A History of the English Language

Elly van Gelderen

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Elly van Gelderen
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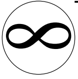

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Preface to the first edition (2006)

There are a number of well-known histories of the English Language (Baugh & Cable, Pyles & Algeo, Barber, and Fennell). The justification for yet another book on the history of English comes from having taught a course on this topic at the undergraduate and graduate levels for almost 10 years and not finding any of the books completely satisfactory. The present book will be different from others in being more grammatical and typological in focus, i.e. language-internal, although this can of course not be a course on Old and Middle English or on historical linguistics and therefore only parts of the grammar are covered. I have used the change from synthetic to analytic as a leitmotiv.

A lot of emphasis is placed on linguistic (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic) analysis of Old, Middle, and early Modern English texts. This means students will learn how to approach older texts and to work with these. Most examples and texts will be authentic and the use of facsimile editions is encouraged. Incorporating these texts in this book, rather than in an (optional) workbook, makes it easier to see working with texts as an integral part of a class on the history of English. I have provided possible answers to the in-text questions and the other exercises. In my classes, we usually go over the texts and exercises and the answers provide a review. Having the answers in the back makes the book usable for self-study as well.

The book differs from, for instance, Fennell in that there will be less emphasis on sociolinguistic theories, though many descriptions will be given of, for instance, *h*-deletion, prescriptive forces, and pronoun shift. External history is dealt with in Appendix III (where a timeline of historical events is provided), in Chapter 1 (in general), Chapter 5 (for Old and Middle English), Chapter 7 (for Early Modern English), Chapters 8 and 9 (for the modern period). There are sections on literacy, the re-emergence of English, the printing process, authorship debates, and world Englishes. Throughout most of the book, I use the term English in its general sense, including all varieties, but I sometimes use British or American if this makes the point clearer.

There are many smaller differences in emphasis between this book and similar histories of English. In Chapter 1, I divert from the usual chronological order by going into the history of English a little before discussing phonetics, grammar, and Indo-European. This is done to justify Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 first explains the need for a phonetic alphabet and all the phonetic terminology before actually giving it. In Chapter 3, there is information on language prehistory based on Cavalli-Sforza's and Greenberg's work, not found in most textbooks. This is an area students (and the general public) are interested in. Most other textbooks start with Indo-European. The chapters on Old, Middle, and Early

Modern English are relatively standard, but each chapter includes many examples and has additional texts at the end. The texts are chosen because they represent the typical 'canon' and also because audio versions exist on the web in most cases.

Chapters 8 and 9 examine English after 1700, the different Englishes around the world, and the role English as an international language, with some emphasis given to the plight of endangered languages as an example of drastic change leading to elimination. The organization in these chapters differs from other textbooks, in that I have tried to group linguistic phenomena together rather than group them as varieties. I have only looked at spoken and written English since ASL, BSL, and other signed varieties require a different expertise than mine. Chapter 10 provides a brief introduction to some theories of language, language change, and acquisition.

Another difference between this book and other history of English books is the incorporation of electronic resources in the textbook and exercises. Recent years have seen a wealth of electronic resources for historical linguistics research, more so perhaps than in any other humanities field. The OED online is invaluable; the Old and Middle English corpora so helpful; websites with Old and Middle English audio files are abundant, as are sites focusing on the history and providing detailed maps; and pictures of manuscript facsimiles are very easily accessible. No earlier textbook incorporates these. I will attempt to do so with a particular focus on using the OED (and even without online access, this should be possible). For the printed version, I will only include URLs that can be expected to remain up, e.g. university sites. The associated website (www.historyofenglish.net/hel/) contains many more links, and these links will be updated regularly. The ones in the book that will 'fail to open' after a while will be listed on that website too.

As mentioned, I will focus on internal changes, in particular on the change from synthetic to analytic. I also discuss the influence of external factors on internal changes. The book is not theoretical in orientation. I do not discuss sociolinguistic theories, or theoretical issues in historical linguistics, except for mentioning e.g. grammaticalization in the context of the change from synthetic to analytic and briefly in Chapter 10. The book can be used at the advanced undergraduate and beginning graduate levels. It is designed for a semester, but, depending on what other courses the particular institution offers, it can be used for a shorter course, e.g. by leaving out Chapters 3, 8, or 9.

The book has many idiosyncrasies due to the author being a non-native speaker, having taught English and linguistics in the Netherlands, Canada, and the United States. Electronic texts provided by the Oxford Text Archive, the Gutenberg Project, and the Dictionary of Old English project have been extremely valuable; the concordance program used is MonoConc. I would most like to thank Johanna Wood for thinking through many problems of content and organization with me and for extensive comments on the writing and examples. Viktorija Todorovska is the best (copy-)editor I know; she is someone who understands the issues and has such a grasp of the English language in all its forms. Tim Gades was wonderful in developing the website that accompanies this book; he was creative and knowledgeable. I am very grateful to Olga Fischer for going through the chapters very carefully

and for giving me so many good suggestions which I hope I have incorporated. For other comments and lots of assistance, I would like to thank Harry Bracken, Chen Chen Sun, and Shane Drews. I would also like to thank several anonymous reviewers and Mariana Bahtchevanova, James Berry, Jean Brink, Jade Corn, Nancy Hawkes, Lisa Genuit, Dhira Mahoney, Nicteha Martinez, Brenda McTighe, Donka Minkova, Elizabeth Moreau, Laura Parsons, Amy Shinabarger, Lynn Sims, and many others. Using this book before it was published was very helpful and Emily Hsu, Kristen LaRue, Tyler May, Victor Parraguinaldo, John Ryan, and Olena Tsurska really helped discussing this text in a small seminar.

Preface to the revised edition

The year "2006 was a bumper-crop year for books on the history of English" as Donka Minkova writes in a 2009 review in *Language*. Apart from the first edition of the current work, several other works appeared in 2006: *A History of the English Language* edited by Richard Hogg and David Denison, *The Oxford History of English* edited by Lynda Mugglestone, *The Handbook of The History of English*, edited by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los, and *The English Language: a linguistic history* by Laurel Brinton and Leslie Arnovick. The current book remains sufficiently different from these to warrant a new edition. It remains the most succinct and accessible yet comprehensive of linguistic histories.

I am very lucky to have John Benjamins as publisher, not only in being willing to put out a revised edition and also for their always incredibly beautiful, fast, and accurate work. It is much appreciated! The history of English in its complex shapes and forms changes fast and, after eight years, chapters such as 8 and 9 need refreshing with more current examples and some of the research I report on in Chapter 3 needed to be updated. A number of suggestions brought up by users and reviewers have been incorporated as well, e.g. the unclear origin of Chancery English in Chapter 2, a family tree for Germanic in Chapter 3, and more on Celtic influence in Chapter 5. Some reviewers commented that the 'why' of linguistic change was ignored. I have written on the 'why' questions, e.g. in my 2011 *The Linguistic Cycle: Language Change and the Language Faculty*, but didn't want to push a particular theoretical position on the reader here. I have added more detail on internal and external change in Chapter 1 and I hope that helps. I have also mentioned the stress shift as a possible reason for the change from synthetic to analytic (although that begs the question why the stress changes). Chapter 10 listed some theories on the causes of change are and I have left it that way;

One of the main challenges in any work on the history of a particular language is to attribute the ideas on changes to the first people who came up with them. For instance, I don't know who first suggested that English was losing the endings on nouns and verbs. It was probably 'in the air' in the same way that a linguistic cycle was implicit in the work of many (e.g. de Condillac 1746, Bopp 1816, Gardiner 1904).

The philosophy of the revised book remains the same with an emphasis on the linguistic history and on using authentic texts. In my own use of the book, I divide the core chapters 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 into several parts: sources/spelling/sounds, morpho-syntax, vocabulary, and something special to the period. I use a class period to work on each aspect and we then use a text (from the Appendices) and an audio version (where relevant) to discuss the state of that particular stage of the language. The goals of the class and the book are to

come to recognize English from various time periods, to be able to read each stage with a glossary, to get an understanding of typical language change, internal and external, and to understand something about language typology through the emphasis on the synthetic to analytic cycle.

My audience remains undergraduates (and beginning graduates) and I have therefore ignored such topics as Indo-European vowels and laryngeals, the satem/centum divide, most discussion on stress, and the distinction between phonemes and allophones. I know having the latter would make various discussions easier but it is a real road-block for some students not majoring in linguistics.

I have minimized the use of URLs in this edition to very safe ones. The website connected to this book has updated information and should be used for additional sources. I typically start a chapter by going over the electronic resources in class and the timeline for the period in the appendix. The *OED* recently changed its interface so I have changed that in the appendix and made it less dependent on a particular interface. Unfortunately, the *OED* is still not freely available and we can only use it via a library. I will point out ways to use freely available sources whenever possible.

As before, I would most like to thank Johanna Wood for making extremely valuable suggestions as she was using the book in a very different context (Denmark). Remus Gergel, Lynn Sims, Grover Furr, and James Berry have provided excellent feedback. Eric Haeberli, Donka Minkova, Jeannette Marshall Denton, Susan Fitzmaurice, and Steven Gross have made many valuable points in published reviews and I thank them for their very helpful work. Further thanks are due to Victor Parra-Guinaldo, Hui-Ling Yang, Yvonne Maat, Kagnarith Chea, Robert Mailhammer, Charles Edmisten, Ed Keenan, David White, Jerzy Nykiel, and Uthairat Rogers.

Figure 0.1 Why study HEL? ©2003 Jan Eliot. Reprinted with permission of Universal Press Syndicate. All rights reserved.

Notes to the user and abbreviations

In the text, I use italics when a certain word is discussed. So, if I am talking about the word *word*, it will be in italics. If that word is a foreign word, e.g. *mot*, I will put the translation right after it in single quotation marks: *mot* 'word'. Once in a while, a new concept appears in **bold**.

There are two kinds of glosses to the Old and Middle English examples. The one is a word-for-word gloss, using abbreviated symbols; the other, enclosed in single quotation marks, provides a freer translation. Both are not always provided since the meaning is often clear from the word-by-word gloss; and sometimes a word-by-word gloss is redundant. If there is a gloss, the example will be in italics. The glosses only list morphological features such as accusative (ACC) in cases where this is relevant for our discussion.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative (case)
ADV	adverb
ASL	American Sign Language
BBC	British Broadcasting Company
BCE	before common era
BNC	British National Corpus (cited according to BNC abbreviations)
BP	before present
BSL	British Sign Language
c	circa, i.e. around
CE	common era
CED	*Chronological English Dictionary*
cf.	short for 'see'
CHEL	*Cambridge History of the English Language*
CSE	Corpus of Spoken (Professional American) English
CT	*Canterbury Tales*
CV	consonant-vowel sequence
DAT	dative (case)
DECL	declarative
e.g.	short for 'for example'
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca

EModE	Early Modern English
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
F	feminine
F1	First Folio
FAM	familiar
GEN	genitive (case)
GVS	Great Vowel Shift
HC	Helsinki Corpus (see primary sources)
ICE	International Corpus of English
i.e.	short for 'namely', from Latin *id est*
IE	Indo-European
INF	infinitival ending
KJV	King James Version
LALME	*Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English*
LLL	*Love's Labor's Lost*
LOC	locative
M	masculine
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
N	neuter
NOM	nominative
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
ON	Old Norse
PL	plural
PAST	past tense
PC	*Peterborough Chronicle* (see Thorpe 1871)
POL	polite
Q1	First Quarto
SG	singular
UG	Universal Grammar
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
*	reconstructed word, or ungrammatical sentence, or wildcard in a computer search
~	nasalized sound
>	becomes
<	derives from
'...'	encloses gloss

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Chapter 1

The English language

Language is a fundamental human faculty used for the expression of our thoughts and creative ideas, face-to-face communication, scientific inquiry, and many other purposes. Most humans are born with the ability to acquire language automatically and effortlessly if provided the right input by their environment. It is estimated that there are 6,000 to 7,000 languages in the world. We differentiate languages from dialects based on whether they are mutually understandable, but this distinction gets murky and many linguists consider a language to be a "dialect with an army (or navy)," i.e. a political construct. The number of languages is decreasing rapidly as some languages disappear and a few others – Chinese, English, Spanish, Indonesian/Malay, and Hindi – become more widespread.

The focus of this book is the English language. The word 'English' has a number of widely different meanings. For instance, it describes the people from a particular part of Great Britain. It also refers to a particular language, the English language, and is used very broadly in this sense. English is Germanic in origin but roughly half of its words derive from contacts with French and Latin. As we will see, English has expanded from having a few speakers in one area to having many speakers in many geographic areas.

One way to define English is through its origins and history and we will do so in this book, briefly in Section 1 and in more detail later on. We find Celtic and Roman presence in Britain before the coming of the Germanic tribes who brought with them what is to become English. Later, we also see Scandinavian, French, and Latin influences.

Another way to define English is to compare it to other languages and earlier stages. In Section 2, we will apply this approach and compare Modern English to Old English and other languages. We will keep this approach in mind since we will see English changing from one type of language to another in fewer than 1,500 years. Finally, Section 3 of this chapter will examine some reasons for language change – linguistic (or internal) and socio-historical (or external). This too will be relevant throughout the remainder of the book.

1. The origins and history of English

As mentioned earlier, the meaning of 'English' can be given through its origin and history. The British Isles have been inhabited by different peoples for a long time and before they were islands. The excavations at Boxgrove in southern England show that early humans were present possibly 500,000 years ago in what we now call England. These hominids, however, are assumed not to have had language. They used tools to wound and kill big animals and may have continued to live there until the Ice Age. After the Ice Age, humans

again start to occupy Britain around 10,000 years ago and 5000 years ago sees the construction of Stonehenge. We know very little about the pre-Indo European languages these people spoke. Vennemann (2003b) argues that the ancestors of one of them, Pictish, may have spoken a Semitic language.

After the coming of the Celts around 3,000 years ago, we start to know a little more. The Celts encountered the Pictish speakers and possibly influenced that language. Celtic languages were spoken all over Europe and there were many tribes and some migrated to England/Britain. One of these tribes may have been given a name such as *pritaini* from which the **names *Britain* and *British*** may derive (see Snyder 2003). In Britain, the Celtic languages survive to the present in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Irish English and Scottish English are varieties of English influenced by the Celtic languages. Just as the Celts displaced or mixed with the people inhabiting Britain before them, they and the languages they spoke were later displaced and pushed further west. Nowadays, some of these languages are being revitalized (e.g. Welsh in Wales and Gaelic in Scotland and Ireland).

The Celts in Britain came into contact with the Romans and Latin when the Romans came to Britain 2000 years or more ago. The Roman Empire ruled much of Europe up to that time. It collapsed and the troops were withdrawn from Britain around 410. Because of the political power of the Roman Empire, Latin was spoken in parts of Britain and the European continent and it exerted a strong influence on Celtic and Germanic languages. Words such as *wall, kitchen, wine, mile* and *street* were **borrowed** from Latin into Germanic and came into English via Germanic. The settlements and roads of the Romans were extensive and remained important even after they left the island in 410. The Latin influence continues through medieval and renaissance times, not through actual migrations but through the Catholic Church and intellectual developments such as Humanism and the Renaissance.

English officially starts when the Germanic tribes and their languages reach the British Isles, in 449. One account tells of Hengist and Horsa being invited by the Celtic king Vortigern to help fight the northern Picts and later turning against Vortigern. There are of course earlier contacts between the continent and Britain. For instance, during the Roman occupation, many speakers of Germanic dialects served in the Roman army; there were many trade contacts as well. Slavery was also widespread in Europe, and it provided another means of contact between Celtic and Germanic speakers and Roman culture. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, one version of which was completed in 1154, tells the history of England from the time of Julius Caesar to 1154 (available in Modern English at www.omacl.org/Anglo). As the map below shows, several Germanic tribes – the Frisians, the Angles, the Saxons, and possibly the Jutes – occupied the British Isles. The **word 'English'** derives from one of these tribes – the Angles.

The Germanic tribes (e.g. the Franks, Goths, Angles, Saxons, Vandals, and Lombards) differed culturally from each other, but it is not clear how distinct their languages were. Some of the ones around the North Sea may have spoken a North Sea Germanic.

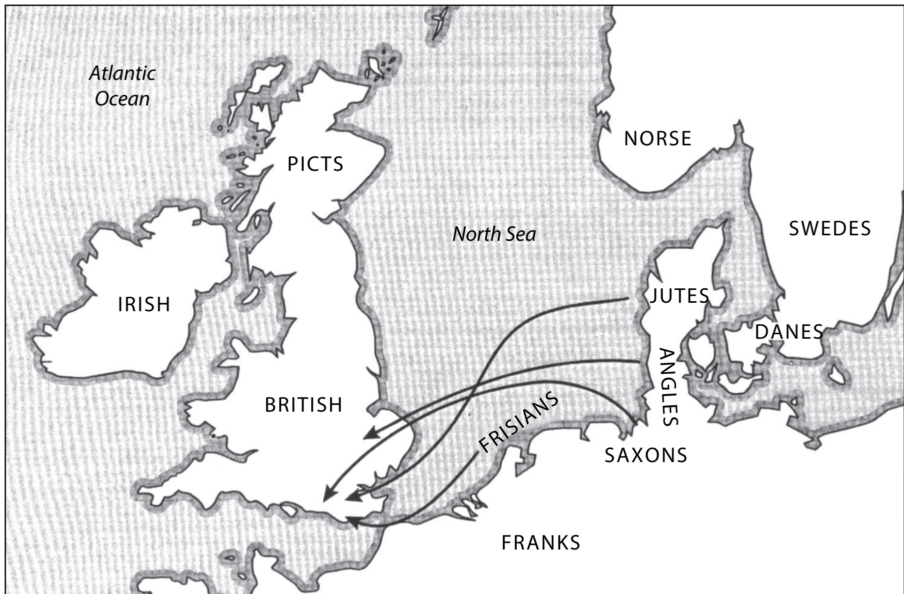


Figure 1.1 Map of Germanic migrations starting 1,500 years ago (from Millward 1996: 78)

What started as a Germanic dialect spoken in a small part of England is now a language spoken by over a billion people in many parts of the world (as a first or second language). Even though it is a Germanic language, English has adopted a large number of words from other languages. We will examine the influence of other languages on English in Section 3; it is estimated that half of the vocabulary of English comes from French and Latin. To get an idea for the level of borrowing, please look at the text below, where the loanwords are in bold, and the words of unclear origin in italics.

Involuntary Conversions, Preemptive Counterattacks, and **Incomplete Successes**:
The World of **Double**speak

There are no potholes in the **street**s of **Tucson, Arizona, just "pavement deficiencie**s." The **administration** didn't **propose** any new **taxes, just "revenue enhancement** through new **user**'s fees." Those aren't bums on the **street, just "non**-*goal* **orient**ed **member**s of **society**." There are no more **poor people, just "fiscal** under**achiev**ers." There was no **robbery** of an **automatic** teller **machine, just** an "un**authoriz**ed withdraw**al.**" The **patient** didn't die be**cause** of **medical malpractice**, it was **just** a "**diagnostic misadventure** of a high **magnitude**." The **U.S. Army** doesn't kill the **enemy** anymore, it **just "servic**es the **target**." And the **double** speak goes on.

Figure 1.2 Text marked for loanwords, adapted from Lutz's *Doublespeak* (1990: 1)

As you can see, the most frequent words – *the, a(n), did, it* and *of* – are 'native', as are the affixes – plural *-s* and third person singular *-s.* Mostly, they are the shorter, more general words. The above text is a bit extreme in the number of French and Latin loanwords; almost half of the words are borrowings and many of them are euphemisms. **Euphemisms** make things seem better than they are: *filing a property irregularity report* means having to tell an airline that it lost your bags (and this phrase was used by British Airways). French and Latin loanwords are also used in English to add formality to language. As we will see, some people prefer 'native' words or more archaic speech for this purpose.

Table 1.1, taken from Roberts (1965), shows the origin of the 10,000 most frequent English words, and Table 1.2, from Williams (1975: 67), shows the origin of the first, second, and third thousand most common words.

Table 1.1 Percentages of English word origins

Old English	French	Latin	Other Germanic	Other
32	45	17	4	2

Table 1.2 The first, second, and third 1,000 most frequent words and their origins

	Old English	French	Latin	Scandinavian	Other
1000	83	11	2	2	2
2000	34	46	11	2	7
3000	29	46	14	1	10

We will come back to loanwords and text types in Chapter 5.

The language we currently refer to as English is the partial result of the borrowings discussed above and it can be defined as the collection of words that were selected to appear in a particular dictionary. The collections of different dictionaries differ in number considerably: some contain 60,000, others 600,000 words. Most native speakers of English are estimated to have a vocabulary of 40,000 to 60,000 words (see Bloom 2002). (It is debatable whether pairs such as *read* and *reader* are two words or one, and that affects the numbers). The *Oxford English Dictionary* (hence *OED*) is undoubtedly the best resource on the English language and its history. Many libraries nowadays have access to the *OED* online and we will use it often later on in this book.

However, even if we knew all the words in the *OED* (and many are archaic), we still would not 'know' the English language. We need rules to put the words together into sentences or, in other words, a grammar. Grammar generates a language: the structure of the sounds (phonetics and phonology), words (morphology), sentences (syntax) and the rules for understanding the meaning (semantics) and appropriate use (pragmatics). The goal of this book is to describe the structure of English and how its words and structures have emerged and changed over the last 1,500 years. In the next section, we briefly examine the structure of English by comparing Modern English and earlier stages of English; this examination of the structure of English will be revisited in more detail later.

2. Modern English compared to earlier English and other languages

Even though we lack the technical vocabulary to discuss in detail differences among languages – that vocabulary will come in Chapter 2 – we will examine some of the major differences on three levels: **sounds, words, and sentences**. Read the first sentence of the famous *Caedmon's Hymn*, from a manuscript dated 737, and compare it with a word-by-word gloss and the Modern English translation. Glosses for Old English (OE) are usually done as in (1). I have put in the hyphens to show the endings but they are not in the Old English manuscripts; look at the list of abbreviations for what PL, and INF, and GEN mean. You can also listen to it at http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/audio.htm. What do you observe?

(1) *Nu* *scyl-un* *herg-an* *hefaenrica-es* *uard*
Now should-PL praise-INF heaven.kingdom-GEN guardian
'Now we should praise the guardian of the heavenly kingdom'.

You might notice that there is no letter *v* in *hefaen* 'heaven' and that the *u* in *uard* 'guard' is pronounced differently – like *w* and unlike the present day *u* in *guard* or *tune*. It is not completely clear how the Old English *sc* and *g* are pronounced: *sk* and *g* or *sh* and *y*. With respect to the words and sentences, we notice the lack of grammatical words such as *of, the*, and *a*. The Old English sentence in (1) contains five words, whereas the Modern English one has twice as many. The additional words in Modern English fulfill a grammatical function performed by endings such as *-es* in Old English. As is obvious, quite a number of changes have occurred on all three levels mentioned above. First, we will look at the sounds of Modern English.

Depending on the variety, Modern English has 13 or 14 different **vowels**: *bit, beet, bait, bet, bat, but, bye, boy, boat, boot, bout, bath*, and *bore* all contain different vowel sounds. Languages such as Inuit and Navajo have four vowels and Hawaiian and Spanish have five. However, Navajo has nasalized and lengthened vowels (and a few other extras). Thus, every language has a unique sound system.

English has at least 25 **consonants**. Other languages have different numbers: Polish has 35, Hawaiian eight, and Finnish 13 (not counting the ones used only in loanwords). The most unusual English consonant is perhaps the one spelled as *th*, which, as we will see, represents two different sounds. Many other languages, and many varieties of English, do not have this sound. When speakers of such languages first learn a variety of English where *th* does occur, they often pronounce *th* as *d* in *that*, as *t* in *thing*, as *f* in *mouth*, or as *v* in *mother*. In New York City English, for instance, *that* is often pronounced *dat*. Substituting *d, t, f*, or *v* for *th* does not happen randomly, as we will see in Chapter 2.

English **syllable structure** is complex: there are English words such as *strikes* and *splits*, with three consonants at the beginning of the syllable/word and two at the end. Czech has more elaborate structures as in *zmrzlina*, meaning 'ice-cream', as does Croatian in *cvrst*, meaning 'hard'. Japanese, Korean, Navajo, and Hawaiian do not have consonant clusters and use special strategies for adapting loanwords from English. For instance, *strike* will

sound like *suturaike* in Japanese, with the consonant clusters broken up. Spanish speakers will adapt an initial *sk*-sound, as in *school*, to *eskool*. Across the world's languages, perhaps the most common syllable pattern is consonant-vowel (or CV) and that is what languages like Japanese have. Even in English, CV seems preferred, as shown in Figure 1.3.

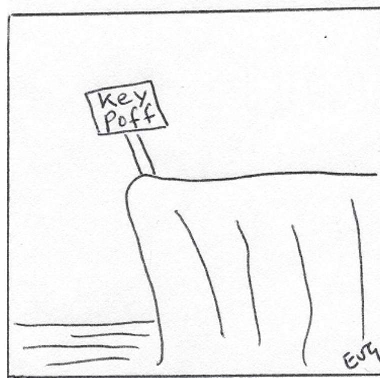


Figure 1.3 *Keep off* as *Key Poff*

To make sense, sounds need to be combined into words and words into sentences. One of the major functions of language is to indicate who does what to whom (and where, when, how, and why that occurs). Languages differ in how they mark these functions – through **endings** on the verbs and nouns or through **word order and grammatical words** (prepositions and pronouns). Languages such as Chinese have almost no endings and use word order and grammatical words to mark the functions of the different elements in a sentence. On the other hand, many languages of the Americas have multiple prefixes on the verb and the verb can represent an entire sentence. For instance, Navajo *naashné* has two prefixes and a stem (na-sh-né), and it means 'around-I-play'; English would translate that as 'I am playing', using three words.

Modern English is more like Chinese than like Navajo, since no marking on the verb (or the noun) is required to understand a sentence like (2). Even if the case of the pronouns is 'wrong', as in (3), we understand that *her* is the subject because it is in the position of a subject and *I* the object because it follows the verb.

(2) That dog loves me.

(3) Her gave Mary and I a cake.

Old English is more like Navajo than Modern English because it has a number of endings; the difference is that in Old English the endings are on the nouns and the verbs, while in Navajo they are only on the verbs. The endings in Old English express what word order and prepositions do in Modern English. This is one of the major changes that occurred between Old and Modern English, a change **from synthetic to analytic**, and we will discuss

it throughout this book. For now, don't worry about these terms; more will be said in the next chapter.

One last issue to be introduced is that of **varieties** within a single language. Linguists often distinguish among varieties of region, social class, and register, or level of formality. The branch of linguistics that is particularly interested in varieties is called **sociolinguistics.** What is often referred to as the standard language is the language of one social or regional group and is typically taught in schools, spoken (and written) by journalists. It is a formal variety or style or register. Formal styles use more (Latinate) loanwords, as shown in Figure 1.2 above. As we will see, throughout the history of English, standard varieties were established in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. For now, we introduce a few terms. Later, in Chapters 8 and 9, we will provide additional examples.

Table 1.3 Some terms for styles and varieties of English

Styles:	formal style, usually taught in schools and used by journalists/editors; it has grammars and dictionaries; often referred to as the standard
	colloquial, informal style, often used in speech, with slang as one kind of colloquial speech
Varieties:	regional, variety typical for a region, also called dialect
	social, variety typical for a social group, e.g. African American, men, upper class, also called sociolect
	register, variety typical for an occupation or situation, e.g. computer engineers, church, chess or baseball game, also called jargon

Varieties and styles overlap: regional speech is colloquial, and varieties due to register (e.g. computer jargon) can be related to social class. Slang, for example, can be used in colloquial speech as well as in regional and social varieties. The terms introduced above can also be used to discuss Australian or Kenyan English, for example, or varieties spoken by non-native speakers, such as Chinese English, as we will discuss in Chapter 9. Some people are using the term **English Language Complex** (ELC) to refer to all varieties of English (see e.g. Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008).

3. External and internal change

The question of language change is really a question of why varieties develop within a language. For instance, Canadian and South African English have developed their own identities even though they are still 'English' in their grammars. In this section, we discuss politically, geographically, and socially motivated change – known as external change – and linguistically motivated change, or internal change. External and internal change are sometimes ascribed to 'chance' and 'necessity', respectively (Lightfoot 1979: 405). Many times, internal and external change interact.

External changes are brought about by language contact (between speakers of different languages), or innovations by speakers, or issues of political or social identity. Recent adoptions of new words such as *goji berry, to overshare,* and *lol* are instances of external change. Oceans may facilitate contact whereas mountain ranges may stop it. External changes are unpredictable since it is impossible to foresee who will migrate where, or what fashion will catch on. Looking at when loanwords first appear in a language gives a good clue to social change: the appearance of lots of French loans around 1250 tells us something about a change that happened to society as a whole. Appendix III at the end of the book provides a chronology of historical events and they are often responsible for starting external change in the language.

Internal changes may have to do with ease of articulation. For instance, the sound represented by *m* is easier to say before a *p* than before a *k* and languages often change towards what requires less effort. However, Labov (2010: 89) chronicles vowel shifts that result in making communication harder, so ease is only one possible factor. Internal change also occurs when speakers stop using endings (or inflections) on verbs and nouns and start to rely on words such as *of, for, the*, and *have*. The traditional reason for the loss of endings is that the stress shifted in Germanic to a fixed position, namely the root of a word, and that the endings became phonetically less prominent. You could in turn ask what caused the shift of stress, and we don't know!

The loss of case marking on *who* and stranding the preposition in *Who did you talk to* are instances of internal change. Regularization, such as the loss of *gone* in favor of *went* in *I shoulda(v) went*, is also internal change as well as the change in the category of a word as, for instance, when prepositions start being used to introduce sentences, i.e. as complementizers. *Like* is a preposition in *She swims like a fish* but is extended to introduce sentences in *She did like I said*. Finally, changes in negatives are frequent and many varieties double the negative or use *never* for the weakened *n't*, as in *I never did that* for *I didn't do that*. Internal reasons have to do with children analyzing the language they hear in a slightly different way from the generation before them (and building their grammars accordingly).

The two types of change are summarized in Table 1.4. There are, however, factors that inhibit internal change, namely **prescriptive rules**. These rules typically have to be explicitly taught in school and include 'don't split infinitives' and 'don't end sentences with

Table 1.4 Examples of external and internal change

External	Internal
new words due to contact, e.g. *capybara, cashew*	ease of articulation (= economy)
	loss of case marking, e.g. *who did he see?*
new words due to social change, e.g. *aldultescent, oversharenting*	regularization, e.g. *I shouldav went* (= economy)
	new use of old words, e.g. *like* as complementizer
words going out of fashion, e.g. *cool*	renewal of *n't,* e.g. by *never*

a preposition'. They are based on a prestigious language such as Latin or on logic or on attempts to conserve an older stage of the language. Split infinitives, such as *to boldly go*, have occurred in the English language since the 14th century, but prescriptive forces still prevent many writers from using them. In cases such as these, native speakers seem to enjoy being able to cite a rule only to ignore it in their own language. The use of the 'proper' case endings, such as *whom*, and the third person *-s* are also strongly encouraged. If these prescriptive rules were not reinforced in schools and writing programs, however, they might not persist.

As to external change, there has generally been little opposition to incorporating new words into English (but see Chapter 7 for the inkhorn debate), unlike in French. Perhaps French speakers do not oppose loanwords, such as *hotdog*, *e-mail*, and *computer*, but the French Academy establishes French equivalents, *chien chaud*, *courrier électronique*, and *ordinateur* respectively. The French equivalent for 'e-mail', i.e. *courrier électronique*, is very long and the Academy has decided to allow *courriel* though most French speakers use *e-mail*. If they use *courriel*, it is only for official purposes (Daniele Robert p.c.).

Often the changes caused by external factors lead to changes in the actual grammar or sound system. As we will see in later chapters, the influx of French and other loan words may have led to the incorporation of *v* and *z* into the English sound system. The opposite occurs as well. Internal changes, such as the frequent use of *like* by certain age groups or Canadian *eh*, can in turn become markers of identity, as Figure 1.4 shows. If a factor such as identity helps a change, we consider that an external reason.

Figure 1.4 'Eh' as a marker of identity. c2005 Jan Eliot. Reprinted with permission of Universal Press Syndicate. All rights reserved.

The *OED* online has a very helpful timeline feature when you go to its homepage. The timeline will tell you when new words came into English, see Figure 1.5, and you can choose words in the arts or agriculture, or words that came in from African, or Australian languages, and many other choices. The reason the number for the last period is low is because we have just started that period. Do you find it surprising that the peak is between 1850 and 1900?

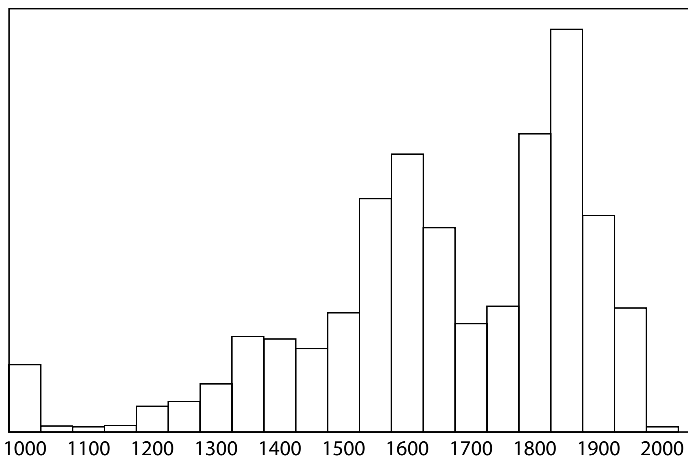


Figure 1.5 New words throughout history, from the *OED*

Figure 1.6 presents a timeline of the major **external changes in English** in the last 2,000 years. The dotted lines indicate the influences on English before and after Germanic was introduced to Britain around 450. The straight line represents Germanic before 450 and English after 450. In a later chapter, a timeline will be given for internal changes after we have discussed those.

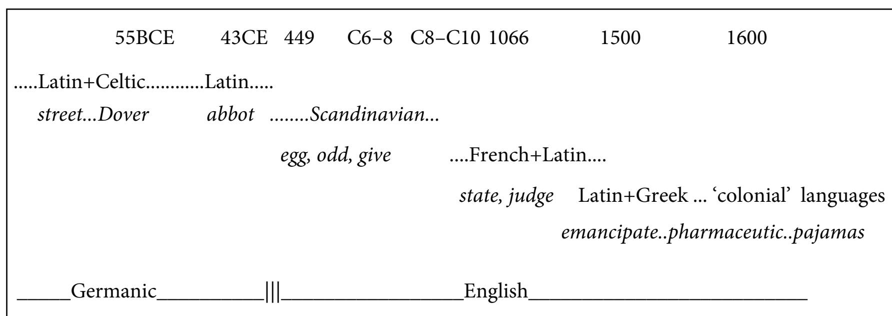


Figure 1.6 External influences on English and pre-English (C stands for century)

In 55 BCE, Julius Caesar came to Britain and in 43 CE Emperor Claudius led an army of 40,000 and eventually subdued the people of what is now England, excluding those in Scotland and Wales. These external influences are both indicated on the timeline. The words borrowed at this time are similar to those borrowed by other languages that came into contact with Roman civilization, and a few of them have been mentioned above, e.g. *wine* and *street*. Celtic, however, remained spoken during this time, as shown by the dotted line. It provided many geographical names, such as *Kent, Avon*, *Dover*, and *loch*,

and possibly influenced the different regions in grammar and pronunciation. When the Germanic tribes began to settle in Britain around 450, the Germanic dialects eventually pushed out the Celtic languages to the periphery (e.g. to Wales; see Chapter 5 for a more complete story). In the 6th century, the conversion to Christianity introduced Latin words, such as *abbot, altar,* and *hymn*, into English, sometimes through Celtic since many missionaries came from Ireland.

Between the 8th and 10th centuries, the Scandinavians raided Britain. They also started extensive settlements. Scandinavian may be the most important of the external influences on English grammar and vocabulary. Words such as *bask, call, crave, egg, fellow, ill, keel, leg, odd, screech*, and *thrive* are borrowed from it. The disappearance of Old English endings and the switch to a stricter word order might also be the result of the Scandinavian influence on the grammar. Scandinavian words are often not seen as 'foreign' since they are very similar to words of English origin and are often 'everyday' words. The latter shows the Scandinavian and English lived in close contact.

In 1066, William of Normandy arrived and defeated Harold during the **Battle of Hastings** (see Appendix A of Chapter 4 for a contemporary account of this defeat). As a result, French became the language of the nobility and the court and much new vocabulary was introduced, shown in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 above. The borrowed words include many political and cultural terms, such as *government, authority*, and *judge*, in contrast to the 'everyday' vocabulary borrowed from Scandinavian.

The external history after 1066 is described in Chapters 5, and 7 to 10. Important are the love in the Renaissance for Greek and Latin terms, the post-1700 spread of English to the colonies – resulting in new words being adopted and varieties being formed – and the changes in the technology from the 19th century to the present.

Table 1.5 lists the major periods that English is usually divided in.

Table 1.5 Periods of English

Old English (OE)	450–1150
Middle English (ME)	1150–1500
Early Modern (EMod)	1500–1700
Modern (ModE)	1700–now

Except for the beginning, which is arbitrary, the division is a mixture of external and internal factors. Internally, there is a difference between Old and Middle English in that Old English has numerous endings on nouns and verbs whereas Middle English uses more grammatical words, such as prepositions, articles, and auxiliaries. However, many people argue that external changes – such as the Norman conquest of 1066 – may be seen as a direct cause of the transition from Old to Middle English.

Most people who study the history of English agree that Old English does not abruptly change around 1150 but develops into Middle English over a period of time. The reason

1150 is chosen here is that texts are written (e.g. the last part of the Peterborough version of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*) that are definitely 'modern' in having lost many of the endings and in starting to make use of grammatical words The year 1500 is chosen as the end of the Middle English period because by then most grammatical changes have taken place and the Great Vowel Shift is under way. An external reason for this date is that printing is introduced. The Early Modern period is difficult to date exactly. It depends on whether we take political events such as the Restoration (of the British monarchy) in 1660, or the Declaration of (US) Independence in 1776, or some other external date to be important. The year 1700 has been chosen because the spelling is more or less standardized, the Great Vowel Shift is nearly complete, and English speakers start to spread the language around the world.

Section three provided a brief overview of how political and historical events can have strong influences on language. This is one cause of language change, also known as external change. The other cause of change, known as internal change, is not directly triggered by an outside event but by the language learner and user regularizing and changing what is heard.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we explored definitions of English. It can be defined as the language of a group of Germanic tribes after they arrived in Britain. It can also be defined as the grammar and words a speaker knows and uses to construct English sentences. We also discussed the fact that the structure of Modern English is significantly different from that of Old English and other languages in that English has lost many endings and acquired grammatical words. The reasons for the changes are many but can be divided into two categories: internal and external. Internal causes have to do with linguistic reasons; for example, it is easier to say *an apple* than *a apple*. External causes have to do with social, economic, geographical, political, and historical reasons such as migrations and trade contacts and internal cause with the way children (and others) learn a language.

Keywords

English, British, Germanic, an internalized grammar, characteristics of English (vowels, consonants, syllable structure, grammar), Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English, Modern English, internal and external change, prescriptive rules, the influence of borrowing from other languages.

Topics for class discussion and exercises

1. What are some instances of recent changes in English? Discuss whether they could be internal or external changes.
2. How can we stop or encourage language change? Think of an actual example.
3. Is there a word in the text of Figure 1.2 whose status (as loan or not) you find surprising? If so, which one(s)? Look up this/these word/s in the *OED*.
4. Use the Ethnologue website www.ethnologue.com to find out what languages are spoken in France, the United States, Canada, or a country of your own choice.
5. Look at four 'weird' words (http://www.quinion.com/words/weirdwords/index.htm) and decide who first used them and when they come into English by consulting the *OED*.
6. How would you go about figuring out how many words you know (actively)?
7. Describe very briefly how English differs from another language you speak or know something about.
8. Look at the sentence below from the beginning of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. The *Æ* and *æ* represent the short *a*, as in *cat*, the *ð* a *th*, as in *then*, and the *7* is short for 'and'. Guess, on the basis of the word-by-word gloss, which Modern English words are later loanwords. Check the *OED* to see if you are right:

   Old English
   Ærest me wæs fultumiend 7 lareow se arwurða abbad Albinus, se wæs wide gefaren 7 gelæred, 7 wæs betst gelæred on Angelcynne.

   Word-by-word gloss
   Earliest me was assistant and teacher the honorable abbot Albinus who was widely traveled and learned, and was best scholar in England.

   Modern English
   'My first assistant and teacher was the venerable abbot Albinus, a man who had traveled much and studied, and was the best scholar in England'. (from Miller 1890)

Chapter 2

English spelling, sounds, and grammar

In Old and especially in Middle English, variable spellings are common, even within the writings of one scribe. After 1500, the first English dictionaries and word lists start appearing, but the English spelling system remains irregular. The main reason for this is that changes occurred in the spoken language which were not reflected in the spelling because by then the spelling had been standardized. In addition, over time English – or rather its speakers – borrowed many words from other languages. As a result, English spelling does not represent the way the language sounds: *Plato* could also be spelled *play-dough*, at least in American English. To indicate the pronunciation of words, we therefore need a phonetic alphabet.

Section 1 of this chapter offers examples of spelling irregularities and Section 2 describes some of the reasons behind them. Section 3 introduces the phonetic alphabet, which represents spoken language as accurately as possible, and Section 4 provides background information on phonetics, which helps explain many of the changes that have occurred in English. Section 5 discusses morphology and syntax since they are relevant to the linguistic changes discussed later in the book.

1. English spelling

George Bernard Shaw, the well-known Irish writer, is credited to have said that *fish* could just as well be spelled *ghoti*. The *gh* could sound like the last sound in *enough*, the *o* like the first vowel in *women*, and the *ti* like the middle part of *nation*. It turns out there isn't much evidence that Shaw ever used the *ghoti* example. Zimmer (2010) reports that the true origins of *ghoti* date back to 1855 and that the word was invented by William Ollier. Shaw never used it apparently but someone misattributed it to him. Shaw considered the English spelling system inadequate and in need of reform. The following quote from the Preface to Shaw's *Pygmalion* indicates his views on English spelling:

> The English have no respect for their language, and will not teach their children to speak it. They cannot spell it because they had nothing to spell it with but an old foreign alphabet of which only the consonants – and not all of them – have any agreed speech value. Consequently no man can teach himself what it should sound like from reading it.

When Shaw died in 1950, he left money to devise a new writing system for English. Although such an alphabet was indeed invented and a book was published using it, it never caught on (the alphabet can be seen at www.shawalphabet.com).

The vowels in bold in (1) provide examples of irregular spelling. They are all spelled differently but sound the same. The phonetic symbol we will use for the sound they have in common is [i].

(1) sh**e**, Harr**y**, bel**ie**ve, C**ae**sar, s**ee**, p**eo**ple, s**ei**ze, s**ea**s, am**oe**ba, k**ey**, mach**i**ne, s**ui**te, and q**uay**.

There are also many ways to spell what we will represent as [u], as shown in (2).

(2) t**o**, t**oo**, tw**o**, thr**ough**, thr**ew**, cl**ue**, S**ioux**, s**ui**t, fl**u**, l**ieu**, P**ooh**, L**ou**, and sh**oe**.

Sometimes the opposite occurs: what is spelled the same sounds very different, as demonstrated by the sounds spelled as *ou* in the words in (3).

(3) t**ou**gh, previ**ou**s, **ou**ght, thr**ou**gh, d**ou**gh, and **ou**t.

As you will notice, most variation in spelling and pronunciation occurs with vowels. The French philosopher Voltaire is quoted as saying that vowels count for nothing (and consonants for very little). For some speakers of American English, there is no distinction in sound between *pin* and *pen* and others do not distinguish between *Mary* and *marry,* and for some speakers of British English *tower* and *tar* sound the same. Some consonants also show a variety of spellings. For instance, the *k* sound of *keep* is spelled *ck* after short vowels (*lack, sick, Rick, deck*), *k* after long vowels (*week, soak, shake*) and before front vowels (*keep, kin, kettle*), and *c* before back vowels (*cool, could, cold, cup*). (We'll learn what front and back vowels are in Section 4). The same *k* sound is spelled differently in borrowed words such as *psychology* and *choral.*

There are many jokes and poems about spelling irregularities, such as the poem below from an unknown source.

I take it you already *know*
Of *tough* and *bough* and *cough* and *dough*?
Some may stumble but not *you*,
On *hiccough*, *thorough*, *slough*, and *through*?
So now you are ready perhaps
to learn of less familiar traps?
Beware of *heard*, a dreadful *word*
that looks like *beard* and sounds like *bird*,
and *dead* is *said* like *bed*, not *bead* or *deed*.
Watch out for *meat*, *great*, and *threat* that
rhyme with *suite*, *straight*, and *debt*.

Figure 2.1 Some spelling irregularities

As we have seen, in English the correspondence between sound and symbol is not straightforward. Therefore, we need a **phonetic alphabet**, and one is provided in Section 3. However, first we will look at how English spelling became irregular.

2. Why English spelling is irregular

The English spelling system has been around for centuries. During this time, it has absorbed words from many other languages and has been used for many varieties of spoken English. The result is that the symbols do not accurately represent the sounds. Also, unlike in Modern German and Dutch, for instance, there has never been a **spelling reform** in English. In later Old English, there is a standard for West-Saxon Old English for the manuscripts produced at Winchester by Ælfric and others. The Middle English period shows much variety, but after 1400, some standards arise, as we will see later in this section. After 1500, there are advocates for spelling reform: John Hart (*Orthographie* 1569), William Bullokar (*Booke at Large* 1580), and Richard Mulcaster (*Elementarie* 1582). We will revisit these attempts in Chapter 7. Even today, some groups advocate spelling reform, e.g. The English Spelling Society (google their website for more information).

The arguments against spelling reforms are many. One is that pronunciation varies so much in the English spoken around the world that it would be hard to come up with one spelling system. A practical problem would be that the various governments and newspaper and book editors in areas where English is an official language would have to agree. Alternatively, several different spellings could be 'allowed'. In that case, however, we would have multiple systems, and English speakers from India, for instance, might no longer be able to read what speakers in the United States write.

As has been mentioned already, the main reason English spelling is irregular is that many sound changes have occurred since it was (unofficially) standardized. First, we will discuss **standardization** and then we will address the sound changes. In Old and Middle English, scribes used a modified Roman alphabet to transcribe their own speech or to copy from other manuscripts. There is often a lot of variation within the writings of one scribe as well as between different scribes from the same area: *sealm, selm, salm, spalme, sphalme* and many others are listed in the *OED* for 'psalm'. Examine, for instance, the variations of *shirt* and *though* in the *OED*. The current online version of the *OED* lists 23 different spellings of *shirt* and 29 of *though* throughout the history of English! Despite the variation, a standard came to be established since scribes often copied earlier manuscripts and many indeed copied the symbols indicative of an earlier pronunciation. At the end of the Middle English period (in 1420 to be precise), scribes working at the Chancery began writing in English rather than Latin and seem to have been following a Midlands variety, i.e. the area to the North of London. The exact source of the standard is still a matter of debate (see e.g. Samuels 1963, Fisher et al. 1984, Benskin 1992; 2004).

The Chancery produced a huge number of documents, and this was connected to the rise of London as a major center for trade and politics. Chancery English is characterized by relatively free spelling, but some rules evolve (a) *gh* at the end of *high* even though the consonant is no longer pronounced, (b) *th* endings for third person verbs, as in *he doth* 'he does' even though many varieties already have *he does*, (c) past tense *(e)d* endings and not *t* even though many sound like *t*, and (d) *such* and *which* for *su(l)ch* and *(h)wi(l)ch*, respectively (there are many other variations; see Fisher 1996).

Chancery English may be the beginning of a written standard, one that does not necessarily represent spoken English. Smith (1996), Hope (2000), and Wright (2000) – among others – have looked at migration patterns into London and confirm that the Midlands was crucial for a steady influx of workers. All medieval cities needed immigration to maintain their population levels and the Midlands was characterized by population growth and the rise of a middle class. It also generated scientific and religious texts such as Wycliffite sermons and texts. Thus, the Midlands and London were important to the development of an unofficial standard, where 'unofficial' refers to the fact that English has never had an Academy or any other body regulating it.

A major boost to the standard comes after the introduction of the printing press in 1476. William Caxton started the printing press in London, physically close to the Chancery, even though he himself came from Kent and had spent much time abroad. Standardization is automatically established when a document, book, or pamphlet is reproduced the same way many times. Caxton relied on the writings of scribes rather than inventing a new system and was not himself interested in standardizing spelling. One of his first books, Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, was published in 1485, based on an older manuscript. The printed result contains a lot of variation (*duke* and *duk, when* and *whanne*, *hyr* and *hir* for 'her'); it is quite possible that words no longer sounded the way Caxton printed them. Spelling variations stay around for a long time; Shakespeare's First Folio of 1623 contains many of them (*heart* and *hart, do* and *doe*). Other important developments towards standardization were the publication of the first English dictionaries around 1600 (see Chapter 7) and the King James Bible in 1611.

Thus, between the 1430s and the 1480s, a standard began to evolve. However, beginning around 1400 and continuing until after 1600, perhaps the most 'disruptive' of all changes – the **Great Vowel Shift** (GVS) – occurs. This change started around the time standardization was taking place and is a major reason that English spelling doesn't correspond to the way it sounds. The GVS involves long vowels – such as those pronounced as [a, e, i, u, o] – becoming [e, i, aj, aw, u] respectively. For instance, before 1400 *name* was pronounced the way it would if you pronounced it in Spanish, Dutch, German, or French. In present day English, the *a* of *name* sounds more like the first vowel in Spanish words such as *edición* 'edition' or French *école* 'school'. We will come back to the GVS below and in Chapter 7.

Other factors that contributed to the irregularity of English spelling are **etymological respellings** and the incorporation of words from other languages with changed pronunciation but keeping the original spelling. An instance of an etymological respelling is the English word for *debt*. It is borrowed from French and occurs for the first time in 1300 as *dete, dette,* and *dett*, without a *b*. Because the Latin forms have *b*s in the same word, the *b* is introduced by writers wishing to sound learned. The *OED* says that it was "artificially spelt *debte*, after which *debt* has become the English spelling since the 16th c." The same happens with *doubt*, borrowed as *doute*, and *fault*, borrowed as *faute*, and *soldier* borrowed as *sauder*. There are many spelling variants of these words in Middle English. Thus, *soldier* appears, for instance, as *sauder, sawder, souder, saudiour, soudour*, and many other spellings

but only around 1500 does the *-l-* come into the word (and we have of course started to pronounce it in later English). Other examples are *receipt, perfect,* and *indict*, borrowed as *receyt, parfit,* and *endyte*. The Old English word *igland* 'island' is mistakenly considered to be like the French word *isle* and therefore the *s* is introduced into the Modern English *island*. Johnson's dictionary of 1755 has the following inconsistent spellings: *deceit* and *conceit* versus *receipt* and *fancy* versus *phantom*. Spenser (the author of the *Fairy Queen*) is supposedly responsible for respelling *delite* as *delight* so it would form an 'eye-rhyme' with *light* and *night*.

Instances of **loan words incorporated into English** in terms of the sounds, but not the spelling are listed in (4):

(4) Phoenix, suite, xylophone, quota, chagrin, gnomic, euphemism, debris, glacier

These words are usually pronounced as if they were English words, although some may attempt to pronounce *chagrin* as French. They could easily be spelled *feeniks, sweet, zailofone, kwota, shagrin, nomick, youfimism, daybree/duhbree*, and *glayshir*. Other languages have borrowed words and changed the spelling: Dutch borrowed *cadeau* 'present' from French but now sometimes spells it *kado* and, in the Dutch edition of Harry Potter, *phoenix* becomes *feniks*. Sometimes, it is not the word that is borrowed but the letter combination. For instance, the French combination *qu* replaced Old English *cw* and *cwene* became *queen*. This is due to the influence of the Anglo-Norman scribes.

Spelling pronunciation is a phenomenon where speakers pronounce words as they are spelled. For instance, pronouncing the [t] in *often* and the [l] in *salmon* are hypercorrections that regularize spelling. Above, the [l] in *soldier* was mentioned as well. It also happens in the incorporation of loans, e.g. pronouncing the [l] in loans from Spanish, such as *tortilla* and *cholla,* rather than the expected [j]. The latter sometimes occurs for external reasons (see Hill 1993).

As we have seen in this section, English spelling is irregular. We therefore need to have a way to represent spoken English; we will explore this in the next section.

3. The phonetic alphabet

The symbols for the vowels are given in Table 2.1. In the text, the pronunciation of the sounds will be provided in square brackets, according to convention. There is a great deal of variation in the way speakers pronounce certain vowels, especially [ɑ], [a] and [ɔ]; hence, the exact number of vowels is debatable. The reason for the organization of the table will become clear in Section 4. The table also provides an English word in which the sound is used. Check their possible pronunciation in American English at http://www.uiowa.edu/~acadtech/phonetics. Several ways to transcribe the vowels of English can be found in the literature. Mine mostly follows the International Phonetic Alphabet (see www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa), except in the use of [j] for sounds like [aj] and [ɔj].

Table 2.1 Phonetic symbols for English vowels

sound	word	sound	word	sound	word
i	teeth			u	too
ɪ	miss			ʊ	book
e	make	ʌ	putt	o	moat
ɛ	bet	ə (=schwa)	roses	ɔ	hot
æ	bat			ɑ	father
				aj	mice
				ɔj	boys
				aw	house

Some speakers pronounce a [j] sound after long vowels such as [i] and [e], as in [sij] for *see*, [lejt] for *late*. It is up to you to decide how to represent these, depending on how you pronounce them or hear them pronounced.

Table 2.2 lists the symbols for English consonants and provides words starting with those consonants. (In Chapter 4, we will see that the 'ʒ'-like symbol is also used to **spell** the [j] sound in earlier English).

Table 2.2 Phonetic symbols for English consonants (*no word starts with [ŋ] or [ʒ] or [ʾ]; see therefore the consonant in bold)

sound	word	sound	word	sound	word
p	pet	b	bet	m	met
t	ten	d	den	n	no
k	cat	g	get	ŋ	si**ng***
f	for	v	very	l	late
s	sorry	z	zoo	r	roll
θ	thigh	ð	that	j	yes
ʃ	shoe	ʒ	rou**ge***	w	wit
ʧ	chirp	dʒ	judge	(ʍ)	where (for some speakers)
h	he	(ʾ)	bo**tt**le* (some speakers)		

Consonants are less likely to change, but – as we will see – Old English lacks a few of the Modern English consonants; for example, it does not have [ʒ], typically found in loans from French, such as *rouge* and *pleasure*.

4. Phonetics and sound change

As we will see, sound change is regular, unlike the resulting spelling system. To understand that it is regular (and that an [m] does not change to a [k], etc), we need some background on how to describe sounds – **phonetics**. In this section, we will first look at vowels, then at consonants, and then at how sounds affect each other.

English vowels can be described using three features: (1) whether the tongue is high or low, (2) whether the tongue is front or back, and (3) the length of the sound. Explore the **height** differences by pronouncing [i], [e], and [æ]. You should feel your tongue moving down as you proceed from one sound to the next. The same downward movement should happen if you pronounce [u], [o], and [ɑ]. The difference between **front and back** vowels can be felt by pronouncing [i], [e], and [æ] versus [u], [o], and [ɑ]. The former are pronounced with the tongue in the front of the mouth, the latter with the tongue in the back.

The third feature, **length**, can be observed, for instance, when comparing [ɪ] with [i] and [ʊ] with [u]. There is a slight difference in height and frontness between long and short pairs, which we will not pay much attention to. In English, [i, e, aj, aw, o, ɔj, u] are long vowels and [ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɑ, ʌ, ə, ɔ, ʊ] short. Using the features listed above, [e] can be described as a mid, front, long vowel, and [o] as a mid, back long vowel. Most consider [aj, aw, ɔj] diphthongs, two sounds in one.

In languages such as Old English, a fourth feature, **round**, is relevant for categorizing vowels. Front vowels such as [i] and [e] are produced with the lips in a spread position, whereas back vowels such as [u] and [o] are made with rounded lips. Make these sounds to feel the difference. In addition to these vowels, some languages have rounded front vowels (e.g. [y] in Old English *mys* 'mice', German *Küche* 'kitchen' and French *tu* 'you') or unrounded back vowels (e.g. [ɯ] in Vietnamese).

Figure 2.2 presents the vowels for languages with five vowels (mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 2) and Figure 2.3 the vowels for a language like English. These diagrams are shown as if we were looking at the left side of someone's mouth and could see the tongue's position through the cheek.

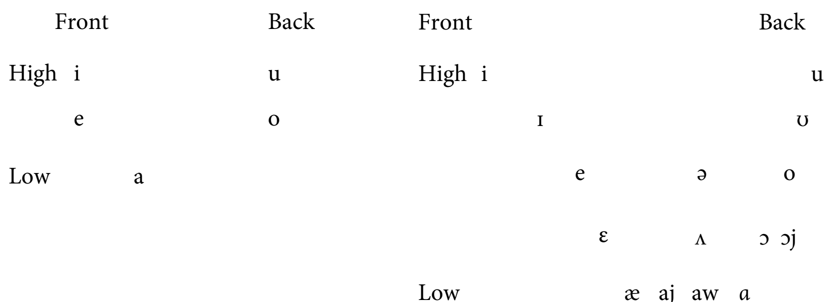


Figure 2.2 Five vowel system

Figure 2.3 English vowels

How is this division relevant to language change? In Section 2, we mentioned that the Great Vowel Shift (GVS) is responsible for many of the irregularities in the spelling system. Based on work by Karl Luick, many linguists have analyzed this shift, e.g. Jespersen (1909, Chapter 8) and Chomsky and Halle (1968, Chapter 6).We will describe the shift using relatively simple linguistic terminology. When [a] becomes [e], we say that it raises (and fronts), when [e] becomes [i], it raises; the same happens when [o] becomes [u]. Thus, the GVS involves raising the long vowels. The two vowels that are 'pushed out of the system' are [u] and [i]. They become diphthongs – [aw] and [aj], respectively. Figure 2.4 represents this raising in very general terms but see Chapter 7 for more detail.

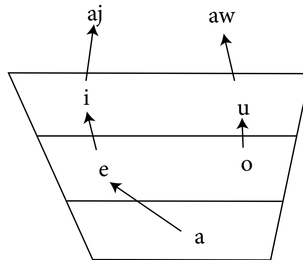


Figure 2.4 The main direction of the GVS

Since the GVS only affected **long vowels**, English has pairs such as *serene–serenity, profound–profundity,* and *divine–divinity*. The second vowel in the first word is long; the same vowel in the second word is short. The long vowels have shifted to [i], [aw], and [aj] respectively, but the short ones have remained more or less the same. Thus, the second vowel in *serenity* is not pronounced as [ɪ] but as [ɛ]. Other long and short vowel pairs occur in (5).

(5) sane/sanity, vain/vanity, grain/granary, humane/humanity, clean/cleanliness, malign/malignant, crime/criminal, sign/signify.

Why do sounds shifts, such as the GVS, take place? There has been much debate on this. Some think the GVS was caused by external events (Fennell 2001); others by internal factors (Martinet 1955); and yet others through a combination of internal and external events (Labov 2010). It is well-known that vowels tend to be distributed relatively evenly in the space where vowels can be produced. Thus, languages with just front vowels do not occur. If, for some reason, a vowel shifts, another vowel may enter that space. Long vowels typically raise or front, as in the GVS, but some change must have started it and that initial trigger is not clear.

Sound changes did not just happen in the past. Various changes are still happening today (as described in e.g. Labov et al. 2005). There are descriptions of the Northern Cities Shift, the Southern Shift, and Canadian Raising. The Northern Cities Shift can be heard in Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Rochester, and Syracuse. It has occurred since the 1950s and involves short vowels, e.g. the [ɑ] of *father* and *Chicago* becoming [æ], and the [æ] in *cat* in turn becoming [eə] and [iə]. The changes proceed in a chain shift, *stuck* → *stalk* → *stock* → *stack*. The Southern Shift has the high and mid back vowels fronting and the front vowels shifting position (http://www.ic.arizona.edu/~lsp/ provides a good chart). Canadian Raising involves the raising of the first part of [aj], as in *ice,* to [ʌj] and [aw] in *house* to [ʌw]. This change occurs only before voiceless consonants, and the result is that the vowels in *ice* and *eyes* are different.

In Section 1, we examined a spelling irregularity involving [k]. This irregularity can be explained using the front-back distinction in vowels. Words that are originally English use a *c* before a back vowel (*cool, could, copper*) and a *k* before a front vowel (*king, kitchen, keep*). Length is also relevant: after a long vowel (or a consonant), the spelling of [k] is *k* (*wake, week, snake, work, wink*) and after a short vowel, it is *c(k)* (*sick, Nick, sack*).

Let's now describe consonants using the three features typical of them. While vowels let the air through completely, with consonants the air is constricted in a particular place in the mouth. For instance, in pronouncing [p] and [b], the air is constricted by the closing of the lips; in producing a [θ] and [ð] it is constricted by the tongue and teeth. The air is also restricted in a particular manner, e.g. complete or partial constriction as in [p] and [f], respectively. Another difference between vowels and consonants is that all vowels are voiced, but that is not true of all consonants. Therefore, the features relevant to consonants are: (a) manner of articulation, (b) place of articulation, and (c) voicing.

The airflow can be restricted through a complete closure, as in [p, b, t, d, k, g]; the resulting sounds are called stops. Fricative sounds such as [f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ] let the air through. Affricates, [tʃ, dʒ] in English, are mixtures of a stop and a fricative. Nasals and liquids have a lot in common with vowels in that they are voiced and can be syllables on their own. Nasals are formed by letting the air out through the nasal cavity. Liquid is a cover term for [l] and [r], sounds that are perhaps the hardest to define and the most variable across languages. Glides, such as [w, j], are vowel-like and immediately precede or follow vowels.

Place of articulation refers to the place where the air is constricted: the lips for labial [p, b, m, f, v], the teeth for dental [θ, ð], the ridge behind the upper teeth for alveolar [t, d, n, s, z, l, r], the front of the palate for alveo-palatal [ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ], the palate for [j], the back of the palate for velar [k, g, ŋ], and the glottis for glottal [', h].

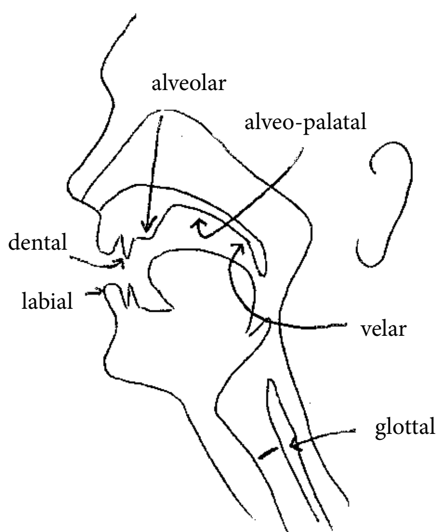


Figure 2.5 Places of articulation

Most consonants come in pairs of a **voiced** and a **voiceless** sound. Voiced sounds are made when the vocal folds in the larynx vibrate. For instance, [f] and [s] are voiceless, and [v] and [z] are voiced. Try feeling this by putting your finger on the middle of your throat and alternating between saying *ssssss* and *zzzzzz*. The pairs are indicated as sets in Table 2.3 (except for the liquids which are both voiced).

Table 2.3 English consonants (*w is labio-velar)

Manner Place	stop	fricative	affricate	nasal	liquid	glide
labial	p/b	f/v		m		w*
dental		θ/ð				
alveolar	t/d	s/z		n	l and r	
alveo-palatal		ʃ/ʒ	ʧ/dʒ			j
velar	k/g			ŋ		
glottal	ʾ	h				

To simplify matters, in Figure 2.3, the labio-dentals [f] and [v] are listed as labials, and the palatal glide [j] as alveo-palatal. The liquids can be further divided according to manner: [l] is lateral and [r] is retroflex (in English)

How are manner, voice, and place of articulation relevant in language change and variation? The **manner** in which a sound is produced changes when stops become fricatives, as shown in Latin *pater* corresponding to English *father*. This change is part of Grimm's Law which we will come back to in the next chapter. Stops often become fricatives between two

vowels, as in Latin *faba* 'bean' to Portuguese *fave*. In these cases, one sound **assimilates** to become more like another; this particular kind of assimilation is referred to as frication and it happens because fricatives are more like vowels in letting some air through. Nasalization of vowels (often indicated by a [~] above the vowel) is common when they precede nasal consonants, e.g. for some speakers of English, the vowels in *fake* and *fame* are different. It is another instance of manner assimilation on the part of the vowel.

Voiceless consonants surrounded by vowels can also assimilate and **become voiced**: the [t] in the words in (6) starts to sound more like a [d] in American English (and then it is called a 'flap' and represented as [ɾ]):

(6) litera**t**ure, spaghe**tt**i, bu**tt**er, bo**tt**le

British English has an alveolar stop [t] or a glottal stop ['] in *butter* and *bottle*. **Devoicing** occurs as well, as described by Grimm's Law: Latin *ager* corresponds to English *acre*, with voiced [g] changing to voiceless [k].

As for assimilation in **place** of articulation, nasals provide good examples in English fast speech. They adapt their place of articulation to that of a following stop: *in Paris* is pronounced [ɪmpærIs] and *in Canada* [ɪŋkænədə]. Another frequent assimilation in place of articulation involves **palatalization** – velar consonants such as [k] and [g] becoming palatalized to [ʧ] and [j] respectively. This usually occurs because of the presence of a front vowel. Palatalization happens frequently to Old English words: *cirice* with an initial [k] becomes *church* with an initial [ʧ] (in Scotland, one can still hear *kirk*); *cinne* becomes *chin*; *ceop* turns to *cheap* (the latter changes from the noun *ceop* 'buy' in *god ceop* 'a good bargain' to the adjective *cheap*); and *ceorl* becomes *churl* (but Dutch keeps *kerel*). These and other examples are summarized in Table 2.4. The actual change occurs in Old English but I have given pre-change and post-change words.

Table 2.4 Palatalization in the history of English

Old English		Modern English	Old English		Modern English
[k]		[ʧ]	[g]		[j]
cirice	>	church	weg	>	way
cinne	>	chin	cæg	>	key
ceop	>	cheap	geard	>	yard
cicen	>	chicken	geornan	>	yearn
ceose	>	cheese	gellan	>	yell

Other processes that occur to facilitate pronunciation are dissimilation, deletion, insertion (or epenthesis), metathesis, and l/r shift. **Dissimilation** occurs when there are too many sounds of the same kind in a row. For instance, in *fifths*, many speakers make the middle fricative [θ] into a stop. They can also apply **deletion** to *fifths* and pronounce it like [fɪfs]. **Insertion or epenthesis** helps makes consonant clusters easier to pronounce: [mɪlk] becomes [mɪlək] in many dialects. Many of these processes occur when languages borrow words that

do not fit their phonetic system. Latin *astru,* for example, is borrowed into Basque as *asturu* with an inserted vowel. Languages such as Japanese have a strict Consonant-Vowel syllable pattern and borrow English words by inserting vowels into consonant clusters.

Metathesis, a process that switches sounds, also changes consonant clusters. For instance, the initial [spə] cluster in *spaghetti* is often switched to [pəs], as in [pəsgɛti]. Other instances are *precise* becoming [pərsajs], *prescription* becoming [pərskrɪpʃən], and *relevant* turning into [rɛvələnt]. Related words where one has undergone metathesis but not the other one are *third/three, nutrition/nurture, promiscuous/mix*. Examples of metathesis from Old English to Modern English can be found in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 Metathesis from Old to Modern English

Old English		Modern English	Old English		Modern English
beornan	>	ME brennen	wæps	>	wasp
beorht	>	bright	hriddel	>	riddle
tux	>	tusk	gærs	>	grass
acs(ian)	>	ask	cerse	>	cress
hros	>	horse	irn(an)	>	run

Rhotacism is a process involving the sound [r] and the change of certain consonants into [r]. You can see rhotacism in the alternation between *was* and *were*, *rise* and *rear*, *opus* and *opera*, and between *flos* ('flower' in Latin) and *floral*. A final change to be mentioned is the **l/r switch**: from *peregrinus* to *pilgrim*, *pruna* to *plum*, and *arbor* to *arbol*. The reason for this switch is that [l] and [r] are both liquids and are very unstable over time. This is also shown by their many variants. For instance, Dutch is said to have 13 different [r] sounds in different varieties of Dutch and [l] sounds are variable as well, witness the 'dark' [l] in Scottish English, an [l] pronounced very far back in the mouth.

5. Some grammatical terminology

This section provides some terminology and context for how words and sentences are built. These fields are called **morphology** and **syntax** respectively and this knowledge will become relevant when we start examining Old English in Chapter 4. English changed from a **synthetic** language, with many endings on nouns and verbs indicating grammatical functions such as subject and object, to a mostly **analytic** language with almost no endings.

In English, words can be formed by means of prefixes, such as *pre-* and *anti-*, or suffixes, such as *-ness* and the plural *-s*. First, we will look at the prefixes and suffixes that add to the meanings of words (and can change their categories). These word-building rules have not changed much in character since Old English and involve **derivational** prefixes and suffixes. There are also other ways to construct new words, such as compounding and shortening. Examples of some English word formations are given in (7):

(7) mark-ed-ness, human-ity, friend-ship, product-iv-ity, comput-er, double-speak, nanny state, green-house-effect, PC, yuppy

The first five words involve derivational markings and their affixes are indicated; *double-speak, nanny state* ('too much government interference'), and *greenhouse effect* are compounds; *PC* is short for 'politically correct'; and *yuppy* is short for 'young urban professional'. There are many other word formation rules and we will discuss these in later chapters as they become relevant. As mentioned, derivational endings are present in Old, Middle, and Modern English more or less to the same extent.

Words can also be marked as being the subject or object of a sentence, for plural and possession by means of **inflectional** markers, more commonly known as grammatical endings. The endings that mark these functions have changed considerably over time, however. As mentioned, indicating the functions of subject and object is essential; otherwise, we would not know what the sentences of a language mean. There are two basic strategies for representing the functions of subject and objects: (a) by means of word order, pronouns, and grammatical words such as *of* and *by* and (b) by means of markers on nouns (case) or on verbs (agreement). Languages using (a) are called **analytic** and languages using (b) **synthetic**. I have summarized some characteristics in Table 2.6, where NOM stands for nominative, ACC for accusative case, and 2SG for second person singular agreement.

Table 2.6 Characteristics of analytic and synthetic languages

Analytic	Synthetic
use of prepositions, e.g. *the leg **of** the table*	use of endings, e.g. *the table**'s** leg*
use of word order to indicate subject, e.g. ***The man** saw his friend.*	use of case to indicate subject, e.g. ***De-r Mann** sah sein-en Freund* (German) [the-NOM man saw his-ACC friend]
no markings on the verb to indicate subject but frequent pronouns, e.g. *They leave tomorrow.*	verb is marked for subject, and pronoun may be there e.g. *þriowa me **onsæc-est**.* (Old English) [thrice me deny-2SG] 'You will deny me three times'.

Synthetic languages indicate subjects either by a marking on the subject, called nominative case, or by marking the person and number of the subject on the verb, called agreement. Old English, a synthetic language, has both of these, but Modern English, an analytic language, has limited case and agreement. In (8), the subject is marked by being a nominative *she* rather than an accusative *her*, and the verb is marked by a third person singular agreement marker *-s*:

(8) **She** walks regularly.

It is more common, however, for Modern English nouns and verbs not to be marked for case and agreement, as in (9a). The word order has to be strictly observed, however, and (9b) is ungrammatical (indicated by *):

(9) a. **Rabbits eat** mallow without hesitation.
b. *Mallow without hesitation rabbits eat.

In many languages, objects are signaled by a special case marking – *him, me, us*; sometimes, there is a marking on the verb as well. In Old English, there are cases other than nominative and accusative, namely genitive and dative. This will become relevant in Chapter 4; right now we will examine only the background to cases and a few other grammar points.

In Old English, objects get accusative, dative, or genitive case. In the glosses, these are ACC, DAT, and GEN, respectively. The nominative will be abbreviated as NOM. Nowadays, the dative of Old English is often replaced by the prepositions *to* or *for* and the genitive is replaced by the preposition *of*. The made-up Old English sentence in (10) would be translated as (11) in Modern English, with the ending *-e* on *cyninge* 'king' replaced by the preposition *to*. (If the ending cannot clearly be separated, I use a period between the word and the grammatical abbreviation; if it is clear, I use a hyphen).

(10) *þæt folc geaf cyning-e aþ-as*
that people.NOM gave king-DAT oaths-ACC

(11) The people gave oaths to the king.

In Old English, the main functions of the **nominative** (NOM) are subject – *se cyning* in (12) – and subject predicate, *se cyning* in (13).

(12) ***Se cyning*** *for ofer Humbre muþan*
the.NOM king.NOM went over Humbre mouth
'The king went across the mouth of the Humber'. (adapted from Chron 867)

(13) *þæt is* ***se cyning***
that is the.NOM king.NOM
'that is the king'. (adapted from Alfred)

The main functions of the **genitive** (GEN) are (a) to express possession, *engles* in (14), replaced by *of* in Modern English; (b) to indicate objects after certain verbs, where only part of the object is involved, as in (15); and (c) to indicate measure or number, as in (16).

(14) *mid* ***engl-es*** *fingr-um awritene*
with angel-GEN finger-DAT.P written
'written by the fingers of an angel.' (*Wulfstan Homilies*)

(15) *Ic gyrnde* ***þa-ra fisc-a***
I desired those-GEN fish-GEN
'I wanted some of that fish.' (adapted from the *Blickling Homilies*)

(16) *7 þær forwearþ cxx* ***scip-a*** *æt Swanawic*
and there perished 120 scips-GEN at Swanwick
'and 120 ships perished at Swanwick.' (*Chronicle A*, for the year 877)

The **dative** (DAT) case is used for the object of most prepositions, as in (17), the indirect object, *cyninge* in (10), the regular object with certain verbs, as in (18), and to express means or manner, as in (19).

(17) *Her on* ***þys-um gear-e*** *for se micla here*
Now in this-DAT year-DAT went the great army
'In this year, the great army went'. (*PC* for the year 892)

(18) *ðæt heafod sceal wisian* ***þæm fot-um***
the head shall guide the.DAT feet-DAT
'The head shall guide the feet.' (from *Pastoral Care* 131.22)

(19) ***sweord-e*** *ne meahte on ðam aglæcean wunde gewyrcean*
sword-DAT not might on that creature wounds make
'with a sword he could not inflict wounds on that creature' (*Beowulf* 2904–5)

The **accusative** (ACC) is often used as object, *aþas* in (10), and object of a preposition, *ofer* in (12) and *geond* 'through' in (20), when the preposition indicates movement.

(20) *geond* ***þa wud-as and þa feld-as***
through the.ACC woods-ACC and the.ACC fields-ACC
'through the woods and the fields'.

We will use these cases a lot more in the chapter on Old English. A summary of the cases and their main functions is given in Table 2.7. The subject predicate is marked by nominative case in Old English but this is not true for all languages, so I have ignored that in the table.

Table 2.7 Cases and their main functions

	function	**example**
Nominative	subject	***I*** *see the examples*
Genitive	possession; object	*the roof* ***of*** *the house; I ate* ***of*** *the apple*
Dative	object of a preposition;	*mit mir* (German) [with me.DAT];
	indirect object	*Give* ***me*** *some apples*
Accusative	object	*The woman saw* ***them.***

Verbs in Old English also have endings to indicate which noun is the subject of the sentence. This is called verbal agreement and the endings are considered inflectional endings. As mentioned earlier, we will use the word 'ending' rather than 'inflection'. We will leave Old English verbal endings until Chapter 4, however, since they are more straightforward than case endings.

Languages – or their speakers, to be more precise – perceive words as belonging to certain categories. The main lexical categories are Noun (e.g. *table*), Verb (e.g. *see*), Adjective (e.g. *yellow*), Adverb (e.g. *quickly*), and Preposition (e.g. *across*). These categories are called *lexical* because they carry meaning (they have synonyms and antonyms). There are also grammatical categories: Determiner (e.g. *the, a*, and *those*), Auxiliary (e.g. *might*), Coordinator (e.g. *and*), and Complementizer (e.g. *because*). These categories are called *grammatical* since they determine the syntactic relationships in a sentence. Prepositions and adverbs do a little of both. The distinction between lexical and grammatical categories is important because the change from Old to Modern English involves an increase in the number of grammatical categories, as mentioned in Section 2 of Chapter 1, a process often referred to as **grammaticalization**. The use of grammatical categories is typical for analytical languages.

When languages borrow new words, those words are usually nouns, verbs, and adjectives, i.e. lexical categories. Relatively recent examples are the nouns *pizza, angst, patio, pita* and *sudoku*. Therefore, the difference between lexical and grammatical categories is often rendered in terms of open and closed categories, the lexical categories being open (new words can be added), the grammatical ones being closed (new words are not easily added). Prepositions are an in-between category and are borrowed very infrequently.

6. Conclusion

This chapter provided background information on the spelling, sounds, and grammatical terminology of English. Because the spelling is irregular, we need a phonetic alphabet. We also need to know something about how English sounds are produced since that allows us to explain and describe language change. Syntax and morphology have also been introduced, and the Old English case system explained briefly; we will go into this more in Chapter 4.

Keywords

irregular spelling; standardization; Great Vowel Shift; phonetics; manner, place, and voicing of consonants; height, frontness, and length of vowels; assimilation; dissimilation; epenthesis; metathesis; morphology; syntax; lexical and grammatical categories; analytic and synthetic; derivational and inflectional endings; nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative case; agreement for number and person; lexical and grammatical categories.

Exercises

Spelling

1. Look at texts A and B below in which certain sounds have been left out. Which words do you recognize and which text is easier to read? What implications does that have for possible spelling reforms?

   Text A Th Mn M Hv Wtr
   Scntsts thnk th hv dtctd wtr n th Mn. Sddnl, vsns f ppl lvng n lnr clns tht stp ff t rfl n th w t Mrs r lss fr-ftchd. ftr tw yrs f crfl nlss, scntsts sd ystrd tht rdr sgnls frm n mrcn spccrft ndctd th mn ws nt bn-dr. Th spccrft's rdr sgntrs sggstd th prsnc f wtr c n th prmnntl cld shdws f dp bsn nr th lnr sth pl.

   Text B e oo ay ae ae
   iei i ey ae eee ae o e oo. uey, iio o eoe ii i ua ooie a o o o eue o e ay o a ae e a-ee. Ae o ea o aeu aayi, iei ai eeay a aa ia o a Aeia aea iiae e oo a o oe-y. e aea aa iaue uee e eee o ae ie i e eaey o ao o a ee ai ea e ua ou oe.

2. Which words do you think are most commonly misspelled? Look in the OED to see if these words have had different spellings over the centuries (see also www.barnsdle.demon.co.uk/spell/error.html for some common 'errors').

3. Discuss arguments for and against spelling reform.

Phonetics

4. Please write the symbol for a

   voiced bilabial stop: [ ] voiceless dental fricative: [ ] high back long vowel: [ ]
   voiced affricate: [ ] velar nasal: [ ] low front short vowel: [ ]

5. What feature (voice, manner, place) distinguishes

   [b] and [m]: [k] and [g]:
   [p] and [f]: [d] and [g]:

6. Circle the sound that does not fit in the sets of sounds and say why.

   a. t d z k s
   b. g k b d
   c. æ a ɪ aw

7. Please describe the following sounds in terms of voice, place, and manner.

   [k] [n] [f] [d]

8. Read the following line aloud as best as you can. Is your pronunciation different?

   [læŋgwɪdʒ ɪz ə fəndəmɛntəl hjumən fækəlti juzd fər krietɪv ɪksprɛʃən fes-tu-fes kəmjunəkeʃən, sajəntɪfɪk ɪnkwəri ænd mɛni ɔðər pərpəsəz].

Changes

9. How could you best describe the differences between:
   a. Old English *hlaf* and *loaf*?
   b. German *brennen* and English *burn*?
   c. Old English *thurgh* and Modern English *through*?
   d. Early Latin *inpossibilis* and Late Latin *impossibilis*?
   e. Old English *heofod* and Modern English *head*?

Grammar

10. Identify the subjects and direct objects in the text (adapted from the Wikipedia article on Gila Monsters):

    The Gila monster is a species of venomous lizard indigenous to the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexican state of Sonora. It is a heavy, slow-moving lizard and the only venomous lizard native to the United States. The animal produces venom in modified salivary glands in its lower jaw, unlike snakes, whose venom is produced in the upper jaw. The Gila monster lacks the musculature to forcibly inject the venom; instead, the venom is propelled from the gland to the tooth by chewing. Because the Gila monster mainly eats eggs, small animals, and otherwise "helpless" prey, it is thought that its venom evolved for defensive rather than for hunting use.

11. Using the Old English text and its translation below (from King Alfred's version of Orosius), try to identify a few subjects, objects, indirect objects, and prepositional objects (dative and accusative). What Modern English words might *bude* and *þeah* be related to? In Old English, the *æ* represents the short *a*, as in *cat*, and the *ð* and *þ* both represent *th*.

    Old English

    Ohtere sæde his hlaford-e, Ælfred-e cyning-e, þæt he eal-ra Norðmonn-a norþmest bude. He cwæð þæt he bude on þæm land.e norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ. He sæde þeah þæt þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan; ac hit is eal weste, buton on feaw-um stow-um styc-cemælum wici-að Finn-as.

    Word-by-word

    Ohtere.NOM said.SG his lord-DAT Alfred-DAT king-DAT that he all-GEN Norsemen-GEN northmost lived.SG. He said.SG that he lived.SG on that.DAT land-DAT northward along the Westsea. He said.SG however that that land.NOM is very far north from.there, but it is all waste, except.for few-DAT places-DAT here.and.there live-P Finns-NOM.P (i.e. Sami).

