cannot use his audience’s native language as a reference, as these sounds are

limited in Welsh usage if they appear at all (Willis 2009), and classical languages are likewise limited as references in these circumstances. While the suggested realisations provided above are estimates, Salesbury's methods of describing these sounds provide an insight into how a native Welsh speaker learning or speaking English might handle them.

There is little to say about Salesbury's vowels as far as a potential Welsh English accent goes. His explanations of English vowels seem largely to match up to Welsh vowels (see Willis 2009). However, the Welsh high central vowel /i/ is potentially indicated under his description of <e>:

(5): “[in some plurals] when C, CH, G, or another E precedes the said E the rule [by which an <e> in a plural is silent] fails, for then the E is pronounced obscurely or as our y” (Ellis 1871: 779).

The Welsh <y> typically represents /i/ (Willis 2009). It is unclear what he means by <e> being pronounced “obscurely”. Perhaps he refers to /ə/. Besides this, there is little to say about Salesbury's handling of vowels regarding potential variation from other forms of English.

Salesbury's work provides little direct evidence of variation, but indirectly, some features can be teased out. As can be seen in this section, however, this is a difficult process which does not necessarily provide much that is concrete regarding Early Modern Welsh English. What evidence can be gathered, however, stems from multilingual comparisons made by Salesbury, through which some impact of L1 phonology on L2 speech can be posited.

3.3 Owen Price

3.3.1 Biography of Owen Price

Owen Price is the second Welsh author in this study, whose work was produced about a century after that of Salesbury. A seventeenth-century phonetician, Price's work generally promotes an ESEE accent, but a few instances of non-ESEE speech are evident in his writing. What is known of Owen Price's life appears to come from Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (1813), as stated in the biographical note prefacing the *English Orthography* (Price 1668 [1972]), and as made evident by Malone (2004). Owen Price was born in Montgomeryshire, though it is not known when. He was made a scholar of Jesus College, Oxford in 1648 and matriculated in 1649, and remained there for four years. He

then took a position as a schoolmaster in Wales, before returning to Oxford to graduate BA, and then to proceed MA by accumulation from Christ Church in 1656. The following year, he became master of Magdalen College School. It appears that in 1658, he was aiming at a position at Westminster School, but was ultimately unsuccessful in this endeavour. He was removed from his position at Magdalen for nonconformity during the Restoration, after which he taught in Devon and elsewhere in Oxfordshire. He published two texts: *The Vocal Organ* in 1665 and *English Orthography* in 1668. He died in 1671.

3.3.2 *The Vocal Organ and English Orthography*

Price published two texts on the English language, both in the 1660s. The first of these texts, *The Vocal Organ*, was published in 1665 in Oxford. This text, in which Price (1665 [1970]) claims that he has “not been guided by our vulgar pronunciation, but by that of London, and our *Univerfities*, where the language is purely spoken”, handles letters and pronunciation in a technical phonetic manner. Price separates out sounds according to their “instruments of pronunciation” (1665 [1970]: 1), and also includes a couple of diagrams demonstrating how consonants and vowels are produced. He addresses teachers, giving them directions on how to teach pupils to “play upon the seven Keys of this *Vocal Organ*”. He then explains the “keys” briefly, which essentially is a system of building up syllables. The bulk of this text is presented in rhyming couplets:

(6) “Twenty one conſonants do make a noiſe
When touch’d, or cloſ’d with Inſtruments of voice”.
(Price 1665 [1970]: 5)

The “diviſion of the Letters” (Price 1665: 5) is preſented thus, but is followed by a plain proſe explanation of how the vowels are pronounced, and how teachers ſhould educate their pupils on the ſubject matter of this text:

(7) “The broad â, and the ſhort ă, are of the ſame ſound, formed in the throat, wide open.

The obſcure è or ì, are formed in the throat a little narrower.

...

You may put your Boyes to drawl out each of them a Vowel: and when they are perfected in this Syllabication ... you may exerciſe them in reading the

words under the fecond & third Rule.”

(Price 1665 [1970]: 7)

The rhyming couplets return when Price begins to explain how to spell (including points such as the appropriate use of final <-e>) and the characteristics of syllables. Then, after another prose discussion, this time concerning ‘accent’ or stress, he moves on to discuss the letters in turn, returning to the poetic format. His decision to write in rhyming couplets is explained as a way to aid the student’s memory:

(8) “Because the memorie retains a bable of a verfe more then a folid rule, I have fo bound in Metre, the whole bulk of the Englifh Orthographie, that the verieft Child may bear it in mind, when playd into him by the affiduitie of the Teacher”.

(Price 1665 [1970]: 2r)

He first deals with consonants, and then with vowels, explaining their pronunciations in given positions, and he gives numerous examples for each rule. The text then incorporates descriptions of punctuation, instructions on how to make a pen and how to write in the “Italian Hand”, a short “entrance into Arithmetick”, and finally a section in which homophones or near-homophones are given in pairs, to demonstrate their different meanings and spellings:

(9) “An *Idol* is nothing we know,
Yet *idle* men to it do bow.”

(Price 1665 [1970]: 60)

Price’s *English Orthographie*, published in Oxford in 1668, is designed to discuss “The Art of right fpelling, reading, pronouncing, and writing all forts of Englifh Words”. In outlining his strategy within the text, Price (1668) notes that he wishes that “as other Nations have proper instruction for their own Languages; fo the Englifh which have drawn their feveral Dialects into one tongue, had fpared me this labour”. Early on, Price provides “An Index for the chiefeft Rules”, in which common orthographic ‘mistakes’ are demonstrated against the ‘correct’ usage, and then he provides alphabets in numerous prints. He proceeds to categorise the letters, and to account for permitted syllables in English. Much of the remainder of the text is presented in a ‘question and answer’ style:

(10) “Q. When doth, g, lofe its found?

A. G, before, n, lofeth its found as in feign, reign, sign.”

(Price 1668 [1972]: 17)

Price explains the notion of orthography, the division of letters and the nature of their categories, and a number of points of confusion for certain letters, before moving onto a systematic explanation of how to spell and divide syllables. He then proceeds to account the rules for consonants individually, and then the like for vowels. The text finishes with an account of ‘accent’ (or stress), capitalisation, punctuation, arithmetic, and finally a list entitled “The Difference between words of like Sound”, in which he provides a series of homophones and their definitions.

Dobson (1968: 339) states that, in *The Vocal Organ*, Price “adopts without variation Wallis’s classification and description of the vowels”, though his classification of consonants differs. He criticises Price’s classification of <gh> as being one of the “‘throat’ consonants”, and judges that, having given *ghost* as an example, he “patently failed to understand what Wallis, who meant a guttural spirant, was driving at” (Dobson 1968: 339). Price, in Dobson’s opinion, is not a good phonetician on his own account, and the phonetic work is rather taken from Wallis (Dobson 1968: 339).

3.3.3 Evidence of non-ESEE speech in Price’s work

Price’s sources provide extremely limited evidence of non-ESEE accents. As mentioned in section 3.3.2 above, he states in his address to the reader in the *Vocal Organ* that he has “not been guided by our vulgar pronunciation, but by that of *London* and our *Univerfities*, where the language is purely fpoken” (Price 1665 [1970]). This seems to be true of his descriptions, and Dobson (1968: 341) deems Price to be illustrating the same “standard” accent seen in the work of other orthoepists, for example noting that Price follows Wallis in stating that the sound indicated by <au> is monophthongal (Dobson 1968: 341), and his agreement with Robinson over the development of ME *ou* to /ʌu/ before /l/ in some words (Dobson 1968: 343). There is, however, one small comment made in the *English Orthography* which is of use here. Of the pronunciation of <gh>, Price states:

(11) “Gh, foundes now like *, h, in Almighty, although”

“* But the Ancients did, as the Welch, & Scots do ftill pronounce gh,

thorow the throat”.

(Price 1668 [1972]: 16)

This seems to refer to the retention of /x/. With regards to Scots, this reinforces a known aspect of phonology (see section 1.2.3), but the inclusion of Welsh English is new. As has been discussed in section 1.2.4, knowledge of Early Modern Welsh English is very limited, and this is a feature which was not made apparent in Salesbury’s work (see section 3.2). Price, then, indicates that while English in the south of England was losing /x/, it was retained in Welsh English as well as in Scots.

Dobson (1968) makes a couple of interesting assertions regarding Price’s vowels. The first is that, following Wallis, Price includes a long /y:/ vowel in his system (Dobson 1968: 341). This as a feature had been lost in the accents “ancestral to the London standard” by the ME period (Lass 1999: 68), so its inclusion by both Wallis and Price is perhaps unusual. Dobson (1968) does not make it clear where exactly Price implies this sound in either text, or even in which text, though the last mention of either directly was *The Vocal Organ* a few lines before. He also points to a differentiation between <oi> and <oy> made by Price in *English Orthography*, in which the latter is described as being pronounced “broader” than the former (Dobson 1968: 341; Price 1668 [1972]: 36). There does not seem to be any reason to assume that this diphthong involves a /y/, particularly from the use of “broader”, which does not seem like a likely choice to refer to a rounded second element. Presuming, as Dobson seems to, that Price’s supposed inclusion of /y:/ comes from Wallis, the origins of its inclusion may not be due to Price’s own dialect, but his Welshness could perhaps reinforce its presence. The vowel /y(:)/ does not exist in Welsh through its history, but more centralised vowels of /u/ and /i/ do (Morris Jones 1913: 14; Willis 2009: 123; Hannahs 2013: 23). Both are close vowels, and though more central than /y(:)/, perhaps there could have been some identification between these vowels. They were in use into the Middle Welsh period (Willis 2009: 123), but /u/ seems to have been lost by Present Day Welsh, though /i/ has remained in some way (Hannahs 2013: 23). This may all be besides the point, however, as I have been unable to establish exactly where this sound is evidenced by Price and Dobson does not explain where it comes from, and therefore this could all be irrelevant to Price’s evidence of non-ESEE.

The second is a more explicit comment from Dobson, who claims in a footnote that Price, being Welsh, would not have a phonemic distinction between /u/ and /ʌ/, as “in his (Welsh) speech there had been no later shortening of ME \bar{o} [or /o:/] to [u] [or /ʊ/]; see the

evidence cited in the text” (Dobson 1968: 342). The clearest evidence cited by Dobson (1968) comes from *English Orthography*:

(12) “[*English Orthography*] says that [an o] is pronounced like ‘short u’”

(Dobson 1968: 342).

“The o, is three fold. ... 3. Obscure, like fhort u”.

(Price 1668 [1972]: 28)

Much of the rest of Dobson’s explanation here is confusing. His reference to a ME sound in regards to Price’s Welsh speech is unclear. Does he refer to an accent of Welsh English, or does he refer to the existence of the same sound in Welsh and its independent development in the other language? If the former, it is unclear how he has come to this conclusion; any references (or possible references) to a Welsh English accent in Dobson’s work are limited in frequency and in explanation. However, the evidence outlined by Dobson does suggest a lack of the FOOT-STRUT /ʊ-ʌ/ split in Price’s accent, a feature otherwise recorded in Northern English (see section 1.2.3). Hannahs (2013: 23) registers no unrounded close back vowel /ʌ/ in modern Welsh, nor does it appear in earlier forms of Welsh according to Morris Jones (1913), so the apparent lack of the FOOT-STRUT /ʊ-ʌ/ split in Price’s accent of English might be accounted for by his lack of a /ʌ/ phoneme in his native language.

Dobson (1968: 344) also discusses a handful of potentially “vulgar” pronunciations in Price’s work, which “[seem] unlikely to apply to educated StE”. The first of these forms—the pronunciation of ME *ou* as /ʌu/ in <-old> words like *gold*—he notes to have been accounted for by ESEE speakers including Robert Robinson, but he still describes it as “at least foreign to the main development of the educated language” (Dobson 1968: 344). If, however, it has been accounted for by speakers of the “educated language”, it is unclear why this judgement should be made, and therefore it can be dismissed here.

The second of these features is that, due to their inclusion in a list of demonstrating “short u” like *but* and *must*, the words *burst* and *curst* may be meant as /bʌst/ and /kʌst/, with both the short unrounded vowel and a lack of /r/ (Dobson 1968: 344). Dobson (1968: 344) does point out that it is by no means certain that this is what is meant, and indeed it seems like an odd assumption to make. Firstly, Dobson has already stated (as seen above) that Price does not seem to have any distinction between /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ (Dobson 1968: 342), which, as noted above, could be due to the apparent lack of /ʌ/ in Welsh. Secondly, the lack of /r/ is a strange choice. Why, in Dobson’s opinion, would this list of words read as if Price is—or

might be—omitting the /r/ in *burst* and *curst*? It is not necessarily the case that /r/ following a vowel means that the preceding vowel must be long; modern Scottish accents, for example, frequently employ short vowels followed by /r/, including in *burst* and *curst*, though the latter would only be heard in performances of, for example, Shakespeare. Dobson’s belief that Price might be omitting the /r/ is perhaps stretching the evidence a little far.

The third of these “vulgarisms” is the use of “short u” in *whom* in the *English Orthography* (Dobson 1968: 344), which in Dobson’s experience has only been recorded by a Northerner by the name of Josua Poole. In Dobson’s opinion, “it is doubtful whether [this pronunciation] formed part of good StE” (Dobson 1968: 344). This would, according to Dobson’s observation of the nature of Price’s “short u”, be either /ʊ/ or /ʌ/ (see above; Dobson 1968: 342), with logic dictating that the rounded /ʊ/ would be the vowel meant by Price. The origins of the short vowel here, according to Dobson, are in “the raising of ME \bar{o} to \bar{u} after w (as in the PresE pronunciation) and then early shortening to ME \bar{u} , probably under weak stress” (Dobson 1968: 344). Hannahs (2013: 25) provides an account of modern Welsh vowel length which could support this short vowel in Price’s English: “In stressed syllables (including stressed monosyllables), vowels are short (a) when followed by /p, t, k, m, ŋ/, and (b) when followed by two (or more) consonants”, and in unstressed syllables, vowels are all short. If this is a feature found in Welsh across time, then it could account for Dobson’s observation of the short vowel in *whom*.

The final “vulgarism” is Price’s warning against the pronunciation of <gh> as /f/ in e.g. *fight*, *sight*, *ought*, in *The Vocal Organ* (Dobson 1968: 344; Price 1665 [1970]: 18).

(13) “...to found this *gh* like *f*, will confound many words, as *ought*, *fight*, *fight*, with *oft*, *lift*, *fift*.” (Price 1665 [1970]: 18).

Dobson believes this may be a Devon feature, observed by Price during his time teaching there, but notes that only *ought* is recorded by Wright (1905: 255) with an /f/ pronunciation in Devon. Indeed it does not appear to be due to Welsh influence; this is at odds with Price’s statement in example (11) above. Price (1665 [1970]: 18), at any rate, does not seem to be impressed with this pronunciation, as he states that this pronunciation will “confound many words”.

Price providing only a little evidence of non-ESEE varieties might be partly due to the fact that he lived later than many of the other authors in this study. Spelling was further along

in the process of standardisation, and Price's spellings in both the *Vocal Organ* and the *English Orthography* reflect this. His descriptions of sounds usually seem to reflect ESEE pronunciations, with no apparent interference from Welsh in many cases. Despite being a first-hand witness of non-ESEE speech, Price instead seems to have more in common with the second-hand witness authors of Chapter 4, whose evidence for non-ESEE speech is all provided in commentary of this kind.

3.4 Alexander Hume

3.4.1 Biography of Alexander Hume

The life of Scottish author Alexander Hume has been accounted for to various degrees by a number of authors, including Wheatley (1870), Kniezsa (1997a), and Durkan (2013). Hume was born possibly in 1550 (Durkan 2013: 112), and educated at Dunbar under Andrew Simson, the author of the *First Rudiments* (Durkan 2013: 100). He entered St Mary's College at St Andrews University around 1568, and probably graduated MA in 1572. Nothing is known of his activities from this point until 1580–1, when he matriculated at the University of Oxford. He does not appear to have taken a degree there, however, and all that is known of his time there is that he acted as a tutor. He then moved on to become a teacher in Bath, and while there he engaged in religious debates, which make up a significant portion of his published work. He returned to Scotland after sixteen years (the exact date is unknown as it is also unknown exactly when he left for England), and took up the position of master of Edinburgh High School in 1596. During his tenure, it appears that he would have taught the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden, who also seems to have had some interest in the state of the English language, having in his possession William Bullokar's *Booke at Large* (Macdonald 1971: 188–9; Campbell 2021: 29–30).

Hume moved onto the school at Prestonpans in 1606. Whilst there, he put forward his *Grammatica Nova* for consideration as the new national Scottish Latin grammar. He was successful, and the work was published in 1612. It proved unpopular, however, and the work's lack of use would be a source of irritation for Hume for years to come. He fought on behalf of his grammar intermittently through the following two decades, but ultimately it was set aside in favour of David Wedderburn's grammar. In either 1613 or 1615, Hume returned to Dunbar as the new schoolmaster, and it is unknown how long he remained there. In 1617, when King James returned to Scotland, Hume delivered a Latin address to

the King at Dunglass, the home of his distant relative, Alexander Home, first Earl Home. In it, Hume lauded the benefits seen in Scotland due to the accession of James to the English throne. Hume's work *The Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan tongue* seems to have been produced around this time – certainly it was finished before Queen Anne's death in 1619, as indicated in the closing lines, which asks God to “preserve, prolong ... Our king, & Queen” (Wheatley 1870: 3). It is known that Hume was still teaching around 1630, but it is not known for how long past that time he did so, nor when he died.

3.4.2 Hume's *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue*

Alexander Hume's *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue* was produced around 1617. The text aims to regularise spelling and the associated sound values of letters across both England and Scotland, acknowledging the differences between the two but ultimately aiming to combine them into one single, universal form of the ‘Britan tongue’. The author was a Scottish schoolmaster who spent a considerable amount of time in southern England, and so was very familiar with both Scots and at least one variety of southern English. The text exists in a single manuscript Royal MS 17 A XI (Hume c.1617)⁴ now kept in the British Library, and was produced around the time that James VI and I returned to Scotland. Though the manuscript does not provide an exact date, comments made by Hume in the text suggest that the main body of the treatise would have been produced in 1616 to early 1617, and the dedication would have been written in late 1617 to early 1618 (Campbell 2021: 9–10). Wheatley (1870: v) seems to imply that the body of the text and the dedication were potentially written by two different people, in stating that the latter “appear[s] to be in a different handwriting” to the former. These two sections, however, are in different scripts entirely, rather than necessarily being written by two different people.

As stated above, this text, produced around the time of James VI and I's return to Scotland in 1617, aims to regularise both spelling and pronunciation in Scotland and England, to produce one form of the vernacular, which Hume refers to in the title and the text as the “Britan tongue”. Hume's interest in “Britan” connects with that of the King; for reasons either pragmatic or genuine, he favoured James' plan for a union between Scotland and

⁴ Hume's *Orthographie* was first published by Henry B. Wheatley for the Early English Text Society in the nineteenth century, which will be used in this study.

England, as made evident in his speech to James at Dunglass upon the King's return to Scotland (Durkan 2013: 121). However, according to Durkan (2013: 121), Hume "was keen that the Scottish element should not be steam-rolled out of existence". This idea of combining English and Scottish elements into one body without subsuming the Scottish side in the English one is very clear in Hume's approach to language. The dedication of the *Orthographie* notes Hume's disappointment in seeing "sik uncertentie in our men's wryting" (Wheatley 1870: 1), and that during James' visit, the King had criticised the language use of some of his courtiers (Wheatley 1870: 2). Hume wants Scots and English to be combined into one form, at least at the level of spelling and pronunciation, and is even content to refer to that one form as English in the body of the text (e.g. Wheatley 1870: 13), but his titles and subtitles refer to the "Britan tongue", feeding into James' promotion of the idea of a united Britain (Wheatley 1870).

The *Orthographie* provides two routes to assessing Scots pronunciation, which will be dealt with separately here. Firstly, Hume provides direct commentary on Scots pronunciation, using a multilingual comparative approach, contrasting Scots and English features. Secondly, he provides evidence through his spellings, which vary between 'standard' English and Scots. Both of these approaches are slightly more complicated for different reasons than might be initially thought, but these complications will be assessed below.

3.4.3 Hume's evidence from direct commentary on Scots

Hume's work includes some direct commentary on the differences between Scots and English, which can be used as evidence for Scots phonology. Hume demonstrates a preference for the doctrine of *littera*, as many orthoepists do (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3), which can lead to a lack of overt separation between letter and sound. Hume, however, approaches the matter slightly differently than many of his contemporaries; while he follows them in working letter by letter in the vowels, he does not do this for the consonants. Instead, he leads with describing some aspects of articulation and separates the consonants into groups based on articulatory similarity rather than the alphabetical structure many orthoepists favour (see section 2.2). This may stem from the fact that Hume in fact gives very limited descriptions of many consonants, choosing to focus mainly on the letters or sounds which he perceives as problematic. This can be sounds which differ in realisation between Scots and English, sounds which he believes are not pronounced in their 'right' or 'original' form, or sounds which are pronounced inconsistently, by which

he seems to mean letters which have multiple associated sound values. Though he does suggest action to ‘correct’ or change a number of pronunciations, this is nearly always centred around issues connected to spelling, or occasionally to etymology.

Due to the fact that Hume is more interested in sound values in general than in accounting for the particular uses of specific sounds in either English or Scots, there is not much direct discussion regarding where certain sounds appear in either accent, but rather that they do appear in either English or Scots. For example, while Hume does note that the English and the Scots associate different sounds with the letter <u>, there is no mention of the fact that <u> and its relevant sound is used by the Scots in words like *hus*, while the English have *house* (Wheatley 1870: 11). Due to this and the amount of crossover between English and Scots phonological inventories, there is only a limited amount of evidence to be found in the *Orthographie*.

It is also worth bearing in mind that, when Hume discusses English or the language use of ‘the south’, it is not entirely clear what variety he is referring to. Hume spent time in both Oxford and Bath during his time in England (see section 3.4.1 above), which would mean that he was familiar with more than one variety of Southern English speech, even at an educated level. When reference to an English sound value is required, it is reasonable to assume that Hume was referring to the (somewhat nebulous) emerging educated accent—ESEE—which scholarship has deemed ‘standard’, as a large portion of his acquaintance in Bath—being educated men themselves—would likely have been educated at Oxford or Cambridge too, and should therefore have been familiar with ESEE. His stay in Oxford would have resulted in a level of familiarity with this accent, inasmuch as it was broadly spoken and recognised. There could be a debate on Hume’s views concerning this supposedly ‘standard’ accent, but for the present study it is sufficient to work on the assumption that this is the accent to which Hume was referring.

There is one circumstance in which Hume states that a sound used in English is different to a sound used in Scots, in the sense that this is a difference in phonological inventory. Of the letter <u>, Hume states that, as the Scots and the English vary in the Latin, they also pronounce the vernacular differently:

(14) “U, the last of this rank, the south, as I have said in the latin sound of it, pronounces eu, we ou, both, in my simple judgement, wrang, for these be diphthong soundes, and the sound of a voual sould be simple. If I sould

judge, the frensh sound is neerest the voual sound as we pronounce it in mule and muse.” (Wheatley 1870: 11)

Though Hume states that the English and the Scots pronounce <u> as “eu and “ou” respectively, both are “diphthong sounds” and therefore “wrang”. However, he provides no examples of their usage in any words for either language (Wheatley 1870: 11). Hume’s use of the term “diphthong” in the *Orthographie* is broader than it is in modern use, as he also uses it to refer to digraphs, but in this case he is certainly referring to the sound value. So, if this is the case, then a Scots <u> is audibly different from an English <u> to Hume’s ear. The English <u> being “eu” would indicate a more fronted initial element than the Scots sound. This is not terribly easy to interpret without any examples. Certainly the Scots form being “ou” indicates that both elements would be back vowels, with the first element being more open than the second. The use of <o> would indicate that the rounding remains consistent, but it must be acknowledged that Hume’s phonetic and articulatory descriptions of vowels are not particularly nuanced; the most detail he goes into concerning vowel articulation is to describe them as “maed without the tuiches of the mouth” and “distinguished the ane from the other be delating and contracting the mouth” (Wheatley 1870: 7). The closest Hume gets to providing examples is *mule* and *muse*, but he is very vague on what exactly the circumstances of their inclusion are. Due to the *littera*-reliant style, it is quite difficult to match Hume’s descriptions to Aitken’s vowels, for example. He appears to be favouring the usage of Vowel 6, /u(:)/, based on his attention to <u> spellings and insistence on a monophthongal pronunciation. However, the diphthongal pronunciations he discusses, alongside the two examples, seem to sit somewhere in the region of Vowels 13, 14a, and 14b. His Scots “ou” seems to match closest to Aitken’s Vowel 13, which was moving towards /ʌu/ (Aitken 2002: 155). The English pronunciation he describes, represented by “eu”, seems likely to fall along the lines of /ju(:)/ or /iu(:)/. This is corroborated in some instances by Crystal (2016: 172), who shows /ju:/ in *during* /'dju:ɹɪn, -ɪŋ/, *duteous* /dju:tuəs/, etc. Of course, this does not happen in all circumstances in which a <u> spelling is used, and this demonstrates some of the issues with Hume’s vagueness.

Hume also comments on the circumstances under which certain sounds appear in Scots as opposed to English, though this happens infrequently. This tends to relate to one specific word in each case, where they are used as an example but the extent of any broader rule or pattern is unclear. The first such example of this is given under Hume’s description of the letter <a> in the vernacular, and in combination with his handling of Latin sounds, he does

provide an observable pattern. In his chapter on Latin vowels, he notes the pronunciation of Latin <æ>:

(15) “...now we sound it generallie lyke the voual e, without sound of the a ... it semes to have had sum differing sound from a, sik as we pronounce in stean, or the south in stain” (Wheatley 1870: 8).

This continues into his treatment of “Britan” vowels, where he notes that one sound stemming from <a> is <ea> as in:

(16) “...a heal head, as we cal it, quhilk as the English cales a whole head” (Wheatley 1870: 10).

It should be noted that <head> appears to be irrelevant to Hume’s argument here. The first instance (under the Latin vowels), <steane>, appears to be Scots *stane* (Wheatley 1870: 8), for English *stone*, though he does not give the English equivalent. The second instance he shows Scots <heal> for English <whole> (Wheatley 1870: 10). These are the only outright examples that Hume provides for this particular variation, but his own spellings demonstrate more of the extent of this pattern. This will be explored more below (see section 3.4.4). The retention, or rather the raising rather than backing, of OE *ā* in Scots is a feature made evident by Aitken (2002: 152) as Vowel 4, and mentioned by various other scholars (see section 1.2.3), and in Hume’s day would have been /e:/.

Hume’s chapter about Latin-derived words in the vernacular (Wheatley 1870: 19–20) raises some interesting points. In it, Hume states that Latin-derived words should retain spellings which are etymologically ‘correct’, but finds that while the Scots are good at doing this, the English are not:

(17) “...we sould keep the vouales of the original [Latin], quherin the north wares the south; from retineo, the north retine, the south retain; from foras, the north foran, the south forain; from regnum, the north regne, the south raigne; from cor, the north corage, the south courage; from devoro, the north devore, the south devour; from vox, the north voce, the south voice; from devoveo, the north devote, the south devoute; from guerrum, the north were, the south war; from gigas, gigantis, the north gyant, the south giaunt; from mons, montis, the north mont, the south mount. Of this I cold reckon

armies, but wil not presume to judge farther then the compasse of my awn cap, for howbeit we keep nearar the original, yet al tongues have their idiom in borrowing from the latin, or other foran tongues”. (Wheatley 1870: 20)

One example shown here of Scots retaining features from Latin etymology is that, from Latin *retineo*, the Scots derive <retine> and maintain the original vowel, but the English derive <retain> (Wheatley 1870: 20). He outlines some orthographic rules for Latin-derived words for which the spelling does change, one of which is that a Latin <-x> spelling becomes <c(e)> (Wheatley 1870: 20). Here, he gives the example of Latin *nutrix* becoming Scots <nurice> but English <nurse> (Wheatley 1870: 20). The English version is, he says, “not without a falt both in sound and symbol” (Wheatley 1870: 20), which presumably means that in Scots the word is pronounced with two syllables, probably with an /ɪ/ in the second syllable, while the English only pronounced it as one syllable. This seems to be an isolated incident of a difference between the two languages, at least as far as Hume shows.

A further, and more complex, point stemming from this chapter centres around the retention of Latin vowels, as demonstrated above with Latin *retineo*. Hume states that, by rights, in Latin-derived words “we sould keep the vouales of the original, quherin the north warres the south” (Wheatley 1870: 20). As seen in example (17), he lists a number of Latin source words, and then follows them with their Scots and English derivatives. The Scots forms have more etymological spellings, whereas the English spellings have developed into different forms more like their modern equivalents, e.g. *voice*, *devour*, etc.