    Free translation

    Ohtere said to his lord, King Alfred, that he of all Norsemen northmost lived. He said that he lived in that land northward along the Westsea (sea to the west of Norway). He said, however, that that land is very far north from there, but that it is all a wasteland except in a few places where Sami live (nomadically) here and there.

Chapter 3

Before Old English

Chapters 1 and 2 briefly explained that English originated around 450, when Germanic tribes first settled in Britain. The Germanic dialects that became English have their origins in another language (or set of languages). Germanic belongs to the Indo-European group of languages, which is itself related to other language groups (e.g. Afroasiatic and Uralic).

In this chapter, we will discuss the ancestors of English. In Section 1, we take a step back and examine the origins of humans and when they first might have acquired language, probably 80,000 or more years ago. We also consider how people and languages spread. This section is the most speculative because new (archeological) research surfaces almost weekly. Section 2 examines the earliest writings, from over 6,000 years ago. Changes can be observed between these writings and later ones and we assume this reflects how the spoken language changed. Some observations regarding these changes led to the formulation of linguistic laws in the 19th century, as discussed in Section 3. Section 4 shows that Old English inherits its synthetic character from its predecessors; Section 5 reviews a number of methods for reconstructing an earlier stage of a language when we have no access to written material; and Section 6 addresses some broader questions.

1. Origins of language

Scholars are uncertain when humans first started using language and how it spread. In this section, we will examine early **archeological evidence, genetic findings, and linguistic reconstruction** in an attempt to shed some light on these questions.

Humans and chimpanzees split off from a common ancestor probably 7 million years ago. They split up in many branches of early humans. Some of these descendants die out and there is a lot of debate as to which of the early hominids that have been found is the ultimate ancestor of modern humans. For instance, the fossil named Ardi was found in Ethiopia and dates to 4.4 million years ago and the famous fossil Lucy was an early (bipedal) hominid that lived over 3 million years ago in Ethiopia. Because we cannot get DNA from most very old remnants, we don't know if these hominids are the ancestors of modern humans. They precede *homo ergaster* (found in Africa) and *homo erectus* (found in Asia). The latter in turn is the ancestor of the Neanderthals in Europe and Asia. Present-day humans, also known as *homo sapiens (sapiens)*, descend from *homo erectus*.

Homo erectus originated two million years ago and early *homo sapiens* is argued (based on DNA dating and fossil evidence) to have split off 500,000 years ago, long before language originated. The skull of early *homo sapiens* does not yet resemble that of present-day

humans; that of later *homo sapiens* does. This resemblance starts developing around 100,000 BP at the point when the culture of *homo sapiens* becomes diverse. That is why language is assumed to have appeared between 150,000 and 80,000 BP.

Among the earliest humans in Europe and Asia are the Neanderthals, who may or may not have had language but who made music, cared for the sick, and buried their dead. A 2010 article in *Science* provides a draft sequence of the Neanderthal genome and argues that the Neanderthal "shared more genetic variants with present-day humans in Eurasia than with present-day humans in sub-Saharan Africa, suggesting that gene flow from Neandertals into the ancestors of non-Africans occurred before the divergence of Eurasian groups from each other" (Green et al. 2010: 710, who spell *Neandertal* without the *h*). The issue of gene-flow between our immediate ancestors and Neanderthals may remain controversial for some time. More generally, the Out-of-Africa Replacement Model argues that each wave of peoples replaced earlier populations whereas the Multiregional Continuity Model argues there was gene-flow after *homo erectus* left Africa and that *homo sapiens* may have emerged in different regions. Some background can be found at http://actionbioscience.org/evolution/johanson.html.

To see how humans are related and how they spread around the world, geneticists have examined relationships in the genetic material of people from different continents, archeologists have studied early habitation sites, and anthropologists have looked at physical characteristics such as teeth. Figure 3.1 represents some of the genetic relationships. The genetic similarities and differences between the various populations suggest that humans **migrated** from Africa to Australia and Oceania, then to Asia, then to Europe and to America.

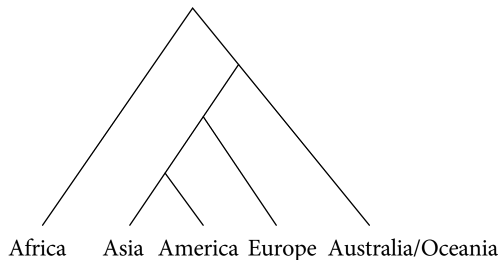


Figure 3.1 Genetic relationships between people (from Cavalli-Sforza 2000: 39)

This figure implies the greatest affinity between the people of Asia and those of the Americas, indicating that the Americas were settled by Asian (Siberian) peoples. Looking at changes in mitochondrial DNA (inherited through the female), the ancestors of modern humans may have moved as in Figure 3.2.

Mutations in Y-chromosome DNA (passed from father to son) point to similar migrations. Hypotheses about genetic relationships, as in Figure 3.1, and migrations also predict relationships between languages. This means that language likely originated in one place: it is monogenetic rather than polygenetic. The reason behind this monogenetic assumption is that the world languages have similar properties.

Figure 3.2 Mitochondrial DNA in various populations
(from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_mitochondrial_DNA_haplogroup)

If humans already had language by the time they started migrating from Africa, Figure 3.1 predicts that the languages of Asia are closest to those of the Americas, and the languages of Africa and Australia the most distinct since they developed independently of each other over a longer period of time. Linguistic work confirms this prediction. For instance, Greenberg, Ruhlen, and others have linked the genetic tree in Figure 3.1 to a tree of linguistic relationships between most of the world's languages, i.e. Figure 3.3. This grouping is controversial, as will be discussed later. If a language is not attested in early writings, we call it a proto-language; all the languages/families below are proto-families but I have added a few contemporary languages and families to make it clearer.

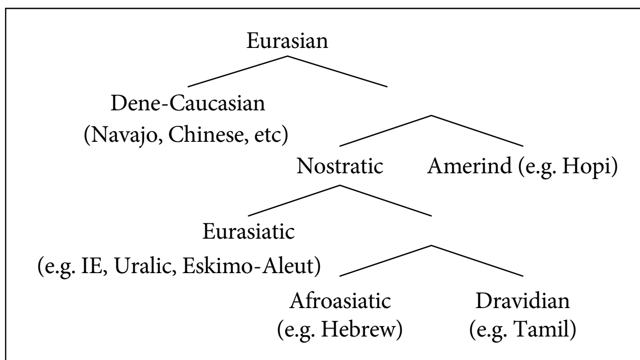


Figure 3.3 Linguistic relationships (Ruhlen 1994: 192)

The connection of the branches indicates which languages are most closely related. The Afroasiatic languages include North African and Semitic languages: Arabic, Hebrew, and Berber. They are argued to be related to Dravidian, which includes languages such as Tamil, Malayalam, and Brahui. Dravidian is the name for a group of languages that was at one point spoken in Northern India but that was later pushed to the South of India (and to Sri Lanka). If you consider this migration, the assumption that the Dravidian and Afroasiatic families are related is not far-fetched.

Eurasiatic incorporates eight language families from Indo-European to Altaic. It includes English, Italian, Bulgarian, Japanese, Korean, Finnish, and Inuktitut. Together with Afroasiatic and Dravidian, Eurasiatic forms a well-known super-family – Nostratic – an idea advocated by Illich-Svitych and Dolgopolsky in the 1960s and by Shevoroshkin, Ivanov and others more recently.

The next most closely related family is Amerind. This is a large (and controversial) language family; Greenberg suggests that it includes most of the languages of the Americas – Hopi, Nahuatl, and Quetchua. In this scenario, Na-Dene (including Apache and Navajo) is grouped with Sino-Tibetan and North Caucasian into Eurasian. The only language families not accounted for in a superfamily are the three African language families – with the exception of Afroasiatic – the Australian families, and some Pacific ones.

The linguistic representation in Figure 3.3 mirrors the genetic ones in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 only up to the split between Asia and Europe. As mentioned, it leaves out three African language families as well as the Polynesian and Australian languages. If Figure 3.1 is correct, Australian and Polynesian languages are the first to split off and are therefore most distantly related to the Eurasian languages.

There is a lively debate on how much to include in Eurasian and Nostratic (e.g. Greenberg 2000) and whether this kind of reconstruction is possible at all. One linguistic argument against such a reconstruction is that reconstruction going more than 6,000 years back is not possible because most words will have been replaced in such a long period (e.g. Kaufman 1990; Ringe 2002). Another argument is that genetic and linguistic similarity need not go hand-in-hand. Thus, languages can be replaced without the relevant genes being transmitted and vice versa. For instance, the language of the Sami in Northern Scandinavia is in the same family as that of the Finns but the genes of the two peoples are different. The most significant debate about reconstructions such as the one in Figure 3.3 is probably the one surrounding the existence of Amerind(ian). The assumption that Na-Dene and Eskimo-Aleut are language families of the Americas is mostly accepted but the one that Amerind is one family is not. The alternative to Amerind is to posit 200 or so separate language families.

In short, genetic and linguistic reconstructions indicate that certain people and languages are more closely related since they separate at later points. Some researchers (Cavalli-Sforza, Greenberg, and Ruhlen) argue that genetic and linguistic relationships go hand-in-hand; others (Ringe and Kaufman) criticize such an approach. The debate about the origin of language has always been full of speculation so much so that the Linguistic

Society of Paris banned discussions on this topic in 1866. The controversy regarding the languages of the Americas is still very strong. Next, we turn to more tangible evidence of linguistic relationship – written records.

2. Earliest writings

In this section, we discuss older writing systems and writing systems in general. Early writings provide evidence of linguistic change, which will be discussed further in Sections 3 and 4.

There is a large gap between 70,000 years ago, when humans probably had started to use language, and the time from which we have historical evidence for language in the form of writing. Writing found in Henan, China dates back 8,000 years and the Vinca inscriptions found widely over southeastern Europe date back 7,000 years. Most scholars doubt that the former is a systematic writing system and the latter is but will most likely not be deciphered. The Harappan/Indus Valley writing dates back 5,500 years, Egyptian 5,300 years, and Mesopotamian cuneiform is over 5,100 years old. The Chinese Oracle bone inscriptions go back 3,500 years and Mesoamerican (Mayan) writing is 2,500 years old. While the origin of language seems monogenetic, writing systems develop independently in at least Mesoamerica, greater Mesopotamia, China, and Southeastern Europe.

First, we will survey the types of writing systems. Writing probably evolves from drawings on wood or stone (petroglyphs) that tell a story. Later, the simplified symbol comes to represent one word or idea. Egyptian records use three kinds of writing: logographic, syllabic, and phonetic. The symbols in Figure 3.4, for instance, are based on actual images. This system, where one word is expressed in one symbol, is called **logographic**.

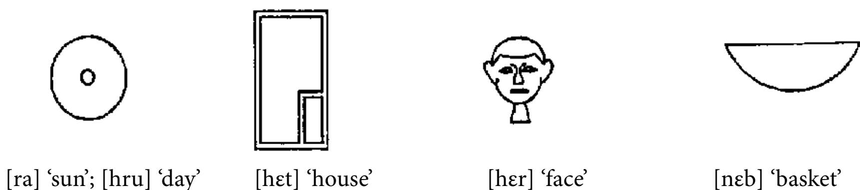


Figure 3.4 Egyptian logograms

The second type of writing is **syllabic** – the symbol represents the pronunciation of a syllable. For instance, in Egyptian, the symbol for ‘basket’ represents the sounds [neb]; it also stands for ‘every’ since that too is pronounced [nɛb].

The third type of writing system is **phonetic, or alphabetic**, where one symbol represents one sound. This system is very common in African, Semitic, and Indo-European languages. Thus, Swahili, Arabic, Hebrew, and Russian all use a phonetic writing system.

In principle, Modern English is phonetic but, as we discussed in Chapter 2, in practice, that is not the case.

Some languages use a combination of writing systems: Egyptian uses three systems and Japanese four, each for conveying different kinds of information. English is also starting to include some syllabic symbols in informal writing. An example is *CUL8R* for 'see you later' and *W8 4 the image 2 download*. Good information on writing systems can be found at http://omniglot.com and at http://ancientscripts.com.

Deciphering the writing systems of Old Egyptian (over 5,000 years old), belonging to the Afro-Asiatic language family and Old Indian (2,250 years old), Old Persian (2,500 years old), and Hittite (3,500 years), all belonging to Indo-European, resulted in theories about the relationships among languages. It also provided, and continues to provide, insight into linguistic change. The 'discovery' of Sanskrit in the eighteenth century was especially important for formulating laws for sound changes, as will be shown in Section 3. In Section 4, we will see that syntactic and morphological changes between Sanskrit and Modern Hindi/Urdu, its descendant, involve a transformation from synthetic into analytic, the same transformation that happens in the history of English. The change from Old Egyptian to Coptic involves a cyclical shift from synthetic to analytic to synthetic (see Hodge 1970). In Chapter 10, we will investigate whether a similar development is occurring in Modern English: after becoming an analytic language, Modern English shows synthetic characteristics again.

In conclusion, ancient writings allow us to understand long-term linguistic change. Knowledge of earlier stages also gives rise to speculation about why language changes and what the original language is. In the remainder of this chapter, we will discuss in more detail what the discovery of languages such as Sanskrit did for linguistics: we will start with sounds in Section 3, grammar in Section 4, and move to broader implications in Section 6.

3. Indo-European to Germanic: Sound changes

Sir William Jones, a British judge in late-eighteenth-century India, made the larger scholarly community aware of correspondences between Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. These correspondences had been written about by others, such as Comenius and Scalinger in the seventeenth century and after but the broader community seems to have been readier to accept them in Jones' day. They proceeded by comparing words from different languages and then coming up with 'laws'.

Words from different languages, such as *tres* and *treis,* in Table 3.1 may have a common ancestor and are then called *cognates*. Sometimes cognates are hard to recognize because their sounds or meanings have shifted in one language but not in another. To find linguistic relations, we usually take words such as pronouns, numerals, and kinship terms as comparison material since they are supposed to have changed the least. This kind of comparison work is known as the **Comparative Method**. If we look at Table 3.1 and try to group the languages into families, we can see how linguists establish connections between them.

Table 3.1 European and Middle Eastern languages (from Ruhlen 1994: 20)

Language	*Two*	*Three*	*Me*	*You*	*Who?*	*Not*	*Mother*	*Father*	*Tooth*	*Heart*	*Foot*	*Mouse*	*He Carries*
A	ʔiθn-	θalāθ-	-ni	-ka	man	lā	ʔumm-	abū	sinn	lubb	rij̆l-	fār	yaḥmil-
B	šn-	šaloš	-ni	-ka	mi	lo	ʔem	aβ	šen	leβ	regel	ʕak̲bɔr	nośeh
C	duvá̄	tráyas	mā́m	tuvám	kás	ná	mātár-	pitár-	dant-	hr̥d-	pád	muṣ-	bhárati
D	duva	θrāyō	mąm	tuvəm	čiš	naē-	mātar-	pitar-	dantan-	zərəd	paiðya		baraiti
E	duo	treîs	eme	sú	tís	ou(k)	māter	pater	odṓn	kardiā	pod-	mûs	phérei
F	duo	trēs	mē	tū	kwis	ne-	māter	pater	dent-	kord-	ped-	mūs	fert
G	twai	θreis	mik	θu	hwas	ni	aiθei	faðar	tunθus	haírtō	fōt		baíriθ
H	dó	trí	-m	tú	kía	ní-	máθir	aθir	dēt	kride	traig	lux	berid
I	iki	üč	ben-i	sen	kim	deyil	anne	baba	diš	kalp	ayak	sɨčan	tašɨyor

You can probably see that languages C to H have a great deal in common; A and B also have much in common; I, however, is different. This turns out to be correct: A and B are Arabic and Hebrew, members of the Semitic family; C is Sanskrit, D Avestan, E Greek, F Latin, G Gothic, H Celtic, all members of the Indo-European family; I is Turkish, a member of the Altaic family.

Jones' work makes it possible for scholars such as Rask and Grimm to formulate sound laws and postulate what the predecessor of Latin and Greek might have been. Grimm's Law, for example, is one of the results of such work as is the grouping of certain languages into an Indo-European family (one of the sub-families of Eurasiatic in Figure 3.3). The branches of **Indo-European** are given in Figure 3.5. This representation is simplified since no relationship between the main branches is indicated. The usual assumption is that Germanic, Slavic, and Baltic are more closely connected and that Celtic and Italic are similarly closer to each other. The Tocharian and Anatolian branches split off the earliest (Ringe 2006: 5) but are now extinct.

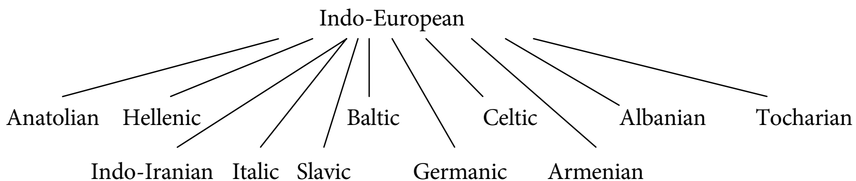


Figure 3.5 The branches of Indo-European

The oldest Indo-European may have been spoken 6,000 years ago, but it is unclear if it was in fact at one point one language (that is why we call it proto Indo-European) and whether it was spoken in one region, a 'homeland'. A great deal of debate surrounds the possible Indo-European homeland. Renfrew (1987) argues that it is Anatolia and Gimbutas (1985)

that it is North of the Caspian Sea. As Mallory (1989: 143) puts it, "[o]ne does not ask 'where is the Indo-European homeland?' but rather 'where do they put it *now*?'".

The way the languages in each branch develop has, to a large extent, to do with what non-Indo-European language(s) they come into contact with. After the last Ice Age and before the coming of Indo-European (and Uralic) speakers, Europe was repopulated during the Neolithic period (9000 BP-4000 BP) by people from areas where the ice had not reached. The mitochondrial DNA of the current European population confirms a pre Indo-European origin (see Sykes 2001). This population may have been what Vennemann (2003a; 2010) calls Vasconic, i.e. related to modern Basque. Vennemann ties several Germanic and Romance words, not found in other Indo-European languages, to Vasconic and also certain placenames, e.g. *bide* is 'road' in Basque and this turns up in placenames such as *Bitburg* in Germany and *Bedford* and *Bedhampton* in England, just like *Stratford* and *Strassburg* are compounds of roads (streets), fords, and boroughs. Languages possibly related to Basque are the extinct Etruscan in Italy, Aquitanian in France, and Iberian in Spain. It is now also believed that Indo-European and Uralic speakers didn't replace these earlier people but that they co-existed. In addition to Vasconic, Germanic came into contact with Finno-Ugric, i.e. Uralic (Prokosch 1939).

Turning now to the linguistic features of the Indo-European languages, some of the phonetic changes taking place in Indo-European languages are accounted for by **Grimm's Law**, a simplified version of which is provided in Figure 3.6 (and there are many other rules I don't go into, e.g. one called Verner's Law). The figure shows the correspondence between an early Indo-European sound and an English, Dutch, or other Germanic sound.

Early Indo-European:	p	t	k	b	d	g	bh	dh	gh
	|	|	|	|	|	|	|	|	|
Germanic:	f	θ	h	p	t	k	b	d	g

Figure 3.6 Grimm's Law, or the First Consonant Shift: correspondences between languages

Examples of this shift can be seen in Latin *ped*, which didn't shift, and English *foot*, which did undergo the shift. The same is true for Latin *tenuis*, which parallels English *thin*; and Latin *centum*, which corresponds to English *hundred*.

If you remember the phonetics of these sounds from Chapter 2, you will notice that [p, t, k] are voiceless stops and they become voiceless fricatives, [f, θ, h]; the change is frication. This accounts for the first set of three. The other sounds can be grouped similarly. The second set, [b, d, g], are voiced stops changing into voiceless stops. Examples of this devoicing can be seen in Latin *turba* 'crowd' corresponding to Old English *thorp* 'town', Latin *decem* [dekɛm] and English *ten*, and Latin *ager* and English *acre*. Some of these correspondences are trickier to spot because other changes have occurred as well. For instance, there is metathesis in the spelling of *acre* and deletion of the middle consonant in *decem*.

The third set of changes involves the aspirated voiced stops [bh, dh, gh], fairly common in Sanskrit, corresponding to voiced stops, i.e. without aspiration. For example, Sanskrit *bhrata* corresponds to English *brother*, *dhwer* to *door*, and *ghosti* to *guest*. These can all be found by looking up the etymology of the English word in the OED. In Latin and Greek, the aspirated stops from Sanskrit are voiceless fricatives: *ghosti* is *hostis* 'guest' and *bhrater* is *frater*. The exact correspondences are: Sanskrit *bh* with Latin *f* and Greek *ph*; Sanskrit *dh* with Latin *f* and Greek *th*; and Sanskrit *gh* with Latin *h* and Greek *ch*. These correspondences are provided in Figure 3.7.

Sanskrit	bh	dh	gh
Latin	f	f	h
Greek	ph	th	ch
Germanic	b	d	g

Figure 3.7 Some of Grimm's correspondences in more detail

Like the Great Vowel Shift discussed in Chapter 2, Grimm's Law can be considered a chain reaction: aspirated voiced stops become regular voiced stops, voiced stops in turn become voiceless stops, and voiceless stops become fricatives. This entire process happens in Germanic; Latin and Greek are interesting in that they participate in one stage but what is an aspirated stop in Sanskrit corresponds to a fricative in Latin. This course of events could be characterized as a push-chain or a drag-chain. Examples of this change taking place at the beginning of words are provided in (1) (except for *b* > *p* which is hard to find word-initially). Sanskrit is the first form given (except for *kanab* which is Old Persian), Latin the second, and English the third. It is important to remember that the change takes place only once in a word: *dhwer* corresponds to *door* but the latter does not change to *toor*.

(1)	**Sanskrit**	**Latin**	**English**
	bhrater	frater	brother
	dhwer	foris	door
	ghordho	hortus	yard (< Old English geard)
	pitr	pater	father
	tu	tu	thou
	krnga	cornu	horn
	kana**b**	canna**b**is	hem**p** (< Old English henep)
	danta	dentis	tooth
	jna	gnoscere	know/ken

As mentioned, the various stages in Grimm's Law take place only one time: once a [b] has changed to [p] that [p] stays a [p]. Thus, the initial [b] in brother stays [b] and doesn't change further to [p]!

Grimm's Law distinguishes the Germanic languages from older Romance languages, such as Latin and Greek, and from modern Romance languages, such as French and Spanish. The Romance languages keep an initial [p] stop in *père* and *padre*, respectively, where English has a fricative [f] in *father*. Within Germanic, many changes have taken place that help differentiate languages such as English, German, and Swedish. The different branches of Germanic are provided in Figure 3.8. where not all stages or languages are indicated, e.g. Middle High German is not, and no dialects are listed.

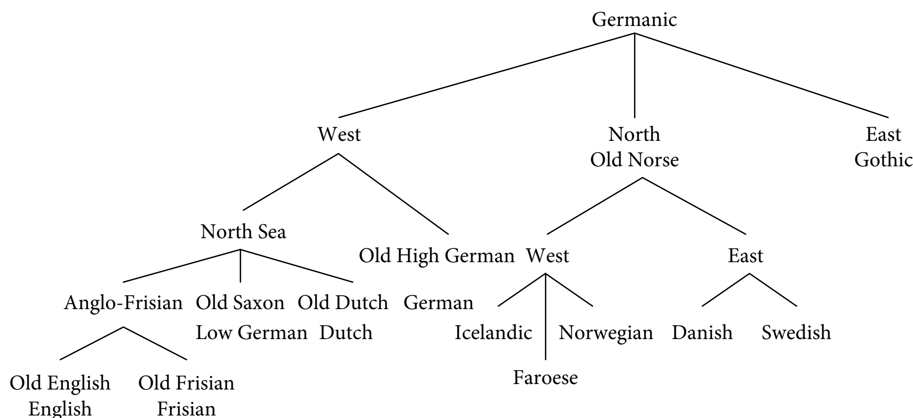


Figure 3.8 The branches of Germanic

After the Germanic languages split, there are many other changes. If a [p] were to change to an [f] in Modern English, we wouldn't call that process Grimm's Law.

4. Indo-European to Germanic: Changes in morphology and syntax

In Chapter 2, we discussed the importance of inflectional endings in Old English and we'll see more of this complexity in the next chapter. The complexity of the endings on nouns and verbs is something the older Germanic languages, Old English included, inherit from Indo-European; there are changes specific to Germanic, however, as we will see. In this brief section, we will examine how an older Indo-European language, namely Sanskrit, changes.

In addition to the four cases discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 5), Sanskrit nouns have endings for four more cases, totaling **eight different cases**: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative, ablative, and vocative. The instrumental designates the instrument with which the action takes place, the locative where it takes place, the ablative the source, and the vocative shows that a person is addressed. Take a look at the sentence in (2) where the word order is free.

(2) *Ramah-0* *van-e* *vasa-ti*
Ramah-NOM forest-LOC lives-3SG
'Rama lives in the forest'.

The nominative in (2) is indicated by the lack of an ending, shown as zero. The nominative (NOM) tells you that Ramah is the subject of the sentence whereas the locative (LOC) tells you that the action is taking place inside the forest. To give you an idea of the cases, Table 3.2 provides the singular and plural endings of *deva* 'god', taken from the Sanskrit lessons at http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc.

Table 3.2 Cases for Sanskrit -*a* stems for *deva* 'god'

	SG	PL
NOM	devas	devaas
ACC	devam	devaan
INST	devena	devais
DAT	devaaya	devebhyas
ABL	devaat	devebhyas
GEN	devasya	devaanaam
LOC	deve	deveshu
VOC	deva	devaas

Sanskrit verbs also have endings for the person and number of the subject, -*ti* in (2). In (2), we could leave out the subject since it is expressed through the -*ti* ending on *vasati*.

The Sanskrit in (3) corresponds to its grammatical descendant, Hindi/Urdu, in (4). An approximate pronunciation is provided rather than the Devanagari script that both Sanskrit and Hindi use or the adapted Arabic script that Urdu uses.

(3) *nagar-at* *vana-m* *gaccha-ti*
city-ABL forest-ACC goes-3SG
'He goes from the city to the forest'.

(4) *Wo* *šehr* *se* *jʌngl* *ko* *ja-ta* *hẽ*
he city from forest to go-M.SG be.3SG
'He goes from the city to the forest'.

In (3), there are case endings on the nouns and agreement markings on the verb, indicated by the hyphenated suffixes. The case endings are lost on 'city' and 'forest' in (4) but an **abundance of grammatical words** – *wo* 'he', *se* 'from', *ko* 'to', and *hẽ* 'is' – appears. (Hindi/Urdu keeps some case but not in (3)). Here we see the change from synthetic to analytic that was explained in Chapter 2. Note that Hindi/Urdu has replaced many of its lexical words as well (those for 'city' and 'forest' in (4)).

In comparison to Sanskrit, Old English has fewer cases, namely only nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative (and an almost non-existent instrumental). It uses prepositions

rather than the locative, ablative, and instrumental: *in* is used for locative and *from* and *through* for ablative and instrumental case. There are many other differences between older Indo-European and older Germanic. The latter developed weak verbs (i.e. those ending in *-ed* in the past) and weak and strong adjectives (see Chapter 4) that make Germanic quite different.

We used Sanskrit as a representative for Indo-European. In general, older Germanic languages are more analytic than Sanskrit. However, Hittite, an Indo-European language spoken over 3,500 years ago and older than Sanskrit, has a grammatical structure that is simpler in many respects (no dual number and no feminine gender). This may mean that the complex endings in Sanskrit are a later development, not present in the original (proto) Indo-European.

In conclusion, older Indo-European languages differ in their syntax and morphology from more modern Germanic ones, even though they all share a common ancestor. Latin and Greek have endings on nouns and verbs similar to Sanskrit (e.g. the accusative *-m*) and you may recognize some of them in Modern German and Old English. Thus, the inflectional endings of Old English are due to its Indo-European and synthetic origins.

5. Reconstruction methods

In this section, we will briefly discuss how to reconstruct the sound system of a language when we have spoken or written evidence and when we do not (and when we reconstruct a proto-language). Reconstructing the morphology and syntax is more controversial and will not be attempted (see Lightfoot 1980 and Lehmann 1993 for opposite views).

Grimm's Law could be formulated because there are written records for Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, (now Hittite), and Germanic. Looking at the extant languages helps us reconstruct languages for which we have no written records. One method is the Comparative Method that we observed at work in Section 3. Linguists often compare related languages, for instance, French, Italian, Portuguese, Catalan, and Spanish, as in (5).

(5)	French	Italian	Portuguese	Catalan	Spanish	meaning
	cheval	*cavallo*	*cavalo*	*cavall*	*caballo*	'horse'

(*ch* in French is [ʃ]; the initial *c* in the other languages represents [k])

Supposing we did not know the parent language, how could we reconstruct it? We might first identify the form the majority of languages use. Applying the majority rule to (5) produces *cavallo, i.e. *kavallo if we correct for the c symbol that was used for a [k] sound. (We indicate a reconstruction by means of an *).

We could also reconstruct by looking at the actual rules to see if they make phonetic sense. To get from *kavallo to the modern languages, we would need the following changes.

(6) a. [k] → [ʃ] (French)
b. [v] → [b], between two vowels (Spanish)
c. [ll] → [l] (French and Portuguese)
d. [o] ending disappears (French and Catalan)

Changes a, c, and d make phonetic sense since both palatalization, simplification, and loss of endings occur frequently. Change b, however, does not make sense since typically stops become fricatives between vowels and not the other way around. Therefore, instead of *kavallo, we reconstruct *kaballo. We keep changes a, c, and d, but change b into a frication rule (stops to fricatives). Even though the change has to apply in four languages, it is preferable linguistically.

(7) redone (6b) [b] → [v], between two vowels (French, Italian, Portuguese, and Catalan)

To make sure the reconstruction of *kaballo is correct, we need to examine other words with the same consonants. If a fair number of such words shows the same correspondences, the reconstruction is probably accurate. The initial [k] of Spanish and Italian shows up as [ʃ] in French in *cabo, capo, chef* 'head', in *campo, campo, champs* 'field(s)', and in *cantar, cantare, chanter* 'to sing' to name but a few. This is made clearer in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 [k] and [ʃ] correspondences in Romance

Spanish	Italian	French	translation
cabo [kabo]	*capo* [kapo]	*chef* [ʃɛf]	'head'
campo [kampo]	*campo* [kampo]	*champs* [ʃã]	'field(s)'
cantar [kantar]	*cantare* [kantare]	*chanter* [ʃãte]	'to sing'

The voiced stop [b] in Spanish *laboro* 'work' shows up as a [v] in Italian *lavoro* (but in the other languages the word was lost so we can't tell). There are, however, some [b] sounds that do not change providing extra support for the redone (6b), e.g. Spanish *libertad* 'liberty' stays in *libertà* in Italian, *liberdade* in Portuguese, and *liberté* in French. The double *-ll-* appears in Italian in *metallo* 'metal' whereas French has the expected single *metal* and Catalan *de metall* (both Portuguese and Spanish have *(de) metal* so something else happened there).

So our reconstruction is linguistically sound although in classical Latin the word for 'horse' is *equus* and Greek has *hippos*. There is a 'street' Latin *caballus* that is possibly borrowed from another (Celtic?) source and this could be the source of the words in the daughter languages.

Let's look at the reconstruction of a word for a parent language that we do not know and cannot check. The words in a hypothetical family such as Nostratic (see Figure 3.3) have been reconstructed on the basis of families for which there is evidence, such as

Indo-European and Dravidian (see Dolgopolsky 1998). Some words that have been suggested as being part of **Nostratic** are listed in (8). Again, since these forms are reconstructed, they are marked with an *.

(8) *tik 'finger', *bar/ber 'seed, grain', *gadi 'young goat', and *wete 'water'

These words have been reconstructed on the basis of Afroasiatic, Indo-European, and Dravidian languages. Take the word for 'seed, grain'. Hebrew has *bar* 'grain' and Somali *bur* 'wheat' (both are Afroasiatic), Old English (Indo-European) *bere* 'barley', and Tamil (Dravidian) *paral* 'seed' (again see Dolgopolsky 1998 and others for this). We can see that all these words are clearly related: Old English and Tamil could have added endings and, since [b] and [p] are both bilabial stops, having a [b] lose its voicing to become [p] in Tamil is a regular change. The reason *bar/ber is reconstructed, rather than *paral, is probably due to the fact that more families have [b] than [p] and endings are often added (e.g. prepositions can become attached to nouns).

The latter kind of a methodology for reconstructions has been criticized extensively. With the spread of agriculture and other technical advances, words could have been borrowed and their similarities might not be proof of linguistic relationships; they could be coincidental.

6. Politics and reconstruction

In this section, we will briefly examine some political/ideological issues related to linguistic reconstruction. Each group of people constructs a certain identity, sometimes based on true events, sometimes not. Language plays a major role in this construction of identity/worldview.

The most notorious example is that of Europe during World War II: a myth of Germanic superiority was created that justified terrible atrocities. Some ideas were inspired by the Aryan Myth (as Poliakov 1974 calls it). Poliakov (1974) and Bernal (1987; 1991) argue that the reason Indo-European studies became popular in the early 19th century was a racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-African sentiment. Said (1978; 1993) links the Indo-European interest to colonialism and imperialism, a need to come to terms with the colonialized 'other'.

There are other examples of ideology influencing political identity. The Harappan (or Indus Valley) culture flourished in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro from 2500 to 1600 BCE. It was an advanced culture, with irrigation, large cities, trade, and a writing system. A number of groups would therefore like to claim it as their ancestral group. One theory has it that this culture is early Dravidian and that, as Indo-Europeans (known as Aryan or Indian) migrated to what is now Pakistan and Northern India, the Dravidians were pushed to the

South and one small group to the Northwest (the Brahui speakers). Some authors, however, claim that the Harappan culture is Aryan, not Dravidian (e.g. Feuerstein et al. 1995) and that the myth about Harappa was started by the British in the 19th century to minimize growing Indian nationalism.

Another example involves East Asia. To many linguists, Japanese and Korean look related, especially in their grammars. This fact is not popular with either the Japanese or the Korean population, however. Up to 1946, according to e.g. Diamond (1998), it was taught in Japan that the Japanese originated in Japan. In 2000, an archeologist was caught placing stone artifacts that would have changed our view of the cognitive abilities of early humans living in Japan (see http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/1008051.stm). Another debated issue is the origin of the Ainu, now living in Northern Japan, who are presumably descendants of the indigenous population. There is currently a lot of DNA work trying to shed more light on this, e.g. by Michael Hammer et al. (2005).

7. Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief account of when we think language started (at least 80,000 years ago) and how it spread. Once people migrated, their language often changed; this resulted in the different language families present in the world. Of the earliest language, we know nothing. The earliest writing is from 5,000 years ago and helps us understand some of the changes. We also examined changes in the sounds, morphology, and syntax between Indo-European and Germanic. When there are no written records, linguists have methods for reconstructing words in a hypothetical, i.e. proto language. As a last point, we discussed some broader issues related to language, its origins and its changes.

Keywords

Eurasian, Nostratic, Indo-European (IE), Germanic, Comparative Method, Grimm's Law, frication, devoicing, losing aspiration, inflection, logographic, syllabic, phonetic writing systems, proto-language.

Exercises

1. Ruhlen (1994: 85) provides the following chart of words in certain Native American languages, using the Comparative Method. Try to find the languages that go together. How many families do you find?

Table 3.4 Words in native American languages

Language	*I/Me/My*	*You*	*(Give) Hand*	*Left (Hand)*	*Knee*	*Child*	*Brother/ Son*	*Sister/ Daughter*	*(Sister) Aunt*	*Water*	*(Bat) Bird*	*Throat/ Swallow*	*(Come) Go*
A	-ma	-t	ʔätˡγä		siitquq	ʔaγe	annaq	paniγ	atsaγ	ïmiq	qavγa	əγə	piki-δ
B	šī	nan	lag	s'at'	guhd	git'a	onaγ(e)	tsik	ʔati	tū	č'aš	ket	qa
C	ne	ke	maχwa	kes	ketekʷ-i	t'an'a	ʔtsin	tune	kaki	akwā	tˢ'ēk	məlqʷ	wa
D	naʔ	ma	makan	kets	ikat	t'anat	t'in	tūne	pinūkin	okaʔ	č'ik'	mülk'	waŋ
E	na	ma	mane	kasark	pʰuruč'i	t'anpam	t'inīsi	at'on	pane	aqa	šīk	milqe	wan
F	neʔ	ma	maka	kuč'ē		tana	ʔdiino	t'ut'ina	pan	gʷa	tsikie	kutu	ma
G	na	ma	man	kuts	ikuet	tuktan	sin	tuntu	puna	aka	eš'εka	murki	wan
H	na	ma	maki	mwenik	tula	tayna	den	thaun	epan	yaku	tˢiktˢi	malq'a	wen
I	hi	ma	muka	kompe	kat'	maki	ten	ton	āebn	okōa	šaga	uamea	w'ān
J	no	ma	meʔeŋ	kuču	ikketi	taʔɨn	tingwa	atunesas	penawa	akọ	čiki	mirkoi	awani
K	awe	ama	emekun	poe	kudo	tane	dēnu	tona	ebuño	tuna	sɨkɨi	eʔmōkï	ito
L	no	mi	moken		katˢẹge	tawin	ina	tona	nene	uaka	ǰikidi		wo
M	nu	ma	mako	keč	gete	kra	čina	atonkä	pań	ŋo	tˢïpe	kot	va

2. Using Grimm's Law, which of the Sanskrit words can be matched to Old English (use connecting lines). Note that the þ represents [θ]:

Sanskrit:	Old English:
bhar	þu
pitar	þrie
pada	beran
trayas	fæder
tvam	fot

3. Match the Latin words below to the Modern English ones and explain the changes that take place to get to Modern English:

Latin:	Modern English:
noctis	tooth
gelu	night
cannabis	kin
dentis	glacial
gens	hemp

4. Use the comparative method to reconstruct the proto-form of 'hundred'. Be careful to consider the pronunciation, not the spelling.

   French *cent* [sã]; Italian *cento* [tʃɛnto]; Spanish *ciento* [siɛnto]; Latin *centum* [kɛntum]

5. The *American Heritage Dictionary* has a list of Indo-European roots (you could use www.bartleby.com/61/IEroots.html). Try looking up some of the Indo-European words discussed in this chapter and see if you can identify some of the changes.

6. Dolgopolsky (1998: 48) reconstructs Nostratic *gadi 'kid, young goat' on the basis of a number of languages, and the OED reconstructs Indo-European *ghaid. Latin has *haedus* with the same meaning. Explain how the Latin corresponds to Old Norse *geit* and eventually Modern English *goat*.

7. Identify the functions (subjects, objects, locations, sources, or instruments) of the underlined words in the Sanskrit sentences. Don't worry about the endings; just go by the meaning.

   a. *<u>jalena</u>* *asvan* *sinca-ti*
      water horses sprinkle-3SG
      'S/he sprinkles the horses with water.'

   b. *<u>nagarat</u>* *ksetrani* *gaccha-ti*
      city fields go-3SG
      'S/he goes from the city to the fields.'

   c. *<u>aham</u>* *na* *<u>tam</u>* *pasya-mi*
      I not him see-1SG
      'I don't see him.' (from Coulson 1976)

Chapter 4

Old English

450–1150

As discussed in Chapter 1, the English language had its start around 449, when Germanic tribes came to England and settled there. Initially, the native Celtic inhabitants and newcomers presumably lived side-by-side and the Germanic speakers adopted some linguistic features from the original inhabitants. During this period, there is Latin influence as well, mainly through missionaries from Rome and Ireland. The existing evidence about the nature of Old English comes from a collection of texts from a variety of regions: some are preserved on stone and wood monuments, others in manuscript form.

The current chapter focusses on the characteristics of Old English. In Section 1, we examine some of the written sources in Old English, look at some special spelling symbols, and try to read the runic alphabet that was sometimes used. In Section 2, we consider (and listen to) the sounds of Old English. In Sections 3, 4, and 5, we discuss some Old English grammar. Its most salient feature is the system of endings on nouns and verbs, i.e. its synthetic nature. Old English vocabulary is very interesting and creative, as Section 6 shows. Dialects are discussed briefly in Section 7 and the chapter will conclude with several well-known Old English texts to be read and analyzed.

1. Sources and spelling

We can learn a great deal about Old English culture by reading Old English recipes, charms, riddles, descriptions of saints' lives, and epics such as *Beowulf*. Most remaining texts in Old English are religious, legal, medical, or literary in nature.

Old English texts are divided along geographic lines into Northumbrian, Mercian, West-Saxon, and Kentish, as we will discuss in Section 7; they can also be categorized in terms of whether they were written in early or late Old English and whether they are poetry or prose. Most evidence of older Old English comes from northern poetic texts such as the Northumbrian version of *Caedmon's Hymn* (Appendix B). Most evidence of later Old English comes from southern prose texts such as Alfred's *Orosius* (Appendix C) or the works of Ælfric. For some manuscripts – *Beowulf*, for example – a dialect and date of composition cannot be firmly established. These factors make it hard to compare dialect, genre, and age. A partial list of works in Old English is provided in Table 4.1.

The scribes who copied and illustrated the manuscripts worked mainly in monasteries. The manuscripts are often exquisite works of art.

Table 4.1 Some works in Old English

Beowulf. Mixed dialect Northumbrian/West Saxon; manuscript from c.1000 but based on earlier version.
Lindisfarne Gospels. Northumbrian interlinear gloss; c.950.
Rushworth Glosses. Interlinear gloss; c.970. Matthew is Mercian; Mark, Luke and John are Northumbrian.
The Junius Manuscript. Written between the 7th and 10th centuries (some argue partly by the Caedmon poet); compiled towards the late 10th; contains *Genesis, Exodus, Christ and Satan*.
The Exeter Book. Early poetry; contains *Riddles, Wulf and Eadwacer, The Wanderer*, and the *Seafarer*.
Gregory's Pastoral Care. Early West Saxon, late 9th century, ascribed to King Alfred.
Boethius and *Orosius*. Early West-Saxon, ascribed to King Alfred.
Homilies, by Aelfric. West Saxon, circa 1000.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Many versions, one composed in Peterborough that continues to 1154.

These works were written on *vellum*, very expensive thin leather. Books were therefore owned by a monastery, a church, or a wealthy person and were typically versions of the Bible, prayer books, school books, manuals of various kinds, and music scores. **Facsimile editions**, such as the one in Figure 4.1, enable us to see what the text looked like (if we

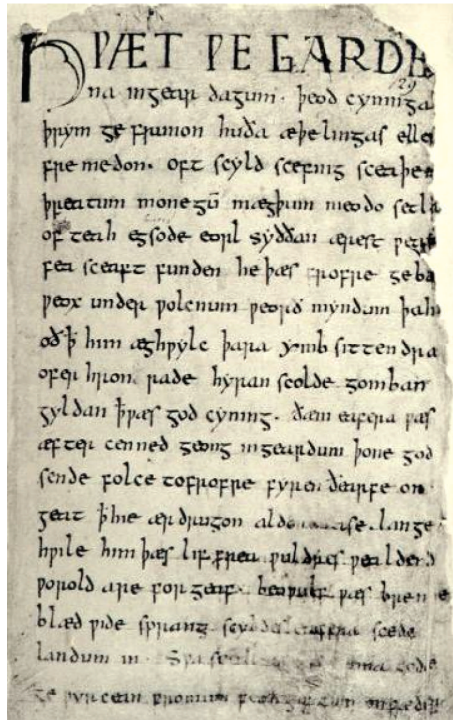


Figure 4.1 *Beowulf* facsimile, from Zupitza (1959)

can't get to museums or libraries where the originals are kept). There is a word-by-word gloss of Figure 4.1 at the end of Section 4. Try to read a little! Looking at facsimile editions or originals is important because these works are often modernized by editors when they appear in anthologies and scholarly editions.

Other Old English texts are available in transliterated form (i.e. not as facsimiles) at www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/oe/oe.html. There are also corpora (with selections of texts) such as the Helsinki Corpus (or HC). The Dictionary of Old English project from the University of Toronto makes available (for a fee; www.doe.utoronto.ca) the 2,000 or so Old English texts we have left and contains three million Old English words. It is also available electronically at libraries that subscribe to the Dictionary of Old English Corpus.

Most Old English texts, especially manuscripts such as *Beowulf*, use a **modified Roman alphabet**. This alphabet was introduced by Irish missionaries and the letter shapes are not identical to those of Modern English. For instance, there is an *æ* (called *ash*), a runic letter *þ* (called *thorn*), and a *ð* (called *eth*). The last two are used interchangeably. Originally, a *w* was written as one *u* or two *u* symbols (hence the term *double u*), but it is also written using a runic *ƿ* (and called *wynn* or *wen*). Capital letters are often absent as are most punctuation marks. Abbreviations are frequently used, e.g. *7* stands for *and* (see Appendix A) as does *&*, to save space and effort. As you can see in Figure 4.1, not much space is wasted. Try to find some of the special symbols in Figure 4.1 by using the summary in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Special symbols in Old English (– indicates no special name/sound)

spelling	name	sound	word
æ	ash	[æ]	*hwæt* 'what'
þ	thorn	[θ or ð]	*þat* 'that'
ð	eth	[θ or ð]	*ðat* 'that'
ʒ	yogh	mostly [j]	*maniʒ* 'many'
ƿ	wynn or wen	[w]	*ƿe* 'we'
u(u)	–	[w]	*uuerc* 'work'
y	–	[y]	*syððan* 'since'
7 or &	–/ampersand	–	'and'

Both *hwæt* and *we* in the first line of Figure 4.1 contain wynns. An ash occurs in *hwæt* (line 1), a thorn in *þeod* (line 2), and an eth in *ða* (line 3). The *c* symbol in *cyninga* (line 2) represents the [k] sound, as it still does in certain Modern English words. The *ʒ* in *daʒum* (line 2) is more complex. It originates from an Irish letter called the *yogh* and normally represents a [j] but, before back vowels, it represents a voiced velar fricative ([ɣ]), a sound that Modern English lacks. This symbol can also be seen in lines 2 and 3. The *y* in *cyninga* (line 2) is a vowel represented in the phonetic alphabet as [y]; it probably sounded like the *u* in French or the *ü* in German, an [i] pronounced with rounded lips. Some texts put length markers on the vowels, but we will not do that.

In addition to manuscripts, Old English is preserved in carvings on wood and stone from the 7th century, as shown in Figure 4.2. These inscriptions use the **runic alphabet**. We will look at an example but will not actually use this alphabet in reading Old English texts. The runic alphabet, or futhorc, was in use through large areas of Europe and is probably an adaptation of the Etruscan or Phoenician alphabet (for an argument in favor of Phoenician, read Vennemann 2011). A key to the runes can be found in Figure 4.3 (see also www.omniglot.com/writing/runic.htm); you can see that the first six letters give you the word *futhorc*. Try to decipher the letters in Figure 4.2.

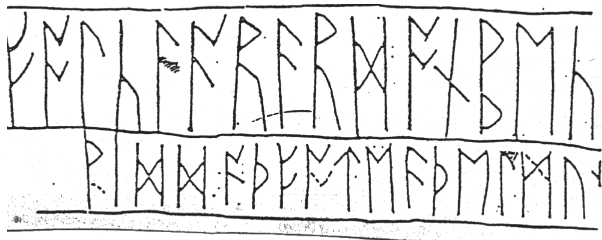


Figure 4.2 The Overchurch runes

Figure 4.3 Runic alphabet

Using the alphabet, we can see that the inscription in Figure 4.2 reads as in (1).

(1) *folcœarœrdonbecbiddaþfoteæþelmun*

The words are not spelled separately, which makes them harder to read. Are there any modern English words you recognize in (1)? We will come back to this sentence in Section 3. For now, a word-for-word gloss and free translation are provided in (2).

(2) People reared beacon pray for Aethelmund
'People put up a sign and pray for Aethelmund'.

Next we turn to some linguistic characteristics of Old English – first sounds, then morphology and syntax. From this point on, we will use the modified alphabet, not the runes.

2. Old English sounds

In this section, we'll discuss four sound changes that take place in Old English: voicing and palatalization affect consonants; breaking and fronting (or umlaut) affect vowels. Many more processes affect vowels, but it is impossible to examine them all. We will also mention that the effects of the GVS have to be reversed in order to pronounce Old English more accurately. Alliteration, a poetic device that links sentences through the use of words starting with the same sound (probably to remember them better), will also be brought up.

When discussing the first line of *Caedmon's Hymn* in Chapter 1, repeated here as (3), we noticed that the *v* of *heaven* is written as an *f* in *hefaen*. How does it sound in the version you have available (at http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/audio.htm)?

(3) Nu scylun hergan hefaenricaes uard

It sounds as a [v]. Remnants of this voicing phenomenon ([f] > [v]) can be seen in the spelling and pronunciation of *wife* [waif], *half, knife* [najf], *wulf,* and *leaf* with an *f* and [f] in word-final position but with a *v* and [v] in the plural – *wives, halves, knives, wulves,* and *leaves* – when it is in between two vowels. Be careful not to be deceived by the silent-e in the spelling! Final voiced fricatives, as in *(to) love* [lɔv], *to house* [hawz], and *to bath* [bejð], are the result of keeping the voiced sound even after the final vowel was deleted.

Old English only has *v, z* and *ð* in certain positions, mostly in between two vowels, but not at the beginning or end of a word. We won't go into the precise environments where voicing appeared but it is important to see the interplay between internal and external change. Old English had a more limited use of [v], [z], and [ð] but because of an influx of French words, the [v] sounds was introduced in more positions in the word. See Minkova (2011) for an account of what may have really happened.

If we look up the origin of words with an initial [z] or [v] in the OED, we see that most are loans. The loans from French or Latin are listed in (4), and the loans from Greek or other languages that start with a [z] in (5).

(4) very, veal, vase, virtue, voice, vote, vehement, village, vacant, vaccine, veil, vacuum, vain, value, vanish, variety, varnish, veer, venture, verb, vex, view, vile, villain, visible, vital, vocal, vulture, vulnerable

(5) zoo, zodiac, zebra, zephyr, zed, zeal, zenith, zinc, zombi, zone, zigzag, zinc

The influx of new words, which begins in the Old English period – with Latin used in the church and before that during the Roman occupation – is given a real boost after 1066, when many new words appear either from French or from Latin via French. Some of these only appear later, e.g. *zigzag* and *zinc* are introduced in 1651 and 1712 respectively.

The influx of new words is due to an external cause – contact with other languages. The loans have a profound influence on the sound system of English: several sounds are added to what we call the phoneme inventory, thus causing an internal change. Internal factors helped

stabilize the voiced fricative, e.g. the loss of a word-final vowel. Millward (1996: 147–8) discusses other factors contributing to this, such as the voicing of fricatives in some dialects.

A second sound change in Old English is **palatalization**, which occurs in many other languages as well. We have seen a few examples in Chapter 2, Table 2.4. Starting in early Old English, the velars spelled *sc, c*, and *g* and pronounced [sk], [k], and [g] are fronted to [ʃ], [ʧ], and [j] respectively, as shown in Table 4.3, in particular before a front vowel (The velar sounds are not fronted before back vowels, as in *cool*).

Table 4.3 Palatalization

OE			**ModE**					
spelling	**pronunciation**		**spelling**	**pronunciation**		**OE**		**ModE**
sc	[sk]	>	*sh*	[ʃ],	as in:	*scip*	>	*ship*
c	[k]	>	*tch*	[ʧ],	as in:	*dic*	>	*ditch*
g	[g]	>	*y*	[j],	as in:	*geolwe*	>	*yellow*

A few more examples involve Old English *skirt* becoming *shirt*, *disc → dish, shirt*, *skatter → shatter, kirk → church*, and *egg → eye*. *Skirt* and *egg* still exist in Modern English because other Germanic languages did not undergo palatalization and, when Scandinavian came into contact with English, English borrowed the non-palatalized versions. Some of these words come to co-exist (*disk* and *dish* and *skirt* and *shirt*) with different meanings, while in other cases one of the two forms 'wins', as we'll see in Chapter 5.

There are two other rules that will be pointed out whenever relevant – breaking and vowel fronting. They are complex and interact with numerous other rules. **Breaking** occurs when the front vowels *æ, e* and *i* become diphthongs, i.e. are broken into two sounds, before certain consonants, as in shown in Table 4.4, where the changes in spelling are indicated.

Table 4.4 Breaking

i	>	io/eo	before *l* or *r* and a C, as in *seolf* 'self' or before *h*, as in *seah* 'he saw'
e	>	eo	
æ	>	ea	

Examples of breaking are *æld* and *hælf* becoming *eald* and *healf*, *werc* becoming *weorc*, and *Picts* becoming *Peohtas*. This rule applies when the vowel is followed by an *l* or *r* and another consonant or when the vowel is followed by an *h* (Campbell 1959: 56). It is an assimilatory change in that the second half of the diphthong is a back vowel and the change occurs before consonants that are further back. Breaking is supposed to have taken place in Old English around the 7th century, especially in the South (in West Saxon), as you will see in version II of *Caedmon's Hymn* in Appendix B. Some other words that undergo breaking are *bearn* 'child', *heard* 'hard', *pealm* 'palm', *eahta* 'eight', and *meaht* 'might'. As you can see from the Modern English spelling, some of these words are now spelled the way they were before breaking occurred.

The **fronting** rule, also called *i-umlaut*, describes what happens when a back or low vowel such as *o* or *u* or *a* precedes an *i*. In Germanic, before English separates from the other Germanic languages, the form for singular *mouse* is *mus and plural *mice* is *musi. The fronting of *u* to *y* occurs in the plural, before the plural *-i*, resulting in *mysi (where y represents a rounded [i]).

Table 4.5 Fronting

u	>	y, later i	before [i]
o	>	e	before [i]
a	>	æ	before [i]

The *i*-ending (having caused the fronting) subsequently disappears and the cause of the fronting becomes hidden. The non-fronted and fronted forms thus now form singular and plural pairs in (6a) and intransitive and transitive pairs in (6b).

(6) a. mouse – mice, louse – lice, goose – geese, foot – feet, tooth – teeth
b. fall – fell, sit – set

A similar fronting and raising occurs in the pairs *man – men, stank – stench, long – length, doom – deem, whole – heal, food – feed*. Note that the current pronunciations of the words in (10a) are not established until after the Great Vowel Shift.

When pronouncing Old English, we need to remember that the **Great Vowel Shift has not taken place yet**. This means that vowels are not pronounced the way they are in Modern English but in a lower position. Thus, *name, meet, mine, book, now* are pronounced [namə], [met], [min], [bok], and [nu], respectively. As mentioned, the *g* or *ʒ* needs attention as well. In Old English, it is usually pronounced as [j], e.g. at the end of a word (*dæg*) and before a front vowel, but as a voiced fricative [ɣ] before back vowels. It is a sound English no longer has. The *h* in words such as *niht, leoht, cniht*, 'night, light and knight' respectively, is represented phonetically as [χ], a voiceless velar fricative. The sound is still present in Modern English in the final sound of *loch*.

Listen now to all of *Caedmon's Hymn* at http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/audio.htm. There are a number of versions of this text (see Appendix B); notice if the one in (7) corresponds to the one read.

(7) ***Caedmon's Hymn* – Northumbrian**
Nu scylun hergan hefaenricaes uard
metudæs maecti end his modgidanc
uerc uuldurfadur sue he uundra gehuaes 3
eci dryctin or astelidæ
he aerist scop aelda barnum
heben til hrofe haleg scepen 6
tha middungeard moncynnes uard
eci dryctin æfter tiadæ
firum foldu frea allmectig 9

Think about some of the issues we have discussed: how are the vowels in *hrofe, he, frea,* and *firum foldu* pronounced? Are there words you know: *fadur, hrofe, haleg, moncynnes* and *allmectig*? Could *barnum* be *bearnum*? What can you say about the spelling of *uerc* and *uundra*? Don't worry about the meaning of the entire Hymn yet; it is provided in Appendix B, and we will go over it at the end of the chapter a little. For more on the pronunciation of Old English, see www.ucalgary.ca/UofC/eduweb/engl401/lessons/pronunc1.htm.

A final point about sounds is **alliteration**, involving word-initial consonants that are similar. This is mainly relevant to poetic texts. The Old English rules are relatively simple, unlike those of Middle English. In (7), a line such as *metudæs maecti end his modgidanc* is representative. It consists of two halves; the first half can have two alliterating consonants, but the second half line typically only has its first stressed syllable alliterating with the consonants in the first (the [m] is the alliterating sound). A very similar pattern occurs in another line of (7) *uerc uuldurfadur sue he uundra gehuaes*. What sound alliterates?

The Old English consonants and vowels are provided in Table 4.6 and Figure 4.4 (the four diphthongs are not listed). Note that sounds such as [v, z, ð] only occur in restricted positions. The velar nasal [ŋ] is also the result of assimilation and occurs only before a [k] and [g] in words like *singan* [siŋgan] 'to sing'. The [χ] and [ɣ] represent voiceless and voiced velar fricatices that Modern English has lost and are spelled in Old English with an *h*, e.g. *seah* 'saw' and later as *gh*, e.g. *taught* (and there is even a palatal variant of this fricative in words with front vowels, such as *miht* 'might'). Compare these sounds with those of Modern English using Table 2.3 and Figure 2.3.

i	y	u
e		o
æ		ɑ

Figure 4.4 Old English vowels (all can be long or short, adapted from Minkova 2005a)

This section discussed four sound changes in Old English: voicing, palatalization, breaking, and fronting. It also provided some information on the pronunciation of Old English and the inventory of sounds.

Table 4.6 Old English consonants

Manner: **Place:**	**stop**	**fricative**	**affricate**	**nasal**	**liquid**	**glide**
labial	p/b	f/v		m		w
dental		θ/ð				
alveolar	t/d	s/z		n	l, r	
alveo-palatal		ʃ	ʧ/dʒ			j
velar		k/g	χ /ɣ		ŋ	
glottal		h				

3. Old English grammar

Excellent resources on Old English grammar are Campbell (1959), Quirk & Wrenn (1958), and Traugott (1992), and also http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/resources/IOE/index.html. The emphasis in this chapter will be on showing that Old English is a synthetic language, using a lot of word endings or inflections to indicate grammatical functions. Section 4 discusses the endings on Old English words – the morphology – and Section 5 touches upon a few points on how to build Old English sentences – the syntax. Chapter 2 provided the basic information about the nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative cases and we'll now use that knowledge.

Section 4 provides lists of pronouns, demonstratives, some verbs, some nouns, and adjectives. It is not necessary to memorize these; being able to recognize a few will suffice. For example, the *-as* ending is a plural on some masculine nouns (nominative and accusative) and becomes the Modern English plural *-s*. The *-e* ending is a dative singular, *-um* the dative plural. Present tense verbs have a second person singular *-st* ending, and a third person *-th* ending, the infinitive ends in *-an*, and the past plural is often *-(d)on*.

With this knowledge, let's look at a simple sentence, adapted from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (PC) from 874. Which words do you recognize?

(8) *he ælfrede cyninge aðas swor & gislas sealde*
'He swore oaths to King Alfred and gave hostages'.

First, notice the *-e* and *-as* endings. The *-e* ending is used for dative case (for which we now use the preposition *to*) on both *ælfrede* 'Alfred' and *cyninge* 'king'. It means something was given **to** King Alfred. The *-as* ending shows that *aðas* 'oaths' and *gislas* 'hostages' are plural (accusative actually). *Sealde* 'give' is broader in Old English than in Modern English where *sell* means 'give in exchange for money'.

Modern English has lost the endings but gained words such as *to*. *To* exists in Old English with a very specific locational meaning, but later becomes an indirect object marker, as in *I gave it* ***to*** *Marta*. This process is called **grammaticalization** since the lexical meaning gradually disappears and the grammatical meaning prevails. In Old English, the verb is often at the end of the sentence, as in (8), whereas in Modern English it is in the middle, separating the subject and the object.

Equipped with this information, let's examine the runic transcription we discussed earlier, repeated here as (9).

(9) folcæarærdonbecbiddaþfoteæþelmun

A couple of endings that stand out: *-don* and *-aþ*, the former being the plural past tense and the latter the plural present tense. If we separate the words, you might find some words you recognize:

(10) folcæ arærdon bec biddaþ fote æþelmun

Folc corresponds to *people*, as mentioned earlier. Some other words can be guessed: *arærdon* matches Modern English *reared*; *bec* is similar to *beacon*, and *biddaþ* is similar to *bid*. The remaining words, *fote* and *æþelmun,* are trickier. *Æþelmun* is a name and there is probably a 'typo' in *fote* and it may be *fore* 'for' instead.

Comparing the endings and number of words between Old and Modern English, we see that the main change between the two stages is that of a language with free word order and many endings but no 'small' words such as *the* or *to* becoming a language with strict word order, few endings and many 'small' words. This change, involving the **grammaticalization of prepositions,** i.e. the loss of lexical meaning and the increase of grammatical significance, to replace case endings, is formulated in (11).

(11)	**Synthetic**	>	**Analytic**
	Case/Inflections	>	Word Order/Prepositions/Auxiliaries/Articles

We will discuss the actual syntax of Old English in Section 5; first, we examine endings in more detail.

4. Old English morphology

This section will provide some paradigms for Old English. A **paradigm** is a list of forms, e.g. a list of all the cases of a pronoun. Use these paradigms as a reference; focus only on the most obvious parts!

The paradigm for **pronouns** is given in Table 4.7. Individual texts vary a great deal in orthography. For instance, *hiene*, *hine*, *hyne* are masculine singular accusatives, and *hie*, *hi*, and *heo* are third person plural nominative and accusative pronouns. The OED lists at least 13 forms of the third person singular masculine pronoun. There is also a rare dual number (used for two people), of which we will only see an example in Appendix E. Since the instrumental case is almost extinct in Old English, that form is left out. Note that *þ* and *ð* can be used interchangeably as the first consonant of second person pronouns (even though only *þ* is used in Table 4.7) as well as of demonstratives (Table 4.8) and verbal endings (Tables 4.13 and 4.14).

Instances of some pronouns in *Beowulf* are given in (12) through (15). In (12), *ðec* is an accusative because it is the object of *oferswyðan* 'overpower'. Incidentally, notice that the object precedes the verb. Tables 4.13 and 4.14 show that the third person ending on verbs is *-(e)ð* or *-(e)þ*; this ending in (12) shows that third person *deaþ* 'death' is the subject, not second person *ðec* 'you' (*ðec* would also be unlikely since it has accusative case).

(12)	*þæt*	***ðec***	*dryhtguma*	*deaþ*	*oferswiþ-**eþ***
	that	2SG.ACC	mighty.ruler	death	overpower-3SG

'that death overpowers you, mighty ruler' (*Beowulf* 1768)

Table 4.7 Old English pronouns

		Singular	Dual	Plural
First	NOM	ic	wit	we
	GEN	min	uncer	ure
	DAT	me	unc	us
	ACC	me/mec	unc(et)	us/usic
Second	NOM	þu	git	ge
	GEN	þin	incer	eower
	DAT	þe	inc	eow
	ACC	þe/þec	inc(it)	eow/eowic
Third (M/F/N)	NOM	he/heo/hit	–	hi/hie
	GEN	his/hire/his	–	hira/hiera
	DAT	him/hire/him	–	him
	ACC	hine/hi(e)/hit	–	hi/hie

In (13), there are three instances of the first person singular nominative *ic*. There is also a plural second person nominative *ge*, which stays around at least until 1600 as *yee* or *ye*.

(13) ***Ic*** *eom Hroðgar-es ar ond ombiht*
I am Hrothgar-GEN messenger and officer
Ne seah ***ic*** *elþeodige þus manige men midiglicran*
Never saw I foreign.warriors so many men more.courageous
Wen ***ic*** *þæt* ***ge*** *… Hroðgar soht-on*
hope I that you … Hrothgar seek-PST (*Beowulf* 335–8)

Also observe the verbs in (13): *eom* is similar to Modern English *am,* and *seah* to *saw; sohton* has the plural past ending *-on*, and you can see how it becomes Modern English *sought* by losing this ending and by the *h* becoming silent. Note that Modern English spelling keeps the *h* even though it is no longer pronounced.

The word *ombiht* in the first line of (13) is possibly a loan into Early Germanic from Latin or Celtic, and is later (in the 15th century) reborrowed as *ambassador*. The word *ombudsman* may be a cognate in Swedish, borrowed into Modern English from Swedish in the 20th century. Other words and endings you might recognize are the genitive *-es* on *Hrothgar* and the words for *thus, many, and, that* and *men*. These words stayed in the language and were never replaced by loans. Modern translations of (13) are provided in (14a), (14b), and (14c).

(14) a. 'I am Hrothgar's herald and officer. I have never seen so impressive or large an assembly of strangers. […] must have brought you to Hrothgar'.
(Heaney 2000)

(14) b. 'I am Hrothgar's counselor and friend. How far have you traveled crossed the wave-rolls to come to this door? My wits tell me you are welcome callers'. (Rebsamen 1991)

c. 'I am Hrothgar's herald and officer. I have not seen strangers – so many men – more bold. I think that it is for [...] that you have sought Hrothgar'. (Donaldson 1966)

You can see a great deal of variation between the different translations. Not only are *herald and officer* in (14a) and (14c) rendered as *counselor and friend* in (14b), (13) as a whole is almost unrecognizable in (14b). However, (14b) has poetic terms such as *waverolls* and alliterating sounds such as *wits* and *welcome* that the other two versions lack.

The nominative feminine pronoun *hio* 'she' is present in (15). *Hio* is an (early) variant of *heo* (but again the OED lists many spelling variants). This sentence also shows that *Beowulf* has an *-e* ending, i.e. dative case, indicating that Beowulf is the one **to** whom the meadcup was brought.

(15) *þæt* ***hio*** *Beowulf-**e** ...| ... medoful ætbær*
that she Beowulf-DAT ... meadcup at.bore
'that she brought Beowulf the meadcup.' (*Beowulf* 623–4)

Like Modern English, Old English third person pronouns show masculine, feminine, and neuter gender. Unlike Modern English, Old English also marks grammatical gender on demonstratives, adjectives, and nouns. The grammatical gender of the noun determines the gender of the demonstrative and the adjective. Thus, the masculine forms of the demonstrative and adjective are used before masculine nouns such as *cyning* 'king'; the feminine forms are used before feminine nouns such as *lufu* 'love'; and the neuter forms are used before neuter nouns such as *godspel* 'gospel'. The grammatical gender need not correspond to the natural gender of a noun: *wif* 'woman' and *cild* 'child' are neuter.

Reflexive pronouns, such as *myself* and *himself*, do not occur in Old English, except in later texts. Instead, the regular pronoun is used, such as *me* in (16).

(16) *Ic on earde bad |... ne* ***me*** *swor fela*
I on earth bided ... not me swore wrong
'I was around on earth ... I never perjured myself' (*Beowulf* 2736–8)

In Old English, the adjective *self* is typically used as an emphatic, as in (17), not as a reflexive.

(17) *æþele cempa* ***self*** *mid gesið-um*
noble fighter self with follower-DAT.PL
'The noble fighter himself with his followers' (*Beowulf* 1312–3)

Self-marked reflexives first occur with the third person in later Old English. There is much variation, as the two versions of the same text, (18a) and (18b), show; (18a) is from the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and (18b) from the *Rushworth Gospels*. In (18a), the regular pronoun *him* is used, while in (18b), the pronoun and adjective *self* are used.

(18) a. ***Lindisfarne Glosses*** – **Northumbrian**
hælend wiste smeawunga hiora cueð him eghuelc
healer knew thoughts their said them each
ric todæled bið wið ***him*** *forleten bið l gewoested bið*
kingdom divided be against it left is and destroyed is
l tosliten bið 7 eghuelc burug l hus todæled l tosliten
and destroyed is and every city and house divided and cut.up
wið ***him*** *ne stondas*
against it not stands
'And Jesus knew their thoughts and said to them every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.' (*Matthew* 12.25)

b. ***Rushworth Glosses*** – **Mercian**
se helend þa witende þohtas heora cweþ to heom
the healer then knowing thoughts their said to them
æghwilc rice gedeled wið ***him seolfum*** *awoested bið*
each kingdom divided against it self destroyed will.be
7 æghwilc cæstre oþþa hus gedæled wið ***him seolfum*** *ne stondeþ*
and each castle or house divided against it self not stands.
(from Skeat's 1881–7 edition)

With second and first person, reflexives do not appear until Middle English.

These sentences illustrate other interesting differences: a demonstrative *se* is used before the noun *helend* in (18b) but not in (18a) and the preposition *to* is used before the indirect object *him* in (18b) but not in (18a). These differences indicate that (18b) is a later text, more analytic, as was also likely from the presence of reflexive pronouns. There are also dialect differences between these versions, as we will see in Section 7.

The paradigm for **demonstratives** is presented in Table 4.8. Demonstratives in Old English are often translated by using the Modern English article *the* even though they are quite different. In word-by-word glosses, I typically keep the demonstrative but I use the article in the free version. Unlike Modern English articles, demonstratives are not generally required, as (15), (17), and (18a) show, and carry more information (e.g. location) and can be used on their own to refer to persons. The indefinite article *a(n)* is not used, but sometimes the numeral *an* 'one' or the adjective *sum* 'some' are. Again, be aware that the *þ* and *ð* are both used as the first consonant of the demonstrative, as well as the *s* in the nominative masculine and feminine.

Table 4.8 Demonstratives in Old English

	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Neuter**	**Plural**
NOM	se	seo	þæt	þa
GEN	þæs	þære	þæs	þara
DAT	þæm	þære	þæm	þæm
ACC	þone	þa	þæt	þa

An example of the demonstrative *ða* is shown in (19). It agrees with the plural nominative *æþelingas*. Notice also the *-as* plural nominative ending on the noun and the *-don* past ending on the verb.

(19) *hu* ***ða*** *æþeling-as* *ellen* *fremedon*
how that.NOM.PL nobles-NOM.PL courage did
'how those nobles performed heroic acts.' (*Beowulf* 3)

In Old English, demonstratives are often used where Modern English uses relatives, as in (20). **Relative pronouns** connect one sentence to another. In (20), *þone* is an accusative 'that'; in Modern English it would be *that* or *who(m)*.

(20) *geong in geardum* ***þone*** *God sende folce to frofre*
young in yards that.ACC God sent people to consolation
'A young one in the yards who God sent to the people.' (*Beowulf* 13–4)

Notice also Old English words such as *folc* and *frofer*, later replaced by French loans, and the *g* in *geong* and *geardum*, which later becomes a palatalized [j]. The *-e* and *-um* endings should be familiar by now. Both (19) and (20) are taken from Figure 4.1. Try to find these lines in the facsimile. Other relatives involve a demonstrative and an optional *þe* or just *þe*, as in (21).

(21) *Unferþ maþelode Ecglafes bearn* ***þe*** *æt fotum sæt*
Unferth spoke Ecglaf's child who at feet sat
'Unferth spoke, the child of Eglaf, who sat at the feet.' (*Beowulf* 499–500)

Are there other endings you recognize in (21)?

Nouns have endings for number, case, and gender. We already commented on the plural *-as*, as in (19), the dative singular *-e*, *folce* in (20), and the dative plural *-um*, in (20) and (21). Endings such as those on the noun *stan* 'stone' are the **most common noun endings** since most nouns belong to that class. This class is called the *a*-stem and *stan* is a masculine noun of that class. There are other genders and noun classes: *word* is neuter (and belongs to the same *a*-noun class), *lufu* 'love' is feminine (*o*-noun class), and *sunu* 'son' is masculine (*u*-noun class). In Indo European, the noun actually ends in *a, o*, or *u* (or some other ending), but this is no longer visible in Old English. The paradigms, showing a few of the different noun classes, are provided in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Some Old English strong noun endings

	stan (M) **'stone'**	**word** (N) **'word'**	**lufu** (F) **'love'**	**sunu** (M) **'son'**
Singular				
NOM	stan	word	lufu	sunu
GEN	stanes	wordes	lufe	suna
DAT	stane	worde	lufe	suna
ACC	stan	word	lufe	sunu
Plural				
NOM	stanas	word	lufa	suna
GEN	stana	worda	luf(en)a	suna
DAT	stanum	wordum	lufum	sunum
ACC	stanas	word	lufa	suna

The endings of this class of nouns, called the vowel stems or strong nouns, differ from another class that also comes to English from Indo-European, namely the consonantal stems or weak nouns. Weak nouns can be masculine, feminine, and (less often) neuter. I have provided the masculine and feminine forms in Table 4.10; their characteristic *-an* ending is shared, but note the *-um* for the dative plural.

Table 4.10 Some Old English weak noun endings

	guma (M) **'man'**	**folde** (F) **'earth'**
Singular		
NOM	guma	folde
GEN	guman	foldan
DAT	guman	foldan
ACC	guman	foldan
Plural		
NOM	guman	foldan
GEN	gumena	foldena
DAT	gumum	foldum
ACC	guman	foldan

Try to create a few paradigms, using the words in Table 4.11. For instance, take *folc* and notice that its endings will be like those of *word*. The singular will therefore be *folc, folces, folce, folc* and the plural *folc, folca, folcum, folc*. You could even add the demonstrative taken from Table 4.8. They are not sensitive to word classes, just to gender, case, and number.

The plural ending of *stanas* later becomes the general English plural *-(e)s*, and the Old English genitive *-es* becomes the possessive in *the dog's bone*. *Word* has the same endings as *stan*, except in the nominative and accusative plural. We can still see the result of this lack of an ending in the plural of *deer* and *sheep* – *deer* and *sheep*. Note that even though

Table 4.11 Old English noun classes

Like *stan*:	*aþ* 'oath', *coss* 'kiss', *cyning* 'king', *dom* 'judgement', *hlaf* 'loaf', *hund* 'dog', *þeof* 'thief', *weall* 'wall', *weg* 'way', and *wer* 'man'
Like *word*:	*bearn* 'child', *deor* 'animal', *folc* 'people', *gear* 'year', *land* 'land', *sceap* 'sheep', *sweord* 'sword', *weorc* 'work', and *wif* 'woman'
Like *lufu*:	*faru* 'journey', *giefu* 'gift', *racu* 'narrative', *sceadu* 'shade', and *scolu* 'troop'
Like *sunu*:	*lagu* 'lake', *medu* 'mead', and *wudu* 'wood'
Like *guma*:	*eafora* 'son', *mona* 'moon', *naca* 'boat', *nama* 'name', and *wita* 'prophet'
Like *folde*:	*hruse* 'earth', *sunne* 'sun', and *hacele* 'cloak'

lufu 'love' is feminine and *sunu* 'son' is masculine (and of a different class), they are very similar in endings.

Remember that the natural gender need not correspond to the grammatical gender or noun class. Thus, *wif* 'woman' is neuter in grammatical but not natural gender. To see other noun classes, consult an Old English Grammar (e.g. by Quirk & Wrenn 1958); look up the gender of the noun in a dictionary, such as the one by Clark-Hall 1894 [1960] or the more extensive Bosworth & Toller (on the web at: beowulf.engl.uky.edu/~kiernan/BT/Bosworth-Toller.htm).

The ending of the **adjective** is very intricate in Old English. As in other Germanic languages, such as German, Dutch, and Swedish, its form depends on whether a demonstrative is present. This is different in the other Indo-European languages. If no demonstrative precedes the adjective in Germanic, the adjective gets a more distinctive (strong) ending to 'make up' for this lack; if the adjective is preceded by a demonstrative, it gets a less varied (weak) ending. The strong and weak endings are also referred to as indefinite and definite in some Old English grammars. Both strong and weak endings are listed in Table 4.12. Notice the similarities in the plural endings, even in the strong ones.

Table 4.12 The forms of the adjective 'good' in Old English

	Strong			**Weak**		
Singular	**M**	**F**	**N**	**M**	**F**	**N**
NOM	god	god	god	goda	gode	gode
GEN	godes	godre	godes	godan	godan	godan
DAT	godum	godre	godum	godan	godan	godan
ACC	godne	gode	god	godan	godan	gode
Plural	**M**	**F**	**M**	**All**		
NOM	gode	goda	god	godan		
GEN	godra	godra	godra	godra/godena		
DAT	godum	godum	godum	godum		
ACC	gode	goda	god	godan		

Thus, *þæm godan cyninge* and *godum cyninge*, meaning 'to the good king', can both be used as datives. (*Cyning* gets the same endings as *stan*).

Adjectives are used in comparative and superlative constructions. In Old English, the pattern for *hard* and *narrow* is *heard, heardra, heardost* and *nearu, nearora, nearwost* respectively. These are inflected forms, typical of a synthetic language. The analytic forms with *more* and *most* are rare in Old English. Some adjectives use suppletive forms, like in Modern English: *good* and *yfel* 'evil' have *god, betra, betst* and *yfel, wyrsa, wyrst* (*bad* appears only in Middle English).

Adverbs tell us about the place, time, reason, and manner of an action; they modify the verb. They can also be used to modify the sentence. Adverbs in Modern English are mostly formed by adding an *-ly* ending to an adjective. This is not the case in Old English where they are formed by several different endings: *-e* as in (22) and *-lice* (which later becomes *-ly*).

(22) *heofodwoþe* ***hlud-e*** *cirme*
voice loud-ADV cry.out
'I cry out loudly with my voice.' (from Riddle 8, line 3, see Appendix D)

The **endings on verbs** depend on the tense (past and present), the person and number (of the subject), and the mood (imperative and subjunctive). They are divided into **strong and weak**, but these terms are used differently than when describing adjectives. Strong verbs change their stem vowels in the past tense and the past participle. There are still quite a number of strong verbs in Modern English: *sing, sang, sung*; *drive, drove, driven;* etc. Weak verbs get a regular *-ed* inflection: *talk, talked, talked* and *plant, planted, planted*. The strong verbs are listed in Table 4.13. Focus on the present and past tense, not on the subjunctive and imperative moods, used for wishes and commands, respectively.

Table 4.13 An Old English strong verb

	Indicative		**Subjunctive**		**Imperative**
Present	ic	drife	Present	ic drife	
	þu	drifest		þu drife	drif
	he/o	drif(e)ð		he/o drife	
	we/ge/hi	drifað		we/ge/hi drifen	drifað
Past	ic	draf	Past	ic drife	
	þu	drife		þu drife	
	he/o	draf		he/o drife	
	we/ge/hi	drifon		we/ge/hi drifen	
Past Participle	(ge)drifen				

The stem vowels in the present are long, but short in most of the past forms. This is not indicated in the paradigms. However, we can see the evidence for this in the contemporary pronunciation of *drive* [draiv] and *driven* [drɪvən] since the long [ij] shifted to [aj] in *drive* during the Great Vowel Shift but the short [ɪ] remained [ɪ] in *driven*.

The present and past paradigms for two weak verbs are provided in Table 4.14 (for the indicative mood). The future was typically expressed by the present. The subjunctive and imperative moods are only provided for *fremman* 'do'; those of *herian* 'praise' are very similar. Notice the *-d-* in the past tense, a precursor to Modern English *-ed*.

Table 4.14 Old English weak verbs

	Indicative		**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Present	Ic fremme 'do'	ic herie 'praise'	ic fremme	
	Þu frem(e)st	þu herest	þu fremme	freme
	he/heo/hit frem(e)þ	he/heo/hit hereþ	he/heo/hit fremme	
	we/ge/hi fremmaþ	we/ge/hi heriaþ	we/ge/hi fremmen	fremmaþ
Past	ic fremede		ic fremede	
	Þu fremedest		þu fremede	
	he/heo/hit fremede		he/heo/hit fremede	
	we/ge/hi fremedon		we/ge/hi fremeden	
Past Participle	(ge)fremed and (ge)hered			

Examples of verbal endings were given in (10), (12), and (19), repeated here as (23), (24), and (25), respectively. Notice that the third person present tense endings can have either *(e)ð* or *(e)þ*.

(23) *folcæ arær**don** bec bidd**aþ** fote æþelmun*

(24) *þæt ðec dryhtguma deaþ oferswiþ**eþ***

(25) *hu ða æþelingas ellen freme**don***

The *-don* endings in (23) and (25) represent past plural, *-aþ* in (23) present plural, and *-eþ* in (24) present singular third person. As you can see, the weak and strong verbs only differ in the past and subjunctive.

Since the **subjunctive** ending is no longer common in Modern English, it might be good to look at an example in Old English.

(26) *Ic wille … þæt þu forgyt-**e** þæt ic þe nu secge*
I want that 2SG forget-SUBJ that I 2SG now say
'I want you to forget what I am telling you now.'
(*Byrhtferth's Manual* 154.14, from Visser 1966: 841)

Verbs such as *willan* 'to want' in (26) express a wish, an unreal situation, and therefore need to be followed by a verb in the subjunctive. The verb *forgitan* 'forget' in (26) would have had an *-st* ending in the indicative since its subject is second person singular *þu*. Because it is subjunctive, however, it has a simpler ending. In Middle English, the subjunctive is generally replaced by modal auxiliaries, such as *should*, or by an infinitival form (e.g. *I want you **to go***). Like modal auxiliaries, infinitives express unrealized action and are analytic ways of expressing what the subjunctive does in a synthetic manner.

There are also some **irregular verbs** that survive into Modern English such as *to be*, for which the Old English paradigm is given in Table 4.15 (see also Quirk & Wrenn 1958: 54–5; Campbell 1959: 350 for the distinction between *eom* and *beo* in the present tense).

Table 4.15 The forms of the verb *beon* 'to be'

	Indicative		Subjunctive			Imperative
Present	ic	eom/beo	Present	ic	sie/beo	
	þu	eart/bist		þu	sie/beo	wes/beo
	he/o	is/biþ		he/o	sie/beo	
	we/ge/hi	sind(on)/beoþ	Plural		sien/beon	wesaþ/beoþ
Past	ic	wæs	Past SG		wære	
	þu	wære				
	he/o	wæs				
	we/ge/hi	wæron	Past PL		wæren	
Future	ic	beo				
	þu	bist				
	he/o	biþ				
	we/ge/hi	beoþ				
Participles	wesende/beonde/gebeon					

Verbs like *to be* show **suppletion**; their forms are unrelated to each other in sound and are hence irregular. Even in Modern English, there are completely different forms in the paradigm: *be, is, am,* and *was*. Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1994), among other Indo-Europeanists, relate this to paradigm mixing at an early stage in Indo-European. There are many other cases. For instance, you might wonder how *go* and *went* are related. They are not, but somehow *went,* meaning 'go and return', crept into the *go*-paradigm and is now the past (suppletive) form.

Auxiliaries are not frequent in Old English. Modern English modal auxiliaries such as *can, could, will*, and *would* are regular verbs in Old English; see *wille* 'want' in (26). The same is true of *have* and *be*; they mostly function as main verbs in Old English. Between Old and Modern English, these verbs grammaticalize, i.e. they lose their meaning but gain grammatical function. Infinitives in Old English have an ending and an optional *to*, very closely connected to the infinitival verb. Hence, split infinitives never occur. They start occurring when the infinitival *to* becomes an analytic marker of non-finiteness, in the late 14th century.

We have already examined many sentences from *Beowulf*. Let's now look at the first page more carefully (see also Figure 4.1). In (27), a word-for-word and a somewhat literal translation are provided. Line breaks – indicated by | – are placed where they are usually assumed to have been in Old English. Try to identify as many endings (a few are given in the gloss) and as many words as you can. A few endings are indicated in bold.

(27) ***Beowulf***

*hwæt we garden-**a** in geardag-**um** | þeodcyning-**a** þrym gefrun-**on***
indeed we spear.danes-GEN in yore.days-DAT kings-GEN glory hear-PST
*hu ða æþeling-**as** ellen freme-**don***
how those nobles-NOM courage do-PST
'Indeed, we have heard of the courageous deeds of the Danes (and) their kings in earlier times, how the noble ones accomplished courageous deeds'.

*Oft Scyld Scefing sceaþ-**ena** þreat-**um**| moneg-**um** mægþ-**um***
often Scyld Scefing shadows-GEN crowd-DAT many-DAT family-DAT
meodosetla of teah egsode eorlas syððan ærest wearð |
mead.benches away took scared brave.men since early became
feasceaft funden
poor found
'Often Scyld Scefing took away mead-benches from the crowd of warriors, from many people, after he had once been discovered poor'.

he þæs frofre gebad | *weox under wolcn-um weorðmynd-um*
He that.GEN consolation.GEN waited | grew under clouds-DAT honor-DAT
þah oðþæt him æghwylc þara ymbsittend-ra | *ofer hronrade*
accepted/grew until him every that.GEN sitting.around-GEN | across sea
hyran scolde | *gomban gyldan þæt wæs god cyning*
obey should | tribute pay that was good king
'He was consoled for that; grew up; his honor grew until everyone of the neighboring people on the other side of the sea had to obey him; had to pay tribute. That was a good king'.

ðæm eafera wæs æfter cenned | *geong in geard-um þone god sende*
that.DAT son was later born young in yards-DAT that.ACC god sent
folc to frofre fyrenðearfe ongeat | *þe hie ær drugon aldorlease* |
people to consolation fire.need saw that they before carried leaderless |
lange hwile
long while.
'Later, a son was born to him, sent by God for the consolation of the people. He saw the burning need that they had endured for a long time being without a leader'.

Him þæs liffrea | *wuldr-es wealdend woroldare forgeaf*
Him that.GEN life-lord | world-GEN lord world.honor gave.
Beowulf wæs breme blæd wide sprang | *Scyld-es eafera Scedeland-um in*
Beowulf was famous glory wide jumped | Scyld-GEN son Scedeland-DAT in
'The lord of life, the ruler of the world, gave him worldly honor for that. Beowulf, son of the Scylds, was famous; his glory spread wide in the land of the Danes'.

Swa sceal geong guma gode gewyrcean | from-um feohgift-um on
So shall young man good perform | vigorous-DAT bounty.giving-DAT on
fæder bearm-e þæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen |
father possession-DAT that him.ACC in old.age again stand.by
wilgesiþas þonne wig cume | leode gelæsten
familiar.companions then war comes | people follow/help
'Such should a young man accomplish with good deeds and bountiful gifts, while still living among his father's possessions, so that later in life, when war comes, his companions, the people, will help him'. (from Klaeber's edition)

You probably recognize quite a few endings and we will discuss the ones in bold. The *-um* on *dagum* 'days' indicates a plural; it is dative due to being the object of *in*. The *-as* ending on *æþelingas* shows that it is a nominative (plural) subject. The *-on* endings on *gefunon* 'heard' and *fremedon* 'did' show past tense. *Sceaþena þreatum* 'the crowd of shadows' and *monegum mægþum* 'many families' go together because they are the people from whom the mead-benches are taken. They are all in the dative plural, except the genitive *sceaþena* since it modifies *þreatum*. In Modern English, we use prepositions in all of these cases, *from* for the dative and *of* for the genitive. The last ending that is in bold is the genitive plural *-a* on *gardena* and *þeodcyninga*. This is the usual genitive plural; special is the *-ena* on *sceadena*. Check Table 4.9 for this ending. There are glossaries of *Beowulf*, e.g. www.heorot.dk/beo-intro-rede.html.

This section has reviewed some of the paradigms of Old English and when the different forms are used. Next, we will examine word order and other related matters.

5. Old English syntax

The most significant change between Old and Modern English is given in (11) – the shift from many to a few endings and the introduction of grammatical words such as prepositions, auxiliaries, and articles. As mentioned, Old English can be described as synthetic, whereas Modern English is analytic. The Old English endings were discussed in the previous section. We also mentioned some syntax, such as the lack of prepositions in (8), that are characteristic of synthetic languages. In this section, we will examine other characteristics of synthetic languages, such as free word order and the lack of auxiliaries. We also look at other characteristics not necessarily connected with the synthetic character of Old English, such as the frequent use of coordinate structures, the use of adverbs as discourse markers, and the placement of the negation *ne* or *n-* before the verb.

We will start with the relatively **free word order**. So far, most sentences have had the subject first, except for (28), which was part of (27). Here, the indirect object *him* starts the sentence followed by the subject *þæs liffreawuldres wealdend* and then the direct object *woroldare* and the verb *forgeaf*.

(28) *Him þæs liffrea wuldres wealdend woroldare forgeaf*
Him that lord world lord world.honor gave
'The lord of life, the ruler of the world, gave him worldly honor for that.'

The word order is never totally free and adheres to some rules. Usually pronouns occur near the beginning of the sentence, as in (28) and (12), repeated as (29), for instance.

(29) *þæt* ***ðec*** *dryhtguma deaþ oferswiþeþ.*

The verb often occurs at the end, as in (28) and (29), especially in subordinate or embedded sentences. The verb can also occur in second position, as in (30). This occurs mostly in main clauses.

(30) *7 þy ilcan geare* ***for*** *se here ofer sæ*
and that same year went that army over sea
'And in the same year the army went over the sea' (Chronicle A, for the year 880)

The way to calculate what is called **verb-second** is to ignore the initial 'and', and not to count actual words but the constituents or phrases. In (30), *þy ilcan geare* 'in the same year' forms a unit and is therefore counted as one position. Once one takes that into account, the verb *for* is in second position. Old English is, in this respect very similar to German and Dutch.

There are two kinds of questions: *yes/no* and *wh*-questions. Respective examples are given in (31) with the verb first and in (32) with the verb following the question-word *hwæt*.

(31) ***gehyrest*** *þu eadwacer*
hear you Eadwacer
'Do you hear, Eadwacer?' (from *Wulf and Eadwacer*)

(32) *hwæt* ***gehyrest*** *þu*
what hear you
'What do you hear?' (made up example)

Subject pronouns are somewhat more optional in Old than in Modern English. Examples of subject-less sentence are provided in (33) and (34), and in the first line of Caedmon's Hymn in (7) above.

(33) *þeah ðe hord welan heolde lange*
though that treasure held long
'though **he** held the treasure long.' (*Beowulf* 2344)

(34) *þæt syðþan na ymb brotne ford brimliðende lade ne letton*
so.that since.then never near broad water seafarers passage not let
'that **they** afterwards never kept people from passing that water.' (*Beowulf* 567–9)

Pleonastic (or dummy or grammatical) subjects, such as *there* and *it*, are frequent in Modern English but do not occur in Old English. There is also a construction that is called impersonal since there need not be a nominative subject. This is shown in (35).

(35)	*Hu*	*lomp*	*eow*	*on*	*lade,*	*leofa*	*Biowulf*
	how	happened	you.DAT.PL	on	trip,	dear	Beowulf

‘How was your trip, dear Beowulf’? (*Beowulf* 1987)

As you can see from (31) and (32), the auxiliary verb *do* is not used in questions (or with negation). The auxiliaries *be* and *have* occur but are infrequent. (36) provides an example where Modern English would have and auxiliary *have* (note also the lack of the preposition *of*).

(36)	*we …*	*þrym*	*gefrunon*
	we …	glory	heard

‘We have heard of the glory.’ (*Beowulf* 1–3)

Past action is indicated through affixes, such as the *-on* suffix for the past plural, and also through the (aspectual) prefix *ge-*, as in (36). This *ge-* prefix still occurs in languages such as Dutch and German, but disappears gradually throughout the Middle English period (going from *ge-* to *i/y* to nothing).

So far, we have looked at characteristics of Old English that are typical of synthetic languages, namely the relatively free word order and the absence of certain pronouns and auxiliaries. Now, we'll examine a few other features.

Sentences can be connected in a number of ways. Old English often uses no connection or coordination with *and*, indicated in the manuscript by the symbol *7*, as in (37). Modern English might use subordination in such sentences instead: ‘when he was killed, B took the throne’.

(37) ***Anglo Saxon Chronicle (A-version), anno 755***

7 þy ilcan geare mon ofslog Æþelbald Miercna cyning
and that same year man killed Æþelbald Mercian king
on Seccandune 7 his lic liþ on Hreapadune
at Seckington and his body lies in Repton
7 Beornræd feng to rice 7 …
and Beornræd ascended to throne and …

‘And the same year when Æþelbald, the Mercian king, was killed at Seckington, with his body buried in Repton, Beornræd took the throne; and …’

(from Thorpe's 1861 edition)

If you read the entry of the *Chronicle* provided in Appendix A, you will notice the frequent use of *and*. Another way to connect sentences is through relative clauses, as in (20), or as in the rather complex (38).

(38) **Alfred *Pastoral Care* – West Saxon**
Hwa is nu ðære ðe gesceadwis sie
Who is now there that wise is
& to ðæm gleaw sie ðæt he swelces hwæt tocnawan cunne
and to that wise is that he such what distinguish can
ðætte nyte ðætte on gimma gecynde
that not.know that in gems family
carbunculus bið dio[r]ra ðonne iacinctus?
carbuncular is more-costly than iacinctus?
'For who is there, who is wise and experienced enough to distinguish such things, who does not know that in the class of gems the carbuncle is more precious than the jacinth.' (*Pastoral Care* 411.25–8, from Sweet's 1871 edition)

Adverbs in Old English, as in present-day English, can be used to express the mood of the speaker and are then considered discourse markers. Examples of such discourse markers, also known as mood particles, are provided in (39).

(39) ***Swa eac nu*** *mæg ealc mon deofel ofercumen*
so also now may every man devil overcome
'This way everyone can overcome the devil.' (*Bodley Homilies*, p. 98)

These are often hard to translate into Modern English since some are replaced by forms such as *well, however*, and *fortunately* placed at the beginning or the end of the sentence (and receive 'comma intonation').

A last point about Old English grammar is that the **negative adverb** often immediately precedes the verb, as in (40), and is sometimes weakened to a prefix. As a result of the weakening, multiple negatives start to occur, as in (41), from King Alfred's *Pastoral Care*. Note that the renewing words *nan wuht* mean 'no creature/thing' and grammaticalize to *not* in later periods.

(40) *hleoþre* ***ne*** *miþe*
sound not conceal
'I don't conceal sound.' (Riddle 8, line 4, see Appendix D)

(41) *forþæmþe hie hiora* ***nan wuht*** *ongietan* ***ne*** *meahton*
because they their no thing understand not could
'because they couldn't understand anything of them.'
(Pastoral Care, 4/12 Cotton)

Modern varieties abound with such multiple negatives, as we'll see in a later chapter.

Let's look at another text keeping the morphology and syntax in mind. In the exercises to Chapter 2, we looked at the beginning of this text, Alfred's version of *Orosius*. This beginning is repeated as (42) where only the word-by-word gloss is provided but no information on the endings.

(42) **Alfred *Orosius* – West Saxon**

Ohtere sæde his hlaforde Ælfrede cyninge þæt he
Ohtere said his lord Alfred king that he
ealra Norðmonna norþmest bude. He cwæð þæt he bude 2
all northmen northmost lived he said that he lived
on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ He sæde
in that land northward along that Westsea he said
þeah þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan ac hit is 4
though that land is so long north thence but it is
eal weste buton on feawum stowum styccemælum wiciað
all waste except on few places here-and-there live
Finnas on huntoðe on wintra and on sumera 6
Finns (Sami) on hunting in winter and in summer
on fiscaþe be þare sæ.
on fishing by that sea (from Bately's 1980 edition)

As for the morphology, you may remember the *-e* ending on *hlaforde* (and on *Ælfrede cyninge*) as a dative. In Modern English, we would use the preposition *to* instead. There are a few other recognizable datives, e.g. *þæm lande* and *feawum stowum styccemælum*. The *-as* on *Finnas* in line 4 is a nominative plural. As to verbal endings, there are a few past tense verbs such as *sæde* and a present tense plural *wiciað*. There are also some subjunctive forms, e.g. *sie* in line 3 (see Table 4.15).

As to the syntax, in the first sentence, the verb *sæde* is in second position, and *bude* is in final position. This fits with *sæde* being the verb of the main clause and *bude* the verb in the embedded clause. Look where the verbs are in the other sentences! It is interesting that so many pronouns are present and demonstratives such as *þæt*.

We will continue with the next part of the same text.

(43) **Alfred continued**

He sæde þæt he æt sumum cirre wolde fandian
he said that he at some turn wanted explore
hu longe þæt land norþryhte læge oþþe hwæðer ænig 2
how long that land north lay or whether any
mon be norðan þæm westenne bude. þa for he
man to north that waste lived then went he
norþryhte be þæm lande let him ealne weg þæt 4
north by that land [he] kept himself all way that
weste land on ðæt steorbord ond þæ widsæ on ðæt
waste land on that starboard and that wide-sea on that
bæcbord þrie dagas.
port three days.

In (43), there is a possible subject left out in the third line: *let him ealne…* 'he kept himself all…'. The word order has most main clause verbs in second position, *sæde* 'said' and *for* 'went', but *wolde, læge,* and *bude* appear at the end of the clause since these clauses are subordinate.

The third part of the excerpt is given in (44).

(44) **Alfred continued**

þa was he swa feor norþ swa þa hwælhuntan firrest
Then was he as far north as those whale-hunters most-far
faraþ. þa for he þagiet norþryhte swa feor swa 2
go. Then travelled he then-yet north as far as
he meahte on þæm oþrum þrim dagas gesiglan.
he could in those next three days sail.
þa beag þæt land þær eastryhte oþþe seo sæ in 4
then bent that land there eastwards or that sea in
on þæt lond he nysse hwæðer buton he wisse ðæt
on that land he not.knew which but he knew that
he ðær bad westan windes. 6
he there waited west wind.

In (44), there is some interesting and by now familiar morphology, e.g. *firrest*, the superlative form of the adjective, and *faraþ*, the third person present ending, and *nysse*, a contraction of *ne* and *wisse*. As to the syntax, the lines show a lot of demonstratives and pronouns. The last line has an indefinite article missing, compared to Modern English. The sentences are not very embedded, *þa* is used frequently, and the finite verb mostly appears in second position, e.g. *was*, *for*, *meahte*, *nysse*, and *wisse*.

Table 4.16 provides a summary of the morphological and syntactic features of Old English. Except for (k) and (l), all the features characterize a synthetic language.

Table 4.16 Characteristics of Old English

Morphology:
a. An elaborate pronominal system as a result of case, see Table 4.8
b. No real articles, only demonstratives, see Table 4.9
c. Nouns have endings depending on whether they are subjects or objects, see Table 4.10, and they can be masculine, feminine, or neuter in gender
d. Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in case, number, and gender, and are either weak or strong, see Table 4.12
e. Verbs are marked for person and number of the subject
f. Verbs are weak or strong, see Tables 4.13 and 4.14
g. Adverbs with *-e* or *-lic* endings

Syntax:
h. Relatively free word order but often OV and V2
i. Omission of subject pronoun, prepositions, and articles
j. Limited use of auxiliaries: *He ær com* 'He had come before'
k. Frequent use of coordination
l. Negation before the verb: *Ic ne dyde* 'I did not'; or multiple words, as in (42)

6. The Old English lexicon

The most striking characteristic of Old English vocabulary is how Germanic it is. *Folc* in (23) translates as *people* (a French loan); of course, *folks* is still used in Modern English with a slightly different meaning. It is sometimes said that of the 30,000 words in Old English, 3% are non-Germanic (see Minkova 2005a). Since Old English, 80% of the original vocabulary may have been lost. The *Thesaurus of Old English* (edited in 2000 by Roberts & Kay) and Baugh & Cable (2002) provide many examples of a very different vocabulary. (Incidentally, the word *vocabulary* is a French/Latin word replacing the Germanic *word-hoard*). For instance, for mental faculties, there are Modern English nouns, as in (45).

(45) a. spirit, consideration, expectation, attention, reflection, deliberation,
b. soul, heart, mood, mind, (ghost), thought

The words in (45a) are loans from French and Latin, the ones in (45b) derive from Old English. You will notice that the loans are often longer, more precise, and limited in meaning. Old English often forms new words through **compounding** (more so than Modern English). To get a sense for this, consider some words for mental functions: nouns as in (46), verbs as in (47), and adjectives as in (48). *Mod* is central in this and means 'heart' or 'mind', very different from the narrower Modern English *mood*. Many of these words are compounds, also known as **kennings**, and others have prefixes.

(46) modhord 'secret thoughts', (ge)þanc 'thought', foreþanc 'deliberation', ingeþanc 'conscience', ærbeþoht 'premeditated', swefn 'vision', (ge)scead 'understanding', ræd 'intelligence', wita 'wise man', slæcnes 'mental inertia', cuþnes 'knowledge', modcaru 'sorrow', modlufu 'affection'

(47) onlyhtan 'to illumine', oncnawan 'understand'

(48) modcræftig 'intelligent', forewitig 'wise', hygefæst 'wise', modsnotor 'intelligent', gelæred 'learned', witleas 'witless', modleas 'without spirit', ungeræd 'stupidity', dollic 'foolish', undeop 'shallow', felafricgende [many asking] 'well-informed', modful 'arrogant', heahmod 'proud', orþanc 'genius', woruld-snotur 'world-wise', fore-snotor 'very wise', gemenged [mixed up] 'confused', unmod 'despondency'

To a Modern English speaker, many of these words sound colorful. What words would *cuþ, ær, caru* be related to? Try to guess which Modern English equivalents in (46) to (48) are loans. Names can be compounds as well: *Hrothgar* 'angry spear', *Unferth* 'no spirit', and *Æthelstan* 'noble stone'. Construct one yourself. There are Modern English to Old English dictionaries such as Stephen Pollington's (1993) *Wordcraft*.

Some words connected to speech and grammar (from the Old English Thesaurus where so many more are listed) are given in Table 4.17. One of the riddles in Appendix D uses a few of these:

Table 4.17 Words relating to speech and grammar

OE	gloss	OE	gloss
stefn	'voice, sound'	woþ	'sound'
hleoþor	'noise, song'	cwiss	'speech'
gemaþel	'speech'	(ge)reord	'voice'
(ge)spræc	'speech'	maþelere	'speaker'
wordlof	'praise'	word	'word, message, order'
hream	'scream'	spell	'observation'
cwide	'words'	wise	'idiom'
wordsnoter	'eloquent'	felaspræc/oferspræc	'loquacity'
wordful	'loquatious'	wordfæst	'truth'
bealcan	'utter'	dolspræc	'silly chatter'
twispræce	'bilingual'	læden	'foreign language'
stæfwritere	'grammarian'	lædenlar	'knowledge of Latin'
cræftspræc	'technical words'	wordcræft	'eloquence'
clipiende stæf	'vowel'	selfswegend	'vowel'
healfclypigende	'glide'	biword	'adverb'
nama	'noun'	stefn	'relative'
geendung	'case'	wregendlic	'accusative'
manigfeald	'plural'	wif	'feminine'
deadlic	'active voice'	þrowendlic	'passive voice'
fullfremed	'perfect aspect'	miscweden	'ungrammatical'
ellenspræc	'powerful speech'	scopgereord	'poetic language'
ferse	'verse'	bocgesamnung	'library'
lif	'biography'		

There is an online thesaurus you might want to try: http://libra.englang.arts.gla.ac.uk/oethesaurus.

As you can see, some Old English words also use prefixes such as *ge-* and *ofer-*, suffixes such as *-ung*, and compounds with *-lic*. Many of these still occur in Modern English but some have a broader meaning in Old English: *wiþceosan* means 'reject', literally 'choose against', and *wiþcweþan* means 'deny', literally 'speak against'. In Modern English, *withstand, withdraw* and *withhold* still occur, but most of the time we use phrasal verbs instead: *look up* rather than *uplook*.

Words change in meaning (semantics) in many ways. They can generalize or widen but they can also specialize or narrow. Examples of **narrowing** are *mood* (discussed above), *deer* (older meaning is 'animal'), *hound* (older meaning is 'dog'), and *meat* (older meaning is 'food'). Examples of **widening** are *barn* (older meaning is 'place to store barley') and *tail* (older meaning is 'hairy part on the back side of a horse'). There is also **metaphorical extension**: *crane* is a bird but becomes used for a mechanical device that looks like the bird.

Some linguists also speak of ameliorization if the meaning becomes 'better' and pejorization if it becomes 'worse'. These two terms are difficult to use. For instance, is the meaning 'happy' better than 'silly'? The meaning of the word *silly* did indeed change from

'blessed' to 'silly'. However, a word does not really change for the better or worse. Instead, we might say a word has **shifted** in meaning. Other examples are *toilet* (older meaning is 'cloth'), *clown* 'rural person', *to botch* (older meaning is 'to repair'), *knight* (older meaning is 'servant'), *lewd* (older meaning is 'non religious order'), and *default* (older meaning is 'failure to pay'). Williams (1975) and Stockwell & Minkova (2001: 149–162) provide many more examples. The speakers' need to create euphemisms for matters they do not enjoy discussing often results in a shift of meaning. The four semantic changes are summarized in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 Semantic change involving lexical items

	OE		ModE
narrowing	deer 'animal'	>	deer
widening	aunt 'father's sister'	>	aunt
metaphorical extension	grasp 'motion'	>	grasp 'to understand'
shift	to botch 'to repair'	>	to botch (up)

Sometimes, the way words look changes for reasons of meaning. When a word's spelling is adapted to fit its meaning, we speak of **folk etymology**. Instances are *female* (from French *femelle* 'little women', not related to *male*), *coldslaw* (from Dutch *koolsla* 'cabbage salad', not related to *cold*), *hangnail* (from *angnail* 'painful nail', not related to *hanging*), and *wormwood* (from *wermod* 'man-courage'). If you have access to the *OED*, try *lewd* and *haggard*!

The meaning change discussed so far involves words. We have seen that one of the changes connected to grammaticalization is a loss of lexical meaning (and an increase of grammatical function). Some examples of that are the verb *willan* that means 'want' or 'wish' in Old English and loses the volitional sense as it is reanalyzed as the future auxiliary. Other changes involve afiixes that lose their meaning, e.g. the *-er* in (*n)either, after,* and *rather* is no longer a comparative but it once was.

7. Old English dialects

There is no agreement on how many Old English dialects can be distinguished. Often, four dialects are distinguished: Northumbrian, Mercian, West-Saxon, and Kentish, as shown in Figure 4.5.

Some scholars distinguish three main dialect regions: Northumbria (roughly above the Humber River), Mercia (below the Humber and above the Thames), and Wessex (below the Thames). Some argue that there are seven varieties of Old English since there were seven kingdoms at one point: Northumberland, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex (above London), Sussex (below London), Wessex (further west than Sussex), and Kent. However, relatively temporary political divisions need not equal linguistic boundaries.

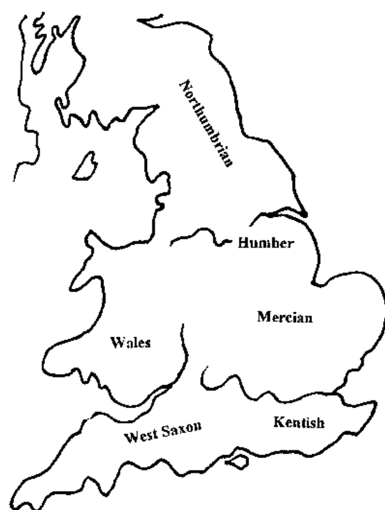


Figure 4.5 Old English dialects

When we get to Middle English, we will see clear differences between dialects, but in Old English there is not much evidence of dialect distinctions. Breaking of front vowels into diphthongs occurs more often in West Saxon than in Mercian, so *healf* 'half' and *bearn* 'child' would be the southern forms, *half* and *barn* the northern. In the two versions of *Caedmon's Hymn* in Appendix B, this difference is very obvious. Another difference is that the short *a* in *man, land,* and *hand*, i.e. before a nasal, corresponds to a short *o* in the north: *mon, lond* and *hond*. This is not borne out in the versions of *Caedmon's Hymn* since *mon* occurs in both.

Scribal differences include the use of *u(u)* and *d* in the North for *w* and *þ/ð* in the South. This is obvious in *Caedmon's Hymn*: compare *uerc* with *weorc* and *modgidanc* with *modeþonc* in Appendix B. It can also be observed in (18). The Northumbrian sentence in (18a) has *eghuelc* 'every', whereas the Mercian version of the same sentence in (18b) has *æghwilc*. There are other dialect differences in (18) that will become obvious after Chapter 6, e.g. *stondas* versus *stondeþ* 'stands'.

One issue related to the discussion of Old English dialects is that there are only a few texts from the different areas that can be compared. Even the different versions of *Caedmon's Hymn* are from different time periods. The texts are also different in style: we have a lot of interlinear translations from the North and much prose from the South. There are also texts that are not clearly from one area, such as *Beowulf*. Some of the divisions are marked in Table 4.1.

8. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the grammar of Old English. Old English is a synthetic language, with elaborate case and agreement paradigms. Its vocabulary is Germanic. As we will see in the next chapter, this vocabulary changes considerably during and after the Old English period.

Keywords

synthetic and analytic; paradigm; case and agreement (see also Chapter 2); runes; facsimiles; sound changes (voicing, palatalization, fronting, and breaking); alliteration; compounds; widening, narrowing, and shift.

The texts (or parts of texts) appended to this chapter include well-known pieces of Old English prose and poetry. They have been chosen because there are audio versions available on the web or facsimiles on the internet and in paper copies. Various glosses and glossing styles are included depending on the difficulty of the text, a gloss for the entire text (Appendix A and B), no gloss (Appendix C), a word-for-word gloss (Appendix D and E) and an interlinear gloss (Appendix F). Different readers prefer different styles.

Exercises

1. Which of the following Old English words do you think are related to Modern English words. Use lines to show the relationship (*sawol* corresponds to *soul*).

OE	heafod	sawolhus	segl	seoce	halgode	gecuron	tiȝul
ModE	body	blessed	sick	chosen	head	tile	sail

2. a. What type of phonological change happens when:
   OE *forst* becomes ModE *frost*?
   OE *handwyrst* becomes ModE *wrist?*
   b. How might *make/match, bake/batch, wake/watch*, and *speak/speech* be related through sound change?

3. How would you translate (a) to (f)? *Sinc* means 'treasure' in (e):
   a. þa æþelingas ferdon ofer sæ into Normandig. (made up)
   b. wæs Romaburh abrocen fram Gotum. (from Bede I, 42)
   c. se cyning gehyrde þæt se ealdorbisceop wolde mid his freondum & mid his wytum gesprec & geþeaht habben. (adapted from Bede I, 134)

d. Eadwine wæs on þam gefeohte ofslegen. (adapted from Bede I, 152)
e. Nu se wyrm ligeð since bereafod. (Beowulf 2745)
f. [He] hiene selfne ofslog. (Alfred's *Orosius* 166.23)

Try to add word-by-word glosses for (3a) as has been done for most sentences in the text. Indicate as many of the endings you recognize.

4. Consider Tables 4.9 to 4.11:
   a. If *fisc* and *hund* 'dog' are in the same class as *stan*, i.e. get the same endings, how would you say 'of the (one) fish', 'to the (one) fish', 'the dogs' (subject), and 'for the dogs' in Old English?
   b. How would you say 'the sheep' (plural subject)?
   c. Are there any weak nouns in the passage from *Beowulf* in (27)?
5. Look at the changes in meaning in the list below and describe these changes using widening, narrowing, and shift. The older meanings are taken from the OED and you might look there to see how some of these drastic changes come about:

word:	**older meaning:**	**change:**
accident	occurrence, incident	…………
doom	judge	…………
scent	faculty of smell (e.g. in dogs)	…………
divest	remove one's clothes	…………
starve	die	…………
admonish	to give warning advice	…………
aunt	father's sister	…………

   Not all of these words occur in Old English, can you make a gues as to which ones are later borrowings?
6. Read the first two sentences of the Old English text in Appendix A aloud. What words do you recognize in this text? List or circle them. See if you can find them in the facsimile.
7. Appendix B provides the two versions of *Caedmon's Hymn* mentioned a number of times. Identify some of the differences in orthography, sound, morphology, choice of vocabulary, and syntax in a systematic way (even if they have been noted in the chapter).
8. Try to get a sense of the story in Appendix C by skimming it. Underline some of the words you do not know and look up some in an Old English dictionary (e.g. on www.ling.upenn.edu/~kurisuto/germanic/oe_bright_glossary.html).
9. In Appendix D, can you guess what words *hlude, mongum,* and *æfen* in Riddle 8 correspond to in Modern English? What processes of sound change do they undergo?

   Look up what German *schweigen* or Dutch *zwijgen* mean and relate them to *swigað* in line 1 of Riddle 7. Do you recognize *mec* in line 5? Why is *ofer* in line 6 spelled the way it is?
10. Comment on the word order of the texts in Appendices E and F.

11. *Garlic, marshal, nostril* and *Mildred* are originally compounds. Try to find the original meanings, preferably in the OED. Hints: *garlic* is related to *leek*, *marshall* to *horse*, *nostril* to *nose*, and *Mildred* to *mild*.
12. Download an Old English text from http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/oe/oe.html and save it as a .txt file. Then, open it in your word processing program and try to find some of the endings from Tables 4.9 and 4.12. Since your program will find e.g. *-as* in any word, you will need to weed it out.

Appendix A

Anglo Saxon Chronicle – Peterborough version

The Old English text, a translation, and facsimile of part of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (abbreviated PC) are given for the year 1066, the year of the Battle of Hastings. This version is written at Peterborough, an area influenced by Old Norse, and its last part extends into Middle English. (There is a translation of the entire chronicle at: http:// http://omacl.org/Anglo/). Notice that the medieval year was organized differently from the present day one. The entry starts quietly enough:

Old English:

An. M.LXVI. On þyssum geare man halgode þet mynster æt Westmynstre on Cyldamæsse dæg 7 se cyng Eadward forðferde on Twelfts mæsse æfen 7 hine mann bebyrgede on Twelftan mæssedæg innan þære niwa halgodre circean on Westmyntre 7 Harold eorl feng to Englalandes cynerice swa swa se cyng hit him geuðe 7 eac men hine þærto gecuron 7 wæs gebletsod to cynge on Twelftan mæssedæg 7 þa ylcan geare þe he cyng wæs he for ut mid sciphere togeanes Willelme … 7 þa hwile com Willelm eorl upp æt Hestingan on Sce Michaeles mæssedæg 7 Harold com norðan 7 him wið gefeaht ear þan þe his here com eall 7 þær he feoll 7 his twægen gebroðra Gyrð 7 Leofwine and Willelm þis land geeode 7 com to Westmynstre 7 Ealdred arceb hine to cynge gehalgode 7 menn guldon him gyld 7 gislas sealdon 7 syððan heora land bohtan.

Modern English:

1066 In this year the monastery at Westminster was hallowed on Childermas day (28 December). And king Eadward died on Twelfth-mass eve (5 January) and he was buried on Twelfth-mass day, in the newly hallowed church at Westminster. And earl Harold succeeded to the Kingdom of England, as the king had granted it to him and men had also chosen him thereto and he was blessed as king on Twelfth-mass day. And in the same year that he was king he went out with a naval force against William … And the while count William landed at Hastings, on St. Michael's mass-day and Harold came from the north and fought against him before his army had all come and there he fell and his two brothers Gyrth and Leofwine and William subdued this land, and came to Westminster and archbishop Ealdred hallowed him king and men paid him tribute and gave him hostages and afterwards bought their land (from Thorpe 1861).

Figure 4.6 Facsimile of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, fol 57b, reproduced with permision The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. The passage starts in line 3.

Appendix B

Two versions of *Caedmon's Hymn*

Version I is the Northumbrian version, probably from the 8th century, and Version II is the West-Saxon one, from c1000. Version III is a word-by-word translation. The story of Cædmon is told by Bede (731) but the date of composition is probably 665 (from Bede IV, 24, edition by Miller 1890). Both Bede and Cædmon are from Northumbria. Cædmon is a 'simple' herdsman who has a dream in which a man asks him to sing, resulting in the Hymn. After this event, the abbess of Streoneshealh (Whitby) asks him to join the (co-ed) monastery. The text just before the Hymn is available from http://faculty.virginia.edu/OldEnglish/anthology/caedmon.html. As mentioned above, there is also an audio version at http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/audio.htm.

I Nu scylun hergan hefaenricaes uard
metudæs maecti end his modgidanc
uerc uuldurfadur sue he uundra gehuaes 3
eci dryctin or astelidæ
he aerist scop aelda barnum
heben til hrofe haleg scepen 6
tha middungeard moncynnes uard
eci dryctin æfter tiadæ
firum foldu frea allmectig 9

II Nu we sculan herian heofonrices weard
Metodes mihte and his modeþonc
weorc wuldorfæder swa he wundra gehwæs 3
ece dryhten ord onstealde
He ærest gesceop eorðan bearnum
heofon to hrofe halig scyppend 6
ða middangeard moncynnes weard
ece dryhten æfter teode
firum foldan frea ælmihtig 9

III Now (we) shall praise heaven-kingdom's guardian
Lord's might and his thought
work wonderfather as he wonder's things 3
eternal lord beginning established
he first created men's/earth's children-DAT
heaven as roof holy creator 6
then middle-earth mankind's guardian
eternal lord after created
men-DAT earth god almighty 9

There is a faint copy in the Moore manuscript at Cambridge University, reproduced as in Figure 4.7.

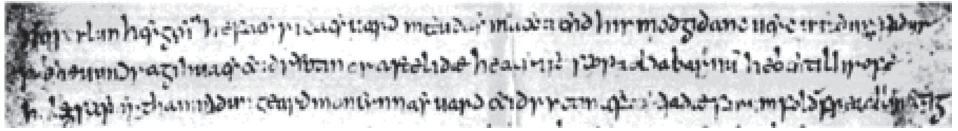


Figure 4.7 *Caedmon's Hymn*

(http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/8f/Caedmon%27s_Hymn_Moore_mine01.gif/450px-Caedmon%27s_Hymn_Moore_mine01.gif)

Appendix C

Orosius

Orosius wrote a history of 'world' events in Latin in the 5th century and this was translated and 'improved' upon possibly by King Alfred. The version of the part on the Amazons given below is based on Bately (1980: 28–31).

Ær þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wære iiii hunde wintrum 7 hundeahtatigum, Uesoges, Egypta cyning, wæs winnende of suðdæle Asiam, oð him se mæsta dæl wearð underþieded. 7 he Uesoges, Egypta cyning, wæs siþþan mid firde farende on Sciþþie on ða norðdælas, 7 his ærendracan beforan asende to þære ðeode, 7 him untweogendlice secgan het þæt hie [oðer] sceolden, oþþe ðæt lond æt him alesan, oþþe he hie wolde mid gefeohte fordon 7 forherigan. Hie him þa gesceadwislice ondwyrdon, 7 cwædon þæt hit gemalic wære 7 unryhtlic þæt swa oferwlenced cyning sceolde winnan on swa earm folc swa hie wæron. Heton him þeh þæt ondwyrde secgan, þæt him leofre wære wið hiene to feohtanne þonne gafol to gieldanne. Hie þæt gelæstan swa, 7 sona þone cyning gefliemdon mid his folce, 7 him æfterfolgiende wæron, 7 ealle ægypte awestan buton þæm fenlondum anum. 7 þa hie hamweard wendon be westan þære ie Eufrate, ealle Asiam hie genieddon þæt hie him gafol guldon, 7 þær wæron fiftene gear þæt lond herigende 7 westende, oð heora wif him sendon ærendracan æfter, 7 him sædon þæt hie oðer dyden, oðþe ham comen oððe hie him woldon oðerra wera ceosan. Hi þa þæt lond forleton, 7 him hamweard ferdon.

On þære ilcan tide wurdon twegen æþelingas afliemde of Sciþþian, Plenius 7 Scolopetius wæron hatene, 7 geforan þæt lond, 7 gebudon betuh Capadotiam 7 Pontum neah þære læssan Asian, 7 þær winnende wæron, oð hie him þær eard genamon. 7 hie ðær æfter hrædlice tide from þæm londleodum þurh seara ofslægene wurdon. þa wurdon hiora wif swa sarige on hiora mode, 7 swa swiðlice gedrefed, ægþær ge þara æþelinga wif ge þara oþerra monna þe mid him ofslægene wæron, þætte hie wæpna naman, to þon ðæt hie heora weras wrecan þohton. 7 hi þa hrædlice æfter þæm ofslogan ealle þa wæpnedmen þe him on neaweste wæron. For þon hie dydon swa þe hie woldon þætte þa oþere wif wæren emsarige him, þæt hie siþþan on him fultum hæfden, ðæt hie ma mehten heora weras wrecan. Hi þa þa wif ealle togædere gecirdon,

7 on ðæt folc winnende wæron, 7 þa wæpnedmen sleande, oð hie þæs londes hæfdon micel on hiora onwalde. þa under þæm gewinne hie genamon friþ wið þa wæpnedmen. Siþþan wæs hiera þeaw þæt hie ælce geare ymbe twelf monað tosomne ferdon, 7 þær þonne bearna striendon. Eft þonne þa wif heora bearn cendon, þonne feddon hie þa mædencild, 7 slogon þa hysecild. 7 þæm mædencildum hie fortendun þæt swiðre breost foran þæt hit weaxan ne sceolde, þæt hie hæfden þy strengran scyte. For þon hi mon hæt on Crecisc [Amazanas], þæt is on Englisc fortende.

Heora twa wæron heora cwena, Marsepia 7 Lampida wæron hatene. Hie heora here on tu todældon; oþer æt ham beon heora lond to healdanne, oðer ut faran to winnanne. Hie siþþan geeodon Europe 7 Asiam þone mæstan dæl, 7 getimbredon Effesum þa burg, 7 monege oðere on ðære læssan Asiam: 7 siþþan hiera heres þone mæstan dæl ham sendon mid hiora herehyþe, 7 þone oþerne dæl þær leton þæt lond to healdonne. þær wearð Marsepia sio cwen ofslagen, 7 micel þæs heres þe mid hiere beæftan wæs. ðær wearð hire dohtor cwen Sinope. Seo ilce cwen Sinope toeacan hiere hwætscipe 7 hiere monigfealdum duguþum hiere lif geendade on mægðhade.

On þæm dagum wæs swa micel ege from ðæm wifmonnum, þætte Europe ne Asiam ne ealle þa neahþeoda ne mehton aþencean ne acræftan hu hi him wiðstondan mehten, ær þon hie gecuron Ercol þone ent þæt he hie sceolde mid eallum Creca cræftum beswican. 7 þeah ne dorste he geneðan þæt he hie mid firde gefore, ær he ongan mid Creca scipun þe mon dulmunus hætt, þe mon sægð þæt on an scip mæge an þusend manna; 7 þa nihtes on ungearwe hi on bestæl, 7 hie swiþe forslog 7 fordyde; 7 hwæðere ne mehte hie þæs londes benæman. On ðæm dagum þær wæron twa cwena, þæt wæron gesweostor, Anthiopa 7 Orithia; 7 þær wearð Orithia gefangen. æfter hiere feng to ðæm rice Pentesilia, sio on þæm Troianiscan gefeohte swiþe mære gewearð.

Hit is scondlic, cwæð Orosius, ymb swelc to sprecanne hwelc hit þa wæs, þa swa earme wif 7 swa elðeodge hæfdon gegan þone cræftgestan dæl 7 þa hwatestan men ealles þises middangeardes, þæt wæs Asiam 7 Europe, þa hie forneah mid ealle aweston, 7 ealda ceastra 7 ealde byrig towearpon. 7 æfter ðæm hie dydon ægþer ge cyninga ricu settan ge niwu ceastra timbredon, 7 ealle þa worold on hiora agen gewill onwendende wæron folneah c wintra. 7 swa gemune men wæron ælces broces þætte hie hit folneah to nanum facne ne to nanum laðe næfdon þætte þa earman wifmen hie swa tintredon. 7 nu, þa ða Gotan coman of þæm hwatestan monnum Germania, þe ægðer ge Pirrus se reða Creca cyning, ge Alexander, ge Iulius se cræftega casere, hie alle from him ondredon þæt hi hie mid [gefeohte] [sohte]. Hu ungemetlice ge Romware bemurciað 7 besprecað þæt eow nu wyrs [sie] on þiosan cristendome þonne þæm þeodum þa wære, for þon þa Gotan eow hwon oferhergedon, 7 iowre burg abræcon, 7 iower feawe ofslogon; 7 for hiora cræftum 7 for hiora hwætscipe iowra selfra anwaldes eoweres upþonces habban mehton, þe nu lustlice sibbsumes friðes 7 sumne dæl [landes] æt eow biddende sindon, to þon þæt hie eow on fultume beon moten, 7 hit ær þiosan genog æmettig læg 7 genog weste, 7 ge his nane note ne hæfdon. Hu blindlice monege þeoda sprecað ymb þone cristendom, þæt hit nu wyrse sie þonne hit ær wære, þæt hie nellað geþencean oþþe ne cunnon, hwær hit gewurde ær þæm cristendome, þæt ænegu þeod oþre hiere willum friþes bæde, buton hiere þearf wære, oþþe hwær ænegu þeod æt oþerre mehte frið begietan, oððe mid golde, oððe mid seolfre, oþþe

mid ænige feo, buton he him underþiedd wære. Ac siþþan Crist geboren wæs, þe ealles middangeardes is sibb 7 frið, nales þæt an þæt men hie mehten aliesan mid feo of þeowdome, ac eac þeoda him betweonum buton þeowdome gesibbsume wæron. Hu wene ge hwelce sibbe þa weras hæfden ær þæm cristendome, þonne heora wif swa monigfeald yfel donde wæron on þiosan middangearde?

Appendix D

Riddles

The *Exeter Book* contains several riddles, poems such as *The Seafarer, Wulf and Eadwacer* (see Appendix E), *Deor, The Wanderer* (see Appendix F), and religious poems. The language of Riddle 8 is not difficult and some of the endings are provided in the gloss. Review Section 6 above before tackling it. Riddle 7 is more difficult Old English, but fun. Try to guess the answers (given in Appendix I, question 10). First, a facsimile of the manuscript is given and then the transcription, and translations:

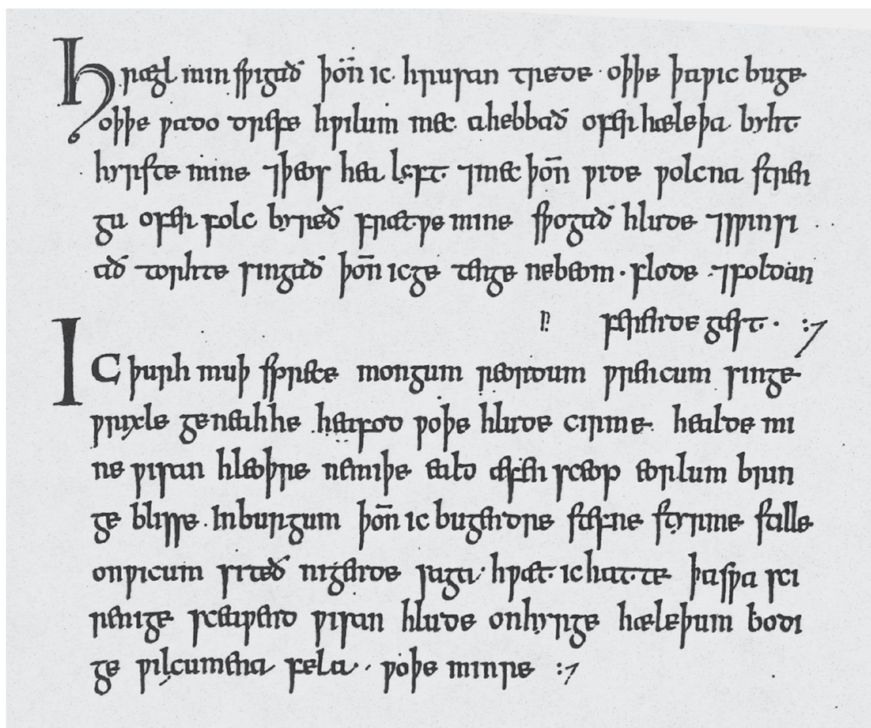


Figure 4.8 A facsimile of Riddles 7 and 8, reprinted with kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter

Riddle eight	Word-for-word translation:	Mackie's (1934) translation:
Ic þurh muþ sprece mongum reordum	I through mouth speak many-DAT-PL voice-DAT-PL	I speak from my mouth with many voices
wrencum singe wrixle geneahhe	melody-DAT-PL sing-1SG changing often	sing with modulated notes, often change
heofodwoþe hlude cirme	head-sound loud cry-out-1SG	my speech, call out loudly
healde mine wisan hleoþre ne miþe	hold my way sound not conceal	keep to my custom, do not refrain from
eald æfensceop eorlum bringe	old evening-poet men-DAT bring-1SG	sound.
blisse in burgum þonne ic bugendre	bliss in city-DAT-PL then I cry-out-1SG	An old evening poet, I bring to men
stefne styrme stille on wicum	voice stormy still in dwelling-DAT-PL	bliss in the cities. When I cry out
sittað hnigende saga hwæt ic hatte	sit-3PL bending-down say what I am-called	in a voice of varying pitch, they sit quiet in their dwellings listening. Say what
þe swa scirenige sceawendwisan	who like bright jesting-song	I am called, who, like a woman jester,
hlude onhyrge hæleþum bodige	loud imitate-1SG men-DAT announce-1SG	loudly mimic the habits of a buffoon,
wilcumena fela woþe minre	welcome many voice-DAT my	and announce with my voice
		many welcome things to men.

Riddle seven	Word-for-word translation	Mackie's (1934) translation
Hrægl min swigað þonne ic hrusan trede	clothes my are-silent then I earth tread	My clothing is silent, when I tread on the ground, or live in the dwellings, or
oþþe þa wic buge oþþe wado drefe	or then dwelling occupy or sea float	swim on the waters.
hwilum mec ahebbað ofer hæleþa byht	sometimes me raises over men's dwellings	Sometimes my trappings and this high air raise me above the abodes of men,
hyrste mine ond þeos hea lyft	ornament mine and this high air	and the strong wind then bears me far
and mec þonne wide wolcna strengu	and me then wide cloud strong	over the people. My garments
ofer folc byreð frætwe mine	over people bears treasures my	loudly sound and make melody,
swogað hlude ond swinsiað	sound loud and sing	sing clearly, when, a wandering living
torhte singað þonne ic getenge ne beom	clear sing then I resting not am	creature I do not touch water or land.
flode ond foldan ferende gæst	water and earth going creature	

Appendix E

Wulf and Eadwacer

This poem is also from the *Exeter Book*, is very difficult. This has resulted in many very different translations, one of which will be given together with the beginning of another. The Old English version is followed by a word-for-word one (where some indicate endings). An audio is available at www.public.asu.edu/~gelderen/AUDIO.htm, and a glossary and background to the poem is available at www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/rawl/wulf. Figure 4.9 is a facsimile.

Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife
willað hy hine aþecgan gif he on þreat cymeð
ungelic is us
wulf is on iege ic on oþerre
fæst is þæt eglond fenne biworpen 5
sindon wælreowe weras þær on ige

willað hy hine aþecgan gif he on þreat cymeð
ungelice is us
wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode
þonne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt 10
þonne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde
wæs me wyn to þon wæs me hwæþre eac lað
wulf min wulf wena me þine
seoce gedydon þine seldcymas
murnende mod nalles meteliste 15
gehyrest þu eadwacer uncerne ear[g]ne hwelp
bireð wulf to wuda
þæt mon eaþe tosliteþ þætte næfre gesomnad wæs
uncer giedd geador (from Mackie 1934)

people-DAT is my-DAT such him man warning/gift give-SUBJ
will-3PL they him receive if he in danger come-3SG
different is us-DAT
wulf is on island I on other
closely is that island fen(=swamp) surrounded 5
are fierce men there on island
will-3PL they receive him if he in danger come-3SG
different is us
wulf-GEN I my-GEN far-wandering hopes suffered
then it was rainy weather and I red-eyed sat 10
then me the warrior-bold arms-DAT laid-on
was my joy to that was me however also loath
wulf my wulf hopes me your
sick made your seldom-appearing
mourning heart not food-wanting 15
hear-2SG you Eadwacer our.DUAL-ACC wretched-ACC whelp
bear-3SG wulf to wood
that man easily tear-apart-3SG that never together was
our song together

Mackie (1934) has the following rendition:

It is to my people as if one were to make them gifts
They will destroy him if he comes to their troop.
Our lots are different.
Wulf is on an island, I on another
That island is a fastness surrounded by a fen. 5
Savage men are there on the island.
They will destroy him if he comes to their troop.

Our lots are different.
I suffered from far-wandering hopes of my Wulf.
It was rainy weather and I sat weeping 10
when the man brave in battle gave me shelter.
I was so far glad but it was also hateful to me.
Wulf, my Wulf, it was my hopes of thee,
thy constant absence and my mourning heart,
that made me sick – not from lack of food. 15
Dost thou hear Eadwacer? Our wretched cub
Wulf will bear to the forest.
What never was united is easily torn asunder-
our song together.

Alexander (1966) starts as follows:

The men of my tribe would treat him as game
if he comes to the camp they will kill him outright
Our fate is forked.

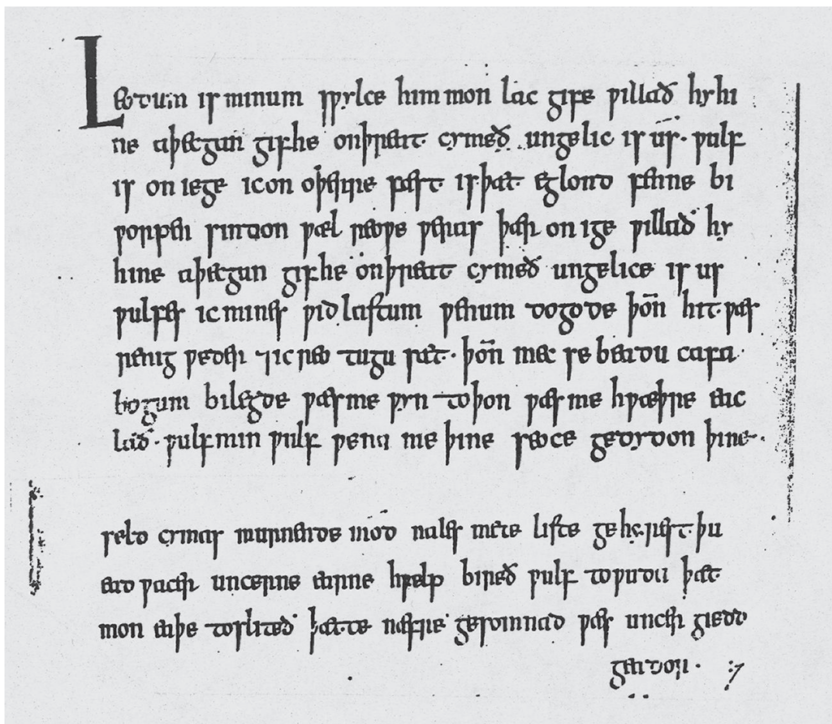

Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife willað hy hi
ne aþecgan gif he on þreat cymeð. ungelic is us· wulf
is on iege ic on oþerre fæst is þæt eglond fenne bi
worpen sindon wælreowe weras þær on ige willað hy
hine aþecgan gif he on þreat cymeð ungelice is us
wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode þonne hit wæs
renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt· þonne mec se beaducafa
bogum bilegde wæs me wyn to þon wæs me hwæþre eac
lað· wulf min wulf wena me þine seoce gedydon þine·
seldcymas murnende mod nales meteliste gehyrest þu
eadwacer uncerne earne hwelp bireð wulf to wuda þæt
mon eaþe tosliteð þætte næfre gesomnad wæs uncer giedd
geador·

Figure 4.9 A facsimile of *Wulf and Eadwacer*, reprinted with kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter

Appendix F

The Wanderer

This poem is also from the *Exeter Book*. A nice online edition is available at www.aimsdata.com/tim/anhaga/WandererMain.htm. It has been transcribed as it appears in the manuscript, but the entire poem is not given. The audio is available at http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/audio.htm and a facsimile is provided in Figure 4.10.

Oft him anhaga are gebideð metudes miltse þeahþe
often him-DAT solitary kindness comes God's mildness though

he mod cearig geond lagu lade longe sceolde hreran
he heart troubled through sea ways long should stirr

mid hondum hrim cealde sæ wadan wræc lastas wyrd 3
with hands frost cold sea travel exile tracks fate

bið ful ared . Swa cwæð eard stapa earfeþa gemyndig
is fully determined so says earth walker hardship-GEN mindful

wraþa wæl sleahta wine mæga hryre . Oft ic sceolde
hostile foreigner slaughters loyal kinsmen fall Often I should

ana uhtna gehwylce mine ceare cwiþan nisnu cwic|ra 6
alone morning each my cares say not-is alive

nan þe ic him modsefan minne durre sweotule | asecgan
none who I him thoughts mine dare clearly tell

A translation from Hogg (1992: 22–23):

Often the solitary dweller waits for favour.
the mercy of the creator, although he, troubles in heart,
has for a long time, across the sea-ways, had
to stir with his hands the ice-cold sea,
travel the paths of an exile; fate is fully determined.
Thus spoke the wanderer, mindful of troubles,
of cruel battles, of the fall of kinsmen.
Often, alone at each dawn, I have had
to lament my sorrow; now there is noone alive
to whom I dare openly reveal my thoughts

Figure 4.10 Facsimile of the *Wanderer*, reprinted with kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter

Chapter 5

From Old to Middle English

In this chapter, we explore the most dramatic change in the English language – the transition from Old to Middle English. This transition involves external and internal changes: a substantial portion of the (Germanic) Old English vocabulary is replaced by French and Latin words and the endings on nouns, verbs, and adjectives disappear. The latter is possibly the result of contact with Scandinavian and Celtic languages during the Old English period. This chapter investigates the changes between Old and Middle English caused by direct external influence; Chapter 6 discusses how the language internal changes come about.

In Chapter 1, we briefly discussed the influence of different languages on English; here we consider this topic in more detail. Each of the languages discussed influenced English during a specific time (French at the end of the Old English and the beginning of the Middle English period) and in a unique way (influence on the vocabulary vs. influence on the grammar, for example). In Section 1, we'll discuss the Celtic influence on (Old) Germanic, Old English, and later English. Section 2 explores the Latin influence up to the end of the Middle English period (we will discuss subsequent periods in later chapters). Section 3 presents evidence for extensive Scandinavian influence during the Old English period. In Section 4, the influx of French words after 1066 is discussed. Section 5 considers Dutch and Flemish influences and compares the influence of the different languages. In Section 6, we examine the results of all the borrowing. Section 7 briefly assesses the scholarly views on the impact of loans on English. Most of the data on the origin of words comes from the *OED*.

1. Celtic loans

Celtic is the name of a group of Indo-European languages spoken by people who lived throughout Europe, including the British Isles. Even though the Roman Empire had control of many Celtic and some Germanic areas, Latin was not the only language spoken in the Roman Empire. After Julius Caesar invaded the British Isles in 55 BCE, Celtic continued to be spoken there next to some Latin. After 450 CE, although Germanic speakers settled in Britain, Celtic remained spoken mainly in the West and North. For a long time it was thought that the Germanic invaders replaced the Celtic inhabitants but there is now archeological and genetic evidence that the Celtic and Germanic populations co-existed (see Härke 2003 for a review) and that Germanic genes account for less than 20 percent in that population (Sykes 2007). Interestingly, it is now also thought that the people that

spoke Celtic didn't have many Celtic genes but were genetically Neolithic, i.e. belonging to a similar group as today's Basque population.

The Celtic languages influence English in **three phases**. The first phase involves loans into Germanic (and other languages) on the continent. The second one covers words adopted into Old English, both before and after the introduction of Christianity. The third phase involves the influence of the Celtic languages after the Old English period. We will discuss the first two phases in more detail; the third phase is mentioned here for general information only, since it does not relate to Old English.

Regarding the first phase, there is a great deal of archeological evidence of Celtic presence in Europe. There is Celtic influence on Latin and Germanic on the continent: Latin may have borrowed *carrus* 'wagon', *lancia* 'lance', and names such as *Rhine, Danube, Armagnac*, and *Cognac*. These words end up in Germanic as well, but we do not know if they come via Latin or directly from Celtic. Words such as *dun* 'hill' are present in both Celtic and Germanic and may have been borrowed from Celtic into Germanic (see Miller 2012: 17 for some more background on *dun*). This makes the situation very complex. For instance, a word such as *beak*, first attested in English in the 13th century, has its origin in Old Celtic *bacc (* indicates it is a reconstructed word); it comes into English via French which borrowed it from Celtic in what is now France. Look up the origin of *gown* in the *OED*; it is similarly complex.

As mentioned, it has often been claimed that the Celtic population was replaced by a Germanic speaking one and that therefore the loan words in the second phase are limited. However, there is now evidence against such a theory of population replacement and in favor of the continuity of a Celtic speaking population, at least in many parts of Britain. Evidence for contacts between Old English and Celtic during the second phase can be found in archeological findings, e.g. burial practices (Härke 2003), and genetic mixing (Capelli et al. 2003). Evidence is also provided by the presence of certain words: *walh* means 'foreigner' in Old English (or 'serf') and there are many places named *Waldon, Walden, Walton* and, of course, *Wales*. These would have been places where the Celts lived (see Gelling 1978: 93–5).

During this second phase, the borrowings from Celtic by Latin and Germanic speakers in Britain are mostly place names (although see Coates et al 2000 for some criticism of this view). In Celtic, many of these are common nouns: *afon* is 'river' and *dwr* is 'water'; when adopted, however, they become proper nouns – the rivers named *Avon* and the place names *Dover* and *Dorchester*. Similarly, *Cardiff, Belfast, Kent, Thames, Wight,* and *London* all derive from Celtic. These borrowings show occasional awareness of the syntax of Celtic. For instance, the name for *Dover* is originally *Dofras* in Old English since the original Celtic *Dubris* had also been plural. Landscape terms are borrowed frequently as well: *cairn* 'heap of stones', *glen* 'valley', *loch* 'lake', *torr* 'rock' or 'peak', *dolmen* 'rock', *bar* 'top', *bre* 'hill', *llyn* 'lake', and *cumb* 'deep valley'. There must have been non-geographical terms as well, since *puck* 'an evil spirit' appears in Old English. It comes from Celtic *puca*, from which the game *poker* and the name *Puck* in Shakespeare's *Mid Summer Night's Dream* may derive.

Some of these borrowings, such as *luh* 'lake', are only found in Northumbrian; others, such as *cumb* 'valley', are more common in West Saxon. During the 7th century, the northern part of England is christianized (see http://www.isle-of-iona.com) by Irish missionaries, who introduce some Celtic into Old English. Words such as *dry* 'magician' come from *druid* (Old English *drycræft* is magic); *anchor* 'hermit', *story, cross*, and *curse* probably enter through Irish during this period as well.

There is a third, more recent, period of Celtic influence, covering the loans after the Germanic and Old English periods. By using the *OED's* advanced search in searching for Celtic etymologies, we find more loans, even though the phrase 'Celtic origin is out of the question' appears frequently, as in the case of *basket, bachelor*, and *baron*. Some clear borrowings are *clan,* first appearing in 1425 according to the OED; *bard* in 1450; *flannel* in 1505; *plaid* in 1512; *slogan* in 1513; *bog* in 1552; *shamrock* in 1571; *leprechaun* in 1604; *galore* in 1675; and *whisky* in 1715. *Vassal* first appears in Middle English through French but is of Celtic origin. *Banshee* comes from Irish more recently (first listed in the *OED* in 1771). Table 5.1 lists the Modern English forms of a few words borrowed from Celtic into English.

Table 5.1 Some loans from Celtic

before 450	450–1400		1400 >	
dun	cairn	story	clan	bog
beak	glen	cross	bard	shamrock
car	loch	curse	flannel	leprechaun
lance	dolmen	anchor	plaid	galore
	druid	bannock	slogan	whiskey

Most of these loans are nouns, but Celtic adjectives have been incorporated as well, some as parts of place names, e.g. *mor/maur* 'great' in *Glenmore* 'the great glen' and *Kilmore* 'the great church', but some are more general ones, e.g. *wan* 'pallid' and Old English *deor* 'brave' (see Breeze 2002). The use of prepositions to express an ongoing action (e.g. *I am on-hunting*) may be due to contact with Celtic as may be the appearance of *do* as auxiliary in Middle English. As we will see in Chapter 9, Celtic languages such as Irish have influenced the grammar of some varieties of Modern English.

There is currently a lively debate about how much **invisible influence** Celtic may have had during this second period. An early paper on Celtic influence is by Keller (1925) who stresses that it will be in the grammar not the vocabulary that Celtic influence on English will be found. Poussa (1990) revived this line of thinking and, more recently, *The Celtic Roots of English* (2002) and *English and Celtic in Contact* (2008) have appeared, edited by Markku Filppula and others, e.g. Lutz (2009). The characteristics of the English of the North, some of which we ascribe to Scandinavian contact, have also been ascribed to contact with Celtic, e.g. the loss of verbal inflection. Western English is considered to have been influenced by Celtic as well in syntax and morphology, e.g. the use of dummy *do*, as in (1), the progressive ending in *-ing*, as in (2), and the use of the cleft, as in (3).

(1) I **did**n't see him.

(2) I will be **going** away.

(3) **It is** Celtic **that** she is learning.

McWhorter (2008), in particular, has helped to explain the particular contact situation and it is an area that deserves continued attention.

2. Latin loans

Evidence for Latin as a language spoken in and around Rome first appeared about 2,500 years ago. As the political influence of Rome grew, so did the importance of Latin, and it spread through most of Europe. Latin also became the language of the Roman Catholic Church. As to how Latin arrived in the British Isles, there is an anecdote about Pope Gregory meeting some 'Angles' at the slave market in Rome – slavery being wide-spread – and getting the idea to convert the Angles in Britain. To this end, he sent missionaries led by Augustine. The missionaries first appeared in the south of England in 597 and were welcomed by King Æthelbert of Kent (see Bede's account at www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/bede1.html).

The influence of Latin on Old English is usually divided into several periods (see Campbell 1959): the influence on Germanic on the continent and in Britain, the influence on Old English before the Middle English period, and the influence during the Renaissance. Possibly 170 words are borrowed on the continent, over 100 in Britain before the Romans left, 150 after the introduction of Christianity, and thousands in the Renaissance period, as we will see in Chapter 7 (cf. also Serjeantson 1935: 271–81). In the current chapter, we will focus on the earlier periods.

Two sound changes that were mentioned in Chapter 4 occur in the 7th century – vowel **fronting** and **breaking**. It is therefore possible to tell when certain words were borrowed into English. The Latin *uncia* after it is borrowed into English becomes *ynce* 'inch' through fronting of the back vowel *u* to *y*. Since this 7th century sound change has applied to it, we know that it was borrowed earlier than the 7th century, i.e. during the continental period. In contrast, *falsus* keeps its *a* unbroken (at least in the writing) to become *fals,* so it was probably borrowed after the period in which the breaking rule was active. We also know from Chapter 3 that Grimm's Law separates Latin from (Germanic and) Old English. For instance, the Latin [p, t, k] sounds correspond to the Old English [f, θ, h] sounds. *Cycene* 'kitchen' corresponds to Latin *coquina*, and it was obviously introduced from Latin after Grimm's Law had taken place, because the [k] did not end up as an [h]. Most of the time, we date loan words by looking them up in the OED, although the OED may in fact not list the earliest instance. We can now also examine the electronic set of Old English texts to determine the date of loan words.

Latin is also a source of **loan translations**: *unicornus* 'one-horn' is translated into Old English *anhorn* 'one-horn', but speakers return to the Latin loan in Modern English and borrow *unicorn*. Two other such reversions are the Old English loan translations *þrines* 'three-ness' and *dælnimend* 'part-taking', translated from the Latin *trinitas* 'the state of being threefold' and *participium* 'part-taking'. After Old English, *trinity* and *participle* appear as direct borrowings from Latin (possibly through Old French).

Place names such as *Manchester, Winchester, Colchester, Rochester* and *Lancaster* incorporate Latin *castra* 'camp, walled town'. This word was *ceaster* in Old English but then palatalized to *chester*, especially in the South. Many of these are combinations of a Celtic, Latin, or pre-Celtic root with *-caster* or *-chester*, e.g. *Lancaster* derives from the Celtic name for the river running through it *Lune*. *Portsmouth* incorporates *portus* 'port; gate' and *Stratford* is based on *strata* 'street'.

Most of the loans into Old Germanic, Old English, and Middle English are incorporated by changing the Latin word to sound like a Germanic or English one. After the Middle English period, loans are often introduced into the language without modifying the Latin sounds (except for a few consonants). Early loans also come to us from 'Vulgar Latin', a spoken variety of Latin, whereas later loans derive from Classical Latin (see Campbell 1959: 214). Many times, the same word is borrowed twice. For instance, *magister* is borrowed in Old English and becomes *master* in Middle English; it is then borrowed again as *magister* around 1450 (1459 according to the OED). The same is true of *prune*. Old English probably adapted the Latin *pruna* to *plum*, and Middle English borrowed (via French) the word *prune*; now we have both words with slight meaning differences.

The words borrowed from Latin before 450 and during Old English are commercial, military, religious, and cultural terms, as the small selection of Old English forms (with their modern glosses) in Table 5.2 shows, and they are mainly nouns, with some verbs and adjectives.

Table 5.2 Some early loans from Latin

candel 'candle'	catt 'cat'	scole 'school'
circul 'circle'	lilie 'lily'	socc 'sock'
synoð 'synod'	mynet 'mint, i.e. coin'	win 'wine'
fefer 'fever'	sponge 'sponge'	peru 'pear'
preost 'priest'	næp 'turnip'	finugl 'fennel'
pipor 'pepper'	camp 'battle'	plant 'plant'
wall 'wall'	mil 'mile'	rædic 'radish'
stræt 'street'	glesan 'to gloss'	bete 'beet'
turnian 'to turn'	aspendian 'to spend'	sacc 'sack'
sicor 'secure'	fals 'false'	pin 'pinetree'
predician 'to preach'	abbad 'abbot'	cest 'chest'
mul 'mule'	cese 'cheese'	belt 'belt'

Most of these **early loans** are inflected as if they were Old or Middle English words. Their sound is also adapted and no longer recognizable as Latin. They are incorporated as English words. For instance, all borrowed verbs become weak verbs and the gender of the Latin nouns is sometimes kept but sometimes changed to masculine (Campbell 1959: 208). In Chapter 7, we will discuss the post-Middle English loans from Latin, which are quite different in nature.

3. Scandinavian influence

In the 8th century, people in present-day Sweden, Norway, and Denmark began to leave their homes to trade and to settle in other parts of Europe. Swedes spread eastward to Russia, the Ukraine, and Turkey; Norwegians went to Iceland and the western parts of the British Isles; and Danes went to France (Normandy), Eastern England, the Mediterranean, and Africa. The Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic languages of that period are referred to here as Scandinavian or Old Norse (ON). These languages were closely related but there were some differences; their speakers also settled in different parts of the British Isles thus influencing different dialects of English. Wakelin (1972: 20) provides the map in Figure 5.1.

It is important to note that Old English and the Scandinavian languages have many (very basic) words in common: *man, wife, folk, winter,* and *summer*. This might have made communication between the two groups easy. When examining the influence of the invasions and settlements by the Scandinavians, we notice that both the vocabulary and the grammar of Old English are affected. Old English and Scandinavian are similar but a number of changes that had taken place in Old English had not happened in Old Norse and vice versa. This makes it possible for Old English to borrow words from Old Norse that it had before it changed their sounds.

One change that sets Old English apart from Old Norse is palatalization, discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 2).

Table 5.3 Palatalization differences

Palatalization:	ON: No	OE: Yes
	kirkja	*church*
	skip	*ship*
	heilagr	*holy*

The Scandinavian words did not undergo palatalization, which made it possible to 'recycle' them, i.e. have the palatalized Old English word and then borrow the non-palatalized one. As a result, Modern English has both *shirt* and *skirt*; *ship* and *skipper*; and *shatter* and *scatter*. We now return to the question posed in Chapter 4 as to why non-palatalized *skirt* and *egg* are still around in Modern English. In most cases, one word 'wins': in the case of *egg*,

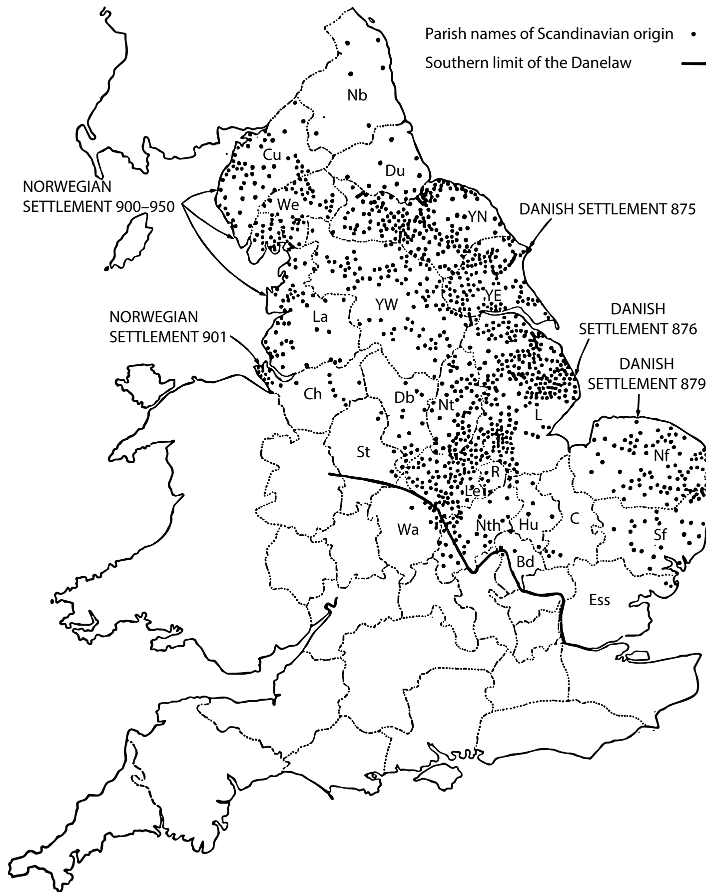


Figure 5.1 Map of Scandinavian settlements

sky, skin, and *skill*, the Scandinavian form ends up being used, and in the case of *shall* and *fish*, the Old English one. In the case of *shirt/skirt*, however, both forms are used, but with more specialized, narrower meanings.

There are Scandinavian loans that cause a **meaning shift** in the original (see Jespersen 1938: 64–5). For instance, *dream* means 'joy' in Old English, but becomes 'vision in sleep' in Middle English; *plow* means 'measure of land' in Old English but becomes *plow 'agricultural instrument'* in Modern English. Other shifts in meaning due to new Scandinavian words can be seen in the following pairs which originally had similar meanings (the English word is the second one in the pair): *die* and *starve*; *skill* and *craft*; *skin* and *hide*; and *ill* and *sick*. In Modern English, some of these have a narrower meaning. Words are also lost: Old English *weorpan, irre*, and *niman* are lost and replaced by Scandinavian *cast, anger,* and *take,* respectively.

The influence of Scandinavian on the vocabulary of English is substantial, and a selection is provided in Table 5.4 in Modern English form (partly taken from an OED etymology search using [*a. ON*] meaning 'adopted from Old Norse').

Table 5.4 Some loans from Scandinavian

anger, bait, brink, both, call, carp, clamber, egg, get, give, guess, ill, kilt, meek, mistake, nag, odd, ransack, rift, rot, ripple, rugged, same, scold (via skald 'poet'), scrape, seem, scrub, sister, skill, sky, snub, take, till, want, wand, weak, window, wrong.

Note that a number of these are verbs and adjectives, unlike the typical Celtic loan. Some estimate the number of Scandinavian loans to be 1,000 (Minkova 2005ab). For information on the division of the Scandinavian influence into several periods, see Serjeantson (1935).

It is possible to see the Scandinavian influence by looking at a map and counting **Scandinavian place names**. Some estimate the number of loans to be higher than 1400. As mentioned above, the northwest is mainly influenced by Norwegians and the northeast by Danes. During the time of King Alfred, the Danes wanted to spread to the South as well, which led to clashes and the division of England into a 'Danelaw' (in 878 after the Battle of Ethandun) and an Anglo-Saxon part. The map in Figure 5.1 shows the political dividing line between the Danes and the Anglo-Saxons. Place names ending in *-by* 'abode, village', such as *Rugby, Derby* and *Whitby*, are common for Scandinavian settlements; *-toft* 'homestead' and *-thorpe* 'village' are Danish; *-thwaite* 'field' is Norwegian. Place names are also sometimes Scandinavianized: the palatalized *Ashford* becomes *Askeford* with a non-palatalized [k] (see Townend 2002).

In contrast, common Old English place names end in *-borough* 'fortified place' and *-ham, -ing, -stow, -sted, -(h)all, wic,* and *-ton*, all meaning 'place' or 'village'. Table 5.5 lists these endings, as well as a few Latin endings. Place names ending using *da(le)*, such as *Dalton, Birkdale,* and *Clydesdale*, are typically found in Scandinavian areas although Old English had this as a word for 'valley'.

Table 5.5 Place names

Norwegian	-by, -thwaite
Danish	-by, -toft, -thorpe
Old English	-borough, -ham, -ing, -stow, -sted, -hall, -wic, -ton
Latin	-chester, -port/port-, -street

Some place names are provided in (4). Explore what they mean and think of other place names. If you can, look on the map of England to see where these places are located:

(4) Applethwaite, Althorpe, Eastoft, Nottingham, Buckingham, Hamstead, Stanstead, Brighton, and Reading.

Unlike Celtic and Latin, Scandinavian affected Old English grammar, not just its vocabulary. For instance, the appearance of the third person plural *they, them*, and *their* is due to Scandinavian contact. In Old English, the third person pronouns are *hi, hie, hiera, hem*, etc. (see Table 4.8 of Chapter 4); they are replaced in Middle English by *they, their,* and *them* with an initial *th-*. This shift starts in the north (as we can see from northern texts) and slowly spreads to the south. Grammatical words such as pronouns and prepositions are typically very stable in language history and this development is therefore unexpected. It shows that the influence of Scandinavian was quite strong. See Miller (2012) for an excellent argument for extensive influence on the grammar.

Endings on verbs, nouns, and adjectives also start to simplify in the north, as shown in Table 5.6 for present tense verbs. This is most likely due to contact with Scandinavian.

Table 5.6 Leveling of present tense verbal inflections

OE		ME Northern	ME Midlands	ME Southern
ic nerie	'I save'	ic nerie	ic nerie	ic nerie
þu neriest		þu neries	þu neries(t)	þu neriest
he/o nereð		s/he neries	he nerieþ/es	s/he nereð
we neriað		we neries	we nerien/es	we nerieþ
ge neriað		ge neries	ge nerien/es	ge nerieþ
hie neriað		thei neries	hie nerien/es	hie nerieþ

In London, third person singular *-s* is not used until the 15th century, but in Northumbria, it starts being used in the 10th century. Chaucer has *-þ*, except where he portrays northerners, as in (5), where *fares* has an *-s*.

(5) Alain spake first: "All hail Simond in faith.
How **fares** thy faire doughter and thy wif?"
(Chaucer, *The Reeve's Tale* 102–112)

As we will see in Chapter 6, the form *spake* is northern as well.

Nouns in Old English, as we can see e.g. in Table 4.9, have various plural endings where Modern English has *-s*. As early as Classen (1919: 144–145), it has been argued that Middle English nouns have either plural *-s* or *-en* but that the North and Midlands favor the former and the South the latter. Since the Old Norse of that period also has an *-s* ending, Classen argues for Scandinavian influence on the development of the plural.

Other influences on the grammar consist of the introduction of *till*, as in (6), the infinitival marker *at*, as in (7), and the present participle ending in *-and*, as in (8): Old English has *-end* or *-ind*, and Modern English has *-ing*.

(6) ***til** hi iafen up here castles*
'till they gave up their castles' (*PC,* anno 1137)

(7) *þis ilk bok is es translate …*
For the commun ***at*** *understand*
'This book has been translated for the common people to understand'
(*Cursor Mundi*, 232; 236)

(8) *Contemplatyfe lyfe es mykel inwarde, and forþi it es last*and*ar and sykerar*
'The contemplative life is much inward and therefore it is more-lasting and more-secure' (Richard Rolle)

Note the lack of palatalization in *mykel* 'much' in (8), showing that the text is northern.

Miller (2012) adds numerous other innovations that he argues are due to Scandinavian, e.g. having *-self* added to pronouns to serve as reflexive pronouns and preposition-stranding, as in (9).

(9) *me lihtede candles to æten bi*
men lit candles to eat by
'People lit candles by which (light) to eat.'
(*Peterborough Chronicle* 1140, Miller 2012: 140)

In short, Scandinavian influence is strong on all levels.

4. French influence

In Chapter 1, we briefly mentioned the Battle of Hastings and in Appendix A of Chapter 4, the year 1066 is described from a contemporary point of view. Here we focus on the linguistic im pact of French on English. Borrowing from French into Old and Middle English occurs in two phases: 1066–1250 and 1250–1500. In the first phase, fewer than 1,000 words are borrowed (Jespersen 1938: 87; Baugh & Cable 2002: 168). Words such as *baron, servant, messenger,* and *story* are borrowed at this time.

In the second phase, French speakers adopt English. As we know from contemporary situations (e.g. Spanish-speaking, German, and Dutch immigrants in the US), it is difficult for immigrants to keep their native language alive beyond the third generation. During this second period, the influence of French on Middle English is strongest because the French speakers are adding French words to the English they are acquiring. Some estimate the total number of loans in this period to be 10,000. The words borrowed are nouns, verbs, adjectives, and a few adverbs.

Some words borrowed from French between 1066 and 1500 are listed in Table 5.7; they are terms used in (a) government, (b) law, (c) learning, (d) art and fashion, (e) food, (f) religion, and (g) some quite general ones (see Baugh & Cable 2002: 169–173; Nielsen 2005: 101–5 for many more).

Less specialized words are also borrowed at this time: nouns such as *action, adventure, age, coward, damage, scandal, tavern,* and *vision*; adjectives such as *able, abundant, active, certain, common, firm, frank, proper, safe*, and *sudden;* and verbs such as *advise, aim, allow,*

Table 5.7 French loans

a.	government, to govern, royal, state, authority, prince, duke, duchess, tax, marshal, mayor, governor, warden, treasurer, peasant, rebel, to oppress, parliament
b.	judge, jury, felon, bail, estate, evidence, verdict, indictment, punishment, crime, treason, to accuse, to acquit, to arrest, to pardon, to admit, to assault
c.	study, anatomy, geometry, infinity, square, grammar, logic, surgeon, medicine, college, doctrine
d.	art, sculpture, music, painting, color, figure, image, poet, title, preface, fashion, dress, lace, garment, veil, button, couch, chair, cushion, coat, collar, button
e.	dinner, cream, fruit, supper, feast, appetite, taste, bacon, salmon, mackerel, beef, veal, mutton, bacon, pork, pastry, lemon, orange, raisin, date, vinegar, to boil
f.	temptation, damnation, salvation, confess, convert, convent, ordain, baptism, communion, mercy, sanctity, charity, solemn, divine, devout, miracle, convent, incense, abbey
g.	to abandon, abbreviation, to abhor, able, to abridge, abominable, absent, absinth, absolutely, to absorb, to abstain, abundance, to accomplish, account, ache, acquaintance, action, actual, to change, to improve, to destroy, destruction, to dissolve, improvement

apply, arrive, close, enjoy, enter, form, join, marry, move, praise, prefer, refuse, save, serve, and *wait* (see Baugh & Cable 2002).

As mentioned earlier, prefixes and suffixes that build words are called derivational. These are not borrowed directly but as parts of French (and Latin) words, such as the ones listed in (10a). Many of the prefixes and suffixes avoid originally English words, except as jokes, as shown in (10b).