Table 2: Hume’s Latin etymologies in Scots and English, based on Wheatley (1870: 20)

<i>Example number</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Scots</i>	<i>English</i>
(18)	retineo	retine	retain
(19)	foras	foran	forain
(20)	regnum	regne	raigne
(21)	cor	corage	courage
(22)	devoro	devore	devour
(23)	vox	voce	voice
(24)	devoveo	devote	devout
(25)	guerrum	were	war

(26)	gigas/gigantis	gyant	giaunt
(27)	mons/montis	mont	mount

This list is a drop in the ocean, in Hume’s view; he states that “of this I cold reckon armies” (Wheatley 1870: 20). The complication arises from the fact that, due to the way Hume frames this section, it is unclear if these different vowel spellings indicate differences in pronunciations. It appears that Hume is only actively discussing the spelling—although at no point in that section does he technically specify that—but there seems to be some indication that some of the words would be pronounced differently in the two languages. Often this seems to be that in English, a diphthong would be used, while a monophthong more consistent with the original Latin would be used in Scots. For example, in example (18) Latin *retineo* produces <retine> in Scots likely with /i:/, while in English it produces <retain> possibly with something like /ei/ (though this could be a monophthongal /e:/), or in example (24) Latin *devoveo* leads to Scots <devote> possibly with /o:/ and English <devoute> perhaps with /əu/ (Wheatley 1870: 20). The example of <were> versus <war> in example (26) seems likely to be a difference in pronunciation, with the Scots vowel sitting probably around /ɛ:/ while the English vowel is likely /ɑ:/. The issue is that it is unclear if Hume means to demonstrate an audible difference, or only a visible one.

Here I have examined Hume’s comments on the places where Scots and English pronunciation differ. It cannot be said, however, that Hume has covered all of the differences between the phonological systems of the two languages in his direct commentary. While it is true that, where he has not indicated differences, there may well be similarities, there is every chance that there is simply a gap. Explaining all of the differences between Scots and English phonology would be a tall order for the most thorough of orthoepists, and Hume does not fall into that category. There are points at which we now might wish that he had gone into more depth, or had been less vague. He was, of course, writing for an audience living at the same time as himself, who would probably be more readily able to expand upon Hume’s points for themselves based upon their experience. It can be easy, due to Hume’s tendency to focus on pronunciation, to forget that his primary focus is spelling and a simple association between a letter and a sound value, rather than on the details of pronunciation itself. His focus is quite broad in general, but it does not stray very far from orthography. Arguably, the scale of the project which Hume undertakes in this text leaves it slightly unfocused.

3.4.4 Evidence for Scots speech from Hume's spelling

Hume's use as a source for Scots pronunciation can also be seen through his own spellings. However, there are complications here, as his spellings are wildly inconsistent. Kniezsa (1997a) goes into depth about the exact divisions of Scots and English spellings for various different features, as well as the overall distribution between Scots and English (and 'neutral') spellings. Besides being ironic for a writer who continually champions consistency above all else, it does mean that analysis of phonological features from his spelling requires a little more work to tease out the relevant information. While it can be argued that Hume's time in England was beneficial for his understanding of English pronunciation, it seems to have been less so for his consistency in spelling.

Kniezsa's (1997a) article, focusing on the details of what is Scots and what is English in Hume's spelling, is useful here as she picks out a number of conventional Scots spellings and attaches some of them to phonological features. However, the fact that Hume is so inconsistent with his spelling and uses so many English features is, I would argue, not important for the purposes of this study. It is a complication which must be acknowledged, but I will not be using his specifically anglicised spellings to infer anything about Scots phonology, as these are unlikely to be representative of Scots speech specifically.

One traditional Scottish convention which Hume often employs is the use of an <a>-based spelling, where English uses an <o>-based spelling. Kniezsa describes briefly the development of the long OE vowel /a:/, noting that "in the north it was preserved as an unrounded low vowel written <a>, in the south it was rounded and raised, and hence written <o>". This is Aitken's Vowel 4, which in the early seventeenth century Aitken places at /e(:)/ (Aitken 2002: 152). Examples from Hume (c.1617; Wheatley 1870) of the retained unrounded vowel include <ane>, <maest>, <baeth>, and various others. In similar orthographic circumstances, Hume's use of <-a(u/w)> spellings rather than <-o(u/w)> is fairly consistent, including for circumstances in which the vowel is followed by <ld>, as reflected in Kniezsa's table (1997a: 56). This includes words such as <knowledge> *knowledge*, <awn(e)> and <aun> *own*, <ald> *old*, and <wald> *would*. These would line up with Aitken's Vowel 12/12a. Hume does not directly evidence L-vocalisation through some of these spellings, nor does he make any comment on the matter in his text, but as his spellings are conventional and his linguistic commentary is by no means exhaustive, he also cannot be said to provide evidence *against* L-vocalisation.

Hume's spellings provide some evidence of /k/ non-palatalisation, primarily through the form <sik>, in English *such*. This appears several times in the *Orthographie* (Wheatley 1870: 1, 17). So, though Hume's commentary on this feature is limited to one form, his own spelling choices expand to at least a second example of the pattern.

One interesting spelling used by Hume is <weer> for *war*. Although listed as a variant of *wer* (n.1) in the DSL, it is not particularly frequent amongst their examples. The DSL does, however, provide a large number of variants spelled with an <e> before 1700, while <a> variants are less frequent. Likewise in the OED, the <e>-based variants after the ME period are exclusively listed as Scottish forms (OED *war* n.¹). Aitken (2002: 224) lists *wer* 'war' as containing Vowel 3 from its French root (2002: 76), moving into Vowel 2 around the fifteenth century during Vowel 3's near-vanishing act. The pronunciation indicated by Hume would then theoretically be /wi:r/, which does not match his outright statement about the word, but is consistent with his spellings <weer> (Wheatley 1870: 3) and <were> (Wheatley 1870: 20). When Hume discusses the retention of 'original' Latin vowels, he suggests that the Scots are consistent with the Latin pronunciation of *guerrum* in example (25), which he takes for the origin of the word (Wheatley 1870: 20). This would suggest an /ɛ(:)/ pronunciation.

Hume's evidence for EModSc pronunciation is twofold in type. He provides direct commentary on the differences with English, and he also provides less intentional evidence in the form of some of his spelling choices. The direct commentary can be vague, and certainly there are places in which a historical linguist might want more information, like details on the distribution of /u:/ across English versus Scots vocabulary (particularly regarding forms like /hu:s/ in Scots). His spelling choices often combine with his direct commentary in demonstrating certain features, such as the retention of OE *ā* in Scots. His spelling choices must be approached with caution, however, as they are inconsistent. His anglicised spellings cannot be guaranteed to represent situations in which there is no difference in pronunciation between Scots and English, as it is not always clear why Hume has chosen a particular spelling. His spellings are inconsistent; Wheatley (1870: 35) points out that Hume uses <nae> and <noe>, or <tuae>, <tuo>, and <tuae>, and has used both <mast> and <most> on the same page. Some spellings, however, are demonstrably Scots, and reflect Scots pronunciation.

3.5 George Ridpath

3.5.1 Biography of George Ridpath

George Ridpath was born possibly in Berwickshire, though this is not certain, nor is it known when he was born. He was educated in Berwickshire, then apparently at the University of Edinburgh. Aitkin (2004) notes that his name is found amongst the graduates of 1699, but this seems unlikely. While working as a tutor in Edinburgh in 1680, he was involved in anti-Catholic activity, and was arrested and eventually charged for threatening to burn the provost's house. This resulted in his banishment from Scotland and move to London, which makes his graduation from Edinburgh University nineteen years later improbable. His career appears to have been largely based on his writing; he published his *Shorthand yet Shorter* in 1687, and is said by Aitkin (2004) to have become a journalist after the 1688 revolution. Ridpath wrote extensively on matters both political and religious; he published works defending Presbyterianism and opposing the Scottish Episcopalians, and also published his opinions on the Darien colony, the Spanish succession crisis, and the prospect of a political union between Scotland and England. He was "critical of the benefits of union and of discussions held between the two governments from November 1702 to February 1703" in one publication, and in 1705 published a discussion of Anglo-Scottish relations since 1603 entitled *Reducing of Scotland by Arms and Annexing it to England as a Province, Considered* (Aitkin 2004). Ridpath's view that Scotland should remain independent from England as much as possible is evident from his publishing history. In 1712, he was arrested for publishing libellous materials, and was tried in early 1713, though his trial seems to have been a political scrap between the Whigs (who supported him) and the Tories, who had a larger presence at the trial (Aitkin 2004). He was found guilty on two counts, but fled first to Scotland and then to the Netherlands. In Rotterdam he continued to publish works which proved controversial in Britain, but returned to England after George I's accession. He had published in defence of the Hanoverian succession during his stay in the Netherlands, and continued to publish anti-Jacobite works as well as anti-Tory works. In the early 1720s, the authorities turned their attention to him due to his role in an apparently unauthorised lottery in Hanover, and after this he was said to be involved in some undetermined scandal. Aitkin (2004) states that this scandal was alleged bigamy on Ridpath's part, but he adds that there is no surviving record of Ridpath marrying or attempting to marry more than one woman. Ridpath died in 1726, still unpopular.

3.5.2 Ridpath's *Shorthand Yet Shorter*

Ridpath's *Shorthand Yet Shorter* may seem somewhat out of place when one considers the other texts in use in this study. This text does not discuss sound or spelling in the way that many of the other texts used here handle these matters. Rather, Ridpath makes the point that shorthand writing does not rely so much on 'proper' spelling (insofar as there was such a thing), and should not be compared to, nor thought to be injurious to, 'correct' spelling (Ridpath 1687: 1). Shorthand focuses on practicalities, rather than the ideology of 'correctness', but Ridpath by no means dismisses the idea of 'correct' spelling. The relevance of Ridpath's text to this study stems from his use of pronunciation as a main point for the foundation of his shorthand. He also separates out 'Anglicisms' and 'Scotticisms' in parts of his work, making a point to distinguish between Scots and Southern English practices. For this reason, Ridpath is a useful source of information for Scots, and as a form of linguistic scholarship which favours a degree of mapping between sound and spelling, this text bears sufficient similarity to the orthoepists that his work has been included here.

The key part of Ridpath's work for this study is generally his example tables. In them, he illustrates his rules, for example where a letter may be missed out in shorthand, and he will mark when something is particular to Scots or to English. These language-specific (or dialect-specific, in Ridpath's view) examples can illustrate differences between the two languages. Examples not marked by Ridpath as being language-specific will be examined if they relate to any language-specific examples.

It is worth noting that Ridpath is, even from a passing glance, not the finest phonetician the early modern period ever saw. There are some points of peculiarity in his work, including his assertion that /l, m, n, r, ks, z/ from <l, m, n, r, x, z> cannot be pronounced without a vowel (Ridpath 1687: 12). The curious thing is that this statement stems from the *nomen* rather than the *potestas* by itself. He then states that, in a situation where one of these letters comes at the beginning of a word with a vowel preceding it and a consonant following it, the preceding vowel may be omitted because "which of the vowels must be pronounced, the fense will teach" (Ridpath 1687: 12). For a shorthand writer, perhaps this would be enough, yet it seems likely that there would be cases in which this could cause confusion. Given that Ridpath's system for recording vowels often involves just dots in certain places, the omission of the vowels here makes very little sense in any case. It would also be fair to say, however, that Ridpath is not trying to be a good phonetician, or indeed a

phonetician at all; his focus is on a very particular type of spelling, even though his orthographic choices for shorthand generally relate to pronunciation.

3.5.3 Evidence of Scots speech in Ridpath's *Shorthand Yet Shorter*

If Ridpath is not directly discussing pronunciation and he is not overly concerned with spelling in a general sense, how exactly can his shorthand work be used as evidence of Scots pronunciation? The answer is that his decision-making regarding how to shorten words stems from his understanding of pronunciation. This allows for him to demonstrate these differences between Scots and English; with English spelling standardising and Scottish writers choosing increasingly to employ these English spellings (Smith 2012: 9–10), basing his system entirely on orthographic conventions may have produced more limited evidence, if any. Ridpath's spelling in this text follows standard southern English conventions, or at least his printer's spelling does. Mostly, then, Ridpath's decisions to mark out 'Scotticisms' and 'Anglicisms' as seen in section 3.5.1—likely stemming in part from his political views on maintaining the independence of Scotland from England—in his examples can demonstrate some phonological differences between the two languages.

The first of Ridpath's tables "teaches which of the Vowels fhould be writ in all the Diphthongs" (Ridpath 1687: 11). This table also includes what Ridpath refers to as "triphthongs", but the list of examples suggests that rather than the phonetic sense of either diphthong or triphthong, Ridpath is actually referring more generally to two or three written vowels in a sequence, which do not exclusively represent phonetic diphthongs and triphthongs. In this table, there is only one example which is marked as Scots, but there are also several marked as English. There is one Scots example:

(28) <u> instead of <ou>, as in <fund> for *found* (Ridpath 1687: 11).

This is the only example of an <ou> digraph in the table, and has been marked as a 'Scotticism' with no indication of how an English speaker may write it in shorthand. It may be assumed that an English speaker would be obliged to include both vowels. In this case, the implication is that the English pronunciation was a diphthong and the Scots pronunciation a monophthong, which the spelling <fund> would suggest is /u(:)/ or something similar. Though Ridpath does not provide any other examples, the system here does suggest that this is a pattern. Though it appears by the OED that *found* (OED *find* v.) does not originate in what Aitken labels Vowel 6 /u:/, in Ridpath's day and based on his

rule (plus the fact that there is no indication that he is interested in etymology) it should follow that we can expand his shortening from <ou> to <u> to words such as *house*, which would reflect the Scots retention of OE *ū* while Southern English diphthongised (see Vowel 6 in Aitken 2002: 153).

The list of ‘Anglicisms’ is as follows:

Table 3: Ridpath’s Anglicisms relating to vowels, from Ridpath (1687: 11)

<i>Example Number</i>	<i>For:</i>	<i>Write:</i>	<i>As:</i>	<i>Instead of:</i>
(29)	au	a	adience	audience
(30)	ea	e	fe	fea
(31)	eu	u	nuter	neuter
(32)	eau	u	Buty	Beauty
(33)	iew	u	adu	adieu
(34)	ew	u	nu	new
(35)	ow	o	flo	flow

This collection raises some interesting questions regarding the Scots side, and will require further aid from sources like dictionaries to examine them. Why would an English shorthand writer, but not a Scottish shorthand writer, be able to shorten <sea> to <se> as in example (30)? This would imply that a Scot would require a second vowel, but for what purpose? Based on Aitken’s (2002) work on Scots vowels and the OED (*sea*, n.) and DSL’s (*sea*, n.) information on the word, there is no reason to suspect that *sea* or its other Scots forms would be pronounced particularly differently from the English /si:/ (as shown in Crystal 2016: 486). Dobson (1968: 393) claims that Ridpath identifies the vowel as being lower, as he “evidently identified ME *ē* with ME *ā*”, and notes Wright’s recording of /sei/ for *sea* in Southern Scotland. This he contrasts with Ridpath’s <e> spelling, which he takes to mean the /i:/ pronunciation as indicated by Crystal (2016: 486). This seems a reasonable conclusion, but it is evident from this that Ridpath must be treated with some caution.

A further point of curiosity is the set of *neuter*, *beauty*, *adieu*, and *new*, in examples (31), (32), (33), and (34) respectively. The common feature is the reduction to a single <u> rather than digraphs and trigraphs only in southern English, which Ridpath marks as ‘Anglicisms’, leaving out Scots. This looks to be /j/-dropping or yod-dropping, which Lass (1999: 100) notes “begins in earnest in the eighteenth century, though there are instances as early as Hart” in the sixteenth century. Wells (1982: 207) indicates that “Early Yod Dropping” starts to take hold in the early eighteenth century in London. Lass (1999: 100) goes into detail about the process from the mid-eighteenth century in particular, but also

notes that, at least in circumstances matching examples (31) and (34), this /j/-dropping does not enter the ‘standard’ dialect. So here, while it can be said firstly that Scots maintains the /j/ glide in these words, Ridpath is possibly identifying a non-ESEE pronunciation in the English dropping of /j/ in /Cju:/ environments.

Audience in example (29) provides an interesting point in comparing Scots and English. The reduction of <au> to <a> in English might be seen initially to imply a more raised vowel than /ɔ:/, perhaps /ɑ:/ or similar. Crystal (2016: 35), however, lists *audience* as being pronounced the same in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as it is today, which would mean the same initial vowel /ɔ:/, and it seems unlikely that this would be any different in the late seventeenth century. It would seem that *audience* begins with Vowel 12 in Scots, for which Old French *au* is a source (Aitken 2002: 92). The OED (*audience* n.) lists Middle French *audience* as the etymon for the English form, ultimately tracing it back to Old French (and Latin), and the DSL (*audience*, n.) lists ME as the origin of the Scots form, ultimately from Old French. This etymological background supports the idea that Scots would use Vowel 12 in *audience*, in which case the vowel in use in Ridpath’s day could be /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/ (Aitken 2002: 105; 159). It is unclear why the variation in example (30) exists between English and Scots, but it does not appear to indicate much of a difference in pronunciation. Dobson (1968: 393) seems to attribute this all to a misunderstanding on Ridpath’s part about the English pronunciation of *audience*.

Slow in example (35) could in theory indicate a couple of different alternatives for Scots. The fact that Ridpath marks only English as being able to shorten it to <slo>, which matches Crystal’s (2016: 511) transcription of /slo:/, would suggest either the Scots form employing a diphthong, or a different vowel or vowels altogether. Ridpath provides no further evidence himself, but the DSL shows that the Scots form tended to appear with spellings including an <a> more often than an <o> (DSL *slaw*, adv.). This could be <sla>, <slaw>, <slawe>, etc. (DSL *slaw*; adv.). These spellings match up to Hume’s spelling of <knowledge> (see section 3.4.4), and to the list of common spellings which Aitken (2002: 161) says are associated with his vowel 12, giving a value of /ɑ:/. This does not, however, seem to be consistent with Ridpath’s own evidence. Ridpath’s evidence suggests a Scots diphthong more than it indicates a difference in vowel quality. It is unclear exactly what Ridpath is implying here, but there seems to be a disconnect between his evidence and conventional knowledge. Dobson (1968: 393) does not seem to be any clearer on why this distinction has been made in the way it has been, as he also is led to the vowel /ɑ:/ in Scots against the monophthongised /o:/ in English.

Another of Ridpath's tables (1687: 13–5), this time regarding consonants, provides more examples marked particularly as "Scotticisms". Ridpath explains the basis for this table thus: "It many times happens that two Confonants of different forts comes together, and yet one of them may be spared without marring the sense of the Word, concerning which take the following Rules" (Ridpath 1687: 13). This does not explicitly say that pronunciation is a leading factor, but the examples themselves demonstrate that this is foremost in Ridpath's thinking. For example, he states that <c> can be omitted before <k> or <q>, as in <aknoledg> and <aqant> for *acknowledge* and *acquaint*, and after <s> and <x>, as in <difiple> and <xes> for *disciple* and *excess* (Ridpath 1687: 13). One or two of the examples do explicitly state that speech is the guiding factor.

Ridpath's Anglicisms and Scotticisms are as follows:

Table 4: Ridpath's Anglicisms and Scotticisms where consonants may be omitted, from Ridpath (1687: 13–5)

<i>Example number</i>	<i>Omitted letter:</i>	<i>When to omit:</i>	<i>As:</i>	<i>For:</i>	<i>English or Scots:</i>
(36)	f	"when it is not pronounced before t"	sot ater	soft after	English
(37)	g	"may be left out betwixt a Vowel and <i>n</i> , and when it comes between <i>n</i> and <i>th</i> "	ftrenth	ftrength	Scots
(38)	gh	"when it comes between a vowel and t"	rit sit	right sight	English
(39)	l	"in the words will and fhall, before not, and by Scottish Men, and those of the North of <i>England</i> after <i>a</i> , fo before <i>f</i> "	sma	small	Scots (and Northern English)
(40)	n	"when it comes after <i>m</i> in the same syllable"	contem	contemn	Scots
(41)	t	"before <i>ch</i> and after <i>p</i> "	corrup	corrupt	Scots
(42)	w	"may be left out before <i>r</i> , and sometimes before <i>h</i> "	rit	write	English
(43)			hol	whole	English

Four examples, (37), (38), (39), and (40), are a little strange in that they are all next to other examples which can be reduced on the same grounds, but can be done in both languages. So, while Ridpath says in example (37) that *strength* can only be reduced to <strenth> in Scots, *length* can be reduced to <lenth> in both English and Scots. Dobson (1968: 392) claims that both *length* and *strength* with the omitted <g> are marked as Scots, but this is not true to the copy of the text used in this study (Ridpath 1687). Two example words are used in example (38) to illustrate the redundancy of <gh> in English words before <t>, but there is a third example given for this rule which is not marked as being English, and therefore Ridpath's shorthand form could be used in Scots too: <sit> for *sight*. In example (39), *small* is reduced to <sma> only in Scots (and Northern English), but *fall* and *call* are reduced to <fa> and <ca> in Southern English too. In example (40), *contemn* is reduced to <contem> only in Scots, but *condemn* becomes <condem> in both English and Scots. It is unusual that only these examples are separated out from English, but ultimately this does not cause issues here; Ridpath's system indicates that Scots, at least, is consistent with the relevant features, and the confusion begins on the English side. It is possible that this all stems from a series of typesetting mistakes, but this cannot be said with any certainty.

In example (37), the omission of <g> between <n> and <th> suggests a pronunciation of /-nθ/. Strictly speaking, a /-ŋθ/, /-ngθ/ or /-ŋgθ/ pronunciation is also possible, and the basis of this shorthand could simply be ease and a lack of concerns around confusion with other words, but the deliberate separation of <strenth> as a 'Scotticism' suggests otherwise. Dobson (1968: 392) points to Wright's work, showing that /-nθ/ could be observed in Scotland and England, seemingly more commonly in the North. Example (38), if we set aside the issue of *sight* or assume that it comes from a printer's error, demonstrates the Scots retention of /x/, which had been lost in English (see section 1.2.3).

The omission of <l(l)> after <a> in example (39) indicates that Ridpath is aware of L-vocalisation, a feature of Scots phonology which has received plenty of attention in the past. Ridpath's comment demonstrates that it was a recognised Scots feature at the time, and also provides us with a comment on its presence in Northern English. We may ignore the first part of his rule, concerning *will* and *shall*, as this relates simply to the reduction of *will not* and *shall not* to *won't* and *shan't*. L-vocalisation in Scots is widely known and discussed (see section 1.2.3). The fact that *fall* and *call* can be written without <ll> in

English as well as Scots while *small* is only to be written without <ll> in Scots is odd perhaps, but the phonological feature on display is clear enough.

The omission of <n> in *contemn* in example (40) is unusual. This does not appear to relate to pronunciation; /mn/ in English only exists across two syllables, and this is reflected by Crystal's (2016: 177) who registers *contemn* as ending in /-m/. If it had not been marked specifically as Scots, there would be no reason to note this example. However, the marking of this form as Scots only warrants some discussion. There does not appear to be any grounds for this specification in either the OED (*contemn*, v.) or the DSL (*contemn*, v.); neither of these sources list <-n>-less spellings of *contemn* as being a particularly Scots feature. Ridpath (1687: 13–5) also lists *condemn* as being reducible to <condem> in both English and Scots. There does not appear to be a Scots-specific pronunciation of *contemn*, at least regarding the final consonant, and so example (40) can be dismissed.

In example (36), it appears that English could drop /f/ before /t/, but that the full cluster would be retained in Scots. Dobson (1968: 348–9) dismisses the idea that this would be used in ESEE, stating that it “cannot be regarded as normal in English”, but he allows that it is recorded by Wright in many Southern and Midland dialects. The shortening of *corrupt* to <corrup> in example (41) is straightforward enough. This simply indicates a reduction in the cluster from /pt/ to /p/. Crystal (2016: 122) lists the English pronunciation with the full cluster, /kə'ɹɪpt/. Dobson (1968: 392) cites Wright (1905) in stating that /t/-loss after voiceless consonants was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a common feature of many dialects, Scots dialects included. Ridpath's work suggests that this reduction occurred widely in Scots at least two centuries before it was recorded by Wright.

The two Anglicisms in examples (42) and (43) omit <w>. In (42), Ridpath omits <w> before <r> in e.g. *write*, demonstrating the reduction of the /wr/ cluster, but only in English. If the <w> cannot be omitted before <r> in Scots, then this suggests that the /wr/ cluster was still in use, as noted by Dobson (1968: 392). The occasional omission of <w> before <h> demonstrated in (43) suggests that while English speakers would pronounce *whole* with an /h/ onset, Scots speakers would use a pronunciation involving /w/, which Dobson (1968: 349) concludes must be /hw/ for Ridpath. In its form history of *whole*, which etymologically began with simple <h>, the OED notes that “[s]pellings with initial wh- appear in the mid-15th cent. and reflect development of a w-glide chiefly before long open \bar{o} ”, and that “[p]ronunciations with initial /w/ (and occasionally /hw/) survive in modern English regional varieties”, noting the North of England amongst these varieties

(OED *whole*, adj., n., and adv.). It appears by Ridpath's record that this feature extended into Scots historically.

The third of Ridpath's tables is quite short, but includes a couple of useful points. This table includes a list of circumstances under which two or more letters may be replaced by one single letter. This new letter does not need to be one of the letters it is replacing. The examples which are marked specifically as either Scots or English are as follows:

Table 5: Ridpath's Scotticisms and Anglicisms where one consonant may replace two or more, from Ridpath (1687: 15)

<i>Example number</i>	<i>Original letters:</i>	<i>Replacement letters:</i>	<i>As:</i>	<i>For:</i>	<i>English or Scots:</i>
(44)	ch	c	Baruc	Baruch	English
(45)	gh	f	laf	laugh	English
(46)	ct	k	ak	act	Scots
(47)	cts	x	distrix	districts	Scots

There are, as is frequently the case, no comments on why these language specifications have been made, but pronunciation is likely a source of the apparent differences. In example (44), the use of only <c> for *Baruch* <Baruc> in English but not in Scots indicates a difference between the sounds used in each language. It is likely that, while <c> in English <Baruc> would represent /k/, the <ch> which is presumably still used in Scots <Baruch> would represent /x/. This sound seems to have been out of use in Southern English by this point (Lass 1999: 118), but has lasted into Scots to this day.

Laugh in example (45) shows something similar. The English shorthand <laf> demonstrates /f/ in the final position, as in the modern pronunciation. If, as is implied, the Scots would retain <gh>, then the /f/ pronunciation would not be used in Scots. Generally, a <gh> spelling would appear to represent an /x/ pronunciation, and the number of both <ch> and <gh> spellings shown in the DSL (*lauch*, v.) would corroborate this.

The two Scots-specific shortenings in examples (46) and (47) can be discussed together as the process indicated is essentially the same. The shortening of <ct> to <k> and <cts> to <x> indicates the elision of the plosive /t/ in the sequences, resulting in /k/ from /kt/ and /ks/ from /kts/. The DSL (*act*, n.; *act*, v.) indicates that *act* would frequently be spelled <ac(k)>, supporting this reduction. Crystal (2016: 8) lists *act* as being pronounced as it is today: /akt/. Dobson (1968: 392) notes that English shorthand writers also noted this about

English, suggesting that it was not such a Scots-specific feature as Ridpath would lead us to believe, but perhaps it was more common to Scots than it was to English, at least in Ridpath's observation. Dobson also reaches this conclusion through Wright (1905), who (as stated in relation to example (41)) records the loss of /t/ after /k/ in Scots besides after voiceless consonants in "many" English dialects, and in Dobson's view this means that "it seems justifiable to infer that its loss is more typical of Scottish, as Ridpath says" (Dobson 1968: 392). Wright's study relates to dialects of a later period than the Early Modern period, but is useful as supporting evidence.

Overall, Ridpath provides rather limited evidence for Scots pronunciation, but *Shorthand Yet Shorter* can be used to observe certain features. Perhaps it might be fairer to say that Ridpath can be used as supporting evidence for these features rather than directly suggesting them; he rarely delivers a direct comment on speech, but pronunciation often appears to be the primary factor in his shortened spellings. However, when paired with other sources, Ridpath's work can provide useful evidence of Scots features. Ridpath's work comes several decades after Hume's work, at a point where the impact of English on Scots had increased, which likely contributes to the more limited account of Scots, but it is still notable that Ridpath – despite writing at a point where the norms of speech and spelling are becoming more settled – makes so much space for the existence of Scots sounds and spellings.

3.6 Peter Levins

3.6.1 Biography of Peter Levins

No birth or death date is known for Levins, but McConchie (2009) notes Levins' first appearance on record as 1552, and the last as 1587. This first mention is the date of his recorded attendance at the University of Oxford. Little is known about his life before this point, other than that he was "said to have been born 'at or near Eske in Yorkshire', possibly Eske in Holderness" (McConchie 2009). Levins achieved his BA in 1556, and was elected a Yorkshire pensioner-fellow of Magdalen College in 1557. Though he supplicated for an MA in 1560, there is no record of his admission, and he left his fellowship in the same year. In 1561–2, he was teaching at King's School in Canterbury as a lower master, and he also practised medicine. Little else is known about his career aside from his publications: his dictionary *Manipulus vocabulorum* was published in 1570, and his medical tract *A Right Profitable Book for All Diseases, called the Path Way to Health*

was published in 1587, which is the last known mention of Levins. This second publication was republished several times into the seventeenth century. McConchie (2009) also notes that nothing is known of Levins' circumstances or family. All that seems to be known of him is that he was a Yorkshireman, was educated at Oxford, was (at least briefly) a teacher and a physician of some kind, and had an interest in Latin and lexicography.

3.6.2 Levins' *Manipulus vocabulorum*

Levins' *Manipulus vocabulorum*, published in London in 1570, is an English and Latin dictionary which functions as a rhyming dictionary. The English full title "A Dictionarie of English and Latine wordes, fet for the in suche order, as none heretofore hath ben, the *Englifhe* going before the *Latine*, necessary not onely for Scholers that wāt varietie of wordes, but also for such as use to write in English Méetre" indicates that it was intended for use by poets, as well as scholars as a sort of thesaurus. Levins states in the preface that he was looking to create something different to preceding dictionaries. His focus was on the final syllable of English words, hence the structure of the dictionary, which is ordered by the final syllable rather than alphabetically by the first letter and so forth. He believes that this text could help people to 'correct' their writing and speech (Wheatley 1867: 3–4). Levins separates the dictionary into nine parts, according to the vowel in the last syllable of a given word. These are the five vowels (according to the written form), and four diphthongs. He discusses briefly the nature of these vowels, as well as the function of final <-e>. The dictionary, he states, is also split by syllable number and grammatical class. He notes that some of the words included are "barbarous, strange, or fallen out of use", so that anyone still using those words could correct their usage. Following the preface is the dedication, in which Levins states that he has been concerned about the learning of Latin in England and that he believes that there are too few materials available to learners. The rest of the text is the dictionary itself, which does include a handful of notes besides the word forms.

3.6.3 Evidence of Northern pronunciation in *Manipulus vocabulorum*

McConchie (2009) asserts that *Manipulus vocabulorum* includes "many northern word-forms". Northern forms do indeed crop up in several places in the text, but many of them demonstrate lexical variation rather than phonological variation, such as "myrke" and "ken" (Wheatley 1876: 4), and are not relevant to this study. Some northern forms included by Levins are, or may be, demonstrative of phonological variation, which are discussed

below. Levins does not offer any explicit commentary on non-ESEE varieties. The evidence present in *Manipulus vocabulorum* all comes through spelling choices. It is important to note that the ‘rhyming’ aspect of the text does not provide the basis for any phonological analysis here; as Wheatley notes in his introduction to *Manipulus vocabulorum*, “[i]t is difficult to form any idea of the pronunciation of the time from the arrangement of the words, because the spelling was probably more attended to than the rhyme” (Wheatley 1876: vi). There are also one or two forms which are unique, and may also provide information on Early Modern Northern English speech. For Levins, the most practical method is to search for spelling forms which are notably Northern (and/or Scots, as the similarities between Northern English and Scots are significant), or potentially forms which do not appear anywhere else.

The first example of Northern speech evidenced by Levins is one observed by Dobson (1968: 23) as a well-known feature:

(48) “A BRIGGE, *pons*.

...

A RIGGE of land, *sura*, *æ*, *porca*.” (Wheatley 1867: col.118).⁵

Dobson (1968: 23) calls these forms of *bridge* and *ridge* respectively. This is confirmed by both the OED (*bridge*, n.¹; *ridge*, n.¹) and the DSL (*brig*, n.; *ridge* n. but also *rig*, n.) for both forms. The <-dge> spellings are also provided a little earlier in the text (Wheatley 1876: col.116). Here, the retention of velar /g/ instead of palatalisation to /dʒ/ is demonstrated, a feature of Northern English shown by various scholars (see section 1.2.3).

Levins gives two different forms meaning *weft*:

(49) “woft”, “woofe” (Wheatley 1867: col. 1571).

Neither form appears in Wright (1905). The first of these forms, <woft>, is marked in the OED as being a non-dialectal form in the sixteenth century, and then Scots from the seventeenth century (OED *weft*, n.¹). However, the examples given by the OED show only sixteenth-century <o> forms from Levins, besides one example from Orkney in the seventeenth century. Levins is a Northern author. It is not clear if the OED has come to the

⁵ Levins’ work seems to be numbered by columns (which are two to a page) rather than pages, so I have referenced the column numbers given in the text.

conclusion that <woft> is not dialectal in the sixteenth century due to other examples not provided on the page, or if it is due to an assumption that Levins, although a Northern author who uses several Northern forms in *Manipulus vocabulorum*, would be using ESEE spelling. The results for <woft> in *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) show only Scots texts and Levins too, suggesting that the OED is not hiding any examples. Based on this, it seems reasonable to believe that <woft> may well be Northern at least until the seventeenth century. The second form, <woofe>, is not dialectal as demonstrated in the OED (*woof*, n.¹). It is possible <woft> may have come into existence under influence from <woofe> (or <woof>), but it might be questioned why <woft> was not then more widespread. If <woft> is taken to be Northern (and Scots), then the vowel represented in place of /ε/ could be backed, perhaps /o/ or /ɔ/.

The final possible example from Levins is the form <swrayste>, which seems to be a form of *wrest*:

(50) “A swrayste, *plectrum*, *i*” (Wheatley 1876: col. 203).

This is, according to the OED, a part of a stringed instrument used for tuning (OED *wrest*, n.¹). The OED lists <ai> and <ay> spellings as being ME, but not regionally limited (OED *wrest*, n.¹). Digraph forms with <i> after the ME period are marked as Scots, from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: <wreist> and <wriest> respectively. Though the noun form does not appear by the OED to have any EModE Northern forms, its verb companion and etymon does, and in fact in the etymology of the verb it is stated: “The northern forms with *ai*, *ay*, are directly < Old Norse **wreista*” (OED *wrest*, v.). Between the verb’s Northern <ai/y> forms and the noun showing EMod limiting of similar digraphs to Scots (due to how often Northern and Scots forms show similarities), it seems likely that Levins’ <swrayste> is a Northern form. The digraph may indicate a diphthong, e.g. /ei/, or simply a long vowel /ε:/ or /e:/. Levins’ initial <s> in this form is not explicable through the sources employed here; no example with this spelling appears in the OED (*wrest*, n.¹), and Levins’ is the only example of this spelling to appear in EEBO.

Dobson (1968: 22–4) lists a considerable number of apparent “Northernisms” displayed by Levins, too many to account for individually here, but they include retention of OE *ā* rather than shifting to <o>, and the non-palatalisation of /g/ as mentioned in example (48). Not all of them, however, are necessarily as Northern as Dobson thinks. For OE *ā* retention, for example, Dobson includes the example of <lade>, meaning ‘load’ (1968: 22). However,

the OED makes it evident that *lade* and *load* are distinct lexical items with different etymologies, despite their similarities (OED *lade*, n.¹; *load*, n.). Similarly, Dobson makes much of Levins' <ou> spellings and the pronunciations associated with them in many words, ultimately stating that “[none] of the rhymes discussed in this paragraph is an eye-rhyme” (Dobson 1968: 22–3). I do not dismiss any of the pronunciations he puts forward, but it is not clear why he does not believe that any of the words provided are eye-rhymes. Lass (1999) throughout his chapter demonstrates the variety of pronunciations which can be represented by <ou>, even by one author, and Levins' spelling choices do not seem to be impervious to convention. *Rogue* <róge>, for example, with its typically long vowel as shown by Crystal's (2016: 471) /ro:g/, is categorised alongside *hedghehog* <hedghehog>, the final vowel of which is short (Wheatley 1876: col.157). In his “ome” list, Levins (Wheatley 1876: col.161) has <home> *home*, <epitome> *epitome*, and <earldome> *earldom*, demonstrating that he does in fact use eye rhymes in his work, so it is difficult without explanation to see why Dobson rules out this possibility concerning <ou> spellings. This is not to say that Dobson is incorrect, only that he has possibly overlooked some aspects of Levins' system.

Levins' examples of Northern pronunciations, or of potential Northern pronunciations, are typically representative of isolated forms illustrated through the author's spelling choices. *Manipulus vocabulorum* does not allow us the space to observe patterns of speech variation. The text illustrates Northern English orthography and lexical items more often, and so as a whole is a surprisingly useful resource for Northern English, considering that it is otherwise a standardising text.

3.7 Richard Mulcaster

3.7.1 Biography of Richard Mulcaster

Richard Mulcaster's life has been recounted by Dobson (1968) and Barker (2004), amongst others. He was born in 1531/2, in or near Carlisle, and was the son of an alderman and MP (Barker 2004). He attended Eton as a King's scholar, and later matriculated at King's College, Cambridge in 1548. He transferred to Peterhouse and achieved his BA in 1554. He applied to Christ Church, Oxford in 1556 and received his MA there at the end of the year. By 1559, he had settled in London, and in that year he started serving as an MP for Carlisle. He probably also started teaching that year or the next, but the first record of him teaching is from 1561, when he was appointed as the first headmaster of Merchant

Taylor's School in London. Dobson (1968: 125) refers to the minutes from the Court of the Merchant Taylors' Company from 1562, in which it was stated that "the ushers had only one fault, 'that being northern men born, they had not taught the children to speak distinctly, or to pronounce their words as well as they ought'". Despite the early criticism about the pronunciation of his students, Mulcaster remained at the Merchant Taylors' School until 1586. He also served as a minister, and acquired various livings in the 1590s. In 1596, he took over as the high master of St Paul's School, where he remained until his retirement twelve years later. Former students of Mulcaster's include Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and Edmund Spenser. He taught Latin and Greek, and probably Hebrew. Two of his publications were texts on education, the first being *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, and the second being *The First Part of the Elementarie*. Mulcaster's educational career and philosophy was much admired by Dobson, who refers to him as "one of the greatest Elizabethan pedagogues" (Dobson 1968: 117). He also provided Latin verses for numerous other authors' publications, including Baret's *Aluearie*. He died in 1611 (Barker 2004).

3.7.2 Mulcaster's *The First Part of the Elementarie*

Mulcaster's *The First Part of the Elementarie which entreateth chiefe of the right writing of our English tung*, published in London in 1582, is the longest of the texts discussed in this thesis. Mulcaster has a tendency towards lengthy discussions of the topics he raises. Dedicating the *Elementarie* to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Mulcaster indirectly addresses Elizabeth I through Dudley. His intention is to produce a series of works outlining appropriate methods and principles for elementary education across England. He only managed to produce this first volume. In the opening chapters, he discusses the general principles of learning (with lengthy and classically-informed arguments), and his ideas about the subjects to be taught to pupils in elementary education: reading, writing, drawing, music, and playing.

The *Elementarie* concerns "right writing" in English, after Mulcaster has accounted for his general thoughts on education in general. His aim is to 'fix' uncertainties and variety in English writing as much as possible, on the basis of seven precepts, and with a focus on his ideas about sound, custom, and reason. He spends a considerable amount of time discussing the relationship between these three concepts and their impact on language, constructing a complex narrative about the way 'learned' languages (e.g. Latin) began with a writing style ruled over by an absolute monarch in Sound, and then speakers pleaded

with Sound (who is likened to Tarquin) to admit co-councillors in the shape of Reason and Custom to form a triumvirate dictating the ‘correct’ orthographic practices between them. In Mulcaster’s opinion, it is better to associate multiple sounds to symbols than to increase the number of symbols, and there is also a ‘best and fittest’ form of the language from which to take ‘right writing’. He sees the English of the time of writing as this ‘best and fittest’ form, and is of the opinion that it is time to ‘fix’ the language. He accounts for a number of perceived ‘infirmities’ in English, though he does not agree with all of them.

Mulcaster’s seven precepts are then dealt with in depth and in turn. Firstly, he handles the “generall rule”, which is “the natur, and force of euerie particular letter” and is the “main groũds of the hole tũg” (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 108). This chapter accounts for the pronunciation of each letter, separated into vowels and consonants. The second precept is “proportion”, which relates to homophones and homographs. Here, monosyllables are discussed under each vowel, and then he discusses bisyllabic and polysyllabic words (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 124–40). Thirdly he discusses “composition”, which relates to simple and compound words (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 140–1), and fourthly “derivation”, meaning morphological derivation (e.g. *friend* producing *friendship*; Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 144). The last three precepts are “distinction” (characters that are “fignifying, but not founding”, e.g. punctuation marks, vowel length marks, and accents; Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 148), “enfranchisement” (borrowings as opposed to native words, and how these borrowings are treated within English; Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 153–4), and “prerogative” (which returns to the idea of the ‘best and fittest’ form of the language, though the exact definition of ‘prerogative’ is a little vague; Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 157). He then introduces the ‘general table’, providing several reasons for producing it (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 163–9). The general table is simply a list of words in their supposedly correct spelling, and the table includes a handful of notes, for example on origins. He concludes with an acknowledgment that his work may be incomplete or incorrect (hoping that if needs be there will be further discussion on the topic), a discussion about ‘learning in generall’ and a defence of the role of English in the knowledgeable world.

3.7.3 Evidence of Northern English pronunciation in the *Elementarie*

There are three points to bear in mind while handling Mulcaster’s *Elementarie* for the purpose of examining non-ESEE pronunciation. First, most of Mulcaster’s spelling—or that of his printer—tends towards those of the standardising orthography. This is the point

of the *Elementarie*; Mulcaster favours the spelling system following ‘convention’ rather than the idea that spelling should reflect speech. Sound for him is, after all, the tyrannical ruler of orthography who is brought to heel by his new co-rulers Reason and Custom, while Art keeps them all in line (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 64–77). Regional variation would in theory be cut out in this case, and it is true that there is very limited evidence of accent-specific evidence in the *Elementarie*. The second point is that Mulcaster makes no statements about the pronunciation of English throughout the *Elementarie*. The evidence to be found in this text, between this and the first point, will all be unintentional on Mulcaster’s part. The third point is that the *Elementarie* does noticeably include several printing errors, which could impact the interpretation of certain spellings that may or may not be evidence. The last part of this section will discuss these debatable spellings, but for now it will suffice to say that some spellings are ambiguous; they could as feasibly be Northern as they could be a simple error made by the typesetter, in exchanging or omitting letters, for example.

There are two variants implied by Mulcaster potentially involving a change in the voicing of fricatives. The first involves the possible use of a voiceless labiodental fricative in place of an ESEE voiced labiodental fricative:

(51) “... fo ought theie to engraf both in parents and mafters a depe
impreffion...”

“...which ar to be engrafted in the minde...” (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 23–4).

This spelling of <engraf(fed)> for *engrave(d)* is recorded in the OED (*engrave*, v.) as appearing in fifteenth century Scots, though this does not appear in the DSL. The implication is that the fricative is the voiceless /f/, rather than /v/. It is possible that this word is in fact *engraft(ed)*, one sense of which would fit its usage in example (56), although a variant omitting the <t> is not recorded by the OED (*engraft* | *inraft*, v.). The exchange of <v> and <f> is, at least, recorded nearby both geographically and chronologically. Wright (1905: 227) records the devoicing of the final fricative in *grave* in some Northern accents, and also the shortening of the vowel in some Northern speech (1905: 41). The past tense form provided in example (51) may indicate a short vowel through the doubled consonant <ff> after the vowel. The other variant potentially showing a change in fricative voicing is the pronoun *us*:

(52) “*Puffe, truffe*, and *linge* with *e*, *muſe, reſuſe*, except *vs*, which is *fo* pronounced, as if it began with *h*, *huz*” (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 136).

Mulcaster draws attention to the addition of /h/ at the start of the word, but this does appear to be, as he states, a more general phenomenon; the OED lists <h-> spellings as being in use generally into the sixteenth century, in addition to several regional variants (OED *us*, pron., n., and adj.). The <-z> spellings, though, are all non-ESEE in the OED, with many of them associated with Northern English and Scots. This implies the use of a voiced alveolar fricative /z/ rather than the voiceless /s/. Dobson (1968: 125) refers to this as a “definite Northernism”, referring to Wright’s index (1905: 661), though elsewhere Wright does state that a /z/ in the unstressed form of *us* can be found across Ireland, Scotland, and England, so it is rather more than just Northern (Wright 1905: 245).

Mulcaster demonstrates Northern English via direct commentary in one set of words:

(53) “...with *e*, *fume, lume, tume* for *leifur Northern*.” (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 136).

The manner of the punctuation and italicisation makes this slightly ambiguous as to whether the full list of words is Northern or just <tume>. The full list, <fume, lume, tume> all could be Northern and Scots words at some point in the history of the languages, though it is not clear either when this became the case, or how general they were beforehand. These could each be one of several words, so interpreting them is not straightforward and it is possible that one or more could be a lexical variant rather than phonological. Dobson (1968: 125) associates Mulcaster’s “Northern” label only with <tume>, which he notes is a lexical concern rather than a phonological one. He does also note <lume> as being possibly Northern (and Scots), however, stating that it is likely a form of *loom* and shows Northern and Scots /y:/ for ME \bar{o} .

Mulcaster’s spellings reflect another potential vowel difference. This relates to a short front vowel:

(54) <thimfelues> (Mulcaster 1970: 40)
<together> (Mulcaster 1970: 45)

On the face of it, these seem fairly straightforward. The vowel / ϵ / used in the ESEE equivalents would be the more close vowel / i /. The OED lists <i>-spelling variants of

together into the sixteenth century as sometimes being non-regional, but there seems to have been a movement towards these variants being more noted in Scots at this time (OED *together*, adv., prep., n., adj.). The <i> forms of *themselves* as registered in the OED are all “non-standard”, but are not recorded until the nineteenth century (OED *themselves*, pron.), likewise for <i> forms of *them* (OED *them*, pron., adj., and n.). The DSL also does not record this sort of spelling variant in *them* until the nineteenth century (DSL *thaim*, pron.; *them*, pron.). The only other record of <thimselues> in EEBO besides Mulcaster is from a sermon by John Forbes, published in Middlesbrough in 1610. A couple of <i> forms of *them* appear in Wright (1905: 638) and are Northern.

One form used by Mulcaster seems to reflect a characteristically Northern instance of metathesis:

(55) <girdiron> (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 192).

This spelling is markedly Northern in the sixteenth century, as per the OED, in which all of the multiple spelling forms in which the vowel and the <r> are reversed are marked as “1500s Northern” (OED *gridiron*, n.). This would imply the reversal of the sounds too, changing the first syllable from /grid/ to something like the pronunciation of *gird*, which Crystal (2016: 236) records as /gɜːɪd/ for ESEE. The vowel may perhaps be different for Northern English. Metathesis involving /r/ and a vowel is observed as a Northern feature (see section 1.2.3), and Wright (1905: 219–20) also mentions metathesis involving /r/ in many dialects, including Northern ones. It is also possible that, rather than being a hint of Mulcaster’s Northern roots slipping through the double net of his own love of convention and the eyes of the printers, this is simply a case of the typesetter mixing up these two letters. There are several places in the *Elementarie* where <u> and <n> are on first sight cropping up in unexpected places, but upon slightly closer inspection are merely the wrong way up. It is feasible that a simple mistake has led to <girdiron>, but paired with the evidence from the OED, Wright (1905: 219–20), and Blank (1996: 105; see section 1.2.3), it seems much more likely that it is Northern English.

Two spelling forms point to potential d-omission:

(56) <fineth> (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 9).

<hanling> (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 159).

The former appears to be *findeth*, while the latter is *handling*. Forms of *find* in all tenses omitting <d>—of which there are many—are marked by the OED as being regional from the ME period onwards, particularly Northern and Scots (OED *find*, v.). Wright (1905: 439) observes several pronunciations of *find* which omit the final /d/ in many accents, including several Northern and Scots accents. Of the verb *handle*, <d>-less forms are marked throughout time as being Scots, Northern, or of the South-West Midlands in the OED, and the noun *handling* refers back to the verb (OED *handle*, v.¹, *handling*, n.¹). This implies the elision of /d/ in the cluster /nd/ in both words. Wright (1905: 232–3) states that medial /d/ has a habit of disappearing in many dialects, which may be the cause of the forms in example (56). However, it is also entirely possible that the typesetter simply forgot to set in the <d> in both words. I have included these examples here because, despite their potential roots in typesetting misadventures, it remains possible that they originate in Mulcaster’s own orthographic choices, and in any case at least accidentally reflect Northern tendencies according to other records.

Dobson (1968: 125) explores Mulcaster’s gender-splitting of diphthongs, where men supposedly use <ai> and women use <ei>, as in <fainteth> /ɛi/ (from a man) vs. <feinteth> /ei/ (from a woman), the pronunciations being “full” and “finilh” respectively (Mulcaster 1582 [1970]: 119). These Dobson (1968: 125) states are variants of ME ai, which he also believes is shown by Mulcaster to have sometimes been a monophthongal pronunciation identical to ME ā. Dobson (1968: 125) states that this is shown by <aCe> spellings which could otherwise be spelled <ai>, as in <brane> for <brain>. This monophthongal pronunciation was, in Dobson’s opinion, “probably influenced by his Northern origin; Smith gives evidence that the identity of ME ai with ME ā was in his time a Northernism”, adding in a footnote that Gil also shows this to be a Northernism and a feature shared by the Mopsæ (Dobson 1968: 125; see sections 3.8.3 and 4.2.3). However, Crystal (2016: 69) gives a monophthongal pronunciation of *brain* /bre:n/, and similarly for *braid*, *Cain* (Crystal 2016: 81), *fail* and *faint* (Crystal 2016: 199). Crystal’s (2016) work focuses on ESEE, so this would suggest that any monophthongal pronunciation possibly indicated by Mulcaster is not a Northern form. If the monophthongs are not simply Northern, non-ESEE forms, then what is the gendered variation Mulcaster refers to? If we take the path on which the <ai> and <ei> are in fact monophthongally-pronounced digraphs, rather than indicators of diphthongs, then this seems likely to be along the lines of Gil’s Mopsæ, which will be discussed in section 4.2.3.

Many of the Northern features displayed in Mulcaster's *Elementarie* are shown through the author's spelling choices, despite his preference for using 'conventional' spellings, or accidentally inserted through possible typesetting errors. In only one case does Mulcaster explicitly mention Northern speech. Many of the features demonstrated by Mulcaster relate to consonants, with vowels only appearing occasionally.

3.8 Alexander Gil

3.8.1 Biography of Alexander Gil

Alexander Gil (the elder) was born in Lincolnshire in the 1560s, and his father may have originally been from Cumberland (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 10), so he is likely to have had considerable exposure to Northern accents. His exact date of birth is unclear; Campbell (2020) gives the very specific date of 27th February 1565. Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b: 9) decades previously had acknowledged this possibility, but ultimately select February 1567 as the most likely date. They likewise disagree over the dates relevant to Gil's time at Oxford; Gil attended Corpus Christi College, possibly arriving in 1581/2, matriculating in either 1583 or 1585, and possibly graduating BA in 1586 before proceeding MA in 1589 (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 9–10; Campbell 2020). What is agreed is that Gil became a schoolmaster in Norwich, and was there in the 1590s (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 12; Campbell 2020). Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b: 12) note that his wife Elizabeth Calvert, to whom he was married some time in that decade, was of a Lancashire family, bringing further Northern influence into Gil's life.

Gil began publishing in the early seventeenth century, putting out one religious tract in his time in Norwich and another while living in London. In 1608 or 1609, he took up the position of high master at St Paul's School in London, succeeding Richard Mulcaster. Here again there is disagreement between Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b) and Campbell (2020) as to the date, but as Campbell (2020) states that this event was in March of that year, it is possible that this apparent disagreement is in fact down simply to Campbell (2020) using the Old Style in giving the year 1608, and Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b: 12) using the New Style with 1609. Barker's (2004) account of Mulcaster's life and his departure from the school neither confirms nor contradicts this. In any case, Gil as high master succeeded another notable Northerner in Mulcaster, and amongst Gil's students during his time at St Paul's was John Milton (Campbell 2020). Milton was, apparently, influenced by Gil's spelling system as outlined in *Logonomia anglica*, "his most important

book” (Campbell 2020). Gil remained master of St Paul’s until his death in November 1635.

3.8.2 Gil’s *Logonomia anglica*

Gil’s *Logonomia anglica* was published in 1619, with a revised version published in 1621. Dobson (1968: 131) is highly favourable about Gil’s work, stating that “of all the reformed systems of spelling which were suggested in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries none deserved to succeed more than that of Alexander Gil”. He describes Gil’s system as being “not a perfect phonetic representation of English”, but being more practical than that of any of his predecessors, and laments that Gil’s system was not adopted (Dobson 1968: 131). *Logonomia anglica* is written entirely in Latin (this study will use the translation made by Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b), as well as the facsimile print made by the same editors (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a)). The text is dedicated to James VI and I, and in the dedication Gil points out to the king that “nothing contributes so much to the fame of a people as their language”, being the means through which all other accomplishments are known to posterity (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 79). Gil and Hume (section 3.4), therefore, produced their works at very similar times and both dedicated their works to the King, acknowledging his interest in matters of the vernacular. Gil, however, met with more success than Hume, having actually had his work published. Gil accounts for the history of the English language in the Preface to the Reader, and then introduces the new orthography which he will propose in the text, while also discussing the works of Mulcaster (section 3.7), Sir Thomas Smith (section 4.3), and John Hart (section 4.4). The four parts of the text are then introduced: “Philology, which concerns the use of letters”, etymology, syntax, and prosody (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 91). Only the first of these parts is of interest to this study. The original Latin labels this section “Grammaticam de literarum ufu” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a: xv).

This first section begins with a definition of grammar, which is “the understanding of rules whereby an unknown language may be rendered intelligible”, consisting of four parts: “pronunciation, accidence, syntax, and prosody”, though pronunciation may also be termed as spelling (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 92). Whether pronunciation or spelling, this part of grammar “deals with the values of isolated and joined letters” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 92). Gil then discusses the pronunciation of a number of ‘letters’, and then moves on to talk about the categorisation of letters into vowels and consonants, and the need (as he sees it) to produce a “full and perfect alphabet” (Danielsson & Gabrielson

1972b: 94–5). Having discussed the monophthongal vowels in various places until this point, Gil moves on to discuss the consonants, and then provides a table of his full alphabet, in which he shows the three parts of the *littera* (the *figura*, the *nomen*, and the *potestas*), the “new” use of the letter, the “old” use, and the meaning of the example words in Latin (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a: 11–3; 1972b: 100–1). He follows this by discussing the “diphthongi propriæ” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a: 14) or the “proper diphthongs”, which he states are those “employed in the speech of educated men”, while “improper diphthongs are those used only in dialects” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 101). The next part of this section concerns “Dialecti: vbi etiam de diphthongis improprijis” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a: 15), or “Dialects: and a word about Improper Diphthongs” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102). This part is the primary source of information on non-ESEE speech in *Logonomia anglica*, and will be discussed in depth in the following section (3.8.3), as well as in the following chapter (section 4.2). Gil lists large numbers of features for several broad dialects: Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western. As Gil was a Northerner himself and therefore a first-hand witness of this dialect, his handling of Northern speech will be discussed in this chapter (section 3.8.3), but his accounts of all other dialects will be left to Chapter 4 (section 4.2), as Gil acts as a second-hand witness for those dialects. Gil closes this section by discussing syllables, before moving on to talk about accidentence.

3.8.3 Evidence of Northern English speech in Gil’s work

Handling Gil’s evidence as a first-hand witness for non-ESEE pronunciation is rather straightforward, largely because his writing in Latin means that his orthographic choices are irrelevant. The vast majority of Gil’s evidence of non-ESEE speech comes in one section of his work, entitled “Dialecti: vbi etiam de diphthongis improprijis” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a: 15) or “Dialects: and a word about Improper Diphthongs” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102). Here, the Northern dialect for which Gil is a first-hand witness is treated in very much the same vein as the other dialects he observes, which are discussed in Chapter 4 (see section 4.2). He identifies English dialects thus:

(57) “*Dialecti præcipuæ sunt sex: Communis, Borealium, Australium, Orientalium, Occidentalium, Poetica. Omnia earum idiomata nec novi, nec, audiui; quæ tamen memini, ut potero dicam.*” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972a: 15).

“There are six major dialects: the general, the Northern, the Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Poetic. I do not know (nor have I myself heard) all the idioms of these, but as my memory serves me, I shall say what I can.” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102).

The “general” dialect seems to be ESEE, or the ‘standard’ in Dobson’s (1968: 131) view, which he is confident is the dialect that Gil employed himself, or at the very least is the dialect he describes throughout most of *Logonomia anglica*. This one chapter, however, contains a huge amount of information about non-ESEE speech, particularly in comparison to many of Gil’s fellow orthoepists.

Gil’s account of Northern English features is as follows, in the translation by Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b):

(58) “*The use of ai for j is a Northern feature as in faier for fjer <ignis>, as is au for ou in gaun (or even geaun) for gown <toga>, and au for ü in waund for wünd **wound** <vulnus>. Northerners also often use ea for e, as meat for mēt <cibus>, and ea for o in beað for both <ambo>. Amongst speakers of my own dialect in Lincolnshire you can hear toaz and hoaz for töz <digiti pedum> [toes] and hōz **hose** <caligæ>, and Northerners will say kest and even kusen for kast <iactus>, fula for folöu, klöth for kloth <pannus>, and yet they say spokn for spökn <dictus>, dün for dun <factus>, tüm for tjm <tempus>, rjch for rich <dives>, döör for ðēr <illic>, briks for brichez <braccæ>, seln for self ... aus for âlso, sud for shüld ... In words with ai, they reject the i, thus pä for pai <solvo>, sä for säi <dico>, and sed for said. Instead of u and ü they have v, as gvd-kvk for gud kük <bonus coquus>.” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102–3).*

Besides this, there is an additional comment made on Northern English in Gil’s description of vowels:

(59) “O sometimes precedes i, as in toiz **toyes** <nugæ>, and forms a triphthong in buoi **boy** <puer> (boi is Northern dialect).” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 101).