(10) a. majority, inferiority, envious, glorious, religious, advantageous, hideous, dangerous, labor (or labour), rigor (or rigour), honor (or honour)
b. happi-ous, between-ity, woman-ity, youthfull-ity (the last three from the OED)

There are, however, some **hybrids** – French (or Latin, i.e. Romance) prefixes and suffixes attached to English words and vice versa. These occur after a word with a prefix or suffix has been borrowed. Examples of hybrids are given in (11) and (12): *en-dear-ment*, for example, is from the English root *dear* with a Romance prefix *-en* (note that French *en-* derives from Latin *in-*) and a Romance suffix *-ment*.

(11) hindrance, endearment, disbelief, rekindle, overrate, overvalue, rudely, oddity

(12) immenseness, martyrdom, apprenticeship, useless, quarrelsome, grateful
(all taken from Morris 1882: 40)

Since hybrids are rare, Dalton-Puffer (1996: 222) comes to the conclusion that the influence of French on the morphology was not very deep.

Note that the *-o(u)r* suffix, borrowed from French, originally derives from the Latin words *labor-* and *honor-*. The first time they appear in Middle English, they are spelled *labur* and *honour/honir*. British English adopts *-our* and American English *-or*. French settles on *-eur* and words such as *grandeur, amateur, connoisseur, chauffeur,* and *masseur* are thus later borrowings.

The influence of French on the grammar of English is not profound. However, the relative *wh*-pronoun may be the result of French influence. Old English has relatives with a demonstrative, such as *se(o) þe*, or with *þe* or *þat*. In Middle English, *þat* becomes the most common one; however, probably because French has the same forms for interrogatives and relatives, e.g. *qui*, certain English styles, especially in letters such as (13), adopt them too:

(13) *be the grace of God, who haue yow in kepyng*
'by the grace of God, who keeps you' (*Paston Letters*, Davis 1971: 655)

You might ask if the French of the 12th and 13th centuries that influenced English is similar to present-day French. It is not, which makes it possible for a loan from the 12th century to be unrecognizable in the 15th and be borrowed again. There are two reasons the French of William the Conqueror was different. First, it was Norman French, different from that of Paris, which later became standard French. Second, it was Old French, which is quite different from Modern French.

Norman French retains a [k] sound before [a]. The word *cachier* is borrowed from Norman French into English as *catch*. The [k] palatalizes to [tʃ] in Parisian or Central French, as the initial sound of the borrowed *chase* shows. Thus, *catch* and *chase* derive from the same word but are borrowed at different times. In English, the first instance of *catch* appears in 1250 and of *chase* in 1314, so the Norman variant is first. The word for *cattle* is *catel* in Norman French (with an initial [k]), but *chatel* in Parisian French (palatalized). In this case, the latter occurs earlier in English: *chat(t)el* meaning 'property of goods' is first used in 1225, whereas *cattle* with that same meaning is first used in the late 13th century. A similar set is *lance/launch*.

Like [k], [g] in Norman French does not palatalize (before certain vowels), hence words such as *gaol*; however, in other varieties of French it does palatalize, resulting in spellings such as *jaiole*. This is where the *jail/gaol* difference in English comes from. Notice also the difference between English *garden* and Modern French *jardin*. This is evidence that English borrowed the Norman word.

Central French also has [g] where Norman French has [w]. The [w] form is borrowed earlier: *warranty* and *reward* are borrowed in 1225 and 1315, respectively, but Parisian *guarantee* and *regard* in 1679 and 1380, respectively (according to the OED; see also Nielsen 2005: 106). Other such pairs are *warden* and *guardian*, *wardrobe* and *garderobe* and *William* and *Guillaume*.

Another difference between Norman and Central French during the medieval period is the change in the latter from *ei* [e] to *oi* [ɔj]. Pairs showing this difference are *veil-voile* and *display-deploy*. The first member of the set is borrowed earlier than the second.

As mentioned earlier, the second reason for the difference between Old and Modern French is that the *s* in Old French words such as *hostel, feste, beste, hospital*, and *forest* is dropped in the spelling of Modern French; all that is left is a marker on the preceding vowel: *hôtel, fête, bête, hôpital*, and *forêt*. This makes it possible for English to first borrow *hostel* and later *hotel* and have two slightly different words. Readers who know French will

notice other differences: English *judge, change, chair,* and *gentle* are pronounced with initial affricates whereas the related words have fricatives in Modern French.

The earlier a word is borrowed into English, the less recognizable it is as a loan. Later French loans, after 1800, are fairly recognizable as 'foreign' and some uses sound pedantic because of this. Instances of unincorporated loans are *chaise longue, tête à tête, savoir faire, joie de vivre,* and *façon de parler*. There are, however, some later loans that are fully adapted: *tourism, restaurant, resume*, and *ambulance*; if we did not have the OED, we might think they were borrowed in the late Middle English period.

5. Other languages

There are, even in this early period, other languages that influence English. There is trade (and wars) with the rest of Europe, resulting in contact with **Dutch, German, Italian, and Spanish**. Early on, Jewish settlers from France and Germany came to England but were expelled in 1290. In the later Middle Ages, Spain rules large parts of Europe and persecutes certain religious groups (during the reigns of Henry V and Philip II); this results in moves to England, which was not part of the Spanish Empire.

In cities such as Norwich in East Anglia, a third of the population was foreign, mainly Dutch and Flemish, attracted by the wool trade. Fifteenth century borrowings from Dutch are given in (14a), while sixteenth through eighteenth century ones are listed in (14b), all according to the *OED*.

(14) a. hop(s) (1440), pickle (1440), deck (1466), buoy (1466), freight (1463), dock (1486 in its nautical use)
b. wag(g)on (1523), splice (1524), dollar (1553), yacht (1557), plug (1618), furlough (1625), easel (1634), slim (1657), sketch (1668), smuggle (1687), gin (1714), booze (1732), waffle (1744)

There may have been some influence on the grammar as well, as Trudgill (1974; 1999) points out. The overall influence is minimal, however.

Table 5.8 summarizes the impact of the different languages on Old and Middle English.

Table 5.8 Influence of different languages on OE and ME

	vocabulary	**morphology**	**syntax**
Celtic	some	no	yes
Latin	yes	no	no
Scandinavian	a lot	yes	yes
French	very much	yes	not much
Dutch/Flemish	minimal	no	no

Having provided examples of outside influences on Old and Middle English, we will turn to examining the results of the borrowings in Section 6.

6. The result: A lexicon of multiple origins

As mentioned in Chapter 1, speakers of English can choose between *pavement deficiencies* and *potholes*, between *perspire* and *sweat*, and between *stench* and *aroma* to describe the same concepts. Sometimes, we have three possibilities, as in *fast, firm,* and *secure*. Stockwell & Minkova (2001) provide excellent further background to the origins of our words and morphemes. This chapter has shown in some detail how we came to have multiple vocabulary items. We discussed Celtic, Scandinavian, Latin, and French influences. Loans from Celtic, Latin before the Renaissance, and Scandinavian have a more incorporated 'feel' to them. The multiple words make English difficult to learn, but also make it varied and versatile. We will also look at some other ways in which speakers (and writers) make English (as well as other languages) semantically opaque.

In Chapter 1, we looked at a text in which almost half the words are borrowed from French and Latin. Non-academic texts, such as fiction or poetry, have fewer loans. Try to guess which words in (15) are borrowed and estimate the percentage. Do the same with the poems in (16) and discuss the difference in the effect. There are some clues, for instance, words starting in *ph-* are typically borrowed from Greek (often through Latin), very long words are often Renaissance loans, words with an initial *v-* or *z-* are borrowed, as are words with the vowel *oi*.

(15) The phrase and the day and the scene harmonised in a chord. Words. Was it their colours? He allowed them to glow and fade, hue after hue: sunrise gold, the russet and green of apple orchards, azure of waves, the greyfringed fleece of clouds. No, it was not their colours: it was the poise and balance of the period itself. Did he then love the rhythmic rise and fall of words better than their associations of legend and colour? Or was it that, being as weak of sight as he was shy of mind, he drew less pleasure from the reflection of the glowing sensible world through the prism of a language manycoloured and richly storied than from the contemplation of an inner world of individual emotions mirrored perfectly in a lucid supple periodic prose?
(From: James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*)

(16) a. A word is dead
When it is said,
Some say.
I say it just
Begins to live
That day.

b. Fire and Ice
Some say the world will end in fire,
Some say in ice.
From what I've tasted of desire
I hold with those who favor fire.

But if it had to perish twice,
I think I know enough of hate
To say that for destruction ice
Is also great
And would suffice.

(Poems by Emily Dickinson and Robert Frost)

As you can see if you tabulate the results (or check the numbers in Appendix I), for poetry the percentages are very low (often around 10% or less). In prose, that percentage is a little higher, and in academic texts, it is highest (one of my academic texts ended up 45% latinate).

By **using loan words**, we can not only make our writing sound more formal but we can also confuse our readers and listeners. Francis Bacon described this in 1605 in his *The Advancement of Learning* as "for men began to hunt more after words than matter." George Orwell puts it as follows in his often cited essay "Politics and the English Language" (1947).

(17) Modern English, especially written English, is full of bad habits which spread by imitation and which can be avoided if one is willing to take the necessary trouble. If one gets rid of these habits one can think more clearly, and to think clearly is a necessary first step towards political regeneration: so that the fight against bad English is not frivolous and is not the exclusive concern of professional writers.

Orwell then quotes five passages he considers 'bad' writing, each for a different reason.

(18) (1) I am not, indeed, sure, whether it is not true to say that the Milton who once seemed not unlike a seventeenth-century Shelley had not become, out of an experience ever more bitter in each year, more alien [sic] to the founder of that Jesuit sect which nothing could induce him to tolerate. Professor Harold Laski (Essay in *Freedom of Expression*)

(2) Above all, we cannot play ducks and drakes with a native battery of idioms which prescribes such egregious collocations of vocables as the basic put up with for tolerate or put at a loss for bewilder. Professor Lancelot Hogben (*Interglossa*)

(3) On the one side we have the free personality: by definition it is not neurotic, for it has neither conflict nor dream. Its desires, such as they are, are transparent, for they are just what institutional approval keeps in the forefront of consciousness; another institutional pattern would alter their number and intensity; there is little in them that is natural, irreducible, or culturally dangerous. But on the other side, the social bond itself is nothing but the mutual reflection of these self-secure integrities. Recall the definition of love. Is not this the very picture of a small academic? Where is there a place in this hall of mirrors for either personality or fraternity? (Essay on psychology in *Politics* (New York))

(4) All the 'best people' from the gentlemen's clubs, and all the frantic fascist captains, united in common hatred of Socialism and bestial horror of the rising tide of the mass revolutionary movement, have turned to acts of provocation, to foul incendiarism, to medieval legends of poisoned wells, to legalize their own destruction of proletarian organizations, and rouse the agitated petty-bourgeoisie to chauvinistic fervor on behalf of the fight against the revolutionary way out of the crisis. (Communist pamphlet)

(5) If a new spirit is to be infused into this old country, there is one thorny and contentious reform which must be tackled, and that is the humanization and galvanization of the B.B.C. Timidity here will bespeak cancer and atrophy of the

> soul. The heart of Britain may be sound and of strong beat, for instance, but the British lion's roar at present is like that of Bottom in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream – as gentle as any sucking dove. A virile new Britain cannot continue indefinitely to be traduced in the eyes or rather ears, of the world by the effete languors of Langham Place, brazenly masquerading as 'standard English.' When the Voice of Britain is heard at nine o'clock, better far and infinitely less ludicrous to hear aitches honestly dropped than the present priggish, inflated, inhibited, school-ma'amish arch braying of blameless bashful mewing maidens!
>
> (Letter in *Tribune*)

He concludes by providing suggestions; a few of those relevant to vocabulary are listed in (19).

(19) Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
Never use a long word where a short one will do.
If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.

Note the number of loans in (17), however (e.g. *especially, habit, imitation, avoided, necessary* and *trouble*). Orwell does not worry about splitting infinitives, as in *to boldly go*, or stranding prepositions, as in *who did I talk to*, being instances of 'bad' English. Instead, he expresses concerns very similar to those of Noam Chomsky in his political writings. We need to make sure we continue to think for ourselves and not let the media and government deceive us by using words such as *pavement deficiencies* and *surgical strikes*. Chomsky calls this **Orwell's problem**: how come we know so little given that we have so much evidence (if we only look for it)?

Some people argue even more radically that we should go back to simple words. The 19th century (British) poet G. M. Hopkins is famous for opposing Latinate vocabulary.

> It makes one weep to think what English might have been; for in spite of all that Shakespeare and Milton have done with the compound I cannot doubt that no beauty in a language can make up for want of purity. In fact I am learning Anglosaxon and it is a vastly superior thing to what we have now. (from Bailey 1991: 246)

Charles Ogden suggests in his 1930 *Basic English* that we can get by with 850 basic words. He even established an institute to teach basic English and use it as an international language (http://ogden.basic-english.org). Most of Ogden's basic words derive from Old English. He attempts to get rid of the abundant vocabulary so characteristic of English. As we will see in Chapter 7, the debate about 'native' vs. invented/borrowed words becomes very lively after the 1500s and, as we'll see in Chapter 9, the debate about a simplified English is still alive.

You might ask if native speakers intuitively know whether words are native or not. The answer is yes and no. Unlike in Japanese, where a special script (katakana) is used for foreign/borrowed words, there are no special markers in English. Most people know that

certain words are more formal than others. The formal ones are often Latin and French loans, the informal ones of Germanic origin. There are also syntactic and morphological differences. For instance, words deriving from Old English, such as *give* and *tell*, behave very differently syntactically from words deriving from French, such as *donate* and *relate*. The sentences in (20) illustrate that.

(20) a. She gave him a book and a hint.
b. *She donated the charity money and a hint

Not only is *donate* more restricted in its meaning than *give* (hints cannot be donated), it also cannot have two nominal objects, as (20b) shows.

There are at least two other phenomena that are sensitive to word origin. First, as mentioned above, many prefixes and suffixes maintain a preference for being attached to a word whose origin is similar to theirs. Secondly, subjunctives in Modern English most often occur after French loans (see Bahtchevanova 2005), as in (21) and (22), with the French loans and the subjunctives in bold.

(21) It is extremely **important** that she not go 'cold-turkey' with the prozac.

(22) It may be someone **suggested** he **do** that to relax but it sure looks funny. (from Google)

These examples show that we have some sense for the difference, but that sense is not absolute.

Section 6 has shown what the effects of all the borrowings are on Modern English. We will now briefly discuss the nature of the influence.

7. Implications for the status of Middle English

In this section, we will examine two issues. First, we will discuss the claim, made by a number of scholars, that Middle English is a **creole**. Secondly, we will discuss a model for measuring the influence of one language on another.

In Chapter 9, we will study pidgins and creoles in more detail. A pidgin is a language that comes into being when speakers of different languages need to communicate. It is fairly limited in grammar and vocabulary. When children start acquiring it as a native language, it becomes a creole. A number of scholars argue that Middle English is a creole: Domingue (1975), Bailey & Maroldt (1977), and more recently McWhorter (2002; 2007). The argument is that, due to Celtic, Scandinavian, Norman-French contact, a pidgin must have arisen that then developed into a creole with typical creole characteristics: SVO word order and lack of verbal and nominal endings. We will see in the next chapter that Middle English does have these properties. However, it can also be argued that the rapid changes in Middle English are due to the many contacts with other languages but that a pidgin never arose.

Many scholars have proposed ways of measuring the influence of one language on another. As Weinreich (1965: 63) puts it, there is no "easy way of measuring" this. It is, however, common to assume that words are borrowed first and then grammar. Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 74ff.) provide a scale for measuring the effects on a language resulting from contact with another language; their scale is used often even though it might not be the most logical one. For instance, depending on the different social status of the two languages coming together, the influence of one language might be more on the lexicon (e.g. Latin) or on the grammar (e.g. possibly Celtic). We will nevertheless discuss this scale, provided in adapted form in Table 5.9, to assess the influence of each of the languages discussed in Sections 1 to 4.

Table 5.9 Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) scale of influence (adapted and enhanced)

1. **Casual contact**: Non-basic content words are borrowed. For instance, *ballet*, *sauerkraut*, *kosher*, and *taco*.
2. **Slightly more intense contact**: Grammatical words (coordinators, complementizers, and adverbial particles) and new sounds in loanwords. For instance, a Mayan language borrowing *porke* from Spanish *porque* 'because'.
3. **More intense contact**: Grammatical words (prepositions), derivational affixes (e.g. *-ity*) may occur on 'native' words, pronouns, numerals; phoneme inventory could be affected.
4. **Strong cultural pressure**: New distinctive features, new syllable structure, word order changes, borrowed inflectional affixes and cases.
5. **Very strong cultural pressure**: radical changes to the typology, such as the change from prefixing to suffixing, different agreement systems. For instance, the introduction of vowel harmony in dialects of Greek under Turkish influence.

The influence of Celtic on English, as mentioned earlier, is the most difficult to assess. We know some words are borrowed but it is still debated how important Celtic was to the syntax of English. I will put it at level 3. The influence from Latin would be level 1 since English has borrowed the (very specialized) prepositions *via* and *per*, but nothing else suggests level 2 or 3 influence. Scandinavian influence is different because prepositions and pronouns are borrowed. Also, verb inflections start to level in English, possibly as a result of Scandinavian influence, since areas with Scandinavian influence have more leveling, as shown in Table 5.6. This might suggest level 4 influence.

The French influence is extensive, but consists mainly of new words and derivational morphology. Due to the influx of words starting with *v*, French does influence the sound system of English (its phoneme inventory); therefore, the strength of its influence is 3. Thomason & Kaufman put both French and Scandinavian influence on the border between levels 2 and 3 (1988: 265). I would say French is 3 and Scandinavian 4.

Making a difference between **borrowing and loan** or between borrowing and imposition, as in van Coetsem (1988; 2000), may shed some light on the various influences. Van Coetsem argues that there is a difference between an English native speaker using a French word and a French native speaker speaking English and using a French word.

In the first instance, the speaker will adapt the loan to fit it into the sound system and word order of English but, in the second case, the speaker will impose French sounds and grammar on the word. This situation gets a lot more complicated once speakers become bilingual. If my English is dominant, French words are borrowed into my English but English words impose their structure on French. If my French is dominant, the situation is the reverse.

In short, the external influence of the various languages on English is "intense" but not "very strong". As we will see in the next chapter, the grammar of Middle English changes substantially. It becomes more analytic in that the word order becomes more fixed and endings disappear. We will assume the reasons for this to be internal but accelerated by external change; see Chapter 10 for more on this.

8. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the influence of Celtic, Latin, Scandinavian, French, and other languages on Old and Middle English. Each of these languages has a unique relationship with English, noticeable in the kinds of words borrowed and in how the grammar is affected. French has an enormous influence on late Old and Middle English vocabulary, which makes Middle English look very different from Old English. Scandinavian influences the grammar, and we will see some possible consequences of that in the next chapter. We also talked about some of the issues related to the expanded vocabulary and discussed a scale to measure the levels of contact.

Key concepts

Celtic, Latin, Scandinavian and French influence, Norman French, common nouns changing to proper nouns, loans adapting, dating of loans, multiple vocabularies, hybrids, scale of influence, creole, the status of Middle English.

Exercises and review questions

1. Provide some instances of Celtic influence on English. Review Section 1 of this chapter.
2. *Dunhill* and *Bredon Hill* are placenames and both *dun* and *bre* mean 'hill' in Celtic. What might have happened?
3. Discuss some effects of Scandinavian loanwords on English. Again, this can be a review of Section 3 in this chapter. Can you guess from these words what kind of contact the speakers of the two languages might have had?

4. If the words *arc* and *palm* existed in Old English, can you conclude anything about when these words come into English?
5. Find some (derivational) affixes and check their origin in the *OED*. Can you think of any hybrids involving these affixes?
6. The words *cabbage, kale*, and *cole* (as in *cole-slaw*) are related in meaning. Guess which of these might have been the original Old English word, and check it using the *OED*.
7. Take a paragraph of your own writing and make it more formal by replacing words such as *talk, answer, begin, friendly,* and *stop* with words like *converse, respond, commence, amiable,* and *prevent*.
8. Download a Middle English text from http://etext.virginia.edu/mideng.browse.html and identify 10 words you think may be loans. Look them up in the *OED*. What does the origin of these loans tell you about the text?
9. How would you characterize Judith Butler's English in the sentence below (see *Wall Street Journal* article by Dennis Dutton on 5 February 1999) for which she received the Bad Writing Award in 1999. Would Orwell's suggestions help? If so, which ones?

The move from a structuralist account in which capital is understood to structure social relations in relatively homologous ways to a view of hegemony in which power relations are subject to repetition, convergence, and rearticulation brought the question of temporality into the thinking of structure, and marked a shift from a form of Althusserian theory that takes structural totalities as theoretical objects to one in which the insights into the contingent possibility of structure inaugurate a renewed conception of hegemony as bound up with the contingent sites and strategies of the rearticulation of power.

Chapter 6

Middle English

1150–1500

The previous chapter examined the influence of other languages on English, i.e. its external history. This chapter focuses on internal changes. Middle English is usually considered to begin around 1150, when the synthetic character of Old English starts to change. For instance, in Middle English, a number of case endings simplify and become *-e*. This change occurs at different times in different parts of Britain: in the North and East, it proceeds faster than in the South and West, probably due to contact with Scandinavian that accelerated the pace of change. The many loans we discussed in the previous chapter and the loss of endings make Middle English look 'modern'.

Several different points in time can be considered as the end of Middle English: 1400, when the Great Vowel Shift starts; 1476, when printing is introduced; or 1485, when Henry VII comes to the throne. Here, we will consider the year 1500, when the most radical morphological and syntactic changes are complete, as the end of Middle English.

The organization of this chapter is similar to that of Chapter 4: Sections 1 and 2 discuss the sources, writing system, and sounds of Middle English, and Sections 3 and 4 examine its morphology and syntax (its grammar). Since Chapter 5 provided information about Old and Middle English vocabulary, Section 5 of this chapter is about general word formation, not loans, and Section 6 examines dialects. The chapter also provides texts for analysis.

1. Texts and spelling

In this section, we will examine the types of Middle English texts available to us and the writing system of Middle English. First, however, we need to discuss the sociolinguistic context.

Clanchy (1979: 1–2) makes the argument that England after 1066 changes into a literate society. Where Anglo Saxon England produced 2,000 writs and charters that remain, the 13th century must have seen so much more since tens of thousands such documents survive. Writing became known in every village, no matter how remote, and this ubiquity had a profound effect on society. The (in)famous *Domesday Book* of 1086, recording in Latin the wealth and taxes to be paid, set the stage for these changes.

It is often said that only after 1300 does English **reemerge** as a language used for literature, the court, and the church (Baugh & Cable 2002: Chapter 6). Several historical

dates are relevant to this reemergence: 1244, when it becomes illegal to hold land in both France and England; 1258, when Henry III uses both English and French for an official proclamation and English gradually gains influence; 1349, when English is first used at Oxford University; and 1362, when Edward III opens Parliament in English. Several Middle English texts date from before 1300, however. One version of the *Cursor Mundi* dates from around 1300 and makes a case for writing in English in its prologue. Try to read the excerpt in (1), keeping in mind that *ilk* means 'very, same', *lede* 'people', *at* 'to', *ilka* 'each', *sted* 'place', and *quat* 'what'.

(1) ***Cursor Mundi* – Northern version – 1300**

þis ilk bok is es translate
In to Inglis tong to rede
For the loue of Inglis lede
Inglis lede of Ingland
For the commun at understand 5
Frankis rimes here I redd
Comunlik in ilka sted
Mast es it wroght for frankis man
Quat is for him na frankis can?
In Ingland the nacion 10
Es Inglis man þar in commun
þe speche þat man wit mast may spede
Mast þarwit to speke war nede
Selden was for ani chance
Praised Inglis tong in france 15
Giue we ilkan þare langage
Me think we do þam non outrage
To laud and Inglis man i spell
þat understandes þat i tell (from Morris' 1874–93 edition; Cotton 232–250)

As (1) shows, in the Early Middle English period, English is not seen as a prestigious language and its use needs to be defended. After 1300, this changes, and many texts on different topics are written in English.

As with Old English, the Middle English text types available are varied: songs, travel accounts, recipes, medicinal handbooks, saints' lives, sermons, philosophical and scientific works, romances, and fiction. There are several plays, such as the Wakefield and York Cycles; government documents prepared at the Chancery; anonymous lyrics; works of the Gawain poet, John Wycliff, Margery of Kempe, and Julian of Norwich; William Langland's *Piers Plowman;* Geoffrey Chaucer's extensive writings; and letters written by members of prominent families. We have the Paston Letters (1420s–1503) and the letters of the Cely (1472–1488) and Stonor (1290–1483) families, which show a transition between Middle

and Early Modern English. Table 6.1 provides a partial list of Middle English works; it lists areas of origin and approximate dates.

Table 6.1 Some works in Middle English

The History of the Holy Rood Tree: West-Saxon, 12th century
Peterborough Chronicle: East Midlands, 12th century
Ormulum: East Midlands, 12th century
Katherine Group (e.g. *Katerine*, *Margarete*, *Juliene*, *Hali Meidhad* and *Sawles Warde*, but also *Ancrene Wisse* and some other texts): Bodley 34 manuscript: South West Midlands, early 13th century
Layamon's *Brut*: Caligula and Otho manuscripts, now both considered to be from the second half of the 13th Century, (N) Worcestershire
Cursor Mundi: various manuscripts; e.g. Cotton Ms: Northern, 1300
Gawain and the Green Knight, St. Erkenwald, Pearl, Cleanness, and *Patience*: assumed to be by the Gawain Poet, NW Midlands, mid 14th century
Langland's *Piers Plowman*: West Midlands, late 14th century
Morte d'Arthur: East Midlands, late 14th century
Chaucer's works: the *Canterbury Tales, Boethius,* and *Astrolabe*, Southern, late 14th century
Wycliff and followers: South East Midlands, late 14th century
Chancery Documents: Southern, 14th and15th century
The York Plays: Northern, 15th century
The Paston Letters: Norfolk, 15th century

Many of these texts can be found in the original Middle English at www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/me/me.html or www.luminarium.org. Examples are provided in Appendices A to F. Some Middle English works provide an idea of daily life in the towns and castles, churches and monasteries (see Heer 1974). There was poverty and feudalism and life for most people was "short, nasty, and brutish" as Thomas Hobbes later said about humankind in general. You might want to explore some medieval history on your own.

Middle English texts are available to us from manuscripts (see the Auchinleck Manuscript at www.nls.uk/auchinleck from c1340). Before paper becomes available sometime in the 12th century, they are written on vellum. Figure 6.1 is a facsimile of an early Middle English manuscript, the 13th century Layamon's *Brut*.

Unfortunately, the manuscript in Figure 6.1 is not clear. Try to read the first few lines, using the transcription in Appendix A. Notice that Old English ash *æ*, yogh ʒ, thorn *þ*, and eth *ð* still occur. The use of *ð* indicates that the text is early. Unlike in Old English, the *w* in this text resembles the current one.

During Middle English, the *æ* and *ð* spellings are replaced relatively early by *a* and *th/þ,* respectively. In late Middle English, *þ* is replaced by the *th* used in French sources; before it is replaced, however, it starts to look like *y*, hence the writing of *the* as *ye* in *ye olde shoppe*. See, for instance, the facsimile of *Cursor Mundi* in Figure 6.2.

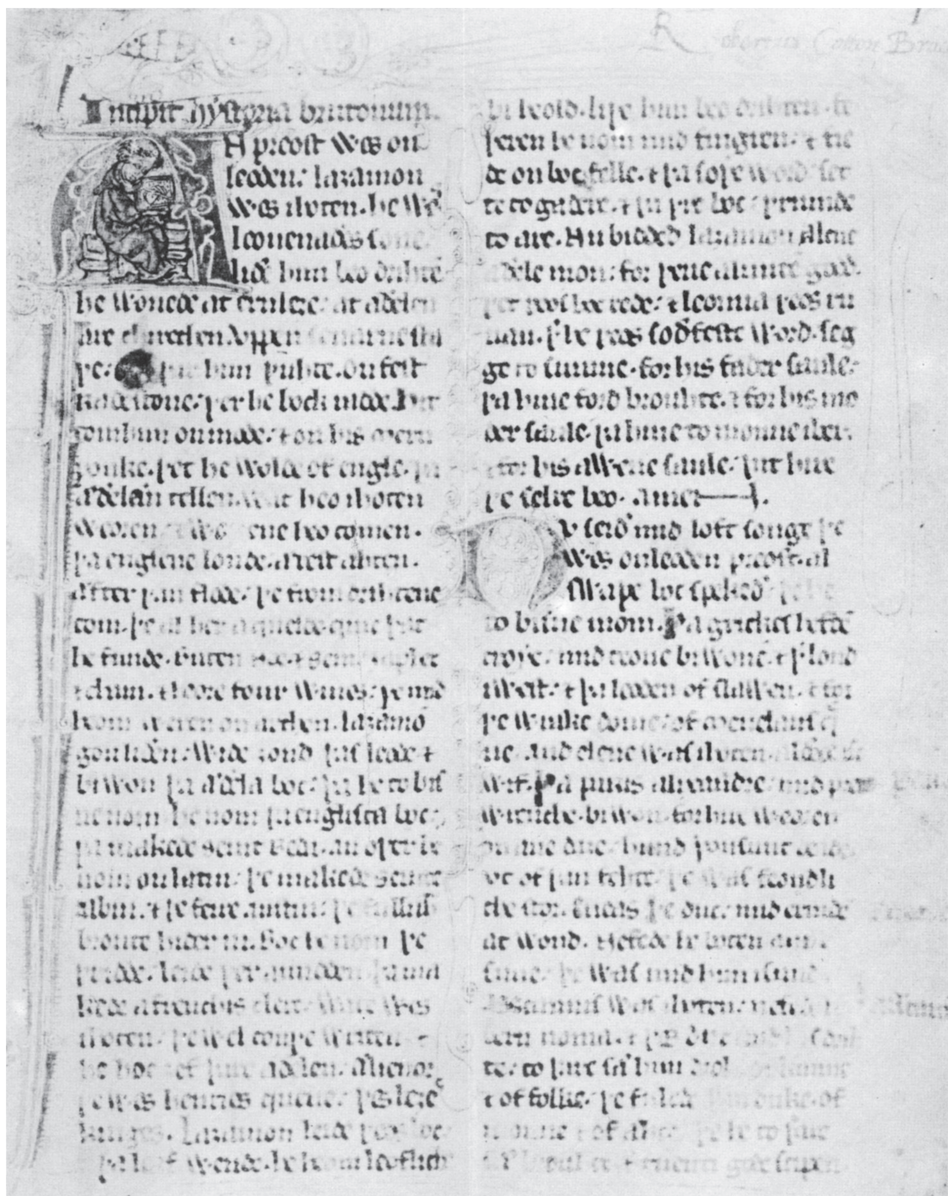
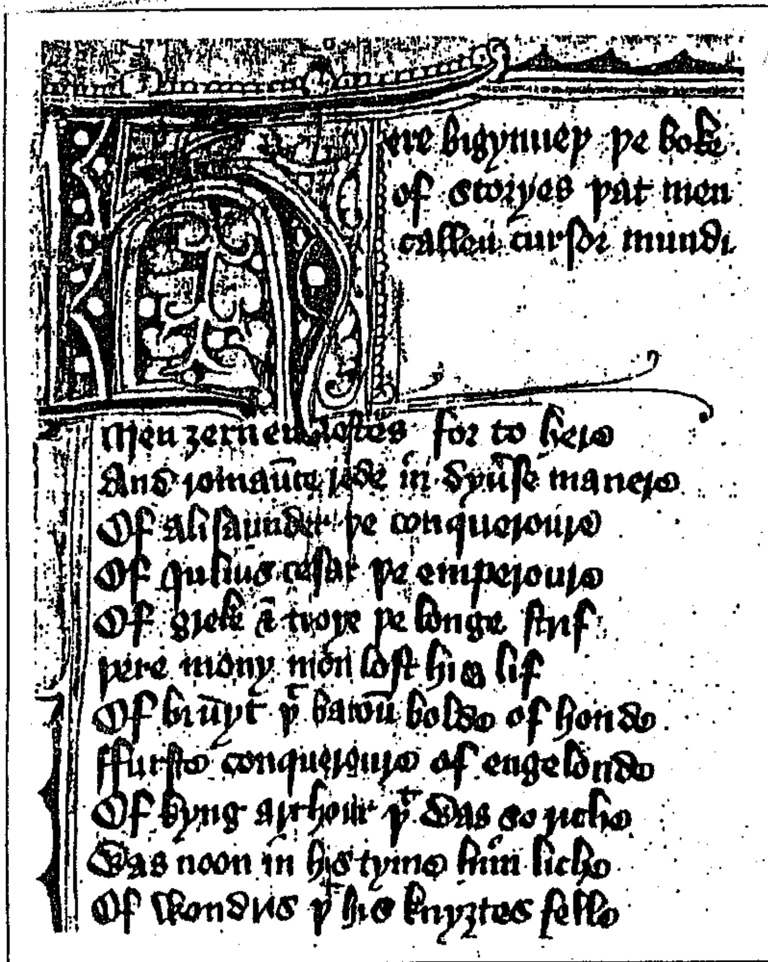


Figure 6.1 Facsimile of Layamon's *Brut*, taken from Brook & Leslie (1963)



Here bigynneþ þe boke
of storyes þat men
callen cursor mundi

Men zernen iestes for to here
And romaunce rede in dyuerse manere
Of alisaundur þe conquerour
Of Iulius cesar þe emperour
Of greke & troye þe longe strif
Þere mony mon lost his lif
Of brut þt baroun bold of honde
Furste conquerour of engelonde
Of kyng arthour þt was so riche
Was noon in his tyme him liche
Of wondris þt his knyztes felle

Figure 6.2 Facsimile of *Cursor Mundi*

Each Middle English text is somewhat unique. For instance, the letters *v* and *w* are introduced, but their use differs from text to text: *vppen* 'up' and *wiues* 'wives' in Layamon (Figure 6.1 and Appendix A) and *vertu* 'virtue' in Chaucer (Appendix D). The *t* in words such as *Artur, Antony,* and *Katerine* changes to *th*, such as *Arthur* in *Gawain* (Appendix C), which remains to this day. This respelling is a result of the Renaissance realization that Latin has *th* in those words even though Middle English and French do not. Notice the difference between French *auteur* and English *author*.

At the end of the Middle English period, books start to get printed. Printing will be discussed in the next chapter since its effect is felt mainly in the Early Modern English period. Figure 6.3 shows an early printed page from Caxton's 1485 edition of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.

Capitulum primum

Hit befel in the dayes of Vther pendragon when
he was kynge of all Englond / and so regned
that there was a myghty duke in Cornewaill
that helde warre ageynst hym long tyme / And
the duke was called the duke of Tyntagil / and
so by meanes kynge Vther send for this duk / chargyng hym
to brynge his wyf with hym / for she was called a fair lady /
and a passynge wyse / and her name was called Igrayne /
So whan the duke and his wyf were comyn vnto the kynge
by the meanes of grete lordes they were accorded bothe / the ky-
nge lyked and loued this lady wel / and he made them grete
chere oute of mesure / and desyred to haue lyen by her / But she
was a passyng good woman / and wold not assente vnto the
kynge / And thenne she told the duke her husband and said
I suppose that we were sente for that I shold be dishonoured
Wherfor husband I councille yow that we departe from hens
sodenly that we maye ryde all nyghte vnto oure owne castell /
and in lyke wyse as she saide so they departed / that neyther
the kynge nor none of his councill were ware of their depar-
tyng Also soone as kyng Vther knewe of theire departyng soo
sodenly / he was wonderly wrothe / Thenne he called to hym his
pryuy councille / and told them of the sodeyne departyng of
the duke and his wyf /

Thenne they auysed the kynge to send for the duke and
his wyf by a grete charge / And yf he wille not come at yo-
ur somōs / thenne may ye do your best / thenne haue ye cause to
make myghty werre vpon hym / Soo that was done and the
messagers hadde their ansuers / And that was thys shortly /
that neyther he nor his wyf wold not come at hym /
Thenne was the kyng wonderly wroth / And thenne the kyng
sente hym playne word ageyne / and badde hym be redy and
stuffe hym and garnysshe hym / for within xl dayes he wold
fetche hym oute of the byggest castell that he hath /

Whanne the duke hadde thys warnynge / anone he wente
and furnysshed and garnysshed two stronge Castels of his
of the whiche the one hyght Tyntagil / & the other castel hyght

a j

Figure 6.3 A page from Caxton's *Morte d'Arthur*

Which letters do you recognize as being different from either Old or Modern English? For instance, does Caxton still use the thorn? Also pay attention to capitalization and punctuation, both very different from Modern English.

Table 6.2 summarizes some **changes in spelling** during the Middle English period. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the *cw* in *cwene* and *cwic* changes to *qu* and the *u* in *mus* changes to *ou*, even before the sound changes from [u] to [aw]. Both of these changes are probably due to loans such as *question* and *mountain,* and by the influence of French scribes on the spelling. The *ʒ* (and *y*) are apparently introduced by French scribes to replace *h* and palatalized *g* in *Laʒamon, Ernleʒe* (lines 1 and 3 of Appendix A), *niʒt, kniʒt,* and *ʒe*. Other changes are the introduction of *k* alongside *c* (see Chapter 2 for where each occurs) and the switch from *hw* in *hwat* to *wh* in *what*, as in Chaucer. Figures 6.1 to 6.3 exemplify some of these changes.

Table 6.2 Some Old to Middle English spelling changes

OE		ME	OE		ME
cw	>	qu	c	>	ch, c, and k
hw	>	wh/w/qu	u	>	ou
þ/ð	>	th	h	>	ʒ/gh
sc	>	sh			

Another new spelling device in Late Middle English is the use of double vowels, e.g. Old English *boc* becomes *book*; and *bete beet(e).* Having provided some background on Middle English texts and spelling, we will now examine their sounds.

2. Middle English sounds

An important trend in Middle English is **consonant deletion**, as in the case of [g], [h], [w], and [l], and **vowel shifting**, especially in non-northern texts. We will examine a number of sound changes and conclude this section with inventories of Middle English sounds.

First, listen to some later Middle English, e.g. the General prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* at http://www.luminarium.org/medlit/gp.htm or another site. Some rappers do a good job too; search youtube! The text is provided in Appendix D. Later Middle English is understandable with some effort. You might notice that in *April, soote*, *bathed*, and *seeke*, the vowel is pronounced as if it were French or Spanish. This is because the Great Vowel Shift has not occurred yet. Vowels also have more 'color' and do not become reduced (to schwa) as regularly as in Modern English; listen to the pronunciation of *inspired, corages, pilgrimages,* and *melodye*. In addition, in Chaucer's *knight*, most consonants are pronounced.

There are many sound changes between Old and Middle English; we will only discuss some of them. We will start with *g/ʒ* (probably pronounced as [ɣ] or [j] in Old English). The

g/ʒ first becomes a [w] or [j] and merges with the preceding vowels to become a diphthong, as in (a) of Table 6.3. The words *foweles* in line 9 of Chaucer's *Prologue* (Appendix D) and *plow* in line 20 of *Piers* (Appendix B) show this change. As (b) of Table 6.3 shows, *g* also changes after [l] and [r].

Table 6.3 Changes in *g/ʒ*

	OE		ME	OE		ME
a.	boga	>	bow	ploga	>	plow
	dæg	>	day	fugol	>	fowl
	seʒel	>	sail	fæger	>	fair
	nægel	>	nail	dragan	>	draw
b.	halgian	>	hallow	morgen	>	morrow

The phenomenon of *h*-dropping starts in Middle English, as in the Early Middle English (2) and in the Late Middle English (3).

(2) *Ich* ***abbe*** *i min castlen seoue þusend kempen*
'I have in my castles seven thousand fighters.' (Layamon, *Brut* line 233)

(3) *but ʒe wolden glade at an* ***our*** *in his liʒt*
'but you would be happy for an hour in his light.' (Wycliff, from HC)

The *h*-loss occurs in consonant clusters, such as *hlaf* 'loaf', *hraðor* 'rather', *hnutu* 'nut', and *hnacod* 'naked,' and the version without *h* gradually spreads. In Old English, the *h*-spelling is also used in words like *dohtor* 'daughter', *seah* 'saw', and *cniht* 'knight', that are pronounced with a voiceless velar or palatal fricative. By the 15th century, the latter sounds have also disappeared (except where they become an [f], as in *laugh*).

The glide [w] is frequently deleted between a consonant such as [s] or [t] and a (back) vowel, as Table 6.4 shows. In Modern English spelling – but not pronunciation – *w* turns up again in some words. In Middle English, the situation is not settled, at least where the spelling is concerned and probably this is also true for the pronunciation. Thus, there is *so* in line 10 of *Piers* (Appendix B) and *swich* 'such' in line 2 of Chaucer (Appendix D).

Table 6.4 Gradual deletion of [w]

OE		ME		ModE	
swa [sw]	>	so	>	so [s]	
swilc [sw]	>	swilch	>	such [s]	
swutol [sw]	>	sutel	>	–	'clear'
twa [tw]	>	to	>	two [t]	
sweord [sw]	>	sword	>	sword [s]	
an(d)swar [sw]	>	answere	>	answer [s]	

Place names, such as *Norwich, Greenwich*, and *Warwick*, generally lack the [w] in pronunciation, but in others, such as *Ipswich*, the [w] has been reintroduced through spelling pronunciation.

Frequently, nasals delete, as in (a) of Table 6.5, or assimilate in place, as in (b). Liquids are also deleted, as in (c), or metathesized, as in (d).

Table 6.5 Changes in nasals and liquids

	OE		ModE
a.	hwilum	>	while
	fro/fra	>	from
b.	Mamchestre	>	Manchester
c.	swilce	>	such
	ilke/ælce	>	each
d.	beorht	>	bright
	gærs	>	grass

Note that the liquid [l] still occurs in northern texts such as (1) above in words such as *ilke* 'each'.

Vowels change in length throughout the history of English. Short vowels become long and long ones short. Before a nasal or liquid and a voiced stop, Old English short vowels lengthen, e.g. the vowel in *lamb, comb, mild* lengthens, but this doesn't happen before three consonants. That's why we have the contrast in vowel length between *children* and *child* since in the singular the lengthening did occur but not in the plural (due to the three consonants). Then sometimes, shortening occurs only in some forms and hence we have *the wind* and *to wind*. Vowel shortening occurred before clusters other than the ones mentioned above. For instance, the [e] inOld English *cepte* 'kept' is long but shortens before two consonants in Middle English and we therefore have the length contrast between *keep* and *kept*.

Changes in vowel height also occur. In non-northern texts, the **long *a*** sounds in *na, mast, ham,* and *ane* are spelled as *o* in Middle English and pronounced as [ɔ], resulting in Modern English *no, most, home,* and *one*. In northern texts, this change does not take place. However, the **short *a*** in *man* and *land* is often spelled as *o* in the North but not in the South.

Other sound changes are very regional as well. For instance, palatalization does not occur in the North either and thus, we have non-palatalized forms like *Frankis, kirk*, and *egg* where southern texts might have *French, church*, and *eye* 'egg'. Many of the northern forms still survive in the North in the modern period, as we will see in a later chapter. Based on long *a* and palatalization, you might be able to tell what region the text in (1) is from! Take a look and we'll come back to this later.

Table 6.6 provides the **inventory of Middle English consonants**. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the influx of French words with a [v] may have caused this sound to become a regular English sound, not one occurring only in voiced environments (through assimilation) as in Old English. There are also many loans with [z], especially in the Renaissance

period. The velar nasal [ŋ] is still only used before other velars. The sound that is missing, in comparison with Modern English, is [ʒ], and the sound that is present in Middle but not Modern English is [χ] (and presumably its palatal variant).

Table 6.6 Middle English consonants

Manner: Place:	stop	fricative	affricate	nasal	liquid	glide
labial	p/b	f/v		m		w
dental		θ/ð				
alveolar	t/d	s/z		n	l, r	
alveo-palatal		ʃ	ʧ/dʒ			j
velar	k/g	χ/ɣ		ŋ		
glottal		h				

In Old English, the vowels have long and short variants. In Middle English, the short vowels change their height and are not just short variants of the long vowels. This is represented in Figure 6.4. Where short and long vowels have the same position, the long vowel is differentiated by a colon. The round front vowel, spelled *y*, as in *hydan* 'to hide', ultimately becomes an unrounded [i] and the [ɔj] sound, as in *joy*, comes in through borrowings from French (ME *joie, cloistre*, and *joinen*).

i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e		o
ɛ ɛ:		ɔ ɔj
	a ɑ	

Figure 6.4 Middle English vowels (adapted from Minkova 2005b: 689)

In earlier texts, such as Layamon, *Piers Plowman*, and Gawain (Appendices A to C), a poetic device is used that is called **alliteration**, as in (4), where the [s] and [ʃ] alliterate in lines 1 and 2, respectively. Which sounds alliterate in lines 2 to 6?

(4) **Piers Plowman – West Midlands – Late C14**

In a somer seson . whan soft was the sonne
I shope me in shroudes . as I a shepe were 2
In habite as an heremite . vnholy of workes
Went wyde in this world . wondres to here 4
Ac on a May mornynge . on Maluerne hulles
Me byfel a ferly . of fairy me thouʒte 6

> 'In a summer season, when the sun was mild, I put clothes on as if I were a sheep. In the habit of a hermit, unholy of works. [I] went wide in this world to hear wonders. And on a May morning, in the Malvern Hills, a marvellous thing happened to me through magic, I thought'.

If you can listen to an audio version of *Piers Plowman* or *Gawain*, you'll notice that the alliteration stands out.

This section provided a list of Middle English sound changes. The list is not exhaustive, but it does give an idea of the shifts taking place. Table 6.6 and Figure 6.4 give an idea of the end result.

3. Middle English morphology

In this section, we will examine the grammatical marking of pronouns and the endings on nouns, adjectives, and verbs in Middle English. The trend here is towards a loss of endings; in the next section, we'll see an increase in grammatical words. This change towards a loss of endings has been argued to be the result of the shift in stress on words. In Indo-European, words do not have a fixed stress; in Germanic, the root carried the stress. This meant that endings were less prominent to the person listening. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the question then becomes: what caused the shift in stress?

The Middle English **pronouns** see many changes resulting in the system summarized in Table 6.7. Even more so than in Old English, many of the forms in Table 6.7 have variant spellings: *thai, thei, thaim* for third person plural (the *OED* gives 19 variants spellings); and *she, sho(e), shey,* and *sha* for third person feminine singular (the *OED* lists over 30 variants).

Table 6.7 Late Middle English pronouns

	Singular		Plural
First	NOM	ic	we
	GEN	min	ure/our
	DAT/ACC	me	us
Second	NOM	thou	ye(e)
	GEN	thi(n)	your
	DAT/ACC	thee	you
Third	NOM	she/he/it	they
	GEN	her/his/it	their
	DAT/ACC	her/him/it	them

Five of the changes between Old and Middle English are the following: (a) the introduction of a feminine *she*, (b) the introduction of a plural *they*, (c) a change in the use of second persons, (d) the loss of the dative-accusative distinction, and (e) the loss of the dual.

As for the first change, a special feminine singular *sho/she* is introduced: (5a) shows the early *ha* (but *heo* was also frequent) whereas (5b) and (5c) show the new forms.

(5) a. *Ah þah **ha** gung were ha heold …*
'but though she was young, she kept…' (*Katerine,* d'Ardenne p. 18)
b. *In al denemark nis wimman | So fayr so **sche***
'In all of Denmark there is no woman as fair as she.' (*Havelok* 1720–1)
c. ***ʒho** wass … Elysabæþ ʒehatenn*
'She was called Elisabeth.' (*Ormulum* 115, Holt edition)

This change starts in the North but its origins are controversial. One theory is that it derives from the demonstrative *seo/sio*.

Secondly, the Old English third person plural pronouns with an initial *h-* are gradually replaced by ones with an initial *th-*. The change starts in the North with the nominative and, as I have said in the previous chapter, this innovation is most likely due to Scandinavian contact. As examples of early and later use, compare sentences (6a) and (6b), and look at (6c) for northern use.

(6) a. *wat **heo** ihoten weoren; & wonene **heo** comen*
'what they were called and from-where they came.'
(Layamon, *Brut* 8, Appendix A)
b. *That **hem** hath holpen whan that **they** were seeke*
'which helped them when they were ill.' (*CT Prologue*, 18, Appendix D)
c. *Ran and ouertok **þam** þare*
'[He] ran and overtook them there.' (*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton 4900)

In the earlier Layamon, the *h*-initial pronoun *heo* is the norm, as in (6a), both for the nominative (shown in (6a)) and the accusative (not shown). In (6b), from the later Chaucer, the nominative plural is already *they*, even though the accusative/dative is still *hem*. In the early northern (6c), even the accusative is *them*. *LALME* provides the map in Figure 6.5 for the accusative forms, showing the South was the last to change.

A third point to note is that the second person pronouns are used differently in Middle English than in Old and Modern English. In Old English, *thou* and *thee* are singular and *ye* and *you* plural. In Middle English, the singular becomes the familiar form, similar to French *tu*, and the plural becomes the polite form, similar to French *vous*. The forms of *thou* and *ye* in the *Canterbury Tales* provide a marvelous mirror of social relationships during that time, as we will see in Exercise 1. The host uses *thou* to address the (drunken) miller but not the knight, prioress, or clerk. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, King Arthur generally uses *thou,* whereas Gawain uses *ye* to King Arthur. Later, around 1600, *ye* is lost, *thou* and *thee* are used less frequently, and *you* (from Old English *eow*) becomes the common form, as we'll see in Shakespeare's plays as well.

A fourth difference with Old English is that the accusative forms *mec, þec, usic, eowic, hie*, and *hine* disappear early. Only the accusative *hine* survives into Early Middle English,

Figure 6.5 The Late Middle English distribution of *them* and *hem*, taken from McIntosh et al. (1986)

as you can see, for example, in Appendix A, lines 33 and 34. The last difference is the loss of the dual; it survives into Early Middle English, as (7) shows.

(7) *þat fehten wit scullen* ***unc seoluen***
that fight 1.DUAL shall 1.DUAL selves
'That we shall fight each other.' (Layamon, Caligula 11809)

As mentioned in Chapter 4, special **reflexive** pronouns are not common in Old English. Third person ones start to occur in Late Old English and second and first person ones appear in Middle English, as in (8a). Middle English also still uses regular pronouns, as shown in (8b).

(8) a. *þat þou wylt þyn awen nye nyme to* ***þyseluen***
that you want your own harm bring upon yourself
'that you want to take all your trouble on yourself.' (*Gawain* 2141)
b. *For I ʒelde* ***me*** *ʒederly*
'Because I surrender myself promptly.' (*Gawain* 1215)

As we will see in the next chapter, the use of both the new reflexives with *self* and the old ones without *self* continues for some time. The actual change involves the Old English

adjective *self* being reanalyzed by learners of Middle English as a noun with a possessive *my* or *thy*. The third person has an accusative pronoun *him* before *self* because it changed when *self* was still an adjective modifying a pronoun. The first and second person reflexives were formed when *self* was a noun, so *my, thy, our,* and *your* are possessives.

Old English demonstratives can function as **relatives**. This ceases to be the case in Middle English and *that* becomes the preferred relative marker, as in (9), from a slightly later version of Layamon.

(9) *after þan flode.* ***þat*** *fram God com.* ***þat*** *al ere acwelde.*
after that flood which from God came which all here killed
'after the flood which came from God (and) which killed all (creatures) here.'
(Layamon's Otho 10–11)

As mentioned in Chapter 5, it has been suggested that the relative pronoun *who(m)* appears in later Middle English in imitation of French *qui* 'who'. The *wh*-pronoun can also occur together with the regular complementizer, as (10) shows for *which*.

(10) *the est orisonte,* ***which that*** *is clepid comounly the ascendent*
the eastern horizon, which that is called commonly the ascendant
'The eastern horizon, which is commonly called the ascendant.'
(Chaucer *Astrolabe* 669.17–8)

In demonstratives, relatives, adjectives, and nouns, we see a major **reduction of forms** and **endings**. If you have access to the electronic Middle English Compendium in your library, search for endings such as *-um*. You will find very few, mainly names such as *Iulium* and *Antigonum* (in Layamon) and direct loans such as *solsticium* 'solstice' (in Chaucer); you will not find these endings as case endings. The case endings of demonstratives, adjectives, and nouns simplify in this period and the number of different forms decreases.

Nouns still have a genitive singular ending *-es* (e.g. *Leouenaðes sone* in Appendix A, line 2) but very little else. In the plural, the Old English nominative and accusative *-as* simplify to *-es* for all cases in Middle English (e.g. *shoures* in Appendix D, line 1). In Early Middle English, there are some dative nominal endings in *-e*, especially after prepositions, as in (11) from Layamon. The absence of the article before *Drihtene* makes it clear that this is an early Middle English text.

(11) *þe from Drihtene com*
which from Lord-DAT came
'which came from the Lord.' (Layamon, *Brut* line 10)

Table 6.8 presents the combinations of the definite article *the* and the noun *sonne* 'sun' in all cases and numbers in Late Middle English, as in Chaucer. These endings would be the same for all regular nouns, irrespective of their gender.

Adjectives, like demonstratives and nouns, have lost most endings by Late Middle English. This starts in the North and the East Midlands. The last remnant of an ending is the *-e* in *this goode man*, or the supposedly archaic *ye olde shoppe*.

Table 6.8 Late Middle English articles and nouns

	Singular	Plural
NOM	the sonne	the sonnes
GEN	the sonnes	the sonnes
DAT/ACC	the sonne	the sonnes

In Old English, **adverbs** are formed by endings such as *-e* or *-lice*. In Middle English, *-e* is lost and *-lic* reduces to *-ly*, as in (12).

(12) *He made the peple* ***pitously*** *to synge*
'He made the people sing compassionately.' (Chaucer, *The Friar's Tale* 1316)

In Modern English, a few adverbs lose the *-ly* ending, as we will see in Chapter 8. Note that *pitously* in (12) is used differently from *piteously* in Modern English, as in *piteously poor*. This is a shift from a regular adverb to a degree adverb, one that *very* and *really* have undergone as well.

As we saw in Chapter 4, **verbs** have a complicated set of endings depending on the person and number of the subject and when the action takes place. In Middle English, these endings simplify starting in the North, as shown in Table 5.6. The results for Late Middle English are shown in Table 6.9. This reduction of forms continues into the Early Modern English period.

Table 6.9 Late Middle English present and past tense verb agreement

	Indicative		Subjunctive		Imperative	
Present						
	1	ic find(e)	SG	find(e)	SG	find
	2	thou findes(t)				
	3	he findeþ/he findes				
	PL	we, ye(e), thei findeþ/en	PL	find(en)	PL	findeþ/es
Past						
	SG	fond(e)	SG	founde		
	PL	found(en)	PL	founde(n)		
Past participle		(y)founden				

Table 6.9 uses a strong verb, as can be seen from the stem vowel change between present *find(e)* and past *fond(e)*. It lists a subjunctive, which is quickly disappearing and being replaced by modals or infinitives. A weak verb such as *luve(n)* 'love' would have the same endings in the present as a strong one, but its past would be *ic/he luvede, þu luvedest;* the past plural would be *luvede(n)*.

In Middle English, some verbs can be either strong or weak. For instance, *walked* is weak and *welk* is strong and they co-occur in the same text, as (13a) and (13b) show, which are both from Chaucer.

(13) a. as that I **welk** alone.
b. in the feeldes **walked** we.

Verbs that are currently weak such as *laughed* and *helped* could be strong *loughe*/*lawghe* and *holp(en)* respectively (see (6b) above). Even if a verb form is strong, there can be variation, e.g. the three-some *sing*, *sang*, *sung* can be simplified as *sing*, *sang*, *sang* or as *sing*, *sung*, *sung* (or other variations). Looking through the Middle English texts (available at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med), however, I only found *sang* as the simple past and *sung* as the participle. Sometimes, as in the case of the intransitive strong *lie* (past *lay* and participle *lain*) and transitive weak *lay* (past *laid* and participle *laid*), the two are mixed up. This happened early for some verbs, e.g. *dive* had a strong intransitive form *dufan* 'to dive' in Old English (with past *deaf*/*dufon* and participle *dofen*) and a weak transitive *dyfan* 'to dip' (past *dyfde* and participle *gedyfd*). According to the *OED*, the strong form became obsolete by 1300 and the verb changed to weak. The modern past tense *dove* is an unrelated and relatively new 'strong' form, made to sound like *drive* and its past *drove*!

Strong verbs are expected to disappear for internal reasons, e.g. simplification of the system, unless another pattern can be found, as in the verb *dive* did in another verb *drive*. Language moves toward increased regularity as seen from the fact that children make most strong verbs weak (*singed* rather than *sang*), which is the expected direction of change. Indeed, according to Baugh and Cable, "[n]early a third of the strong verbs in Old English seem to have died out early in the Middle English period.[…] more than a hundred…were lost at the beginning of the Middle English period" (2002: 163). Sixty-eight strong verbs remain in Modern English and the reason not all strong verbs have been lost, according to Baugh and Cable, is that the "impulse seems to have been checked, possibly by the steady rise of English in the social scale" (2002: 164). If their assumption is correct, that would be an external reason for the continuation of strong verbal forms. I'm personally not sure what caused it!

As a last point in this section, we will look at the **past participle**. In Old English, it has a *ge-* prefix (as in Modern German and Dutch). The prefix is frequent in the *Peterborough Chronicle* before 1130, as in (14a), but virtually disappears after 1130 in that text, as (14b) shows.

(14) a. *Headda abbot heafde ær* ***gewriton*** *hu Wulfhere …*
'Headda the abbot had before written how Wulfhere …'
(*PC*, 350, written before a960)

b. *hefde* ***numen*** *Fulkes eorles gingre dohter*
had taken Fulk's earl younger daughter
'had taken the younger daughter of Fulk, the count.' (*PC*, 1124)

The *Peterborough Chronicle* is from an area in the former Danelaw, northeast of London. The disappearance of *ge-* is further advanced in these areas (see Mustanoja 1960: 446). In a few cases, we see a complete loss of *ge-*, as in *numen* in (14b). In most other Middle English texts, the prefix on the verb first changes from *ge-* to *y*/*i-*, as in (15) from Chaucer, or is lost.

(15) *Hath in the ram his halve cours* ***yronne***
has in the Ram her half course run
'has half run her cours in (the sign of) the Ram.' (*Canterbury Tales Prologue* 8)

The prefix later disappears completely. Check whether Gawain has a prefix in Appendix C!

In this section, we examined the morphology of Middle English words, specifically pronouns, nouns, and verbs. This sketch showed a loss of endings, i.e. a change away from a synthetic system. We turn to syntax next where we'll see an increase in grammatical words, i.e. a turn towards an analytic system.

4. Middle English syntax

All the changes we discussed in the previous section – the loss of endings for case, gender, and number on nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and pronouns – are a move away from a synthetic language. We'll now discuss some of the signs that Middle English is becoming more analytic: the increase in articles in Middle English, the introduction of comparative *more* and superlative *most*, the stricter word order, an increase in auxiliaries and in pleonastic subject pronouns, and the use of sentence connectors (complementizers and relatives). We will also discuss the use of certain adverbs.

In Old English, **demonstratives** occur although much less often and articles do not. Remember the beginning of *Caedmon's Hymn*, repeated as (16)?

(16) *Nu scylun hergan hefaenricaes uard metudæs maecti end his modgidanc*
Now shall praise heaven-kingdom's guardian Lord's might and his thought
'Now we must praise **the** guardian of **the** heavenly kingdom, **the** Measurer's might and his mind-plans.'

I have bolded the definite articles we might use in Modern English. In the Middle English period, there is a real increase in the use of demonstratives and of articles. Look at the articles in (17) and decide if this is from an Old or Middle English text!

(17) *SIÞEN þe sege and þe assaut watz sesed at Troye,*
'Since the siege and the assault were ceased at Troy'
Þe borȝ brittened and brent to brondeȝ and askez,
'the battlements broken and burnt to brands and ashes'
Þe tulk þat þe trammes of tresoun þer wroȝt
'the man that the plots of treason there made/framed'
Watz tried for his tricherie, þe trewest on erþe.
'was tried for his treachery, the worst on earth.'

In (17), there are six instances of *þe* 'the' and they appear almost in the same way they would in Modern English, so the text is definitely not Old English. Some of you may recognize it as the beginning lines from *Gawain and the Green Knight* (see Appendix C), i.e. Middle English.

In Old English, there are demonstratives that appear before a noun to indicate definiteness, as in (18a). These demonstratives differ depending on their case and number; by Middle English, the demonstrative is phonetically reduced to the article *the*, as in (18b), not marked for gender or case.

(18) a. *hu* ***ða*** *æþelingas ellen fremedon*
how those nobles courage did
'how those nobles performed heroic acts.' (*Beowulf* 3)

b. *& gaddre-sst swa* ***þe*** *clene corn All fra* ***þe*** *chaff togeddre*
and gather-2SG so the clean wheat all from the chaff together
'and so you gather the clear wheat from the chaff.'
(*Ormulum* 1484–5, Holt edition)

Indefinite articles, such as *a* and *an,* do not occur either. The *OED* gives the first instances as (19), from the same text that perhaps also has the earliest instance of the definite article. Note a missing *a* before *tune* 'town' in (19a).

(19) a. Wel þu myhtes faren al **a** dæis fare, sculdest thu neure finden man in tune sittende.
'Well might you travel all a day's journey, you would never find a man sitting in a town.' (*Peterborough Chronicle* 1137)

b. He spedde litel & be gode rihte, for he was **an** yuel man
'He prospered little and by good right because he was an evil man.'
(*Peterborough Chronicle* 1140)

In Modern English, the indefinite article *a* is used before words starting with a consonant and *an* before words starting with a vowel (e.g. *a table* but *an object*). This is not yet the case in Middle English, as the first line of Appendix A shows: *an preost* 'a priest', not *a preost*. In the North, *an* is reduced to *a* before consonants early, as in (19b), but in the South it lingers until the middle of the 14th century.

Adjectives can occur in the **comparative** (synthetic *nicer* or analytic *more interesting*) and **superlative** (synthetic *nicest* or analytic *most interesting*) and the shift towards an analytic language is expected to result in more *more* and *most* forms. In Middle English, these analytic forms are indeed on the increase. However, as we will also notice with the loss of strong verbs, this trend does not continue, again for unknown reasons. In Modern English, the analytic form is only used in longer words, unlike in Middle English (see Mustanoja 1960: 279). Chaucer has *moost sweete* and *moost wise* as well as *moost feithful* and *moost precious* and in the Early Modern period there are three possibilities – *sweeter, more sweet*, and *more sweeter*.

The **word order** in Middle English is still relatively free, compared to Modern English. However, with the grammaticalization of prepositions, demonstratives, and some verbs – which become indicators of case, definiteness, and tense/aspect, respectively – a stricter order is established. For instance, articles can only occur before nouns and auxiliaries

before verbs. Let us examine a few sentences that are technically from Late Old English, but their syntax really makes them Early Middle English. Both are taken from the same entry in the *Peterborough Chronicle*.

(20) a. *Þis gære for* ***þe king Stephne*** *ofer sæ to Normandi*
this year went the king Stephen over sea to Normandy
'In this year King Stephen went over the sea to Normandy.'
b. *Hi hadden* ***him manred*** *maked and* ***athes*** *sworen*
they had him homage made and oaths sworn
'They had done homage to him and sworn oaths.' (*PC*, 1137)

In (20a), the verb *for* 'went' comes after the adverbial *Þis gære* and before the subject *þe king Stephne*. This means that the finite verb is in **second position**, as it generally was in Old English; in Modern English that order is reversed and the subject has to precede the verb. In (20b), the finite verb *hadden* occurs in second position, but the objects *him, manred* 'homage', and *athes* 'oaths' precede the non-finite verbs *maked* and *sworen*. This OV order combined with having the verb in second position remains possible until Late Middle English. Check the Chaucer text (Appendix D) for examples.

There are a few other points to note about these sentences. Since (20a) and (20b) are from Late Old/Early Middle English, there are no articles before *sæ* (even though there is an 'extra' one before *king*). The third person plural is still *hi* in (20b), rather than *they*, but the plural ending on the noun *athes* is already *-es*, rather than the Old English *-as* of Chapter 4. The past participles in (20b) lack the prefix *ge-*.

The word order in the **noun phrase** might indicate French influence. French often places the adjective after the noun and marks it for number. This order is shown in (21), and can be found in Appendix D as well.

(21) *in othere places delitables*
'in other delightful places' (*CT, Franklin's Tale* 899)

The word order in ***wh*-questions** is very similar to that of Old English and differs from Modern English only in that full (finite) verbs can be fronted, as in (22).

(22) Who **looketh** lightly now but palamoun? (*CT*, *Knight's Tale* 1870)

Yes/no questions are occasionally introduced by *whether*, reduced to *wher* in (23a), a remnant of Old English. Most of the time, the word order is like Modern English except that the main verb can be in sentence-initial position, as in (23b), rather than just the auxiliary.

(23) a. ***Wher*** *is nat this the sone of a smyth, or carpenter?*
'Is this not the son of a smith or carpenter?'
(Wycliff, *Matthew* 13. 55, from the *OED*)
b. ***Wostow*** *nat wel the olde clerkes sawe*
'Know.2s not well the old scholar's saying?' (*CT, The Knight's Tale* 1163)

In Early Middle English, **subject pronouns** are not yet obligatory, as (24) shows.

(24) ***Katerine*** – **South West Midlands** – **Early 13C**
þeos meiden lette lutel of þ he seide. ant smirkinde smeðeliche
'This maiden thought little of what he said and smiling smoothly'
ȝef him þullich onswere. al ich iseo þine sahen sottliche isette.
'gave him a smooth answer. I see all your savings are foolishly put out'
cleopest þeo þing godes þe nowðer sturien ne mahen
'Call [**you**] those things good that neither stir nor have power.'
(Bodley version, from d'Ardenne's 1977 edition, p. 24)

Later, probably a little after 1250, they become obligatory, e.g. *hi* in (20b) (see van Gelderen 2000: 125–147).

There is also a transition to **nominative subjects**. Sentences (25a) and (25b) are from different versions of Layamon's *Brut*. The former is from an earlier version (Caligula) and the subject is dative; the latter is from a later version (Otho) and the subject is nominative.

(25) a. *þer-fore* ***him*** *ofte scomede. 7 his heorte gromede*
there-fore him.DAT often shamed and his heart angered
'therefore he often felt ashamed and enraged.' (Caligula 6868)
b. *þar-fore* ***he*** *ofte samede. and his heorte gramede*
'Therefore he (=NOM) often felt shame and his heart was troubled.'

Pleonastic subjects become more common as well, as in (26) from Chaucer. This shows the language is in a more analytic stage. *There* is grammaticalizing from a locative adverb to a placeholder for the subject.

(26) With hym **ther** was his sone, a yong squire. (*CT*, Prologue 79)

In Early Middle English, the pleonastic subject is still optional, however, as in (27). The Modern English gloss would include the pleonastic 'there' (as in Allen's 1992 translation).

(27) *An preost wes on leoden; Laȝamon wes ihoten*
A priest was among people, Layamon was named
'There was a priest around, whose name was Layamon' (Layamon 1)

We now turn to auxiliaries and sentence connectors. In Old and Middle English, **auxiliaries** are less frequent than in Modern English, as (28) shows. Modern English would have an additional auxiliary here, 'What **are** you doing'.

(28) What, how! What do ye, maister Nicholay?
How may ye slepen al the longe day? (Chaucer, *Miller's Tale* 71.3437–8)

In (29), the auxiliary *be(en)* and the *-ing* on the main verb express that the action is (or was) in progress; *have* indicates that the action started sometime in the past and continues up to now.

(29) We **have been** practicing. (from the BNC)

Even though they are not as frequent, there are Middle English constructions, such as (30a), where an auxiliary and the preposition *on/an* express that the action is ongoing. The first auxiliary *do* appears around 1400, namely in Chaucer's (30b).

(30) a. *þa cheorles wenden to þan wuden. & warliche heom hudden.*
alle bute tweien. toward þan kinge heo weoren beien.
and iuunden þene king. þær he wes ***an slæting***
'The freemen went into the wood and took cover warily except for two [who] went towards the king where he was on hunting'
(Layamon, *Brut* Caligula 6137–9)

b. His yonge sone, that three yeer was of age
Un-to him seyde, fader, why **do** ye wepe? (*CT, The Monk's Tale*, 441–2)

The changes in the use of *do* are interesting. In (30b), *do* is used as in Modern English, for support in questions (and negatives); this use of *do* first begins around the time of (30b). In Middle and Early Modern English *do* was also more often used in regular affirmatives (e.g. *I did see him).*

Related to the change in the status of verbs – many grammaticalize to become auxiliaries – is the change in the status of the **infinitive marker *to***. Many linguists consider this *to* a non-finite auxiliary, indicating that the action of the verb following it is in the future or is unreal. When it becomes an actual non-finite marker (in addition to a preposition), it becomes more independent, and split infinitives start to appear in Early Middle English, as in (31) to (33).

(31) ***fo[r] to*** *londes* ***seche***
for to countries seek
'to seek countries.' (Layamon *Brut* Otho, 6915)

(32) ***for to*** *hine* ***finde***
for to him find
'in order to find him.' (Otho, 8490)

(33) *Blessid be þou lord off hevyn … Synfull men* ***for to*** *þus* ***lede*** *In paradice*
'Blessed are you, heavenly lord, to thus lead sinful men in paradise.'
(*Cursor Mundi* Fairfax 18440–3)

There are also examples of split infinitives in Later Middle English, as in (34) and (35).

(34) *Y say to ȝou,* **to** *nat* **swere** *on al manere*
'I say to you to not curse in all ways.' (Wycliff, *Matthew* 5, 34)

(35) *Poul seiþ, þu þat prechist* **to** *not* **steyl**, *stelist*
'Paul says, you that preach to not steal steals.' (*Apology for the Lollards* 57)

In Later Middle English, e.g. Chaucer, sequences of auxiliaries, as in (36), start to appear; the end of the 14th century marks a significant increase in auxiliaries.

(36) If I so ofte **myghte have ywedded bee** (*CT, Wife of Bath Prologue*, 7)

In Early Middle English, the connection between sentences is similar to that of Old English: sentences are less frequently embedded in each other than in Modern English. For instance, the already quoted (37a) is from the beginning of Layamon (Appendix A); Modern English would have (37b) or (37c).

(37) a. An preost wes on leoden; Laȝamon wes ihoten.
b. A priest was living among the people and his name was Layamon.
c. A priest, who was named Layamon, was living among the people.

In (a), there is no connection between the two sentences; in (b), *and* connects the sentences through coordination; and in (c), one of the sentences is embedded into the other by means of a relative pronoun *who*, also called subordination. We can see the change from less to more connection take place in Middle English. For instance, in the more archaic (Caligula) version of Layamon's *Brut* (38a), the two sentences are not formally connected, shown by the two instances of *þenne*. In the less archaic (Otho) version, the two are embedded, as (38b) shows, since one *þenne* has become a *wan* 'when'.

(38) a. ***þenne*** *he þe treoweðe alre best on. þenne bi-swikes tu heom*
Then he you trusts all best on. Then betray you him (Layamon, Caligula 1705)
b. ***Wan*** *hii þe troueþ alre best. þan þou heom bi-swikest*
When he you trusts of-all best. Then you him betray (Otho 1705)
'When he trusts you the best, (then) you betray him.'

A real increase in sentence complementizers such as *till* and *for* can be seen in the last part of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. Roughly after 1130, examples such as (39) and (40) appear.

(39) ***for*** *þæt ilc gær warth þe king ded*
'because that same year was the king dead.' (*PC*, for the year 1135)

(40) *þar he nam þe biscop Roger of Sereberi & Alexander biscop of Lincol & te Canceler Roger hise neues. & dide ælle in prisun.* ***til*** *hi iafen up here castles*
'There he [= king Stephen] took bishop Roger of Salisbury and bishop Alexander of Lincoln and chancellor Roger, his nephew, and put them all in prison till they gave up their castles.' (*PC*, for the year 1137)

As a last syntactic point, we will explore the changes in **negative adverbs**. The Old English negative adverb *ne* (see (41) of Chapter 4) reduces to a weaker word and is reinforced by a strong negative, starting in Old English (see (42) of Chapter 4). In Middle English, reinforcement by a post-verbal adverb such as *nawiht* ('no creature') is also frequent, as shown in Middle English (41). Subsequently, the post-verbal negative becomes the regular negative *not* or *nat*, especially in late Middle English, as in (42).

(41) *for of al his strengðe* ***ne*** *drede we* ***nawiht***
because of all his strength not dread we nothing
for nis his strengðe noht wurð bute hwer-se he i-findeð eðeliche
because not-is his strength not worth except where he finds frailty
'Because we do not dread his strength since it is only relevant where he finds frailty'
(*Sawles Warde*, d'Ardenne 175/9–10)

(42) *He may* ***nat*** *wepe, althogh hym soore smerte*
'He may not weep, although he hurts sorely' (*CT Prologue* 230)

Multiple negatives, as in (41), are lost in Late ME, but the negative *not* starts to contract with an auxiliary, e.g. *cannot*, as early as 1380. The negative *-not* weakens and a second negative is introduced again in many varieties of modern English. This is known as Jespersen's Cycle after the Danish linguist who discussed it at length (although the phenomenon was known before him). It occurs in many languages: in French *ne pas* is losing *ne* in colloquial French.

With this knowledge about the sounds and grammar of Middle English, we can examine more of the passage of (17), the beginning lines of *Gawain* (see Appendix C for even more).

(43) ***Gawain – NW Midlands – Mid C14***
SIÞEN þe sege and þe assaut watz sesed at Troye
Since the siege and the assault were ceased at Troy
Þe borȝ brittened and brent to brondeȝ and askez, 2
the battlements broken and burnt to brands and ashes
Þe tulk þat þe trammes of tresoun þer wroȝt
the man that the plots of treason there made/framed
Watz tried for his tricherie, þe trewest on erþe: 4
was tried for his treachery, the truest on earth.
Hit watz Ennias þe athel, and his highe kynde,
It was Aeneas the noble and his high kin
Þat siþen depreced prouinces, and patrounes bicome 6
that afterwards conquered provinces and masters became
Welneȝe of al þe wele in þe west iles
Wellnigh of all the wealth in the western regions
(from Tolkien & Gordon's 1925 edition)

The word order is modern, especially in the main clause: the subject *þe sege and þe assaut* precedes the auxiliary *watz* and the verb *sesed*, which in turn precede the adverbial *at Troye* in the first line. In the second line, *brent* precedes *to brondeȝ and askez*, and *tried* precedes *for his tricherie* in line 4. In contrast, in the relative clause in line 3, the verb *wroȝt* follows the object *þe trammes of tresoun*, a remnant of the older order. The verb *bicome* also follows its object in line 6 since it is part of a relative clause.

As mentioned before, definite articles are frequent and are reduced to an invariant form *þe*. The endings on the nouns are restricted to plural *-eȝ, -ez,* or *-es,* but there may be a dative *-e* on *erþe*. The relative pronoun in line 3 is the Middle English *þat*.

The spelling shows much evidence of this being a (Late) Middle English text: *þ* and *ȝ* occur, but *æ* and *ð* do not. The *ȝ* in *borȝ* may show palatalization and the pronunciation of *sege* and *sesed* (if you can listen to it) includes the pre-GVS [e]. There are many loans from French: *sege, assaut, tresoun, tricherie, depreced*, and *patrounes* are all introduced in the Middle English period roughly with the spelling that occurs in *Gawain*. Later, alternations are made e.g. etymological respellings by inserting the *l* in *assault* around 1530. The word *try* in its modern, legal sense is based on French, but this particular sense developed in Anglo-French. *Tulk* 'man' and *trammes* 'plots' in line 3 are possibly from Scandinavian.

Table 6.10 provides a summary of the characteristics of Middle English. Chapter 4 has a similar table for Old English. Compare the two and you'll notice that Middle English is losing some of the synthetic characteristics so obvious in Old English, e.g. fewer case and agreement endings.

Table 6.10 Characteristics of Middle English

Morphology:
a. Pronouns change (e.g. loss of the dative/accusative distinction)
b. Case endings on nouns and adjectives disappear gradually
c. Agreement on verbs simplifies
d. Strong verbs become weak; subjunctives are expressed through modals and infinitives

Syntax:
e. Word order changes to SVO
f. Subject pronouns are needed
g. Pleonastic (or dummy) subjects are introduced (= grammaticalization)
h. Auxiliaries and articles are introduced (= grammaticalization)
i. Embeddings increase (= grammaticalization)
j. Multiple negatives occur

Additional references on Middle English grammar are Mustanoja's (1960) *A Middle English Syntax*, Fischer's (1992) contribution to the *Cambridge History of the English Language* Middle English volume, and Denison's (1993) *English Historical Syntax*. The Middle English Dictionary is freely available at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med. In the next section, we will rely on Dalton-Puffer's (1996) work on Middle English prefixes and suffixes; see also Nevalainen (1999).

5. Middle English word formation

As shown in the previous chapter, very noticeable changes in Middle English appear in the lexicon as thousands of loans are introduced into the language. In this chapter, we will discuss some ways words are formed, the role of Latinate affixes, and some changes in word meaning.

Compounds are frequent in Old English and remain so to the present. Many Old English compounds have disappeared and new ones have been created. It is my impression from reading Middle English texts, however, that compounding is not as frequent in Middle English as it in Old or Early Modern English. This may be due to the wealth of loans in Middle English. Compare, for instance, the Old English Riddles (Appendix D of Chapter 4) to Chaucer (Appendix D of this chapter). We could also explore the new compounds in Middle English by year using the advanced search in the *OED*. If you search the year 1320, you get the compounds in (44) among others. Note that it is not clear what all of them mean.

(44) barehead, blindwharved, church-hawe, dunghill, foot-hot, glow-worm, love-drink, polecat, shoulder-bone.

In Old English, the following **derivational suffixes** are used to create abstract nouns: *-dom*, *-hede* (*-hade*, etc.), *-lac* (*-lec*, etc.), *-ness*, *-ship*, and *-ung* (*-ing*, etc.). Many of them remain active in Middle English: *fredom*, *liklihede*, *worship*, and *makyng* (all from Chaucer). Several Romance suffixes with the same function as the Old English ones are also introduced: *-acy*, *-age*, *-al*, *-aunce* (*-ence*, etc.), *-(a)cioun* (*-ation*, etc.), *-(e)rie*, *-ite*, and *-ment*. It is interesting to note that in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, there are only 45 instances of *-dom*, as in *kingdom* and *cristendom*, but 389 instances of *-age*, as in *pilgrimage*, *avauntage*, and *visage*. The French suffix is not only more frequent, but also shows greater variety.

Some Old English suffixes, such as *-er(e)*, *-end*, *-el*, and *-ling*, form agent nouns: *worshiper*, *allwaldend*, and *fosterling*. The Romance innovations *-ant*, *-ard*, *-arie*, *-erel*, *-esse*, *-ist*, *-istre*, and *-our* are used in *servant*, *niggard*, *secretary*, *ministre*, and *conquerour*.

Old English suffixes that form adjectives are *-ed*, *-en*, *-fold*, *-ful*, *-ig* (*-y*, etc.), *-less*, *-ly* (*-lich*, etc.), *-som* (*-sum*, etc.), *-ward*, and *-wise*: *thousandfold*, *blisful*, *homeward*, and *otherwise*. The Romance ones, *-able*, *-al*, *-ive*, and *-ous*, are found in *mesurable*, *moral*, and *jalous*. We will not examine the verbal suffixes (and prefixes) that enter via French and Latin (but see Dalton-Puffer 1996). Some Germanic and Romance suffixes are listed in Table 6.11 with near synonymous examples.

Table 6.11 Some synonymous Germanic and Romance suffixes

Germanic	Latin/French
-dom/-hood (freedom; likelihood)	-ite (liberty; probability)
-hood (boyhood)	-ence (adolescence)
-ful (sinful)	-al (not moral)
-ing (beginning)	-ment (commencement)
-ship (worship)	-ation (adoration)

Meaning changes continue to take place, also after Middle English where it was perhaps accelerated by the many loans. As Table 6.11 shows, *beginning* and *commencement* are synonyms in Middle English. When *commencement* first comes into the language in 1250, it means 'time of beginning' and this meaning remains a minor one. By 1387, *commencement* is attested as meaning 'taking the degree of Master or Doctor'. *Commencement Day* is first attested in 1606, and nowadays the academic use of *commencement* is the prevalent one.

When French and Latin words enter the language, they are often in competition with 'native' words. Typically, however, borrowed words narrow, as in the case of *commencement*, *adolescence,* and *adoration*. The majority of words have shifted their meanings and you can track that using the *OED*. A well-known shift is that of *silly*, mentioned in the previous chapter; in Appendix A (line 4) it is used with the older meaning of 'happy, blissful'.

6. Middle English dialects

In Chapter 4, we briefly discussed Old English dialects. Dialectal differences are more obvious for Middle English since we have more texts available from the different areas. The differences are also obvious because a Middle English standard had not arisen yet (unlike in Later Old English) so that pronunciation differences are often clear from the spelling of words. In this section, we will examine a few of the features that characterize the different areas.

Figure 6.6 offers a simplified version of the map found on www.hf.ntnu.no/engelsk/staff/johannesson/!oe/texts/imed/intro/dialchar.html.