There is a large amount of information in quite a small space here, but for ease of reading Gil's examples can be put into a table:

Table 6: Gil's Northern forms, from Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b: 101–3)

<i>Example number</i>	<i>ESEE form</i>	<i>Northern form</i>	<i>ESEE example words</i>	<i>Northern Example words</i>	<i>PDE English equivalent</i>
(60)	j	ai	fjer	faier	fire
(61)	ou	au	goun	gaun, geaun	gown
(62)	ü	au	wünd	waund/wawnd	wound
(63)	e	ea	mët	meat	meat
(64)	o	ea	both	beað	both
(65)	ö	oa	töz, höz	toaz, hoaz	toes, hose
(66)	-	-	kast	kest, kusn	cast
(67)	-	-	folöu	fula	follow
(68)	-	-	kloth	klöth	cloth
(69)	-	-	spökn	spokn	spoken
(70)	-	-	dun	dün	?
(71)	-	-	tjm	tüm	time
(72)	-	-	rich	rjch	rich
(73)	-	-	öer	öör	there
(74)	-	-	brichez	briks	breeches
(75)	-	-	self	seln	self
(76)	-	-	âlso	aus	also
(77)	-	-	shüld	sud	should
(78)	ai	ä (or e)	pai sai said	pä sä sed	pay say said
(79)	u/ü	v	gud kük	gvd kvk	good cook
(80)	-	-	buoi	boi	boy

Some of these features are commonly observed features of Northern EModE. Example (64) is a classic example of Northern and Scots /e:/ as opposed to ESEE /o:/ in the retention of ME *ā*, observed by many scholars (see section 1.2.3), and the same example word *both* is used by Wales (2006: 52) amongst a number of others. Example (80) shows Northern /k/ retention where ESEE has /f/, which is also frequently observed (see section 1.2.3). In example (76), we see L-vocalisation, and in example (77) /s/ is used in place of ESEE /ʃ/ (see section 1.2.3 for both features). Example (75), if we were to follow Blank's (1996: 105) observations of theatrical Northern speech, would see <sel> for *self* in Northern English, but instead Northern speech in Gil's observation replaces final /f/ with /n/. The form <seln> is, however, noted under the development of *self* in the OED as mostly Northern and Scots, apparently through <v>-loss in <selven> (OED *self*, pron., adj.,

n., adv.; see section 1.2.3). Example (79) appears to show Northern fronting of ME \bar{o} , a development noted by various scholars (see section 1.2.3).

Most of Gil's examples are vowel variations. Example (78) seems straightforward enough; it appears that the Northern form is a monophthong rather than the ESEE diphthong. In his table of letters and sounds, Gil labels <ä> "â narrow" and "long", with the example word being *male* (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 100). It appears by the example word that this vowel would be /ɛ:/ (as in Crystal 2016: 338) in EModE, but a short /ɛ/ in *said*, the third example Gil gives. There is one other instance of ESEE diphthongs sitting in opposition to Northern English monophthongs, in example (76). Here, the ESEE vowel is probably /əɪ/ as a result of the GVS, but the Northern vowel is /u:/. I have been unable to account for any reason why *time* should have a back vowel. Example (72) shows the reverse scenario, in which ESEE has a monophthong but Northern English appears to have a diphthong. The ESEE vowel in *rich* given by Gil is simply /ɪ/, but the Northern vowel is <j>, which Gil's table of letters and sounds suggest is /əɪ/ (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 100), as in *time* <tjm> in example (71). This may be a sort of retention of the original vowel, which the OED (*time*, n., int., and conj.) states is long, and the DSL (*tym*, n.1) does show <ei> spellings in Scots, which could indicate length. If the long vowel was retained, then it would theoretically have undergone the GVS, hence the Northern diphthong put forward by Gil. In example (60), Gil uses <ai> in <faier> *fire* as opposed to <j> as in his ESEE form <fjer>. The <j> spelling, as established above, seems to represent ESEE /əɪ/, but his Northern <ai> does not seem to represent a diphthong at all, though he has it listed under his section on "proper diphthongs" (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 101). His example words there are *bait* and *aid*, both of which, according to Crystal (2016: 15, 40), have a monophthong /ɛ:/.

Several of Gil's examples relate to differences in vowel height between ESEE and Northern EModE. In example (63), the ESEE high vowel /i:/ in *meat* looks to be /e:/ in Northern English. Of the <ea> spelling, it can be said that this is most likely not representative of a diphthong in this circumstance, as Gil criticises this spelling other than before <r>, as he says that the <a> "is not pronounced" in most words in which it follows <e> (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 101). Gil has used this spelling in Northern <meat>, however, as he has in <beað> in example (64), so it appears that this <ea> spelling represents /e:/. Examples (61) and (62) both involve the same vowel in Northern English, though the ESEE vowels involved are different between the examples given, and example (61) in fact relates to an ESEE diphthong and a Northern monophthong, rather than just

vowel height. In these examples, ESEE /u:/ and /əʊ/ equate to Northern /ɔ:/, represented by <au>. Gil states that an <au> spelling does not represent a “true” diphthong, which he would spell <âu>, therefore the sound represented in examples (61) and (62) is a monophthong (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 101). The addition of an <e> preceding in example (61) is interesting but unclear; there is no explicit mention of what this represents. It could mean a slight raising of the vowel, or perhaps it could mean the inclusion of a glide. It seems unlikely, in Gil’s more phonetic style, that it relates simply to orthographic convention. In example (66), there are two Northern forms of *cast* provided: <kest> and <kusn>. The first seems to show a raised vowel, probably /ɛ/, attested by Wright (1905: 286, 288). The second, <kusn>, has two individual features which require attention: the vowel, and the final <-n>. The final <-n> is attested by Wright (1905: 287–8) as a past participle form common in Northern dialects, with *cast* appearing in the list, and is therefore a morphological concern rather than a phonological one. The vowel, however, is a phonological concern, and is attested in the same place; Wright (1905: 288) gives the form “kəsn”, and his description of the vowel represented by <ɛ> is “(mid-back-narrow) like the u in lit. Eng. but, cup, nut” (Wright 1905: 17). In modern notation, this would be /ʌ/ or /ʊ/, probably the latter (certainly in a Northern context). This matches up with Gil’s short <u>. Example (67) places ESEE <folöu> *follow* against Northern <fula>, in which the first vowel appears to be higher in Northern English, and the final diphthong has become <a>, which perhaps could represent a reduction to something close to /ə/, a sound which is not represented in Gil’s table of sounds (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 100).

Three of Gil’s examples appear to be simply about vowel length: examples (68), (69), and (70). In example (68), the vowel in *cloth* is given as being long in Northern English, but short in ESEE. Wells (1982: 357) has Northern CLOTH vowels as a short /ɒ/, and Wright (1905: 105) registers the vowel in *cloth* as being short in many Northern accents. Neither explain when these vowels become short, however; Wright (1905: 105) notes that the original vowel was *ā*, and “was [generally] shortened at various periods in the dialects”, but provides no more detail. Perhaps this shortening came later in the North than it did in ESEE, and Gil’s observation comes after ESEE shortening but before Northern shortening. Conversely, in example (69), the same vowel sound in *spoken* is long in ESEE but short in Northern English. It appears from Wright (1905: 82–3) that the short vowel is the original form here, and could be retained in Northern speech into the nineteenth century. Finally, example (70) is another case of a longer Northern vowel in opposition to a short ESEE vowel; this seems to be ESEE /ʊ/ (or perhaps /ʌ/) and Northern /u:/.

In example (73), the vowel in the adverb *there* is noted as a long vowel <ö>, or /o:/. Spellings of *there* with <o> are given in the DSL (*thar*, adv.) for Scots before the sixteenth century, and are attested in ME in the OED (*there*, adv., n., and int.), as well as being regional forms in the nineteenth century. The OED accounts for these forms as a Northern variation caused by a reflex with a short <a> and rounding influenced by the following /r/, but the short vowel does not match up to Gil's evidence. Example (73) could suggest a later lengthening of this short vowel. In example (80), the Northern form of *boy* presents a diphthong while the ESEE (or at least Southern) form is a triphthong; it seems that the Northern form is /bɔɪ/, but the Southern form is /buɔɪ/. This apparently ESEE form is attested by Wright (1905: 210–1) as a South Midland, Southern, and South-Western form. Here, the Northern form is in fact the one which survives into modern 'standard' speech as opposed to the ESEE form.

Example (65) is the one instance in which Gil identifies the feature as being from one specific location rather than being generally Northern. He states that <toaz> and <hoaz> for *toes* and *hose* are both from the speech of his native Lincolnshire. It is not clear, however, what sound this <oa> spelling represents under his "proper diphthongs" (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 101–2). It is unclear if this might be a genuine diphthong, perhaps with a more centralised second element, or if it might mean a more open monophthongal vowel.

Gil's evidence for Northern speech is provided in much the same way as an outside or second-hand observer would do; it all comes through direct commentary on variations, with reference to ESEE pronunciation as a kind of baseline. As will be seen in Chapter 4, his approach here is no different than to the one he uses for non-ESEE dialects to which he is not so intimately familiar, or (potentially) a speaker of. Some of the features evidenced by Gil are well known, others seem to be less so, and he covers both a large amount and a considerable range of features.

3.9 Discussion

3.9.1 Evidence types in the works of 'first-hand' witnesses

Across nine works by seven authors, there is a considerable amount of 'first-hand' evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech. The ways in which first-hand witness authors present evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech can be separated into three broad categories: orthographic choices, direct commentary on variation, and multilingual

comparison. It must be borne in mind, however, that the lines between these categories are not as clear as one might expect.

Orthographic choices frequently show evidence for Northern English and Scots in the works of the authors discussed in this chapter. Welsh English is not evidenced in this way amongst these texts. Both Scots authors (Hume in section 3.4 and Ridpath in section 3.5) employ spellings as evidence for Scots speech, sometimes accompanied by commentary on the spellings and the sounds associated with them, which in Hume's case at least will be due to the prominence of the doctrine of *littera* and the relationship between sound and spelling as it was viewed in the Early Modern period. Levins (section 3.6) and Mulcaster (section 3.7) also provide a considerable amount of evidence for Northern English through their spelling choices. It appears that, setting Salesbury aside for a moment, the later texts are less likely to demonstrate phonological variation orthographically than the earlier ones; Levins and Mulcaster's works were published in the late sixteenth century, and Hume's work was produced in the early seventeenth century. While Ridpath's text is a later seventeenth century text and he does employ spellings as evidence, his evidence is different exactly for that reason: he *employs* spellings. The point of these spelling choices in *Shorthand Yet Shorter* is to demonstrate that Scots and English need to be treated differently in some places. The seventeenth century texts (Gil, in section 3.8, and Price, in section 3.3) do not demonstrate variation through their own spelling choices. This apparent shift makes sense, as English spelling at least was gradually standardising over this time period, particularly in print, so non-ESEE variation would probably be more likely to disappear over time.

Ridpath's spelling choices being so deliberate feeds into the concept of direct commentary, to a degree. His spellings are accompanied by 'rules' about orthographic omissions and exchanges which are likely to relate to phonological variation. Direct commentary on variation, or authors explicitly stating what is different between certain accents (one usually being ESEE) is very common, particularly in the later period; effectively we see the reverse pattern to that of orthographic choices, with the earliest instance coming from Mulcaster in the 1580s, and more direct commentary on non-ESEE speech being made in the seventeenth century with Hume, Gil, Price, and Ridpath (in his way).

The works of only two of these authors fit into the category of multilingual comparison: Hume (section 3.4) and Salesbury (section 3.2). On Hume's part, there is another blurred line between categories, this time between multilingual comparison and direct commentary

on variation. Scots is considered now to be a separate language, and to have been such historically (see section 1.2.2), but this is less evident for Hume, who treats Scots and English as being two dialects of one language. From the perspective of a modern reader, at least, Hume compares two languages to each other and therefore the *Orthographie* can be placed into this category. Salesbury's work is more obvious in its place in this category, as he compares two languages from different language families in Welsh and English, but there is more effort required on the part of a historical linguist to find features of non-ESEE speech in Salesbury's texts (see section 3.2) than is needed to find Scots features in Hume's work, as seen in section 3.4.

Though there are three main categories of evidence types for phonological variation in the works of first-hand witness authors, two of them carry more weight than the third. Multilingual comparison is an infrequent source of evidence, while orthographic choices and direct commentary on variation are much more common.

3.9.2 Intentional and unintentional provision of evidence for 'non-standard' speech by first-hand witnesses

One way in which the evidence types available in the works of first-hand witness authors is the degree of intent. Orthographic evidence is largely (but not always) unintentional evidence, in that its inclusion is not a conscious choice on the part of the author to illustrate phonological variation. There are exceptions to this, such as Ridpath (section 3.5), whose orthographic choices for shorthand intentionally show variation between ESEE and Scots. Otherwise, orthographic evidence is unintentional evidence. Direct commentary on variation is always intentional; the authors are explicitly stating the ways in which accents vary. Multilingual comparison sits in the middle; Hume's multilingual comparison is deliberate commentary on the differences between ESEE speech and Scots speech (see section 3.4), but Salesbury did not set out to demonstrate how Welsh English and ESEE might differ (see section 3.2).

Looking across the authors in this chapter in a timeline, it appears that over time, more and more intentional evidence is included by authors, as the unintentional evidence reduces.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Evidence types and intention</i>
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1547	Salesbury	<i>Dictionary</i>	Multilingual comparison (unintentional)
1550	Salesbury	<i>Introduction</i>	Multilingual comparison (unintentional)
1570	Levins	<i>Manipulus vabulorum</i>	Spellings (unintentional)
1582	Mulcaster	<i>Elementarie</i>	Spellings (unintentional), with one direct comment (intentional)
c.1617	Hume	<i>Orthographie</i>	Balance between spellings (unintentional) and direct commentary (intentional)
1619	Gil	<i>Logonomia anglica</i>	Direct commentary (intentional)
1665	Price	<i>Vocal Organ</i>	Direct commentary (intentional)
1668	Price	<i>English Orthography</i>	Direct commentary (intentional)
1687	Ridpath	<i>Shorthand Yet Shorter</i>	Direct commentary/comparison (intentional)

This lines up with the shift in main evidence types from orthographic choices to direct commentary, as discussed in section 2.2. It seems likely that the shift relates to the ongoing process of standardisation at the time. As spelling moved further through the process of

standardisation (particularly in printed works), the likelihood of non-ESEE spelling variants being present in texts reduced, therefore the presence of unintentional evidence of non-ESEE speech was reduced over time. In the same period, as attitudes towards speech increasingly favoured the standardising ideology, authors would be more likely to comment on variation in order to direct readers away from non-ESEE speech, and therefore intentional evidence of non-ESEE speech increased. This is something that can be addressed in Chapter 4 including the second-hand witnesses to a point, regarding when in the timeline ‘non-standard’ speech is discussed by them. However, this will have to be addressed with more caution as I discuss a relatively small number of ESEE-speaking authors and will be unable to address all of the orthoepists who can be categorised as second-hand witnesses and cannot provide a sufficiently informed overview. It would, then, be unwise to treat both sets of authors as one unit regarding this pattern.

3.9.3 Amount of evidence for ‘non-standard’ speech provided by ‘first-hand’ witnesses

Some of these sources provide quite a lot of evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech, for example Hume (section 3.4) and Gil (section 3.8). Gil’s evidence base also extends far beyond the material covered in this chapter; the evidence that he provides as a second-hand witness is vast, and will be examined in Chapter 4. Other authors provide very little evidence of non-ESEE speech, for example Price (section 3.3) and Salesbury (section 3.2). Across the works examined in this chapter, there is a lot of material available regarding Scots and Northern English. Both see a range of intentional and unintentional evidence, but the evidence for Scots leans towards the intentional and that for Northern English leans towards the unintentional. Welsh English is barely demonstrated; there is one comment from Price, and a handful of features can be teased out of Salesbury’s work, but this requires a much more experimental approach than is needed for the work of any of the other authors.

There is a change in the amount of evidence found over the time period too. There is a significant decrease at the end of the seventeenth century, with Ridpath and Price, who provide comparatively little evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech. Arguably the mid-sixteenth century provides even less material, with only Salesbury’s works being produced then, but orthoepy’s advent comes at about this time, so with such a limited number of sources it is difficult to make a judgement on this. The two or three decades on either side of the turn of the seventeenth century are the peak time for non-ESEE and Scots speech to

make themselves known in orthoepic works by first-hand witnesses, it seems; the works of Hume, Levins, Mulcaster and Gil all fall between 1570 and 1620, and provide the most evidence for non-ESEE and Scots phonology. The three authors falling outside of this period (Ridpath, Price, and Salesbury) demonstrate considerably fewer features of non-ESEE and Scots speech.

4 Second-hand witnesses

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the evidence for non-ESEE and Scots pronunciation provided in the work of ‘second-hand’ witnesses.

- Section 4.2: Alexander Gil, *Logonomia anglica*, 1619.
- Section 4.3: Sir Thomas Smith, *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*, 1568.
- Section 4.4: John Hart, *The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our english tongue*, 1551; *An Orthographie*, 1569; *A Methode or comfortable beginning for all unlearned, whereby they may be taught to read English*, 1570.
- Section 4.5: John Wallis, *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* and *Tractatus de loquela*, 1653–1765.⁶
- Section 4.6: Simon Daines, *Orthoepia anglicana*, 1640.

There are many more orthoepic texts written by second-hand witnesses of non-ESEE and Scots speech than first-hand witnesses, which may be seen in the range of authors in Dobson’s (1968) first volume; most of them are ESEE speakers talking about ESEE speech. The authors listed above include four ESEE speakers, and Gil, who was seen in section 3.8 as a first-hand witness of Northern English. Here, Gil is viewed as a second-hand witness of several other non-ESEE dialects, upon which he comments (see section 4.2). In this chapter, I have selected a handful of works which do comment on non-ESEE and Scots speech; in the course of this project, I came across several works by ESEE speakers who make no comment on non-ESEE or Scots speech, such as John Jones (1701 [1969]), Elisha Coles (1674 [1967]), and Edmund Coote (1596 [1968]), which can be dismissed for the purposes of this project. I have included in this chapter the works I have found which discuss non-ESEE and Scots speech as second-hand witnesses.

⁶ Multiple editions of Wallis’ texts were published in this timeframe. The edition chosen for the present study is explained in section 4.4.2.

The evidence put forward by these second-hand witnesses is more straightforward than for the first-hand witnesses; all of their evidence comes through commentary on variation, displayed intentionally by the authors. Some first-hand witnesses in Chapter 3 do this, but the variety of information types is much more limited in the works of second-hand witnesses. In these cases, the important factors are the style of the commentary, and the choices made by the authors as to what accents and what features are shown.

4.2 Alexander Gil

4.2.1 Gil as a second-hand witness

Gil's role as a first-hand witness of Northern English has been discussed in the previous chapter, in section 3.8. He provided a large paragraph listing a multitude of Northern pronunciation variants, demonstrating a considerable range of dialectal speech features. In the same chapter of *Logonomia anglica*, Gil discusses several other dialects of English, in the same fashion as his handling of Northern English. I have already given a short account of Gil's life (section 3.8.1), and of *Logonomia anglica* as a whole (section 3.8.2), neither of which I shall repeat here. It is worth repeating here, however, that Gil listed "six major dialects: the general, the Northern, the Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Poetic", of which "I shall say what I can" (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102). He provides a paragraph each on the Southern, the Eastern, and the Western dialects, each of which will be examined separately here. His comments on the "general" dialect, dialects in poetry, and his opinions on cant will follow all together, as they receive much more limited attention. Though Gil's approach to the Northern dialect is fairly neutral, his ambivalence does not last throughout the remainder of his Dialects chapter.

4.2.2 Southern features in *Logonomia anglica*

After listing Northern features, Gil moves on to the South:

(81) "*Southerners use ü for i, as hü for hi <ille>; v for f, as vil for fil <impleo>, tu vech for fech <affero>, and on the contrary f for v, as fineger for vinegar <acetum>, ficar for vicar <vicarius>. Also they use o for a, as ronk for rank <rancidus> or <luxurians> as an adjective; as a noun it means <ordines in acie>, or other things. For s they use z, as zing for sing <cano>. ... In separating the elements of the diphthong ai they lengthen the*

a unpleasantly, thus päi <solvo>, and ðäi <illi>.” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103).

There are several features of Southern pronunciation recorded in example (87). Regarding consonants, Gil’s observations of Southern variation all concern the voicing of fricatives. He notes the voicing of /f/ and /s/ to /v/ and /f/ (at least initially; he does not evidence voicing elsewhere, nor does he expressly deny it) in <vil> for *fill*, and <zing> for *sing*. He also points out the devoicing of /v/ to /f/, in <ficar> for *vicar*, for example. Again, he only uses examples with initial fricatives, but this voicing or devoicing cannot be ruled out elsewhere purely on these grounds.

Regarding the Southern vowels, Gil’s comments are a little more varied. At the start of example (81), Gil comments on the pronoun *he*, stating that Southern speech replaces the /i:/ with /u:/. There is a small amount of evidence for this backing of the vowel in the OED (*he*, pron., n.¹, and adj.), but none from Wright (1905). Next, Gil turns to a short vowel, which again shows backing in the Southern form: <ronk> for *rank*. Here, the vowel /a/ looks to be replaced by a back vowel, perhaps /o/. There is some evidence of this shown by Wright (1905: 29; 571). Finally, Gil shows a lengthening of the first element of the diphthong /εɪ/, resulting in /ε:ɪ/. This is the first time he provides a value judgement, stating that the vowel is lengthened “unpleasantly” (this will be revisited in section 5.3.2).

4.2.3 Eastern features and the Mopsæ in *Logonomia anglica*

Gil has plenty to say regarding speech in the east of England:

(82) “*The Easterners, in the other hand, generally attentuate their speech, and say fir for fjer <ignis>, kiver for kuver <tegmen>; also they use ea for a, as to deans for dans <saltare>; v for f, as velöu for felöu <socius>; z for s, as zai for sai <dicito>. Also our fashionable ladies (πυγοστόλοί ‘with trailing dresses’) particularly affect a thin voice which so diminishes all sounds that they seem to tremble at a and o as much as Appius Claudius did at z. Thus our fashionable ladies do not buy laun and kämbric <sidonis species>, but lën and kembric, do not eat käpn <caponem> but këpn and almost kïpn. Nor do they ever feed on bucherz mët **butchers meate** <carnem a lanijs>, but biccherz müt. And since all of them are zintlimin not zentlwimen <matronæ nobiles>, they do not call servants maidz but mëdz.*

*Yet what I have said about a I withdraw, for when ô ought to be heard
forcibly, they use instead a, and thus constantly chirp at me I pre ya gï yaw
skalertz liv ta plë for I prai you giv yür skolars lëv tu plai <quæso concede
tuis disciplulis veniam ludendi>.” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103).*

Of Eastern English pronunciation, Gil comments on a couple of vowels and a couple of consonants. The two consonantal variations evidenced by Gil are the same as can be found in his account of Southern speech: the voicing of voiceless fricatives. He shows voicing of /f/ to /v/ in *fellow* and /s/ to /z/ in *say*. There are also a few different vowel variations. In *fire*, Gil shows the diphthong as a monophthong which seems to be /i:/, and in *cover* Gil shows a fronting of the first vowel to /ɪ/ or something similar. Finally, he shows a raising of /a/ in *dance*, probably to /æ/ or /ɛ/.

Gil’s commentary here is not solely about Eastern English in general; he also introduces the Mopsæ, who in fact take up considerably more of the space in example (82) than the general pronunciation of Eastern English. The Mopsæ are a group whom Gil is particularly famous—or infamous—for describing (e.g. Lass 1999: 92–3). They are “fashionable ladies”, and Gil is not fond of them. They “affect a thin voice”, he says above, and this affectation is something of which Gil has no great opinion. They are, he seems to think, overdoing it in their attempts to sound refined. They “tremble at a and o”, Gil mocks, and these vowels are typically shifted by the Mopsæ, with *lawn* and *cambric* becoming <lën> and <kembric>. Of the latter, the vowel /a/ is simply raised to /æ/ or /ɛ/. The former, however, is fronted at least, and potentially raised a little, with the original vowel sitting at /ɔ:/, and the Mopsæ variant moving to either /ɛ:/ or /e:/. A similar fate befalls *capon*, the vowel for which might even be raised to /i:/. The vowels /ʊ/ and /e:/ are likewise shifted in the phrase *butcher’s meat* according to Gil; /e:/ in *meat* raises to /i:/, while /ʊ/ is fronted. It would appear on the surface that /ʊ/ both fronts and unrounds to /ɪ/, but it may be that the sound remains rounded and this simply does not show up in Gil’s new orthography. Another feature raised by Gil is the monophthongisation of what looks to be /ɛɪ/ in *maids* to /ɛ:/ or more likely /e:/. Gil provides an example sentence at the end of example (82) in which many of these vowel shifts are demonstrated, and he also demonstrates a consonantal variation. In *your*, he shows the ‘standard’ or ESEE version as <yür>, but the Mopsæ pronunciation is represented as <yaw>. Here, derhoticisation is demonstrated; the Mopsæ seem to have lost final /r/, while ESEE speakers (at least in Gil’s opinion) retain it. Overall, Gil’s approach to the pronunciation of the Mopsæ is consistently negative, more negative than he has been towards variation so far. This will be revisited in section 5.3.3.

4.2.4 Western features in *Logonomia anglica*

Gil's negativity is not reserved solely for the Mopsæ, however, as Western speech receives quite a damning verdict:

(83) “*But of all the dialects the Western has the most barbarous flavour, particularly if you listen to rustic people from Somerset, for it is easily possible to doubt whether they are speaking English or some foreign language. For even now they still use certain ancient sounds, as sax for <cultro>, nem or nim for <accipe>, and English words are replaced by their own, as lax for <parte>, toit for <sedili>, etc. Furthermore they corrupt proper words, some in meaning, some in pronunciation, as wïz wai for <fræno>, wïtpot for <farcimine>, ha vang <huc projice> or even <arricipe projectum>; also, hï vangd tu mi at ðe vant <in baptisterio pro me susceptit>, zit am <sede>, zadrauñ for assay ðerof <gusta>, hj iz gön avisht for a fishing <abiit piscatum>. Again, they say throttïn for thirtin ‘13’, narger for naröuer <angustior>, zorger for mör soröuful <tristior>.”*
(Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103).

Gil's negativity towards the speakers of the West will be revisited in section 5.3.2. In example (83), Gil usually drops the habit of providing the ESEE version of his example words, often only providing the Western example and the Latin translation, though there are a couple of exceptions. This makes interpreting some of the evidence slightly more difficult, but some features can be made out. One feature which appears frequently in this section is the voicing of voiceless fricatives, specifically /v/ for /f/ and /z/ for /s/, which can be seen in <avisht> for *afishing*, <zorger> for *more sorrowful*, <zit am> for *sit down*, and <zadrauñ> for *assay thereof*. This is upheld by Wright for *fish* (1905: 441), *sit* (1905: 603), and though *assay* does not appear, *say* does, with a voiced fricative in some of the (South) Western counties (1905: 585).

Another feature appearing more than once in example (83) is the retention of a back consonant in *sorrowful* and *narrower*, shown in <zorger> and <narger>. Both *sorrow* and *narrow* appear in the OED with <g>, <gh>, or <ʒ> forms variously in either OE or ME, suggesting a back fricative like /x/ or perhaps /ç/ (OED *sorrow*, n. and adj.; *narrow*, adj. and n.). Though Wright (1905: 252–3) notes the older <g> form in *sorrow* and other <-llow> or <-rrow> words, he does not acknowledge any retention of an associated sound in

any dialects. This may simply mean that it had died out by the nineteenth century. Gil's use of <g> would in theory indicate a plosive /g/, as he does have another symbol for a back fricative—as seen in <zadrauh> in this section—but it is not outside of the realm of possibility that this was still a back fricative and Gil has simply been inconsistent in this instance.

Gil also provides the form <throttin> for *thirteen*, which shows two different variants. Firstly, this form shows /r/ preceding the vowel, and secondly the vowel in the first syllable is a back vowel represented by <o>. Both of these variations can be accounted for by looking at the etymon of *thirteen* as found in the OED: <þréot(i)ene> (OED *thirteen*, adj. and n.). This would suggest that the form <throttin> observed by Gil stems in part from a lack of change compared to the ESEE form <thirtin> with which he compares the Western form. It would appear that in ESEE, the <rV> sequence (or <rVV> if both vowels were still in use at this time) underwent metathesis, and the back vowel suggested by the <o> spelling was eliminated to develop eventually into <thirtin>. In Gil's Western form <throttin>, it appears that the order of the <rV> (or <rVV>) sequence has been maintained, and the front vowel (<e>) has been elided rather than the back vowel (<o>). Forms with either or both of these features are seen in Wright (1905: 641), though all are found in Northern England. In the OED, such variants are not marked as belonging to a specific dialect, but after about 1500 they are mainly from Northern or Scottish sources (OED *thirteen*, adj. and n.). Possibly it may have died out in Western dialects between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth, or it may be that Wright (1905) simply did not come across it in the West by chance if it was still in use.

There is one phrase included in example (83) on Western English which involves several variants. The first <zit am>, appears to mean *sit down*. This starts with the voicing of /s/ to /z/, as noted above. The remainder of the first word (*sit*) is as it appears in ESEE, but the second (*down*) includes several variants. Firstly, the initial /d/ appears to have been elided following final /t/ in *sit*. The vowel appears to have been monophthongised from /əʊ/ (Crystal 2016: 167) probably to /a/. Finally, the final /n/ has become /m/. Here, Gil shows variation above the level of a single word, which is less common in orthoepy; typically examples are single words rather than phrases.

4.2.5 Other comments in *Logonomia anglica*

Gil includes a few examples of variation in the so-called “General Dialect” too, showing that variation is not simply associated with these general regional accents:

(84) “*The general dialect is sometimes ambiguous, and you will hear inuf or inuh **inough** <satis>, ðai or ðei **they** <illi>, to flit or to flöt **floate** <aquæ innatare>, hâlberd, halberd, or hölberd <bipennis>, toil or tüil, soil or süil, bjld, bild, bvld, as has already been mentioned.*” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104).

Here, Gil talks about a few different variations which appear in the General Dialect, largely relating to vowels. The first example is of a consonantal variation, in which it appears that Gil notices that some speakers use /f/ at the end of *enough*, while others retain a back fricative, perhaps /x/. From here, all of the variations relate to vowels. The next example, concerning the diphthong in *they*, shows that the first element of the diphthong can variably be the mid and open front vowels. In *float*, the vowel seems to be either the back vowel that might be expected of the ‘standard’ dialect, or it could be a front /i:/. In *halberd*, the first vowel can be realised as /ɔ:/, /a/, or a long back vowel which might be /ɒ:/. *Toil* and *soil* appear to have variants in which the diphthong is /u:ɪ/ or something like it; the first element at least seems to be both long and raised. It is not immediately clear what the final three variants are meant to be, perhaps *build*, but in any case, the vowel appears to be always close, but varies according to frontness or backness. This short paragraph demonstrates that, though Gil might believe in a kind of universality to speech as an ideal, it is far from existing at the time of his publication.

Gil next turns to making general observations on dialects and their uses. Firstly, he addresses the issue of dialect in poetry:

(85) “Of all writers, only poets are permitted to use dialects, yet they abstain from using them (except the general use), unless they use the Northern dialect, quite frequently for the purpose of rhythm or attractiveness, since that dialect is the most delightful, the most ancient, the purest, and approximates most nearly to the speech of our ancestors. But because everyone defends the irregularity of his own dialect solely on the grounds of

license, more will be said about that when we deal with prosody.”

(Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104).

His opinion here is that dialects do have a role in literature, which would see them used in a higher register than Gil seems to otherwise allow. Northern English, Gil believes, is a particularly favoured and favourable dialect to use in poetry as it is attractive and retains elements of older forms of English (see section 5.4).

Gil’s final comments on dialects relate to the classes of people employing these variations, and one particular manner of speaking which to his mind is even worse than the speech of Westerners:

(86) “What I say here regarding the dialects, you must realise, refers only to country people, since among persons of genteel character and cultured upbringing, there is but one universal speech, in pronunciation and meaning. Regarding that venomous and disgusting ulcer of our nation [i.e. cant] I am embarrassed to say anything at all. For that detestable scum of wandering vagabonds speak no proper dialect but a cant jargon which no punishment by law will ever repress, until its proponents are crucified by the magistrates, acting under a public edict. But since this entire jargon, together with the filthy language of criminals, has been described in a strange book, and because it offers not benefit to foreigners, I shall exclude it from my discussion.” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104).

There are two main points here. The first sentence contains the first of these points, which is that Gil believes that the upper classes have one established way of speaking, a “universal speech, in pronunciation and meaning”. The accents described in his chapter on dialects, illustrated here and in section 3.8, are only used by “country people”, as far as Gil is concerned. It is hard to say that he is correct in this assertion; as was mentioned in section 2.3, these texts were being produced to create a universal ‘standard’ amongst those with a certain level of education, not because one already existed.

The second point raised in this paragraph is the question of cant. This dialect, which Gil cannot bring himself to even describe though it has been described elsewhere (Danielsson & Gabrielson (1972b: 201) list several possible texts), is “the filthy language of criminals”, spoken by a “detestable scum of wandering vagabonds”. He even believes that cant ought

to be litigated against, and its usage should be punished (quite harshly, going by Gil's proposal of crucifixion). Whether cant includes any phonological differences from ESEE is not made clear by Gil, though perhaps his favouring of the term "jargon" in relation to it suggests that the variation stems more from a lexical position than anything. Regardless, what is made evident by this paragraph on the "universal speech" and the reprehensible speech which is cant, is that Gil has a very strong view on what is and is not appropriate speech.

Gil, in comparison with his fellow orthoepists across the two centuries covered in this study, is quite active as a dialectologist. In only a couple of pages, he covers a larger range of dialects and dialectal features than any of the other authors discussed in either Chapter 3 or this chapter. He handles four broad regional dialects, as well as the 'General dialect' and cant. His style is the same for both his native Northern dialect (see section 3.8) and the other regional dialects, with his new orthography used to illustrate the pronunciation of the regional forms and the ESEE forms, alongside the use of Latin as a core reference. Gil effectively places the dialects in a hierarchy:

General—best speech

Northern—good for poetry

Southern—neutral

Eastern—neutral generally, but the Mopsæ speak less properly

Western—barbarous

Cant—unspeakable

The 'poetic dialect' is less clearly indicated, but presumably this is something that Gil favours at least in the correct setting. Gil's attitudes towards various dialects are enlightening, as he provides a much more complete picture of dialect attitudes, as well as a more comprehensive range of linguistic features (including suprasegmental features), than is found in the works of most other orthoepists (see Chapter 5).

4.3 Sir Thomas Smith

4.3.1 Biography of Sir Thomas Smith and the question of witness types

Sir Thomas Smith presents a more complicated case with regards to witness 'closeness' to non-ESEE varieties. Sir Thomas Smith was born in 1513 in Saffron Walden, Essex. His

father was a “small-scale sheep farmer” and his mother was of Lancashire origins (Archer 2008). He went to Cambridge at age 11 and joined Queen’s College in 1526. He graduated in 1530, then proceeded to MA in 1532, and became a King’s scholar in 1533, as well as being appointed as a public orator. Smith spent a considerable amount of time at the university, being appointed professor of civil law in 1540, though he was unqualified for the appointment. Between 1540 and 1542, he toured Europe to familiarise himself with humanist legal scholarship, and was incorporated as LLD and DCL upon his return to Cambridge.

Smith was also heavily involved in the movement to reform Greek pronunciation according to Erasmus’ system, pushing for this reform alongside John Cheke, though the system was forbidden by the university’s chancellor, Stephen Gardiner. In 1542, Smith wrote *De recta et emendata linguae graecae pronuntiatione*, a treatise on the subject of reforming Greek pronunciation, though it was not published until 1568. He was appointed as vice-chancellor of the university in 1543, which provided him with links to the royal court, and in 1547 he entered the household of Protector Somerset, becoming the Clerk of the Privy Council, MP for Marlborough, and provost of Eton College. The next year he became dean of Carlisle and was appointed Secretary of State. In 1549 he was knighted, and was also found “marshalling the arguments for English sovereignty over Scotland in the spring” (Archer 2008).

For numerous reasons, Smith was an unpopular figure, and as Somerset’s fortunes fell in 1549–50, Smith also lost certain positions, including that of Secretary of State. He continued working in court circles under Edward VI and Mary I, but did not rise much under them or under Elizabeth I in the early days of her reign, largely due to his being at odds with his former student William Cecil. His political career shifted into his ambassadorship to France in the 1560s, during which time he wrote numerous political tracts, and also published his texts on Greek pronunciation and *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*, both of which were published in 1568 in Paris. In the 1570s he regained favour and was granted numerous prominent roles, including that of Secretary of State, which he regained after William Cecil became Baron Burghley and according to Burghley’s wishes. He was also granted land in Ireland, where he wanted to establish a colony, and one of his publications discusses Ireland and his rather unpleasant ideas about the Irish. His attempt at creating a colony failed, however, and his own son was killed in the endeavour. Smith himself died in 1577.

Archer (2008) describes Smith as being “among England’s foremost humanists” alongside his colleague John Cheke, but that Cheke had the linguistic edge over Smith in the matter of Greek pronunciation. Smith disapproved of ‘custom’ as a basis for Greek pronunciation, as he notes that this varies between nations and over time, and the system that he favoured used a system of mapping one sound onto one symbol. Archer also states that the reform movement of Smith and his contemporaries Cheke, Roger Ascham, Thomas Wilson, and John Hart “has been seen as part of the developing sense of English national consciousness” (2008).

As can be seen above, Smith’s background places him somewhere between a first-hand and second-hand witness for Northern English. While he was not a Northern English speaker himself, and therefore cannot be counted a first-hand witness, he received (to our knowledge) more exposure to Northern English through his mother than the other second-hand witnesses seem to have had to the non-ESEE varieties that they discuss. It should be noted that there is no guarantee that this is accurate; the lives of many of these figures are not accounted for in much detail. Unlike royalty or nobility, many of their lives were not so keenly watched that their familial lines and their households were recorded in depth. For Smith, however, we know of his family’s origins. Smith discusses only a few Northern features, however, and he also discusses some Welsh English and Scots features, for which he is certainly a second-hand witness as he had no known connection to either Wales or Scotland.

4.3.2 Sir Thomas Smith’s *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*

Sir Thomas Smith’s *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus*, published in 1568 in Paris, is a tract concerning the spelling of English (Danielsson translates the title as ‘A Dialogue of the Correct and Improved Writing of English’). This text was originally written in Latin, but the present study will employ Bror Danielsson’s English translation (Danielsson 1983). As the title demonstrates, it is presented as a dialogue between Smith and Quintus, whose effusive and rapturous praise of Smith’s ideas often ventures into absurdity. When asked by Smith if he is tired of listening to his ideas, for example, Quintus cries “Tired? Lord love me! Do you not see how I hang on your lips? And while I listen, I seem to be in Elysium, or to be conversing somewhere with Diomedes, Priscians, Appions, and Palemons” (Danielsson 1983: 91). Archer (2008) states that Quintus could represent fellow orthoepist John Hart (see section 4.4). Also featured, though only by references

made by Smith and Quintus, is Richard Mulcaster (see section 3.7), who is believed to be the basis for the character of Stubborn, though Smith's *Dialogus* was published long before Mulcaster's *First Part of the Elementarie*. If Mulcaster is Stubborn, then he must have made his views on English spelling known long before he published on the subject, which would illustrate an interconnectedness of the orthoepists as a group; they typically work in education, they all spent time at one of the two English universities, and most of them have spent time in London. Connections such as this are therefore unsurprising. 'Stubborn' is Quintus' dear friend, though his views on English spelling are mocked at length by both Smith and Quintus. Quintus' account of a conversation with Stubborn on the matter (and the following mockery of Stubborn) opens the door for Smith to demonstrate his own views on the subject of English spelling, propelled by Quintus' enthusiastic questioning.

Smith's general view is that there should be a symbol for every sound, leaning towards a phonographic system (see section 2.1.1). He dislikes the use of a symbol (or a set of symbols) to represent multiple different sounds; he dislikes the use of <th> for /θ/ or /ð/, for example (Danielsson 1983: 139). The tract opens with a conversation between Smith and Quintus, outlining the view held by Stubborn that the way forward with English spelling is to find a standard based on convention, rather than to make up new symbols, as suggested to him by Quintus and favoured by Smith. Smith then mentions that he has been working on a treatise regarding English spelling for some time, and Quintus requests that he read it to him. Smith obliges, and the body of the *Dialogus* follows. It begins with an explanation of what a letter is (to his understanding), clearly indicating his conventional understanding of the doctrine of *littera* by his association of letters with sounds (see section 2.1.2). He states that "[a] letter is the smallest part of articulate speech", and observes that articulate speech requires the ability to express a sound by a letter (Danielsson 1983: 29), demonstrating the connection between *figura* and *potestas* (see section 2.1.2). He also uses the traditional division of sounds into vowels, semi-vowels, and mutes (see section 2.1.2), but calls this the division of "letters" rather than of "sounds" (Danielsson 1983: 29). This is followed by an argument that writing is a reflection of speech and therefore spelling should be formed in such a way as to reflect pronunciation, as in Smith's day "every nation wilfully uses or abuses letters" (Danielsson 1983: 35). Smith then goes on to tackle the individual letters/sounds, firstly by the vowels (and diphthongs), and then by the consonants. Besides the separation of vowels and consonants, he proceeds in alphabetical order, and then proceeds to any sounds which he finds are not associated with a single letter, e.g. diphthongs in the vowels section, or <th> in the consonants section. He seems to associate a sound with a letter by providing a set of

English example words. These examples incorporate the sound and letter form under discussion, and their Latin translations are also given. Smith also discusses a number of different groups who use alternative pronunciations, amongst them speakers from the North of England, Scotland, and Wales, though he does not seem to view these alternative pronunciations as any sort of impediment to his system. Nor does he seem to take much issue with the existence of non-ESEE pronunciations; at least in the way that Danielsson (1983) translates the text, Smith does not portray these accents negatively.

4.3.3 Smith on non-ESEE and Scots vowels

There are two vowels described by Smith which are specifically associated with Scots. The first is a very straightforward communication of the retention of a front, unrounded vowel /e:/ where Southern English has /o:/. Smith describes it thus:

(87) “Though the Scots have a vowel in common use sounding half way between Roman *a* and *e*; which they employ most in words which we pronounce with an *o*.

...

English		Scots		
os	<i>bön</i>	<i>bän</i>	or	<i>bean</i>
lapis	<i>stön</i>	<i>stän</i>		<i>stean.</i> ”

(Danielsson 1983: 65–7)

This is easy to interpret, between existing knowledge of Scots phonology (see section 1.2.3) and the clarity afforded by Smith’s use of Latin as a reference point. His representative spellings of the Scots vowel—particularly the <ea> spelling which reflects a spelling also seen in Hume’s work (section 3.4.3)—also aid in the interpretation of this vowel.

The second Scots vowel is what Smith refers to as “the improper Greek diphthong ω ”:

(88) “This is unknown to us. But the Scots pronounce what we write as *oi*, by *Omega* with *Iota* subscript, so that the *i* is scarcely heard.”

(Danielsson 1983: 75)

Allen (1987: 144, 147), in explaining the reform of Greek pronunciation which Smith pushed, notes that ω was associated with an open mid back sound as in *moan* or *bone*: /ɔ:/. With the iota subscript, however, this ω becomes a “long diphthong”, in which the first element is long (Allen 1987: 84). The second element was lost in Greek, however (Allen 1987: 85–7), which may explain why Smith refers to it as improper. Smith seems to either be referring to /ɔ:I/, in which the second element is only just perceptible.

A vowel shared by the Scots and the Northerners, according to Smith, is the sound he represents with <y> or <v>. He describes it as the Greek or French *Upsilon*, and rarely pronounced by the English (at least those in the South), but he says that:

(89) “...the Scots, who have almost blotted out their old tongue with French, and those who live North of the Trent, and are neighbours with the Scots, usually do so. So that what we sound as the Roman *U*, they utter as the Greek or French *Upsilon*.” (Danielsson 1983: 59–61)

Though he later notes that this sound was also used in Old English represented by <y>, he does not seem to consider this sound retained by Northern English and Scots, but rather he sees it as an invasive sound. The sound appears to be /y/. Interestingly, he also comments on the vowel length, and states that “they [Northerners and Scots] lengthen, in pronunciation, that which is naturally short, the better to express that long *Upsilon*” (Danielsson 1983: 61). His view, then, is that the sound in fact tends to be /y:/, with little in the way of a short vowel. He represents the sound in his own spelling system as <ü>. In all of his examples, however, he does not demonstrate a place in which Scots and Northern <ü> /y:/ is opposed to Southern <u> /ʊ/; the corresponding Southern examples are always long too (Danielsson 1983: 59–63).

The final vowels for which Smith demonstrates variation are the many pronunciations associated with the spelling <ai>. Here, Smith demonstrates variation across geography, settlement type, gender, and class, and he becomes more judgemental here. Firstly, he asserts that <ai> in “town speech” is pronounced with both vowels short, “but country folk lengthen both, or at least, give them an unpleasant and over course sound” (Danielsson 1983: 69). Gender and class come into play when he asserts that “those who pronounce these words in a refined way, especially women, illustrate the Roman diphthong *ae*”, which Danielsson (1983: 69) transcribes as [ē] and then [ē̄]. Finally, he says that “the Scots and some English people North of the Trent express these sounds by the improper Greek

diphthong α [a] so that neither *i* nor *e* can be distinctly heard” (Danielsson 1983: 71). This seems to be a partial monophthongisation, or a weakening or reduction of the diphthong’s second element. Smith covers a significant amount of variation in a small space here, including several different types of variation.

4.3.4 Smith on non-ESEE and Scots consonants

Smith describes one consonant feature of both Northern English and Scots, and one specifically of Northern English: the use of palatal plosives where ESEE had postalveolar affricates (see section 1.2.3). Both are described in quite a straightforward manner. Under the letter <c>, Smith notes:

(90) Much that we pronounce with this *c* (whether Roman or Tuscan, or at all events English), the Scots and the English North of the Trent pronounce and write with a *k*, as ... *canem foeminam*, *bik*, *nates brök*, and many others likewise.” (Danielsson 1983: 103)

As for the voiced equivalent, Smith first illustrates the difference between the pronunciation of <g> /g/ and <ɣ> /dʒ/ (Danielsson 1983: 155–9). Then he states that:

(91) “Most of the words which Southerners pronounce with this sound \mathfrak{s} at the end, Northerners pronounce with a *g*. For *pons* we say *bris*, they *brig*”. (Danielsson 1983: 159)

He does not include Scots here as he does for the voiceless sound, though this could be a feature of the translation rather than the text.

Many of Smith’s descriptions of non-ESEE consonants are in fact of Welsh English, in which aspiration is a common thread, reflected in a comment he makes late in the text: “...the aspirates we leave to the Welsh” (Danielsson 1983: 155). Firstly, of the letter <h>, Smith says that the Welsh are “right in following the Greek fashion”, which he describes as using <h> initially before vowels, “except *ro* (ρ) to which they always added a rough breathing” (Danielsson 1983: 109). Allen’s (1987: 43) comments on this Greek letter suggest that Smith refers to an aspirated /r/, [r^h]. This leads into Smith’s second comment on Welsh English, under <r>. He states that:

(92) “Our *R* is the same as the Latin, but our Welsh countrymen aspirate it.”
(Danielsson 1983: 127)

There seem to be two possible sources for this. The first is that in Welsh, /r/ has a voiceless allophone [r̥] following a voiceless obstruent (Hannahs 2013: 19–20). Perhaps to Smith, this devoicing may have sounded like aspiration of the sound. The second is the existence of a voiceless aspirated alveolar trill [r̥^h], which can appear in onset position either word-initially or in Northern Welsh dialects word-medially (Hannahs 2013: 20). It appears that Smith could identify one or both of these voiceless sounds carrying across from Welsh into Welsh English.

William Salesbury indirectly provides us with evidence for the devoicing of voiced plosives, as seen in section 3.2.3. Smith also illustrates this, as well as the aspiration of the voiceless plosives which can be found in Welsh. In a long section of the dialogue in which Smith explores the uses of aspiration and the letter <h>, Smith tells Quintus, “I wish we had a Welshman here with us” to illustrate what happens when you add <h> after another letter, and to prove why <th> should not be used to represent /ð, θ/ (Danielsson 1983: 145). He guides Quintus to pronounce /b/ in a phrase, and then to “put an *h* after your *b*”, which Quintus cannot do, so Smith does it himself (Danielsson 1983: 145). Quintus states that he can hear the “proper and natural sound of both *b* and *h*” (Danielsson 1983: 145). Smith continues:

(92) “SM. What when I say *behind*? If I omit the *e*, does it not make *bhind*?
That is how the Welsh pronounce what we call *bind* (‘ligare’).” (Danielsson
1983: 147)

Although this does not directly read as devoicing, this may be what Smith is indicating. Welsh voiced plosives do not seem to be aspirated (see Hannahs 2013: 15), but Smith may be using aspiration as a way of describing the devoiced quality that Welsh voiced plosives take on in many positions (see section 3.2.3; Hannahs 2013: 15). This is a more refined way of illustrating these devoiced sounds than is shown in the theatrical representations that Blank (1996) and Thomas (1994) show (see section 3.2.3).

In this same part of the dialogue, the voiceless plosives used by Welshmen are also used as examples. Smith says:

(93) "...when a Welshman says 'tender', he does not say *tender* as we do, but *thender*. You don't hear the Saxon 'thorn' (þ) but the sound which *tehender* makes if you omit the *e* before the *h*." (Danielsson 1983: 147)

This is a clear reflection of the Welsh aspiration of voiceless plosives in word-initial and word-medial position (Hannahs 2013: 14). He adds that <ph> as in Greek Phi is not sounded /f/ by the Welsh, but rather "as if we were to say pe-hi and leave out the e" (Danielsson 1983: 147). This seems less reflective of the Welsh aspiration and more as if it relates to what Smith deems an overall 'correct' pronunciation based on the sound's origins.

Despite the fact that Smith is in some ways positioned between witness types, his evidence is very much that of a second-hand witness. All of the evidence he provides for non-ESEE speech is given in direct commentary on variation, and he does not connect himself with any of these accents in any way, unlike Gil (see section 3.8) who, despite discussing variation in a similar style to Smith, notes his connection to Northern speech. Smith's writing in Latin precludes most possibility of using spelling variations as evidence, however. Nor does his Northern heritage seem to impact how his attention is divided between varieties; he includes commentary on Scots, Northern English, and Welsh English fairly evenly. He tends to address Northern English and Scots vowels, and Welsh English consonants (usually relating to aspiration), though there is also one instance of a Northern English consonantal feature in the non-palatalisation of /k/ and /g/.

4.4 John Hart

4.4.1 Biography of John Hart

Danielsson (1955) and Salmon (2004) account for Hart's life, and Danielsson also discusses the background of his family. Hart and his family, who were part of the lesser gentry, were residents of Northolt, near Ealing and now part of London. There is no documentation of his birth or his early schooling, but Danielsson (1955: 20–1) and Salmon (2004) agree that Hart may have spent some time at Cambridge, due to what Salmon (2004) describes as his "intellectual or personal links with three Cambridge scholars": Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith (see section 4.3), and Sir William Cecil. Hart was connected with Cecil for many years, with Cecil acting as his patron and ultimately awarding Hart the position of Herald of Chester, with which title he signed off in his two published works. Hart died in 1574.

4.4.2 Hart's orthoepic works

Hart produced three works on the English language. The first is *The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our english tounge: wherin is shewid what necessarily is to be left, and what folowed for the perfect writing therof* (or the *Opening*, 1551). The second (and most well-known) is *An Orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature* (or *An Orthographie*, 1569). The third is *A Methode or comfortable beginning for all unlearned, whereby they may be taught to read English, in a very short time, wvith pleasure; so profitable as straunge, put in light* (or the *Methode*, 1570). In all of these works, Hart is preoccupied with teaching what he perceives as 'correct' spelling, and in doing so discusses a variety of points both of spelling and pronunciation with which he disagrees. Hart falls on the phonographic, one-to-one mapping end of the spelling reform spectrum, with *An Orthographie* in particular showcasing his proposed pronunciation-based orthographic system.

4.4.3 Hart on non-ESEE and Scots pronunciation

Danielsson (1963: 66) notes that "Hart is almost exclusively occupied with "the best speech used of the learned", the language spoken in the court and in London, where "the flower" of the English tongue is used". Hart has only a limited interest in dialects, focusing heavily on what he perceives to be the highest form of English, and in doing so is one of the earliest authors discussing this matter in such depth, writing between 1551–70.

In *An Orthographie*, Hart comments several times on his views on the status and role of dialects. The text is intended to teach people the 'correct' version of English quickly, including the "naturall English" who cannot yet read (Danielsson 1955: 172), and the Welsh, Scots, and Irish, who are to be taught the 'best' speech:

(94) “[Right-writing] fhaulbe found a þank-ful urk, az-uel fōr ðe behūf ov our brōd spēking Inglif, az ð’Ualf, Irif, and Skōtif nasions, tug iv ðem t’understand ðe best spītf iuzd ov ðe learned.” (Danielsson 1955: 212)

‘[Right-writing] shall be found a thankful work, as well for the behalf (?) of our broad-speaking English, as the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish nations, to give them to understand the best speech used of the learned’

Of the three “nasions” mentioned here, Hart is most useful on Scotland for the purposes of this study. While he does raise Wales and Ireland in a few places, he is mostly interested either in the Welsh and Irish languages (though he mentions little about their characteristics), or in the principle that the Welsh and the Irish need to be taught ‘proper’ English. In the *Methode*, he states that “...the desirous VValshe and Irishe, maye be much aduanced thereby, to the true pronounciation of our speech, vvice vvas neuer before this tyme presented them” (Danielsson 1955: 238). He says nothing, however, of the way the Welsh and the Irish had been pronouncing English up until that point, though he is clearly concerned about it.

Hart’s “brōd spēking Inglif” (Danielsson 1955: 212) are criticised elsewhere. In *An Orthographie* he is quick to deny that he believes that “any thing shoulde be printed in London in the maner of Northerne or Westerne speaches” (Danielsson 1955: 183), though he allows for the use of dialects amongst one’s neighbours:

“...but if anye one were minded at Newcastell vpon Tine, or Bodman in Cornwall, to write or print his minde there, who coulde justly blame him for his Orthographie, to serue hys neyghbours according to their mother speech” (Danielsson 1955: 183).

Hart allows dialectal variation more of a place in society—particularly, the part of society educated enough to read and write—than many of his fellow ESEE-speaking writers in this field. That does not mean, however, that he allows very much space for non-ESEE speech, as can be seen above. Hart also criticises non-ESEE lexical choices in the *Methode*, in which he points out that the West and the North “vse differing English termes from those

of the Court, and London, where the flower of the English tongue is used” (Danielsson 1955: 234).

Scots receives attention from Hart too, with more detail on its features both of spelling and pronunciation than any non-ESEE dialect. Hart’s attitude towards Scots is arguably more respectful than to most other language forms spoken in the British Isles, and notes a perception of its being reflective of an older form of English, alongside an orthographic tendency which he finds favourable:

“Some think the Scottish speach more auncient Englishe than as we now speake here in England, yet there is no living English man, so much affected to write English as they do Scottish, which they write as they speake” (Danielsson 1955: 182).

In the *Opening*, Hart states that “the Skottes I need not to speake of, for that our touns differ not moch” (Danielsson 1955: 139), though he does raise a couple of differences elsewhere. Though Danielsson (1955: 67) suggests that Hart’s account of Scots vocabulary is based particularly in literary Scots, Hart does discuss some features of Scots phonology.

Similarly to Alexander Hume (see section 3.4.3), Hart points to the Scots’ handling of Latin words. In many words of Latin origin, he says, the Scots are “more neare the Latine, from whence both we and they do derive them”, and that “we pronounce not those letters which they do *and* therefore write them not as reason is” (Danielsson 1955: 182). However he also states that “in others we do excéede with them”, so that other English words are closer to the original Latin. In Table 7 below, Hart’s examples are given. The form closest to the original Latin is underlined, and examples not relating to potential phonological differences have been omitted. Hart does not give the original Latin words.

Table 7: Hart on Latin derivatives in English and Scots, material from Danielsson (1955: 182)

Example	English	Scots
(95)	fruit	fruct
(96)	fruitfull	fructfull
(97)	humbly	humely
(98)	number	nummer
(99)	powder	pulver
(100)	sauour	saluour
(101)	account	compt

(102)	aucthoritie	--- (autoritie)
(103)	souldiour	--- (soudiour)
(104)	baptisme	--- (baptime)

Hart does not give the Scots versions of <aucthoritie>, <souldiour>, or <baptisme> explicitly in examples (102), (103), and (104) respectively, but does state which letters are used in English but not Scots, and so the implied spellings are given in Table 7. The Scots words demonstrate L-vocalisation (see section 1.2.3) in example (103) <soudiour> for *soldier*, which is deemed to be further from the original Latin by Hart than the English <souldiour>. Hart's account of *baptism* in example (104) states that the Scots do not employ the <s> found in English, which is reflected in the DSL and the OED as a form stemming from ME, and in turn Old French (DSL *baptime*, n.; OED *baptism*, n.). It appears from the OED that the forms <baptim(e)> and <baptem(e)> were extremely common in the ME period alongside forms using <s>, so in Hart's observation Scots and English took on different forms, with the Scots form demonstrating the elision of /s/ in its etymon. In examples (97) and (98), both *humbly* and *number* as Scots <humely> and <nummer> also appear to reflect Latin forms that had changed by the time they were borrowed into English and Scots from French; the OED shows both of these words spelled only with <m> and therefore pronounced only with /m/ in Latin, and subsequently obtaining an <mb> spelling in many French variants and later in English, which would produce an /mb/ cluster (OED *number*, n.; *humbly*, adv.). In Scots, Hart says, the spelling was either lost or never used at all (through use of a French variant without), which would result in an /m/ pronunciation in contrast with the English /mb/. Hart's evidence is backed by both the OED (*number*, n.; *humbly*, adv.) and the DSL (*nombre*, n.; *noumer*, n.; *humbly*, adv. but see also *humil* adj.), which show <m> forms as the primary spellings of both words in Scots. The retention of Latin features despite French variation is also seen in example (100) with Scots <saluiour> in opposition to English <sauaiour>. The original Latin contains <l>, which then developed into variant forms in Anglo-Norman and Old French both with and without the <l> (OED *saviour* | *savior*, n.). At least orthographically, Scots is shown by Hart to have retained the <l>, which is also demonstrated in the OED; all of the <l> variants are labelled as exclusively Scots.

Danielsson (1963: 67) also points out an observation made by Hart on a Northern feature—/k/-retention, or rather the non-palatalisation of /k/:

(105) “And so ðe Norðren man sēz mīkl for our mitʃ or mutʃ ... and sutʃ leik” (Danielsson 1955: 204).

This is a feature which is well-known both in Northern English speech and in Scots speech (see section 1.2.3), though Hart only explicitly mentions the “Norðren man”.