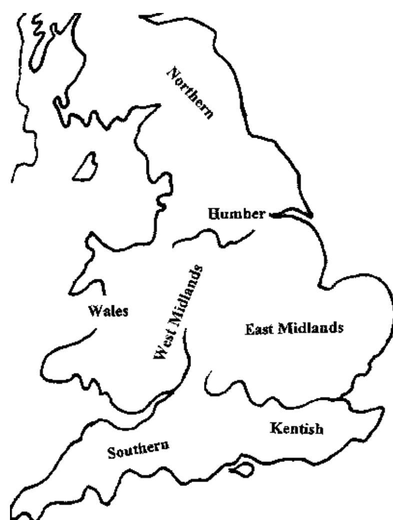


Figure 6.6 Middle English dialects

Many dialect differences are obvious because the sound changes in Old and Middle English did not have the same impact in all areas. For instance, **palatalization** of the velar stops [k] and [g] is a southern phenomenon as is the voicing of initial fricatives in words such as *vather* and the change of long *a* to *o*. The fronting of the fricative [ʃ] to [s], on the other hand, is typical of the North. More sound change seems to occur in non-northern areas. Changes in the morphology are the opposite: the loss of endings starts in the North as does the replacement of third person pronouns and the marking on the non-finite forms, such as participles and infinitives. The main characteristics of Middle English dialects are provided in Table 6.12, where the East and West Midlands are combined. The East Midlands varieties pattern more with the North and the West Midlands ones more with the South. Not all changes predict geographical origin as well as others, so be careful to use as many of these together as you can.

Table 6.12 Middle English dialect characteristics

	North	**Midlands**	**South**
Sound and spelling:			
	no change:	mixed:	change to:
palatalization of velars	[k]; [g], e.g. *frankis*	[k]; [g] or [ʧ]; [j]	[ʧ]; [j], e.g. *french*
long [a] > [ɔ]	[a], e.g. *ham*	mainly [ɔ]	[ɔ], e.g. *hom*
short *on-an*	*on*, e.g. *mon*	*on* and *an*	*an*, e.g. *man*
voicing of initial fricatives	[f]; [s]	[f]; [s]	[v]; [z], e.g. vather
hw-/qu- spelling	*qu-*	*hw-*	*hw-*
and unexpectedly:			
fronting of [ʃ] to [s]	[s], e.g. *sal*	[s] or [ʃ]	[ʃ], e.g. *shal*
Morphology and syntax:			
	change to:	mixed:	no change:
third plural pronoun	*they/them*	*they/hem*	*hi/hem*
feminine third NOM SG	*she*	*she/heo*	*heo*
verbal present tense	*-(e)s*	mixed	like Old English
present participle	*-ande*	*-ende*	*-ing/inde*
past participle	no prefix	*y-/i-*	*y-/i-*
infinitive marker	*to* and occasionally *at*	*to*	*to*
preposition *till*	yes	only later	only later

An atlas relevant to Middle English dialects, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* (LALME), covers texts from the 14th and 15th centuries. It provides maps of where *hem* and *them* are used, for instance.

Examples of dialect features are obvious in (1) above, repeated as (45).

(45) *Cursor Mundi* – **Northern version – 1300**

þis ilk bok is es translate
In to Inglis tong to rede 2
For the loue of Inglis lede
Inglis lede of Ingland 4
For the commun at understand
Frankis rimes here I redd 6
Comunlik in ilka sted
Mast es it wroght for frankis man 8
Quat is for him na frankis can?
Of Ingland the nacion 10
Es Inglis man þar in commun
þe speche þat man wit mast may spede 12
Mast þarwit to speke war nede
Selden was for ani chance 14
Praised Inglis tong in france
Giue we ilkan þare langage 16
Me think we do þam non outrage
To laud and Inglis man i spell 18
þat understandes þat i tell.

There are multiple versions of *Cursor Mundi*, the text in (45) is taken from the northern (Cotton) version. In this version, we see words such as *Inglis, Frankis, comunlik, ilkan* 'each', and *mast* 'most', characteristic of a Northern text: [s] rather than [ʃ], [k] rather than [tʃ], and [a] rather than [ɔ]. The spelling of *quat* 'what' confirms that it is northern. The morphological features provide further evidence: *þam* 'them', not *hem*, and a verbal ending on *understandes* in the last line are both northern.

In (46) and (47), two characteristic lines for other dialects are provided. See if you can tell which is northern and which southern:

(46) *Efter þe zeue benes þet byeþ y-conteyned ine holi pater noster ous behoueþ to spekene mid greate reuerence*
After the seven gifts that are contained in (the) holy our father we need to speak with great reverenc

(47) *Quanne he hauede þis pleinte maked | þer-after stronglike he quaked*
when he had this complaint made thereafter strongly he said

In (46), the voiced initial fricative in *zeue* 'seven' indicates southern origin as do the *-þ* ending on the plural verb *byeþ* 'are' and the *y*-prefix on the participle. In (47), the spelling of *quanne* 'when' indicates northern origins as does the absence of the *y/ge-* prefix on the participle *maked*. Sentence (46) is taken from Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* ('Remorse of Conscience'), which is from Kent, i.e. the South, from 1340; (47) is from *Havelok*, a Northeast Midlands text from the end of the 13th century.

More lines from *Ayenbite of Inwit* are provided in (48). Note the voiced initial fricative and the verbal and other endings, as in (46), and also the Southern long *o* vowel in *zuo* and the *an* in *man*:

(48) ***Ayenbite of Inwit* – Southern – 1340**

Þe Peril of Slacnesse

Efterward comþ slacnesse *þet comþ of þe defaute of herte and*
Afterwards comes slackness which comes from the fault of courage and
of kueade wone. þat bint zuo þane man þet onneaþe he him yefþ to done wel 2
of evil habits. that bind so the man who hardly troubles himself to do well
oþerhuil hit comþ of onconnyndehede; *and of fole hete.*
otherwise it comes from ignorance and from fowl heat.
huerby þe man op let zuo *his herte and his body be uestinges* 4
whereby the man starves so his heart and his body through fasts
and be wakinges. and by oþre dedes. *zuo þet he ualþ ine fyeblesse*
and through vigils and other deeds so that he falls into feebleness
and ine zuiche ziknesse: *þet he ne may naȝt trauayly ine godes seruice* 6
and in such illness that he can not labor in God's service
and to-ualþ ine þa slacnesse *þet he ne heþ smak ne deuocion wel to done.*
and falls into the slackness so that he not has taste nor devotion well to do.

(from Morris' 1866 edition)

More lines from *Havelok* are given in (49). Typical northern features include the use of *til* and *hondes* (and *aren*); typical southern features are the use of *he* and *him* for the third person plural, palatalization in *michel*. Note how that even though it is an earlier text than *Ayenbite*, it is much more readable. If the first line translates as 'All who heard his summons', and *ferden* 'went', and *hore* 'mercy', can you read the rest?

(49) ***Havelok* – Northeast Midlands – 1280**

Alle þat the writes herden
Sorful an sori til him ferden 2
He wrungen hondes and wepen sore
And yerne preyden cristes hore 4
þat he wolde turnen him
vt of þat yuel þat was so grim 6
þanne he weren comen alle
Bifor þe king into the halle 8
At winchestre þer he lay
"Welcome" he seyde "be ye ay! 10
Ful michel þanke kan y yow
That ye aren comen to me now!" 12

(from Skeat's 1868 edition)

The lines in (50) are from the beginning of *Sir Orfeo*, from the manuscript that was possibly written around London in the beginning of the 14th century. Paying attention to verbs and participles, how can you tell it is from the South? Note that *wite* means 'know', *harping* 'in song', *ferli* 'marvelous', *wer* 'war', and *bourdes* 'entertainment'.

(50) ***Sir Orfeo* – South Midlands – 1330–40**
We redeþ oft and findeþ ywrite,
And þis clerkes wele it wite, 2
Layes þat ben in harping
Ben yfounde of ferli þing. 4
Sum beþe of wer and sum of wo,
And sum of joie and mirþe also, 6
And sum of trecherie and of gile,
Of old aventours þat fel while, 8
And sum of bourdes and ribaudy,
And mani þer beþ of fairy. 10
(from Bliss' 1954 edition)

The full text of *Sir Orfeo* with notes is available at www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/orfeo.htm and an electronic copy of the manuscript is available at http://auchinleck.nls.uk/mss/orfeo.html.

We will briefly go over the areas of the works listed in Table 6.1 and add a few authors. Well-known **southern** writers and texts are Chaucer (lC14), Gower (lC14), Ayenbite of Inwit (1340), and the *Owl and the Nightingale* (c1200). **West Midlands** texts include the *Gawain* texts (C14), some of the manuscripts of the Katerine-group (Bodley 34, c1230), and Layamon's *Brut* (C13). **East Midland** texts include the *Peterborough Chronicles* (C12), *Vices and Virtues* (eC13), the works of Ormulum (C12), Julian of Norwich (lC14) and Margery Kempe (C15), and the letters by the Paston Family (C15). **Northern** writings include the Cotton version of the *Cursor Mundi* (c1300), Richard Rolle's work (lC14), the *Rule of St Benet* (C15), and the *York Plays* (lC15).

7. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a description of Middle English between 1150 and 1500. The general trend in this period is towards an analytic language: endings related to cases and verbal agreement simplify and grammatical words, such as articles and auxiliaries, appear. Sound changes occur, especially in southern areas and become relevant to dialect differentiation. Many morphological changes start in the North. Word formation is very creative, as it continues to be, and Germanic and Romance suffixes provide a wealth of almost synonymous words.

Keywords

emergence of English after 1300, Middle English spelling, deletion of consonants, pronominal changes, loss of case and agreement, introduction of articles and auxiliaries (grammaticalization), Germanic and Romance suffixes, compounding, meaning change, and dialect characteristics.

In the next chapter, we will see that not (as) much changes in the morphology and syntax after 1500; we can therefore end this chapter with a timeline of some internal changes, anticipating some of the later ones.

IE	Germanic	OE	ME		eModE	ModE
6000 BP	2000 BP	450 CE	1150	1400	1500	1700
Grimm's Law		palatalization	long a>o	GVS starts		GVS ends
weak verbs		breaking, i-umlaut	loss of endings		more auxiliaries	
			introduction of articles,		word order fixed	
			prepositions, auxiliaries		regularization of verbal markings	

Figure 6.7 Some internal changes

The texts in the Appendices are organized in chronological order. The first ones are therefore the most synthetic and hardest to read (if you are a native speaker of Modern English). This has been done to provide a sense for how the language changes; you could, of course, start from the back.

Exercises

1. Look at the excerpt from Chaucer's *The Miller's Prologue* (from Benson's 1987 edition) How Middle English is this text? To answer the question, you could compare certain aspects (sounds, morphology, syntax, or lexicon) to Old or Modern English. For instance, what is the word order like? Is the verb ever last? If so, what does that show?
   Some helpful words: *unbokeled* 'unbuckled', *male* 'pouch', *konne/kan* 'know', *quite* 'match', *unnethe* 'hardly', *nolde* 'not wanted', *avalen* 'take off', *nones* 'occasion', *leeve* 'dear', *thriftily* 'properly', *clappe* 'noisy talk', and *eek* 'also'.

   Chaucer

   Oure Hooste lough and swoor, "So moot I gon,
   This gooth aright; unbokeled is the male.
   Lat se now who shal telle another tale;
   For trewely the game is wel bigonne.
   Now telleth ye, sir Monk, if that ye konne, 5
   Somwhat to quite with the Knightes tale."

The Millere, that for dronken was al pale,
So that unnethe upon his hors he sat,
He nolde avalen neither hood ne hat,
Ne abyde no man for his curteisie, 10
But in Pilates voys he gan to crie,
And swoor by armes, and by blood and bones,
I kan a noble tale for the nones,
With which I wol now quite the knyghtes tale.
Oure Hooste saugh that he was dronke of ale, 15
And seyde, "Abyd, Robyn, my leeve brother;
Some bettre man shal telle us first another.
Abyd, and lat us werken thriftily."
By goddes soule, quod he, that wol nat I;
For I wol speke, or elles go my wey. 20
Oure hoost answerde, tel on, a devel wey!
Thou art a fool; thy wit is overcome."
Now herkneth, quod the millere, alle and some!
But first I make a protestacioun
That I am dronke, I knowe it by my soun; 25
And therfore if that I mysspeke or seye
Wyte it the ale of southwerk, I you preye.
For I wol telle a legende and a lyf
Bothe of a carpenter and of his wyf,
How that a clerk hath set the wrightes cappe. 30
The reve answerde and seyde, stynt thy clappe!
Lat be thy lewed dronken harlotrye.
It is a synne and eek a greet folye
To apeyren any man, or hym defame,
And eek to bryngen wyves in swich fame. 35
Thou mayst ynogh of othere thynges seyn.

2. Find the present tense verb endings in the text in Exercise 1 (e.g. -*s*, -*th*). Knowing that the text was written around 1380, what can you conclude about its dialect?

3. Find all the second person pronouns in the Chaucer text in Exercise 1 and comment on their use (e.g. are the polite ones expected?).

4. The below changes between Old and Modern English occurred in Middle English. State what changed:

	OE		**ModE**
a.	heofon	>	heaven
b.	cyssan	>	kiss
c.	boga	>	bow
d.	fæger	>	fair
e.	hnecca	>	neck
f.	anlic	>	only

5. What might (a) mean, and what can you say about the verbs in Chaucer's (a). How would you translate (b) into Modern English?

    a. And so byfel that yn his slep hym thoughte
    That in a forest faste he welk to wepe (Chaucer, *Troilus & Criseyde*, V 1234–5)

    b. *Þer ase þeos þincges beoð þer is riht religiun*
    there as these things are there is right religion
    (*Ancrene Riwle* 12, from OED entry of *thereas*)

6. Provide a smoother translation for the first 13 lines of Layamon in Appendix A and comment on how many endings and determiners there are. Would you say this is Early or Late Middle English? Does the text have obvious dialect features?

7. List some features that make *Piers Plowman's* English (Appendix B) more like Modern English than Layamon.

8. The text in Appendix C uses ȝ for a variety of sounds. List those sounds.

9. Read the beginning of the *Canterbury Tales* (Appendix D) aloud, possibly after listening to it.

10. Take a look at the text in Appendix E. Can you tell what dialect it is?

11. Having examined some varieties of Middle English, list some Northernisms in the Old English of the first version of Appendix B.

12. The *Reeve's Tale*, part of Chaucer's *CT*, includes the quote below. Thinking about dialect, what is significant? (*hopur* is 'hopper' and *howgates* is 'how')

    'By God, right by the hopur wil I stande'
    Quod John 'and se howgates the corn gas in.
    yet saugh I nevere, by my fader kyn,
    How that the hopur wagges til and fra'.

13. Comment on some of the more unusual spellings in Appendix F.

Appendix A

Layamon

As mentioned, Layamon exists in two versions (available from www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/me/me.html). Figure 6.1 shows the first page of the Caligula version, transcribed below. The standard text edition is by Brook & Leslie (1963) and the Chaucer studio (http://english.byu.edu/chaucer) has an audio version at a reasonable price. Allen (1992) has a translation and a very basic translation for the first few lines is given to get you started.

An preost wes on leoden; Laȝamon wes ihoten.		A priest was among people, Layamon was named
he wes Leouenaðes sone; liðe him beo Drihten.		He was the Liefnoth's son, let God have mercy on him
He wonede at Ernleȝe; at æðelen are chirechen.		He lived at Areley, at a lovely church
vppen Seuarne staþe; sel þar him þuhte.		up Severn's bank. Blissful he thought it
on-fest Radestone; þer he bock radde.	5	close to Redstone. There he book read
Hit com him on mode; & on his mern þonke.		it came on his mind a merry thought
þet he wolde of Engle; þa æðelæn tellen.		that he wanted of the English nobles tell
wat heo ihoten weoren; & wonene heo comen.		what they were called and from-where they came
þa Englene londe; ærest ahten.		that England first owned
æfter þan flode; þe from Drihtene com.	10	after the flood which came from God
þe al her a-quelde; quic þat he funde.		which killed all which that it found
buten Noe.& Sem; Iaphet & Cham.		except Noah and Sem, Japhet and Ham
& heore four wiues; þe mid heom weren on archen.		and their four wives who with them were on the Ark
Laȝamon gon liðen; wide ȝond þas leode.		
& bi-won þa æðela boc; þa he to bisne nom.	15	
He nom þa Englisca boc; þa makede Seint Beda.		
An-oþer he nom on Latin; þe makede Seinte Albin.		
& þe feire Austin; þe fulluht broute hider in.		
Boc he nom þe þridde; leide þer amidden.		
þa makede a Frenchis clerc;	20	
Wace wes ihoten; þe wel couþe writen.		
& he hoe ȝef þare æðelen; Ælienor		
þe wes Henries quene; þes heȝes kinges.		
Laȝamon leide þeos boc; & þa leaf wende.		
he heom leofliche bi-heold. liþe him beo Drihten.	25	
Feþeren he nom mid fingren; & fiede on boc-felle.		
& þa soþere word; sette to-gadere.		
& þa þre boc; þrumde to are.		
Nu bidde[ð] Laȝamon alcne æðele mon;		
for þene almiten Godd.	30	
þet þeos boc rede; & leornia þeos runan.		
þat he þeos soðfeste word; segge to-sumne.		
for his fader saule; þa hine for[ð] brouhte.		
& for his moder saule; þa hine to monne iber.		
& for his awene saule; þat hire þe selre beo. Amen.	35	

Appendix B

Piers Plowman

The two excerpts from *Piers Plowman* (B-Text) are taken from Skeat's standard 1886 edition. The date of this version is supposed to be from 1377–79. This English is slightly easier to read for a speaker of Modern English than Layamon. A translation is available on www.luminarium.org/medlit/plowman.htm, which site also has different editions of the Middle English text. The second part can be listened to on www.english.vt.edu/~baugh/Medieval/envy.htm.

I (lines 1–30)

In a somer seson . whan soft was the sonne
I shope me in shroudes . as I a shepe were
In habite as an heremite . vnholy of workes
Went wyde in this world . wondres to here
Ac on a May mornynge . on Maluerne hulles 5
Me byfel a ferly . of fairy me thouȝte
I was wery forwandred . and went me to reste
Vnder a brode banke . bi a bornes side
And as I lay and lened . and loked in the wateres
I slombred in a slepyng . it sweyued so merye 10
Thanne gan I to meten . a merueilouse sweuene
That I was in a wildernesse . wist I neuer where
As I bihelde in-to the est . an hiegh to the sonne
I seigh a toure on a toft . trielich ymaked
A depe dale binethe . a dongeon there-inne 15
With depe dyches and derke . and dredful of sight
A faire felde ful of folke . fonde I there bytwene
Of alle maner of men . the mene and the riche
Worchyng and wandryng . as the worlde asketh
Some putten hem to the plow . pleyed ful seide 20
In settyng and in sowyng . swonken ful harde
And wonnen that wastours . with glotonye destruyeth
And some putten hem to pruyde . apparailed hem ther-after
In contenaunce of clothyng . comen disgised
In prayers and in penance . putten hem manye 25
Al for loue of owre lorde . lyueden ful streyte
In hope forto haue . heueneriche blisse
As ancres and heremites . that holden hem in here selles
And coueiten nought in contre . to kairen aboute
For no likerous liflode . her lykam to plese 30

II (lines 5076–5133)

INUIDIA
Enuye with heuy herte . asked after schrifte
And carefullich mea culpa . he comsed to shewe
He was as pale as a pelet . in the palsye he semed
And clothed in a caurimaury . I couthe it nouȝte discreue
In kirtel and kourteby . and a knyf bi his syde 5
Of a freres frokke . were the forsleues
And as a leke hadde yleye . longe in the sonne
So loked he with lene chekes . lourynge foule
His body was to-bolle for wratthe . that he bote his lippes
And wryngynge he ȝede with the fiste . to wreke hymself he thouȝte 10
With werkes or with wordes . whan he seighe his tyme
Eche a worde that he warpe . was of an addres tonge
Of chydynge and of chalangynge . was his chief lyflode
With bakbitynge and bismer . and beryng of fals witnesse
This was al his curteisye . where that euere he shewed hym 15
I wolde ben yshryue quod this schrewe . and I for shame durst
I wolde be gladder bi god . that Gybbe had meschaunce
Than thouȝe I had this woke ywonne . a weye of Essex chese
I haue a neighbore neyȝe me . I haue ennuyed hym ofte
And lowen on hym to lordes . to don hym lese his siluer 20
And made his frendes ben his foon . thorw my false tonge
His grace and his good happes . greueth me ful sore
Bitwene many and many . I make debate ofte
That bothe lyf and lyme . is lost thorw my speche
And whan I mete him in market . that I moste hate 25
I hailse hym hendeliche . as I his frende were
For he is douȝtier than I . I dar do non other
Ac hadde I maystrye and myȝte . god wote my wille
And whan I come to the kirke . and sholde knele to the rode
And preye for the poeple . as the prest techeth 30
For pilgrimes and for palmers . for alle the poeple after
Thanne I crye on my knees . that Cryste ȝif hem sorwe
That beren awey my bolle . and my broke schete
Awey fro the auter thanne . turne I myn eyghen
And biholde how Eleyne . hath a newe cote 35
I wisshe thanne it were myne . and al the webbe after
And of mennes lesynge I laughe . that liketh myn herte
And for her wynnynge I wepe . and waille the tyme

And deme that hij don ille . there I do wel worse
Who-so vndernymeth me here-of . I hate hym dedly after 40
I wolde that vche a wyght . were my knaue
For who-so hath more than I . that angreth me sore
And thus I lyue louelees . lyke a luther dogge
That al my body bolneth . for bitter of my galle
I myȝte nouȝte eet many ȝeres . as a man ouȝte 45
For enuye and yuel wille . is yuel to defye
May no sugre ne swete thinge . asswage my swellynge
Ne no diapenidion . dryue it fro myne herte
Ne noyther schrifte ne shame . but ho-so schrape my mawe
ȝus redili quod Repentaunce . and radde hym to the beste 50
Sorwe of synnes . is sauacioun of soules
I am sori quod that segge . I am but selde other
And that maketh me thus megre . for I ne may me venge
Amonges burgeyses haue I be . dwellynge at Londoun
And gert bakbitinge be a brocoure . to blame mennes ware 55
Whan he solde and I nouȝte . thanne was I redy
To lye and to loure on my neighbore . and to lakke his chaffare
I wil amende this ȝif I may. thorw myȝte of God almyȝty

Appendix C

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

The introduction of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is given here in the edition by Tolkien and Gordon (1925). A facsimile appears in Figure 6.8 and you can listen to the introduction on http://athena.english.vt.edu/~baugh/Medieval/SGGK2.htm. A page of resources (with modern translations) can be found at www.luminarium.org/medlit/gawainre.htm and images of the manuscript are available at http://faculty.virginia.edu/engl381ck/three.html. A translation for a portion of the text has been given.

Lines 1–19

SIÞEN þe sege and þe assaut watz sesed at Troye,		Since the siege and the assault were ceased at Troy
Þe borȝ brittened and brent to brondeȝ and askez,		the battlements broken and burnt to brands and ashes
Þe tulk þat þe trammes of tresoun þer wroȝt		the man that the plots of treason there made/framed
Watz tried for his tricherie, þe trewest on erþe:		was tried for his treachery, the worst on earth
Hit watz Ennias þe athel, and his highe kynde,	5	It was Aeneas the noble and his high kin
Þat siþen depreced prouinces, and patrounes bicome		that afterwards conquered provinces and masters became

Welneȝe of al þe wele in þe west iles.		Wellnigh of all the wealth in the western regions
Fro riche Romulus to Rome ricchis hym swyþe,		From rich Romulus to Rome's riches quickly
With gret bobbaunce þat burȝe he biges vpon fyrst,		with great arrogance that city he set up first
And neuenes hit his aune nome, as hit now hat;	10	and named it with his own name, which it now has
Ticius to Tuskan and teldes bigynnes,		Tirius started towns in Tuscany
Langaberde in Lumbardie lyftes vp homes,		Longbeard lifted up homes in Lombardy
And fer ouer þe French flod Felix Brutus		And far past the French water Felix Brutus
On mony bonkkes ful brode Bretayn he settez		on many broad banks he puts Britain
wyth wynne,	15	with joy
Where werre and wrake and wonder		where wars, vengeance, and wonder
Bi syþez hatz wont þerinne,		at times have been wanting
And oft boþe blysse and blunder		and often both bliss and turmoil
Ful skete hatz skyfted synne.		Very quickly have changed again

Lines 37–49

Þis kyng lay at Camylot vpon Krystmasse		This king was at Camelot during Christmas
With mony luflych lorde, ledez of þe best,		with many gracious lords, the best people
Rekenly of þe Rounde Table alle þo rich breþer,		worthy of the Round Table all those fine brothers
With rych reuel oryȝt and rechles merþes.		with fine revelry and carefree joy
Þer tournayed tulkes by tymez ful mony,	5	there held men tournaments from time to time
Justed ful jolilé þise gentyle kniȝtes,		jousted gallantly these gentle knights
Syþen kayred to þe court caroles to make.		The went to the court to do carols (dances and singing)
For þer þe fest watz ilyche ful fiften dayes,		for there the feast lasted a full fifteen days
With alle þe mete and þe mirþe þat men		with all the meat and mirth that could be
couþe avyse;		
Such glaum ande gle glorious to here,	10	such noise and glee glorious to hear
Dere dyn vpon day, daunsyng on nyȝtes,		dear sounds during the day, dancing during the nights
Al watz hap vpon heȝe in hallez and chambrez		all was heaped high in the halls and chambers
With lordez and ladies, as leuest him þoȝt.		with lords and ladies as lovely as could be
With all þe wele of þe worlde þay woned,		with all the wealth of the world thay lived there
þer samen		together
Þe most kyd knyȝtez vnder Krystes seluen,	15	the best knights under Christ himself
And þe louelokkest ladies þat euer lif haden,		and the loveliest ladies that ever had life
And he þe comlokest kyng þat þe court haldes;		and he the noblest king that held court
For al watz þis fayre folk in her first age, on sille,		because this fair folk in their prime, in the hall,
Þe hapnest vnder heuen,		the blessed under heaven
Kyng hyȝest mon of wylle;	20	the king highest of will
Hit were now gret nye to neuen		it were now great trouble to name
So hardy a here on hille.		a hardier army on a hill.

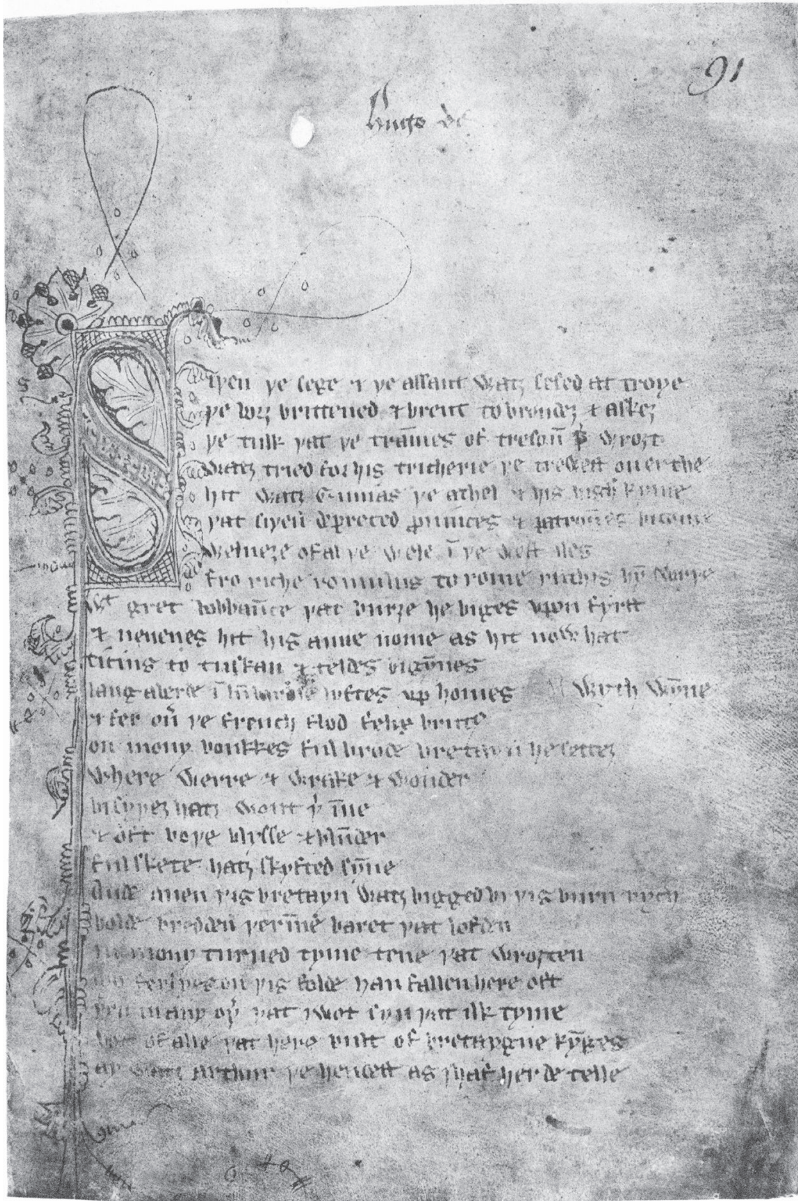


Figure 6.8 Facsimile of Gawain, from the facsimile that the Early English Text Society published in 1923

The following lines have interesting vocabulary, some inherited from Old English and some Scandinavian: *renk* 'man', *gomen* 'man' (OE *guma*), *leudleȝ* 'people-less, i.e. alone', *fole* 'horse', *frytheȝ* 'wood', *gate* 'road', *karp* 'speak', *wonde* 'hesitated', *frayned* 'questioned' (OE *fregnan*), and *frekeȝ* 'men' (OE *freca*):

Gawain lines 691–810

Now ridez þis renk þurȝ þe ryalme of Logres,
Sir Gauan, on Godez halue, þaȝ hym no gomen þoȝt.
Oft leudlez alone he lengez on nyȝtez
Þer he fonde noȝt hym byfore þe fare þat he lyked.
Hade he no fere bot his fole bi frythez and dounez, 5
Ne no gome bot God bi gate wyth to karp,
Til þat he neȝed ful neghe into þe Norþe Walez.
Alle þe iles of Anglesay on lyft half he haldez,
And farez ouer þe fordez by þe forlondez,
Ouer at þe Holy Hede, til he hade eft bonk 10
In þe wyldrenesse of Wyrale; wonde þer bot lyte
<F 100v> Þat auþer God oþer gome wyth goud hert louied.
And ay he frayned, as he ferde, at frekez þat he met,
If þay hade herde any karp of a knyȝt grene,
In any grounde þeraboute, of þe grene chapel; 15
And al nykked hym wyth nay, þat neuer in her lyue
Þay seȝe neuer no segge þat watz of suche hwez
of grene.
Þe knyȝt tok gates straunge
In mony a bonk vnbene, 20
His cher ful oft con chaunge
Þat chapel er he myȝt sene.

Mony klyf he ouerclambe in contrayez straunge,
Fer floten fro his frendez fremedly he rydez.
At vche warþe oþer water þer þe wyȝe passed 25
He fonde a foo hym byfore, bot ferly hit were,
And þat so foule and so felle þat feȝt hym byhode.
So mony meruayl bi mount þer þe mon fyndez,
Hit were to tore for to telle of þe tenþe dole.
Sumwhyle wyth wormez he werrez, and with wolues als, 30
Sumwhyle wyth wodwos, þat woned in þe knarrez,
Boþe wyth bullez and berez, and borez oþerquyle,
And etaynez, þat hym anelede of þe heȝe felle;
Nade he ben duȝty and dryȝe, and Dryȝtyn had serued,

Douteles he hade ben ded and dreped ful ofte. 35
For werre wrathed hym not so much þat wynter nas wors,
When þe colde cler water fro þe cloudez schadde,
And fres er hit falle myȝt to þe fale erþe;
Ner slayn wyth þe slete he sleped in his yrnes
Mo nyȝtez þen innoghe in naked rokkez, 40
Þer as claterande fro þe crest þe colde borne rennez,
And henged he ȝe ouer his hede in hard iisse-ikkles.
Þus in peryl and payne and plytes ful harde
Bi contray cayrez þis knyȝt, tyl Krystmasse euen,
    al one; 45
    Þe knyȝt wel þat tyde
    To Mary made his mone,
    Þat ho hym red to ryde
    <F 101r> And wysse hym to sum wone.

Bi a mounte on þe morne meryly he rydes 50
Into a forest ful dep, þat ferly watz wylde,
Hiȝe hillez on vche a halue, and holtwodez vnder
Of hore okez ful hoge a hundreth togeder;
Þe hasel and þe haȝþorne were harled al samen,
With roȝe raged mosse rayled aywhere, 55
With mony bryddez vnblyþe vpon bare twyges,
Þat pitosly þer piped for pyne of þe colde.
Þe gome vpon Gryngolet glydez hem vnder,
Þurȝ mony misy and myre, mon al hym one,
Carande for his costes, lest he ne keuer schulde 60
To se þe seruyse of þat syre, þat on þat self nyȝt
Of a burde watz borne oure baret to quelle;
And þerfore sykyng he sayde, 'I beseche þe, lorde,
And Mary, þat is myldest moder so dere,
Of sum herber þer heȝly I myȝt here masse, 65
Ande þy matynez to-morne, mekely I ask,
And þerto prestly I pray my pater and aue
    and crede.'
    He rode in his prayere,
    And cryed for his mysdede, 70
    He sayned hym in syþes sere,
    And sayde 'Cros Kryst me spede!'

Appendix D

Chaucer

Below is the beginning of the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, as it appears in Benson's 1987 edition. An audio is available at http://www.unc.edu/depts/chaucer/zatta/prol.html. Some pages from the Ellesmere manuscript are available at http://faculty.virginia.edu/engl381ck/six.html.

Lines 1–42

Whan that aprill with his shoures soote
The droghte of march hath perced to the roote,
And bathed every veyne in swich licour
Of which vertu engendred is the flour;
Whan zephirus eek with his sweete breeth 5
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
Tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the ram his halve cours yronne,
And smale foweles maken melodye,
That slepen al the nyght with open ye 10
(so priketh hem nature in hir corages);
Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,
And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,
To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes;
And specially from every shires ende 15
Of engelond to caunterbury they wende,
The hooly blisful martir for to seke,
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.
Bifil that in that seson on a day,
In southwerk at the tabard as I lay 20
Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage
To caunterbury with ful devout corage,
At nyght was come into that hostelrye
Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye,
Of sondry folk, by aventure yfalle 25
In felaweshipe, and pilgrimes were they alle,
That toward caunterbury wolden ryde.
The chambres and the stables weren wyde,
And wel we weren esed atte beste.
And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste, 30
So hadde I spoken with hem everichon
That I was of hir felaweshipe anon,
And made forward erly for to ryse,
To take oure wey ther as I yow devyse.

But nathelees, whil I have tyme and space, 35
Er that I ferther in this tale pace,
Me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun
To telle yow al the condicioun
Of ech of hem, so as it semed me,
And whiche they weren, and of what degree, 40
And eek in what array that they were inne;
And at a knyght than wol I first bigynne.

Appendix E

Anonymous lyrics

Both lyrics below are from the 13th century and look southern. The words you might not be familiar with are *awe* 'ewe', *sterteth* 'leaps', *swik* 'stop', *fugheles* 'birds', and *necheth* 'comes near'.

I
Sumer is icumen in

Sumer is icumen in
lhude sing, cuccu!
Groweth sed and bloweth med
and springth the wude nu.
Sing cuccu!

Awe bletheth after lomb,
hlouth after calve cu;
bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth
murie sing, cuccu!

Cuccu, Cuccu!
Wel singes thu Cuccu,
Ne swik thu naver nu

Sing Cuccu, nu sing Cuccu!

II
Miri it is while sumer ilast

Miri it is while sumer ilast
with fugheles song;
oc nu necheth windes blast
and weder strong.
Ei, ei! what this nicht is long!
And ich, wit wel michel wrong,
soregh and murn and fast.

Appendix F

Paston Letters

The Paston family letters from around 1425 provide some insight into the affairs of a (well-to-do) family. The letters contain wills, recipes, and other information. Margaret Paston was probably literate but dictated her letters. The one below is to her husband John in 1443, as it appears in Davis' (1971) edition.

To my rygth worchepful husbond Jhon Paston, dwellyng in þe Innere Temple at London, in hast.

Ryth worchipful hosbon, I recomande me to yow, desyryng hertely to here of your wilfare, thanckyng God of your a-mendyng of þe grete dysese þat ye have hade; and I thancke yow for þe letter þat ye sent me, for be my trowthe my moder and I were nowth in hertys es fro þe tyme þat we woste of your sekenesse tyl we woste verely of your a-mendyng. My moder hat be-hestyd a-nodyr ymmage of wax of þe weytte of yow to Oyur Lady of Walsyngham, and sche sent iiij nobelys to þe iiij orderys of frerys at Norweche to pray for yow; and I have be-hestyd to gon on pylgreymmays to Walsyngham and to Sent Levenardys for yow. Be my trowth, I had neuer so hevy a sesyn as I had fro þe tyme þat I woste of your sekenesse tyl I woste of your a-mendyng, and ȝyth myn hert is in no grete esse, ne nowth xal be tyl I wott þat ȝe ben very hol.

Your fader and myn was dys day sevenyth at Bekelys for a matyr of the Pryor of Bromholme, and he lay at Gerlyston þat nyth and was þer tyl it was ix of þe cloke and þe toder day. And I sentte thedyr for a gounne, and my moder seyde þat I xulde non have dens tyl I had be þer a-ȝen; and so þei cowde non gete. My fader Garneyss sentte me worde þat he xulde ben here þe nexth weke, and myn emme also, and pleyn hem here wyth herre hawkys; and þei xulde have me hom wyth hem. And, so God help me, I xal exscusse me of myn goyng dedyr yf I may, for I sopose þat I xal redelyer have tydyngys from yow herre dan i xulde have þer.

I xal sende my moder a tokyn þat sche toke me, for I sopose þe tyme is cum þat I xulde sendeth here yf I kepe þe be-hest þat I have made-I sopose I have tolde yow wat it was. I pray yow hertely þat [ye] wol wochesaf to sende me a letter as hastely as ȝe may, yf wrytyn be non dysesse to yow, and þat ye wollen wochesaf to sende me worde quowe your sor dott. Yf I mythe have hade my wylle I xulde a seyne yow er dys tyme. I wolde ȝe wern at hom, yf it were your ese and your sor myth ben as wyl lokyth to here as it tys þer ȝe ben now, lever dan a new gounne, þow it were of scarlette. I pray yow, yf your sor be hol and so þat ȝe may indure to ryde, wan my fader com to London þat ȝe wol askyn leve and com hom wan þe hors xul be sentte hom a-ȝeyn; for I hope ȝe xulde be kepte as tenderly herre as ȝe ben at London.

I may non leyser have to do wrytyn half a quarter so meche as I xulde seyn to yow yf I myth speke wyth yow. I xal sende yow a-nothyr letter as hastely as I may. I thanke yow þat ȝe wolde wochesaffe to remember my gyrdyl, and þat ȝe wolde wryte to me at þis tyme, for I sopose þe wrytyng was non esse to yow. All-myth God have yow in hys kepyn and sende yow helth. Wretyn at Oxenede in ryth grete hast on Sent Mihyllys Evyn.

Yourrys, M. Paston

My modyr gretit ȝow wel and sendyt ȝow Goddys blyssyng and here, and sche prayith ȝow, and I pray ȝow also, þat ȝe be wel dyetyd of mete and dryngke, for þat is þe grettest helpe þat ȝe may haue now to your helthe ward. Your sone faryth wel, blyssyd be God.

Chapter 7

Early Modern English

1500–1700

The Renaissance was an intellectual and cultural development initially inspired by the desire to revive Greek and Latin culture and learning, as indicated by its name, meaning 'rebirth'. The Renaissance also fostered scientific and scholarly inquiry and a humanistic world view. It started at different times in different parts of Europe; in England, it began a little before 1500. In socio-economic terms, this is a time of migration to large cities as well as large-scale poverty, eviction, and banishment. The 17th century also sees an expansion of English to other continents and large-scale slave trading from Africa to the Americas. This will have major consequences for the language, as we will see in Chapter 9.

One characteristic of this period is that *carpe diem* ('celebrate the day') replaces the medieval *memento mori* ('remember that you will die'). The Renaissance is a time of freedom of ideas; for language that means freedom in creating and borrowing words. During the Renaissance, English continues to become more analytic. By 1700, the Great Vowel Shift is more or less complete and the spelling relatively uniform; 1700 is therefore considered the end of this period even though that date, like 1500, is somewhat debatable.

In this chapter, we will examine the features of Early Modern English as well as some significant 16th- and 17th-century developments. The organization of the chapter is similar to that of the chapters on Old and Middle English. Section 1 discusses printing and literacy, and lists some Early Modern English sources. Section 2 examines Early Modern English spelling and sounds, and Sections 3 and 4 chronicle language internal changes. Section 5 takes a look at the extensive borrowings from Greek, Latin, and other languages, typical of this period. Section 6 catalogs efforts to standardize spelling and compose dictionaries, and Section 7 examines attitudes towards varieties of Early Modern English. Authorship debates are addressed in Section 8.

1. Printing, literacy, and texts

A number of events took place at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries that make 1500 an appropriate date for the start of Early Modern English: in 1476 Caxton introduced the printing press to England and made texts available to a wider group of people, and in 1492 Columbus reached the 'New World'. By 1500, the English language was such that native speakers of Modern English generally need no translations to understand it. In this section, we first discuss the process of hand printing at the end of the

15th century and define some important terms. Then we discuss the state of literacy in this period and the number and types of books printed.

A **compositor** was the person selecting the letters and arranging them in a frame, making a page. Once the frame was filled, ink was rolled over it and a sheet of paper pressed against the letters. This produced a printed page that could be used for a pamphlet. For books, more than one page was printed on a sheet of paper. If two pages were printed on one side and two on the other, the sheet of paper was folded once, for a total of four pages of text. Usually a set of sheets, called a **quire**, was folded, as shown in Figure 7.1, and bound together with other such sets.

To enable the compositor and binder to keep track of the order of the pages, a **signature** was added to the bottom of the page: A1 marked the front page (recto) of the first quire, A1 reverse the second page (verso), and so on, as shown in Figure 7.1. The second quire started with the signature B. The quires were bound together in a **folio**. For the order of the pages to be correct, a sheet needed to have A1 (or A) and the reverse of A4 printed on one side, and the reverse of A1 and the front of A4 on the other (Look at Appendix B and see what the signature on that page is).

Some folio volumes are fairly complex: William Shakespeare's 1623 First Folio (F1) of 36 plays contains 993 pages and a preface. Each quire is made up of three sheets, 12 pages each; this means there must have been at least 83 quires, excluding the preface. The cost of an unbound volume was one British pound and 1,000 copies were probably printed (Pollard 1909). Of these, Henry and Emily Folger collected 79 in the early part of the 20th

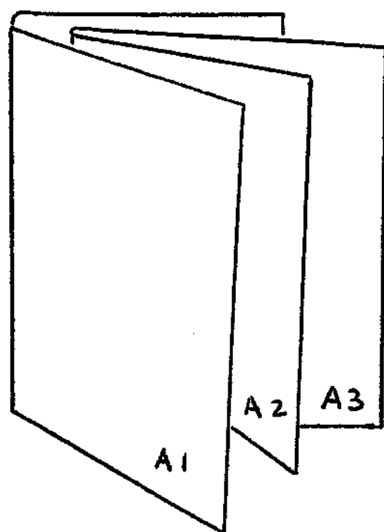


Figure 7.1 A quire of two sheets

century and these are now kept in the Folger Library in Washington, D.C. The First Folio must have been successful since a second folio appeared in 1632, a third in 1663, and a fourth in 1685.

Before the First Folio was printed, quarto versions of several of the plays appeared. Q1 was the first quarto edition, Q2 the second, and so on. *Hamlet* first appeared in a 1603 Q1, but there are other versions: Q2, Q3, and Q4 (see the differences between them at http://ise.uvic.ca). The relationship between the different quarto and folio editions has been studied extensively; see almost any edition of Shakespeare for which version is the 'good' copy.

A **quarto** is in some ways more complicated. It involved printing four pages on one side of a sheet and four on the other and folding the sheet twice. Figure 7.2 provides an example, taken from Gaskell (1972: 89). Try folding a sheet of paper twice and see where the page numbers go and where you would have to cut the page. An octavo contained eight pages on one side and eight on the other and was folded once more. Duodecimo editions had 12 pages on each side and sextodecimo editions 16.

Before (and even after) 1476, printed books were imported (from Italy, Germany, France, and the Low Countries). Early printers initially tried to attract those who had bought manuscripts: teachers, lawyers, physicians, people connected to the church, and wealthy readers interested in literature. **Literacy**, however, was already spreading rapidly in the Middle English period and increasingly cookbooks, almanacs, sheets of music, and how-to books were printed. We know this from contemporary estimates of literacy: Thomas More, for instance, estimates that 50% of the population may have been literate.

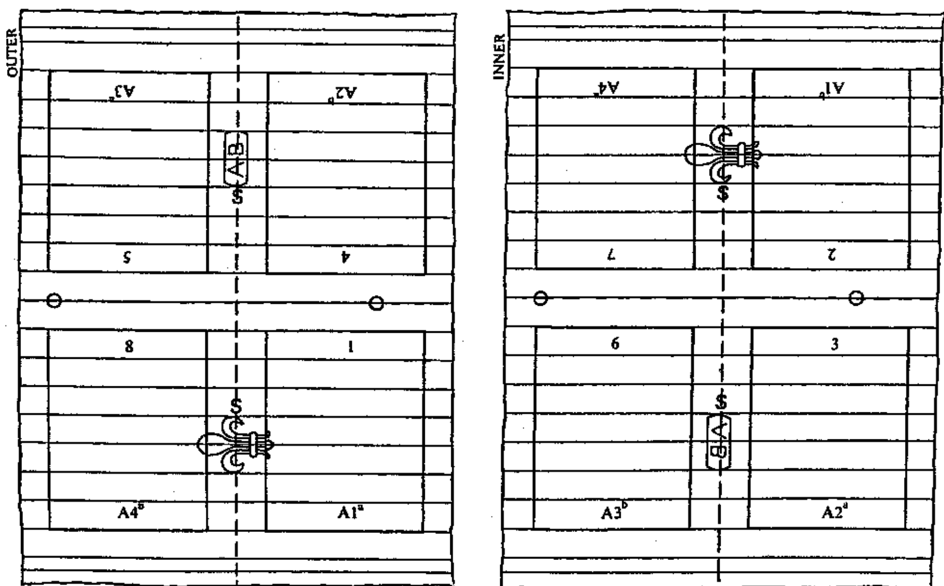


Figure 7.2 Outer and inner sides of a sheet of a quarto

Literacy must have increased a great deal since the king was (unsuccessfully) petitioned in the late 14th and again in the 16th century to make it illegal for 'common' people to learn to read (Knowles 1997: 73; Lawson & Silver 1973: 83). Despite strong opposition to literacy, literacy continued to spread. This made the selection of books printed more varied and the printing press made book ownership easier. In fewer than 200 years after the introduction of the printing press, between 1476 and 1640, 20,000 titles were printed in English (Baugh & Cable 2002: 201). Throughout Europe, 100,000 titles appeared during the first 100 years of printing (Hirsch 1967). The print run of a book might be 200 or a 100 times that. As for the types of books printed, the estimates are that 45% were theological in nature, 36% literary, 11% legal, and 8.5% scientific (Lenhart 1935). Caxton chose to print texts such as Chaucer and Malory (see Blake 1969) that he thought would appeal to an aristocratic public.

At this time, there were also numerous attempts to print an **English version of the Bible**. In 1229, the Synod of Toulouse had made it illegal for laymen to read the Bible; hence it was not permitted to translate it into languages such as French, German, and English. In the 1370s, John Wycliff started a reform movement in the church, and in 1382 a translation of the Bible was completed (but banned in England). This reform movement, also referred to as Lollard, is considered responsible for the Peasant Revolt of 1381. William Tyndale made another attempt at translating the Bible in 1525, but the book was banned again (with the help of Thomas More), and Tyndale was strangled and burned near Brussels in 1536.

After Henry VIII managed to lessen the power of the Pope in the 1530s, English Bibles were no longer considered dangerous. Miles Coverdale worked on a version of Tyndale's Bible that appeared in 1539 in over 20,000 copies. Queen Elizabeth I decreed that a copy of Coverdale's Great Bible be present in every church. The King James Version, or KJV, named after King James who hired a group of people to work on it soon after he succeeded Elizabeth, appeared in 1611; it is said to have incorporated vast portions of Tyndale's *New Testament*. This version became 'official' and widespread after 1611 (http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/kjv.browse.html). The language of the King James Version is archaic, as we will see in Section 3.

In addition to the KJV, which was composed by a number of people, and Shakespeare's steady output between 1590 and 1616, there are many other important works in the Early Modern English period. Thomas More lived in the early part of the English Renaissance and was known for his *Utopia* written in Latin in 1515 as well as some other dramatic and humanist works. In 1565, Montaigne was translated by Florio; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were translated as well. Edmund Spenser published *The Fairie Qveene* in 1596, and Christopher Marlowe wrote *Dr. Faustus* and *Tamburlaine* around the same time. Table 7.1 lists the names of some authors from this period.

The Early Modern English period, and in particular the 17th century, also produced scientific and philosophical writings, but many of these were in Latin. For instance, William Gilbert (1540–1603) wrote in Latin about magnetism in *De Magnete* (1600); William

Table 7.1 Early Modern English authors, in chronological order

Elizabeth I (1533–1603)	Edmund Spenser (1552–1599)
Walter Ralegh (1552–1618)	Philip Sidney (1554–1586)
John Lyly (1554–1606)	Thomas Kyd (1558–1594)
Francis Bacon (1561–1626)	Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593)
William Shakespeare (1564–1616)	Thomas Dekker (1570–1632)
Cyril Tourneur (1570/80–1626)	Ben Jonson (1572–1637)
John Donne (1572–1631)	John Fletcher (1579–1625)
John Webster (1580–1625)	Thomas Middleton (1580–1627)
Philip Massinger (1583–1639)	Francis Beaumont (1584–1616)
John Ford (1586–1640)	John Milton (1608–1674)
Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673)	John Bunyan (1628–1688)
John Dryden (1631–1700)	Samuel Pepys (1633–1703)
Aphra Behn (1640–1689)	

Harvey (1578–1657) discovered in 1616 how blood circulates but published in Latin as did Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727). There are a few works in English, however: in 1661, Robert Boyle (1627–1691) published *The Sceptical Chymist* as well as works on theology. Joseph Glanvill's (1636–1680) *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* of the same year is in English as is John Locke's 1690 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. There were also linguistic works such as *The ground-work of a new perfect language* (Francis Lodowyck 1652) and *Elements of Speech* (William Holder 1669). Some of these will be discussed in Sections 5 and 6.

Facsimiles of the scientific writings are available at http://oldsite.library.upenn.edu/etext/collections/science. Other writings can be found at www.luminarium.org, www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room, www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/Marlowe.html, www.ex.ac.uk/~pellison/BF/playlist.htm, http://ise.uvic.ca, and http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear.

2. Early Modern English spelling and sounds

In this section, we will examine some Early Modern English texts. We will see that Early Modern English spelling displays more variation than Modern English, but is starting to look quite 'modern'. Sound changes continue to occur, as expected.

Figure 7.3 is a facsimile of an excerpt from Act II (Scene 1) of *Richard II*, taken from the First Folio (1623). The play is also available in earlier quarto versions, the earliest from 1597. In the F1, there is a *u* where Modern English has *v*: *siluer*. We notice some word-final *-e*, as in *Moate, farre, ransome*, and *Farme*, and a few other minor points such as the double *-ll* in *royall, shamefull,* and *scandall*. Also, [s] is spelled either as *s* or resembling an *f*, depending on its position in the word.

28 *The life and death of Richard the ſecond.*

A brace of Dray-men bid God ſpeed him well,
And had the tribute of his ſupple knee,
With thankes my Countrimen, my louing friends,
As were our England in reuerſion his,
And he our ſubiects next degree in hope.
Gr. Well, he is gone, & with him go theſe thoughts:
Now for the Rebels, which ſtand out in Ireland,
Expedient manage muſt be made my Liege
Ere further leyſure, yeeld them further meanes
For their aduantage, and your Highneſſe loſſe.
Ric. We will our ſelfe in perſon to this warre,
And for our Coffers, with too great a Court,
And liberall Largeſſe, are growne ſomewhat light,
We are inforc'd to farme our royall Realme,
The Reuennew whereof ſhall furniſh vs
For our affayres in hand: if that come ſhort
Our Subſtitutes at home ſhall haue Blanke-charters:
Whereto, when they ſhall know what men are rich,
They ſhall ſubſcribe them for large ſummes of Gold,
And ſend them after to ſupply our wants:
For we will make for Ireland preſently.
Enter Buſhy.
Buſhy, what newes?
Bu. Old *Iohn of Gaunt* is verie ſicke my Lord,
Sodainly taken, and hath ſent poſt haſte
To entreat your Maieſty to viſit him.
Ric. Where lyes he?
Bu. At Ely houſe.
Ric. Now put it (heauen) in his Phyſitians minde,
To helpe him to his graue immediately:
The lining of his coffers ſhall make Coates
To decke our ſouldiers for theſe Iriſh warres.
Come Gentlemen, let's all go viſit him:
Pray heauen we may make haſt, and come too late. *Exit.*

Actus Secundus. Scena Prima.

Enter Gaunt, ſicke with Yorke.

Gau. Will the King come, that I may breath my laſt
In wholſome counſell to his vnſtaid youth?
Yor. Vex not your ſelfe, nor ſtriue not with your breth,
For all in vaine comes counſell to his eare.
Gau. Oh but (they ſay) the tongues of dying men
Inforce attention like deepe harmony;
Where words are ſcarſe, they are ſeldome ſpent in vaine,
For they breath truth, that breath their words in paine.
He that no more muſt ſay, is liſten'd more,
Then they whom youth and eaſe haue taught to gloſe,
More are mens ends markt, then their liues before,
The ſetting Sun, and Muſicke is the cloſe
As the laſt taſte of ſweetes, is ſweeteſt laſt,
Writ in remembrance, more then things long paſt;
Though *Richard* my liues counſell would not heare,
My deaths ſad tale, may yet vndeafe his eare.
Yor. No, it is ſtopt with other flatt'ring ſounds
As praiſes of his ſtate: then there are ſound
Laſciuious Meeters, to whoſe venom ſound
The open eare of youth doth alwayes liſten.
Report of faſhions in proud Italy,
Whoſe manners ſtill our tardie apiſh Nation
Limpes after in baſe imitation.
Where doth the world thruſt forth a vanity,
So it be new, there's no reſpect how vile,
That is not quickly buz'd into his eares?
That all too late comes counſell to be heard,
Where will doth mutiny with wits regard:
Direct not him, whoſe way himſelfe will chooſe,
Tis breath thou lackſt, and that breath wilt thou looſe.
Gaunt. Me thinkes I am a Prophet new inſpir'd,
And thus expiring, do foretell of him,
His raſh fierce blaze of Ryot cannot laſt,
For violent fires ſoone burne out themſelues,
Small ſhowres laſt long, but ſodaine ſtormes are ſhort,
He tyres betimes, that ſpurs too faſt betimes;
With eager feeding, food doth choake the feeder:
Light vanity, inſatiate cormorant,
Conſuming meanes ſoone preyes vpon it ſelfe.
This royall Throne of Kings, this ſceptred Iſle,
This earth of Maieſty, this ſeate of Mars,
This other Eden, demy paradiſe,
This Fortreſſe built by Nature for her ſelfe,
Againſt infection, and the hand of warre:
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious ſtone, ſet in the ſiluer ſea,
Which ſerues it in the office of a wall,
Or as a Moate defenſiue to a houſe,
Againſt the enuy of leſſe happier Lands,
This bleſſed plot, this earth, this Realme, this England,
This Nurſe, this teeming wombe of Royall Kings,
Fear'd by their breed, and famous for their birth,
Renowned for their deeds, as farre from home,
For Chriſtian ſeruice, and true Chiualrie,
As is the ſepulcher in ſtubborne *Iury*
Of the Worlds ranſome, bleſſed *Maries* Sonne.
This Land of ſuch deere ſoules, this deere-deere Land,
Deere for her reputation through the world,
Is now Leas'd out (I dye pronouncing it)
Like to a Tenement or pelting Farme.
England bound in with the triumphant ſea,
Whoſe rocky ſhore beates backe the enuious ſiedge
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with ſhame,
With Inky blottes, and rotten Parchment bonds.
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a ſhamefull conqueſt of it ſelfe.
Ah! would the ſcandall vaniſh with my life,
How happy then were my enſuing death?

Enter King, Queene, Aumerle, Buſhy, Greene, Bagot, Ros, and Willoughby.

Yor. The King is come, deale mildly with his youth,
For young hot Colts, being rag'd, do rage the more.
Qu. How fares our noble Vncle Lancaſter?
Ri. What comfort man? How iſt with aged *Gaunt*?
Ga. Oh how that name befits my compoſition:
Old *Gaunt* indeed, and gaunt in being old:
Within me greefe hath kept a tedious faſt,
And who abſtaynes from meate, that is not gaunt?
For ſleeping England long time haue I watcht,
Watching breeds leanneſſe, leanneſſe is all gaunt.
The pleaſure that ſome Fathers feede vpon,
Is my ſtrict faſt, I meane my Childrens lookes,
And therein faſting, haſt thou made me gaunt:
Gaunt am I for the graue, gaunt as a graue,
Whoſe hollow wombe inherits naught but bones.
Ric. Can ſicke men play ſo nicely with their names?
Gau. No, miſery makes ſport to mocke it ſelfe:
Since thou doſt ſeeke to kill my name in mee,
I

Figure 7.3 Facsimile of *Richard II*, taken from Kökeritz' (1953) facsimile

The transcript of the most well-known part is given in (1).

(1) **Shakespeare – *Richard II***
This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle,
This earth of Maiesty, this seate of Mars,
This other Eden, demy paradise,
This Fortresse built by Nature for her selfe,
Against infection, and the hand of warre: 5
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone, set in the siluer sea,
Which serues it in the office of a wall,
Or as a Moate defensiue to a house,
Against the enuy of lesse happier Lands, 10
This blessed plot, this earth, this Realme, this England,
This Nurse, this teeming wombe of Royall Kings,
Fear'd by their breed, and famous for their birth,
Renowned for their deeds, as farre from home,
For Christian seruice, and true Chiualrie, 15
As is the sepulcher in stubborne {Iury}
Of the Worlds ransome, blessed {Maries} Sonne.
This Land of such deere soules, this deere - deere Land,
Deere for her reputation through the world,
Is now Leas'd out (I dye pronouncing it) 20
Like to a Tenement or pelting Farme.
England bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beates backe the enuious siedge
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With Inky blottes, and rotten Parchment bonds. 25
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shamefull conquest of it selfe.
Ah! would the scandall vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death? (II, i)

The passage in (1) happens not to have varied spellings of the same word, even though that is quite common in this period. For instance, in *Richard II*, *dye* (l. 20) is elsewhere also spelled *die* and *farre* (l. 14) *far*. The spelling in this excerpt, as is common for the time, has a *u* where Modern English has *v*.

In Early Modern English, capital letters are used more frequently than in Middle English, where they only occur at the beginning of the line, if at all. Shakespeare does capitalize nouns and sometimes adjectives. The punctuation in the F1 edition is relatively modern, but in many Early Modern English texts it is still stylistic rather than grammatical, a point we will come back to in Section 3.

We have mentioned the Great Vowel Shift (GVS) before because we have to 'undo' it to arrive at the pronunciation of Old and Middle English. The sounds of Early Modern English have undergone the shift. For instance, *isle* in (1) is pronounced [ajl], with the vowel shifted, and in *nature*, the first vowel is pronounced [e], as expected after the GVS.

This shift, however, does not take place overnight and, even as late as 1600, some sounds have not completely raised. If you can, listen to a recording of the passage in (1) to hear some unshifted vowels. These provide evidence of a more refined version of the GVS than we have seen in Chapter 2, a shift that had one more stage to it, as represented in Figure 7.4.

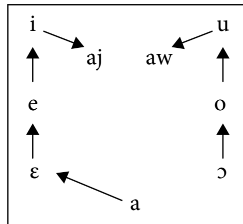


Figure 7.4 The GVS

The vowels yet to be shifted can be heard in words such as *seate* and *sea*, pronounced with an [e] where Modern English has [i]. The sound spelled *ea* is pronounced [ɛ] in Middle English, and it raises to [e] around 1600 and to [i] around 1700. This [e] pronunciation of *sea(te)* in (1) shows the GVS was not complete by Shakespeare's time. In Shakespeare's English, *see* and *sea* are therefore pronounced differently: the former has already shifted to [i], in accordance with the GVS, but the latter has not and is pronounced more like [e]. The [o] in *stone* and *moate* in (1) sounds different in Early Modern and Modern English as well; hence, as shown in Table 7.2, a more accurate representation of the shift would have four levels of vowel height.

We now know that the **GVS proceeds in stages**. The approximate dates of the changes are shown in Table 7.2, adapted from Lass (1999: 72, 85, 96). By 1700, the sound system resembles that of Modern English, as shown in Figure 7.2, repeated from Chapter 2, but see Lass (1999) for a much more detailed review of the actual changes.

Table 7.2 Dates of GVS changes

Spelling	1400	1500	1600	1700	ModE
i (ice)	i	ej	ɛj	aj	aj
ee (meet)	e	i	i	i	i
ea (meat/great)	ɛ	ɛ	ej	i/ej	i/ej
a (ace)	a	a>ɛ	ɛ	ej	ej
ou (out)	u	ow	ow	aw	aw
oo (boot)	o	u	u	u	u
oa (boat)	ɔ	ɔ	o	ow	ow

Some sound changes that were part of the GVS were interrupted before being complete. Compare, for example, the words in (2) to those in (3); all would be expected to be pronounced with [i]. The more frequent Modern English pronunciation is indeed [i], as in (2), but there are a few [e] pronunciations, as (3) shows.

(2) sea, neat, clean, fear, read, teach, leave, eat, weak, meaning, meat

(3) steak, great, yea, break, Reagan, Yeats

The words in (2) have the expected pronunciation considering the GVS; the words in (3) have an earlier pronunciation, which for unknown reasons is retained up to the present.

Since [e] and [o] change last, the GVS must have started either with the high vowels or the low ones. If high vowels were the first to change (*min* [min] to [majn]), there would be a void in the middle of the vowel diagram, and the mid vowels would be pulled up (drag chain). If the low vowels were first (*name* [namə] to [nemə]), they would push up the higher ones (push chain).

In Chapter 2, I mentioned that we don't know exactly what set this shift in motion. In 1978, Robert Stockwell started his article on the Great Vowel Shift (GVS) with the words "What?! The Vowel Shift Again?" In the time since 1978, the exact cause of the GVS has still not been determined. Once one vowel shifts, we know that speakers tend to repair that by having other vowels occupy that empty space. Fennell (2001: 159ff.) thinks a social reason can be given for the start of the shift. This view is based on Dobson (1957) who discusses the struggle between the [i] and [e] pronunciations in *sea, great, meat,* and *break*. The 'polite' pronunciation was the one with [e], similar to the words in (3); ultimately the less polite one won in the majority of cases, as (2) shows. Names often retain the old pronunciation: *Reagan* and *Yeats* have the old pronunciation, and *Beatty* is pronounced both ways. But the story is not finished. Gjertrud Stenbrenden (2012) concludes that the GVS started earlier than when the handbooks and textbooks claim, and that it overlaps with other vowel changes that previously had been presumed to have been finished by the time the GVS started. So, this shift is a much more continuous and complex process than what has been assumed previously and we can therefore expect more work on this.

You might ask how we can determine the pronunciation now that the spelling is more or less fixed. There is rhyming evidence, e.g. *raisin* and *reason* rhyme. In his 1633 grammar, Charles Butler published a list of homophones (different words with the same pronunciation) and Richard Hodges provided more in 1643 (see Dobson 1957: 396ff.). Kökeritz (1953: 400ff.) provided lists of words that rhyme. Apart from rhyming evidence, there are also many grammars. A grammar for Dutch learners of English, for instance, lists *ea* as pronounced [e] as late as 1646 (Dobson 1957: 379).

As for Early Modern English **consonants**, some of them are deleted, especially in consonant clusters. For instance, there are puns on *knight* and *night* in Shakespeare, an indication that the initial [k] is no longer pronounced. The word-initial [w] ceases to be pronounced, e.g. in *wrist* and *write*. Kökeritz (1953: 295) says "[f]rom a modern point of view the Elizabethan pronunciation of the consonants was slipshod, not to say vulgar."

In (4), Shakespeare comments on the extra consonants that are put into words such as *debt* and *calf* to bring the spelling closer to Latin. This process is referred to as etymological respelling. *Love's Labor's Lost* (hence LLL) first appeared in a quarto version in 1598, but is given here in the F1 edition.

(4) **Shakespeare – *Love's Labor's Lost***
He draweth out the thred of his verbositie, fi-ner
then the staple of his argument. I abhor such pha-naticall
phantasims, such insociable and poynt deuise
companions, such rackers of ortagriphie, as to speake 4
dout fine, when he should say doubt; det, when he shold
pronounce debt; debt, not det: he clepeth a Calf, Caufe:
halfe, haufe: neighbour {vocatur} nebour; neigh abreuiated
ne: this is abhominable, which he would call abhomi-nable 8
it insinuateth me of infamie: {ne inteligis domine}, to
make franticke, lunaticke? (V, i, 25)

Wyld (1920: 286–7) provides an excellent summary of the changes involving consonants, a few of which will be given here. In Early Modern English – and as early as Middle English – the *r* sound starts to disappear in certain environments; this later leads to much sociolinguistic investigation on prestige variants. The loss starts before *s* in words such as *bass* and *ass* (from earlier *bærs* and *arse*). The Cely Letters, where *parcel* is written as *passel*, provide examples from the 15th century. In these letters, *r* is written in unexpected places such as *farther* for *father*, indicating that it was no longer clear to writers when to use it. By 1770, *r* has disappeared after vowels in southern English but not in other areas; this gives rise to the well-known difference between rhotic (with *r*) and non-rhotic (no *r* in most positions) dialects (Lass 1987: 94–5).

The pronunciation of initial *h-* is also interesting. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *h-* is lost in clusters, e.g. before liquids and nasals (as in *hlaf* to *loaf* and *hnitu* to *nit* 'louse egg') and later before glides in most dialects. The loss of *h* before vowels in many dialects, as in *hand*, may be due to French influence since words such as *history* do not have an [h] in French, from which they are borrowed. The absence of initial [h] is stigmatized after the 18th century, which causes a hypercorrected [h] in *history, hospital*, and *hymnal*. In some contexts, initial *h* is not pronounced, however: *hour* and *heir*. See also Lass (1987: 95–6) and Chapter 8.

In many varieties of present-day English, [θ] and [ð] are pronounced as [t] and [d], respectively. This must have been common in Early Modern English as well. *Debt* and *death* were pronounced similarly enough to be 'confused' in the pun in (5) from around 1600.

(5) A man can die but once. We owe God a death
(Shakespeare, *2 Henry 4* III, ii, 243)

Some changes in Early Modern English sounds are summarized in Table 7.3. These do not occur all the time in all varieties, however. They will continue to vary between old and new form across the Englishes, however, as we will see in the next two chapters.

Table 7.3 Some sound changes in Early Modern English

GVS nears completion	some loss of [h] (word-initially), e.g. in *hand*
[ʒ] is introduced in French loans, e.g. *rouge*	loss of [χ], e.g. in *taught*
loss of [r] (first before [s]), e.g. *parcel*	some loss of [w] (in initial cluster), e.g. *write*
loss of [k] (in initial cluster), e.g. *knight*	[θ]/[ð] > [t]/[d], e.g. in *death*

From the 13th century on, the choice between *a* and *an* and the forms of the possessive (e.g. *my* or *mine*) depend on the word that follows. If that word starts with a vowel (or *h* in earlier English), *an* is used: *an eager ayre* and *mine owne eyes* in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Otherwise, *a* or *my* is used: *A most auspitious starre* and *my Magick garment* in the *Tempest*. This system remains more or less in place until the 18th century for possessives and until the present for articles.

As a last point in this section, we will briefly consider the **stress** of words. As Lass (1999: 128–9) points out, the Germanic stress rules characteristic of Old and Middle English change in the Early Modern English period. Germanic stress is typically on the first syllable (certain prefixes excluded); due to the introduction of many multi-syllable French and Latin words that have the stress on the antepenultimate syllable this general rule changes and the stress is on a later syllable. Thus, words such as *academy, acceptable, corruptible,* and *abbreviation* would all have the stress on the first syllable according to the Germanic rule, unlike in Modern English; according to contemporary sources, in some words the stress remains on the first syllable until the 18th century. Kökeritz (1953: 332–9) devotes some time to the issue and cites some Shakespearean words with a stress different from that in Modern English: *antique* with the stress on the first syllable.

By the end of the Early Modern English period, English pronunciation is more recognizable to Modern English speakers than Old or Middle English because of the completion of the GVS. Even though the GVS is mostly complete by 1700, there are exceptions: Alexander Pope (1688–1744) rhymes *survey* and *sea* and *away* and *tea* (Bolton 1982: 248), which indicates that *sea* and *tea* still have an [e]. The pronunciation of Early Modern English is discussed in a lot more detail in Dobson (1957); Jespersen (1909); Kökeritz (1953); and Wyld (1920).

3. Early Modern English morphology

Early Modern English is characterized by a further **loss of inflections** and an increase in the number of prepositions and auxiliaries (grammaticalization), as expected of a language becoming more analytic. The loss of inflections is artificially stopped by prescriptive grammarians, editors, and schoolteachers in the centuries that follow. If that had not happened, we might have lost the third person *-s* ending and the case endings on personal (*I/me, she/her*, etc.) and relative pronouns (*who/whom*). This has in fact happened in a number of modern varieties.

We will start the discussion of these changes by examining the **pronominal** paradigm in Table 7.4. Compared to Middle English (Table 6.6), the accusative has merged with the dative; one case, referred to as ACC(usative), is now used for all objects.

Table 7.4 Early Modern English pronouns

	Singular			**Plural**		
	1	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
NOM	I	you (ye(e), thou)	she, he, (h)it	we	you (ye)	they
GEN	my/mine	your/s (thy/thine)	her/s, his, his	our/s	your/s	their/s
ACC	me	you (thee)	her, him, hit/him	us	you	them

The situation with the second person pronouns is complex; in Table 7.4 the forms that are disappearing are in parentheses. Around 1600, English *thou* and *you* are both used in similar situations, but *you* 'wins out' since the plural nominative pronoun *ye(e)* also disappears. The use of pronouns in the KJV, where the older *ye* is adhered to, is archaic, as (6) shows.

(6) that in the day **ye** eat thereof, then **your** eyes shall be opened, and **ye** shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. (*KJV*, Genesis 3)

The changes in second person pronouns are presented in simplified form in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Second person pronoun changes (FAM = familiar; POL = polite)

OE and early ME			**late ME (1400)**			**EModE (1650)**			**ModE**	
SG	NOM	þu	FAM	NOM	thou	SG	NOM	you (thou)	SG	you
	ACC/DAT	þe(c)		ACC	thee		ACC	you (thee)		
PL	NOM	ge	POL	NOM	yee	PL	NOM	you	PL	you (all)
	ACC/DAT	eow(ic)		ACC	you		ACC	you		

The choice between Early Modern English *thou (thee)* and *yee (you)* is often discussed in the sociolinguistic literature (Brown & Levinson 1987). Even in Middle English, the system is never as rigid as the *tu-vous* distinction in French: *vous* 'you' is used in formal situations and is a marker of politeness. Speaking to friends, a French speaker would use *tu* 'thou'. In Early Modern English, sometimes these pronouns follow the older rules, as in the first two lines in (7), where Hamlet uses the respectful *you* and his mother the familiar *thou/thy*, but this system breaks down, possibly out of irritation, in the third line.

(7) Queen Hamlet Queen Hamlet

(7)	Queen	**Thou** hast **thy** Father much offended.
	Hamlet	Mother, **you** haue my Father much offended.
	Queen	Come, come, **you** answer with an idle tongue.
	Hamlet	Go, go, **you** question with an idle tongue.

An interesting innovation is the neuter genitive *its*. In Old and Middle English, the genitive of *it* is *his* and this is still occasionally found in Early Modern English, as in (8), typical of the KJV.

(8) and the fruit tree yielding fruit after **his** kind (*KJV*, Genesis 1)

Its must have come into existence as an analogy to *yours, hers*, etc.; well into the 18th century, both *its* and *it's* are found.

Another development is the occurrence of **reflexive** pronouns. As mentioned earlier, in Old English, forms such as *himself* and *myself* do not exist. They gradually come into existence, but even at the time of the F1 edition of Shakespeare, simple pronouns are used, as (9) and (10) show; *my/thy* and *self* are always printed separately, as in (11) and (12), even though *himself* has become one unit already.

(9) I feele **me** much to blame (*2 Henry 4* II, iv, 390)

(10) I take not on **me** here as a Physician (*2 Henry 4* IV, i, 60)

(11) That thou prouok'st **thy selfe** to cast him vp (*2 Henry 4* I, iii, 96)

(12) I dresse **my selfe** handsome (*2 Henry 4* II, iv, 303)

See the beginning of Appendix B for several other reflexive forms.

Case is further disappearing (Algeo & Pyles 2004: 187–8). This is evident from the loss of second person plural *ye(e)* in favor of a general *you*, the loss of *whom*, and the inconsistent use of pronouns. Examples of the inconsistent use of pronouns are provided in (13) to (15), all from Shakespeare. Some of these forms are edited away in later editions (see Section 7).

(13) all debts are cleerd between you and **I** (*Merchant of Venice* III, 2, 321)

(14) So sawcy with the hand of **she** heere (*Anthony & Cleopatra* III, 13, 98)

(15) you have seene Cassio and **she** together (*Othello* IV, 2, 3)

In addition to Shakespeare, Marlowe and Johnson also show a tendency towards leveling case distinctions.

As to **verbal endings**, the distinctive second person singular *-st* ending is lost due to the loss of the second person singular pronoun *thou*. The third person singular verbal ending changes from *-th* to *-s* in the course of the Early Modern English period. Authors vary greatly with respect to which verbal ending they use. In Thomas Elyot's *The boke named the Gouernour* (1531), there are no 'modern' forms, and in Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582), there are 152 instances of *hath* and 151 of *doth*, but no instances of *has* and *does*. In Spenser's *Fairie Qveene* (1596), there are a few instances of the new forms: *doth* appears 660 times and *does* 169 times (20%); there are 313 instances of *hath* and 37 of *has* (11%). Some examples from Shakespeare where the verb has second person singular *-st* and third person singular *-th* are given in (16) and (17).

(16) What thou **denyest** to men (*Timon* IV, 3, 537)

(17) whereas the contrarie **bringeth** blisse (*1 Henry 6* V, 5, 64)

Starting around 1600, most verbal endings are left out in writing; the third person verbal ending may no longer have been pronounced *-th* long before that. Forms in *-th* rhyme with forms in *-s*: in 1643, Richard Hodges mentions that *boughs* and *boweth* are the same. Shakespeare no longer uses third person *-th* endings on verbs, except for *hath* and *doth,* and even those disappear after 1600 (Taylor 1972; 1976). Lexical verbs, as in (18), mostly have the *-s* ending: there are 29 instances of *appeares* and two of *appeareth* in F1.

(18) it **appeares** no other thing to mee, then a foule and pestilent congregation of va-pours (*Hamlet* II, 2, 315)

Figure 7.5 shows the percentage of the less archaic *does*, and its variant *do(e)'s*, in relation to the total number of third person singulars. Mulcaster (1582) and Queen Elizabeth (1590) only use *doth*, never *does*, but Spenser in *The Fairy Queen* (1596) and Donne (1618) do. Shakespeare's use of *does* is considerable in e.g. *Hamlet* (1600) and *Macbeth* (1610), and John Fletcher's *Bonduca* (1614) shows no instances of *doth* or *hath*. The data on Queen Elizabeth and John Donne are from Lass (1999: 163–4); the other data are from electronic texts.

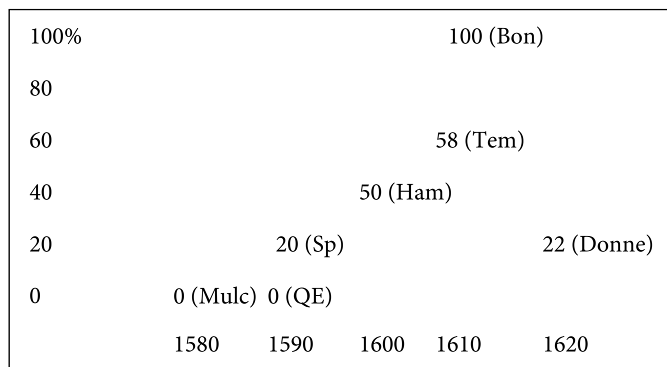


Figure 7.5 Percentage of *does/do's/doe's* compared to all third person singulars (Mulc = Mulcaster; QE = Queen Elizabeth; Sp = Spenser; Ham = Hamlet; Tem = Tempest; Bon = Bonduca)

As mentioned, the *KJV* is more conservative and continues to use *-th* endings on auxiliaries (*hath* and *doth*), as in (19), as well as on lexical verbs, as in (20).

(19) ***King James Version* – 1611**
Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, **hath** God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God **hath** said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: For God **doth** know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. (*KJV*, Genesis 3)

(20) The hay **appeareth** and the tender grass **sheweth** itself. (*KJV*, Proverbs 27)

Some writers are also conservative in this respect: in his essays and in *Paradise Lost* (written between the 1640s and the 1660s), Milton always uses *hath* over *has*. In his 1690 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* Locke still uses *hath* even though *has* prevails, and Robert Lowth still uses both *hath* and *has*, *loveth* and *loves* as late as 1762, when his grammar appears.

Another development related to Early Modern English verbs is that the Old and Middle English **subjunctive** endings are being replaced by modal auxiliaries and infinitival complements, as in (21).

(21) and wishing [**for** those hands to take off his melancholy bargain].
(1681 Dryden, from Visser 1973: 2248)

As Görlach (1991: 113) states, "[b]efore 1650 the frequency of the subjunctive varied from one author to the next." This is an indication that it is seen as a stylistic variant, rather than a part of the grammar.

Verbal agreement in Early Modern English is often 'wrong' by prescriptive standards. This lack of clarity on the part of the speaker/writer is in keeping with the move towards an analytic language and the disappearance of agreement (and case). In (22) and (23), *has* and *am* are 'wrong' and in (24) *thee* 'should' be *thou* and the verb 'should' be plural. As in Modern English, this means that in the grammar of the speaker, the case and agreement distinctions are no longer transparent, especially in coordinated phrases.

(22) let nothing fail of all that thou has spoken (Esther 6)

(23) Both death and I am one. (*As You Like It* I, 3, 99)

(24) Jack, how agrees the devil and thee about thy soul … (*I Henry IV* I, ii, 115)

Comparatives and **superlatives** in Early Modern English can be doubled: *most unkindest, more richer*, and *worser*. A search for *more* followed by an adjective ending in *-er* in Shakespeare's First Folio produces 24 examples and *most* is followed seven times by an adjective ending in *-est*.

(25) This was the **most vnkindest** cut of all. (*Julius Caesar* III, II, 181)

(26) for the **more better** assurance (*Midsummer Night's Dream* III, i, 21)

(27) the **worsser** welcome (*Othello* I, i, 94)

Note that the spelling of *than* is different, as (28) and (29) show: *better then* occurs 73 times in F1 whereas *better than* occurs only four times.

(28) that loues thee **better then** he could. (*Richard 3* I, ii, 141)

(29) **better then** him I am. (*As you like it* I, i, 43)

See Appendix B for an instance of *then* as well. The use of *more* and *most* at this time is characteristic of an analytic language. John Hart's (1569) *Orthographie* has the no longer usual *easilier* and *more brief*, showing there was a lot of variation.

Other noteworthy morphological distinctions concern adverbs and verbs. **Adverbs** do not consistently end in *-ly* yet, as (30) and (31) show, and the distinction between **strong** and **weak verbs** is different in Early Modern English. For instance, in (32), *holp* is a strong verb, and in (33) *shake* is a weak verb (Algeo & Pyles 2004: 189ff.; Partridge 1973: 121ff.).

(30) and haste thee **quick** away. (*Measure for Measure* IV, i, 7)

(31) A man may sit as **quiet** in hell, as in a sanctuary.
(*Much Ado about Nothing* II, i, 266)

(32) And his great Loue … hath **holp** him. (*Macbeth* I, vi, 23)

(33) They **shaked** their heads. (*KJV, Psalm* 109.25, from Partridge 1973: 126)

A language that loses inflections might have words that in different contexts can be verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or prepositions. This is the case in Early Modern English: in (34), the nouns *grace* and *vnckle* are used as verbs, and in (35), the preposition *beneath* [bIneθ] is used as an adjective.

(34) **Grace** me no Grace, nor **Vnckle** me (*Richard 2* II, iii, 78)

(35) Whom this **beneath** world doth embrace and hugge (*Timon* I, i, 44)

The technical term for this process that converts one category into another without an affix is **conversion**.

4. Early Modern English syntax

The transformation of English into an analytic language continues in the Early Modern English period. As mentioned earlier, in syntactic terms, this transformation leads to an increasingly fixed word order and the introduction of **grammatical words**. An example of a grammatical word being formed is the directional *to* becoming a dative case marker. In Middle English, the number of prepositions and determiners increases as prepositions

replace cases. Starting in the Early Modern English period, the grammatical words introduced are mainly auxiliaries. The trend towards more embedded sentences that started in Middle English also continues in Early Modern English.

The **word order** is fairly similar to that of Modern English, as shown in (36), addressed by Queen Elizabeth to her bishops.

(36) **Elizabeth I – 1599**
Our realm and subjects have been long wanderers, walking astray, whilst they were under the tuition of Romish pastors, who advised them to own a wolf for their head (in lieu of a careful shepherd) whose inventions, heresies and schisms be so numerous, that the flock of Christ have fed on poisonous shrubs for want of wholesome pastures. And whereas you hit us and our subjects in the teeth that the Romish Church first planted the Catholic within our realm, the records and chronicles of our realm testify the contrary; and your own Romish idolatry maketh you liars.
(from http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/elizabeth1.html)

Subjects are only left out in a few cases. Would you add pronouns in (37) and (38)?

(37) Nor do we find him forward to be sounded, But with a crafty madness keeps aloof.
(Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III, i, 8)

(38) This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd. (Milton, *Paradise Regained* I, 85)

There are still some dative subjects, mostly in archaic expressions such as *me thinks*.

Some Yes/No **questions** continue to be formed as in (39) and main verbs can still be used in forming questions, as (40) shows.

(39) ***Whether*** *hadst thou rather be a Faulconbridge, …*
'Had you rather be a Faulconbridge?' (Shakespeare, *John* I, i, 134)

(40) Whither go you? (*Merry Wives of Windsor* II, ii, 10)

Auxiliaries are introduced or expanded, but neither simple auxiliaries nor sequences of auxiliaries are as elaborate as in Modern English. The expression of tense, mood, and aspect is perhaps still the most important difference between Early Modern and Modern English (Rissanen 1999; van Gelderen 2004). For instance, Modern English would have the progressives *are going* and *are saying* in (40) and (41) and a present perfect form with *have* in (42), as shown in the gloss.

(41) What say you, Scarlet and John? (*Merry Wives of Windsor* I, i, 155)

(42) *I saw him not these many yeares*
'I haven't seen him for many years.' (*Cymbeline* IV, ii, 66, from Hope 2003)

As in French, German, Italian, and Dutch, there is still a difference in Early Modern English between *have* and *be*: *I haue spoke* but *We are come to you* (both from MWW). *Have* is used with transitive verbs and *be* with certain intransitive verbs (e.g. of motion). This difference continues up to the 19th century, but ceases to be relevant in Modern English.

The end of the Middle English period is also when auxiliaries start to be **contracted**. The Cely letters, in (43), the Paston Letters, in (44), and the late 17th century John Bunyan, in (45), show very interesting reductions after modals, something that continues until Modern English, as in (46), a typical sentence from a university essay.

(43) *and so* ***myght Y a*** *done syn I come vnto Calles*
'and so might I have done since I came to Calais' (George Cely 1478)

(44) *it* ***xuld a*** *be seyd*
'It should have been said' (Paston Letters, I, #131, a1449)

(45) Chris. … I thought you **would a come** in by violent hand or **a took** the Kingdom by storm.
Mer. Alas, to be in my Case, who that so was, **could but a done** so? …as I, that **would not a knocked** with all their might. (Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* ii, 203/191; see Sharrock 1960)

(46) That argument should of been made differently.

In questions and negative sentences, *do* is not obligatory. Shakespeare, for instance, uses both (47) and (48).

(47) **Do** you **not heare** him? (*Tempest*, Appendix B)

(48) A heauie heart **beares not** a humble tongue. (*LLL* V, ii, 747)

Since *do* is not (yet) obligatory, its use can help determine authorship. Partridge (1964: 148–9) argues that in the parts in Henry VIII attributed to Shakespeare *do* is used much more than in those attributed to John Fletcher. Partridge (1964: 152) also lists other defining characteristics of the two authors.

In Old and Middle English, negation can be expressed by one or two negatives. This is changing in Early Modern English where *not* or *nothing* typically appear alone in a clause. There are, however, a few cases where single negation is expressed using multiple negative words: *nothing neither,* as in (49).

(49) Nor go neither: …and yet say **nothing neither**. (*Tempest* III, ii, 22)

The use of **relatives** varies by author and Hope (1994) uses this to differentiate between the works of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Johnson, and others. Foster (1989) also uses relatives when trying to expand the Shakespeare canon, as we will see in Section 7. The main difference between Early Modern and Modern English is in the choice of relative pronouns. In (50), *which* is used for a person, and, in (51), *who* is used for a non-human. These are ungrammatical in Modern English, mainly due to prescriptive rules. In (52), *that* is used as a marker of a non-restrictive relative clause, something that is no longer 'permitted'.

(50) Shall I of surety bear a childe, **which** am old. (*KJV, Genesis* 18.13)

(51) I met a Lyon, **Who** glaz'd vpon me. (*Julius Caesar* I, iii, 20)

(52) Let {Fame}, **that** all hunt after in their liues. (*LLL* I, i, 6)

Hope also shows that there is, in this period, a clear preference for the relative *that* over *who* and *which,* but that the latter spread in more formal writings. Shakespeare starts using the formal forms more in later works.

Preposition stranding, which occurs when a preposition is left behind after its object moves in a question, as in (53), is common in Early Modern English. When the object takes the preposition along, as in (54), we have a case of pied piping.

(53) Who did you talk **about**?

(54) **About** who(m) did you talk?

Bullokar in his 1580 grammar comments on preposition stranding but does not condemn it. Early Modern English authors certainly use it: Fletcher in (55) and Shakespeare in (56); two centuries later, however, only **pied piping** is allowed by prescriptive grammarians (Coar 1796).

(55) the dull twins of cold spirits, They sit and smile **at**. (*Bonduca* III, i)

(56) the cottage and the bounds That the old {Carlot} once was Master **of.** (*As You Like It* III, v, 108)

Punctuation and capitalization in Old and Early Middle English are fairly rare. They become more common in Late Middle English, but remain somewhat arbitrary, as the first paragraph in (57) from *The Sceptical Chymist* shows.

(57) ***The Sceptical Chymist* – 1661 – Robert Boyle**
I am (sayes Carneades) so unwilling to deny Eleutheriu any thing, that though, before the rest of the Company I am resolv'd to make good the part I have undertaken of a Sceptick; yet I shall readily, since you will have it so, lay aside for a while the Person of an Adversary to the Peripateticks and Chymists; and before I acquaint you with my Objections, against their Opinions, acknowledge to you what may be (whether truly or not) tollerably enough added, in favour of a certain number of Principles of mixt Bodies, to that grans and known Argument from the Analysis of compound Bodies, which I may possibly hereafter be able to confute.

In the 17th century, syntactic punctuation is introduced, especially through the work of Ben Jonson. It is one of the changes modern editors make when editing Early Modern English texts for a present-day audience.

When the language gets a strict(er) word order, it is natural for writers to punctuate according to grammatical function, as in Modern English (58). In Modern English, the subject, verb, and object form a core and cannot be separated from each other as in the ungrammatical (59).

(58) Yesterday, she saw him, unfortunately.

(59) *He, saw her.

Note that Modern English can have a word or words surrounded by commas such as *however* in the core.

With all this knowledge about the language, let's look at an Early Modern English text from Appendix A, given here as (60).

(60) **Elizabeth I – Translation of Boethius**
What is it, therefore, O man, that hath throwne the down to wo and wayle? Thou hast seene, I beleue, som new vnwonted thing. Thou, yf thou thinkest that toward the fortune be changed, art deceaud. This was euer her manner, this was her nature. She hath euer kept toward the rather her own constancy in her mutabilitie. Such one was she, whan she beguild the, and did deceauve with alluremented of false felicitie. Thou hast vnderstode now, the doutfull face of the blynde Goddesse, which though she hyde her self to others, hath made her self to the manifest. Yf thou allow her vse her fashon, complayne not therof; yf thou hatest her treason, skorne her and cast her of, that so falsely beguilde the; for she that now is cause of thy woe, the self same ought be of thy quyett. She hath left the, whom no man can be sure that will not leave him.

The verbal forms include *hath, hast, art, thinkest,* and *hatest*, with third and second person singular endings. The second person singular pronouns *thou, the (=thee),* and *thy* are still present, and the reflexive *her self* is written as two separate words. The spelling, e.g. the use of the letters *u* and *v*, is quite different from Modern English, and the etymological respelling of *doutfull* has not taken place yet.

In conclusion, Early Modern English continues to lose case and verbal inflection. There are very few prescriptive rules, but this changes in the centuries to come. The main developments in this period are summarized in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Characteristics of Early Modern English

Morphology:
a. Case endings disappear further
b. Pronouns change
c. Verbal agreement continues to disappear
d. Nouns are used as verbs and adjectives

Syntax:
e. Word order becomes fixed and subjects become obligatory
f. Auxiliaries are used more (=grammaticalization) and are contracted
g. *Do* is becoming obligatory in questions and negatives
h. Multiple negation is reduced
i. Punctuation is becoming syntactically motivated

Additional references on Early Modern English grammar are Abbott (1872), Barber (1997), Görlach (1991), Lass (1999), and Partridge (1969), and Rissanen (1999).

5. The Early Modern English lexicon

In this section, we will explore the significant increase in vocabulary in the Early Modern English period. English acquires numerous words of Latin origin in this period as it did after the Norman Invasion of 1066. The tension between native and non-native vocabulary becomes important in the **inkhorn debate** (an ink-horn is a container for ink but the term comes to be used for 'a learned or bookish word'). This debate remains significant to this day although not to the same extent as in countries such as France and Iceland.

The English language as a medium for serious writing has had to reemerge (at least) twice in its history – once around 1300 when its use had to be justified over the use of French (see Section 1 of Chapter 6) and once after 1500 when it was seen as an unsophisticated alternative to Latin. Middle English manuscripts frequently included apologies for using English rather than Latin (see (1) in Chapter 6). By the 1550s, however, English reemerges: while it was 'barbarous and unrefined' before, now it is 'elegant'. The pride of writers about using English becomes obvious from the words of Richard Mulcaster (1582), provided in (61).

(61) I take this present period of our English tung to be the verie height thereof, bycause I find it so excellentlie well fined, both for the bodie of the tung it self, and for the customarie writing thereof, as either foren workmanship can giue it glosse, or as home wrought hanling can giue it grace.

Mulcaster still sees a need for Latin because of "the knowledge which is registered in" it and for communicating with "the learned of Europe," but he feels English should be developed as well.

Old and Middle English lack many of the terms that become important in the Renaissance; thus, English ends up borrowing many words from Latin and Greek. Sometimes, the words are borrowed for practical purposes, other times for stylistic ones. Some estimate that between 1500 and 1660 nearly 27,000 new words enter the language (Garner 1982: 151; Wermser 1976: 23), even though Baugh and Cable (2002: 233) put the number of loans at 10,000. Görlach (1991: 136) says that the period between 1530 and 1660 "exhibits the fastest growth of the vocabulary in the history of the English language."

Half of the neologisms are probably loans, such as the ones in (62a), and half are new words (sometimes made up from Latin or Greek models), such as in (62b).

(62) a. anachronism, disability, expectation, folio, delirium, atmosphere, pneumonia
b. episcopal, blatant, disaccustom, effectful, urban, urge

Creating a new word is called **coining** a word. John Cheke and Edmund Spenser create new words from old ones: Cheke coins *mooned* 'lunatic' and *foresayer* 'prophet' and Spenser *belt, elfin, dapper, glee, grovel, gloomy,* and *witless* (Baugh & Cable 2002: 230–1).

As seen in Chapter 5, most of the new words are nouns, but there are also verbs and adjectives. The three prepositions that come from Latin, *per, plus,* and *via*, appear for the first time relatively late, in 1528, 1668, and 1779, respectively. According to the OED, the coordinator *plus* is a very late addition, in 1968. Note that, of the three, only *per* is a preposition in Latin; *via* is a noun meaning 'road' and *plus* is a comparative form of the adjective 'much'. This shows that grammatical words such as prepositions and coordinators are not typically borrowed into English.

Latin is a highly inflected, synthetic, language. Its nouns are divided into five classes (or declensions) and can be marked for five or six cases in the singular and plural. Latin words therefore always have an ending: *visum, datum, forum,* and *medium* are singular nouns and *visa, data, fora,* and *media* their plural counterparts. English speakers, however, are not familiar with the Latin grammatical system, so when they borrow Latin words, they adapt them to fit the English grammatical system. Therefore, Latin noun and verb endings are ignored: *audio, audit, video*, and *recipe* are verbs in Latin but become nouns in English. This is why we usually say that Latin had no influence on English grammar, only its vocabulary.

The OED's online Advanced Search allows us to find all the words that first appear in a particular year. *The Chronological English Dictionary* (CED) also provides lists of these, but it is based on an etymological dictionary shorter than the OED. Table 7.7 lists a few new words from the CED.

Table 7.7 New words for the year 1505 and some for 1605

1505:	bleat, bloomed, bogle, bounder, brat, brawned, bumbard, choice, chop, harbour, importance, mose, prisage, stud, timber-tree, toque, varnishing, verditer, younker
1605:	abhorrency, acoustic, anagrammatical, assassination, bemonster, botch, chemistry, disknow, emancipate, flippant, hot-brain, masterpiece, long-necked, Norwegian, Roman Catholic, resent, syntax, unchild, whimsy

The OED online lists 51 and 770 new words for those years, respectively. As you know by now, that is probably a small portion of all the new words; also, the words listed as first appearing in a particular year may have existed for some time already. Not all of the new words survive into Modern English. Some of my favorite rejected words are listed in (63).

(63) *adminiculation* 'aid', *anacephalize* 'to summarize', *eximious* 'excellent', *illecebrous* 'alluring', *ingent* 'immense', and *honorificabilitudinitatibus.*

The last word in (63), from Shakespeare's *Love's Labor's Lost* (V, 1, 44), was meant to make fun of the person uttering it; therefore, it is not surprising it did not survive.

After the 1530s, when the most significant increase in new vocabulary starts, there is a lot of criticism of the use of inkhorn terms, such as those in (63). Elyot introduced the terms *education* and *persist* and most speakers of present-day English would have a hard time doing without these words. John Cheke is a fierce opponent of new words and comes

up with his own terms, *mooned* for *lunatic* and *foresayer* for *prophet*, as mentioned earlier. In 1557, he wrote what is given as (64) below.

(64) I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tunges, wherin if we take not heed by tijm, ever borrowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt. (Baugh & Cable 2002: 217)

Which words in (65) do you think may be relatively new terms?

Several decades later, the concern over inkhorn terms has weakened, but it reemerges in the centuries to come under different guises such as Ogden's basic vocabulary mentioned in Chapter 5. You might think that the opposition to borrowing Latin and Greek vocabulary would lead to the adoption of regional and archaic terms, but that is not the case. Coote's (1596) *The English Schoole-Master* allows dialect words if there are no other alternatives. Bullokar's and Cawdrey's word lists include very few dialect words. The first lists of hard words to include dialect more systematically are John Ray's (1674) *A Collection of English Words not Generally Used* and Elisha Coles's (1676) *An English Dictionary*. The former includes around 1,000 regional words (Görlach 1999a: 502).

In connection with the inkhorn debate, there is also concern about using **hybrids**, English words with Latin or Greek prefixes and non-English words with English prefixes. The 16th and 17th centuries see the introduction of many new prefixes, some of which are given in (65a), that are used next to the English prefixes given in (65b).

(65) a. re-, trans-, anti-, macro-, micro-, meta, pro-, contra-, extra-, ultra-, vice-, ex-
b. out-, in-, up-, down-, under-, over

Some authors, such as Shakespeare, are not concerned about hybrids. Garner (1983: 231–33) counts 107 hybrids in Shakespeare: *out-villain, fore-advise, under-honest*, which have English prefixes and Latin words, and *renew, ingrateful,* and *trans-shape,* which have Latin prefixes and English words. The KJV, in comparison, has only seven such hybrids, and they are 'old' hybrids, coined in the 13th and 14th centuries. Nevalainen (1999: 378–407) offers numerous examples of the origins and meaning of prefixes and suffixes: *ante, pre,* and *fore* (as in *antedate, pre-exist*, and *foreshadow*); *anti, contra*, and *counter* (as in *anti-monarchy, contraband*, and *counterevidence*); and *(i)an, arian, ese, ist*, and *ite* (as in *Australian, sectarian, Chinese, linguist*, and *Mennonite*).

Not all new words come from Latin and Greek. French continues to influence the vocabulary of English, as (66) shows, as do other Romance languages. Italian provides the words in (67) and many music terms. Spanish provides the words in (68), many of which are derived from native American languages which the Spanish (and Portuguese) came into contact with in their colonial past (and *anchovy* is from Basque via Spanish).

(66) amateur, avenue, ballet, bankrupt, bigot, brochure, camouflage, cheque/check, essay, etiquette, menu, shock, ticket

(67) balcony, granite, grotto, stucco, volcano; allegro, duo, concerto, fugue, madrigal, opera, stanza, violin

(68) barbecue, canoe, cigar, cocoa, maize, potato, sherry, tobacco, tomato

Wermser (1976) presents the data in Table 7.8 (adapted from Görlach 1991: 167). The numbers represent the percentages for the origins of the loanwords. They show that Latin and French sources are the most frequent.

Table 7.8 Origin of Early Modern English loans

	Lat	Gk	Fr	It	Spa	Dut	Eur	other
1510–1524	47.8	.6	40.7	.9	.9	3.4	5.3	.3
1560–1574	54.4	3.8	31.8	2.4	1.4	1.8	2.8	1.7
1610–1624	60.7	5.2	19.3	2.3	2.6	1.3	1.7	6.9
1660–1674	57.7	5.9	22.5	3.1	1.4	1.4	3.4	4.6

Shakespeare is celebrated for his **neologisms, puns, and malaprops**. For puns, see Eric Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (originally published in 1947). Shakespeare is said to have introduced more words into the language than anyone else, but that might be due to the fact that he is the most studied English author; it is possible that a lesser known author introduced more new words. Shakespeare's vocabulary encompasses words used by noblemen, thieves, lawyers, and soldiers but mostly people from the cities: *fap* 'drunk' in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *bung(hole)* 'pocket' in *Hamlet*. A malaprop, a term not introduced until much later, involves the erroneous use of a long and difficult word. Shakespeare uses malaprops frequently with certain characters to indicate pomposity or lack of sense, as in (69) and (70) from Schlauch (1965: 226–7).

(69) you are thought heere to be the most senslesse and fit man for the Constable of the watch. ('sensible' is meant, *Much Ado* III, 3, 23)

(70) shee's as fartuous a ciuill modest wife. ('virtuous' is meant, *Merry Wives* II, 2, 100)

Vocabulary is an important marker of social class. Görlach (1999a: 524) quotes the clown in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, in (71), to illustrate the register differences between synonymous words such as *abandon* and *leaue the societie*.

(71) **Shakespeare – *As You Like It***
He sir, that must marrie this woman: Therefore you Clowne, abandon: which is in the vulgar, leaue the societie: which in the boorish, is companie, of this fe-male: which in the common, is woman: which toge-ther, is, abandon the society of this Female, or Clowne thou perishest: or to thy better vnderstanding, dyest; or (to wit) I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life in-to death, thy libertie into bondage: I will deale in poy-son with thee, or in bastinado, or in steele: I will bandy with thee in faction, I will ore- run thee with policie: I will kill thee a hundred and fifty wayes, therefore trem-ble and depart. (V 1, 47)

In addition to the introduction of many new words, there are also numerous changes in the meaning of existing words during the Early Modern English period. As we have seen, in Old and Middle English, meanings change, sometimes drastically. Between Early Modern and Modern English, such changes continue to take place. For instance, in Early Modern English, *abuse* means 'deceive', *accident* 'anything that happens', *appeal* 'accuse', *competitor* 'partner', *conceit* 'idea', *cousin* 'relative', *tonight* 'last night' (from the OED and Barnet's intro to *The Tempest*). *Gentleman* changes from 'a man of gentle birth' (OED 1a) to 'a man of superior position…or having the habits of life indicative of this' (OED 4a) to any male with good social skills (Fennell 2001: 162–165).

The Early Modern English period is one of great freedom, not only from grammatical constraints (as shown in Sections 3 and 4), but also when it comes to the creation of words. As we will see in the next chapter, this freedom does not continue and grammar books and dictionaries become prescriptive tools meant to outlaw certain words. This development has its beginnings in the Early Modern English period.

6. Attitudes towards a standard

Until the 1650s, there is much debate on vocabulary and spelling, and English is technically without a standard, i.e. the language of one social or regional group that is typically taught in schools and used in official circles. The centuries that follow impose many restrictions on linguistic freedoms and the need for an Academy is debated (as we will see in Chapter 8). In this section, we will examine some spelling guides, dictionaries, grammars, and pronunciation guides of the time as well as some attitudes towards languages expressed in them.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, spelling conformity is one of the results of the introduction of the printing press in 1476. The need for spelling regularity is debated in the Early Modern English period. The attempts to establish a standard spelling are numerous: in the 1550s, Cheke suggests having long vowels in *maad* 'made' but no final *-e* (Dobson 1957: 44). It is interesting that Cheke does not suggest incorporating the 'damage' done by the GVS, as (72), where [aj] is written as *ii* (as well as *i*), shows.

(72) For your opinion of my gud will unto you as you **wriit**, you can not be deceiued: for submitting your doinges to **mi** iudgement, I thanke you. (from Görlach 1991: 222)

Other well-known works of the period are John Hart's *Orthographie* (1569), which introduces several new letters, William Bullokar's *Booke at Large* (1580) and *Bref Grammar* (1586), and Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582). Mulcaster's *Elementarie* is perhaps the most extensive but least phonetic. He ends his book with recommended spellings for over 8,000 common words. Many of these spellings are similar to those in Modern English, as Figure 7.6 shows for words such as *abandon, about, accept*. In these recommendations, there is no inclination to spell words such as *abate* and *abide,* whose pronunciations changed due to the GVS, more phonetically.

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CAP. XXV.

A.

Abaie.
abandon.
abaſe.
abaſh.
abaſhment.
abate.
abatement.
abbacie.
abbeſſe.
abbie.
abbot.
abbreuiate.
abbreuiation.
abbridge.
abbridgement.
abbridgeſt.
abbridgſt. Contr.
abbridgeddeſt.
abbridgdſt. Con.
abbridged.
abbridgd. Contr.
The g in contraction comming weak, from the qualifying e.
abbut.
abbutting.
abce.
abecedarie.
abet.
abettor.
abdicate.
abhor.
abhorreſt.
abhorſt. Contract.

abhorreddeſt.
abhordſt. Contr.
abhorreth.
abhorring.
abide.
abidſt. Contract.
abid.
abidſt. Contract.
abiden.
abiect.
abilitie.
abiure.
abiuration.
able.
ableneſſe.
abode.
abodeſt.
abodſt. Contr.
The originall ſound comming in the contract.
abŏliſh.
aboliſhed.
aboliſht. Contr.
aboliſhment.
abominable. Eaſ.
Of ouer vexation, h.
abomination.
about.
abound.
abŏue.
abrĭcot.
abrode.
abrŏgate.
abrogăteſt.
abrogăſt. Contr.
abſence.

abſents.
abſent. }
abſent. } Diſtinct.
abſolue.
abſolute.
abſolution.
abſolutelie.
abſoluteneſſe.
abſtain.
abſtinence.
abſtinent.
abſtinencie.
abſtract.
abſurd.
abſurditie.
abſurdneſſe.
abundant.
abundantlie.
abundance.
abŭſe. }
abŭſe. } Contract.
abŭſed.
abuſd. Contract.
aby.
abying.
Accent.
accĕnting.
accept.
accĕpting.
acceptable.
acceptance.
acceptation.
acception.
acceſſe.
acceſſarie.
acceſſorie.

acceſſible.
acceſſion.
accidence.
accidences.
accidentarie.
accident.
accidents.
accommodat.
accompanie.
accompanying.
accompliſh.
accompliſhment.
accompliſht. Cont.
accōpliſhed. Eaſ.
account.
accountant.
accountable.
accord.
according.
accordinglie.
akecorn. Of ake, or an oke.
accrew. Enfran.
accurſe.
accurſed.
accŭſe.
accŭſation.
accuſătiue.
accuſatorie.
accuſtom.
accuſtomăble.
ace.
ache.
achiue.
acknowlege.
acquaint.
acquaintance.

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acquite.
acquit.
acquittance.
act.
action.
actiue.
actiuitie.
actuall.
actuarie.
Ad.
adamant.
added.
adder.
addict.
addĭt.
addreſſe.
adiacent.
adiectiue.
adiure.
adiurement.
adiurd. Contrac.
adiourn. Enfran.
adiournment.
adiournth. Con.
adlĕ.
admeaſurment.
adminiſter.
adminiſtration.
adminiſtrator.
admire.
admiration.
admirall.
admiraltie.
admiſſarie.
admiſſion.
admĭt.
admittance.
admixtion.
admoniſh.

admonition.
adnihilate.
adŏ. }
a-dŏ. } Diſtinct.
adiew. }
adew. } Enfranchiſ.
adopt.
adoption.
adore.
adoration.
adorn.
adorned.
aduance.
aduancement.
aduantage.
aduantagious.
aduentur.
aduenturous.
aduerb.
aduerbiall.
aduerſe.
aduerſarie.
aduerſitie.
aduertĭs.
aduertiſ-ment. De.
aduiſe. }
aduiſe. } Diſtinct.
aduiſed.
aduiſedlie.
adulation.
adulterie. }
adulterer. }
aduoutrer. } Eaſ.
aduoutrie. }
adulterate.
aduocate.
aduocatiō. }
aduouſon. } Eaſ.
aduow.

Affaire. }
affaires. } Enfranc.
aferd.
affăble.
affabilitie.
affect.
affection.
affectate.
affectation.
affinitie.
affirm.
affirmation.
affirmatiue.
affirmance.
afflict.
affliction.
afford.
affy.
affyance.
affyanced.
afraie.
afraid. Cont.
afraied.
afreſh.
after.
aftĕrdeal.
aftĕrward.
aftĕrwit.
afterwiſe.
Again.
againſt.
agar.
agăſt.
age.
aged.
agent.
agĕw.
agewiſh.
aggrauate.

aggrauation.
aght.
agilitie.
aglet.
agnail.
ago.
agonie.
agreat.
agrĕ.
agrĕable.
agrĕment.
agrĕes.
agrĕued.
Ah.
Aid.
ail.
ails.
ailwood.
amount.
air.
Ake.
aker.
aking. }
a-king. } Compos.
aketh. }
a-kith. } Comp.
a-kin.
Alabaſter.
alate.
alacritie.
al-arm. Enfran.
Helas. }
alas. } Enfran.
alb.
albeit.
alder tre.
alderman.
aldermanbĕrie.
ale.
Y y

Figure 7.6 Mulcaster's recommended spelling (1582: 170–1)

Notice differences between Early Modern and Modern English in endings such as the ones on *abbie* 'abbey' and *abilitie* 'ability' and the final letters of *actuall* and *aduerbiall*.

Word lists and dictionaries are natural standardizers for words and spelling patterns, but they appear relatively late. Therefore, they do not help standardize the spelling of Early Modern English. The first word lists/dictionaries to appear are of foreign and difficult words rather than common ones. These lists are different from Mulcaster's since they provide a definition. Compare, for instance, Figure 7.6 and Figure 7.7. The latter provides the first page of Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Master* (1596) (www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/coote/ret2.html for the full text).

74 The practise to the

would be ouer long: therefore I hope the diligent Scholer will soone learne by practise from the primitiue or originall, I haue therefore set downe some fewe of the hardest, yet some rules for them thou shalt find in the end. There are many moe from Latine and French, but being well knowne, I omit them.

Abandon cast away.
abba father.
abbesse abbatesse, mistresse of a Nunnerie.
abbreuiat shorten.
abbridge see abbreuiat.
abbut. to lie vnto.
abecedarie the order of the letters, or he that vseth them.
abet. to mainteine.
abhominable.
abhorre.
abiect base.
abiure renounce.
abolish make void.
k. standeth for a kind of. *abricot*. k. fruit.
abroad.
abrogate see abolish.
absolue finish.
absolute perfect.
absolution forgiuenesse.
abstinence refraining.
abstract see abbreuiat.
absurd foolish.
accent tune.
accept take liking.
accesse free comming to
accessarie partaker.
accident befall.
accommodate to fitte to.
accomplish * finish.
accompt * to recken.
accord agreement.
accurate cunning.
accrew grow.
acertaine * make sure.
achieue see accomplish.
acorne.
actiue nimble.
actuall in act.
acute wittie.
addict giuen to
adiew farewell.
addresse prepare or direct.
adiacent lying to
adiourn * deferre.
adiure make to sweare.
administer gouerne or serue.
admire marueile at.
admiral chiefe by Sea.
admission receiuing.
adopt take for his child.
adore worshippe.
adorne beautifie.
aduerse contrarie.
aduertise giue knowledge.
adulation flatterie.
adulterate counterfait.
aduocate attournie.
aduouson patronage.
adustion burning.
affable readie and courteous

Figure 7.7 Coote's first page of hard words

Many of Coote's words (at least on this page) do not appear in Mulcaster, and some of those that do have different spellings: *abhorre, achieue*.

Robert Cawdrey adds to Coote when, in 1604, he publishes a list, the first page of which is presented in Figure 7.8. Note the reliance on Coote; such a reliance on previous sources has been characteristic of dictionary (and grammars) ever since.

A Table Alphabeticall,
contayning and teaching the true
writing, and vnderſtanding of hard
vſuall Engliſh words. &c.
(·.·)

(k) ſtandeth for a kind of.
(g. or gr.) ſtandeth for Greeke.
The French words haue this (§) before them.

A

§ ABandon, caſt away, or yeelde vp, to leaue, or forſake.
Abaſh, bluſh.
abba, father.
§ abbeſſe, abbateſſe, Miſtris of a Nunnerie, comforters of others.
§ abbettors, counſellors.
aberration, a going a ſtray, or wandering.
abbreuiat, } to ſhorten, or make
§ abbridge, } ſhort.
§ abbut, to lie vnto, or border vpon, as one lands end meets with another.
abecédarie, the order of the Letters, or hee that vſeth them.
aberration, a going aſtray, or wandering.
§ abet, to maintaine.
B. § abdi-

Figure 7.8 Cawdry's first page of hard words

John Bullokar's *An English Expositor* (1616) and Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie* (1623) follow. A chronological list of word list/dictionary compilers for the Early Modern English period appears in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Some Early Modern English word lists
(entry counts from http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/english/emed/emedd.html)

	year	number of entries	definition
Mulcaster	1582	8143	no
Coote	1596	1357	yes
Cawdrey	1604	2511 (4886 by 1617)	yes
Bullokar	1616	4156	yes
Cockeram	1623	9952	yes

Cockeram's dictionary is in three parts, the first of which explains difficult words (ranging from *acersecomick* 'one whose hair was never cut' to *collocuplicate* 'to enrich' to *abandon,*

actress and *abrupt*. The second part does the opposite and goes from simple to learned words, whereas the third provides encyclopedic information (see James Murray's *The Evolution of English Lexicography* from 1900: www.blackmask.com/thatway/books150c/evlex.htm).

This concern with words and word lists helps standardize spelling. Thus, by 1650, the spelling system is pretty much settled, as (73), from Pepys's Diary, shows.

(73) All the morning at home about business. At noon to the Temple, where I staid and looked over a book or two at Playford's, and then to the Theatre, where I saw a piece of 'The Silent Woman,' which pleased me.
(from 25 May 1661, taken from www.pepysdiary.com/archive)

At this time, there are many popular spelling books such as Richard Hodges' *The English Primrose* (1644) and *Most Plain Directions for True-Writing* (1653). The spelling books and dictionaries demonstrate a concern with a standard, consistent spelling. Some differences exist between Early Modern and Modern English spelling – such as *generall* and *musick*, for example – but the basic system is in place, certainly by 1700.

From Middle English, we know that a certain pronunciation or word choice could mark a speaker as being from the North or the South. It is unclear how stigmatized those differences were. For some people in the Early Modern English period, correct pronunciation was a concern, however, as evident from the excerpt in (74).

(74) [for youth] that they speke none englisshe but that whiche is cleane polite perfectly and articulately pronounced omittinge no lettre or sillable as folisshe women often times do of a wantonness. (Elyot, *The Governour*)

However much Elyot and others worried about pronunciation, pronunciation guides did not become frequent until much later (Jones' famous *Pronouncing Dictionary* appears in 1917).

Grammars are not very prescriptive in the 16th century: they take usage into account and do not provide the arbitrary rules based on Latin grammar that we currently still have. For instance, in 1653, John Wallis wrote a grammar of English in Latin, written for foreigners, but he did not feel genders and cases should be introduced since there was "no basis in the language itself" (Kemp 1972: 105, 113). He also realized, as shown in (75) that English had become analytic.

(75) For this reason I decided to employ a completely new method, which has its basis not, as is customary, in the structure of the Latin language but in the characteristic structure of our own.... The whole syntax of the noun depends almost entirely on the use of prepositions, and the conjugation of verbs is easily managed with the help of auxiliaries, so that what usually causes a great deal of difficulty in other languages, gives us no trouble at all. (Kemp 1972: 111)

Thus, correct spelling and vocabulary seem more of a concern than correct grammar. Neither dictionaries nor grammars express grammatical value judgments. That changes. As we will discuss in the section on editions, 17th century editors start correcting grammar.

7. Regional and register varieties

In this section, we will first examine some examples of regional terms in written sources and then move on to different registers.

As mentioned, Middle English texts provide evidence of regional (or dialect) differences. In the Early Modern English period, the language is moving towards a standard, and differences in writing – though not in speech – become less obvious as a result. Thus, many of the features we identified in Middle English remain in the spoken language to this day and are transported to the colonies of Britain.

Görlach (1999a: 506) explains that Early Modern English writers, when they choose to use dialect, do so "due to a conscious decision to aim for a special effect." Spenser fits that description since he often uses archaisms and regionalisms to portray 'rustic' people, as in (76) and (77) from *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). He provides glosses for 'rustic' words, as in (78).

(76) Is not thilke the mery moneth of May,
When loue lads masken in fresh aray?
How falles it then, we no merrier bene,
Ylike as others, girt in gawdy greene?

(77) when the Welkin shone faire, Ycladde in clothing of seely sheepe

(78) Welkin] skie
Steuen] Noyse

Many of the forms (*thilke* 'such', the plural *masken*, the prefix on *ycladde*) are older forms as are many of the words in the glosses.

Shakespeare uses dialect for special purposes as well, but not abundantly: *tarre* 'provoke' is from the region he is from (Warwickshire) and appears three times in F1. In (79), from the F1 version of *King Lear* (IV, vi, 235–49), a southwestern pronunciation is used to conceal Edgar's identity through words such as *pezant* 'peasant', *vurther* 'further', *zo* 'so', *zir* 'sir', and *volke* 'folk'.

(79) **Shakespeare – *King Lear***
Stew. Wherefore, bold Pezant,
Dar'st thou support a publish'd Traitor? Hence,
Least that th' infection of his fortune take
Like hold on thee. Let go his arme.
Edg. Chill not let go Zir,
Without vurther 'casion.
Stew. Let go Slaue, or thou dy'st.
Edg. Good Gentleman goe your gate, and let poore
volke passe: and 'chud ha' bin zwaggerd out of my life,
'twould not ha' bin zo long as 'tis, by a vortnight. Nay,

come not neere th' old man: keepe out che vor' ye, or Ile
try whither your Costard, or my Ballow be the harder;
chill be plaine with you.
Stew. Out Dunghill.
Edg. Chill picke your teeth Zir: come, no matter vor your foynes.

In *Henry V*, Welsh, Irish, and Scots are used (see Brook 1976: Chapter 9): in (80) (from III, ii, 109–52), the most noticeable Scottish English words are *sall* for *shall* and *tway* for *two*. The spelling of *gud* 'good' probably indicates the Scottish English special [u].

(80) *Scot*. It sall be vary gud, gud feith, gud Captens bath,
and I sall quit you with gud leue, as I may pick occasion
that sall I mary.
Irish. It is no time to discourse, so Chrish saue me:
…
Scot. By the Mes, ere theise eyes of mine take themselues
to slomber, ayle de gud seruice, or Ile ligge i'th'
grund for it; ay, or goe to death: and Ile pay't as valorously
as I may, that sal I suerly do, that is the breff and
the long: mary, I wad full faine heard some question
tween you tway.
Welch. Captaine *Mackmorrice*, I thinke, looke you,
vnder your correction, there is not many of your Nation.
Irish. Of my Nation? What ish my Nation? Ish a
Villaine, and a Basterd, and a Knaue, and a Rascall. What
ish my Nation? Who talkes of my Nation?
Welch. Looke you, if you take the matter otherwise
then is meant, Captaine *Mackmorrice*, peraduenture I
shall thinke you doe not vse me with that affabilitie, as in
discretion you ought to vse me, looke you, being as good
a man as your selfe, both in the disciplines of Warre, and
in the deriuation of my Birth, and in other particularities.
Irish. I doe not know you so good a man as my selfe:
so Chrish saue me, I will cut off your Head.
Gower. Gentlemen both, you will mistake each other.
Scot. A, that's a foule fault. *A Parley*
Gower. The Towne sounds a Parley.
Welch. Captaine *Mackmorrice*, when there is more
better oportunitie to be required, looke you, I will be
so bold as to tell you, I know the disciplines of Warre:
and there is an end.

Register variations, which are usually reflected only in vocabulary, are used by certain occupations or on special occasions and called jargon. Specialized jargon dictionaries appear in the 17th century: John Smith's (1641) *The Sea-Mans Grammar and Dictionary* and Henry Manwaring's (1644) *The Sea-mans Dictionary*. These are special kinds of 'hard word' dictionaries and the latter is more of an encyclopedia. There is no social stigma attached to specialized vocabulary, or jargon, unlike the stigma attached to slang.

Slang and cant are often seen as styles, but the terms are complex and used differently by different linguists. Some slang words of this period are *doxy* 'vagrant woman', *prig* 'thief', and the name *Nym*, used by Shakespeare, which refers to the Old English *niman* 'to take' and might be a pun. After the breakdown of feudalism and the rise of the middle classes, poverty is on the rise, resulting in vagrancy and a fear of the poor. This may be related to the increased interest in slang. Coleman (2004) provides a history of dictionaries of slang and cant. The earliest is a glossary of 114 terms in Thomas Harman's (1567) *Caveat or Warening for Commen Cursetors*. Longer lists soon follow: Robert Greene's 1592 and Richard Head's in 1673; the latter produces two lists, one from cant to English and the other from English to cant. As Coleman (2004: 75) points out, the latter is more popular, indicating the appeal of cant words for the general reader.

Thus, regional and register varieties are relevant in this period, as in all others.

8. Editorial and authorship issues

In this section, we will look at two topics that have attracted much interest: editorial issues and ways of determining authorship.

When examining the language of a period, we depend on **authentic sources and editions**, not editions 'cleaned up' by editors. When available, facsimiles of manuscripts or reliable electronic or other editions should be used. Since changes in pronunciation and meaning make even certain Early Modern English meanings obscure, editors occasionally add notes, as in the Arden and Signet Classic editions.

It is useful to keep in mind how many of the texts were produced. A playwright might write a play (with or without someone else's help) and try to sell it to a company. The company might not want the play published. Often, pirated copies or copies made for one particular actor, and containing mainly the lines relevant to that role, were distributed (http://etext.virginia.edu/bsuva/promptbook). All this is relevant when choosing an edition. Some copies were hand-written by the author: for example, the Q2 edition of *Hamlet* (1604) is supposedly based on Shakespeare's own manuscript (note, however, that there are no existing manuscripts written by Shakespeare).

Early editors and publishers attempt to **'clean up'** the grammar, content, style, and vocabulary of Shakespeare and other authors. Black and Shaaber (1966) chronicle some of the changes between the First (1623) and Second Folio (1632). Examples are given in (81) to (83).

(81) a. Who I made Lord of me (F1)
b. Whom I made Lord of me (F2, *Comedy of Errors* V, i, 137)

(82) a. To who, my Lord? (F1)
b. To whom my Lord? (F2, *3 Henry 6* II, ii, 112)

(83) a. Contempt and beggery hangs vpon thy backe! (F1)
b. Contempt and beggery hang on thy backe! (F2, *Romeo & Juliet* V, i, 71)

The first century of the Modern English period sees many editions and alterations of Shakespeare's texts. In some cases, when a compositor obviously misread something, for example, the changes are justified. However, Alexander Pope's (1723–5) edition, for instance, leaves out many original passages and Lewis Theobald's (1726) *Shakespeare Restored* tries to rectify some of the many editorial errors committed by Pope. However, William Warburton's (1747) edition is again based on Pope. Samuel Johnson too is involved with a 1765 edition.

As far as authorship debates are concerned, we will address some of the methods for establishing authorship and show how this was done for some Early Modern English writers. While some researchers try to enlarge the canon (Foster 1989 and Wells & Taylor 1986), others show that some of the work is collaborative, thus reducing the canon (Vickers 2002). The most common **methods of determining authorship** are studying (a) utterance length, (b) grammatical words, (c) special/uncommon words, (d) Latinate words, (e) contractions, and (f) syntactic patterns. We will look at examples of each of these methods.

In a classic study, Mosteller and Wallace (1964) applied a number of methods, mainly (a) to (c), to a few disputed *Federalist Papers* to determine whether Hamilton or Madison was the author. First, they looked at works that are undeniably Hamilton's or Madison's and determined the average sentence length. Unfortunately, Hamilton and Madison have similar styles with 34.55 and 34.59 words per sentence, respectively. This sentence length is characteristic of what could be called the 'convoluted style' of the 18th century. Then, they looked at the frequency of the article *the* and of short words; this did not produce conclusive results either. Finally, they found that Hamilton uses *while* and Madison *whilst* and that the percentage of grammatical words such as *by, from,* and *to* helps determine the author. This example shows that there is no one cut-and-dried method and each situation requires a unique set of criteria.

Wells and Taylor (1986) rely on (b) by using the standard deviation of ten **grammatical words** (*but, by, for, no, not, so, that, the, to*, and *with*) in the core Shakespeare canon. The canon is defined in advance and the typical numbers of grammatical words are then calculated. Unfortunately, there are so many issues with the presentation and calculation of their data (Merriam 1989; Smith 1991), that they are of little use. Some of their results are interesting but surprising. Thus *King Lear* does not belong to the core since 3 out of 10 grammatical words fall outside the range. My checking of the same grammatical words in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* shows that 9 out of 10 grammatical words fall within the range and is therefore very similar in this respect to Shakespeare.

Pierce (1909) examined the collaboration of John Webster and Thomas Dekker by calculating the percentage of **Latinate words** in their vocabularies. Later, he did the same for Dekker and John Ford and showed that Dekker uses Latinate vocabulary sparingly compared to the other two writers. Shakespeare's vocabulary was examined statistically in the 1930s and 40s by Albert Hart and later by Eliot Slater. Slater (1988) reviewed a lot of Hart's work on common and rare words and built on it, trying to link the anonymous play *The Reign of King Edward III* to Shakespeare. Vickers (2002: 78) also used the frequency of Latinate words to show that Shakespeare is not the author of the 1612 *A Funerall Elegye*. His table, comparing the *Elegye* to three Shakespearean plays, is reproduced here as Table 7.10. The first column provides the number of lines examined, the second lists the total number of Latinisms, and the third calculates the average number of Latinisms per line. The fourth column lists the total number of long words, typical for Latinate words.

Table 7.10 Latinate and polysyllabic words in different works (adapted from Vickers 2002: 78)

	# of lines	Latinisms	Latinisms per line	4–5 syllable word
Elegye	578	870	1.51	78
Cymbeline	555	538	0.97	19
Winter's Tale	472	503	1.07	13
Tempest	502	552	1.09	17

As this table shows, the *Elegye* uses many more Latinate words than the three plays commonly attributed to Shakespeare; according to Vickers, this rules out Shakespeare as the author of the *Elegye*.

Having looked at the length and vocabulary (points (a) to (d) above), we now turn to **contractions**. Partridge (1964: 150) shows that after 1600 contractions such as *'em,* for *them,* become common: "Jonson, being a strict grammarian," wrote '*hem*' because that form is like the Old English; someone like Fletcher uses the contracted form abundantly, as shown in (84).

(84) Hear how I salute 'em. (*Bonduca* III, 1)

Shakespeare, on the other hand, does not use contractions much, as Table 7.11, which compares Fletcher's *Bonduca* and *Woman's Prize* with Shakespeare's *Cymbeline, Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*, shows.

Table 7.11 Contraction in two plays by Fletcher and three by Shakespeare (based on Partridge 1964: 151)

	Bonduca	*Woman's Prize*	*Cymbeline*	*Winter's Tale*	*Tempest*
them	6 (=7%)	4 (=6%)	64 (=96%)	37 (=82%)	38 (=75%)
'em	83	60	3	8	13
Total	89	64	67	45	51

Table 7.11 shows that *Bonduca* and *Woman's Prize* have a higher percentage of contracted forms.

Fletcher is Shakespeare's supposed collaborator in *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII*; therefore, it is interesting to compare the percentages of contractions in these two plays with the percentages in Table 7.11.

Table 7.12 Contraction showing possible collaboration

	Two Noble Kinsmen	*Henry VIII*
them	29 (=39%)	27 (=47%)
'em	46	58
Total	75	85

The number of contractions in these plays is between the number characteristic of Fletcher and that characteristic of Shakespeare and might indicate collaborative work. Partridge (1964: 152) specifies which parts might have been written by whom on the basis of many other linguistic forms.

There are also many **syntactic 'fingerprints'** in texts. The use of *who* for non-humans has been mentioned. The use of relative pronouns in general has been used to make claims about authorship. The frequency of the analytic comparative and superlative *more* and *most* relative to the synthetic ones ending in *-er* and *-est* or the environment in which *a* and *an* appear can also be examined. As briefly mentioned in Section 4, the use of *do* in negatives and questions helps distinguish between the works of Shakespeare and those of Fletcher (see Hope 1994). The use of *has* and *hath* was discussed as a way to distinguish pre-1600 from post-1600 texts; they could be used for authorship as well, if a particular author, e.g. Milton or Jonson, is fond of them. For more on this, go to http://shakespeareauthorship.com.

Finally, we will examine the **role of compositors** in spelling practices. It has been argued that the role of the original author is minimal and that spelling differences reveal nothing. We will show that this is not the case and that spelling on occasion is indicative of an author or period (and sometimes of the compositor). Hinman (1963) shows that some compositors can be distinguished by their spelling. The use of broken letters unique to the box of a compositor is external evidence indicating which compositor worked on which page and a compositor's preference for particular spellings is internal evidence.

In Section 4, *has* and *hath* were used to distinguish texts chronologically: *hath* is prevalent before 1600 and *has* after 1600. Table 7.13 shows that different compositors show variation within their own work with respect to *ha's, has*, and *hath*. This probably means that the variation was in the original manuscript they were working from. Table 7.13 lists some verbal forms for each compositor of Shakespeare's F1 *Hamlet*.

Table 7.13 Compositors and the spelling of *has* in *Hamlet*

Compositor B (e.g. nn4v–nn5v; oo5v):	*ha's*, *has*, and *hath*
Compositor I (e.g. nn6–nn6v; oo1v–oo2):	*ha's*, and *hath*
Compositor E (e.g. pp5–pp5v):	*ha's*, *has*, and *hath*

The pages each compositor is responsible for are indicated by signatures in brackets. Table 7.13 shows that *has* is used by compositors B and E (even though it occurs only twice in the play). *Ha's* is more frequent (there are 13 instances), and it is used by compositors B, I, and E. *Hath* is used frequently by all three compositors. Since all compositors use similar forms, the original author's choice was most likely kept by the compositor.

Authorship debates are fun and are frequently discussed in the media. In many cases, careful study can help determine authorship, but we need to be prudent.

9. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined some characteristics of Early Modern English. By now, it should be clear that, syntactically, this stage is remarkably modern. If we do not understand some of the texts, the reasons may be stylistic and semantic.

There are a few differences between the sounds of Early Modern and Modern English such as the pronunciation of the vowels in *moat*, *seat*, and *beneath*. Our knowledge about this comes from rhymes and contemporary grammars. The morphology and grammar still show a number of differences, and vocabulary use is a lot more innovative than in other periods. The introduction of dictionaries during this time period encourages more uniformity, however.

Keywords and terms

Renaissance, folio, quarto, literacy, GVS, *sea/great* difference, etymological respelling, pronominal changes, changes in case and verbal agreement, change towards an analytic language, dramatic numbers of loans, orthographies, grammars, dictionaries, varieties, editorial emendations, determining authorship.

The texts in the Appendices are chosen to reflect different genres (plays, prose, and letters), gender, and times (16th to late 17th century) and they are in chronological order.

Exercises

1. Compare Queen's Elizabeth's version of *Boethius* in Appendix A to the earlier rendition by Chaucer or to the Modern English one. List some of her Early Modern English features in spelling, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon.
2. Comment on some of the orthography, punctuation, and spelling of the text in B. Also notice the signature.
3. How did the words in (a) to (c) change in pronunciation during the Early Modern English period?

a. knave
b. wrong
c. bright

4. What do the phrases below indicate about the grammar of Early Modern English?
   a. extreme elaborate (from Dryden, Bolton 1982: 250)
   b. I am my selfe indifferent honest (from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*)
5. Find several Modern English words that have one of the prefixes *mal-*, *mis-*, and *pseudo-* and try to formulate a rule for their use. What is the origin of these prefixes?
6. There seems to be a relationship between *sure* and *secure*; *construe* and *construct*; *poor* and *pauper*; and *ray* and *radius*. What might be the reason there are such pairs?
7. Take one of the Early Modern English texts of Appendix D or E and comment on its morphology (e.g. pronominal forms or verbal endings), syntax (e.g. word order and auxiliaries), lexicon, and orthography, spelling, or punctuation.
8. Use the OED and see who first used *premeditated, assassination, obscene,* and *catastrophy*.
9. The rulers and major political events of this period are: Henry VIII (1509–47), Edward IV (1547–53), Mary I (1553–58), Elizabeth I (1558–1603), James I (1603–25), Charles I (1625–49), Cromwell (1653–1658), Charles II (1660–85), James II (1685–88), and Mary & William (1688–1702). Pick a year during one of these reigns and check what new words appear. Make use of the Advanced Search option in the electronic OED or the CED. Do the new words give you a clue about the political climate of the reign?
10. Comment on the text in Appendix C in terms of spelling and the inclusion of regionalisms.
11. Which of the six authorship criteria discussed in Section 7 do you think might be most reliable? Outline a plan for a possible authorship study.

Appendix A

Elizabeth's translation of Boethius compared to others

Elizabeth I was born in 1533, became Queen of England in 1558, and died in 1603. She promoted the arts, sciences, and humanities. Below is her translation of a part of Boethius whose *Consolation of Philosophy* has been translated many times: by Alfred in Old English, Chaucer in Middle English, and Elizabeth in Early Modern English. See www.luminarium.org/renlit for Elizabeth's full text and http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/boethius/boethius.html for the Latin version and a Modern English translation, and http://www.yorku.ca/inpar/Boethius_Fox.pdf for another translation. The versions below are given in chronological order.

Old English – Alfred

Eala Mod, hwæt bewearp þe on ðas care 7 on þas gnornunga? Wenst þu þ hit hwæt niwes sie oþþe hwæthwugu ungewunelices þ þe on becumen is, swelce oþrum monnum ær þæt ilce ne eglede? Gif þu þonne wenst þ hit on þe gelong sie þ ða woruldsælða on ðe swa onwenda sint, þonne eart ðu on gedwolan, ac swylce hiora þeawas sint; hi beheoldon on ðe hiora agen gecynd,

7 on hiora wandlunga hy gecyðdon hiora unfæstrædnesse. Swylce hi wæron rihte ða hi ðe mæst geolectan swilce hi nu sindon, þeah ðe hi ðe liolcen on þa leasan sælða. Nu ðu hæfst ongiten ða wanclan truwa þæs blindan lustes. þa triowa þe þe nu sindon opene hi sindon git mid manegu oðru behelede. Nu þu wast hwelce þeawas þa woruldsælða habbað 7 hu hi hwearfiað. Gif þu þon heora þegen beon wilt 7 þe heora þeawas liciað, to hwon myrnst þu swa swiðe? Hwi ne hwearfost þu eac mid him? Gif þu þonne heora untriowa onscunige, oferhoga hi þonne 7 adrif hi fram þe; hi spanað þe to þinre unðearefe. ða ilcan þe þe gedydon nu þas gnornunga forðæm þe þu hi hæfdest, þa ilcan þe wæren on stilnesse gif þu hi na ne underfenge. ða ilcan þe habbað nu heora agnes ðonces forlæten, nales ðines, ða ðe næfre nanne mon buton sorge ne forlætað.

(Sedgefield ed 1899: 15–6)

Middle English – Chaucer

What eyleth the, man? What is it that hath cast the into moornynge and into wepynge? I trow that thou hast seyn some newe thyng and unkouth. Thou wenest that Fortune be chaunged ayens the; but thou wenest wrong (yif thou that wene): alwey tho ben hir maneres. Sche hath rather kept, as to the-ward, hir propre stablenesse in the chaungynge of hirself. Ryght swiche was sche whan sche flateryd the and desseyved the with unleful lykinges of false welefulnesse. Thou hast now knowen and ateynt the doutous or double visage of thilke blynde goddesse Fortune. Sche, that yit covereth and wympleth hir to other folk, hath schewyd hir every del to the. Yif thou approvest here (and thynkest that sche is good), use hir maneris and pleyne the nat; and yif thou agrisest hir false trecherie, despise and cast awey hir that pleyeth so harmfully. For sche, that is now cause of so mochel sorwe to the, sholde ben cause to the of pees and of joye. Sche hath forsaken the, forsothe, the whiche that never man mai ben siker that sche ne schal forsaken hym.

(from Benson 1987, 408, Boece book II, prose 1)

Early Modern English – Elizabeth I

What is it, therefore, O man, that hath throwne the down to wo and wayle? Thou hast seene, I beleue, som new vnwonted thing. Thou, yf thou thinkest that toward the fortune be changed, art deceaud. This was euer her manner, this was her nature. She hath euer kept toward the rather her own constancy in her mutabilitie. Such one was she, whan she beguild the, and did deceauve with allurementes of false felicitie. Thou hast vnderstode now, the doutfull face of the blynde Goddesse, which though she hyde her self to others, hath made her self to the manifest. Yf thou allow her vse her fashon, complayne not therof; yf thou hatest her treason, skorne her and cast her of, that so falsely beguilde the; for she that now is cause of thy woe, the self same ought be of thy quyett. She hath left the, whom no man can be sure that will not leave him.

Appendix B

Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

The First Folio edition is the first edition that contains many plays, see Section 1 above too. *The Tempest* is the first play in the First Folio edition (see the signature) even though it is a later play (namely 1610) than *Hamlet* (1600), for example.

THE TEMPEST.

Actus primus, Scena prima.

A tempeſtuous noiſe of Thunder and Lightning heard: Enter a Ship-maſter, and a Boteſwaine.

Maſter.

BOte-ſwaine.

Botes. Heere Maſter: What cheere?

Maſt. Good: Speake to th'Mariners: fall too't, yarely, or we run our ſelues a ground, beſtirre, beſtirre. *Exit.*

Enter Mariners.

Botes. Heigh my hearts, cheerely, cheerely my harts: yare, yare: Take in the toppe-ſale: Tend to th'Maſters whiſtle: Blow till thou burſt thy winde, if roome enough.

Enter Alonſo, Sebaſtian, Anthonio, Ferdinando, Gonzalo, and others.

Alon. Good Boteſwaine haue care: where's the Maſter? Play the men.

Botes. I pray now keepe below.

Anth. Where is the Maſter, Boſon?

Botes. Do you not heare him? you marre our labour, Keepe your Cabines: you do aſſiſt the ſtorme.

Gonz. Nay, good be patient.

Botes. When the Sea is: hence, what cares theſe roarers for the name of King? to Cabine; ſilence: trouble vs not.

Gon. Good, yet remember whom thou haſt aboord.

Botes. None that I more loue then my ſelfe. You are a Counſellor, if you can command theſe Elements to ſilence, and worke the peace of the preſent, wee will not hand a rope more, vſe your authoritie: If you cannot, giue thankes you haue liu'd ſo long, and make your ſelfe readie in your Cabine for the miſchance of the houre, if it ſo hap. Cheerely good hearts: out of our way I ſay. *Exit.*

Gon. I haue great comfort from this fellow: methinks he hath no drowning marke vpon him, his complexion is perfect Gallowes: ſtand faſt good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his deſtiny our cable, for our owne doth little aduantage: If he be not borne to bee hang'd, our caſe is miſerable. *Exit.*

Enter Boteſwaine.

Botes. Downe with the top-Maſt: yare, lower, lower, bring her to Try with Maine-courſe. A plague——

A cry within. *Enter Sebaſtian, Anthonio & Gonzalo.*

vpon this howling: they are lowder then the weather, or our office: yet againe? What do you heere? Shal we giue ore and drowne, haue you a minde to ſinke?

Sebas. A poxe o'your throat, you bawling, blaſphemous incharitable Dog.

Botes. Worke you then.

Anth. Hang cur, hang, you whoreſon inſolent Noyſemaker, we are leſſe afraid to be drownde, then thou art.

Gonz. I'le warrant him for drowning, though the Ship were no ſtronger then a Nut-ſhell, and as leaky as an vnſtanched wench.

Botes. Lay her a hold, a hold, ſet her two courſes off to Sea againe, lay her off.

Enter Mariners wet.

Mari. All loſt, to prayers, to prayers, all loſt.

Botes. What muſt our mouths be cold?

Gonz. The King, and Prince, at prayers, let's aſſiſt them, for our caſe is as theirs.

Sebas. I'am out of patience.

An. We are meerly cheated of our liues by drunkards, This wide-chopt-raſcall, would thou mightſt lye drowning the waſhing of ten Tides.

Gonz. Hee'l be hang'd yet,
Though euery drop of water ſweare againſt it,
And gape at widſt to glut him. *A confuſed noyſe within.*
Mercy on vs.
We ſplit, we ſplit, Farewell my wife, and children,
Farewell brother: we ſplit, we ſplit, we ſplit.

Anth. Let's all ſinke with' King

Seb. Let's take leaue of him. *Exit.*

Gonz. Now would I giue a thouſand furlongs of Sea, for an Acre of barren ground: Long heath, Browne firrs, any thing; the wills aboue be done, but I would faine dye a dry death. *Exit.*

Scena Secunda.

Enter Proſpero and Miranda.

Mira. If by your Art (my deereſt father) you haue
Put the wild waters in this Rore; alay them:
The skye it ſeemes would powre down ſtinking pitch,
But that the Sea, mounting to th' welkins cheeke,
Daſhes the fire out. Oh! I haue ſuffered
With thoſe that I ſaw ſuffer: A braue veſſell

A (Who

Appendix C

Alexander Hume on orthography

Alexander Hume's *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue* is not dated but was composed after 1617; there is an EETS edition by Henry Wheatley in 1865.

OF SUM IDIOMES IN OUR ORTHOGRAPHIE.

CAP. 8.

[fol. 28 a.] 1. In our tongue we have sum particles *quhilk* can not be symbolized with roman symboles, nor rightlie pronunced but be our awn, for we in manye places soe absorb l and n behynd a consonant, quher they can not move without a voual intervening, that the ear can hardlie judge quhither their intervenes a voual or noe.

2. In this case sum, to avoid the pronunciation of the voual befoer the l and n, wrytes it behind; as litle, mikle, muttne, eatne. Quhilk houbeit it incurres in an-other inconvenience of pronuncing the voual behind the l or n, yet I dar not presume to reprove, [fol. 28 b.] because it passeth my wit how to avoid both inconveniences. And therfoer this I leave to the wil of the wryter.

3. Sum of our men hes taken up sum unusual formes of sym-

bolizing, *quhilk* I wald wish to be reformed, yet If I bring not reason, let noe man change for my phantasie.

4. First, for peple they wryte people, I trow because it cumes from populus; but if that be a reason, I wald understand a reason quhy they speak not soe alsoe. Or gif they speak not soe, I wald understand quhy they wryte not as they speak. I knawe they have the exemple of france to speak ane way and wryte an-other; but that exemple[1] is as gud to absorb the s in the end of everie word. Al exemples are not imitable.

[fol. 29 a.] 5. They use alsoe to wryte logicque, musicque, rhetoricque, and other of that sorte, with cque. If this be doon to make the c in logica, *etc.*, subsist, quhy wer it not better to supply a k in the place of it, then to hedge it in with a whol idle syllab; it wer both more orthographical and easier for the learner, for c and k are sa sib, *that* the ane is a greek and the other a latin symbol of one sound. In this art it is alyke absurd to wryte that thou reades not, as to read that thou wrytes not.

6. We use alsoe, almost at the end of everie word, to wryte an idle e. This sum defend [fol. 29 b.] not to be idle, because it affectes the voual before the consonant, the sound quherof many tymes alteres the signification; as, hop is altero tantum pede saltare, hope is sperare; fir, abies, fyre, ignis; a fin, pinna, fine, probatus; bid, jubere, bide, manere; with many moe. It is true that the sound of the voual befoer the consonant many tymes doth change the signification; But it is as untrue that the voual e behind the consonant doth change the sound of the voual before it. A voual devyded from a voual be a consonant can be noe possible meanes return thorough the consonant into the former voual. Consonantes betuene vouales are lyke partition walles betuen roomes. Nothing can change the sound of a voual [fol. 30 a.] but an-other voual coalescing with it into one sound, Of *quhilk* we have spoken sufficientlie, cap. 3, to illustrat this be the same exemples, saltare is to hop; sperare to hoep; abies is fir; ignis, fyr, or, if you wil, fier; jubere is bid; manere, byd or bied.

OF RULES FROM THE LATIN.

Cap. 7 (*sic*).

1. Hear, seeing we borrow mikle from the latin, it is reason that [fol. 26 a.] we either follow them in symbolizing their's, or deduce from them the groundes of our orthographie.

2. Imprimis, then, quhatever we derive from them written with c we sould alsoe wryte with c, howbeit it sound as an s to the ignorant; As conceave, receave, perceave, from concipio, recipio, percipio; Concern, discern, from concerno, discerno; accesse, successe, recesse, from accedo, succedo, recedo, with manie moe, qu*hi*lk I commend to the attention of the wryter.

3. Also quhat they wryte with s we sould alsoe wryte with s; As servant, from servus; sense, from sensus; session from sessio; passion, from passio.

4. Neither is the c joined with s here to be omitted; As [fol. 26 b.] science and conscience, from scientia, conscientia; ascend and descend, from ascendo, descendo; rescind *and* abscind, from rescindo *and* abscindo.

4 (*sic*). This difference of c and s is the more attentivelie to be marked for that wordes of one sound and diverse signification are many tymes distinguished be these symboles; As, the kinges secrete council, and the faithful counsil of a frende; concent in musik, and consent of myndes; to duel in a cel, and to sel a horse; a décent weed, and descént of a noble house. These tuo last differres alsoe in accent.

5. Lykwayes, that we derive from latin verbales in tio, sould also be wrytten with t; as oration, visitation, education, vocation, proclamation, admonition, *etc*.

6. Wordes deryved from the [fol. 27 a.] latin in tia and tium we wryte with ce; as justice, from justitia; Intelligence, from intelligentia; vice, from vitium; service, from servitium. In al qu*hi*lk, houbeit the e behind the c be idle, yet use hes made it tollerable to noat the breaking of the c, for al tongues bear with sum slippes that can not abyde the tuich stone of true orthographie.

7. C is alsoe written in our wordes deryved from x in latin; As peace, from pax; fornace, from fornax; matrice, from matrix; nurice, from nutrix, qu*hi*lk the south calles nurse, not without a falt both in sound and symbol; be this we wryte felicitie, audacitie, tenacitie, *etc*.

8. Lykwayes we sould keep the vouales of the original, quherin the north warres the [fol. 27 b.] 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 giges, 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.

Appendix D

Dorothy Osborne's letters

Dorothy Osborne (1627–1695) and William Temple come from gentle but impoverished families. When they fall in love, their families are not happy. Her letters to him before their marriage are published as *The Love Letters of Dorothy Osborne* (edited by Edward Parry in 1901) and available at http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/osborne/letters/letters.html.

SIR, -There is nothing moves my charity like gratitude; and when a beggar's thankful for a small relief, I always repent it was not more. But seriously, this place will not afford much towards the enlarging of a letter, and I am grown so dull with living in't (for I am not willing to confess that I was always so) as to need all helps. Yet you shall see I will endeavour to satisfy you, upon condition you will tell me why you quarrelled so at your last letter. I cannot guess at it, unless it were that you repented you told me so much of your story, which I am not apt to believe neither, because it would not become our friendship, a great part of it consisting (as I have been taught) in a mutual confidence. And to let you see that I believe it so, I will give you an account of myself, and begin my story, as you did yours, from our parting at Goring House.

I came down hither not half so well pleased as I went up, with an engagement upon me that I had little hope of ever shaking off, for I had made use of all the liberty my friends would allow me to preserve my own, and 'twould not do; he was so weary of his, that he would part with't upon any terms. As my last refuge I got my brother to go down with him to see his house, who, when he came back, made the relation I wished. He said the seat was as ill as so good a country would permit, and the house so ruined for want of living in't, as it would ask a good proportion of time and money to make it fit for a woman to confine herself to. This (though it were not much) I was willing to take hold of, and made it considerable enough to break the engagement. I had no quarrel to his person or his fortune, but was in love with neither, and much out of love with a thing called marriage; and have since thanked God I was so, for 'tis not long since one of my brothers writ me word of him that he was killed in a duel, though since I hear that 'twas the other that was killed, and he is fled upon 't, which does not mend the matter much. Both made me glad I had 'scaped him, and sorry for his misfortune, which in earnest was the least return his many civilities to me could deserve.

Presently, after this was at an end, my mother died, and I was left at liberty to mourn her loss awhile. At length my aunt (with whom I was when you last saw me) commanded me to wait on her at London; and when I came, she told me how much I was in her care, how well she loved me for my mother's sake, and something for my own, and drew out a long set speech which ended in a good motion (as she called it); and truly I saw no harm in't, for by what I had heard of the gentleman I guessed he expected a better fortune than mine. And it proved so. Yet he protested he liked me so well, that he was very angry my father would not be persuaded to give a £1,000 more with me; and I him so ill, that I vowed if I had £1,000 less I should have thought it too much for him. And so we parted. Since, he has made a story with a new mistress that is worth your knowing, but too long for a letter. I'll keep it for you.

After this, some friends that had observed a gravity in my face which might become an elderly man's wife (as they term'd it) and a mother-in-law, proposed a widower to me, that had four daughters, all old enough to be my sisters; but he had a great estate, was as fine a gentleman as ever England bred, and the very pattern of wisdom. I that knew how much I wanted it, thought this the safest place for me to engage in, and was mightily pleased to think I had met with one at last that had wit enough for himself and me too. But shall I tell you what I thought when I knew him (you will say nothing on't): 'twas the vainest, impertinent, self-conceited learned coxcomb that ever yet I saw; to say more were to spoil his marriage, which I hear he is towards with a daughter of my Lord of Coleraine's; but for his sake I shall take heed of a fine gentleman as long as I live.

Before I had quite ended with him, coming to town about that and some other occasions of my own, I fell in Sir Thomas's way; and what humour took him I cannot imagine, but he made very formal addresses to me, and engaged his mother and my brother to appear in't. This bred a story pleasanter than any I have told you yet, but so long a one that I must reserve it till we meet, or make it a letter of itself. Only by this you may see 'twas not for nothing he commended me, though to speak seriously, it was because it was to you. Otherwise I might have missed of his praises for we have hardly been cousins since the breaking up of that business.

The next thing I desired to be rid on was a scurvy spleen that I had ever been subject to, and to that purpose was advised to drink the waters. There I spent the latter end of the summer, and at my coming home found that a gentleman (who has some estate in this country) had been treating with my brother, and it yet goes on fair and softly. I do not know him so well as to give you much of his character: 'tis a modest, melancholy, reserved man, whose head is so taken up with little philosophical studies, that I admire how I found a room there. 'Twas sure by chance; and unless he is pleased with that part of my humour which other people think worst, 'tis very possible the next new experiment may crowd me out again. Thus you have all my late adventures, and almost as much as this paper will hold. The rest shall be employed in telling you how sorry I am you have got such a cold. I am the more sensible of your trouble by my own, for I have newly got one myself. But I will send you that which used to cure me. 'Tis like the rest of my medicines: if it do no good, 'twill be sure to do no harm, and 'twill be no great trouble to you to eat a little on't now and then; for the taste, as it is not excellent, so 'tis not very ill. One thing more I must tell you, which is that you are not to take it ill that I mistook your age by my computation of your journey through this country; for I was persuaded t'other day that I could not be less than thirty years old by one that believed it himself, because he was sure it was a great while since he had heard of such a one in the world

As your humble servant

Appendix E

Isaac Newton on optics

Isaac Newton (1642–1727) wrote the following letter in 1671. This facsimile was taken from Cohen's 1958 edition of *Papers and Letters on Natural Philosophy*.

(3075) *Numb.* 80.

PHILOSOPHICAL
TRANSACTIONS.

February 19. $16\frac{71}{72}$.

The CONTENTS.

A Letter of Mr. Iſaac Newton, *Mathematick Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Cambridge; containing his New Theory about* Light *and* Colors: *Where* Light *is declared to be not Similar or Homogeneal, but conſiſting of difform rays, ſome of which are more refrangible than others: And* Colors *are affirm'd to be not Qualifications of Light, deriv'd from Refractions of natural Bodies, (as 'tis generally believed;) but Original and Connate properties, which in divers rays are divers: Where ſeveral Obſervations and Experiments are alledged to prove the ſaid Theory. An Accompt of ſome Books:* I. *A Deſcription of the EAST-INDIAN COASTS, MALABAR, COROMANDEL, CEYLON, &c. in* Dutch, *by* Phil. Baldæus. II. Antonii le Grand *INSTITUTIO PHILOSOPHIÆ*, ſecundùm principia Renati Des-Cartes; *novâ methodo adornata & explicata.* III. *An Eſſay to the Advancement of MUSICK; by* Thomas Salmon *M. A. Advertiſement about* Thæon Smyrnæus. *An* Index *for the Tracts of the Year* 1671.

A Letter of Mr. Iſaac Newton, *Profeſſor of the Mathematicks in the Univerſity of Cambridge; containing his New Theory about* Light *and* Colors: *ſent by the Author to the Publiſher from Cambridge, Febr.* 6. $16\frac{71}{72}$; *in order to be communicated to the* R. Society.

SIR,

TO perform my late promiſe to you, I ſhall without further ceremony acquaint you, that in the beginning of the Year 1666 (at which time I applyed my ſelf to the grinding of Optick glaſſes of other figures than *Spherical*,) I procured me a Triangular glaſs-Priſme, to try therewith the celebrated *Phænomena* of

Gggg *Colours,*

Colours. And in order thereto having darkened my chamber,and made a ſmall hole in my window-ſhuts, to let in a convenient quantity of the Suns light, I placed my Priſme at his entrance,that it might be thereby refracted to the oppoſite wall. It was at firſt a very pleaſing divertiſement, to view the vivid and intenſe colours produced thereby; but after a while applying my ſelf to conſider them more circumſpectly, I became ſurpriſed to ſee them in an *oblong* form; which, according to the received laws of Refraction, I expected ſhould have been *circular*.

They were terminated at the ſides with ſtreight lines, but at the ends, the decay of light was ſo gradual, that it was difficult to determine juſtly, what was their figure; yet they ſeemed *ſemicircular*.

Comparing the length of this coloured *Spectrum* with its breadth, I found it about five times greater; a diſproportion ſo extravagant, that it excited me to a more then ordinary curioſity of examining, from whence it might proceed. I could ſcarce think, that the various *Thickneſs* of the glaſs, or the termination with ſhadow or darkneſs, could have any Influence on light to produce ſuch an effect; yet I thought it not amiſs, firſt to examine thoſe circumſtances, and ſo tryed, what would happen by tranſmitting light through parts of the glaſs of divers thickneſſes, or through holes in the window of divers bigneſſes, or by ſetting the Priſme without ſo, that the light might paſs through it, and be refracted before it was terminated by the hole: But I found none of thoſe circumſtances material. The faſhion of the colours was in all theſe caſes the ſame.

Then I ſuſpected, whether by any *unevenneſs* in the glaſs, or other contingent irregularity, theſe colours might be thus dilated. And to try this, I took another Priſme like the former, and ſo placed it, that the light, paſſing through them both, might be refracted contrary ways, and ſo by the latter returned into that courſe,from which the former had diverted it. For, by this means I thought,the *regular* effects of the firſt Priſme would be deſtroyed by the ſecond Priſme, but the *irregular* ones more augmented, by the multiplicity of refractions. The event was, that the light, which by the firſt Priſme was diffuſed into an *oblong* form, was by the ſecond reduced into an *orbicular* one with as much regularity, as when it did not at all paſs through them. So that, what ever was the cauſe of that length,'twas not any contingent irregularity.

I

I then proceeded to examin more critically, what might be effected by the difference of the incidence of Rays coming from divers parts of the Sun ; and to that end, meaſured the ſeveral lines and angles, belonging to the Image. Its diſtance from the hole or Priſme was 22 foot ; its utmoſt length 13¾ inches ; its breadth 2⅝ ; the diameter of the hole ¼ of an inch ; the angle, with the Rays, tending towards the middle of the image, made with thoſe lines, in which they would have proceeded without refraction, was 44 deg. 56′. And the vertical Angle of the Priſme, 63 deg. 12′. Alſo the Refractions on both ſides the Priſme, that is, of the Incident, and Emergent Rays, were as near, as I could make them, equal, and conſequently about 54 deg. 4′. And the Rays fell perpendicularly upon the wall. Now ſubducting the diameter of the hole from the length and breadth of the Image, there remains 13 Inches the length, and 2⅜ the breadth, comprehended by thoſe Rays, which paſſed through the center of the ſaid hole, and conſequently the angle of the hole, which that breadth ſubtended, was about 31′, anſwerable to the Suns Diameter ; but the angle, which its length ſubtended, was more then five ſuch diameters, namely 2 deg. 49′.

Having made theſe obſervations, I firſt computed from them the refractive power of that glaſs, and found it meaſured by the *ratio* of the ſines, 20 to 31. And then, by that *ratio*, I computed the Refractions of two Rays flowing from oppoſite parts of the Sun's *diſcus*, ſo as to differ 31′ in their obliquity of Incidence, and found, that the emergent Rays ſhould have comprehended an angle of about 31′, as they did, before they were incident.

But becauſe this computation was founded on the Hypotheſis of the proportionality of the *ſines* of Incidence, and Refraction, which though by my own Experience I could not imagine to be ſo erroneous, as to make that Angle but 31′, which in reality was 2 deg. 49′ ; yet my curioſity cauſed me again to take my Priſme. And having placed it at my window, as before, I obſerved, that by turning it a little about its *axis* to and fro, ſo as to vary its obliquity to the light, more then an angle of 4 or 5 degrees, the Colours were not thereby ſenſibly tranſlated from their place on the wall, and conſequently by that variation of Incidence, the quantity of Refraction was not ſenſibly varied. By this Experiment therefore, as well as by the former computation, it was evident, that the difference of the Incidence of Rays, flowing from divers

Gggg 2 parts

parts of the Sun, could not make them after decuſſation diverge at a ſenſibly greater angle, than that at which they before converged; which being, at moſt, but about 31 or 32 minutes, there ſtill remained ſome other cauſe to be found out, from whence it could be 2 degr. 49′.

Then I began to ſuſpect, whether the Rays, after their trajection through the Priſme, did not move in curve lines, and according to their more or leſs curvity tend to divers parts of the wall. And it increaſed my ſuſpition, when I remembred that I had often ſeen a Tennis ball, ſtruck with an oblique Racket, deſcribe ſuch a curve line. For, a circular as well as a progreſſive motion being communicated to it by that ſtroak, its parts on that ſide, where the motions conſpire, muſt preſs and beat the contiguous Air more violently than on the other, and there excite a reluctancy and reaction of the Air proportionably greater. And for the ſame reaſon, if the Rays of light ſhould poſſibly be globular bodies, and by their oblique paſſage out of one medium into another acquire a circulating motion, they ought to feel the greater reſiſtance from the ambient Æther, on that ſide, where the motions conſpire, and thence be continually bowed to the other. But notwithſtanding this plauſible ground of ſuſpition, when I came to examine it, I could obſerve no ſuch curvity in them. And beſides (which was enough for my purpoſe) I obſerved, that the difference 'twixt the length of the Image, and diameter of the hole, through which the light was tranſmitted, was proportionable to their diſtance.

Chapter 8

Modern English

1700–the present

This chapter outlines the changes that occur in English from the 18th century on. For practical purposes, the chapter only discusses general tendencies, and the examples come from relatively standard British and American English. Chapter 9 will focus on the changes that take place in English in the different geographical areas where it is spoken.

After 1700, there seem to be fewer major language internal changes than in the previous periods, although the relative similarity of the language may be misleading. In fact, Charles Jones has called the 18th and 19th centuries the Cinderella period of English historical linguistics (1989: 279). There are many external developments as a result of colonialism: English branches out into American, Australian, African (e.g. Kenyan English), and Asian (e.g. South Asian English, Singapore English), with numerous varieties within each of these broad categories (e.g. South African Indian English and New York Puerto Rican English). The closer we get to Modern English, the better we can investigate the details of language use, such as differences due to the gender, age, region, and socio-economic status of the speakers, and there are many sociolinguistic studies devoted to these aspects. This chapter focuses on the overall changes in the sounds and grammar of English.

Section 1 sketches some of the social, scientific, and political changes that influence the language and the types of texts produced in this period. Section 2 explores sound and spelling changes as well as the stigmatization of certain sound changes. Section 3 discusses the grammar, and Section 4 explores the sources of new vocabulary. Section 5 examines prescriptivism, the role of dictionaries, the status of dialects, and the further development of a standard. Section 6 focuses on the regional and register varieties of English, continuing where Section 2 left off.

1. External history and sources

In social and political terms, the second part of the 17th century marks the beginning of a very volatile period in Britain. The Civil War starts in 1642, the republican Commonwealth led by Cromwell is proclaimed in 1649, but the monarchy is restored in 1660 (the Restoration). While the Renaissance was characterized by freedom, this period is characterized by a search for stability, correctness, and standardization. The period between 1650 and 1800 also leads to what is later called the Age of Reason and to the Enlightenment.

The **Enlightenment** is an 18th century movement characterized by reliance on science and reason and concern for humanity. It may be considered responsible for certain social and political changes towards the end of the 18th century: American Independence (1776), the French Revolution (1789), and the abolition of slave trade by the British Parliament (1807). However, **Romanticism**, a 19th century movement with an emphasis on nations and peoples, may also have stimulated those changes. Romanticism is a philosophical and literary movement at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. In many respects, it is a reaction to the rational ideas of the Enlightenment even though it also builds on them.

As to texts, a multitude becomes available after 1700. As mentioned in Chapter 4, there are around 2,000 Old English texts with a total of 3 million words; these texts can be categorized into historical and literary genres. Modern English is much more varied than what remains of Old English: there are many varieties of spoken English, newspaper articles, advertisements, e-mail, facebook entries, formal writing genres, etc. Therefore, this section mentions only a few of the sources available. Online sources for this period are available at: http://www.andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/18th/etext.html, http://www.gutenberg.lib.md.us/index/by-author.html, and www.bartleby.com/144.

The early part of this period, especially the Enlightenment, produces a number of encyclopedias, philosophical and scientific works, grammars, and dictionaries. For instance, in the 17th century, 34 grammars were produced in Britain; in the 18th century, that number became 235 (Michael 1970). Some important works of this time are the English translation of Pierre Bayle's 1710 *Critical and Historical Dictionary*, the 1721 dictionary by Nathan Bailey, and the 1727–8 work by Ephraim Chambers *Cyclopeadia or Universal Dictionary*. Some British and American authors are provided in Table 8.1; some clearly belong to the Enlightenment or Romanticism, but others are more difficult to classify.

Table 8.1 Some (late) 17th and 18th century writers in Britain and the US, in chronological order

Isaac Newton (1643–1727)	Jonathan Swift (1667–1745)
Joseph Addison (1672–1719)	Richard Steele (1672–1729)
George Berkeley (1685–1753)	Alexander Pope (1688–1744)
Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790)	David Hume (1711–1776)
Adam Smith (1723–1790)	Joseph Priestley (1733–1804)
Thomas Paine (1737–1809)	Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)
Phyllis Wheatley (1754–1784)	William Blake (1757–1827)
Robert Burns (1759–1796)	William Wordsworth (1770–1850)
Dorothy Wordsworth (1771–1855)	Walter Scott (1771–1832)
Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834)	Jane Austen (1775–1817)
George Byron (1788–1824)	James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851)
Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822)	John Keats (1795–1821)
Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851)	

The 19th century is characterized by the **Industrial Revolution** which transforms a (mainly) agricultural society into an industrial one and can be said to start in limited ways after 1700. It is characterized by an increased use of machines and factories as well as urbanization. English Imperialism is at its height during the reign of Victoria (1819–1901). We will see that both Industrialism and Imperialism lead to many linguistic changes. Some British and American writers from the late 18th and 19th centuries are given in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Some 19th century writers in Britain and the US, in chronological order

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861)	Alfred Tennyson (1808–1892)
Charles Darwin (1809–1882)	Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865)
Robert Browning (1812–1889)	Charles Dickens (1812–1870)
Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855)	Emily Brontë (1818–1848)
George Eliot (1819–1880)	Anne Brontë (1820–1849)
Emily Dickenson (1830–1886)	Louisa Alcott (1832–1888)
Lewis Carroll (1832–1898)	Mark Twain (1835–1910)
Thomas Hardy (1840–1928)	Isabella Crawford (1850–1887)
Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936)	

The **20th century** is characterized by revolutions in art (e.g. Cubism, Surrealism, (Abstract) Expressionism, Minimalism, Outsider Art, and Performance Art), many wars, and many technological and medical advances as well as changes in political and social ideas (the anti-communism of the 1950s, the civil liberties movement of the 1960s, and the anti-Vietnam movement of the 1970s in the United States). The last part of the 20th and early parts of the 21st century are categorized as a **Post-Industrial Society** because the service industries are more important than the manufacturing ones. These changes lead to the introduction of many new words.