Hart’s handling of non-ESEE and Scots speech largely takes a more general approach; his commentary on dialects as a whole and their role as components of the English language is more prominent than his work in discussing specific non-ESEE or Scots features. Hart’s attitudes towards non-ESEE and Scots speech will be addressed in more depth in Chapter 5. Much of the evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech found in Hart’s work concerns Scots, particularly stemming from his comparison between Scots and ESEE realisations of Latin sounds in borrowed words (see Table 7). One feature of Northern English also makes an appearance in Hart’s work (non-palatalisation of /k/), but in general, Hart provides little evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech, being more preoccupied with ESEE as an ESEE speaker aiming to promote that variety.

4.5 John Wallis

4.5.1 Biography of John Wallis

Wallis’ life is recounted in some detail by Kemp (1972) and Meli (2007), among others. John Wallis was born in 1616 in Kent, the son of a minister. He was educated in Kent and Essex, before he attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he started in 1632. He graduated with a BA in 1637, and received his MA in 1640. After this, he took up a position as a chaplain in Yorkshire for a year, before returning to the south-east in 1641 to continue in this line of work in London and Essex. His career as a cryptographer began in 1644, deciphering a coded letter at the behest of his patroness Lady Vere, and he would continue this work through the Civil War on behalf of the Parliamentarians. Though he associated with the Parliamentarians, he did oppose the trial and execution of Charles I in 1649.

Besides his religious and cryptographic work, Wallis was also an academic, taking up a career as a mathematician. He was appointed as Professor of Geometry at Oxford in 1649 by a Parliamentary Commission, who removed his predecessor for his Royalist sympathies. In the 1650s Wallis’ academic career flourished in several fields. In 1653, the first edition of his linguistic work *Tractatus de loquela* and *Grammatica linguae*

anglicanae was published, and the following year he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1656 he published his first treatise on mathematics, which “made his name as a mathematician” (Kemp 1972: 3), following this up with a second work the following year. In 1658 he was appointed as *Custos Archivorum*, or the keeper of the archives, at Oxford, despite considerable dispute over his eligibility for the position. He apparently took to the role, however, with Meli (2007) noting that Wallis’ repertory of the collection was not replaced until the twentieth century. He was confirmed in this role in 1660, after the Restoration. His favouring of the Parliamentary cause apparently caused him little trouble after the return of the monarchy, as that same year he was also appointed as the King’s chaplain, and became a founding member of the Royal Society. He was also invited to help revise the Common Prayer book, and his doctorate was confirmed in 1662. Wallis was extremely active in the 1660s to 1690s; he taught at least two deaf people to speak in the 1660s, *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* and *Tractatus de loquela* went into new editions, and he published on both religious matters and mathematics. He remained in royal favour with the accession of Mary II and William III, being appointed as the royal decipherer in 1689. He was also instrumental in striking down plans to adopt the Gregorian calendar in England in 1692. He died in 1703.

4.5.2 *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* and *Tractatus de loquela*

Wallis’ work on the English language consists of two texts which Kemp (1972) treats as separate, though under Wallis’ supervision they were always published together. These texts are *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* and *Tractatus de loquela*. The former is a grammar of English, and the latter is a short work on the production of speech sounds, which has earned Wallis attention as an early phonetician (e.g. Lass 1999: 59).

Grammatica linguae anglicanae and *Tractatus de loquela* were republished on several occasions. The texts as a pair were published five times under Wallis’ supervision: 1653, 1664, 1672, 1674, and 1699. A sixth edition was published in 1765. The version in use here is the translation from the Latin made by J.A. Kemp (1972). Kemp uses the sixth edition of Wallis’ *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* and the *Tractatus*, which was published in 1765 but the text of which is “virtually identical with that of the folio 5th edition, 1699, which was the last that Wallis himself supervised” (Kemp 1972: 73). Kemp asserts that the differences between the fifth and sixth editions are mostly due to misprints or minor spelling variations (1972: 73). The sixth edition, translated by Kemp (1972), therefore

maintains Wallis' seventeenth-century commentary, despite being published long after his death and well into the eighteenth century.

Wallis's preface to the fifth edition gives a history, as he understands it, of the linguistic history of Britain. This includes the history of the Celtic languages, and their eventual decline both in Britain and in France. He then accounts for the rise of the French language, and of the "Anglo-Saxon" language (Latin *Anglo-Saxonicam*) (Kemp 1972: 94–5). He explains the impact of the Norman invasion on the English language, before overviewing the state of the language at the time of writing. He gives his reasons for undertaking the work, which includes the "demand for it from foreigners", in particular to understand important theological works, as he states that English Protestant theologians have had "outstanding successes" (Kemp 1972: 105–7). Furthermore, he says, native speakers operate under the "foolish notion" that English grammar is complex, and "scarcely obeys any grammatical laws", which he disputes (Kemp 1972: 108–9). Wallis acknowledges the work of Alexander Gil, Ben Jonson, and Henry Hexham on the topic, but believes that all of them tried to force English grammar into the structures of Latin too much, which he states is unhelpful (Kemp 1972: 108–9). Wallis claims to form his grammar around the structure of English itself, rather than using the common Latin framework, though he keeps the Latin terminology (Kemp 1972: 110–3). The preface ends with a brief introduction to the *Tractatus*, an account of his work teaching the deaf to speak, and some new additions to the fifth edition.

The *Tractatus de Loquela* follows. Wallis defines what a sound is and how they are symbolised in writing, before explaining how sounds are made and with what parts of the vocal tract. He moves on to explain what vowels are and the general characteristics of vowel production, then explaining the production of individual vowel sounds. He uses multiple languages as examples for individual sounds, using both Latin and modern languages. Wallis then discusses consonants, dividing them into classes and defining both how the classes are produced, and then individual consonant sounds. The fourth and final section of the *Tractatus* discusses compound sounds, which includes both diphthongs and various consonants which he categorises as "compounds", including affricates and consonants followed by glides. After the *Tractatus* is the *Grammaticae*, which he opens with a discussion of the pronunciation of English, having laid the phonetic groundwork in the *Tractatus*. In this first section, Wallis explores many features of English pronunciation, usually relating them to the spellings associated with them. The remainder of the text concerns grammar, which does not relate to this study.

Wallis' interest, as pointed out by Kemp, was in ESEE pronunciation, and Kemp notes that Wallis "expressly excludes dialectal variations in different parts of the country, affected speech and other such "barbarisms"" (Kemp 1972: 66). Wallis states that his account is of "a pure and authentic pronunciation of the English language", and that there would be "no profit in describing the individual dialects of the various parts of the country, the absurdities affected by flighty women, or other 'barbarisms' of that kind", and "careless pronunciations" are also of no interest to him (Kemp 1972: 273). There are, however, several places in which Wallis does comment on these "barbarisms", and these concessions to what he sees as 'impure' and 'inauthentic' pronunciations contribute to the collection of evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech in this period.

4.5.3 Wallis on non-ESEE speech

There are a handful of non-ESEE features mentioned by Wallis in the *Grammatica* and the *Tractatus*. Wallis mainly focuses on Scotland and the North of England, but there is also a comment relevant to Welsh English. Wallis also covers a range of feature types: consonants, vowels, and a comment on pitch.

Wallis' brush with Welsh English in fact comes from a comment on Welsh, and is only relevant in conjunction with the implications made by Salesbury, as seen in section 3.2.3. In section 3.2.3, the possible pronunciation of Welsh English /j/ was discussed as it related to Salesbury's explanations of the sound, and the fact that it seemingly was a newer sound to Welsh at the time (Willis 2009: 127). Of /j/ relating to Welsh, Wallis says:

(106) "The Welsh write this sound as *si*, with a length mark on the following vowel; so with them *Siôn* (John) is a monosyllabic word, while *Sïon* (Mount Sion) is dissyllabic" (Kemp 1972: 203).

This suggests that the sound /j/ had, as far as Wallis' knowledge can be relied on, become more commonplace in Welsh in the years since Salesbury wrote the *Dictionary*. This would, in turn, likely affect Welsh English, in that the alternative pronunciation suggested in section 3.2.3 of /s/ would die out.

Wallis comments on pronunciations of <gh> twice, and on both occasions Scotland and the North receive particular attention:

(107) “*Gh* If one prepares to pronounce the letter γ (or hard *g*) and allows the breath to escape through a thin slit, narrowly constricting it, the sound produced is the one written as *gh*. I believe that this sound used to be pronounced in the English words *light, night, right, daughter*, etc, but nowadays, although the words are still written like this, the sound is almost always omitted. The Northerners, however, and especially the Scots, still have it, or rather they put the sound *h* in its place” (Kemp 1972: 187–9).

(108) “*Gh* at the beginning of words is pronounced like simple hard *g*; as in *ghost, ghesse*. In other positions it is almost always left unpronounced, but indicates that the syllable is long. However, there are some people, especially Northerners, who pronounce it as *h*, though the aspiration may be slight” (Kemp 1972: 269).

Both examples (107) and (108) reflect the retention of non-initial /x/ in Northern English and Scots, which has been discussed by many scholars of historical phonology (see section 1.2.3). Wallis, despite his complaints elsewhere about what he would consider ‘incorrect’ speech, does not appear to describe this in a negative fashion, remaining neutral.

Another Scots feature reflected by Wallis is L-vocalisation:

(109) “*Walk, talk*, etc are better pronounced with English *a*, though careless speakers say *wau’k, tau’k*, etc copying the French, who often substitute *au* for *al* (before a consonant). The Scots also do this even when no consonant follows” (Kemp 1972: 237).

As with /x/ retention, L-vocalisation is a well-evidenced and commonly discussed feature of Scots (see section 1.2.3). Wallis adds to this with his comments on “careless speakers”, who he seems to treat separately to Scots speakers. Wallis is openly critical of those who he believes are mimicking the French, while Scots speakers are tacked onto the end of this commentary. It may be that Wallis views Scots speakers as being a subset of these “careless speakers”, but it seems equally possible that he is treating them as a separate group, and in doing so it would appear that he treats Scots L-vocalisation less negatively than he treats the L-vocalisation of “careless speakers ... [who are] copying the French” (Kemp 1972: 237).

Wallis also raises variation between ESEE, Northern English, and Scots in relation to glides:

(110) “It is worth noticing that the consonants *y* and *w* are very frequently inserted between a consonant and a vowel when they have something in common with both (though this is not consciously done and passes unnoticed). For example, *y* is often put in after guttural consonants when a palatal vowel follows: *can* (am able), *get*, *begin*, etc are pronounced as if written *cyan*, *gyet*, *begyin*. The reason for this is that it is extremely difficult for the tongue to move from these guttural consonants to produce palatal vowels, without *y* being pronounced, however unintentionally, in between; so you will hear the word *can* (am able) pronounced as *kan* by Scots and Northern English and *kyan* by Southerners, and this is so in other words too. ... *W* is sometimes put in after the consonants *p*, *b*, especially before *open o*, as in *pot*, *boy*, *boile*, etc – but this is not invariably so, and not everyone does it” (Kemp 1972: 207–9).

Here, Northern English and Scots are characterised by a lack of glides in between certain consonants and vowels which, as Wallis describes them, share certain characteristics with the glides. In ESEE, the palatal approximant /j/ can appear between velar plosives /k/ or /g/, and what Wallis describes as “palatal” vowels, which seem to be unrounded open or open-mid front vowels /ɛ/-/æ/-/a/. The labial-velar approximant /w/ can appear between the bilabial plosives /p/ or /b/, and Wallis’ “open o”, which seems to be somewhere in the region of /ɔ/-/ɒ/, the rounded open or open-mid back vowels. The inclusion of *boil* would suggest that /ə/, at least as the first element of a diphthong, may also be included here (see Crystal 2016: 64). These coarticulatory glides, according to Wallis, are to be found in ESEE, but not in Northern English or Scots. Crystal (2016) does not show any evidence of their existence in ESEE, but Wallis clearly believes in their existence and perceives a difference between ESEE and the speech of the North and Scotland.

Wallis only comments on one non-ESEE vowel:

(111) “...words derived from [*Christ*]—*Christian*, etc—are pronounced with a *thin* or *short i*, as the word *Christ* itself is by the Scots” (Kemp 1972: 249).

Christ in ESEE contains a diphthong (Crystal 2016: 98), but Wallis indicates that in Scots it contains a short monophthong, /ɪ/. *Christ* does not appear in the DSL, but the OED notes that while the PDE pronunciation originates in the long vowel /i:/ (which is attested from at least early ME), there is also a short vowel attested in ME rhymes (OED *Christ*, n. and int.). Wallis' comment indicates that Scots took the short vowel, or at least that Wallis perceived it to do so.

The last of Wallis' comments on Scots relates to pitch, which is a much less common feature to appear in texts of this kind.

(112) “The French, and the Scots equally, raise or sharpen the pitch of the last syllables of sentences or clauses, while the English lower or deepen it; this is a characteristic not of individual words but of the sentence taken as a continuous whole. I leave it to others to observe differences of this kind among other peoples, as the opportunity presents itself” (Kemp 1972: 211).

This observation is unusual in that comments made about features above the segmental level are infrequent in Early Modern orthoepic texts. The statement itself seems self-explanatory; in Wallis' opinion, Scots speech involves a raising of the pitch at the end of sentences or clauses, while ESEE speech involves a lowering.

Wallis' observations of non-ESEE and Scots speech lean towards commentary on Scots pronunciations, although non-ESEE varieties do also appear. He provides evidence on a range of features, commenting on vowels, consonants, and even on pitch, in which he observes a feature above the level of the syllable, which is uncommon in orthoepic works. Wallis is fairly neutral about variation when he does mention it, though he does his disapproval of l-vocalisation in the speech of “careless speakers”.

4.6 Simon Daines

4.6.1 Biography of Simon Daines

Almost nothing is known of Simon Daines' life. Dobson (1968: 327) states that all that is known of him comes from the title page of *Orthoepia anglicana*: that he was a schoolmaster in Suffolk. Dobson also notes that it has previously been suggested that, due to his comments on the speech of Somerset, Daines may have resided in Somerset for a

time, but Dobson sees no cause for this assumption as “the dialect of Somerset has always been notorious, and a reference to it need imply no residence there” (1968: 327). There are two points only that can be said with any certainty about Daines: he was a schoolmaster in Suffolk, and he published the *Orthoepia anglicana* in 1640.

4.6.2 Daines’ *Orthoepia anglicana*

The *Orthoepia anglicana*, published in London in 1640, is labelled in its full title as *The First Principall Part of the English Grammar: Teaching The Art of right speaking and pronouncing English, With certaine exact rules of Orthography, and rules of spelling or combining of Syllables*. The title page goes on to say that the text is “in it selfe absolute, and never knowne to be accomplished by any before”, and that it would be beneficial for native speakers and foreigners alike in order to perfect their English. Daines begins the text proper by explaining what a letter is, illustrating the doctrine of *littera* effectively (see section 2.1.2). He then explains their separation into vowels and consonants, before talking through the pronunciation of ‘letters’ according to their categorisation as vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs, and consonants, in that order. From there, he moves on to discuss the nature of syllables, their division, and their compositions, from which he lists numerous possible syllables and explains where they might be found in English words and words from other languages (usually with reference to their being borrowed into English). Daines then goes on to discuss the role of the liquids (L, M, N, R), and which other ‘letters’ (or sounds) they may be combined with at the end of a word. The remainder of the text is occupied with rules for spelling, and for letter-writing.

4.6.3 Daines on non-ESEE and Scots speech

As noted above, Daines’ aim with *Orthoepia anglicana* was to teach “the Art of right speaking and pronouncing English” (Daines 1640 [1967]). Speech was a key element of this text, and Daines includes a handful of comments on non-ESEE speech, including some phonological features. The first feature mentioned by Daines is the variation in sounds associated with <i>:

(113) “...for many of our Northerns especially abuse it with too broad a sound both single and joyned with other letters, like the Diphthong *Ai*, making no difference betweene *fire* and *faire*. Others againe on the contrary fide, with an affected imitation of the Beyond-sea pronunciation, striving to

Latinize it, would make a traveller, if not a Forreigner, of it.” (Daines 1640 [1967]: 6).

In the first half of this comment, Daines raises two separate instances of variation, both relating to the speech of Northerners. He mentions both monophthongs and diphthongs, in particular the diphthong associated with the spelling <ai>. Regarding the monophthong, it seems possible that by “too broad a found”, he might be referring to a lower realisation of the vowel. He gives no other explanation of this, nor any other examples, however, so it is difficult to say anything with certainty. As for the diphthong <ai>, some more clarity comes from the example of <fire> and <faire> being homophones in Northern speech. This is an example raised elsewhere (see Gil’s Northern example (60) in section 3.8.3). In section 3.8.3 I settle on a probable value of /ɛ:/ for Northern *fire* due to Gil’s statements, and this is not an unreasonable conclusion to make with Daines’ commentary above; Daines says little other on any phonetic grounds other than that the sound is “broad” both in relation to a singular <i> spelling and digraphs including <ai> (he may mean ‘digraph’ where he uses the term “Diphthong”, something that Hume also does, e.g. Wheatley 1870: 11).

The second half of the comment in example (113) is interesting, as Daines criticises the “affected imitation” of European pronunciations and attempts to “Latinize” the pronunciation of <i> (Daines 1640 [1967]: 6). He provides no details as to who is doing this, just that there are English speakers using this variant. What Daines means by “Latinize” could be clearer, but it is worth noting that in his opinion, the most appropriate sounds to be associated with <i> are either the Latin diphthong <ei> “though not altogether fo full”, and Greek iota (Daines 1640 [1967]: 6). The latter, ι, would be /i:/ or /ɪ/ (Allen 1987: 62), and the Latin diphthong is perhaps /ei/. If the association with the spelling is brought in, then perhaps Daines refers to an unshifted pronunciation associated with <i>; several European languages, and notably Latin, would have a monophthongal pronunciation of /i:/ associated with an <i> spelling, while English at this point had (probably) undergone enough of the Great Vowel Shift to produce a diphthongal pronunciation in place of the original long monophthong. Perhaps by “Latinize”, Daines might be referring to the retention – or, as he sees it, affectation – of a long monophthong /i:/, as would be found in Latin. It is, however, very difficult to say anything with certainty about this as Daines is very vague about it.

Another variation in vowels demonstrated by Daines is, again, not related to a specific accent:

(114) “Some pronounce *Ei* like *Ea* in many words” as in <receave> for *receive*, <conceave> for *conceive*, especially before /v/. (Daines 1640 [1967]: 10).

Here, it appears that Daines refers to a lowering of the vowel, perhaps /e:/ rather than /i:/. It seems unlikely that he refers to diphthongs, as the ‘correct’ vowel /i:/, though indicated by a digraph <ei>, would be a monophthong, and <ea> spellings are also common enough for monophthongs. Daines associates English <ea> with the Latin <e>, which appears to be /ɛ(:)/. The etymologies for both words are French according to the OED (*conceive*, v.; *receive*, v.), and based on these French spellings it appears as though an /e:/ vowel would be the original pronunciation or near to it. Perhaps somewhere in the region of the front mid-close and mid-open vowels, something like a retention of or return to the original vowel is being observed by Daines.

The final vowel variation observed by Daines comes only from a very short comment:

(115) “...the vulgars [should shun] in their pronunciation ... *E*, for *I*; as *mell*, for *mill*” (Daines 1640 [1967]: 80).

This, though not specifically attributed to any specific accent, is otherwise straightforward. Daines here is simply referring to a lowering of the short vowel /ɪ/. The realisation indicated by <e> in his spelling of <mell> is possibly /ɛ/, or at least this is what Daines believes that he hears in these non-ESEE pronunciations.

Daines’ other comments on non-ESEE speech relate to lexis and morphology: at one point, he lists certain words which are “vulgar” and “barbarous” (Daines 1640 [1967]: 51), and elsewhere he criticises the use of <-n> as a pluralising suffix instead of <-s> (Daines 1640 [1967]: 80). These are not phonological features, and so are not relevant to the subject of this thesis, but they do further demonstrate Daines’ attitudes towards non-ESEE speech. Indeed, he states following this critical note on morphology that he has “[set] aside the absurdities used among the vulgar in *Sommerfet-shire*, and other remote places, as not worth nominating” (Daines 1640 [1967]: 80). Daines heavily favours the idea of a ‘standard’ English.

4.7 Discussion

Unlike in Chapter 3, there is no variation in evidence type or intent amongst the sources discussed here. All of the sources examined in this chapter provide evidence of non-ESEE or Scots speech intentionally and through explicit commentary on variation. As second-hand witnesses, providing evidence of dialects other than their own unintentionally would be highly unlikely. The main points of interest here are what accents appear, and how much evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech is shown by these second-hand witnesses.

There is, amongst these works, a fair amount of evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech, despite the fact that they are mainly ESEE speakers promoting the use of ESEE. Smith, Hart, Wallis, and Daines all comment on a handful of non-ESEE or Scots features, though generally less evidence is found in their works than in those discussed in Chapter 3. Gil is an outlier, commenting on large quantities of features across multiple dialects. Northern English and Scots are perhaps more commonly discussed than any other non-ESEE dialect, though again, Gil's wide-ranging and comparatively thorough commentary does make it seem at first sight that there is a much more equal division of attention across accents. The other four authors, however, are in general more likely to mention Northern English or Scots.

5 Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In Chapters 3 and 4, I addressed my first research question:

1. What evidence for ‘non-standard’ Early Modern English (non-ESEE) and Early Modern Scots speech can be found in the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepists, and in what ways is that evidence provided?

This first question, being a complex, data-heavy issue, required a significant amount of space to answer it. In this chapter I address my other two research questions:

2. What ‘non-standard’ (non-ESEE and Scots) features appear most commonly in orthoepic texts?
3. What are the orthoepists’ attitudes towards ‘non-standard’ (non-ESEE and Scots) forms, and how do they differ across varieties?

Here, I move from the individual case studies of Chapters 3 and 4 to examine the overall picture created by the sources used in this study, showing what their treatment of non-ESEE and Scots speech looks like beyond individual cases.

In section 1.2.1 I discussed how scholarship on EModE and orthoepy had handled orthoepists’ attitudes towards non-ESEE and Scots speech, and in section 2.5.1 I illustrated some of the nuances of these attitudes which I intend to address here. Disparaging comments on non-ESEE speech have been noted by scholars such as Wakelin (1977: 35) and Barber (1997: 103), who reflect the orthoepists’ views by labelling these accents “rustic, regional, and vulgar styles of pronunciation”. The favouring of ESEE speech is shown often through reference to Puttenham’s 60-mile radius around London for the ‘best speech’ (1589 [1970]: 157), by scholars like Wyld (1920: 103), Wakelin (1977: 27), and Wales (2006: 76). In this chapter, I will interrogate the accuracy of this picture.

In section 5.2, I address my second research question, examining which non-ESEE and Scots features are shown most frequently in the orthoepic texts discussed in this study. Section 5.2.1 demonstrates the specific features which appear in more than one source, and compare the circumstances under which each author provides evidence of them. Section

5.2.2 includes a discussion of overall trends in the evidence presented. For example, I address which accents are evidenced most and least frequently, and how much evidence is found across first- and second-hand witness texts. I also discuss what forms of evidence (spelling choices, direct commentary, multilingual comparison, etc.) appear more frequently. In section 5.3, I move on to address my third research question, discussing how different accents are addressed by the orthoepists and examining the attitudes shown towards non-ESEE and Scots speech. Section 5.3.1 involves a discussion of how different accents are categorised by orthoepists, and section 5.3.2 addresses the nuances of orthoepic attitudes towards non-ESEE and Scots speech, examining which accents receive more negative attention or neutral commentary, and which accents or accent types are preferred over others outwith ESEE. Finally, in section 5.4, I address the ways in which non-ESEE and Scots speech and the orthoepists' attitudes towards these forms may interact with the development of a linguistic national identity.

5.2 Common non-ESEE and Scots features found in orthoepy

5.2.1 Most commonly evidenced non-ESEE and Scots features

There are several features of non-ESEE and Scots features which are found in more than one of the sources examined in Chapters 3 and 4. In this section, I have collected the instances of certain features as found in the orthoepic texts I have been using to show the frequency with which these features appear. In Tables 8 to 17 I have laid out the evidence in each pertinent source, the native variety of the author, the dialect(s) (or language) evidenced by the author where there are multiple found across sources, and an explanation of the type of evidence found in each source. Here, in answer to my second research question, I bring together features of non-ESEE and Scots found in the analysis undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4, in order to demonstrate which of these features appear most frequently in the works of orthoepists. Tables 8 to 17 are ordered according to the number of sources demonstrating the feature in question, from most to least frequent.

The most common feature to appear in the sources used in Chapters 3 and 4 is the Scots and Northern English retention of the plosives /k/ and /g/ where ESEE shifts to the use of the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ (see section 1.2.3), as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Evidence for Scots and Northern English /k/ and /g/ non-palatalisation

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Dialect/language evidenced	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Hume	Scots	Scots	<sik> <i>such</i> , seen throughout text, e.g. "seeing sik uncertentie" (Wheatley 1870: 1)	Section 3.4.4	Spelling variant demonstrating pronunciation (indirect evidence)
Levins	Northern English	Northern English	"A BRIGGE, <i>pons</i> A RIGGE of land, <i>sura, æ, porca</i> ." (Levins 1876: col.118)	Example (48), Section 3.6.3	Spelling variant demonstrating pronunciation (indirect evidence)
Gil	Northern English	Northern English	"Northerners will say ... <i>briks</i> for <i>brichez</i> <braccæ>" (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102)	Example (74) (example (58) for full quote), section 3.8.3	Direct commentary
Smith	ESEE	Northern English; Scots	"...the Scots and the English North of the Trent pronounce and write with a <i>k</i> , as ... <i>canem foeminam, bik</i> " (Danielsson 1983: 103) "most of the words which Southerners pronounce with this sound <i>ɣ</i> at the end, Northerners pronounce with a <i>g</i> " (Danielsson 1983: 159)	Example (90), Section 4.3.4	Direct commentary. Also some multilingual comparison by inclusion of Scots

Hart	ESEE	Northern English	“And so ðe Norðren man sēz mīkl for our mitʃ or mutʃ ... and sutʃleik”	Example (105), Section 4.4.3	Direct commentary; phonographic spelling
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Observed by five of the eleven authors discussed in this study, the non-palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ is evidenced very often. Three of the five authors are first-hand witnesses, being speakers of Scots or Northern English themselves, and two are second-hand witnesses, with Sir Thomas Smith and John Hart being speakers of ESEE and observing the feature in other accents. The three first-hand witnesses (Hume, Levins, and Gil) all observe the feature only in their own accents; Hume only provides evidence of it in Scots, and Levins (example (48)), Gil (example (74)), and Hart (example (105)) only show it in Northern English. The only author to point it out in both Scots and Northern English is Smith (example (90)). The result of all of this is that Northern English receives more attention regarding /k/-/g/ retention than Scots does; four authors provide evidence for Northern English, but only two do for Scots. There is a range of intentional and unintentional evidence on display. Gil, Smith, and Hart all directly comment on the feature in examples (74), (90), and (105) respectively, explaining the variation between accents. Smith, by commenting on Scots in example (90), has included multilingual comparison at least from a present-day perspective. Hume shows this feature through his own use of <sik> throughout the text (see section 3.4.4), providing unintentional evidence of this feature. Levins also demonstrates this feature through spelling variants, as does Hart. Hart’s evidence, however, can be classified as more intentional than that of Levins, as he places the Northern variants in direct opposition on the page to the ESEE variants in example (48).

The second most commonly referenced feature is /x/ retention (see section 1.2.3), which is evidenced in several accents by four out of eleven authors, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Evidence for retention of /x/

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Dialect/language evidenced	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Price	Welsh / English	Scots; Welsh English	“Gh, foundes now like *, h, in Almighty, although” “* But the Ancients did, as the Welch, & Scots do ffill pronounce gh, thorow the throat” (Price 1668: 16)	Example (11), Section 3.3.3	Direct commentary
Ridpath	Scots	Scots	“gh [may be omitted] when it comes between a Vowel and <i>t</i> , [as] rit [for] right [and] mit [for] might” both of these examples being marked as Anglicisms (Ridpath 1687: 14)	Example (38), Section 3.5	Direct commentary; though he talks specifically about spelling, the grounds must be pronunciation
Gil	Northern English	“General Dialect”	“The general dialect is sometimes ambiguous, and you will hear <i>inuf</i> or <i>inuh</i> inough <satis>” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104)	Example (84), Section 4.2.5	Direct commentary
Wallis	ESEE	Scots; Northern English	Of <gh>: “...there are some people, especially Northerners, who pronounce it as h, though the aspiration may be	Example (108), Section 4.5.3	Direct commentary; from a modern perspective this includes multilingual comparison by

			slight” (Kemp 1972: 269)		including Scots
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With four authors providing evidence of /x/ retention, we have four different native accents at play. Price and Ridpath both report on their native accents in examples (11) and (38) respectively, as first-hand witnesses, but Price also comments on Scots as well as Welsh English. Gil, though a Northerner, comments on what he terms the “General Dialect” in example (84), which seems to be ESEE, and Wallis as a second-hand witness reports the feature in both Scots and Northern English in example (108). There is more commentary from authors as second-hand witnesses than as first-hand witnesses. What is uniform across these instances of /x/ retention, however, is that all of the authors intentionally comment on this feature. As will be seen concerning L-vocalisation below in Table 10, Ridpath’s situation is a little more convoluted as strictly speaking, he refers to spelling, but his grounds for his comments must be pronunciation. The reason for this uniformity in evidence type is probably that the more indirect methods are more difficult, particularly regarding spelling. The typical spelling associated with /x/ historically is <gh> (or also <ch> in Scots; see Kniezsa 1997a: 38–9), a spelling which remains conventional up until the present day, and therefore does not necessarily denote /x/ retention purely by existing in-text. Spelling variants can indicate /x/-loss, but retention is not going to be so clearly demonstrated through an author’s spelling choices. So, positive evidence of /x/ retention in orthoepy is going to have to come via a more intentional route, as in the sources above.