The writers of this period using English are too numerous to mention: T. S. Eliot (1880–1965), Jean Rhys (1890–1979), Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961), Ralph Ellison (1914–1994), James Baldwin (1924–1987), Alice Walker (1944–), Isaac Bashevis Singer (1904–1991), Bapsi Sidhwa (1938–), Linton Kwesi Johnson (1952–), Sherman Alexie (1966–), Joy Harjo (1951–), and many others. Especially in the 20th century, it becomes harder to classify writers as American, British, or Kenyan, since many have chosen (or have had) to relocate. There are American writers who move to Europe or elsewhere (T. S. Eliot), writers born in Trinidad and Jamaica who move to England (Jean Rhys and Linton Kwesi Johnson, respectively), and South Asians who move to the US (Bapsi Sidhwa). There are African American writers (Ralph Ellison; Alice Walker), Americans who write in Yiddish and are translated into English (I. B. Singer), and Native Americans writing in English (Sherman Alexie; Joy Harjo). Chapter 9 will provide a list of authors outside the traditional British/American domain.

Newspapers and the internet are good sources of linguistic data. Corpora, such as the 100-million word British National Corpus, or BNC (http://thetis.bl.uk http://corpus.byu.

edu/bnc/), the 450-million word Corpus of Contemporary American English, or COCA (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/), and the International Corpus of English, or ICE (www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/sounds.htm), are helpful resources on the state of the language. Corpora are collections of texts from different genres and regions of the world. We will use some of them in the sections to follow.

2. Modern English spelling and sounds

As we discussed in the previous chapter, around 1700 English becomes more recognizable for speakers of Modern English. The spelling is relatively stable and changes such as the GVS are nearing completion in many varieties.

There are still **variant spellings** even in formal writing, however: *honor* and *honour, vnitie* and *unity, iournal* and *journal*, and *magic* and *magick*. Webster's spelling books and dictionary published in the 1800s list forms that sometimes differ from the British ones. Between Webster's very traditional 1783 speller and the innovative 1828 dictionary, Webster changes his mind (apparently under the influence of Benjamin Franklin). By the 1850s, spelling is standardized on both sides of the Atlantic, although there are numerous attempts at spelling reform by the editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, Mark Twain, George Bernard Shaw, and others.

Currently, spelling is relatively standardized (except in e-mail and electronic messages), and it would be difficult to get a letter such as the one in (1) published anywhere.

(1) We instinktivly shrink from eny chaenj in whot iz familyar; and whot kan be mor familyar dhan dhe form ov wurdz dhat we hav seen and riten mor tiemz dhan we kan posibly estimaet? We taek up a book printed in Amerika, and "honor" and "center" jar upon us every tiem we kum akros dhem; nae, eeven to see "forever" in plaes of "for ever" atrakts our atenshon in an unplezant wae.

(from http://www.e-speec.com/new.htm)

The fragment in (1) is called *New Spelling*. It was suggested by a British and American spelling society and was almost accepted as the standard by the British Parliament in 1949. At the moment, there do not seem to be many serious attempts at spelling reform.

Correct pronunciation also becomes a major concern in the Modern English period. As George Bernard Shaw put it in the Preface to *Pygmalion* in 1916, "it is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman despise him". To this day, regional differences in pronunciation are one of the main criteria for determining where a speaker of English comes from, and these regional variants are almost always stigmatized if uttered outside the 'right' context.

In addition to regional varieties, there are other issues related to pronunciation that intrigue prescriptive grammarians; one of those issues is initial [h]. After World War II, the prescriptive rules concerning pronunciation become less rigid. It is also true that many of

the regional variants lose some of their distinctive features, which leads Trudgill (1999) to talk about traditional, i.e. mostly rural, and modern dialects. This section therefore incorporates regional and social factors relevant to sound change.

In **Britain,** one regional variety that is not strongly stigmatized is the northern pronunciation of the final *gh/ch* [χ] in *night* and *loch*, where the Old English sound is retained. The retention of pre-GVS [u] in *cow* and *house* is also northern, as is the retention of pre-palatalized [k] in Scottish *kirk*. Many of the dialect features of Middle English, such as the pronunciation of *ham* and the spelling of *sal* and *quha*, are maintained in Modern English dialects. You can listen to Scottish English at www.clan-cameron.org/audio.html. Southern dialects in Britain have also retained some of their Middle English characteristics such as the voiced initial fricative in *vurther* 'further' and *zea* 'sea'. These appear in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749) as *veather* 'father', *vind* 'find', and *zee* 'sea'. Fielding was from Somerset in the Southwest. The north-south differences in British English are summarized in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Some regional differences in Britain going back to earlier varieties

OE retained (in the North)	ME dialect features	
	North	South
[χ] not deleted	sal	shall
[u] not [aw], e.g. in cow	father/seven	vather/zeven
a rare [k] not [tʃ]	hame	home

Some changes that first appear in regional varieties later spread and gradually become stigmatized. These include making the interdental fricatives into stops, as in African American English, Irish English, and Newfoundland English where *three* and *tree* sound the same. This use of [t] and [d] is now a social rather than a regional variant. Another example is the use of glottal stops; it starts in the North of England and in Scotland where a [t] is replaced with a glottal stop between two vowels. It quickly spreads in the 19th century and later becomes non-prestige. Initially, only words such as *bottle* are affected, but the change gradually spreads to syllable-final [p, t, k] so *like* and *light* sound the same.

The confusion on whether or not to pronounce the *h-* in initial position stems from the fact that Anglo-Saxon words (*hand, house,* and *hard*) have this sound while French loans do not (*hour, host,* and *hospital*). In the United Kingdom, *h*-deletion in words of Anglo-Saxon origin points to lower social status. Because of this, in the 1938 film version of George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*, Professor Higgins tries to teach Eliza Doolittle the [h] by using the sentence in (2).

(2) In Hampshire, Hereford, and Hartford, hurricanes hardly ever happen.

Eliza resorts to hypercorrection: she says *hever* for *ever* in an attempt to pronounce the sentence correctly. According to Trudgill (1999: 29), most traditional dialects in England

drop [h], except in the northeast around Newcastle and in East Anglia. Dropping the [h] is not a social marker in the US, however, where it occurs across varieties.

The absence of the **velar nasal** in both British and American English has a relatively long history. In Alexander Pope's (1688–1744) poetry, the [ɪn] pronunciation, rather than [ɪŋ], is prevalent: *brewing* and *farthing* rhyme with *ruin* and *garden,* respectively. This issue has been researched in present-day English by Trudgill (1974) and others; they have found that socio-economic status strongly influences the pronunciation of *-ing*. Trudgill finds that working class speakers in Norwich, East England, always use [ɪn] but middle class speakers use this form only 31% of the time. In the Eastern part of the US, the velar nasal is often rendered as [ŋg], e.g. in *Long Island*.

As mentioned earlier, **[r] weakens** in the late 16th century and is replaced by [ə], which in effect lengthens the vowel it follows. This use becomes established, especially in London, but never in Scotland. Interestingly, many American settlers speak varieties with an [r] – Scottish and Irish in Philadelphia and New York in the late 18th century – hence, [r] has a strong presence in the American colonies. Initially, the [r]-less variant is less prestigious and is criticized (on both sides of the ocean) but later it gains prestige in standard British and certain varieties of American English. Labov's (1966) work on [r] in three New York City department stores (Saks, Macy's, and Klein) is cited frequently. Employees were asked for items that were to be found on the fourth floor and the use of [r] was noted. The employees at the high-end store (Saks) pronounced the [r] more often than those at the low-end store (Klein, which is no longer in existence). The study was redone in 1986 by Joy Fowler and the differences between the stores remained (Labov 1994) even though there was an overall increase. Mather (2012) also replicated the study and found a substantial increase in [r] use.

Linking [r] occurs when one word ends and the following one starts with a vowel; **intrusive [r]** occurs when words such as *idea* and *banana* are pronounced with a final [r] even in isolation. This seems to have started in London speech (MacMahon 1998: 476), a variety later named Cockney, after social differences in speech became stigmatized in the 18th century. One of the features of Received Pronunciation, or RP, used by 3 to 5% of speakers in England, is intrusive [r], in *I saw r it* [ajsɔrIt]. African American English, an [r]-less variety, lacks the linking [r] in *four o'clock* and *forever*. It can also have *a expert*, rather than *an expert*, and [də] *expert* rather than [di] *expert* (Mufwene 1992: 296). Thus, the rules for connecting words and syllables differ between varieties.

Vowels are notoriously unstable and remain so in this period: for instance, [a] changes to [æ] in *ask* and *mask in* American English. We mentioned earlier that Scottish has a [u] which in other varieties has undergone the GVS. In this period, vowels without stress tend to become [ə], especially in the latter half of the 19th century (MacMahon 1998: 462). In American English, *pen* and *pin*, *merry* and *Mary* sound alike in many varieties.

The **stress patterns** of many words change over time: the first edition of the OED (1884–1928) lists *abdomen, anchovy, quandary, secretive*, and *sonorous* as having the main stress on the second syllable; present-day speakers typically put the stress on the first syllable (Bauer 1994: 97).

In conclusion, initially the pronunciation of Modern English is prescriptive (Received Pronunciation, BBC English, or the Queen's English), but after World War II, variation is tolerated more, as indicated by the BBC having regional accents reporting and a very successful program *The Routes of English* (www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/routesofenglish). However, it is difficult to make generalizations about the pronunciation of English since it varies greatly from region to region. Also, speakers constantly invent new forms.

3. Modern English morphology

The trend towards a more analytic language, and the expected loss of case and agreement, continues in Modern English. In this section, we will examine pronominal forms, verbal endings, adverbs, and adjectives, i.e. the morphology of English. As with sounds, it is difficult to describe the morphological changes in neutral terms since many are stigmatized.

The **case loss** in personal pronouns continues in spoken, less formal, varieties. The prescriptive paradigm is given in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Pronouns in (standard) Modern English

	Singular			**Plural**		
	1	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
NOM	I	you	s/he, it	we	you	they
GEN	my	your	her, his, its	our	your	their
ACC/DAT	me	you	her, him, it	us	you	them

However, due to a decreased sense of case, accusatives are used not only as objects but also as (part of) subjects, as in the 19th century example in (3). Nominatives are also used as subjects as well as (part of) objects, as in (4).

(3) **Us** London lawyers don't often get and out. (Charles Dickens *Bleak House* 7.54)

(4) This is between you and **I**.

In (5), where Jane Austen portrays a character of lower social standing, an accusative *me* is used after the complementizer *as*; most written varieties of Modern English would use the nominative *I*.

(5) for they are quite as well educated as **me** (Harriet in *Emma*, Vol. I, Ch. 4)

There are also many varieties of English in which the possessive *'s/'* on nouns (the genitive case) has disappeared. This ending appears on a possessor noun in front of the noun that is possessed, as in (6), where *Mary* owns the book; in (7), where the employees do not own the cafeteria, the possessive marker is not necessary. Yet, some people insist on adding it.

(6) Mary's book

(7) Employees' cafeteria

As we saw, the pronoun system, and especially the second person, has been quite unstable over time. The singular/plural distinction is lost around 1400; in certain regional varieties of Modern English, *y(ou) all, youse, you guys,* and *you lot* can be used to compensate for the loss of the *thou/you* distinction after 1600, as in (8).

(8) **You all** have a great time here!

The (standard) Modern English reflexive pronouns are as listed in (9).

(9) myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves

What regularities or irregularities do you see? Think about why varieties might 'invent' forms such as *myself, yourself, herself, hisself, ourself, theirself* (Appendix E contains a *hisself*), or *meself, himself*, etc. which are possible as well.

Pronouns refer to antecedents: *one* in (10) probably refers to an anthropologist that comes before but is repeated as *he*, *his or her* in (11) probably refers to a teacher, and the plural *them* and *they* in (12) are used to avoid having to choose between the feminine or masculine forms.

(10) "When **one** first studies Navaho religious belief and practice, **he** thinks more than once that the Eskimos' description … would be appropriate for the Navahos as well." (*The Navaho* 1946, Clyde and Dorothy Kluckhohn)

(11) This is best obtained by systematic observation of **his or her** teaching of normal lessons. (BNC – formal document 1982)

(12) I have noticed in the elevators at ASU, that if **a person** takes the elevator (instead of stairs) to go between two floors only, people in the elevator will make snide remarks about **them** when **they** get off. (*The State Press*, 19 September 2012)

The choice of which third person pronoun to use can be problematic in Modern English. The phenomenon of finding the right antecedent is called **pronoun resolution**. It can be difficult when the antecedent does not exactly match the following pronoun in specificity and number, as in (10) and (12). Because we are trying to be inclusive, we can't just use *he* or *she* and therefore there are clashes.

As for the morphology of **auxiliaries**, the history of *be* and *have* is interesting, for instance, with regard to *ain't*. The OED mentions that this form is the contracted form of *have not, has not*, and *are not*. In 18th century England, it is very common in formal speech as a contraction of *am not* (with the [m] assimilating to the alveolar [t]), but not of *have not*. At the moment, it is not considered standard, but it is used in informal speech for any form of the negative *to be*. As Mencken (1921[1937]: 202) says,

> No American of any pretensions, I assume, would defend *ain't* as a substitute for *isn't*… and yet *ain't* is already tolerably respectable in the first person, where English countenances the even more clumsy *aren't*.

Mencken was wrong when he predicted that this would soon change and that the "popular speech [would be] pulling the exacter speech along": *ain't* is still seen as colloquial.

In Modern English, **present tense** verbs become more regular in many varieties. Trudgill (1974) and Hughes and Trudgill (1996) show the paradigms for different regions of England, as in Table 8.5. The core of East Anglia consists of Norfolk and Suffolk counties, and possibly extends into Cambridgeshire and Essex, just north of London.

Table 8.5 Present tense verb variation

East Anglia	North and Southwest	Southeast and 'standard'
I walk	I walks	I walk
you walk	you walks	you walk
s/he walk	s/he walks	s/he walks
we walk	we walks	we walk
you walk	you walks	you walk
they walk	they walks	they walk

A regularization as in the two left-hand columns occurs in other varieties, e.g. African American English, as McDavid (1966) has shown.

The rule of **verbal agreement** in Modern English is well-known: take the head of the subject and have that head agree in number and person with the finite verb. There is sometimes indeterminacy as to what the head is. For instance, in (13), the subject *that* in the relative clause *that is not on the tape* refers to the plural antecedent *things*. Prescriptively speaking, the verb *is* should therefore be *are*. The antecedent *things* is too far away and that's why the speaker uses a singular.

(13) There are other **things** you talked about **that is** not on the tape.
(Christopher Darden in the 'OJ Trial', 2 March 1995)

There is also a regularization of strong past tense forms and irregular verbs. Verb sets such as *chide, chid, chid(den)* become *chide, chided, chided*, and *abide, abode, abode* become *abide, abided, abided*. Irregular verb paradigms are also regularized: *go, went, gone* becomes *go, went, went* (e.g. *I should've went there*) or *go, gone, gone*. Very often the pattern is as in (14).

(14)

present	past	participle
go, bite	went, bit	gone, bitten
|	|	|
go, bite	went, bit	went, bit

Sometimes, weak paradigms become strong: *sneak, sneaked, sneaked* becomes *sneak, snuck, snuck*, with the pattern of a strong verb.

In Old and Middle English, a **subjunctive** form appears (see Tables 4.14 to 4.16 for Old English). It expresses a wish, desire, or necessity where none of the actions have actually taken place yet, as in Old English (26), repeated as (15).

(15) *Ic wille … þæt þu* ***forgyt-e*** *þæt ic þe nu secge*
I want that 2SG forget-SUBJ that I 2SG now say
'I want you to forget what I am telling you now'.
(*Byrhtferth's Manual* 154.14, Visser 1966: 841)

In Modern English, the subjunctive is replaced by other forms, mainly infinitives with (*for) to*, as in (16), a possible translation of (15), and (17), or by modal auxiliaries, as in (18).

(16) I want you **to** forget what I am telling you now.

(17) as I expect **for** my reward to be honoured with Miss Sophia's hand as a partner.
(1766 Goldsmith, OED s.v. *interest*)

(18) Wouldn't it be nice if you **should** forget what I am telling you now.

The subjunctive, as in (19), still occurs (more in American than British English), but it sounds formal. As mentioned in Chapter 5, we see the subjunctive after originally Latinate verbs and adjectives, such as *require, suggest,* and *important*.

(19) It is important that he **leave** early.

Some early American texts have only subjunctives, as in (20), and no infinitival complements.

(20) **Samuel Adams – Letter to E Gerry – 1775**
Some of our military gentlemen have, I fear, disgraced us; it is then **important that** every anecdote that concerns a man of real merit among them, and such I know there are, **be improved**, as far as decency will admit of it, to their advantage and to the honor of a colony, which, for its zeal in the great cause, well as its sufferings, deserves so much of America. (Cushing ed., University of Virginia e-texts)

George Washington (in the 37 volumes of his work written between 1745 and 1799) uses *important for* with an infinitive several times, as in (21), but also continues to use the subjunctive.

(21) 'Tis almost as **important for** us to know what does not happen as what does happen.
(1780, Volume 19 from http://etext.lib.virginia.edu)

The differences in form between **adverbs** and **adjectives** continue to be robust in certain environments. Even though degree adverbs, as in (22), are losing the *-ly* (due to analogy with other degree adverbs such as *so* and *very*), adverbs modifying the sentence, such as *unfortunately* in (23), in general keep this ending.

(22) Ninety-nine percent of vampires are **real** nice people.
(BNC – *Liverpool Echo and Daily Post* 1993)

(23) **Unfortunately** the same bench that I mentioned previously happened to be in my way again. (BNC – school essays)

There is so much anxiety about saying the wrong thing that hypercorrection often occurs, as in (24) from a popular radio program on cars. In (24), *differently* is meant to say something about the noun *the clutch*, not about the verb *feel*. This verb is a copular or linking verb here. It would therefore make sense to use an adjective (*different*) rather than the adverb (*differently*).

(24) Does the clutch feel any **differently**?

This anxiety on the part of speakers is especially strong when it comes to expressions with a (possible) copular verb such as (25) from Dylan Thomas, which many people recite with *gently* rather than *gentle*, making *go* into a regular intransitive verb.

(25) Do not go **gentle** into that good night.

Both *gentle* and *gently* happen to be correct. The uncertainty is about whether the subject noun is being modified (in which case an adjective is ok and the verb is a copula) or the verb (in which case an adverb should be used and the verb is an intransitive).

Uncertainty also seems to surround the **comparative and superlative** endings, where speakers sometimes use both in, for instance, *the most expensivest.* As mentioned in Chapter 6, in Middle English, the number of comparative and superlative analytic forms increased and in Early Modern English, there was great freedom in the choice of forms. The current Modern English system is very complex, the result of 18th century grammar rules.

From a prescriptive point of view, one of the more problematic adverbs is the negative *not/-n't*. The *-n't* form is very similar to Old English *ne* in being weak (pronounced with a schwa); therefore, it comes as no surprise that another negative reinforces or replaces the weakened one, as in (26).

(26) I don't measure **nothin**. (Labov 1972: 177)

As is well-known, this structure is so highly stigmatized that it is not likely to be used in formal varieties soon. Anderwald (2002) reports that 14.3% of negative constructions contain multiple elements that express a single negation in the spoken BNC.

Another common way to reinforce the weakened *n't* is by using *never*, as in (27) and (28).

(27) I **never** thought I'd be able to remember it all. (BNC – fiction 1988)

(28) But I **never** went there! (BNC – non-fiction 1991)

As we have seen, there is a trend towards further regularization in Modern English morphology; as we will see later, however, this trend is stopped by prescriptive rules.

4. Modern English syntax

This section will discuss some developments – such as the increase in the use of auxiliaries and words such as *like*. These continue to move English towards becoming a more analytic language. There are also developments related to the relative pronouns, but they are stopped by prescriptive rules. In addition, we will consider how a corpus can be used to study the differences between formal and less formal English and examine changes in punctuation where they are relevant to syntax. Finally, we will review some of the grammatical 'errors' the educational system seeks to correct, a development that stops the language from losing more of its synthetic characteristics.

The **word order** of Modern English is SVO, with auxiliary-fronting in questions. Subjects are obligatory, except in the phenomenon of *topic-drop*, typical for e-mail and letters and demonstrated in (29). In topic-drop typically a first person pronoun is left out.

(29) Would like to see you soon.

The number of auxiliaries, prepositions, and determiners has increased since the Early Modern English period. Here, we will examine auxiliaries, with some possibilities listed in (30).

(30)		modal	perfect	progressive	passive	main verb
	He	might	have	been	being	seen

Modals have many meanings: permission, ability, possibility, and volition. Two of these meanings, ability and permission, are shown in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1 The different meanings of *can*. ©2003 Paws, Inc. Reprinted with permission of Universal Press Syndicate. All rights reserved.

The uses and meanings of modals can change quite rapidly: many people have stopped using *may* for permission, as in the slightly formal (31a), and use *can* instead, as in (31b) and Figure 8.1.

(31) a. **May** I go now?
b. **Can** I go now?

There are many varieties of English with double modals, as in (32) – African American English (as well as Gullah), Scottish English, and Ozark English.

(32) *He* **might can** *do it if he tried.*
'he might be able to do it if he tried.' (from Brown 1991:76)

Many new modal and future forms are introduced in the Modern English period. *Gonna* is used as a future auxiliary, even though the OED says it is "colloq. (esp. U.S.) or vulgar pronunciation of *going to.*" The OED's first listing is 1913. Krug (2000) provides historical background and modern instances of *gonna, gotta, hafte,* and *wanna*. The OED's first use of *going to* as a future auxiliary is 1482, but *gonna* is not used until much later.

Currently, only *have* is used as a **perfect auxiliary**; as mentioned in the previous chapter, however, *be* is still used as a present perfect auxiliary with motion verbs in the Early Modern English period, and this still occurs in the 19th century, as (33) shows.

(33) But before I **am** run away with by my feelings…
(Jane Austen's Mr. Collins in *Pride & Prejudice*)

Before 1800, it is also possible to say *I have seen it yesterday*, as it is in a number of other languages and varieties; later this changes and currently only *I saw it yesterday* is used.

The **progressive** use of *be* and *-ing* is introduced relatively late; sentences such as *as I say now* continue until 1800. Before that, grammars and dictionaries – such as Johnson's acclaimed 1755 dictionary – do not mention *be+ing* as a separate form. When the progressive appears, often a preposition (*on* reduced to *a-*) precedes the participle, as in (34).

(34) I think my wits are a **wool**-gathering.
(Swift, *Polite conversation* 423, from Visser 1973:1999)

The form in (34) is still used in some varieties of English, such as Appalachian English, but most varieties do not have the prefix *a-*.

Progressives are also combined with other auxiliaries; for example, in (35) the progressive is combined with a passive. In earlier English, a progressive passive is expressed as in (36) (see Visser 1973:2004).

(35) The house was **being built.**

(36) The house was **building.**

The progressive passive in (35) was criticized as 'uncouth' in the 19th century, as Anderwald (2012) chronicles and took some time to get accepted!

The regular **passive** is constructed with the auxiliary *be*, as in (37), but a newer form using *get* also arises, as in (38).

(37) She **was hit** by a wave of familiarity. (BNC, fiction)

(38) Then he **got knocked** out. (BNC, fiction)

According to the OED, the *get*-passive is first used in 1652.

Analytic languages make use of grammatical words derived from lexical verbs or prepositions. We saw that *to* comes to mark the indirect object and also that a clause is non-finite. Another case of grammaticalization is the preposition *like* becoming a complementizer: it goes from introducing a noun to introducing a sentence.

(39) Winston tastes good **like** a good cigarette should.

Consistent with this is the use of *like* to introduce quotes, as in (40). This is called a quotative. There are other such quotatives: *all* in (41), from the same (cartoon) text (see van Gelderen 2010: 148).

(40) And I'm **like** … you know … "I don't think so."

(41) And then he's **all** "Oh, right."

Like (and *sort of, kind of*, and *all*) is also used to soften requests or to hedge something. These are then called discourse markers or mood markers, since they tell you a lot about the speaker's attitudes.

Relatives also undergo change in Modern English and, as we will show, the preference of speakers for *that* over *who/whom/which* is expected in an analytic language. Relative pronouns show much variation throughout the history of English; the changes they undergo are stopped in two ways by language-external, prescriptive forces: these prescriptive forces dictate the choice of the relative and impose restrictions on stranding prepositions.

In Modern English, restrictive relatives are formed by using *that* or a *wh*-pronoun, as in (42); the relatively infrequent, non-restrictive relatives are formed by using a *wh*-pronoun, as in (43).

(42) The person **that/who** I met.

(43) Jane Austen, **whose** sentences were used above, was a Modern English writer.

The *wh*-pronoun shows case and is therefore more synthetic: *who, whose,* and *whom* are nominative, genitive, and accusative/dative, respectively. In Modern English, there is a strong tendency to use *that* (and *as*), rather than *wh*-pronouns, or to have no marker at all (Romaine 1982: 212; Dekeyser 1996: 299; Tagliamonte 2013: 101). This is so because the *wh*-pronoun shows case and the language learner does not have much evidence for assuming case distinctions are relevant in English.

The preference for *that* can be shown using a corpus of spoken English. Differences between spoken and written varieties always indicate that prescriptive rules are at work; such rules are typically followed only in the written, more formal variety. In the 2-million Corpus of Spoken Professional American English, or CSE (see http://athel.com), *that* is much more frequent than the *wh*-form, as Table 8.6 shows. The results in this table were obtained by searching for a determiner followed by a noun followed by a relative.

The CSE is a relatively formal corpus of spoken American English (including White House press briefings and faculty meetings); the numbers are even more extreme in other studies of spoken varieties. Montgomery and Bailey (1991: 155) analyzed relative clauses in academic writing as well as speech. They found that of 200 relative clauses in speech, 138 have *that*, 36 have no pronoun, and the remaining 26 (or 13%) have a *wh*-form. The writing sample, as expected, is different. There are 22 clauses with *that*, six with no pronoun, and the remaining 172 (or 86%) are *wh*-forms. Even for human antecedents, the

Table 8.6 *That* versus *who* in the CSE

	the N	**a(n) N**
that	5637 (= 82%)	1758 (= 81%)
wh-form	1199 (= 18%)	414 (= 19%)
total	6836 (= 100%)	2172 (= 100%)

number of *wh*-pronouns is very low – 18% in the spoken sample, as opposed to 67% in the written sample.

The same tendency away from the *wh*-form has been observed by Romaine (1982) and Poussa (2002). Miller (1993) shows that in Scottish English, a preposition and relative pronoun are often replaced by *that*, as in (44), or just a *wh*-form, as in (45); American English treats *where* like *that* in (46).

(44) I haven't been to a party yet **that** I haven't got home the same night. (Miller 1993: 112)

(45) a cake **where** you don't gain weight.

(46) That house **where** nobody lives in. (real estate agent)

If you rephrase (44) and (45) in prescriptively correct English, you get (47) and (48), where the *wh*-form and the preposition are taken along.

(47) … a party **from which** I didn't get home …

(48) … a cake **from which** you don't gain weight.

The switch to *that* has not been completed for several reasons. The prescriptive rules about relatives favor *wh*-relatives over *that*. For instance, there is a rule that *who* is to be used for humans and, as Fowler (1926[1950]: 716) says, "at present there is much more reluctance to apply *that* to a person than to a thing." Since Shakespeare's time, *wh*-pronouns have been used to refer to things and *that* to people even though prescriptive rules abhor this use: "*who* refers to people or to animals that have names. *Which* and *that* usually refer to objects, events, or animals and sometimes to groups of people" (Kirszner & Mandell 1992: 381). Anecdotal reports from English composition teachers say they often correct sentences such as (49); (50) is from an e-mail, but it would be 'wrong', prescriptively speaking.

(49) People **that** eat the above foods, intending to increase their protein consumption, can unintentionally eat too much fat.

(50) The people **that** you should contact are …

Examples where *which* refers to a person occur in the 19th century as well. Note that the preposition is taken along, however.

(51) the landlord … **through which** it was …. (Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit* 12, 71)

The prescriptive rule against preposition stranding also (indirectly) favors *wh*-relatives. Sentences such as (52) that end in prepositions can have either a *wh*-relative or *that* but they are considered incorrect; (53), where only a *wh*-relative is possible, is preferred.

(52) I met the woman **who/that** I had seen a picture **of.**

(53) I met the woman **of whom** I had seen a picture.

The figures for the spoken and written samples given in Montgomery and Bailey (1991: 156) show that the written sample more closely mirrors the prescriptive norm. In speech, 86% of prepositions are stranded; in writing, that is the case for only 7%. Since (53) is only possible with *wh*-relatives, the prescriptive rule (indirectly) also favors *wh*-relatives. Dekeyser (1996) has argued that this preference for using case marked pronouns such as *who/whom/whose* in Middle and Modern English and demonstrative pronouns in Old English exists in formal registers throughout the history of English.

Note also that very few *wh*-elements show case. For instance, in the CSE, there is one instance of a noun followed by *whom*, as in (54), but hundreds with *who*.

(54) and that the president, **whom** I think you've all heard on this subject, is – he has…
(CSE – White House briefings 1997)

Therefore, perhaps *who* is becoming a relative marker in (52), not marked for case. This occurrence of *who* without case marking may be the reason it is a 'competitor' to *that*.

We mentioned that Early Modern English **punctuation** could perform several functions. In Modern English, punctuation is used to indicate the main players in the sentence: subject, verb, and object. Many times, adverbs or relative clauses, if they are out of place or provide background information, as in (54), are indicated by commas. In the (non-politically correct) (55), the difference in comma placement makes a difference in the meaning (the commas are left out, but experiment a little).

(55) Woman without her man is like a fish on a bicycle.

We have mentioned prescriptive forces. What are they? In the publishing world, there are style sheets specific to a publisher or journal. Another prescriptive force is the school system. It has stopped the trends towards analyticity by continuing to correct pronouns and by enforcing the third person singular *-s*. Mencken (1921 [1937]: 419–420) comments on a study of children in Kansas City in 1915 conducted by W. Charters; it shows several 'errors' that have to be corrected by the educational system: a tendency for the verb not to agree with the subject and for nouns not to have the appropriate case. These 'errors' occur across varieties of English and indicate how the language is changing. The majority of such 'errors' involve verb inflection, tense, and (pronominal) case.

Even though this list is from almost a hundred years ago, the educational system still corrects these same errors. However, if we conducted a similar survey, we might find an increase in these features. In Section 5, we will examine the effect of dictionaries and style guides on the language.

Table 8.7 'Errors' observed in 1915 (according to by Charters)

	'Error'	%
a.	Subject not in the nominative	4
b.	Predicate nominative not in the nominative	2
c.	Object of verb not in the objective	1
d.	Wrong form of noun or pronoun (e.g. *sheeps*)	2
e.	First person pronoun first	2
f.	Failure of the pronoun to agree	0
g.	Confusion of demonstrative and personal pronouns	3
h.	Failure of the verb to agree with its subject	14
i.	Confusion of past and present (*She give us four*)	2
j.	Confusion of past and present participle	24
k.	Wrong tense	5
l.	Wrong verb	12
m.	Incorrect use of mood	0
n.	Incorrect comparison of adjectives	1
o.	Confusion of comparative and superlative	0
p.	Confusion of adjectives and adverbs	4
q.	Misplaced modifier (*He only went two miles*)	0
r.	Double negative	11
s.	Confusion of preposition and conjunction	0
t.	Syntactical redundancy (*Mother, she said so. Where is it at*).	10
u.	Wrong part of speech due to similarity (…*would of* ..)	1

Table 8.8 Characteristics of Modern English

Morphology:

a. (Pronominal) Case endings disappear further
b. Verbal paradigms are regularized, especially in the past and perfect
c. Verbal inflection is lost (in non-standard English), e.g. the subjunctive is replaced by the infinitive
d. Loss of *-ly*, especially in degree adverbs

Syntax:

e. Word order is fixed and subjects are obligatory
f. Auxiliaries such as *get* are introduced
g. Multiple negation (in non-standard)
h. Relatives show a preference for *that*
i. Punctuation is grammatical

Unlike the chapters about earlier varieties of English, this section will not analyze a text since the language discussed is similar to present-day English. Therefore, to conclude, we will summarize the features of most varieties of Modern English in Table 8.8. Written varieties maintain the third person *-s* (in *she walks*) and the case on pronouns.

We now turn to the changes due solely to external reasons.

5. The Modern English lexicon

As mentioned in Section 1, in the 19th and 20th centuries, there are multiple changes in the social and political circumstances.

The British Enlightenment, however, does not introduce many new words specific to its ideas. This is interesting in light of arguments that this movement originates in The Netherlands and France and is marginal in Britain. Some new words from the first decade of the 18th century are: *colonist, idealist, phonography, tarboosh, bamboozle, civilization, nymphotomy, paracentric, nucleus, metallurgy, categorize, purist*, and *materialize*. Many of these are based on Latin or French words. Words from the Romantic period – even though not particularly Romantic – include *colonial* (1796); *Hindi, Hindoostani, purdah, pyjamas* (all from 1800); and *hysteria, phobia, tonsillitis, conventionalist* (1801). The Industrial Revolution contributes *locomotive* (1829), *Industrialism* (1831), and *industrial school* (1853), and Imperialism is responsible for *Gurkha* (1811), *the British Raj* (1859), *khaki* (1863), and *tropical disease* (1828).

The 19th and 20th century **innovations in science and technology** cause an immense increase in vocabulary (Baugh & Cable 2002: 297–302). Words for novel concepts in several fields are provided in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9 New words by specialization

Medicine/health:	appendicitis, clinic, radiotherapy, HIV, AIDS, aspirin, insulin, hormones, MRI, PET, vaccine, cholesterol, superbug, ADD, ADHD, OCD, holistic medicine
Science:	electrode, biochemical, DNA, relativity theory, radiation, fractals, atom bomb, UV rays, quark, bubble chamber, boson, lepton, Higgs particle, string theory, exoplanet, rogue planet, pulsar, sustainability
Psychology:	Freudian, Jungian, psychotherapy, shock therapy, multiple personality, behaviorism, closure, ego, fixation, gestalt, IQ, REM, Rorschach test, Type A personality, nerd, geek, narcotizing dysfunction
Communication:	TV, radio, gonzo journalism, computer, internet, google, facebook, mouse, chip, bookmark, commercial, CD, DVD, GPS, tweet, twitter, blog, admeister, air mouse, bloatware,
Transport:	locomotive, helicopter, train, automobile, shuttle, airplane, cruise control, garage, sunroof, SUV, ATV, public/mass transport
Linguistics:	nativism, phoneme, transformational grammar, polysynthetic, minimalism, optimality
Military:	blitzkrieg, tank, agent orange, WMD, embedded journalism
Philosophy:	existentialist, rationalist, postmodern
Art/music/literature:	impressionist, outsider art, disco, rap, hip-hop, extra-terrestrial, intersectionality
Politics:	emancipation, Watergate, human rights, Cold War, banana republic, junta, cold war, police state, chads
Economics:	creative book-keeping, demerger, buy-out, commodification, e-bubble, green-collar (various meanings), McMansion, upcycling

Recreation:	biathlon, clap scate, frisbee, hapkido, heli-skiing, hoolivan (to observe hooligans), eco-tourism, geocaching, galactico (soccer superstar), snowskate
Food:	functional food, virtual bar, wrap, soupie, smart drink, peanut-free zone, personal chef, energy drink, disco biscuit, McVegan

Some of the sources for new words in this period are listed in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10 New sources of vocabulary

a. **loans** from other languages: angst, kitsch, zeitgeist, weltanschauung, zeitgeist, lebensraum, schadenfreude, wanderlust, kindergarden, jungle, pajamas/pyjamas, polo, pasta, broccoli, zucchini, mensch, bête noire, fait accompli, haboob (duststorm)

b. **new compounds** or phrases: skydiving, acid rain, junkfood, green butcher (one that sells free range meat), a wedding wedding (a very extravagant wedding), bamboo ceiling

c. **new affixes**: postmodern, prewoman, proto-Nostratic, counterrevolution, pseudo-metarule, ex-ex-husband (divorced and then remarried), super-awesome

d. **clippings, mergers, and inventions**: decaf, motel, fridge(idaire), phys-ed, ad(vertisement), blog, dancercise, boycott, quizling, popemobile, bookmobile, camcorder, talkathon, smog, slumlord, simulcast, netspeak, netglish (internet English), veggie-burger, block-buster, crime-buster, bikaholic, chocaholic, workaholic, hacktivist, faction (blending fact and fiction)

e. **phrase words**: hit-and-run drivers, a nobody-cares attitude, a larger-than-life problem, a so-not-cool situation, so-out-of-the-loop

f. **conversion**: to impact (N to V), to fax (N to V), a show-off (V to N), play-off (N to V), to teach-in (N to V), the Ancients (Adj to N), to empty (Adj to V)

g. **slang**: rip-off, pizzazz, crap, grody to the max (from the 1970s), depresso city

h. **acronyms and initialisms**: laser (light amplification by the stimulated emission of radiation), SUV (Sports Utility Vehicle), ATM (Automatic Teller Machine), HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus), WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction), VD (Venereal Disease), ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), LOL (Laughing out loud), FAQ (Frequently Asked Question)

i. **retronym**: acoustic guitar, paper copy, landline phone, film camera

j. **onomatopoeia:** tweet, twitter

As in Middle English, the exact path of a loan in Modern English is not always clear: a word could come directly from Latin or via French. For this reason, the term '**International Scientific**' is sometimes used in dictionaries (Webster's Third) to clarify the origin of words. Compounding and new affixes as in Table 8.10 have always been popular. Clippings, phrase words, and acronyms become popular in the 20th century, not only in English but in other languages (in Dutch, it was called *turbotaal* 'turbo-speech' for a while). Slang is always attractive because of its directness and novelty. However, once words are accepted into the standard, slang has to rejuvenate itself with new slang. We will come back to slang in Section 6.

The OED allows us to search by year and Table 8.11 lists some new words for the years 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000. For 2010, there were no entries yet!

Table 8.11 New words for 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

1940:	borscht belt, clochard, intercom, male chauvinist, Okinawan, panzer, paratroops, Picassian, Quisling, roadblock, sitzkrieg, superbomb, superconduction, West Nile virus
1950:	apparat, bonsai, brainwashing, encrypt, fall-out, geekish, hi-fi, information theory, lateralization, LSD, McCarthyism, moving target, napalm(ing), open-heart, Orwellian, psychometrician, yellowcake, to zonk
1960:	bionics, breathalyzer, Castroism, dullsville, dumbo, kook, to market test, minivan, nerdy, over-inhibition, reportability, software
1970:	biofeedback, citizen advocacy, detox, herstory, humongous, minidisk, offroading, post-structural, yucky
1980:	ecofeminism, to download, mega-rich, neohippie, neopunk, non-veg, power dressing, Reaganomics, waitperson, what's-her-face
1990:	bi-curious, cringeworthy, DWEM (Dead White European Male), emoticon, feminazi, greenwashing, nanostructured, Nostraticist, soap-dodger
2000:	blue state, chip and pin, geocach(er), hawaladar, machinima, metamaterial, Sudoku, to bling

Table 8.12 lists some new words and phrases from 2003. Do you recognize them, and if so, do you know what they mean? If not, Appendix I at the end of the book has a glossary. Which of the new categories in Table 8.10 do they represent? Which of these are currently still around?

Table 8.12 Some new words from 2003 (from the journal *American Speech* and other sources)

craptacular, to embed, to jump the shark, SARS, amber alert, black tide, botox party, Bushism, dataveilance, dialarhoea, dirty bomb, virtuecrat, walking-pinata, blog, WMD, belligerati, gamma girl, juice-jacker, to otherize, flexitarian, freedom fries, galactico

Not only are new words introduced in this period, but the **meaning of some words changes**. The word *fun* has an interesting history of reversal. It started out as slang for 'cheat, trick', according to a 1700 dictionary of cant. By 1727, it had come to mean 'amusement'. One way to trace the meaning of words is by looking them up in the OED, which list the different

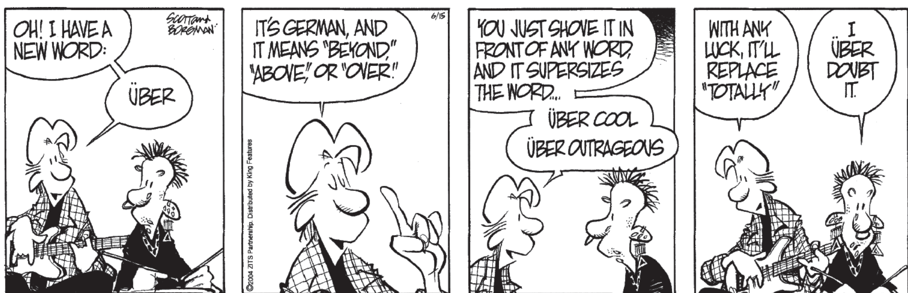

Figure 8.2 A new prefix. Zits © Zits Partnership. Reprinted with permission from King Features Syndicate.

meanings and when they first arise. Another way is through collocations. Biber et al. (1998: 43ff.) show that in modern corpora *great, big*, and *large* occur in very different contexts: academic texts include *large* but rarely *big*; in fiction, *large* is less frequent than *big*. If you check older corpora, you can see that *big* is quite rare, so academic texts show a more conservative use in this case.

6. Attitudes towards linguistic differences

There are many competing tendencies, both egalitarian and elitist, regarding grammar, varieties of English, pronunciation, and spelling. Dictionaries and pronunciation guides support both sides and are quite influential. In English, dictionaries are a surrogate for the academies other countries have established. In this section, we will discuss some common views on English and standardization as well as the attempts to form an Academy. We will also list some grammars, spelling and pronunciation guides, and dictionaries, which show both prescriptive and descriptive tendencies. We will conclude with a discussion of the role of the OED and language 'mavens'.

The attempts to establish an **Academy** started in the early 1600s, when other nations established academies (Italy in 1582, France in 1635, and Spain 1713), and culminated after 1700. The reason for the Italian, French, and Spanish Academies had been the purification and standardization of the language, in particular through the publication of official dictionaries. In England, John Dryden was in favor of an academy as early as 1664, in *The Rival Ladies*; Daniel Defoe called for one in 1697, in *Essay upon Projects*; and Jonathan Swift did so in 1712, when he published *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*. There was opposition to an academy as well; the influential Samuel Johnson, for example, opposed an academy in the preface to his 1755 dictionary (available at http://www.andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/preface.html). According to him, the role of academies was to stop language change, but language change could not be stopped in his view.

There are strong views on the state of the English language on the other side of the Atlantic as well. James Fennimore Cooper (1838: *The American Democrat*: see Bolton 1982: 286) and Elias Molee (1890 *Pure Saxon English*) suggest regularizing the spelling and the grammar and replacing Latinate vocabulary. The tension over Latinate vocabulary has been strong since Middle English and remains so to this day. The concern about Latinate vocabulary is reminiscent of the 20th century ideas of Orwell and Ogden, mentioned in Chapter 5. Mencken's *The American Language*, published for the first time in 1921, remains popular to this day (see http://www.bartleby.com/185). In it, he argues that American is more down-to-earth English and that it resists some of the artificial rules British English has had since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Grammars become quite prescriptive in Modern English. In Johnson's 1755 dictionary, a history and a grammar of the English language precede the dictionary. The grammar

includes lists of irregular verbs and derivational suffixes and prefixes. The dictionary also contains some prescriptive grammatical rules such as the one against converting a noun into a verb: *to profound* is said to be "a barbarous word", as can be seen in Figure 8.3. The real reason behind this dislike is unclear since *to purpose* is ok.

PROFO'UND. *n. ſ.*
1. The deep; the main; the ſea.
God, in the fathomleſs *profound*,
Hath all his choice commanders drown'd. *Sandys.*
Now I die abſent in the vaſt *profound*;
And me without myſelf the ſeas have drown'd. *Dryden.*
2. The abyſs.
If ſome other place th' ethereal king
Poſſeſſes lately, thither to arrive,
I travel this *profound*. *Milton's Par. Loſt, b.* ii.
TO PROFO'UND. *v. n.* [from the noun.] To dive; to penetrate. A barbarous word.
We cannot *profound* into the hidden things of nature, nor ſee the firſt ſprings that ſet the reſt a-going. *Glanvil.*
PROFO'UNDLY. *adj.* [from *profound.*]
1. Deeply; with deep concern.
Why ſigh you ſo *profoundly*? *Shakeſp.*
The virgin ſtarted at her father's name,
And ſigh'd *profoundly*, conſcious of the ſhame. *Dryden.*
2. With great degrees of knowledge; with deep inſight.
Domenichino was *profoundly* ſkill'd in all the parts of painting, but wanting genius, he had leſs of nobleneſs. *Dryden.*

Figure 8.3 *To profound* in Johnson's Dictionary

A very influential grammarian of the period is Robert Lowth, who later became Bishop of London. Lowth applied Latin Grammar to English in his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* of 1762 and introduced rules such as *It is I* rather than *It is me*, rules for the use of *who/m,* and rules for the use of *between* and *among*. Lowth also opposed using intransitives as transitives and the other way around as well as the use of double negatives and split infinitives. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011: 2) argues that Lowth's grammar was influential because it "served an important function for its readers who, in their desire to climb the social ladder at a time when the early effects of the Industrial Revolution were making themselves felt, needed guidance as to the norms of linguistic correctness – 'polite' usage – that accompanied the new status they aspired to." Many of these rules are based on Latin grammar and do not make much sense for English. However, prescriptive grammarians at the beginning of the 21st century still maintain many of them and speakers love to complain about split infinitives.

In 1795, Lindley Murray (1745–1826) published *The English Grammar*; a revised edition was published in 1810 and the book sold a total of two million copies. As Vorlat (1959)

points out, Murray depended heavily on his predecessors: Edmund Coote's (1596) work mentioned in the previous chapter, James Greenwood's (1711) *An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar*, and Lowth's Grammar. John Wilkins (1668) and James Harris (1751) also published grammars, focusing on universal grammar.

William Cobbett's *A Grammar of the English Language*, first published in New York in 1818, was written to promote thinking and create an egalitarian society. He felt that much deception goes on in politics and that clear argumentation and grammar make that harder. Cobbett is very critical of some of the rules of Lowth, who influenced Webster (1758–1843), the American spelling and dictionary expert. Webster himself at first condemned the use of *who* as an object, but later wrote that a sentence such as (56) "is hardly English at all" (Finegan 1980: 41).

(56) **Whom** do you see?

If Webster's views had been heeded, the analytic tendency might have continued, but that was not the case.

Correct spelling becomes a concern in the Early Modern English period and remains so to the present. Johnson adjusts the orthography because it "had been unsettled and fortuitous" (from 1755 Preface). He explains that "these spots of barbarity" cannot be washed away. According to him, part of the problem is that the loan words have different origins. For instance, we have *enchant* from French but *incantation* from Latin.

Webster's speller (1783) sold 100 million copies (Algeo 2001: 34). As mentioned earlier, some of his initial choices were later modified: *favour* and *honour* lose their *u*. Throughout Webster's (1828) dictionary, *music* and *logic* are written without a final *-k* (which is transferred into British English as well); *behavior, honor,* and *color* are spelled with *-or*, not *-our*; *center* and *theater* with *-er*, not *-re*; and *defense* and *offense* with a final *-se*, not *-ce*. Thomas Dyche and Daniel Fenning produced spelling guides in 1723 and 1756, respectively (Salmon 1999: 45). Societies for the improvement of English, such as the Society for Pure English (1919–48) also came into being in this period. Today, there are spelling (and other) guidelines available online, e.g. at www.wsu.edu/~brians/errors/errors.html; paper versions of spelling guides abound as well.

Johnson's 1755 dictionary does not prescribe **pronunciation**. His contemporaries do this for him and, as we have seen in Section 1, some pronunciations become stigmatized in this period. In 1775, John Walker published a dictionary of pronunciation; he was possibly the first to coin the term Received Pronunciation (RP). Wyld uses Received Standard English, English free of regionalisms, or "the type which most well-bred people think of when they speak of 'English'" (1920: 2). Webster is also concerned with uniform pronunciation in his *American Spelling Book*. He advocates the pronunciation of each letter in each syllable and each syllable. As a result, words such as *secretary* tend to have four syllables in American English, but three in other varieties. Modern pronunciation guides include Daniel Jones' *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (originally from 1917 but updated) and John

Kenyon & Thomas Knott's *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (originally from 1944 but updated).

By the 18th century, what were called 'hard word dictionaries' are less necessary: hard words disappear, are absorbed, or become part of a specialized vocabulary. The **first modern dictionary** with definitions is John Kersey's 1702 *A New English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words*. It contains 28,000 words, but the definitions are not specific: for example *goat* is defined as *a beast* (Bolton 1982: 241). Thus, this is a spelling dictionary. In 1721, Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* appears. It has 40,000 entries and the definitions are more explicit (though quite prescriptive, see Görlach 1999b: 154). Johnson's 1755 dictionary also contains 40,000 entries but includes numerous quotes.

Johnson's dictionary is the first to provide examples illustrating actual use. The number of authors quoted is quite limited: of the 116,000 quotations, 50% are from Shakespeare, Dryden, Swift, Pope, Addison, Hooker, Bacon, the King James Version and some have a moral point. As DeMaria (1986: 17) shows, the quotes are occasionally altered (possibly on purpose): Caliban's (57a) becomes (57b).

(57) a. I know how to curse.
b. I know **not** how to curse. (*Tempest* I, ii, 364)

Johnson's dictionary contains 2300 folio-size pages, but he was criticized by his contemporaries for not being strict enough.

> we cannot help wishing that the author…had oftener passed his own censure upon those words which are not of approved use. (Adam Smith in a review, see Rypins 1925)

In addition, Johnson was said to include "vulgar and cant words."

Webster's *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806) initially contained 37,500 words. One of Webster's aims was a nationalist one: to show that American English is different from British English as are the respective political systems. In the preface to his 1828 *American Dictionary* he wrote the following.

> It is not only important, but, in a degree necessary, that the people of this country, should have an *American Dictionary* of the English Language; for, although the body of the language is the same as in England, and it is desirable to perpetuate that sameness, yet some differences must exist. … [T]he principal differences between the people of this country and all others, arise from different forms of government, different laws, institutions and customs.

Table 8.13 lists some of the available 18th and 19th century dictionaries.

Later in the Modern English period, the *Oxford English Dictionary* becomes *the* resource for work on the English language. In its current online form (www.oed.com), it covers over half a million words and includes 2.5 million quotations. Words and quotations are constantly being added. Work on the OED officially started in 1858 but did not really

Table 8.13 Early dictionaries

	year	number of entries
Kersey	1702	28000
Bailey	1721	40000
Johnson	1755	40000
Webster	1806	37500
Webster	1828	70000

get off the ground until James Murray took on the project in 1879. Murray found volunteers to go through books and to send him noteworthy quotes. He and other editors spent many years sorting through the quotations (see Figure 8.4) and the first edition was finally completed in 1928, years after Murray's death.

Figure 8.4 Murray in the Scriptorum (picture from Murray 1977)

The OED is prescriptive and uses terms such as "now considered better," "vulgar," "offensive," "incorrect," and "slipshod."

There are other influential dictionaries, such as Webster's Third, an updated version that appeared in 1961, but was initially heavily criticized for including phrases such as *irregardless* and for eliminating labels such as *incorrect, imprope*r, and *colloquial*. This edition survives as Webster's *Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged*. It includes 476,000 entries and weighs 12.5 pounds.

In addition to dictionaries, there are language 'mavens' such as Edwin Newman and William Safire. They have (weekly) columns or write books on how to use English. Many speakers seem to enjoy these self-appointed authorities. Since the 1970s, Edwin Newman has published several bestsellers, such as *A Civil Tongue* (1976) and *Strictly Speaking* (1974).

In them, he makes fun of sentences such as (58), in which the word *chronologically* is used for 'first come first serve' rather than by the age of the car.

(58) Vehicles will be parked **chronologically** as they enter the lot. (US Capitol police)

As Quinn (1980) points out, one of the problems with Newman and earlier prescriptivists is that no reliable sources for their prescriptive rules are provided. Thus, in (58), the meaning of *chronologically* could be changing, in which case there would be nothing strange about the sentence.

William Safire published a weekly column on language in the *New York Times* for over many years and was also the author of a dozen books on language, most recently *The Right Word in the Right Place at the Right Time* (2004). He is criticized (Quinn 1980: 66ff.) for citing inconsistent rules. For instance, Safire is concerned about the difference between *less* and *fewer* (the rule is to say *less money* but *fewer coins*), but fails to mention early uses that do not make this distinction. In fact, usage is not as strict at all and the rules of the mavens are made-up and idiosyncratic; they do not take into account language change.

In conclusion, there are many conflicting reactions in the Modern English period to the increasingly analytical character of the language, as well as to its changing vocabulary. These reactions come in the form of dictionaries, grammars, spelling and pronunciation guides.

7. Some regional and register varieties

As mentioned in Section 2, many regional pronunciations become connected to social status and class. In this section, we briefly discuss regions and social class. We also examine register varieties, including jargon. The focus is on British English, with occasional examples from other varieties.

Trudgill (1999: 65–7) divides the **modern dialects** in England into 16 kinds, but says that the major split is between the North and the South, roughly as indicated by the thickest line in Figure 8.5. The dialects of the South are further divided into those of the Southwest, with an [r] in words such as *arm*, and those of the East without [r]. The two main groups in the North are Central and Northern.

There are, according to Trudgill, also modern traditional dialects which are different from the ones in Figure 8.5. These dialects are more similar to the Old and Middle English varieties discussed in Chapters 4 and 6.

There is an excellent website (www.collectbritain.co.uk/collections/dialects) where you can hear different accents and learn about the linguistic characteristics of each audio clip. The BBC has a similar site: www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/routesofenglish/storysofar/series3.shtml. Since 1984, a new term – Estuary English, first suggested in David Rosewarne – has been used for the English spoken around London. It has elements of Cockney as well as of RP. You can hear this variety at http://ic-migration.webhost.uits.arizona.edu/icfiles/

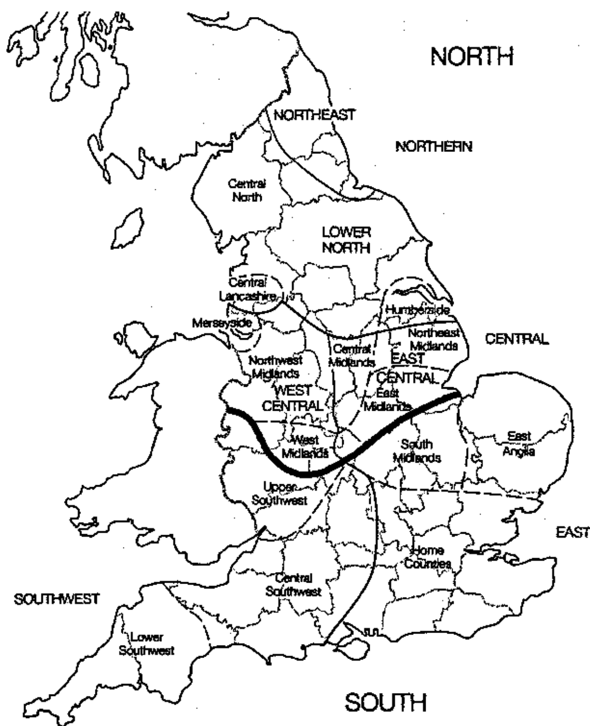

Figure 8.5 Modern dialects in England (from Trudgill 1999: 65)

ic/lsp/site/ (choose British English) and www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/home.htm. Estuary English replaces word-final [l] with [w], has a glottal stop rather than [t], and uses *basically* a lot. Other varieties are evolving as well.

The distinctive features between the modern dialects typically involve sounds, but there are a few differences in morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. As mentioned in Section 3, reflexive pronouns have different forms. Speakers create forms such as *hisself* on the basis of *myself* and *ourself*. Demonstratives are also frequently different. There are forms such as *them people* or *thilk people*, the latter being typical for the southwest of England. Possessive pronouns often change from *my* to *me*, as in *me book*, and *our books* becomes *us books*, especially in the North of England. These changes all point to a regularization of the language in non-standard varieties.

The present tense endings have leveled completely in some modern varieties: either the *-s* ending is lost or it is added to all forms. The forms of the verbs *to be* level as well; some speakers say *I was, you was, we was*, and others *I were, you were, s/he were*. There are many other such morphological and syntactic differences.

The history of English also determines some of the variation in regional vocabulary. In some areas, Old English words such as *to grave* 'to dig' survive. In the areas of Britain influenced by Scandinavian invaders, words such as *till laik* (for 'to play') continue to occur.

Dialect maps also exist for American English. Some are based on the differences in vocabulary (*pail/bucket, sack/bag*), pronunciation (no difference in *pin* and *pen*; see map 3 of www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/home.html), or syntax (the use of double modals). Certain regions keep archaic features such as double modals (in parts of Texas and Arkansas), *for to* infinitives (in the Ozark region), *a*-prefixes on the participle (as in *he's a-coming home* in Appalachian and Southern American English). *The Atlas of North American English* appeared in 2005, with 200 maps (put together by Labov, et al.). One of the criticisms of the dialect maps is that they emphasize the eastern part of the US to the exclusion of the West.

When it comes to **varieties in register**, the level of formality is relevant: there is less regional variation in formal writing. Formal styles adhere more closely to prescriptive rules such as the one about relative clauses discussed earlier. E-mail is considered an informal form of writing. However, recently some companies and government agencies have hired writing teachers to provide courses for their employees since significant miscommunication can occur in e-mail. One request to a writing instructor reads as (59).

(59) i need help i am writing a essay on writing i work for this company and my boss wants me to help improve the workers writing skills can yall help me with some information thank you. (from the *International Herald Tribune*, 8 December 2004)

The passage above is understandable, even though some punctuation would help the reader. In speech, we use intonation to show where a sentence stops and whether information is relevant. Since written messages cannot convey this information, it helps to have periods and question marks. One of the messages that had prompted the request above is (60).

(60) I updated the Status report for the four discrepancies Lennie forward us via e-mail (they in Barry file) .. to make sure my logic was correct It seems we provide Murray with incorrect information … However after verifying controls on JBL – JBL has the indicator as B???? – I wanted to make sure with the recent changes – I processed today – before Murray make the changes again on the mainframe to 'C'.
(also from the *International Herald Tribune*, 8 Dec 2004)

Passages such as the two just quoted show that writers do not always reread what they are writing and do not consider their audience. The last excerpt contains grammatical irregularities: lack of past tense on *forward* and *provide*, deletion of copula in *they in Barry files*, lack of case on *Barry* and lack of a tense marker on *make*. Despite the many grammatical irregularities, the lack of logical connections is what makes the passage confusing. In many debates about alleged language decay, grammatical errors are cited as the culprit. However, it could be argued that the style and level of convolution are the real culprits, as Orwell argues.

Slang is difficult to define; therefore, the term *informal language* might be preferable. As mentioned in Section 4, both slang and jargon are specialized vocabularies, but slang is always informal and jargon may be formal. Thus, slang and jargon can be seen as varieties different in register; however, they are also used by different social groups. The OED, in earlier editions, defines slang as "language of a low and vulgar kind." It is perhaps easiest to define slang by providing examples. Political slang such as *snollygoster* 'a shrewd, unprincipled person, i.e. a politician', *neverendum* 'a referendum repeated until the desired outcome is achieved', *velcroid* 'someone who seeks the company of the powerful', and *zoo plane* 'plane carrying journalists with a politician' all occur in the *Oxford Dictionary of Political Slang* (2004).

Numerous student slang dictionaries have recently been published: at University of California, Los Angeles, University of North Carolina, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, and Arizona State University. However, due to community censorship, many of the dictionaries have had to be taken off the internet. Some of the same sources as the ones listed in Table 8.10 are used in creating slang. There are new affixes, as in *chocolate-heaven, lowrider-city, heartbreak-city, weirdsville, nowheresville, drugsville*, clipping, as in *perp* for *perpetrator*, *G-man* for FBI-personnel (=government man), etc. Some slang terms fade and then become popular again. This happened with *sweet, awesome*, and *cool*; *phoney* is from the 1770s, but has survived.

Examples of **jargon** are provided in (61) and (62), the former being more formal. The latter shows how short-lived slang is. Even though (62) is from the early 1990s, it feels completely dated even a few years later.

(61) …, a fourth feature, round, is relevant for categorizing vowels. Front vowels such as [i] and [e] are produced with the lips in a spread position, whereas back vowels such as [u] and [o] are made with rounded lips. (from Chapter 2)

(62) Though some called him a munchkin, Waldo could hack with anybody, and as he opened the condom his thoughts turned to frobnicating. Soon he would advance to tweaking and phreaking because his studly equipment was bytesexual. His only fear was that he would bogotify the program.
(from *The New Hacker's Dictionary*, edited by Raymond, 1993 edition)

Terms such as *front vowel, fricative, postmodern, deconstruct, to clipboard it over, hackification, winnitude,* and *WOMBAT* (waste of money, brains and time) are all jargon. For more, see www.quinion.com/words/wordlinks.htm.

The continual use of colloquial language gives it more strength and creates solidarity with the audience, as this code switching between formal and colloquial speech – allegedly uttered by an Arizona politician – shows.

(63) We must not permit the state of Arizona to deplete our water supply. Ain't no way we're gonna give'm that water.

The *LA Times* reported on 11 August 1986 that a gang member had testified "that he was in his hoopty around dimday when some mud duck with a tray-eight tried to take him out of the box." This certainly sounds serious! Detective writers like Raymond Chandler and Dashiel Hammett often make use of slang words.

(64) The flim-flammer jumped in the flivver and faded.

(65) You dumb mug, get your mitts off the marbles before I stuff that mud-pipe down your mush – and tell your moll to hand over the mazuma.

The alliteration in these sentences is impressive. The general idea is obvious, but if you want to know what these quotes mean, see http://www.miskatonic.org/slang.html, where a 'glossary of hardboiled slang' will help you with the interpretation. Slang dictionaries are numerous. Perhaps the most known is Eric Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937/1979).

This section has provided a brief introduction to some variants of English. Reading sociolinguistic works (or taking a course in that subject) would provide a lot more detail and theoretical insight.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the most recognizable stage of English so far. It starts around 1700 and is called Modern English. After 1700, smaller changes in spelling, pronunciation, grammar, and lexicon continue to take place. The lexicon expands tremendously. English also starts to spread across the world. Prescriptive attitudes continue, but to a lesser extent than before World War II. The question of what defines English becomes much discussed, as we will see later.

Keywords

Enlightenment, Romanticism, Colonialism, Imperialism, stigmatization of regional forms, variety in pronouns, introduction of new auxiliaries, prescriptive rules (e.g. for relatives and split infinitives), sources of new words, slang and jargon, prescriptive dictionaries, and corpora.

The texts chosen for Appendix A to E represent political and literary writing and are given in chronological order: A, B, and C are from the late 18th century and D and E from the early 20th century.

Exercises

1. In the light of current conventions, comment on the punctuation and word choice of the text in Appendix A.

2. Comment on the spelling and grammar of the texts in Appendix B or C. How 'modern' are they?

3. What sound change has occurred between the words on the left and the right in the following sets.

   a. [ɔðər] *other* > [ɔdər]
   b. *prescribe* > *perscribe*
   c. *overall* > *overhalls* (from Appendix E)
   d. *guest* [gɛst] > [gɛs]
   e. *wasp* > *waps*

4. Put the following into 21st century standard English. What have you changed and why?

   a. Be not afraid to go there.
   b. Are you going to come here regular? (Dickens, *Pickwick Papers*, 54, 380)

5. Adverbs are sometimes an issue in Modern English. In Old English, *first* is both an adverb and an adjective, since *-ly* is not a regular ending. When *second* is borrowed from French, it is an adjective only and *secondly* is the adverb form. Discuss why we debate whether (a) or (b) is correct.

   a. First, I will examine … Secondly, I will discuss …
   b. Firstly, I will examine … Secondly, I will discuss …

6. Regional varieties of English are often represented in literature. Take an excerpt from *Sons & Lovers* (Appendix D) or *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (Appendix E), or another work such as Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* or Scott Momaday's *A House Made of Dawn*. Find the characteristics of this variety of English (e.g. deletion of sounds, changed syllable structure, replacement of [θ], invariant or zero *be*, interesting case markings, multiple negation, etc.). Be aware that the authors may have wanted to strengthen the language features of their characters.

7. Are there constructions you (as a native or non-native speaker) use that people correct? If so, which ones? Use the BNC or COCA to see if other speakers of English use those constructions? (Sometimes, this may not be possible).

8. Find the Vietnamese and Inuit words that the OED lists as part of Modern English.

9. Some words might not 'make it'. *Cuddle puddle* 'pile of ecstasy users on the floor' was first used in 2001, according to the American Dialect Society (http://www.americandialect.org/2001_words_of_the_year_vote_anticipated; it was earlier used to mean 'jacuzzi'. Discuss some of these recycling constructions: do their sounds change or can they be seen as widening? Sources for more new word are www.computerhistory.org.
10. Find two euphemisms (sometimes acronyms such as *WC* from *water closet* and also shifts such as *toilet* from *toilette* 'small towel').

Appendix A

A Petition to the Merchants, Clothiers and all such as wish well to the Staple Manufactory of this Nation

Below is a petition by workers in Leeds (a major center of wool manufacture in Yorkshire) published in a local newspaper in 1786. The workers are complaining about the effect of machines on previously well-paid work. On www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1786machines.html, you can look at the reply from the Cloth Merchants in 1791, defending machines.

The Humble ADDRESS and PETITION of Thousands, who labour in the Cloth Manufactory.

SHEWETH, That the Scribbling-Machines have thrown thousands of your petitioners out of employ, whereby they are brought into great distress, and are not able to procure a maintenance for their families, and deprived them of the opportunity of bringing up their children to labour: We have therefore to request, that prejudice and self-interest may be laid aside, and that you may pay that attention to the following facts, which the nature of the case requires.

The number of Scribbling-Machines extending about seventeen miles south-west of LEEDS, exceed all belief, being no less than one hundred and seventy! and as each machine will do as much work in twelve hours, as ten men can in that time do by hand, (speaking within bounds) and they working night-and day, one machine will do as much work in one day as would otherwise employ twenty men.

As we do not mean to assert any thing but what we can prove to be true, we allow four men to be employed at each machine twelve hours, working night and day, will take eight men in twenty-four hours; so that, upon a moderate computation twelve men are thrown out of employ for every single machine used in scribbling; and as it may be sup'posed the number of machines in all the other quarters together, nearly equal those in the South-West, full four thousand men are left; to shift for a living how they can, and must of course fall to the Parish, if not timely relieved. Allowing one boy to be bound apprentice from each family out of work, eight thousand hands are deprived of the opportunity of getting a livelihood.

We therefore hope, that the feelings of humanity will lead those who l, have it in their power to prevent the use of those machines, to give every discouragement they can to what has a tendency so prejudicial to their fellow-creatures.

This is not all; the injury to the Cloth is great, in so much that in Frizing, instead of leaving a nap upon the cloth, the wool is drawn out and the Cloth is left thread-bare.

Many more evils we could enumerate, but we would hope, that the sensible part of mankind, who are not biased by interest, must see the dreadful tendancy of their continuance; a depopulation must be the consequence; trade being then lost, the landed interest will have no other satisfaction but that of being last devoured.

We wish to propose a few queries to those who would plead for the further continuance of these machines:

Men of common sense must know, that so many machines in use, take the work from the hands employed in Scribbling, – and who did that business before machines were invented.

How are those men, thus thrown out of employ to provide for their families; – and what are they to put their children apprentice to, that the rising generation may have something to keep them at work, in order that they may not be like vagabonds strolling about in idleness? Some say, Begin and learn some other business. – Suppose we do; who will maintain our families, whilst we undertake the arduous task; and when we have learned it, how do we know we shall be any better for all our pains; for by the time we have served our second apprenticeship, another machine may arise, which may take away that business also; so that our families, being half pined whilst we are learning how to provide them with bread, will be wholly so during the period of our third apprenticeship.

But what are our children to do; are they to be brought up in idleness? Indeed as things are, it is no wonder to hear of so many executions; for our parts, though we may be thought illiterate men, our conceptions are, that bringing children up to industry, and keeping them employed, is the way to keep them from falling into those crimes, which an idle habit naturally leads to.

These things impartially considered will we hope, be strong advocates in our favour; and we conceive that men of sense, religion and humanity, will be satisfied of the reasonableness, as well as necessity of this address, and that their own feelings will urge them to espouse the cause of us and our families –

Signed, in behalf of THOUSANDS, by
Joseph Hepworth Thomas Lobley
Robert Wood Thos. Blackburn

From Harrison (1965: 71–72). This text is part of the Internet Modern History Sourcebook, copy-permitted texts, Paul Halsall halsall@murray.fordham.edu.

Appendix B

Mary Wollstonecraft on education

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) was a feminist, radical, social theorist, educator, journalist, travel writer, and novelist. One of her insights in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (http://www.bartleby.com/144) is that the condition of women in a given culture is not natural but is produced and replicated by that culture. The extract from Chapter 12 (1792) is on education.

Chap. XII. On National Education.

THE good effects resulting from attention to private education will ever be very confined, and the parent who really puts his own hand to the plow, will always, in some degree, be disappointed, till education becomes a grand national concern. A man cannot retire into desart with his child, and if he did he could not bring himself back to childhood, and become the proper friend and play-fellow of an infant or youth. And when children are confined to the society of men and women, they very soon acquire that kind of premature manhood which stops the growth of every vigorous power of mind or body. In order to open their faculties they should be excited to think for themselves; and this can only be done by mixing a number of children together, and making them jointly pursue the same objects.

A child very soon contracts a benumbing indolence of mind, which he has seldom sufficient vigour afterwards to shake off, when he only asks a question instead of seeking for information, and then relies implicitly on the answer he receives. With his equals in age this could never be the case, and the subjects of inquiry, though they might be influenced, would not be entirely under the direction of men, who frequently damp, if not destroy, abilities, by bringing them forward too hastily: and too hastily they will infallibly be brought forward, if the child be confined to the society of a man, however sagacious that man may be.

Besides, in youth the seeds of every affection should be sown, and the respectful regard, which is felt for a parent, is very different from the social affections that are to constitute the happiness of life as it advances. Of these equality is the basis, and an intercourse of sentiments unclogged by that observant seriousness which prevents disputation, though it may not enforce submission. Let a child have ever such an affection for his parent, he will always languish to play and chat with children; and the very respect which he entertains, for filial esteem always has a dash of fear mixed with it, will, if it do not teach him cunning, at least prevent him from pouring out the little secrets which first open the heart to friendship and confidence, gradually leading to more expansive benevolence. Added to this, he will never acquire that frank ingenuousness of behaviour, which young people can only attain by being frequently in society where they dare to speak what they think; neither afraid of being reproved for their presumption, nor laughed at for their folly.

Forcibly impressed by the reflections which the sight of schools, as they are at present conducted, naturally suggested, I have formerly delivered my opinion rather warmly in favour of a private education; but further experience has led me to view the subject in a different light.

I still, however, think schools, as they are now regulated, the hotbeds of vice and folly, and the knowledge of human nature, supposed to be attained there, merely cunning selfishness.

…

The only way to avoid two extremes equally injurious to morality, would be to contrive some way of combining a public and private education. Thus to make men citizens two natural steps might be taken, which seem directly to lead to the desired point; for the domestic affections, that first open the heart to the various modifications of humanity, would be cultivated, whilst the children were nevertheless allowed to spend great part of their time, on terms of equality, with other children.

Appendix C

George Washington's journal

George Washington (1732–1799), the first president of the US, left a substantial set of texts, some of which are available at http://gwpapers.virginia.edu. One of his journal entries is reproduced below. The background to the excerpt is that in the fall of 1794, George Washington traveled from Philadelphia to western Pennsylvania to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection that erupted in the Pennsylvania counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington, and Allegheny. The uprising was against the Excise Act, passed by Congress in 1791, which had imposed substantial duties on domestically distilled spirits.

9 October 1794, Journal entry

On the 9th. William Findley and David Redick – deputed by the Committee of Safety (as it is designated) which met on the 2d. of this month at Parkinson Ferry arrived in Camp with the Resolutions of the said Committee; and to give information of the State of things in the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania to wit – Washington Fayette Westd. & Alligany in order to see if it would prevent the March of the Army into them.

At 10 oclock I had a meeting with these persons in presence of Govr. Howell (of New Jersey) the Secretary of the Treasury, Colo. Hamilton, & Mr. Dandridge: Govr. Mifflin was invited to be present, but excused himself on acct. of business.

I told the Deputies that by one of the Resolutions it would appear that they were empowered to give information of the disposition & of the existing state of matters in the four Counties above men[tioned]; that I was ready to hear & would listen patiently, and with candour to what they had to say.

Mr. Findley began. He confined his information to such parts of the four Counties as he was best acquainted with; referring to Mr. Reddick for a recital of what fell within his knowledge, in the other parts of these Counties.

The substance of Mr. Findleys communications were as follows – viz. – That the People in the parts where he was best acquainted, had seen there folly; and he believed were disposed

to submit to the Laws; that he thought, but could not undertake to be responsible, for the re-establishment of the public Offices for the Collection of the Taxes on distilled spirits, & Stills – intimating however, that it might be best for the present, & until the peoples minds were a little more tranquilized, to hold the Office of Inspection at Pitsburgh under the protection – or at least under the influence of the Garrison; That he thought the Distillers would either enter their stills or would put them down; That the Civil authority was beginning to recover its tone; & enumerated some instances of it; That the ignorance, & general want of information among the people far exceeded any thing he had any conception of; That it was not merely the excise law their opposition was aimed at, but to all law, & Government; and to the Officers of Government; and that the situation in which he had been, & the life he had led for sometime, was such, that rather than go through it again, he would prefer quitting this scene altogether.

Mr. Redicks information was similar to the above; except as to the three last recitals – on wch. I do not recollect that he expressed any sentiment further than that the situation of those who were not in the opposition to government whilst the frenzy was at its height, were obliged to sleep with their Arms by their bed Sides every night; not knowing but that before Morning they might have occasion to use them in defence of their persons, or their properties.

He added, that for a long time after the riots commenced, and until lately, the distrust of one another was such, that even friends were affraid to communicate their sentiments to each other; That by whispers this was brought about; and growing bolder as they became more communicative they found their strength, and that there was a general disposition not only to acquiesce under, but to support the Laws – and he gave some instances also of Magistrates enforcing them.

He said the People of those Counties believed that the opposition to the Excise law – or at least that their dereliction to it, in every other part of the U. States was similar to their own, and that no Troops could be got to March against them for the purpose of coercion; that every acct. until very lately, of Troops marching against them was disbelieved; & supposed to be the fabricated tales of governmental men; That now they had got alarmed; That many were disposing of their property at an under rate, in order to leave the Country, and added (I think) that they wd. go to Detroit. That no person of any consequence, except one, but what had availed themselves of the proffered amnesty; That those who were still in the opposition, and obnoxious to the laws, were Men of little or no property, & cared but little where they resided; That he did not believe there was the least intention in them to oppose the Army; & that there was not three rounds of ammunition for them in all the Western Country. He (& I think Mr. Findley also) was apprehensive that the resentments of the Army might be productive of treatment to some of these people that might be attended with disagreeable consequences; & on that account seemed to deprecate the March of it: declaring however, that it was their wish, if the people did not give proofs of unequivocal submission, that it might not stop short of its object.

After hearing what both had to say, I briefly told them – That it had been the earnest wish of governmt. to bring the people of those counties to a sense of their duty, by mild, & lenient means; That for the purpose of representing to their sober reflection the fatal consequences of such conduct Commissioners had been sent amongst them that they might be warned, in time,

of what must follow, if they persevered in their opposition to the laws; but that coercion wou'd not be resorted to except in the dernier resort: but, that the season of the year made it indispensible that preparation for it should keep pace with the propositions that had been made; That it was unnecessary for me to enumerate the transactions of those people (as they related to the proceedings of government) forasmuch as they knew them as well as I did; That the measure which they were not witness to the adoption of was not less painful than expensive – Was inconvenient, & distressing – in every point of view; but as I considered the support of the Laws as an object of the first magnitude, and the greatest part of the expense had already been incurred, that nothing Short of the most unequivocal proofs of absolute Submission should retard the March of the army into the Western counties, in order to convince them that the government could, & would enforce obedience to the laws – not suffering them to be insulted with impunity. Being asked again what proofs would be required, I answered, they knew as well as I did, what was due to justice & example. They understood my meaning – and asked if they might have another interview. I appointed five oclock in the After noon for it. At this second Meeting there was little more than a repeti[ti]on of what had passed in the forenoon; and it being again mentioned that all the principal characters, except one, in the Western counties who had been in the opposition, had submitted to the propositions – I was induced, seeing them in the Street the next day, to ask Mr. Redick who that one was? – telling him at the same time I required no disclosure that he did not feel himself entirely free to make. He requested a little time to think of it, and asked for another meeting – which was appointed at 5 oclock that afternoon – which took place accordingly when he said David Bradford was the person he had alluded to in his former conversations.

He requested to know if a Meeting of the people, by their deputies, would be permitted by the Army at any given point, on their March into that Country (with fresh evidence of the sincerity of their disposition to acquiesce in whatever might be required) . I replied I saw no objection to it, provided they came unarmed; but to be cautious that not a gun was fired, as there could be no answering for consequences in this case. I assured them that every possible care should be taken to keep the Troops from offering them any insult or damage and that those who always had been subordinate to the Laws, & such as had availed themselves of the amnesty, should not be injured in their persons or property; and that the treatment of the rest would depend upon their own conduct. That the Army, unless opposed, did not mean to act as executioners, or bring offenders to a Military Tribunal; but merely to aid the civil Magistrates, with whom offences would lye. Thus endd. the matter.

Appendix D

D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*

D.H. Lawrence (1885–1930) grew up in Nottinghamshire and used regional speech to give a better understanding of the setting and social class. *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was first printed privately by an Italian printer in 1928 (since Lawrence could not find a British publisher). Because there was no copyright on the book, pirated versions appeared everywhere, especially ones that would not be censored. The following are excerpts from Chapter 8.

She saw a secret little clearing, and a secret little hot made of rustic poles. And she had never been here before! She realized it was the quiet place where the growing pheasants were reared; the keeper in his shirt-sleeves was kneeling, hammering. The dog trotted forward with a short, sharp bark, and the keeper lifted his face suddenly and saw her. He had a startled look in his eyes.

He straightened himself and saluted, watching her in silence, as she came forward with weakening limbs. He resented the intrusion; he cherished his solitude as his only and last freedom in life.

"I wondered what the hammering was," she said, feeling weak and breathless, and a little afraid of him, as he looked so straight at her.

"Ah'm gettin' th' coops ready for th' young bods," he said, in broad vernacular.

She did not know what to say, and she felt weak.

"I should like to sit down a bit," she said.

"Come and sit 'ere i' th' 'ut," he said, going in front of her to the hut, pushing aside some timber and stuff, and drawing out a rustic chair, made of hazel sticks.

"Am Ah t' light yer a little fire?" he asked, with the curious naïveté of the dialect.

"Oh, don't bother," she replied.

But he looked at her hands; they were rather blue. So he quickly took some larch twigs to the little brick fire-place in the corner, and in a moment the yellow flame was running up the chimney. He made a place by the brick hearth.

"Sit 'ere then a bit, and warm yer,'" he said.

…

A wet brown dog came running and did not bark, lifting a wet feather of a tail. The man followed in a wet black oilskin jacket, like a chauffeur, and face flushed a little. She felt him recoil in his quick walk, when he saw her. She stood up in the handbreadth of dryness under the rustic porch. He saluted without speaking, coming slowly near. She began to withdraw.

"I'm just going," she said.

"Was yer waitin' to get in?" he asked, looking at the hut, not at her.

"No, I only sat a few minutes in the shelter," she said, with quiet dignity.

He looked at her. She looked cold.

"Sir Clifford 'adn't got no other key then?" he asked.

"No, but it doesn't matter. I can sit perfectly dry under this porch. Good afternoon!" She hated the excess of vernacular in his speech.

He watched her closely, as she was moving away. Then he hitched up his jacket, and put his hand in his breeches pocket, taking out the key of the hut.

"'Appen yer'd better 'ave this key, an' Ah min fend for t' bods some other road."

She looked at him.

"What do you mean?" she asked.

"I mean as 'appen Ah can find anuther pleece as'll du for rearin' th' pheasants. If yer want ter be 'ere, yo'll non want me messin' abaht a' th' time."

She looked at him, getting his meaning through the fog of the dialect.

"Why don't you speak ordinary English?" she said coldly.

"Me! Ah thowt it wor ordinary."

She was silent for a few moments in anger.

"So if yer want t' key, yer'd better tacit. Or 'appen Ah'd better gi'e 't yer termorrer, an' clear all t' stuff aht fust. Would that du for yer?'"

She became more angry.

"I didn't want your key," she said. "I don't want you to clear anything out at all. I don't in the least want to turn you out of your hut, thank you! I only wanted to be able to sit here sometimes, like today. But I can sit perfectly well under the porch, so please say no more about it."

He looked at her again, with his wicked blue eyes.

"Why," he began, in the broad slow dialect. "Your Ladyship's as welcome as Christmas ter th' hut an' th' key an' iverythink as is. On'y this time O' th' year ther's bods ter set, an' Ah've got ter be potterin' abaht a good bit, seein' after 'em, an' a'. Winter time Ah ned 'ardly come nigh th' pleece. But what wi' spring, an' Sir Clifford wantin' ter start th' pheasants…An' your Ladyship'd non want me tinkerin' around an' about when she was 'ere, all the time."

She listened with a dim kind of amazement.

"Why should I mind your being here?" she asked.

He looked at her curiously.

"T'nuisance on me!" he said briefly, but significantly. She flushed. "Very well!" she said finally. "I won't trouble you. But I don't think I should have minded at all sitting and seeing you look after the birds. I should have liked it. But since you think it interferes with you, I won't disturb you, don't be afraid. You are Sir Clifford's keeper, not mine."

The phrase sounded queer, she didn't know why. But she let it pass.

"Nay, your Ladyship. It's your Ladyship's own 'ut. It's as your Ladyship likes an' pleases, every time. Yer can turn me off at a wik's notice. It wor only…"

"Only what?" she asked, baffled.