Northern English and Scots L-vocalisation (see section 1.2.3) is observed by four of eleven authors, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Evidence for Northern English and Scots L-vocalisation

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Dialect/language evidenced	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Ridpath	Scots	Scots; Northern English	<l> may be omitted “in the words will and fhall, before not, and by Scottifh Men, and those of the North of <i>England</i> after <i>a</i> , fo before <i>f</i> ” (Ridpath 1687: 13–5)	Example (39), Section 3.5.3	Direct commentary to an extent; though he talks specifically about spelling, the grounds must be pronunciation
Gil	Northern English	Northern English	“Northerners will say ... <i>aus</i> for <i>also</i> ” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103)	Example (76) (example (58) for full quote), Section 3.8.3	Direct commentary
Hart	ESEE	Scots	<l> omitted from <i>soldier</i> in Scots but not English (Danielsson 1955: 182)	Example (103), Section 4.4.3	Spelling variants found in direct commentary on variation in a different feature
Wallis	ESEE	Scots	“ <i>Walk, talk</i> , etc are better pronounced with English <i>a</i> , though careless speakers say <i>wau'k, tau'k</i> , etc copying the French, who often substitute <i>au</i> for <i>al</i> (before a consonant). The Scots also do this even when no consonant follows” (Kemp 1972: 237)	Example (109), Section 4.5.3	Direct commentary, including some multilingual comparison

There is an even split between first-hand and second-hand witnesses observing L-vocalisation. In examples (39) and (76), Ridpath and Gil show L-vocalisation in their own native accents (Scots and Northern English respectively), with Ridpath also associating the feature with Northern English, while in examples (103) and (109) Hart and Wallis, as ESEE speakers, show L-vocalisation in Scots. This leaves a relatively even split across the accents in question; three of the authors provide evidence for Scots, and two for Northern English. Ridpath is the only author to make the connection between Northern English and Scots; the other three authors only approach one accent. Amongst these sources, L-vocalisation is largely shown through direct commentary, but not exclusively. Gil and Wallis both provide straightforward commentary on this feature in Northern English (example (76)) and Scots (example (109)) respectively. Ridpath's evidence in example (39) is a little more complicated; he does state that the variant is specific to Northern English and Scots, but he does not directly relate this to pronunciation. Rather, he is focused on spelling, noting that Northerners and Scots may omit an <l> in shorthand versions of certain words. The grounds for this, however, must be in pronunciation. Hart's evidence in example (103) appears amongst a series of examples of Latin sound retentions in Scots (see Table 17 below); he does not explicitly comment on L-vocalisation in general, and does not even provide an example form for Scots. So, while this comes in a segment of direct commentary on variation, Hart's demonstration of L-vocalisation specifically is a little less explicit than other of Hart's examples shown in Table 17, or those from the other authors in Table 10. Wallis' comments in example (109) bring out another point of interest: he also associates L-vocalisation with the speech of "careless speakers". This puts the feature in an additional sphere of pronunciation, though it seems as though he treats Scots separately from "careless" speech, and so arguably Scots fares better under Wallis' treatment.

Three out of eleven authors provide evidence of the Northern English and Scots retention of ME *ā* (see section 1.2.3), as seen in Table 11. The feature shown here is conventionally spelled by the authors as <ae> or <ea>, or occasionally <aCe>, either as Hume's usual spellings or as the reference letters involved in the direct commentary made by all of the authors.

Table 11: Evidence for Northern English and Scots retention of ME ā

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Dialect/language evidenced	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Hume	Scots	Scots	“...a heal head, as we cal it, quhilk as the English cales a whole head” (Wheatley 1870: 10)	Example (16), Section 3.4.3	Direct commentary. From a modern perspective, also multilingual comparison
			<maest>, <baeth>, <ane> etc. throughout text	Section 3.4.4	Spelling variation demonstrating pronunciation (indirect evidence)
Gil	Northern English	Northern English	“Northerners also often use ... <i>ea</i> for <i>o</i> in <i>beað</i> for <i>both</i> <ambo>” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102)	Example (64) (example (58) for full quote), Section 3.8.3	Direct commentary
Smith	ESEE	Scots	“Though the Scots have a vowel in common use sounding half way between Roman <i>a</i> and <i>e</i> ; which they employ most in words which we pronounce with an <i>o</i> .” (Danielsson 1983: 65–7)	Example (87), Section 4.3.3	Direct commentary. From a modern perspective, this is also multilingual comparison

Three of the authors examined in this study provide evidence of this retention of ME ā in Northern English and Scots (see section 1.2.3), and the first—Hume—provides evidence for it in two ways. For the most part, this feature is shown through direct commentary, despite two of the three authors being first-hand witnesses. Hume does show it through his

spelling variants, as shown above, but by and large, this variant is demonstrated through explicit commentary on the differences between ESEE and either Northern English or Scots, something found in the works of all three of the authors here. Seemingly, this was a noticeable feature, if three orthoepists were pointing it out openly in their work. There are multilingual comparisons worked into the comments, firstly by Smith referring to Latin sounds in order to place the sound in question (example (87)). This is a relatively common practice; authors like Hume use Latin as their core reference point (see section 3.4 for Hume; see also section 2.2). From a present-day perspective, at the least, there is also an element of multilingual comparison inherent in the inclusion of Scots, as it is compared to English. Whether or not this is a perspective shared by the orthoepists is not always clear. Hume, certainly, treats Scots and ESEE as two dialects of the same language, stating this openly in the *Orthographie*. Other authors are not so clear on this score, but there does seem to be a level of separation between Scots and English, which will be explored further in section 5.3.1.

Another feature which is evidenced across several dialects, if we take a more general approach, is a change in the voicing of fricatives. This can be the voicing of voiceless fricatives, or the devoicing of voiced fricatives, which is found in the works of two authors, as seen in Table 12.

Table 12: Evidence for voicing changes in fricatives

Author	Author's native dialect	Dialect/ language evidenced	Evidence	Example number/ location in thesis	Evidence type
Mulcaster	Northern English	Northern English	<engraf> <i>engrave</i> <engraffed> <i>engraved</i> (Mulcaster 1970: 23–4)	Example (51), Section 3.7.3	Spelling demonstrating pronunciation variant (indirect evidence)
Gil	Northern English	Southern English	“Southerners use ... <i>v</i> for <i>f</i> , as <i>vil</i> for <i>fil</i> <impleo>, <i>tu vech</i> for <i>fech</i> <affero>, and on the contrary <i>f</i> for <i>v</i> , as <i>fineger</i> for <i>vineger</i> <acetum>, <i>ficar</i> for <i>vicar</i> <vicarius> ... For <i>s</i> they use <i>z</i> , as <i>zing</i> for <i>sing</i> <cano>” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103)	Example (81), Section 4.2.2	Direct commentary
		Eastern English	“The Easterners ... [use] <i>v</i> for <i>f</i> , as <i>velöu</i> for <i>felöu</i> <socius>; <i>z</i> for <i>s</i> , as <i>zai</i> for <i>sai</i> <dicito>” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103)	Example (82), Section 4.2.3	
		Western English	“[Westerners] corrupt proper words, some in meaning, some in pronunciation, as ... <i>hj iz gön avisht</i> for <i>a fishing</i> <abiit piscatum> ... they say ... <i>zorger</i> for <i>mör soröuful</i> <tristior>” (Danielsson &	Example (83), Section 4.2.4	

			Gabrielson 1972b: 103)		
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There are only two authors who demonstrate this feature: Mulcaster and Gil. Gil provides the majority of the evidence. Mulcaster, as a first-hand witness of Northern English, shows the devoicing of /v/ in two of his spellings in example (51), likely an unintentional inclusion of his native speech. Gil, on the other hand, operates as a second-hand witness for three dialects. He does not provide evidence of this feature for his own native Northern English despite the fact that, as seen in Mulcaster's spellings, a change in fricative voicing was seen in Northern English. Gil observes changes in fricative voicing in Southern English (example (81)), Eastern English (example (82)), and Western English (example (83)). All of these are commented on directly, in Gil's paragraphs of non-ESEE features. In Southern and Eastern English, Gil notes that there are instances of /f/ being voiced to /v/ and of /v/ being devoiced to /f/. It is not clear, however, what the prerequisites are for these changes. Is it a wholesale change, in which all instances of /f/ become /v/ and all instances of /v/ become /f/? This seems unlikely, but there is very little to go on in order to establish the circumstances under which these variants occur. This issue is perhaps more pronounced in this particular situation than it is elsewhere, as in Table 12—specifically Gil's comments on Southern English—two variants which are the direct opposites of each other are placed next to each other with no explanation of when they occur. It is clearly not the case that Southern and Eastern English typically lean towards either voiced or voiceless fricatives, as variants of both occur. The problems with establishing 'rules' based on orthoepists' evidence is an issue which extends beyond this feature, and will be discussed further in section 5.2.2.

The Northern English and Scots use of /ɑ:/ where ESEE uses /o:/ is shown by two authors of the eleven whose work is employed in this study, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Evidence for Northern English and Scots /ɑ:/ for ESEE /o:/

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Dialect/language evidenced	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Hume	Scots	Scots	<knowledge> <i>knowledge</i> , <aun> or <awn(e)> <i>own</i> , <ald> <i>old</i> , <wald> <i>would</i> throughout the text	Section 3.4.4	Spelling variants demonstrating pronunciation
Gil	Northern English	Northern English	"... <i>au</i> for <i>ou</i> in <i>gaun</i> (or even <i>geaun</i>) for <i>goun</i> <toga>" is Northern (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102)	Example (61) (example (58) for full quote), section 3.8.3	Direct commentary

Hume and Gil are both first-hand witnesses, demonstrating this feature in their own accents only. In Hume's case, this comes in the form of his own spelling choices, in <au>, <aw>, and <a> forms, as seen in section 3.4.4. These occur throughout the *Orthographie*, and Hume is reasonably consistent in using these Scots forms. Gil, however, makes an outright comment on this variation (example (61)) in a list of Northern features. Gil makes no connection between the form in Northern English and its existence in Scots, which he does not mention, instead limiting his commentary to England. Hume only demonstrates this feature in his native Scots through his own spelling, and so makes no comment on it appearing in Northern English.

Two authors provide evidence of variants in which /r/ appears before a vowel in a non-ESEE dialect as opposed to after as in ESEE, as seen in Table 14.

Table 14: Evidence for variation in order of /r/ and vowels

Author	Author's native dialect	Dialect evidenced	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Mulcaster	Northern English	Northern English	<girdiron> <i>gridiron</i> (Mulcaster 1970: 192)	Example (55), section 3.7.3	Spelling variant demonstrating pronunciation (though possibly a typesetting error)
Gil	Northern English	Western English	“Again, [Westerners] say <i>throttin</i> for <i>thirtin</i> ‘13’” (Danielsson 1972b: 103)	Example (83), Section 4.2.4	Direct commentary

These are very limited accounts of variation as only one example exists for each dialect, but both include a non-ESEE dialect showing a sequence of /rV/ as opposed to /Vr/ as in ESEE. In Mulcaster's case (example (55)), this demonstrates metathesis in Northern English as a first-hand witness through a spelling variant in his own usage (though, as stated in section 3.7.3, this could also be a typesetting error). Gil, also a Northerner, accounts for this sequence in Western English in example (83), through direct commentary as a second-hand witness. In Gil's case, however, it is not metathesis, but rather a retention of an original /rV/ sequence (see 4.2.3). As with the circumstances of fricative voicing changes above, it is not clear here exactly what the 'rule' is for when this alternative sequence can occur, if these are isolated instances, if all instances of ESEE /Vr/ are found in certain other dialects to be /rV/, or something somewhere in between.

The inclusion of Welsh and Welsh English /j/ is different to the other features discussed here. Rather than the evidence pointing to the same result, the outcomes between the evidence from Salesbury and Wallis are in opposition to each other, as seen in Table 15.

Table 15: Evidence for Welsh and Welsh English /f/

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Salesbury	Welsh (/Welsh English)	“ Sh when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination <i>ssi</i> , thus SHAPE <i>ssiap</i> ... And wherever it is met with it hisses, like a roused serpent, not unlike the Hebrew letter called <i>schin</i> ש”, suggests finding an English speaker to demonstrate. (Ellis 1871: 783) (Salesbury is trying to teach Welsh speakers to pronounce English sounds)	Example (2), Section 3.2.4	Some multilingual comparison, also pointing to other sounds in the world. Willis (2009: 127) states that /f/ is a “Middle Welsh innovation”, but this evidence from Salesbury suggests that it is not particularly common in Welsh in the mid-sixteenth century
Wallis	ESEE	“The Welsh write this sound as <i>si</i> , with a length mark on the following vowel; so with them <i>Siôn</i> (John) is a monosyllabic word, while <i>Sîon</i> (Mount Sion) is disyllabic” (Kemp 1972: 203)	Example (106), Section 4.5.3	This is not a variation in itself, but the multilingual comparison here suggests that the variation shown above by Salesbury has died out by the time of Wallis' work; he shows the existence of /f/ in Welsh

These two sources were published over a century apart. Salesbury's evidence in example (2) for the existence of Welsh or Welsh English /f/ suggest that this sound was not common in Welsh (Willis 2009: 127), and so would potentially be realised as /s/ by some Welsh English speakers (see section 3.2.4). This, as all of Salesbury's evidence of non-ESEE pronunciation, comes through multilingual comparison but requires a little further work to uncover potential variants (see section 3.2.3). Wallis' evidence in example (106),

however, suggests that /f/ does exist in Welsh and Welsh English more extensively at this point, and so the realisation suggested by Salesbury and theatrical representations of Welsh EModE speakers (see e.g. Blank 1996) might have been dying out in the mid- to late seventeenth century. There is, however, the additional question of whose speech is being observed by each author. For example, is there a regional difference which is not apparent? Welsh was not monolithic; there were and are different variations of Welsh pronunciation, so there is a chance that this was a regional difference rather than diachronic, or perhaps a combination of the two. Furthermore, it is not clear how familiar with Welsh Wallis was, though he writes with some confidence in Table 15 above. At surface level at least, this appears to be a diachronic shift in which /f/ came into more regular usage in Welsh and Welsh English.

Another feature of Welsh and Welsh English is shown by two authors, Salesbury and Smith, this time being demonstrated more consistently over the two sources. Both authors suggest the devoicing of voiced plosives in Welsh English, shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Evidence for devoicing of Welsh and Welsh English plosives

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Salesbury	Welsh (/Welsh English)	<p>“B in English and <i>b</i> in Welsh have the same sound”</p> <p>“D in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers”</p> <p>“G... in English before A, O, U, and sometimes before E and Y is not distinguished from <i>g</i> Welsh”</p> <p>(Ellis 1871: 775–9)</p> <p>Devoicing of Welsh plosives demonstrated by Hannahs (2013: 15)</p>	Example (1), section 3.2.4	Multilingual comparison, though additional work required. Devoicing is not observed by Salesbury as an exception to the similarities between the Welsh and English sounds
Smith	ESEE	<p>Welshmen say <bhind> for <i>bind</i> and <thender> for <i>tender</i> (Danielsson 1955: 147)</p>	Examples (92) and (93), section 4.3.4	Multilingual comparison suggesting variation in Welsh English

Here, there is evidence from one first-hand witness and one second-hand witness, both of whom demonstrate this feature in the same way. Both employ multilingual comparison, but Salesbury (example (1)) at least is not directly speaking about Welsh English. Smith (examples (92) and (93)) is rather more ambiguous on this front, but it seems likely that both are discussing Welsh in comparison to ESEE. However, in both cases, the details about Welsh phonology—reflected by the author (as by Smith) or not (as with Salesbury)—can be drawn out to suggest the devoicing of Welsh English voiced plosives, as well as of Welsh voiced plosives. Early Modern theatrical representations of Welsh English speakers (see Blank 1996) can also be used to support this, as has been seen in section 3.2.

Finally, two authors discuss a pattern in Scots of retaining Latin sounds where ESEE changes them, as seen in Table 17.

Table 17: Evidence for Scots' retention of Latin sounds

Author	Author's native dialect/language	Evidence	Example number/location in thesis	Evidence type
Hume	Scots	“Lykwayes we sound keep the vouales of the original [Latin], quherin the north warres the south; from retineo, the north retine, the south retain...” (Wheatley 1870: 20)	Example 17 (also Table 2, examples (18)–(27)), section 3.4.3	Multilingual comparison
Hart	ESEE	The Scots are typically “more neare the Latine, from whence both we and they do derive them”, e.g. English <humbly> vs Scots <humely> (Danielsson 1955: 182)	Table 7 (examples (95)–(104)), section 4.4.3	Multilingual comparison

Hume and Hart's statements differ in origin and tone. Hume approaches this as a first-hand witness, and Hart as a second-hand witness. Hume, in his ongoing interest in producing the ultimate 'correct' form of the "Britan" tongue by picking out features of Scots and ESEE, outright states in example (17) that he believes that the Scots approach is the correct one, while Hart makes no such statement, rather addressing the variation in a neutral manner. However, they both address the matter in the same fashion: comparing the Scots and English forms, and usually noting that the Scots forms retain the Latin sounds. Both also employ long lists of examples to prove their points (see Table 2 and Table 7). One additional feature included by Hume which Hart omits is that Hume includes the Latin original forms. Hart simply gives the English and Scots forms. It is also the case that Hart includes a few examples in which English retains the original Latin form, while Scots deviates from it, but it is more often the case that Scots bears more resemblance to the original Latin. Finally, Hume exclusively examines vowels here, while Hart leans more towards consonantal features.

There is little to say with regards to patterns of what features are most likely to be seen across the sources used in this study. One major point, however, is that most of the features handled in this section involve consonant variations. Vowels are by no means ignored. In fact, probably the majority of features observed overall are of vowel variants. I will discuss this further below. What can be said from the observations above is that there are a number of features demonstrated by authors of varying backgrounds (in terms of native speech) and in a variety of ways (both intentional and unintentional evidence).

There are, amongst the non-ESEE and Scots features discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, a large number of vowel variations which are evidenced by the orthoepists. Across Scots and non-ESEE dialects, vowels are recorded as raising, lowering, fronting, backing, lengthening, shortening, monophthongising, and diphthongising. This is something demonstrated particularly by both spelling variations and direct commentary on variant pronunciations, and are shown across dialects and across vowels. The range of features on display, however, can make observing patterns difficult. I have shown a couple of commonly demonstrated vowel features in Tables 11 and 13 above, which have been observed as patterns of variation by scholars previously (see section 1.2.3). Otherwise, the vowel variants shown across sources and accents is so wide-ranging that observing particular patterns is quite difficult. Instead, I will discuss the ways in which vowel variation is observed by orthoepists more generally.

It is worth starting here with some comments on orthoepy as a form of scholarship. Orthoepy encompasses a very early form of phonetic study in the English-speaking world, as seen in section 2.2. As such, it is not a particularly developed form of phonetic description which can be seen in these works, if any appears at all. So, phonetic description can be difficult to interpret, and vowels take the brunt of that difficulty. This can lead to problems with understanding exactly what is meant by the authors when (or if) they describe a certain vowel. There can be a lack of clarity. Is a vowel meant to be mid-open or mid-close? Does a particular author imply by the use of a certain letter representation that in a certain accent, a vowel which is fronted is also unrounded, or is the rounding situation something that has not crossed the author's mind? Early Modern understandings of sounds and their production are not the same as present-day ones, and this produces a language of phonetic study which does not match the present-day terminology. Both the mindset and the terminology affect the evidence put forward, and though it is undoubtedly possible for those interested in reconstruction to narrow down the possibilities despite how vague the evidence can be, in this study I am more interested in the ways in which the evidence is put forward than in producing specific, detailed reconstructions of pronunciation.

As well as being very different in style as phoneticians, orthoepists are very different as phonologists to a present-day scholar. Orthoepists are driven by the doctrine of *littera* (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3), in which the sound (*potestas*) and the form (*figura*) of a letter (*littera*) are connected through the overarching concept of the *littera*. One effect of this is that this can result in an incomplete picture of the phonologies of EModE and EModSc. The format of orthoepy relies on the written letter to discuss sounds, which seems to impact vowels in particular; there are five (or six) forms available and several more sounds to represent, and digraphs only seem to go so far. Unstressed vowels seem to be practically invisible, and the nuances of the front mid-open and mid-close vowels can often be tricky to interpret. The orthoepists more of the phonographic mind—those who work hard to present a one-to-one mapping of sound to spelling and introduce new symbols to do so, e.g. Hart and Gil—are often better at demonstrating the vowel inventories in more detail, but there are still limitations across the genre. This is the case for ESEE in orthoepy, and EModE dialects and EModSc are no less affected, perhaps they are more so because there is so little interest in providing a full account of their phonologies compared with that of ESEE.

In a similar vein, it is often unclear what exactly the parameters are of a feature observed by an orthoepist. This is something which can be seen with regards to evidence of /r/V

order variation in Table 14, in which the authors in question provide evidence of only one instance of variation each. It is not possible from their evidence alone to observe any sort of pattern. Rarely do orthoepists provide enough information to demonstrate the details of where a certain sound appears, and this is particularly true of non-ESEE and Scots vowels. The authors so rarely explain the circumstances under which a certain vowel might be raised in one accent, or fronted, etc. It is usually not made clear if these variations relate to the surrounding sounds, and it is often difficult to tell just from the texts if the author is observing a pattern or an isolated instance. It is frequently the case that authors will provide one or two examples of a feature, and little to nothing else. They do not, as present-day phonologists do, relate their observations to past forms of English, noting the ways in which a given ME sound has changed to their time of writing (there are a handful of exceptions, for example the notes on Latin vowel retention in Scots made in Table 17). The style of phonological study which appears in parts of orthoepic texts is as different from present-day phonological work as phonetic study is between EModE writers and present-day scholarship, and this necessitates caution while using these sources.

Despite these issues, the treatment of vowel variations in non-ESEE and Scots by orthoepists can be discussed in a more general fashion. A large range of vowel variants are evidenced by these sources across a number of different accents, and these are shown in a number of ways. Phonetic description, as seen above, can be difficult to interpret. Spelling is key to showing the variation in many cases, and this is often paired with references to Latin vowels or other English vowels. Greek and French vowels are used as points of comparison too. Concepts like height or frontness are rare, as the understanding of phonetics was different to present-day study, with references to other vowels being the preferred method. In the absence of phonetic terminology to explain the differences, the doctrine of *littera* is leaned on, with letter forms and their associated sound values used to show the differences between accents.

5.2.2 Trends in evidence of non-ESEE and Scots features

Typically, the non-ESEE or Scots features shown in orthoepic works are segmental; single-sound variations are probably the most common features on display, though there are occasions on which variation is shown above the segmental level, for example in instances like Table 14 where metathesis or retention of an original /rV/ sequence is demonstrated. It is extremely rare to see any evidence of variation beyond sounds or their placement, however; I have not come across any commentary on or visible proof of non-ESEE or

Scots stress patterns differing from that of ESEE, for example, though I have found one instance of commentary on pitch in Wallis (see section 4.5.3) varying in Scots. It appears to be more common for orthoepists to show variation in vowels than in consonants as a general pattern, though it is certainly not true to say that depictions of consonantal variants are rare. A number of consonantal variants are shown, but vowels appear more frequently. It is also fair to say that this general trend is not necessarily true for all accents as evidenced by orthoepists; while evidence of Northern English and Scots both appear to lean more towards vowels than consonants, the bank of evidence (small though it is) for Welsh English is almost entirely centred on consonants.

Northern English and Scots features are the most frequently evidenced by some margin amongst the sources used in this study. Other forms of speech are depicted much less frequently, both by first-hand and second-hand witnesses. It may well be that other orthoepic texts might shift the picture slightly, but the evidence at hand in Chapters 3 and 4 suggest a heavy leaning on Northern English and Scots. As noted in section 2.5.2, it has simply been beyond the scale of this thesis to examine as many orthoepic texts as Dobson (1968), who analysed the work of over fifty named authors, besides numerous ‘minor sources’, foreign grammars, and some anonymous texts. The first edition took Dobson fifteen years to complete (1967: x–xi), besides the revisions made to produce the second edition a little over ten years later. In some of the sources employed by Dobson but not used here, there may be some further commentary which would elaborate these conclusions, but the sources used here suggest a bigger interest in Northern English and Scots than in other forms of non-ESEE speech. Despite the use of four texts by two Welsh authors, evidence of Welsh English is rare, and for the most part required some work to tease out (see e.g. Salesbury in section 3.2). Southern, Eastern, and Western English also appear infrequently; all three dialects are essentially limited to Gil of the sources used here. These dialects may indeed appear in more sources outwith those employed in the present study, but their presence here is very limited.

The types of evidence found across the sources vary considerably depending on whether an author is a first-hand witness or a second-hand witness. I have already discussed the evidence types for each witness group in sections 3.9 and 4.7; while first-hand witnesses provide a range of both intentional and unintentional evidence types, second-hand witnesses exclusively employ intentional evidence types. Mainly, this is direct commentary on variation, but there is also some multilingual comparison sprinkled in. The reason for this difference is simple enough; second-hand witnesses are effectively unable to provide

unintentional evidence of variation as this would require that they employ these variants themselves. A first-hand witness of Northern English can put forward evidence unintentionally by, for example, using a spelling variant acceptable in Northern English, demonstrating a pronunciation variant, but a second-hand witness (for argument's sake, an ESEE speaker) is highly unlikely to employ such a spelling, as it would most likely not exist in their linguistic repertoire. It is not entirely inconceivable that the ESEE speaker would employ the odd Northern feature under certain circumstances—they might, for example, have picked them up from a relative or teacher—but this would be a rare occurrence. So, while first-hand witnesses can demonstrate variation in a number of ways, both intentionally and unintentionally (within their native speech), second-hand witnesses are much more limited in their routes to provide evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech. It should also be noted here that first-hand witnesses do intentionally depict variation; many of them comment explicitly on differences in pronunciation between ESEE and their native speech. Hume, for example, very frequently discusses how Scots differs from English, and Gil addresses variation in Northern English—his native dialect—in exactly the same fashion as he discusses Southern, Eastern, and Western Englishes.

One interesting question to consider is whether the quantity of evidence differs between witness types. This, I would argue, is debatable. The overall picture would suggest that there is not a big difference between the two groups, but there is more to consider than the general view. One point of contention is Gil (see sections 3.8 and 4.2). Gil's method of discussing variation makes him something of an outlier; no other author used in this study handles dialectal variation in quite the manner that Gil does. He provides a long list of variants for each of the four regional dialects in a paragraph each, but he is a first-hand witness for only one of these. No other author discussed in Chapters 3 or 4 approach dialectal variation in quite so broad or thorough a manner intentionally. If Gil is set aside, then there would certainly be a case to say that first-hand witnesses overall provide more evidence of variation than second-hand witnesses. However, Gil is part of the bigger picture, and this levels the field somewhat. Looking further into individual authors, the case for first-hand witnesses providing more evidence complicates. There are first-hand witnesses who provide very little evidence of variation, namely Price (see section 3.3). A number of the second-hand witnesses provide more evidence than Price does. Overall, it is perhaps fair to say that in general, first-hand witnesses provide more evidence of variation than second-hand witnesses, but that this is by no means universally true.

Ultimately, when it comes to orthoepy as evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech, each author is very individual. Despite the conventions surrounding the genre, there are still a number of approaches that these sorts of texts can take, and this is clear in the ways in which non-ESEE and Scots speech is shown. Each text has its own individual configuration of evidence types, accents of interest, features of interest, and quantity of evidence. There are some patterns which can be observed, and overarching tendencies, but a lot of the material is quite particular to the author.

5.3 Approaches to non-ESEE and Scots speech in orthoepy

5.3.1 Categorisation of accents

Amongst the sources examined in Chapters 3 and 4, accents are typically categorised quite broadly. Gil (see sections 3.8 and 4.2) is an excellent example of this; he divides the dialects of English into six categories, four of which are locationally categorised:

“There are six major dialects: the general, the Northern, the Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Poetic. I do not know (nor have I myself heard) all the idioms of these, but as my memory serves me, I shall say what I can.” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102).

Gil’s ‘General’ dialect seems to mean ESEE, and his ‘Poetic’ dialect is not clearly defined, but he also describes four regional accents of English: Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western. His categorisation effectively divides the country into four, though the exact boundaries between areas is not clear, and the accents of each part of England are treated as a collective. Only once does Gil discuss a form from a more narrowly defined accent; he specifically notes one feature of “Amongst speakers of my own dialect in Lincolnshire you can hear *toaz* and *hoaz* for *töz* <*digiti pedum*> [*toes*] and *höz hose* <*caligæ*>,” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 102), under the umbrella of Northern English. Otherwise, Gil simply handles broader categorisations. The effect of this is that it is not possible from Gil’s description to establish the actual usage of a certain feature. One feature classified as Northern might have been observed in Gil’s native Lincolnshire, while another might have been observed by Gil in a speaker who came from Carlisle or some other such place far removed from Lincolnshire. But both of these features would be classified by Gil as Northern, though they might not be used together by any speaker, and thus Gil might be creating an amalgamated Northern dialect which is in fact not reflective of any real accent.

While it is true that many features classified by orthoepists as belonging to a certain broad dialect would be employed across a wide area, it is not necessarily helpful to start putting these observed features together to produce an inventory for, say, ‘Northern’ speech. Gil was from Lincolnshire, Mulcaster was from Carlisle, and Levins was from Yorkshire, so the three Northern authors whose work is employed in this study are all from quite different areas, and therefore their evidence is not necessarily all compatible. In addition, it is not clear from the second-hand witnesses of Chapter 4 whose speech they are observing when non-ESEE accents are raised in their work. This principle holds for any non-ESEE accent; the only author discussed in this study who makes an observation which is narrowed down to county level is Gil on a feature of Lincolnshire English (as seen above). Northern English is perhaps the most clearly demonstrative of this fact, however, being the most commonly observed non-ESEE dialect in this study. It has been noted already that the boundary of the North of England was something which several writers discussed in the early modern period (see section 1.2.1), particularly with regards to the River Trent. This is not something which appears in the commentary of the authors examined in this study, but the apparent extent of the North of England as treated in this text type is quite broad. Returning to Gil again, this is demonstrated by his inclusion of Lincolnshire under the banner of ‘Northern’; the distance between the Scottish border and Lincolnshire is considerable, showing that Northern English as a dialect covers a very large portion of England.

The two accents most clearly geographically defined by orthoepists are Welsh English and Scots, purely by virtue of the existence of borders. These national accents, as with the accent areas in England, cover very broad areas, and through the national labels it is easier to comprehend the geographical limits perceived by the authors. Both are treated as single entities, with no variation made evident amongst these sources. Welsh English ultimately was not spoken by many; as noted in section 1.1, English was spoken by less than one tenth of the Welsh population, and as an L2 may have been impacted by L1 features. It is difficult to say what variation in Welsh English might have occurred; this would be impacted by several factors, such as the form of English learned by a Welsh person (for example ESEE, or perhaps forms of English from the English counties along the Welsh border), which L1 features have an impact on the L2, and if these L1 features show variation in Welsh. If a feature varies in dialects of Welsh, and this feature is then brought over into Welsh English, there may be some variation in Welsh English, but this is not something which has been made evident one way or another in the sources examined in this study.

Scots is also treated as a national form, but it is rarely clear whether it is viewed by orthoepists as a language in its own right, or as a dialect of English. The two Scottish authors, Hume (see section 3.4) and Ridpath (see section 3.5) both treat Scots as a distinct entity, but not necessarily as a language in its own right. Hume very enthusiastically promotes “the Britan Tongue”, which to him is a combined form derived from the language of ‘the south’ and that of ‘the north’, which appears to mean ESEE and EModSc respectively. It does not appear that Hume views Scots as a separate language, rather as a dialect of English, or “Britan” as he diplomatically—or rather, politically—calls it. Ridpath prefers to keep Scots and English separate, distinguishing between forms which are appropriate for either language. He does not explicitly refer to Scots as a separate language, but the division is clear, as is Ridpath’s view that Scots is perfectly acceptable for use and does not require ‘correcting’. It is unclear whether this might mean that he views Scots as a separate language, or if it is in his eyes another national form of English which can be promoted as the standard.

Smith (see section 4.3) often refers to “the Scots” alongside Northerners or in isolation, but there is no mention of whether or not he views Scots as a language or a dialect, only that he observes certain features used by Scottish speakers. Hart (see section 4.4) is a little more direct on the matter, though not easier to interpret. He seeks to teach the Scots “the best speech” (Danielsson 1983: 212) alongside the Welsh and the Irish, and notes that “some think the Scottish speach more auncient Engliſhe than as we now ſpeake here in England” (Danielsson 1983: 182). These comments suggest that he views Scots as a dialect of English. On the other hand, Hart follows the second comment by claiming that no Englishman is “so much affected to write English as they do Scottish” (Danielsson 1983: 182), giving Scots its own name. Elsewhere he states that “the Skottes I need not to ſpeake of, for that our touns differ not moch” (Danielsson 1983: 139), suggesting that he does view Scots and English as separate languages. So, though Hart is more open about seeing Scots either as a language or as a dialect of English, he does appear to espouse both views at once. Wallis (see section 4.5), like Smith, treats the Scots as a distinct group, but there is no clear indication of whether he views Scots as a language or a dialect. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that Scots is treated as a separate entity by orthoepists, be it as a language or a dialect.

5.3.2 Attitudes towards non-ESEE and Scots speech: geography

In section 1.2.1, I stated that the attitudes of orthoepists to non-ESEE and Scots speech has been discussed by scholars before in a general way. Here, I would like to address orthoepists' attitudes to non-ESEE and Scots speech in a more nuanced fashion, expanding on previous commentary. The sources that I have employed in this study handle some accents differently to others, with varying levels of neutrality and negativity, and occasional positivity.

It is generally the case that the orthoepists favour ESEE, and take it as the 'best' form of English. There are some sources in which this is not an overly accurate statement, however. Salesbury (see section 3.2) writes in the mid-sixteenth century, before any clear record of a preference for ESEE exists. Additionally, he is not directly commenting on what is seen as the 'best' form of English; he just provides a general representation of English sound values, the origins of which are not entirely clear. He does, however, seem to make use of ESEE pronunciation in his work. The two Scottish authors also have a more complex relationship with ESEE. Hume (see section 3.4) does not promote ESEE as the best form of the language, though it is one of his reference dialects. He instead aims to combine ESEE and EModSc into what he believes is the best version of the "Britan tongue", so while ESEE is one of the two accents discussed by Hume, it is not what he views as the best form of English. Ridpath does treat ESEE as one of the best forms, but he likewise treats Scots (presumably a form of Edinburgh Scots spoken by the educated classes) as another of the best forms. Otherwise, the orthoepists discussed in this study favour ESEE speech, which is made evident through their use of ESEE features in their works, if not by an outright explanation of their views on this dialect.

Most of the variation discussed in this study is characterised geographically, and arguably this is where most of the more nuanced approach to dialect attitudes can be taken. There are often blanket statements made by orthoepists which effectively state that all non-ESEE speech is inferior; Price, for example, states that he has "not been guided by our vulgar pronunciation, but by that of *London*, and our *Univerfities*, where the language is purely spoken" (Price 1665: 1). Levins similarly makes a couple of references to words which are "barbarous, strange, or fallen out of use", and "the Barbarous countries and ruder writers" (Wheatley 1867: 3–4), and according to Kemp (1972: 66), Wallis "expressly excludes variations in different parts of the country, affected speech, and other "barbarisms"". Hart makes broad statements about wishing to teach the "flower of the English tongue" to

various parties, such as those in the West or North of England (Danielsson 1955: 234) or Wales, Ireland, and Scotland (Danielsson 1955: 212). These apparent blanket statements are not made by all authors, however, and certain geographically-based accents are treated with neutrality or even positivity by orthoepists.

The two most favoured accents by orthoepists besides ESEE are Scots and Northern English. Scots generally appears as its own separate unit which is rarely openly criticised by English authors, for example Smith (see section 4.3) who mentions Scots a few times in his work but usually without implying any negative view of it. He does, however, make one specific criticism, stating that “the Scots ... have almost blotted out their old tongue with French” (Danielsson 1983: 59–61), in relation to their use of the “Greek or French Upsilon”. His criticism here goes beyond the one sound, suggesting a dislike of a wider pattern of French influence on Scots. Price, though making a general statement in *The Vocal Organ* that he has been guided by ESEE speech, introduces Scots /x/ retention in *English Orthography* with no value judgement attached to it, in the only comment he makes openly on variation in speech. Wallis (see section 4.5; Kemp 1972: 237) seems to separate Scots speakers from what he terms “careless speakers” when discussing L-vocalisation, commenting on this feature in “careless” speech and adding later that the Scots also use this feature, suggesting that he does not view its usage in Scots as due to carelessness, unlike in English. Hart’s perspective on Scots (see section 4.4) varies across his work; in the *Orthographie* he makes it apparent that he views Scots speech as inferior in general to ESEE; he includes the Scots in a list of groups to whom the ‘best’ form of the language must be taught (Danielsson 1955: 212). In the *Method*, however, the Scots do not feature in this list (Danielsson 1955: 238). Elsewhere, Hart acknowledges the perception that Scots is a more “ancient” form of the language (Danielsson 1955: 182). Though he questions how many people are so affected by this as to use Scots forms, he does seem to appreciate that this might make Scots a more respectable form in the eyes of purists at least. He does praise Scots for its retention of original sounds or letters in words which are etymologically Latin, in which he views Scots as often being superior to English (Danielsson 1955: 183). The separation of Scots from English by English (and Welsh) writers suggests at least a neutrality to the language, which may be driven by the political separation between Scotland and England.

The two Scots authors in this study address their language in a positive fashion overall. Ridpath (see section 3.5) makes no comment on Scots, its status, or his views on the language, but his treatment of it seems clear enough. He places Scots on level terms with

English by showing shorthand forms which are only appropriate for Scots writers without judgement. Hume's approach (see section 3.4) is much more openly stated, as he balances Scots and ESEE forms as components of the "Britan tongue", frequently siding with Scots over English as being the best form. Any negativity towards either side is strictly on a case-by-case basis; no form is considered wrong simply because it is not ESEE or Scots. As noted in sections 3.4 and 3.5, as well as in section 5.4, these both seem to be reflective of the authors' political views on the role of Scotland in relation to England.

Northern English also benefits at times from this more respectful approach. Beyond the broad statements of displeasure regarding non-ESEE speech, when Northern English is mentioned, it can be more positively (or at least neutrally) received than, for example, Western English speech. Ridpath (see section 3.5; 1687: 13–5) mentions one Northern English feature in combination with Scots, making no value judgement on it. Gil (see sections 3.8 and 4.2.5) is rather positive about Northern English – his own native dialect – as it is useful for poetry, and is used by writers "quite frequently for the purpose of rhythm or attractiveness, since that dialect is the most delightful, the most ancient, the purest, and approximates most nearly to the speech of our ancestors" (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104). I have reviewed this aspect of poetic value in Chapter 1. Smith (see section 4.3) is fairly neutral on Northern English speech, which is probably due in part to the fact that his primary concern is reforming spelling nationally; despite favouring a phonographic system, he rarely seems to be bothered by geographical variation in speech. Hart (see section 4.4) and Daines (see section 4.6), however, are more negatively inclined towards Northern English. Hart, disinclined towards all non-ESEE speech, points to Northern speech as an example of forms which are unacceptable in London's printing circles, though they are acceptable in private writing to one's neighbours (Danielsson 1955: 183), and elsewhere notes the difference between the language of the North and West, and "the Court, and London, where the flower of the English tongue is used" (Danielsson 1955: 234). Daines focuses on one specific feature of Northern English, criticising the pronunciation of <i> as if it were <ai>, making homophones of *fire* and *faire* (1640 [1967]: 6). It is possible that this is the only issue Daines has with Northern English, as he makes no other comment on this accent, but this cannot be stated with any certainty; all that Daines says on Northern English is this one negative comment. Northern English receives a range of positive, negative, and neutral attention in the sources examined in this study, then, though it receives more positive attention than several other accents.

Welsh English is only ever neutrally discussed by the orthoepists whose work is used in this study, but the main comment which can be made on this accent is that it simply receives very little attention of any kind. Though there is some evidence of Welsh English speech to be found in the work of Salesbury (see section 3.2), none of it is found in any direct commentary on the matter. Price, the other Welsh author (see section 3.3), only mentions Welsh English once, in the same comment on /x/ retention/ as he mentions Scots in *English Orthography* (1668: 16). As for Scots, no value judgement is provided here, though Price does make a blanket statement at the beginning of *The Vocal Organ* (1668: 1) that shows his negative attitude towards all non-ESEE forms. Smith (see section 4.3) is the only other author to mention Welsh English, which he does on a few occasions, and in all cases this accent is treated neutrally, other than the positive aspect of its being useful as a way for Smith to describe certain sounds.

In the works I have examined in this study, I have found only a handful of comments on Western, Eastern, or Southern English, but the comments which do appear often show a negative attitude towards these accents. Gil (see section 4.2) provides most of the commentary on these dialects, writing a paragraph on the features of each. Southern English is generally treated in a neutral manner, except for one feature which is received negatively by Gil; he views the lengthening of the first element in <ai> to be unpleasant (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103). Eastern English is in some cases neutrally treated, but once he begins discussing the Mopsæ, this changes to a negative attitude. Eastern English, then, is more or less acceptable to Gil depending on the speaker. Gil's attitude towards Western English is entirely negative: "of all the dialects the Western has the most barbarous flavour, particularly if you listen to rustic people from Somerset, for it is easily possible to doubt whether they are speaking English or some foreign language" (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103). Hart (see section 4.4) also mentions Western English, placing it alongside Northern English as an example of a form which should not be printed in London, but is acceptable in private writing (Danielsson 1955: 183), and differs from ESEE or the "flower" of English (Danielsson 1955: 234). Daines (see section 4.6) also briefly mentions some Western speech, stating that forms from places like Somerset are too "barbarous" to be included in his work (1640 [1967]: 80). Western English suffers the most under attention from the orthoepists, but Eastern and Southern speech—where they are mentioned—are not positively received either.

5.3.3 Attitudes towards non-ESEE and Scots speech: class and gender

Geographically-bound variation is not the only type discussed by orthoepists. Variation associated with class and gender also earn a few mentions in the sources examined in this study, though there is rather less evidence of this kind of variation. It is almost entirely negative. Gil (see section 4.2) criticises the speech of women whom he labels “Mopsæ”, “fashionable” ladies who “affect a thin voice” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 103). Gil mocks these women’s speech, while taking a more neutral stance towards other speakers of Eastern English. Smith (see section 4.3) also aims criticism at the ‘affected’ speech of some women, specifically regarding the pronunciation of <ai>, which is realised by “those who pronounce these words [involving <ai>] in a refined way, especially women, ... [as] the Roman diphthong ae” (Danielsson 1983: 13). Though he mentions only one feature while Gil mentions several, the targeting of women using supposedly ‘affected’ or ‘refined’ speech is consistent between the two.

Class is not often mentioned, but there are a few instances in which it is brought into the conversation by orthoepists, though this is typically more in relation to general statements. Levins (see section 3.6) states that his work is intended to aid “the Barbarous countries and ruder writers” (Wheatley 1867: 3). His use of ‘rude’ seems likely to relate to lower classes if it is associated with a lack of education, elegance, or manners (see OED *rude*, adj. and adv.). Daines (see section 4.6) criticises “the vulgars” (1640 [1967]: 80), and Gil (see section 4.2) notes that his chapter on dialects only relates to “country people, since among persons of genteel character and cultured upbringing, there is but one universal speech” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104), which colours his entire commentary as relating to class as well as to geography. While the nuances discussed in relation to Gil’s attitudes still apply, and his approach to variation is by no means entirely negative, this comment does add an extra dimension to it, casting the shadow of apparent inferiority over the lot. Finally, Gil mentions cant, though he refuses to specify any features as this form of speech is so offensive that he cannot bring himself to speak of it (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104). The dialect is the “venomous and disgusting ulcer of our nation” associated with the “filthy language of criminals”, and its speakers are a “detestable scum of wandering vagabonds” (Danielsson & Gabrielson 1972b: 104). While criminals may be found in all social classes, Gil is clearly preoccupied with a group of criminals who would be associated with the lower classes.

There is not a particularly big divide between the attitudes taken by the first-hand witnesses and second-hand witnesses whose work is examined in this study, but arguably there is a small split between the two. It is not true to say that the first-hand witnesses never take a negative view of non-ESEE or Scots speech; Price and Levins both take a generally negative view of non-ESEE and Scots accents. This does not appear to be related to the time at which they wrote; Levins published *Manipulus vocabulorum* in 1570, and Price's works were published in the 1660s, so it would not be accurate to say that the first-hand witnesses became less positive as ESEE took more of a hold over the educated classes. This can be supported by Ridpath's work, which was published in 1687 and took a positive attitude towards Scots and a neutral one towards Northern English on the one occasion it was mentioned. Arguably they are more likely to take a positive attitude towards non-ESEE and Scots speech than the second-hand witnesses, who typically lean more towards neutral or negative stances. It is also not true, however, to say that none of the second-hand witnesses mentioned in this study have a positive attitude towards non-ESEE and Scots speech, but the only real example of this is Hart's praise for Scots as a more ancient form, and its retention of some sounds which reflect certain words' Latin etymologies (Danielsson 1955: 182). Of the second-hand witnesses discussed in this study, there is very little actual positivity towards non-ESEE and Scots speech, though there is a considerable amount of neutrality. Overall, there is rather more variation in attitudes towards non-ESEE and Scots speech in the works of orthoepists than might be expected, based on the scholarly outputs on the genre over the years.

5.4 Variation, standardisation, and linguistic national identity

In the short biography of Sir Thomas Smith in section 4.3.1, I quoted Archer (2008) labelling the spelling reform movement of Smith and Hart (amongst others) as being "part of the developing sense of English national consciousness". Law discusses the principle of nationalised thought in European linguistics in the early modern period, pointing to a newfound nationalism as one of the factors causing scholars to look to the history of languages, of which English was no exception (Law 2003: 260). Law (2003: 237–8) also indicates a certain self-consciousness on the part of the English regarding their language, noting that English scholars were themselves aware of the language's "'mongrel' pedigree, and of their continental colleagues' mocking nickname for it—*spuma linguarum*, 'scum of languages'", which gave them no hope of tracing the language back to Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, but that ultimately a "strong tradition of vernacular-medium instruction in

England” prompted them to the study of English linguistics. Görlach (1999: 479–80) points to the evolution of linguistic nationalism and purism as being impactful on attitudes towards English in the early modern period, at least at the lexical level. Variation seems to be somewhat at odds with this sense of national linguistic identity, and so too with the expansion of English power outwith England’s borders.

The orthoepists’ approach to Northern English suggests an interesting caveat to the notion that ESEE was an expression of linguistic national identity. Developing a linguistic national identity requires a rejection of what the nation (or its educated and powerful upper class) does not want to put forward to the world. In the case of English and the orthoepists, we can see this in the criticism of non-ESEE accents (see section 5.3). Law (2003: 232) talks about the Renaissance movement to “ennoble” the vernaculars in Europe, as these languages took on more significant roles in society. This required the establishment of great writers, in the vein of Cicero and Quintilian for Latin, and the cultivation of the language to become suitable for use in literature and scholarship (Law 2003: 232). English, as Law (2003: 260) points out, already came with baggage; its speakers were conscious of the mockery their language suffered in Europe. So, English speakers were building a linguistic national identity on the back of linguistic national shame. If English was the subject of mockery in Europe, perhaps the way English is addressed in England by orthoepists and other commentators—such as George Puttenham—has a slightly reactive component. Combined with the increasing tendency around the seventeenth century to seek out older forms of the language (apparently relating to religious controversies; see Law 2003: 260), this might be part of the reason why Northern EModE is afforded a degree of respect by orthoepists. They found Northern English to be an ‘older’ or ‘purer’ form of the language (see sections 1.2.1 and 5.3.2). This resulted in the acceptance by some authors that Northern forms could be acceptable in literary circles (see section 5.3.2). This could result in the participation of Northern English in the “ennobling” of English, not just ESEE. Northern English therefore may play a role in the construction of a linguistic national identity and the dampening of linguistic national shame, which is evidenced by orthoepists such as Gil.

Hart (see section 4.4) claims in his *Orthographie* of 1569 that his work will be useful for “our broad-speaking English, as the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish nations, to give them to understand the best speech used of the learned” (Danielsson 1955: 212). This statement reflects attitudes which appear in many works by orthoepists, who often put forward the idea (explicitly or implicitly) that non-ESEE speakers are using an inferior form of

English. What can also be seen here is an inclination to spread one preferred form of the language amongst the populations both of England and places where the English had—or hoped to have—power. In criticising and aiming to educate “our broad-speaking English”, Hart shows the aim to standardise English within English borders, but adding the Welsh, Irish, and Scots to his list of intended students implies an imperialistic slant, with a will to impose a standard form upon those under English control. Wales and Ireland were both at this point under English control (regarding Wales, see section 1.1), and there were close connections between Scotland and England throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though the details changed across time. A standard form of English could hardly be presented to other parts of the world if it were not accepted at home, so the national consciousness regarding the language could be viewed as important on two fronts.

Two other national forms arise in this study beyond the English of England: Welsh English and Scots. These two forms exist within rather different contexts, in part because Wales and Scotland’s political situations differed. The key facts here are that Wales was annexed to England in the first half of the sixteenth century and was therefore considered legally as part of England, while Scotland was a separate nation throughout the entirety of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see section 1.1). English was spoken by only a very small portion of the Welsh population, and Scots had developed separately from English (see section 1.1). In this study, I have examined the works of two authors from each nation: Salesbury and Price from Wales, and Hume and Ridpath from Scotland. There is a gap of around seven decades between the publications of the two Scottish authors, and over a century between those of the Welsh authors. The evidence from these authors, and others mentioning these national forms, suggest two different forms of national identity through language.

Scots retains a certain level of power in the treatment of orthoepists throughout the period, particularly shown by Hume and Ridpath. Hume, writing around 1617, upholds the position of Scots in his *Orthographie*, though he seeks to combine it with ESEE. He does not look to subsume Scots in ESEE, rather giving them equal status as forms of the “Britan tongue” which he was so keen to promote. Around this time, James VI and I was working to bring about a political union between England and Scotland, and Hume was a proponent of this union, though he was also “keen that the Scottish element should not be steam-rollered out of existence” (Durkan 2013: 121), an attitude which carries over to his treatment of English and Scots. Just as he wanted to see the kingdoms of England and Scotland united as two equal halves of one whole Kingdom of Britain, Hume in the

Orthographie wanted to bring together English and Scots as the “Britan tongue”, without treating Scots as a lesser partner. Seemingly, to Hume, the national role of Scots was not second to English, but only to the potential of a new national form.

Ridpath, publishing in 1687, had differing political persuasions to Hume, but he similarly upheld Scots’ equality to English. Ridpath opposed the union being proposed between England and Scotland at the start of the eighteenth century, and published works to that effect (see section 3.5.1). In *Shorthand Yet Shorter*, Ridpath’s preference for a separation between Scotland and England is suggested by his maintenance of a division between English and Scots forms of shorthand spelling (see section 3.5). In Ridpath’s work, Scots retains its power and status as a national form equal to English. As I have noted in section 5.3.2, though there is less of a clear statement of equality to ESEE (or English in general) regarding Scots in the works of English orthoepists, Scots is often afforded at least a neutral attitude. Hart’s statement above, however, that “the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish nations, [should be taught] to understand the best speech used of the learned” (Danielsson 1955: 212) openly places Scots below ESEE. The work in which this statement is made was published in 1569, at which point Mary, Queen of Scots was in England, having been forced to abdicate in favour of James VI, and was the subject of an inquiry in England regarding Lord Darnley’s death. Relations between Scotland and England were complex throughout the sixteenth century, so though the 1560s might not have involved an active attempt on England’s part to bring Scotland under English control, events like the Rough Wooing were still in living memory. First Mary and then James VI were very much in the consciousness of the English as Elizabeth I’s heirs, so the English perspective seems to have been that the connection with Scotland had to be carefully cultivated, most likely with England as the senior partner.

The Welsh situation differs significantly. The Welsh language was still spoken by over 90% of the population of Wales as their only language, with English being spoken by under 10% of the population (see section 1.1). Wales had lost its political power by the time the first of the authors in this study was writing; having been under English control for centuries already, Wales was formally annexed to England in the 1530s and 1540s with two Acts of Union, and under these Acts anyone holding office in Wales had to speak English (see section 1.1). Though it seems probable that this had effectively been the rule for some time, these Acts formally blocked Welsh from any political role. Welsh still held power as the language of religion for many, as the Reformation made vernaculars an essential tool of the new church (Thomas 1994: 97), but from an administrative

perspective, English was essential in Wales. Though it can be seen that there was a certain ‘Welshness’ to the English through theatrical representations of Welshmen (see e.g. Blank 1996) and some comments made by orthoepists (see e.g. sections 3.2 and 4.3), the evidence of Welsh English in orthoepy is much more limited and is perhaps suggestive of a more complex role for Welsh English than for ESEE and Scots. One of the Welsh authors in this study is Salesbury, and his work (published in 1547 and 1550; see section 3.2) suggests some characteristics of Welsh English speech, though none are presented openly as such. His works were published within two decades of the Acts of Union. Price (see section 3.3), the other Welsh author, wrote his works much later, in 1665 and 1668. He mentions a characteristically Welsh feature only once, and includes no commentary on the state or position of English in Wales. A couple of English authors do mention Welsh features, for example Smith, but again, the commentary does not characterise Welsh English or its place in society. The most openly made judgement is, again, found in the comment from Hart, who expresses his opinion that the Welsh are amongst those who need to be taught the ‘best’ form of English. Welsh English must have held some importance as a national form as it enforced the legal incorporation of Wales into England, but this is at odds with what little discussion there is of Welsh English in the works of orthoepists. The most important role of Welsh English seems to be to aid in the subjugation of Wales to England, making it part of England, and therefore it was not a national form from a legal perspective. But as a tool to enact the annexation, Welsh English would have played a role in the maintenance of an England into which Wales was incorporated, and would therefore be important as a national form from a practical perspective.

Conclusion

At the start of Chapter 1 I described the linguistic landscape of early modern mainland Britain, demonstrating the variety of forms of speech on display. In much of what follows in that chapter, however, I showed the scholarly focus on ESEE speech. In Chapter 2, I discuss the nature of orthoepy, its traditional role as a source of evidence for ESEE speech, but also its potential as evidence for non-ESEE and Scots speech. In Chapters 3 and 4 I carried out a series of case studies of orthoepic texts, investigating the evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech within them, first with speakers of non-ESEE and Scots varieties (first-hand witnesses; Chapter 3), and then with authors who are generally ESEE speakers (second-hand witnesses; Chapter 4). In Chapter 5 I drew together the evidence uncovered in Chapters 3 and 4, examining patterns and common features found in these texts, and the attitudes demonstrated towards non-ESEE and Scots speech by their authors.

Despite the scholarly fixation on the so-called ‘standard’ accent of Early Modern English with regards to orthoepy, non-ESEE speech is evidenced in several sources, and with some frequency. It is certainly fair to say that non-ESEE speech does not feature anywhere near as often as ESEE speech does; most of the texts discussed in this study focus primarily on the ESEE accent, Hume being the only real exception to this as he focuses equally on EModSc and ESEE. Other texts were excluded from this study as they focused entirely on the ESEE accent, so the focus of orthoepy in general is clear. Evidence for non-ESEE and Scots accents in these works is, however, present, and deserving of attention. The attitudes of orthoepists to non-ESEE and Scots speech are also not quite as straightforward as might be believed from the general accounts of their work; while many scholars simply address this question with the answer that orthoepists were negatively inclined towards non-ESEE and Scots accents, this study has demonstrated that this is a simplification of the matter.

Evidence of non-ESEE and Scots speech is found in various orthoepic texts. This typically involves segmental features, with not much discussion of features above this level. Both vowel and consonantal features are found. Scots and Northern English were the most commonly observed accents in the texts used in this study, but features of Southern, Western, Eastern, and Welsh English were also found. Evidence of geographic variation was found far more frequently than variation due to class and gender. There was more evidence found in the works of first-hand witnesses (speakers of non-ESEE dialects or Scots observing their native accents) than in those of second-hand witnesses (authors

observing accents other than their native one, usually ESEE speakers). This is likely due in part to the fact that this study included more first-hand witnesses than second-hand witnesses (seven versus five), and more texts by first-hand witnesses than second-hand witnesses (nine versus seven). This is not the only cause, however; the evidence from first-hand witnesses is not limited to direct commentary on variation, as is the case for second-hand witnesses, but includes evidence from the authors' own spelling choices, and also from multilingual comparisons. The spelling choices in particular expand the evidence pool of the first-hand witnesses.

Some features are observed more frequently than others. Northern English and Scots features such as the non-palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ to /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ and L-vocalisation appear in several of the texts used in this study, for example. Features of other accents are also observed by more than one author, but Northern English and Scots contain the most commonly observed features. Consonantal features are slightly more readily found across multiple sources than vowel features, but this may be due in part to the fact that orthoepists' descriptions of vowel sounds can be more difficult to interpret.

The attitudes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepists to non-ESEE and Scots speech is more complex than is suggested by many scholarly works on the subject. While variety of accents or features related to class and gender are negatively received across the board, geographic variation is more nuanced. Northern English and Scots are often treated neutrally, if not rather well received. Welsh English, though rarely mentioned, is typically discussed on neutral terms. Western, Eastern, and Southern English are typically negatively treated.

This study does not include all possible orthoepic works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to limits on time and space. Future work could engage further with the second-hand witnesses from these centuries, investigating their approaches to non-ESEE and Scots speech to expand upon the questions asked and addressed within this study. As phonological reconstruction was not my primary aim here, this is also an area which could be the focus of future work, more thoroughly investigating the specific details of non-ESEE and Scots sounds as recorded in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century orthoepic texts, building up our understanding of and bank of evidence for non-ESEE and EModSc speech. Another possible avenue for future work would be to turn these questions to the orthoepy of the eighteenth century, comparing the works examined and findings discussed in this study with whatever might be found in the works of the eighteenth century to

showcase the development of linguistic scholarship in English and Scots, the standardising attitudes, and the attitudes shown to non-ESEE and Scots speech over time. Future work in these areas would continue the aim held here of studying this text type in a manner which decentres the ‘march towards standardisation’ which scholarship on Early Modern orthoepy is so prone to follow, a pathway I have deviated from in this study to address a valuable and overlooked facet of orthoepy.

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