He pushed back his hat in an odd comic way.

"On'y as 'appen yo'd like the place ter yersen, when yer did come, an' not me messin' abaht.'"

"But why?" she said, angry. "Aren't you a civilized human being? Do you think I ought to be afraid of you? Why should I take any notice of you and your being here or not? Why is it important?"

He looked at her, all his face glimmering with wicked laughter.

"It's not, your Ladyship. Not in the very least," he said.

"Well, why then?" she asked.

"Shall I get your Ladyship another key then?"

"No thank you! I don't want it."

"Ah'll get it anyhow. We'd best 'ave two keys ter th' place."

"And I consider you are insolent," said Connie, with her colour up, panting a little.

"Nay, nay!" he said quickly. "Dunna yer say that! Nay, nay! I niver meant nuthink. Ah on'y thought as if yo' come 'ere, Ah s'd ave ter clear out, an' it'd mean a lot of work, settin' up somewheres else. But if your Ladyship isn't going ter take no notice O' me, then…it's Sir Clifford's 'ut, an' everythink is as your Ladyship likes, everythink is as your Ladyship likes an' pleases, barrin' yer take no notice O' me, doin' th' bits of jobs as Ah've got ter do."

Connie went away completely bewildered. She was not sure whether she had been insulted and mortally of fended, or not. Perhaps the man really only meant what he said; that he thought she would expect him to keep away. As if she would dream of it! And as if he could possibly be so important, he and his stupid presence.

Appendix E

Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes were watching God*

Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960) was criticized for painting too positive a picture of life in the southern US in the early part of the 20th century. Her work was rediscovered in the 1970s, e.g. by Alice Walker. The excerpt below is taken from Chapter 1 of *Their Eyes were watching God,* first published in 1937.

Ships at a distance have every man's wish on board. For some they come in with the tide. For others they sail forever on the horizon, never out of sight, never landing until the Watcher turns his eyes away in resignation, his dreams mocked to death by Time. That is the life of men.

Now, women forget all those things they don't want to remember, and remember everything they don't want to forget. The dream is the truth. Then they act and do things accordingly.

So the beginning of this was a woman and she had come back from burying the dead. Not the dead of sick and ailing with friendsat the pillow and the feet. She had come back from the sodden and the bloated; the sudden dead, their eyes flung wide open in judgment.

The people all saw her come because it was sundown. The sun was gone, but he had left his footprints in the sky. It was the time for sitting on porches beside the road. It was the time to hearthings and talk. These sitters had been tongueless, earless, eyeless conveniences all day long. Mules and other brutes had occupied their skins. But now, the sun and the bossman were gone, so the skins felt powerful and human. They became lords of sounds and lesser things. They passed nations through their mouths. They sat in judgment.

Seeing the woman as she was made them remember the envy they had stored up from other times. So they chewed up the back parts of their minds and swallowed with relish. They made burning statements with questions, and killing tools out of laughs. It was mass cruelty. A mood come alive. Words walking without masters; walking altogether like harmony in a song.

"What she doin' coming back here in dem overhalls? Can't she find no dress to put on? – Where's dat blue satin dress she left here in? – Where all dat money her husband took and died and left her? – What dat ole forty year ole 'oman doin' wid her hair swingin' down her back lak some young gal? – Where she left dat young lad of a boy she went off here wid? – Thought she was going to marry? – Where he left her? – What he done wid all her money? – Betcha he off wid some gal so young she ain't even got no hairs- why she don't stay in her class?"

When she got to where they were she turned her face on the bander log and spoke. They scrambled a noisy ''good evenin'" and left their mouths setting open and their ears full of hope. Her speech was pleasant enough, but she kept walking straight on to her gate. The porch couldn't talk for looking.

The men noticed her firm buttocks like she had grape fruits in her hip pockets; the great rope of black hair swinging to her waist and unraveling in the wind like a plume; then her pugnacious breasts trying to bore holes in her shirt. They, the men, were saving with the mind what they lost with the eye. The women took the faded shirt and muddy overalls and laid them away for remembrance. It was a weapon against her strength and if it turned out of no significance, still it was a hope that she might fall to their level some day.

But nobody moved, nobody spoke, nobody even thought to swallow spit until after her gate slammed behind her.

Pearl Stone opened her mouth and laughed real hard because she didn't know what else to do. She fell all over Mrs. Sumpkins while she laughed. Mrs. Sumpkins snorted violently and sucked her teeth.

"Humph! Y'all let her worry yuh. You ain't like me. Ah ain't got her to study 'bout. If she ain't got manners enough to stop and let folks know how she been makin' out, let her g'wan!"

"She ain't even worth talkin' after," Lulu Moss drawled through her nose. "She sits high, but she looks low. Dat's what Ah say 'bout dese ole women runnin' after young boys."

Pheoby Watson hitched her rocking chair forward before she spoke. "Well, nobody don't know if it's anything to tell or not. Me, Ah'm her best friend, and Ah don't know."

"Maybe us don't know into things lak you do, but we all knowhow she went 'way from here and us sho seen her come back. 'Tain'tno use in your tryin' to cloak no ole woman lak Janie Starks, Pheoby, friend or no friend."

"At dat she ain't so ole as some of y'all dat's talking."

"She's way past forty to my knowledge, Pheoby."

"No more'n forty at de outside."

"She's 'way too old for a boy like Tea Cake."

"Tea Cake ain't been no boy for some time. He's round thirty his ownself."

"Don't keer what it was, she could stop and say a few words with us. She act like we done done something to her," Pearl Stone complained. "She de one been doin' wrong."

"You mean, you mad 'cause she didn't stop and tell us all her business. Anyhow, what you ever know her to do so bad as y'all make out? The worst thing Ah ever knowed her to do was taking a few years offa her age and dat ain't never harmed nobody. Y'all makes me tired. De way you talkin' you'd think de folks in dis town didn't do nothin' in de bed 'cept praise de Lawd. You have to 'scuse me, 'cause Ah'm bound to go take her some supper." Pheoby stood up sharply.

"Don't mind us," Lulu smiled, "just go right ahead, us can mind yo' house for you till you git back. Mah supper is done. You bettah go see how she feel. You kin let de rest of us know."

"Lawd," Pearl agreed, "Ah done scorched-up dat lil meat and bread too long to talk about. Ah kin stay 'way from home long as Ah please. Mah husband ain't fussy."

"Oh, er, Pheoby, if youse ready to go, Ah could walk over dere wid you," Mrs. Sumpkins volunteered. "It's sort of duskin' down dark. De booger man might ketch yuh."

"Naw, Ah thank yuh. Nothin' couldn't ketch me dese few steps Ah'm goin'. Anyhow mah husband tell me say no first class booger would have me. If she got anything to tell yuh you'll hear it."

Pheoby hurried on off with a covered bowl in her hands. She left the porch pelting her back with unasked questions. They hoped the answers were cruel and strange. When she arrived at the place, Pheoby Watson didn't go in by the front gate and down the palm walk to the front door. She walked around the fence corner and went in the intimate gate with her heaping plate of mulatto rice. Janie must be round that side.

She found her sitting on the steps of the back porch with the lamps all filled and the chimneys cleaned.

"Hello, Janie, how you comin'?"

"Aw, pretty good, Ah'm tryin' to soak some uh de tiredness and de dirt outa mah feet.'' She laughed a little.

"Ah see you is. Gal, you sho looks good. You looks like youse yo' own daughter." They both laughed. "Even wid dem overhalls on, you shows yo' womanhood."

"G'wan! G'wan! You must think Ah brought yuh somethin'. When Ah ain't brought home a thing but mahself."

"Dat's a gracious plenty. Yo' friends wouldn't want nothin' better."

"Ah takes dat flattery offa you, Pheoby, 'cause Ah know it's from de heart." Janie extended her hand. "Good Lawd Pheoby! ain't you never goin' tuh gimme dat lil rations you brought me? Ah ain't had a thing on mah stomach today exceptin' mah hand." They both laughed easily. "Give it here and have a seat."

"Ah knowed you'd be hongry. No time to be huntin' stove wood after dark. Mah mulatto rice ain't so good dis time. Not enough bacon grease, but Ah reckon it'll kill hongry."

"Ah'll tell you in a minute," Janie said, lifting the cover. "Gal, it's too good! you switches a mean fanny round in a kitchen."

"Aw, dat ain't much to eat, Janie. But Ah'm liable to have something sho nuff good tomorrow, 'cause you done come."

Janie ate heartily and said nothing. The varicolored cloud dust that the sun had stirred up in the sky was settling by slow degrees.

"Here, Pheoby, take yo' ole plate. Ah ain't got a bit of use for a empty dish. Dat grub sho come in handy."

Pheoby laughed at her friend's rough joke. "Youse just as crazy as you ever was."

"Hand me dat wash-rag on dat chair by you, honey. Lemme scrub mah feet." She took the cloth and rubbed vigorously. Laughter came to her from the big road.

"Well, Ah see Mouth-Almighty is still sittin' in de sameplace. And Ah reckon they got me up in they mouth now."

"Yes indeed. You know if you pass some people and don't speaktuh suit 'em dey got tuh go way back in yo' life and see whut you ever done. They know mo' 'bout yuh than you do yo' self. An envious heart makes a treacherous ear. They done 'heard' 'bout you just what they hope done happened."

"If God don't think no mo' 'bout 'em then Ah do, they's a lost ball in de high grass.''

"Ah hears what they say 'cause they just will collect roundmah porch 'cause it's on de big road. Mah husband git so sick of 'em sometime he makes 'em all git for home."

"Sam is right too. They just wearin' out yo' sittin' chairs."

"Yeah, Sam say most of 'em goes to church so they'll be sureto rise in Judgment. Dat's de day dat every secret is s'posed to be made known. They wants to be there and hear it all."

"Sam is too crazy! You can't stop laughin' when youse round him."

"Uuh hunh. He says he aims to be there hisself so he can find out who stole his corn-cob pipe."

"Pheoby, dat Sam of your'n just won't quit! Crazy thing!"

"Most of dese zigaboos is so het up over yo' business till they liable to hurry theyself to Judgment to find out about you if they don't soon know. You better make haste and tell 'em 'bout you and Tea Cake gittin' married, and if he taken all yo' money and went off wid some young gal, and where at he is now and where at is all yo' clothes dat you got to come back here in overhalls."

"Ah don't mean to bother wid tellin' 'em nothin', Pheoby 'Tain't worth de trouble. You can tell 'em what Ah say if you wants to. Dat's just de same as me 'cause mah tongue is in mah friend's mouf."

"If you so desire Ah'll tell 'em what you tell me to tell'em."

"To start off wid, people like dem wastes up too much time puttin' they mouf on things they don't know nothin' about. Now they got to look into me loving Tea Cake and see whether it was done right or not! They don't know if life is a mess of corn-meal dumplings, and if love is a bed-quilt!"

"So long as they get a name to gnaw on they don't care whoseit is, and what about, 'specially if they can make it sound like evil."

"If they wants to see and know, why they don't come kissand be kissed? Ah could then sit down and tell 'em things. Ah been a delegate to de big 'ssociation of life. Yessuh! De Grand Lodge, de big convention of livin' is just where Ah been dis year and a half y'all ain't seen me."

They sat there in the fresh young darkness close together. Pheoby eager to feel and do through Janie, but hating to show her zest for fear it might be thought mere curiosity. Janie full of that oldest human longing – self revelation. Pheoby held her tongue for a long time, but she couldn't help moving her feet. So Janie spoke.

"They don't need to worry about me and my overhalls longas Ah still got nine hundred dollars in de bank. Tea Cake got me into wearing 'em-following behind him. Tea Cake ain't wasted up no money of mine, and he ain't left me for no young gal, neither. He give me every consolation in de world. He'd tell 'em so too, if he was here. If he wasn't gone."

Pheoby dilated all over with eagerness, "Tea Cake gone?''

"Yeah, Pheoby, Tea Cake is gone. And dat's de only reason you see me back here – cause Ah ain't got nothing to make me happy no more where Ah was at. Down in the Everglades there, down on the muck.''

"It's hard for me to understand what you mean, de way you tell it. And then again Ah'm hard of understandin' at times."

"Naw, 'tain't nothin' lak you might think. So 'tain't no usein me telling you somethin' unless Ah give you de understandin 'to go 'long wid it. Unless you see de fur, a mink skin ain't no different from a coon hide. Looka heah, Pheoby, is Sam waitin' on you for his supper?"

"It's all ready and waitin'. If he ain't got sense enough to eat it, dat's his hard luck."

"Well then, we can set right where we is and talk. Ah got the house all opened up to let dis breeze get a little catchin'.

"Pheoby, we been kissin'-friends for twenty years, so Ah depend on you for a good thought. And Ah'm talking to you from dat standpoint."

Time makes everything old so the kissing, young darkness became a monstropolous old thing while Janie talked.

Chapter 9

English around the world

In this chapter, we will focus more closely on the varieties of English spoken outside the British Isles and the United States. These varieties are referred to as *World English(es)*, *Englishes*, *Global English*, *English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), English Language Complex (ELC)*, and *English as an International Language (EIL)*, which reflects the fact that English is used as a global/international language in addition to having native or near-native speakers. The term *lingua franca* applies to any language that is used widely by non-native speakers of it to communicate. Latin was the lingua franca of the medieval period, and English has this status at the moment and this may speed up the change to a more analytic character. We will use the terms *World English(es)* or *Englishes* as they are more inclusive than EIL or ELF. In addition to examining some features of the varieties of English, we will discuss the effects of the widespread use of English on endangered languages.

In Chapter 1, we mentioned an interesting quote attributed to Uriel Weinreich: "a language is a dialect with an army." It is often difficult to distinguish varieties (or dialects) from languages, and, as the quote suggests, in many cases the distinction is politically motivated. When the United States gained political independence from Britain, for example, it also wanted an independent language, as different from British English as possible. This need to create a distinct identity is language-external and results in **diverging** Englishes. Modern mass communication and globalization are also external forces, but they function as **converging** factors.

Section 1 of this chapter examines some historical events relevant to the spread of English and discusses the approximate numbers of speakers for different varieties as well as some sources for studying World Englishes. Sections 2 to 4, discuss the sounds, spelling, grammar, and lexicon. Section 5 examines English-influenced pidgins and creoles and Section 6 focuses on the broader consequences of the spread of English. The emphasis in this chapter is on some of the features of the sound system, grammar, and vocabulary of World Englishes. Many of these overlap of course with those of Chapter 8.

1. External history and sources

After 1600, English speakers started to spread around the world for a variety of reasons: exploration, trade, forced and voluntary migrations, and wars. We will discuss a few of the major events that influenced this spread. See Appendix III at the end of the book for a chronology of events. We will also look at how the number of speakers is estimated and where the data come from.

The **Americas** and **Australia** were the first to become affected by the spread of English. In 1497, John Cabot reached Newfoundland, now part of Canada, backed by the British monarch Henry VII. He was trying to find a northern passage to the East Indies. The first permanent, English-speaking settlers – the Jamestown settlers sent by a trading company – did not inhabit North America until 1607, however. Forced migrations, such as those due to religious persecutions, prison colonies, and later the slave trade, also contributed to the spread of English: British prisoners were sent to the West Indies (Barbados) in the 1620s, to Georgia in the US in the 1730s, and to Australia in the 1780s. When a famine broke out in Ireland in the 1820s, many people were forced to leave Ireland for other parts of the world. In addition, due to the Highland Clearances, where many thousands people were evicted to enable large-scale sheep farming, many inhabitants of Scotland had to move elsewhere. The migrants from Scotland and Ireland often only spoke Gaelic, and were therefore only indirectly related to the spread of English.

Parts of **Africa** and **Asia** were also colonized early on. The most important trading company in the English-speaking world was the British East India Company. It was established in 1600 and had a monopoly on all trade, initially mainly spices, in the East Indies. Its main interests were in India – including what is now Bangladesh and Pakistan – starting around 1615. The 1670s saw West Africa used for trade and slave trading. Other areas colonized and controlled by the Empire were: South East Asia (Burma, Malaysia, and Singapore among others) in the 1800s, East Africa after 1880, and South Africa by 1902. After its independence from Britain in 1776, the United States of America expanded its territory as well and contributed to the spread of English. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the US nearly doubled its size. The much smaller Gadsden Purchase followed in 1853 and in the late 1890s, the US gained control over Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.

After World War II, major decolonization took place: the Philippines became independent in 1946, India and Pakistan in 1947, and Burma and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1948. Nigeria and Kenya gained independence in 1960 and 1963, respectively. However, many of the newly independent countries **retained the English language after independence**. Some, such as India and South Africa, did this because of the multitude of languages spoken and the unifying force of English, as we'll now see.

According to the Ethnologue data (http://www.ethnologue.com), in addition to English, 447 languages are spoken in **India**. The percentage of people who speak English in India varies widely but, although at most it is spoken by 33% of the population (Kachru 2001), it plays an important role in Indian society. This was due to the British domination of India up to its independence in 1947 and currently to India's economic growth. The Indian constitution is written in English and India has large numbers of non-native speakers of English. English is an associate official language, used together with Hindi for resolutions, permits, and contracts. Hindi and English are the national or official languages, but 22 languages are official 'scheduled' languages (see also Annamalai 2001; Mehrotra 1998). Currently, the role of English in India is increasing due to the outsourcing industries and services.

The English spoken in India is distinct and referred to as Indian English. It is very similar (at least for an outsider) to Pakistani or Bangladeshi English. Here we will group northern and southern Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Sri Lankan English together as South Asian English. See Appendix B and Exercise 4 at the end of this chapter for examples.

Since **South Africa's** first free elections in 1994, eleven languages have been recognized as official: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. There are also eight unofficial languages: Fanagalo, Lobedu, Northern Ndenele, Phuti, Sign Language, Khoe, Nama, and San, and there is a commitment to promote and ensure respect for German, Gujarati, Portuguese, Telegu and many others (Mesthrie 2002). English is often used as a lingua franca, even though it is estimated that only 8% of the population use it at home (Gordon 2005: 185).

In addition to being a leftover of colonization and being used for linguistic unity, English is currently being taught **as a second (ESL) or foreign language (EFL)** to non-English speakers in the US, East Asia, and Europe (especially northwestern Europe). One of the main reasons for this recent dispersal of English has been the cultural, scientific, and economic dominance of the US after World War II and the increased globalization since the last decade of the 20th century. A distinction is often made between ESL and EFL, although this is increasingly difficult. ESL is used when learning English in a country where it is spoken as a native language (such as the US), or has a political or historical presence (such as India). EFL is used when English is taught and learned in a country where it is not spoken natively (in Korea, for example). This distinction becomes harder to make in diverse, multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies; therefore, the term **ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages)** is sometimes used. It could be that English is becoming a basic skill that needs to be taught at the primary school level at the same time as writing, reading, arithmetic, and social studies. That would make it a second language for most.

Some people argue that the importance of English is also due to a concerted effort to maintain it as the world language: heavy monetary investments are being made through the British Council, for example, to achieve this (www.learnenglish.org.uk). Teaching English (CELTA, i.e. Cambridge Certificate), testing (TOEFL), and publishing materials in it are major sources of income. In Graddol (2006), there is an estimate of £11.3 billion of direct and indirect income from teaching of English for the United Kingdom (see also Pennycook 1994). British, American, and Australian universities are competing to get international students, and European universities (having adopted English in many of their programs) are starting to compete as well. In the 1990s, many prestigious universities developed online curricula and degrees aimed at the national and international market, but this was not successful and largely abandoned (although MOOCs remain). Instead, these same universities have now entered into joint ventures with e.g. Chinese universities and have established overseas branches.

Relevant to increased use of English around the world is the question of which variety to teach and learn. Should a learner of English in Cambodia be able to choose to learn English as it is spoken in China or India or in a much simplified form? There are two opposing views: one argues there should be a global standard to maintain global comprehension and the other argues that there is a need for an English adapted to local circumstances. The debate is sometimes called the Kachru-Quirk controversy, after the proponents (see Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 201–208).

Figure 9.1 (McArthur 2002) shows a map of areas where English is important. It is not precise in that it does not indicate English as relevant in Northern Europe, for example, even though it is used there in many contexts. It also shows English as being significant in Argentina, where the Ethnologue database (Lewis 2009) does not mention English and Texas is mentioned as separate from American English (90 on the map).

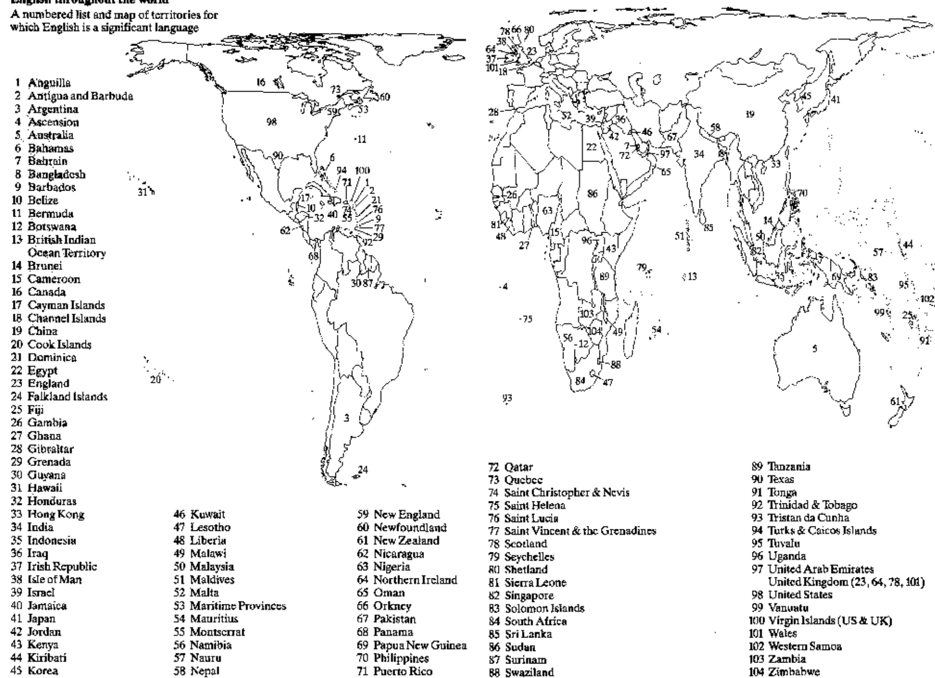

Figure 9.1 Map of English spoken natively and non-natively

The estimates of the **number of speakers of English** vary widely depending on whether one includes non-native speakers or not. Bailey (1991: vii) estimates that 15% of the world's population makes regular use of English. Crystal (2006: 424) estimates that this number has grown to 25%, or 1.5 billion, of which (only) 400 million speak it as a first language.

Graddol (2006: 95) estimates that, due to China's decision to make English a compulsory primary school subject, 20 million users of English will be added each year. It is difficult to confirm these figures because of the lack of agreement on how much English a speaker needs to know to be included.

Kachru (1985) formulated the well-known distinction between the **inner circle** (where English is used in the home: Great Britain, Ireland, US, Canada, Australia, NZ), the **outer circle** (where English is part of the government/school system: India, Singapore, and 50 other regions), and the **expanding circle** (where there is no history of colonization but where English is used for communication with other countries: Europe, China, and Japan). His model is depicted in Figure 9.2, from Kachru (1992: 356).

Using Kachru's model, Crystal (2003: 61) estimates for 2001 that the inner circle has 320–380 million speakers, the outer circle 300–500 million and the expanding circle 500 million to 1 billion. He thus arrives at the 1.5 billion mentioned earlier. In his 2006 figures, Crystal no longer uses the Circles but estimates first, second, and foreign speakers of English.

In the 1980s, Kachru's model raised awareness of the different Englishes; more recently, however, it has been criticized as no longer reflecting reality. In many countries where English is not spoken natively – such as Norway and the Netherlands – it has become a second language in certain domains, such as business, banking, advertizing, and education. Kachru has therefore suggested another model (see Graddol 2006: 110), one where the inner circle has 500 million "high proficiency users" and the outer circle shows the numbers of lower proficiency speakers.

Several journals, such as *English World-Wide* and *World Englishes,* publish articles on World Englishes and there is a book series with almost 50 titles, e.g. *Focus on Canada* (Clarke 1993), *Focus on South Africa* (de Klerk 1996), *Indian English: Texts and Interpretation* (Mehrotra 1998), *Filipino English and Taglish* (Thompson 2003), and *Syntax in Southeast Asia* (Low & Hashim 2012). Dictionaries abound, e.g. the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (Allsop et al. 2004), *The New Zealand Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (Burchfield 1986), the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, the *Australian National Dictionary* (http://australiannationaldictionary.com.au/), the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles Online* (http://dchp.ca), the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* (Moore 2004), *A Dictionary of South African English* (Branford 1992), and many others. There are also many web-resources, such as the International Corpus of English (ICE), and numerous newspapers and radio stations online for primary (written and spoken) sources. Try ICE at www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/sounds.htm or IDEA International Dialects of English at http://www.ku.edu/~idea/.

Some of the (literary) authors writing in English outside Britain and the US are listed in Table 9.1. Again, many of these are hard to place: Shani Mootoo, for example, was born in Ireland, grew up in Trinidad, and now lives in Canada, and Margaret Lawrence lived in Africa and Europe for extended periods of time.

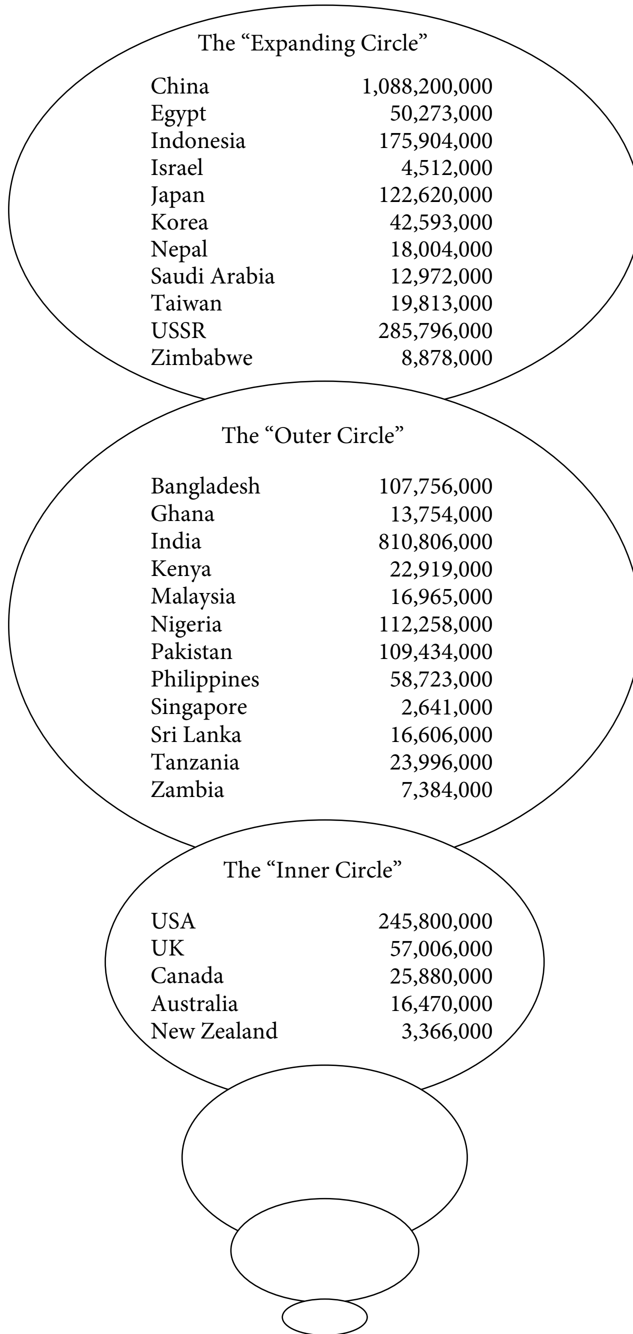

Figure 9.2 Kachru's Circles of the 1980s

Table 9.1 Some literary figures writing in English outside the US/UK

Canada:	Robertson Davies (1913–1995), Margaret Lawrence (1926–1987), Mavis Gallant (1922–), Alice Munro (1931–), Mordechai Richler (1931–2001), Michael Ondaatje (1943–), Aritha van Herk (1954–), Shani Mootoo (1958–), Alix Ohlin (1972–)
Bangladesh/India/ Pakistan:	Rabindraneth Tagore (1861–1941), Raja Rao (1908–2006), Bharati Mukherjee (1940–), Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911–1984), Saadat Hassan Manto (1912–1955), Bapsi Sidhwa (1938–), Salman Rushdie (1945–), Mulk Raj Anand (1905–2004), Arundhati Roy (1961–), Anita Desai (1937–), Vikram Seth (1952–), Aravind Adiga (1974–)
Kenya:	Meja Mwangi (1948–), Stanley Gazemba (1974–)
New Zealand:	Janet Frame (1924–2004), Keri Hulme (1947–), Witi Ihimaera (1944–), Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923)
Nigeria:	Chinua Achebe (1930–), Wole Soyinka (1934–), Helen Oyeyemi (1985–), Amos Tutuola (1920–1997), Flora Nwapa (1931–1993), Elechi Ahmadi (1934–), Ben Okri (1959–)
Singapore:	Catherine Lim (1942–), Gopal Baratham (1935–2002), Goh Sin Tub (1927–2004), Philip Jeyaretnam (1964–)
South Africa:	Nadine Gordimer (1923–), John Coetzee (1940–), Dennis Brutus (1924–2009)
Trinidad/Tobago:	V.S. Naipaul (1932–), Sharlow Mohammed (1949–), Deborah Jean Baptiste-Samuel (1967–)
Zimbabwe:	Tsitsi Dangarembga (1959–), Dambudzo Marechera (1952–1987)

2. Spelling and sounds

As mentioned earlier, sounds vary enormously across varieties of English; a few of those variations will be discussed here. First, we will examine differences in spelling; these are due to **external** reasons – the conscious decisions of editors, educators, and politicians. We will also discuss some differences in pronunciation and stress, which are due to language **internal** changes.

The varieties of English exhibit only slight **spelling differences**. Table 9.2 lists some of the differences between British, American, and Canadian English, which are not nearly as numerous and substantial as those between various authors of Old, Middle, and Early Modern English texts. The relatively standard spelling may be responsible for keeping the different Englishes mutually understandable, constituting **a converging factor in a diverging situation**. Well-known (minor) differences between British and American spelling involve *colour-color*, *centre-center*, and *gaol-jail*. These spelling differences are due to external rather than internal factors.

Official Canadian spelling (as taught in schools and used in journalism) adopts some British and some American spellings, as can be seen in Table 9.2. The words in this table are taken from Canadian government or media websites. An interesting phrase is the

Table 9.2 Spelling differences between British, American, and Canadian English

American	British	Canadian
aluminum	aluminium	aluminum
center	centre	centre
check	cheque	cheque
color	colour	color/colour
connection	connexion	connection
jail	gaol/jail	jail
judgment	judgement	judgement
mold	mould	mould/mold
offense	offence	offence
pajamas	pyjamas	pajamas/pyjamas
plow	plough	plow/plough
story	storey	storey
tire	tyre	tire
woolen	woollen	woolen

'Yukon Tire Centre' in Whitehorse, Canada, which combines the American *tire* with the British *centre*. A style guide was first put out by the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada in 1985 (and updated in 2008). It provides a list of both American and British spellings, but recommends that a writer check the *Gage Canadian Dictionary*. There is also the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (K. Barber 2004), with almost 2,000 Canadianisms and suggested Canadian spellings and pronunciations.

That language/spelling is political can be seen in several ways. Apart from the efforts to be distinct from both British and American spelling, there are also speakers of Canadian English that identify with either British or American English. Even though Canada has officially been independent since 1931 (Statute of Westminster), the British Queen is still Queen of Canada. The ties to the British are most obvious in the capital Ottawa and in the province of Ontario, where many immigrants from Britain settled and where British spellings are popular. The further away (geographically) a speaker is from Ontario, the more the spelling tends to be that of the US. A study from the 1980s (Chambers 1985: 7, based on Ireland 1979) shows that almost 90% of teenage-students in Ontario preferred the British spelling of *neighbour* while in the Western provinces that number was lower than 40%.

As far as **pronunciation** is concerned, we know that cross-linguistically some sounds are less frequent: the interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð], the low front vowel [æ], the velar fricative [χ], and the retroflex sounds. Some **marked sounds** in varieties of British and American English correspond to **unmarked** ones in other varieties and vice versa. For instance, in Australian English, the interdental fricative matches a voiced labio-dental [v] in words like *that* and a voiceless labio-dental [f] in words like *three* (Turner 1994). This is expected given the voicing differences between the initial sounds in *that* and *three*. South

Asian, Southeast Asian, Australian, and New Zealand English also replace this interdental, and as mentioned in Chapter 8, interdental fricatives are also absent in Newfoundland, Ireland, New York, and African American English, to name a few.

The low front vowel [æ] frequently corresponds to another sound as well. It can be a raised vowel, so *man* sounds like *men*, not unexpected since [æ] is less frequent cross-linguistically. This raised vowel occurs in areas of the US influenced by Germanic languages as well as in Australia. Listen to the Australian Broadcast Corporation's programs on www.abc.net.au to get a sense for this.

Certain **marked sounds** may appear only in certain World Englishes. The velar fricative [χ], as it appears in South African, in Yiddish English *chutzpah* and *toches,* and in Scottish English *loch*, is unusual for most speakers of British or American English, where only a velar stop occurs. The retroflex *t* and *d* in which the tongue-tip is curled towards the roof of the mouth is common in South Asian English (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka). A rolling [r] occurs in Scotland and New Zealand (because of Scottish influence), especially on the southern island.

Having considered the markedness of sounds, we now turn to the more general characteristics of vowels and consonants. We know that **vowels** change frequently in the history of English; therefore, they are very different across varieties. Important vowel differences between British and American English involve the pronunciation of *tomato* [təmatow] or [təmejtow], *ate* [ɛt] or [ejt], *been* [bɪn] or [bin], and *vase* [vas] or [vejs]. In Australian English, the second vowel in *basic* is pronounced [ə]; American and British have [ɪ] instead. Australian, New Zealand, and South African English sound very similar to each other, especially when compared with other varieties. The [æ] mentioned above shifts in all three. New Zealand English speakers shift some vowels, so *air* and *ear* sound the same. Radio programs using New Zealand English speakers can be heard at www.rnzi.com. In some varieties of English, both *pin* and *pen* are pronounced [pɪn]. Using the vowel diagram, try to explain these differences in the pronunciation of vowels.

Consonants vary in place, voice, and manner of articulation. In Middle English, there is a frequent variation in **place** between the alveolar [s] and the alveo-palatal [ʃ]: *fish* is written (and probably pronounced) as *fis* and *shall* as *sal*. We encountered differences in palatalization in Old English as well: [sk] is palatalized to [ʃ], but not to the same extent in all varieties. Bauer (2002: 82) provides a list of consonant differences in the World Englishes. Table 9.3 lists some that have to do with the place of articulation.

Table 9.3 Palatalization choices in RP, American, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and South African English

spelling	word	RP	Am	Can	Aus	NZ	SA
ss in:	assume	sj	s	s-sj-ʃ	sj-ʃ	ʃ-sj-s	sj
sch in:	schedule	ʃ	sk	sk-ʃ	ʃ-sk	sk-ʃ	ʃ
g in:	figure	g	gj	gj-g	g	g	g

In many varieties, **voicing** disappears in certain consonants: the initial affricate in *jet plane* devoices to [tʃɛt plejn] in Kenyan English and the medial [ʒ] in *pleasure* becomes a voiceless [ʃ] in Indian English. Spanish American (the English of Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish speakers in the US Southwest), South African English, and many European non-native varieties devoice word final consonants, as in *please* [plis].

The **manner** of articulation of consonants varies as well. In Spanish-influenced American English, affricates become fricatives and *check* is pronounced [ʃɛk]. Fricatives can also become stops: *lub* rather than *love* in Trinidad English (Winer 1997). After and before nasals, a number of deletions and changes take place, as mentioned in Chapter 2: American English *winter* [wɪnər] corresponds to British [wɪntə].

Cross-linguistically, consonant clusters are not common. Therefore, as we saw in the case of *hlaf* 'loaf' [lowf] and *knee* [ni], they often simplify. This happens in many varieties of English: speakers of African American, Navajo English, West African Pidgin English, and many other varieties pronounce (and write) the final clusters of *pronounced* and *produced* as [ns] and [s] not [nst] and [st]. In certain varieties, a vowel breaks up the cluster (epenthesis): *film* becomes [fɪləm] in Ireland, Scotland, and South Africa. This combination of a liquid and a nasal is especially difficult to pronounce, but similar changes occur with a liquid only or a nasal and another consonant, as in *milk* [mɪlək]. Another well-known simplification occurs in *asked*, which changes from [æskt] to [æst]. The change in *nuclear,* which can be pronounced [nukliər] or [nukular], is also cluster simplification.

The intonation of individual words as well as entire sentences can also vary across varieties. For example, Kenyan English stresses the last syllable in words such as *argument, to demonstrate, to execute*. British and American English differ in the stress on *advertisement* and *artisan*.

Sound changes often start as **assimilatory changes**, i.e. internal to the language system. However, sometimes, a particular pronunciation becomes a marker of identity and causes a change external to the language system. **Canadian Raising** is a good example of this. In Canadian English, the vowels in the first and second words of the following sets are different: *writer* and *rider*; *ice* and *eyes*; *a house* and *to house*. The vowels [aj] and [aw] raise before voiceless consonants (*writer, ice*, and *a house*) but not before voiced ones (*rider, eyes*, and *to house*). To hear some examples, go to http://www.yorku.ca/twainweb/troberts/raising.html). Even though this change starts out as internal, it is emphasized by speakers – including Americans – who want to sound Canadian (see Figure 1.4 in Chapter 1 for another Canadianism that can easily be adopted).

As discussed in this section, spelling and pronunciation show both diverging and converging tendencies in present-day English: having more speakers means more variety and divergence, but more global communication leads to similarities and convergence. You can hear a variety of Englishes by visiting the following site: www.world-english.org/listening.htm.

3. Grammar

Many of the grammatical features of the World Englishes are determined by where the original settlers came from. For instance, Newfoundland and Australia had a large influx of Irish English settlers and retain some of the features of Irish English. The grammars of the Englishes differ in **morphology** (case loss and regularization of pronouns, regularization of verbal agreement, and number of nouns) and **syntax** (word order, auxiliaries, the use of pronouns, negation, comparatives, complementation, prepositions, and tags) and many of the differences can be considered analytic tendencies.

Table 8.5 of the previous chapter provided the **pronoun** paradigm for formal/written English. Many Englishes have regularized this paradigm. Regularization involves using one form, e.g. for both nominative and accusative case. We saw examples of this trend in earlier chapters, and if you check Appendix A (line 15), *im* 'he/him' is used in both subject and object position. Regularizing may mean introducing new forms to fill in gaps in the paradigm. Old and Middle English have distinct pronouns for second person singular and plural, as do most languages in the world. Speakers tend to expect that and some speakers of Scottish English retain a singular *thou* in addition to a plural *you*. Some varieties in the United States have plural *you (a)'ll* in addition to singular *you*, and Irish and American English varieties include *youse*. All of these can be seen as 'repair' strategies to keep the paradigm regular. We will discuss another such strategy in the section on creole grammar.

As mentioned previously, English reflexive pronouns are morphologically irregular: the first and second person use the possessive *my* and *your* and the third person masculine uses an accusative *him* and *them*. Reflexives are therefore regularized to *hisself* and *theirselves* in many varieties, e.g. Spanish English (see Fought 2003).

A major shift in many Englishes is **the elimination of many different verbal endings;** this renders the present tense paradigm either *I go, you go, s/he go, we go, they go* or *I goes, you goes, s/he goes, we goes, they goes*, a phenomenon also present in Middle English. The sentence in (1) is an example of non-prescriptively correct agreement from Tanzanian English but it is widespread.

(1) Okay the day is not important but uh what the issue **we was** talking about we are therefore maybe uh the question to address ourselves is what **we materialise** or what we think of the address which was which was made by the Zanzibar Presidents. (ICE EA)

Even auxiliaries are regularized in some varieties of colloquial English, as in (2) and (3).

(2) *There* ***bees*** *no sinse in a shutdown anny way*
'There is no sense in a shut down anyway'
(Sarah Jewett in The Gray Mills of Farley).

(3) Ah she **don't** care. (ICE, Singapore)

Collective nouns such as *government, police,* and *committee* can be either singular or plural. They are typically singular in American English, but plural in British English. This affects verb endings as well. The choice is arbitrary, but as with spelling, different varieties choose one of the two options: in (4) from Singapore English the noun is considered plural, where in other varieties it may be singular.

(4) Then **the police were** brought in and then they you know removed the rascal. (ICE, Singapore)

In many varieties, **non-count nouns** such as *research, toast,* and *knowledge* are treated as count and are pluralized or counted, as in (5), adapted from a non-native speaker utterance, and (6) from Indian English.

(5) Genetic engineering **researches** were explored.

(6) I'd like two **toasts,** please. (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 131)

In East Asia and West Africa, *furniture* is regularized to *furnitures* in the plural and *luggage* can also have a regular plural *-s*. Though less frequently, the opposite occurs as well: count nouns become non-count, as in (7) from Nigerian Pidgin English.

(7) the Lagos Sector Commander of the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), on Friday said that any staff who accepted bribe from the public would be sacked. (2012 news)

Syntactically, the most common word order differences involve **questions**: subject-auxiliary inversion does not occur in *wh*-questions in South Asian and European (non-native) English, as in (8) from Indian English.

(8) Where she is working. (from ICE, India)

In most, but not all, varieties of English, inversion also takes place when the initial adverb is negative, as in (9a), but varieties differ, as (9b) shows.

(9) a. Never will I send for him. (BNC – fiction)
b. Never I have enough money. (from an Indian financial site)

Pronoun doubling, as in (10), occurs in many Englishes: West African, and Romance and Slavic (non-native) English. The pronoun 'copies' the nominal subject in (10) and, less frequently, the relative pronoun in (11).

(10) My brother, **he** is…

(11) The people who I talked to **them**…

One reason for this doubling or copying may be that the pronoun is analyzed as verbal agreement. We will come back to this possibly cyclical change in the next chapter.

Subject and object-drop are frequent as well, e.g. in Singapore English. In many cases, there is transfer from the first language. In the Singapore portion of ICE, for instance, there are many instances of *cannot* beginning a sentences, as in (12). This variety drops the object too, as in (13).

(12) Cannot remember now. (ICE, Singapore)

(13) Can I renew? (Tay 1982: 65)

In Singapore, four languages are recognized as official (e.g. all can be used in parliament): Malay, English, Chinese, and Tamil. Influence from Chinese, a language that allows both subject and object to be absent, may be the reason for this pronoun-drop.

Modals are used slightly differently in each variety. In South African Indian English, *should* can be used instead of *used to*, as in (14), and in Nigerian English, *would* is used for *will*, as in (15).

(14) *That time she should drink normal tea.*
'She used to drink tea with sugar then'. (Mesthrie 1996: 92)

(15) Fog patches are expected which by mid-morning **would** give way to a partly cloudy and hazy afternoon. (from the *Guardian* of Nigeria, quoted in Banjo 1997: 89)

As mentioned in Chapter 8, many Englishes, both British and American, have double modals such as *might could*.

There are also differences in the use of 'dummy' *do*. The question 'Have you seen him?' can be answered differently, as shown in (16).

(16) American English | British English
I may have | I may have done

The use of **auxiliaries to express aspect** varies widely. Irish English and certain kinds of Canadian use (17) and (18), respectively, to express the perfective; and in South African English, (19) is used for the progressive. These examples show influences from other languages: Irish in (17) and (18) and Afrikaans in (19).

(17) *I am after doing that*
'I have done that'.

(18) *He's after telling me about it*
'He told me about it' (Ottawa Valley)

(19) *We are busy doing that.*
'We are doing that'.

In most varieties of English, the progressive is used only with activity verbs, not verbs expressing a state. Well-known examples are (20) and (21), where (b) is ungrammatical.

(20) a. I am eating right now.
b. *I eat right now.

(21) a. She knows the answer
b. *She is knowing the answer.

The grammaticality judgments are different in some varieties of English, as (22) shows.

(22) Shammi must be knowing her sister well. (ICE, India)

Progressive auxiliaries are frequently deleted, as in (23), from a Korean non-native speaker.

(23) *I gonna send you an e-mail*
'I am going to send you an e-mail'.

The perfect auxiliary have is used with just and already in British, but with the past in American English.

(24) a. I **have** just/already eaten British English
b. I just/already ate American English

In some varieties (Malaysian English), *already* is the only marker for past or perfective, as in (25a), and, in some (Singapore English), both *ever* and *already* are used, as in (25b) and (25c). Bao (2005) argues that the two have slightly different meanings, the one emphasizing the experience and the other the completion of the event.

(25) a. My father **already** pass away Malaysian English (Newbrook 1997: 240)
b. I ever see the movie Singapore English
'I have already seen the movie.'
c. I see the movie already Singapore English
'I saw the movie already.' (Bao 2005: 239)

South Asian, West African, and European English all have constructions such as (26). For these speakers, the perfect auxiliary *have* is compatible with an absolute time reference, as it is in British (and American) English before 1800.

(26) I have done that yesterday.

Comparatives are interesting in that in many varieties they are expressed exclusively through analytic means. For example, in West Africa, (27) is common with the comparative *more* left out, and in creole varieties, constructions like (28), from Gullah, are common. We will discuss creoles in more detail later.

(27) *He like that than this*
'He likes that better than this.'

(28) *I tal pas me*
he tall past me
'He is taller than I.' (Turner 1949: 215)

Clausal complementation, indicated by brackets in (29) to (32), varies across varieties of English. The use of an infinitive rather than a present participle, as in (29), and the presence or absence of infinitival *to*, as in (30), vary.

(29) a. We are involved [to collect poems].
(Indian English, from Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 134)
b. We are involved in [collecting poems].

(30) a. He allowed [her go].
b. He allowed [her to go].

So does the choice between a subjunctive in (31) and an infinitive in (32). As mentioned earlier, subjunctives are more frequent in American than in British English. However, in both varieties, the preferred choice is the analytic infinitive, i.e. (31).

(31) I would like [for you to do your homework].

(32) It is important [that he do that].

Negatives differ in many ways. We already discussed multiple negation (see (26) to (28) of Chapter 8). There are other interesting phenomena. In most Englishes, *anymore* can only be used in a negative or unreal situation, such as (33). There are, however, varieties where *anymore* is used with the meaning 'nowadays', as in (34), especially in Iowa, Ohio, and parts of Canada.

(33) That joke isn't funny **anymore**.

(34) *He complains a lot* ***anymore***
'He complains a lot nowadays'.

For more on the positive use of *anymore*, see the map at www.mla.org/census_main.

Negative sentences in general show many differences as (35) from Malaysian English, (36) from a very fluent English speaker whose native language is German, and (37) from Welsh English show.

(35) *All the letters didn't arrive.*
'None of the letters arrived'. (Newbrook 1997)

(36) *I don't keep those papers as well.*
'I don't keep those papers either'.

(37) *I can't do that, too.*
'I can't do that either'. (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 33)

Tag questions are used in many ways, e.g. to seek confirmation. In most varieties of British and American English, speakers restate the sentence in a positive or negative way, as in (38) and (39).

(38) But he's not the greatest of conductors, **is he**?
(BNC *Daily Telegraph* Newspaper 1992)

(39) He's the greatest, **isn't he**?

Due to the loss of inflection, invariant tags, such as *isn't it,* are on the increase. They occur in South Asian (40), the self-corrected Singaporean (41), West African, and Welsh.

(40) He is already scale three **isn't it.** (ICE, India)

(41) this time you're buying return ticket **isn't it aren't you.** (ICE, Singapore)

Many languages use shorter forms rather than tag questions: German and Dutch use *nicht(wahr)* and *niet(waar)* 'not (true)', respectively, or even just *hè* in Dutch. In Canada, there is a sentence-final 'eh' that functions as a tag. See the cartoon in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.4).

Recently there has been a sentence-initial *yeah-no*, as in (42), in Australian, South African, and New Zealand English; it may be catching on elsewhere as well. It is used after yes-no questions, where the choice between *yes* and *no* is not obvious.

(42) Speaker A: You don't like them, do you?
Speaker B: No, yeah I really dislike them. (Baik & Shim 1993)

Tag questions express the mood of the speaker; there are numerous other ways – discourse markers such as *well, actually, you know, right* – to achieve this. Certain Englishes are interesting for their use of special discourse markers. One-word particles such as *lah* and *ya*, as in (43), are frequent in Singapore English. *Lah* indicates mood: persuasion, objection, or annoyance. It is also a marker of solidarity, used between friends or relatives. It is due to Chinese influence.

(43) Ya I suppose in a way it's quite nice **lah** you know to bring them up in one shot. (ICE, Singapore)

This section discussed some morphological and syntactic features of certain varieties that differ from those of British and American English. Some of these differences have become identity markers: Canadian *eh* and Singaporese *lah*. Other changes are internal, happening without much conscious thought.

Table 9.4 offers a summary of the grammatical features discussed.

Table 9.4 Characteristics of World Englishes as they vary from British and American English

Morphology:
a. Pronominal paradigms are regularized
b. Verbal paradigms are regularized
c. Nouns vary as to whether they are count or non-count

Syntax:
d. Word order differs in questions and initial negative adverbs
e. Pronoun-doubling and pronoun-drop occur
f. Auxiliaries express tense and aspect in different ways
g. Comparatives have analytic forms e.g. (27)
h. Non-finite complementation varies, e.g. (29)
i. Negatives, tag questions, and discourse markers vary

4. The lexicons of the World Englishes

The vocabulary of the Englishes is very diverse. Each variety borrows from native sources, which contributes to divergence. Dictionaries are important not only because they help identify specific vocabulary items but also because once a variety is documented in a dictionary, it tends to become the standard and discourages further divergence. In this section, we discuss a number of reasons for the differences in World English lexicons: (a) contact with indigenous languages, (b) contact with (later) immigrant languages, (c) different lexical choices, and (d) differences going back to 17th century English, before English speakers started to spread around the world. We also briefly discuss code switching.

We will start by discussing the **contact with indigenous languages.** Many loans involve place names: a third of all Australian place names are taken from aboriginal languages and 27 US states have Native American names (even though we do not recognize the source anymore). For instance, *Arizona* most likely comes from a Tohono O'odham word meaning 'small spring'; however, it is sometimes 'explained' as Spanish for 'arid zone'. Table 9.5 lists some common words that came into a variety from languages that were there before the initial contact: aboriginal languages in Australia, Maori in New Zealand, Afrikaans in South Africa, and Hindi/Urdu in South Asia.

Table 9.5 New words due to contact with indigenous languages (with the less obvious meanings within '…')

Australian	straight borrowings: mallee, wallaby, wombat, boomerang, dingo, bandicoot, kangaroo, koala, eucalyptus adaptations: paddock 'field', outback, station, stock, bush, shanty 'pub', sheila 'girl'
American	anorak, coyote, squash, chipmunk, moose, raccoon, igloo, kayak, totem, pecan, hickory
New Zealand	hoot 'money', kete (kit) 'basket', kitchen tidy 'garbage can'
South African	apartheid, spoor 'track', veldt 'field', trek 'migration', boer 'farmer', braai 'BBQ', koppie 'small hill', commando
South Asian	police walla 'policeman', auto rickshaw wallah people 'rickshaw driver', dhobi, 'washerman', chowkidar 'guard', panchayat 'village council'

The words introduced into English due to colonialism in the 19th century were discussed in the previous chapter. Most of these, such as *pyjamas/pajamas*, are now mainstream English and are not listed in Table 9.5. For other borrowings, see www.wordorigins.org/loanword.htm.

The lexicons of the different varieties also diverge due to **later contact with immigrant languages and also due to colonial contact**: American English adopted words from African languages (due to contact with African slaves) and from European languages (due to contact with European immigrants). Some of these words are listed in Table 9.6. Many etymologies are unclear. For instance, a 'compound to live in' could have been borrowed

from Malay *kampong* 'a small village', *ketchup* could be borrowed from Malay but via Chinese, and *mangosteen* is from Malay but entered into English via Dutch or Portuguese. Look some of these up yourselves, e.g. *orange* and *junk*! .

Table 9.6 Words adopted into (American) English through later contact with other languages

African	cayman, dengue (fever), gumbo, jumbo, yam
Canadian French	prairie, rapids
Chinese	chop-suey (Cantonese), chow mein, feng-shui, ginseng
Dutch	boss, Santa Claus, cookie, spook, Yankee
German	semester, seminar, noodle, pretzel, schnitzel, hex, wunderkind, deli(catessen), -fest, poltergeist, rucksack, lager
Japanese	karate, kenken, sudoku, ninja, samurai, kamikaze, sumo, judo, kendo, anime, origami, bonsai, edamame, futon, karaoke, miso, teriyaki, sashimi, sushi, wasabi, tsunami, kimono
Malay	amok, batik, orangutan, gecko, gamelan, ketchup
Sinhalese/Tamil	cash, beri beri, curry, pariah
Spanish	patio, taco, tamale, tortilla, tequila, ranch, corral, rodeo, canyon
Tagalog	boondocks
Yiddish	chutzpah, borscht belt, dreck, mensch, -nik, schlep, meshuga, schmooze, schtick, kvetsch

Varieties of English combine words from different types of contact. In Robeson County, North Carolina, there is a community of Lumbee Native American Indians, African Americans, and Anglo Americans. Some words typical for the different Lumbee speakers in North Carolina are listed in (44), from Dannenberg (2002: 31).

(44) Lumbee: Juvember 'slingshot', ellick 'coffee'
Lumbee and Appalachian: chawed 'embarrassed', judious 'strange'
Lumbee and African American: cooter 'turtle'
Lumbee, African American, and Anglo American: kelvinator 'refrigerator'

Sometimes, different varieties adopt different words for **no apparent reason**. It could be that one variant is a successor to an Old English word and another is a loan. As can be seen from Table 9.7, words such as *sidewalk* (descended from Old English) and *pavement* (an early French loan) exist in different varieties. Note that since there is no 'subway' in Australia, it is not clear what the word for it might be. See also http://english2american.com/dictionary/wholelot.html for differences between British and American. The sources for the words in Table 9.7 are dictionaries, native speakers, websites, and corpora.

Table 9.7 American, British, Canadian, and Australian vocabulary alternatives

American	British	Canadian	Australian
sidewalk	pavement	sidewalk	footpath/pavement
elevator	lift	elevator	elevator/lift
subway	underground or tube	subway or metro	–
term/semester	term	term/semester	semester/term
sports shoes(sneakers)	trainers	running shoes	sneakers
sweater	jersey/jumper	sweater	jumper/pullover

Some words vary regionally: in Canada, *holiday* and *vacation* are preferred in different parts of the country, even though the former is the typically Canadian one. A 1993 study surveyed speakers on both sides of the US-Canadian border and the results for *tap* (Canadian) and *faucet* (American) are shown in Figure 9.3 (Zeller 1993: 186).

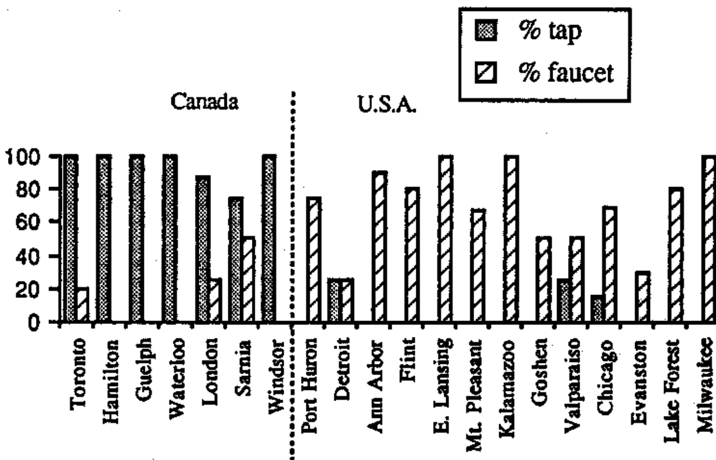

Figure 9.3 Lexical choices in Canada and the US

As mentioned earlier for spelling, the American variant is more popular away from the center of political power, Ontario.

The last reason for the differences in lexicons is that some words go back to 17th century English: the fact that some words, such as the ones in (45), are lost in current British English but not in American, results in differences between the two varieties.

(45) Older English: flap-jack 'thick pancake', jeans, molasses, home-spun, adze 'tool for shaping wood', cess-pool, bay-window, cross-purposes, catty-cornered, scant, deft (Mencken 1921 [1937]: 128)

As noted before, the differences in vocabulary are endless. Over time, vocabulary variation could become a diverging factor: the adoption of multiple French and Latin words made English different from its Germanic sister languages.

Before concluding this section, we will briefly examine **code-switching**. When languages borrow words, those words are adapted to fit their phonological systems. Borrowing happens when new ideas, food, and concepts are encountered. Code switching occurs when both languages (or codes) are used and neither one is adapted into the system of the other. It arises in bilingual (or multilingual) communities: (46) is an example of switching between English and Spanish, (47) between Korean and English, and (48) between Chinese and English.

(46) then she would tell us about this story about *que venia una araña muy bonita de muchos colores* (that came a spider very beautiful of many colors)
(from Anderson-Mejías 2004)

(47) *Anja*, this is a new-*han* movie-*i-ya*
No, this is a new-*Adjective* ending movie-*is*-DECL
'No, this is a new movie!' (from Kim 2005: 37)

(48) *ni zai* nagging *wo*
'you are nagging me'. (from Chen 1999: 32)

The literature on code switching is extensive. Code switching illuminates many issues in language change – what happens to the language in a bilingual context. Many linguists (myself included) argue that the grammar of the two languages stays intact and the lexicons of the two languages mix, whenever this is grammatically possible. That would mean that code switches as in (46) to (48) are not separate varieties of English, but rather English being used next to another language.

5. English-influenced pidgins and creoles

Certain pidgin and creole languages contain English words and are therefore considered as varieties of English. Even though their lexicon is predominantly English, their grammars are not necessarily English-based. We will therefore treat pidgins and creoles differently from other varieties of English. In this section, we will define pidgins and creoles, provide a map of where they occur, and examine some of their linguistic features.

In simple terms, a **pidgin** is a language learned by adults in cases of intense language contact between very different languages and is typically used in limited domains. A **creole** is acquired by children growing up hearing a pidgin and is used in all domains. Pidgins typically become the default language, or lingua franca, for a particular region and facilitate trade and communication. They also often arise under slavery. Both pidgins and creoles are sometimes defined in terms of their lexifier language, the language that contributes

much of the vocabulary: Tok Pisin, for instance, is defined in terms of English as English provides most of its vocabulary.

In this section, we focus on pidgins and creoles with English words. These languages arise through colonization or slave trade. Romaine (1990: 315–322) lists a total of 80 pidgins and creoles, 33 of which are English based. Figure 9.4 provides a map of pidgins and creoles.

Figure 9.4 Map of English-based creoles and pidgins (Todd 1984: 39)

African American English is sometimes considered a creole (e.g. Baugh 1983), sometimes a dialect of English. The reason for these differing views is that varieties such as Gullah (or Sea Island Creole) are clearly creoles but that the varieties spoken by the majority of African Americans in the US are so similar to most other varieties of American English, that they can no longer be considered creoles. Creoles are often seen as moving along a **continuum**: from **basilect** (closest to the creole), to **mesolect** (in the middle between creole and American English), to **acrolect** (closer to American English) and back again. This terminology is problematic, however, since it implies a value judgment.

Some of the linguistic features of a pidgin are: limited vocabulary (due to its limited status as a trade language), 'simple' phonology and morphology, and the absence of grammatical words (auxiliaries and determiners). A sentence from 19th century Chinese Pidgin English is provided in (49). This was used in trade contact, e.g. along the Chinese coast and in Canton.

(49) *Boy! makee pay my that two piecee book*
boy make give me that two piece book
'Give me those two books, boy'. (Baker & Mühlhäuser 1990: 99)

In (49), *piecee* helps express that the object is plural. In the same way that English speakers say *two pieces of wood* and *two kinds of rice* (and not *two woods* or *two rices*), Chinese uses a classifier with what are count nouns such as *book* in English. In (49), *give* is analyzed as two verbs *make* and *pay* and this is a very common construction in Chinese. Chinese Pidgin English is therefore clearly relexified Chinese. Examples of other pidgins are Chinook Jargon, based on the Native American language Chinook spoken along the coast of the state of Washington, and Delaware Jargon, based on the Native American language Lenape spoken in the drainage area of the Delaware River (in the Eastern US).

A creole is acquired by children as a native language. Since pidgins are languages without (much) inflection, children learning them acquire them as analytic languages (then referred to as creoles) and use certain words as grammatical markers to indicate possession (e.g. *fu* in (50) from 'for') or progressive aspect (Jamaican *de* which derives from *there*). A creole has features from both the lexifier language, sometimes called **superstratum**, and the African language that is its basis, sometimes called **substratum**. Again, this terminology is not appropriate since it seems to imply one is 'higher' than the other, but it is provided here since it is encountered in the literature. The sentence in (50) is from Ndjuka, an English-based creole from Suriname.

(50) *Mi be go a onti anga wan dogu fu mi*
I had gone PROG hunt with a dog of mine
'I had gone hunting with a dog of mine'. (Holm 1988: 8)

As is obvious from (50), creoles are analytic languages with **pronouns** not displaying case distinctions: *mi* in (50) is both subject and (prepositional) object. A typical set of creole pronouns are provided in Table 9.8.

Table 9.8 Pronouns in Early Jamaican Creole (Bailey 1966)

	Singular	Plural
1	mi	wi
2	yu	unu
3	im	dem

All forms except *unu* 'you-PL' are recognizable for English speakers. The second person plural is an innovation since, as mentioned earlier, there is a gap in the paradigm of Modern English pronouns. In (50), the word order is SVO and a generalization of the preposition *fu* 'for' occurs to cover possessive 'of' as well.

Tense, mood, and aspect markers are typical for (basilectal) creoles. In (50), *be, go*, and *a* are such markers. They derive from verbs and auxiliaries. Nigerian Pidgin has progressive *de*, perfective *don*, and future tense *go*, as in (51) to (53). These are derived from *there, do*, and *go*, respectively.

(51) *i de kom*
'He is coming'.

(52) *i don kom*
'He has arrived'.

(53) *i go kom*
'He'll come'.

Verbs of activity, such as *kom* 'come' in (51), mark the present progressive through special means, such as the auxiliary *de*, but not the past tense, as (54) shows for *chop* 'eat'. Verbs of state, such as *layk* 'like', on the other hand, mark the past through *bin*, as in (55), but not the present, as (56) shows.

(54) *a chop nyam*
'I ate yams'.

(55) *I bin layk nyams*
'I liked yams'.

(56) *a layk nyam*
'I like yams'. (Faraclas 1996: 196–7)

There are many universal tendencies in the **sound structure** of creoles: the inventory is often reduced from that of the lexifier language and consonant clusters are eliminated. Similar processes occur in other varieties as well, and a few of the typical features are listed in Table 9.9.

Table 9.9 Creole features in sounds

Metathesis:	Bahamian Creole English *cripsy* (English *crispy*)
Loss of clusters:	Sranan Creole English *tan* (English *stand*)
Epenthesis:	Sranan Creole English *dogu* in (50) (English *dog*)

In the consonant and vowel inventory, there are also many substratum influences: nasalized stops ([mb] and [nd]), double stops ([kp] and [gb]), nasal vowels, and many other fairly complex features.

The **meaning** of words in creoles often widens: *tea* is used to refer to any hot drink in many creoles (Holm 1988: 101), and *finger* is often extended to 'toe' (Nigerian Pidgin). *Gras* in Tok Pisin is used for 'grass' and *gras nogut* for 'weed'; *gras* is also used in *mausgras* 'moustache' and *gras bilong hed* 'hair'. A word can also be used euphemistically: *hip* in the Bahamas and *wes* (from *waist*) in Krio are used for 'buttocks' (Holm 1988: 102). There is some widening or generalization as when *machine* is used for 'motorcycle' in Nigerian Pidgin and meaning shift when *make mouth* is used to mean 'boast' (Babawilly's dictionary).

As mentioned, pidgins and creoles are often classified in terms of their lexifier language, the language that supplied much of their lexicons; this, however, does not rule out grammatical influence by the lexifier. The distinction between pidgins and creoles is not always clear-cut, as Holm reminds us: some West African Pidgins are rudimentary trade languages and others have full registers. Names can also be deceptive: Nigerian Pidgin is

spoken natively (Faraclas 1996) and should be called a creole. However, so many people speak the language non-natively that the term *Nigerian Pidgin* is used. The same is true of Tok Pisin, a language of Papua New Guinea, which 50,000 people speak as a first language and 4 million as a second (Ethnologue figures Gordon 2005: 628).

As to resources, there is a corpus of Jamaican Creole texts on a site by Peter Patrick (http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~patrickp/JCtexts.html) and of Written British Creole (www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/mark/cwbc/cwbcman.htm). There is also a very active pidgin and creole society that meets once a year, book series (e.g. Creole Language Library), and a *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*.

6. Consequences of the spread of English

English has spread because of colonialism, migration, and – most recently – globalization. Speakers of many languages feel they need to speak English to participate in business, government, music, the arts, and academia. There are a number of worries connected with this spread. Two worries are the **marginalization** of people who do not speak English or do not speak it natively, and the **loss of linguistic diversity**.

As for the marginalization of people who do not speak English, an English-speaking elite is being created in countries such as Nigeria and Kenya where less than 10% of the population speaks English and India where possibly 33% of the population does (though the latter may be going up with the growth of the outsourcing industry). Phillipson (2003: 6) quotes the first prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, as writing in 1956:

> I am anxious to prevent a new caste system being perpetuated in India – an English knowing caste separated from the mass of our public.

Even when non-native speakers have a good command of English, they can be at a disadvantage. Phillipson (2003: 166ff.) gives the example of native speaking journalists using difficult English with foreign politicians they want to criticize for certain policies. If English is used for global communication, we need to focus on fluent non-native competency and value that. Phillipson proposes the term English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) to help this process. This term is supposed to promote a varied, rather than a monolithic, view of English and to emphasize the fact that this variety is more sensitive to cross-cultural factors. It will be interesting to see if ELF will be accepted in a more simplified form, e.g. lacking interdental fricatives, case, and verbal agreement.

The implications of the spread of English for **language diversity** are far-reaching. The more English spreads the more other languages are in danger. The same concern holds for the spread of Spanish, Chinese, Hindi, Indonesian, and Arabic. The Chinese language policies, for example, are very restrictive in only allowing Mandarin Chinese and promoting it over other varieties, such as Shanghainese (which was used in radio and TV, e.g. for the

cartoon *Tom and Jerry*, but since December 2004 was forced to stop). Even languages with fewer speakers such as Scandinavian (but certainly Samí) and Italian (but certainly the many dialects in Italian: Bolognese, Venetian, Napolitan, etc.) are at risk.

Since the early 1990s, there has been a lot of information on endangered languages. Krauss (1992) estimates that 90% of the languages alive in the 1990s will disappear in the 21st century. Krauss also estimates that of the 187 languages in the USA and Canada, 149 are no longer acquired by children. Other countries have more languages and may lose more of them: Indonesia has 670, Papua New Guinea 850, Nigeria 410, Cameroon 250, and Mexico 240. UNESCO's website estimates that 90% of the world's languages are not represented on the internet. This seems to be changing a little. Google and Microsoft have developed software and websites for many languages. One can search Google using many different interface languages, such as Swahili, Tatar, Basque, Quechua, Amharic, and Xhosa, and there seem to be many writing systems represented on the web. Where in 1998, 85% of web pages were in English, this had dropped to 68% in 2000 (Graddol 2006: 44). Lesser used languages are starting to have a presence on the internet.

If a language is not acquired by children, it is probably on the road to extinction. Some estimate that fewer than 5% of Navajo children acquire Navajo, a language spoken in Arizona, natively. The children learn some Navajo in the school system, but this is not enough. The prevailing (American) culture gives the message that speaking English will provide a job. Even though language loss is inevitable, some loss can be avoided by promoting the use of the language, as has been done somewhat successfully in the case of many Native American languages (see http://aildi.arizona.edu/), for languages such as Welsh, Irish, and Samí, and by economic initiatives.

There are also Western European languages with millions of speakers that are somewhat in danger. For instance, in Norway, English is quickly becoming the language of business and higher education. This may lead to diglossia or domain loss, where Norwegian might be used in the home and with friends but not on the job. A next stage may be that parents start to send their children to schools using English even though they continue to use Norwegian at home. With the globalization of universities, many university classes in non-English speaking countries are conducted in English. In 1999, 29 European countries signed the Bologna Process pledging closer ties and standardizing higher education across Europe. Even though the use of English is not mandatory, it is certainly very practical. English is very helpful as lingua franca in Europe but here too there is a growing awareness of choices there exist (e.g. the 1998 program for the promotion of Swedish). One possible scenario for the next 30 years or so is stable diglossia: English used in certain domains and the local languages in others.

In this section we have discussed a few of the social consequences of English as a world language. External processes such as globalization inevitably lead to less diversity, be it in food, clothing, or language. Awareness of the enormity of the problem may lead to a slowing of the loss.

7. Conclusion

This chapter examined some internal trends that we identified earlier and that continue in the World Englishes: a regularization of paradigms and an increase in analytic features. The vocabulary diversifies due to external factors as does spelling. The sound structure and lexicons of the Englishes perhaps exhibit the highest level of divergence, but the relatively uniform spelling is a converging factor. We also discussed the effects of the spread of English and some issues related to endangered languages. The texts in the Appendices exemplify a few of the Englishes.

Keywords

World Englishes; convergent; divergent; differences in sound/spelling, grammar, and vocabulary; pidgins; creoles; external and internal reasons; and endangered languages.

Exercises

1. Read the poem in Appendix A aloud. If you need more practice analyzing the language, identify its phonological and grammatical features.
2. If consonant cluster simplification occurs in a variety, how might the following be pronounced? You could apply deletion or epenthesis.

   stranger: ………… snake: …………
   straight: ………… sleep: …………
   school: …………

3. In Kenya English, *medicine* means 'any chemicals'. What has happened?
4. The poem by R. Parthasarathy, a part of which is provided below, was first published in 1975 and is a caricature of Indian English (Mehrotra 1998). Identify the characteristics of this variety. Compare this to the Letter in Appendix B also written using another variety of South Asian English.

   What is Your Good Name, Please?

   What is your good name, please?
   I am remembering we used to be neighbours
   in Hindu Colony ten fifteen years before
   Never mind. What you do now? 4
   You are in service, isn't it?
   I am Matric fail. Self-employed.
   Only last year I celebrated my marriage.
   It was inter-caste. Now I am not able 8
   to make the two ends meet.

5. What linguistic feature(s) in the text in Appendix C do you find most striking?
6. Identify phonological, syntactic, and other differences between the Belize Creole English and its translation.

   ay now di kayna rowp bika we mi de luk fu rowp wan taym, 1
   I know the kind rope because we ANT PROG look for rope one time
   'I know the kind of rope because we were looking for rope one time'.

   rayt …. an a fayn di bes rowp, a tingk … 2
   'right … and I found the best rope, I think'

   bika wi me wahn song rope layk dat fu tay awt di ne de 3
   because we ANT want some rope like that to tie the net there
   'because we wanted some rope like that to tie the net with'

   (Holm 1989: 479 citing Escure 1983)

7. Are there any words you recognize in the Tok Pisin text in Appendix D? Which ones?
8. Find a radio station, or other site, that lets you listen to a variety of English spoken outside of Great Britain and the US. List as many of the special characteristics as you can.
9. Are there situations where you code switch (either between varieties of English or between different languages)? If yes, when does this occur?
10. Try to find out what is meant by Singlish, Hinglish, Taglish, Yinglish, Chinglish, and Spanglish.

Appendix A

Caribbean English

Jean Binta Breeze's "get flat" is taken from Riddym Ravings and Other Poems, 1988. She was born in Jamaica in 1957 but now lives in London, UK.

get flat

Wen storm come
yuh bawl
'get flat'
an watch mountain
rub a dub 5
troo de sea
from Brixton
to Elleston Flats
yuh can see de wukkin riddim
ben de people dem back 10

'haad wuk kean kill yuh, son'
but Manson

kar im boson
gawn a boneyard
im sey a wouldn see im 15
wen a reach back home
an Aunt May gi mi a letta
to de relative a Englan, sey
time harder
dan weh did mek yuh lef 20
time hard
an yuh people dem a fret
de relative reply
a nuh forget we forget
but yah so nuh no betta 25
a me three pickney nah wuk

two side a de ocean
de laughline sink
like de mercury
prior to de storm 30

two side a de ocean
de riddim jus a bawl
'get flat, everybady get flat'

an ah see a whole sea
a ben back 35

Appendix B

South Asian English

This letter appeared in *Dawn*, an English-language newspaper published in Karachi, Pakistan. The letter is from the online version.

'World Bank to the rescue'

WHILE commenting on the World Bank's Rs10 billion education loan for Sindh, it has been pertinently pointed out in your editorial (Nov 10): "The Sindh education department will have to ensure that the money earmarked for school buildings is actually spent for that purpose. There is also need to ensure that after they have been completed, the schools are actually used as educational institutions and not as autaqs by the feudals of that areas."

Our history regarding utilization of international loans is not transparent. Huge amounts were collected in the name of building the Quaid's mausoleum as a surcharge on cinema tickets, excise payments and other revenues. Where that money had gone has never been fully

disclosed. Similarly, Iqra surcharge to be collected on imports / exports but there is no records of its utilization for educational purposes.

Ministers heading the education department are irrelevant. They may come and go or be replaced. The functionaries are deep-rooted. Therefore, the minister is a tool in their hands. The performance of the education sector is below the mark.

The Pakistan National High School was a prestigious educational institution prior to independence. It was a magnificent building. It was demolished under the auspices of the education department at the behest of some persons who wanted to turn into a cloth market.

Another glaring example is that of the Government High School, Somerset Street, Saddar, Karachi. That piece of land consisted of the R. P. Rabadi Primary School established by a Parsi philanthropist and the Government High School which was the Yusuf Abdullah High School and was subsequently converted into the Government High School in 1953. Both the institutes were demolished and on the same plot a hotel was built.

These are only two examples exposing the performance of our education department. There are many others.

Therefore, we should welcome it if the World Bank WB nominates its own consultant to monitor the disbursement of the Rs10 billion education loan given to Sindh for its transparent utilization.

Karachi (20 November 2005)

Appendix C

West African English

The Tide is a state-owned paper, based in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. In their own words: "The Tide … has become the best state owned newspaper in Nigeria and had become a dominant voice in the Niger Delta, South East Zone especially on environmental matters. Its extensive interest in the oil and gas coverage has also made it a must-read for the business community. With the increasing openness of government in Rivers State and Nigeria as a whole, The Tide stands to rise to the point the international community would be glad to do business with." (spelling left as was, taken from http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com/paperfrmes.html)

20 November 2005 (online version), Egwu committed to rural development – commissioner

The former National Deputy President of Nigeria Union of journalists (NUJ), Hon. Abia Onyike who is currently the Commissioner for Information, Ebonyi State, in this interview with Regis Anukwuoji x-rays the politics of the State and the challenge of his new position.

You were a unionist and today a commissioner. Don't you think there could be conflicting interests in the discharge of your new assignment?

There wouldn't be any conflict whatsoever, because now I am the chief spokesman of Ebonyi State government. The platform of NUJ will rather enable me to prosecute the current mission, oil my contacts and networking within the mass media in Nigeria, and I would rather think that those contacts that I made would help me to enhance my productivity, and it will also help me to reposition the image of the State and even ensure that the State does better than it had done in terms of media visibility and positive image making.

The ministry is the back- bone of the various popular polices of Governor Same Egwu's administration. When you talk about education and agriculture for example, these are areas that must be assisted by the media in order to carry the people along to effectively participate in the various programmes that have been initiated and carried out by the creative Governor of Ebonyi state. Certainly, I have already spoken to a number of stakeholders in these sectors and told them of the preparedness of the ministry to provide the opportunity to using their media organs of back up our campaigns like ensuring that free and compulsory education policy of the State government is carried to the grassroots. So, the media in the State have been used and will continue to be used to mount the campaign in various creative ways. ….

What's your plan of action for the ministry?

We are going to reposition the Ebonyi State ministry of information, to enable it cope with the challenges of publicising maximally the activities, programmes and polices of the State government and we are going to be creative. We are going to be very methodical and ensure that there is grassroot-oriented media campaign that will mobilize the citizenry, sensitise them adequately to be aware of what government is doing and what the government has done and intends to do in the nearest future. We are also going to maximally sustain the positive relationship between the State government and national media organizations, the print and electronic. We are going to ensure that the progressive, welfarist, and pragmatic polices of the Dr Sam Egwu's administration in Ebonyi state are well communicated to Nigerians as a whole. We are going to ensure that all the Parastatals whose infrastructures are not adequate to cope with the arrangements, we are going to beef up their facilities.

Appendix D

Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Tok Pisin, a creole

In Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin is the native language of some people in mixed urban areas. It is also the main means of communication between speakers of different languages and the most frequently used language in Parliament and commerce. A dictionary is available at http://www.calibercreations.com/pisin; the text below was taken from the United Nations website at http://www.unicode.org/udhr/d/udhr_tpi.html.

Atikel 1 Yumi olgeta mama karim umi long stap fri na wankain long wei yumi lukim i gutpela na strepela tru. Uumi olgeta igat ting ting bilong wanem samting I rait na rong na mipela olgeta I mas mekim gutpela pasin long ol narapela long tingting bilong brata susa.	**Article 1** All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
Atikel 2 Yumi manmeri igat olgeta raits na fridom i stap long dispela toksave, na noken skelim ol kainkain ol nammeri long ol samting olsem, kala bilong skin, em man o meri, tokples, lotu, politik, o ol narapela tingting, kantri o wanem hap yu kam long en, ol samting yu i gat, taim ol manmeri bon, o ol narapela samting. Moa yet, noken mekim narapela samting long ol manmeri long as bilong wok politiks, wok jastis, o wok namel long ol kantri ilong dispela giraun o hap ol manmeri i kam long en, sapos em i free o narapela kantri i lukautim, i nogat gavman bilong ol yet o i aninit yet long pawa bilong king na kwin.	**Article 2** Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.
Atikel 3 Yumi olgeta igat rait long stap laip, fri na sef.	**Article 3** Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.
Atikel 4 Nogat manmeri mas stap na wok olsem slev. Yumi olgeta i mas stopim wok slev na wok bilong salim ol manmeri olsem slev.	**Article 4** No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.
Atikel 5 Nogat wanpela manmeri igat rait long givim pen nating long narapela na bagarapim nem, kros, pasin nogut o nogut wei bilong panisim manmeri.	**Article 5** No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

In this chapter, we will review the major changes in English since 450 CE. Throughout the book we talked about English changing. It is of course the speakers who change the language. We will discuss how this happens between different generations as the result of external and internal change. As a leitmotiv for the major change from Old to Modern English, I have used the change from synthetic to analytic. I very much see that change as cyclical and discuss that as well.

The role of language in shaping a culture is often asserted in arguments about the spread of English; this is referred to as *linguistic relativity* or *the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis*. I will provide arguments that the grammar of a language does not influence the thinking of its speakers. We'll conclude by reviewing some of the resources we have used in this book.

1. From Old English to the present

As has been mentioned, English has its beginnings around 450 CE, when speakers of Germanic languages settle in Britain. Germanic speakers had always had trade routes to Britain and had probably settled there long before 450. This date is quite arbitrary because the language did not change right away. Over time, however, the speakers of Old English acquired a more analytic language. This might have been due to the contact with speakers of Scandinavian and other languages or due to language-internal factors or both.

By 1150, the date we adopted as the start of Middle English, many case endings have disappeared and the use of grammatical words is on the increase. This development continues between 1150 and 1500, and the English at the end of the Middle English period resembles present-day English in many respects. During the Middle English period, French and Latin words come into the language and cause changes in the sound system (expanded use of [v] and [dʒ]) and the morphology (many derivational affixes are introduced).

The period between 1500 and 1700 is a transition period with some changes in grammar and sounds (e.g. the completion of the Great Vowel Shift). The major change is perhaps the adoption of tens of thousands of Latin, Greek, and newly-invented words. This leads to the appearance of dictionaries of hard words and gives rise to concerns about the purity of the language. The result is a set of prescriptive rules for spelling, pronunciation, and grammar that are still adhered to today. Had the language been left alone, we might not have pronominal case or the third person verbal *-s*, forms that are no longer present in many varieties of English.

The period after 1700 is perhaps best characterized by the spread of English around the world: the emerging varieties of English lead to divergence while globalization encourages convergence. Politically, we could argue that Canadian, Kenyan, and Singaporean English are separate languages, if, as Weinreich said, a language is a dialect with an army. Linguistically, most people would argue that these varieties are all English despite differences in the phonology, grammar, and lexicon. All Englishes display the analytic character that English has been moving towards: an abundance of grammatical words (auxiliaries and prepositions) and reliance on word order. Much of the vocabulary of these varieties is similar as well.

2. Theories of language change

In this book, we have focused on **how English changes**, occasionally speculating about the reasons for change. Historical linguists not only describe language change (e.g. how Old English becomes Modern English) but are also interested in **why language changes**. The reasons for language change can be external and internal – chance or necessity. Borrowing words (or making up new ones) is one change this book has discussed. It is driven by the need to describe innovations or to be creative or to outdo the neighbors, i.e. it happens for external reasons. It is a matter of chance which word is ultimately selected. We have also examined changes that happen (mainly) for internal reasons, such as some vowel shifts and the change from a synthetic to an analytic language that may in turn be caused by an (internal) change in stress on words. The reasons for these internal changes are driven by the needs of children acquiring a language. Sometimes, the internal and external factors are hard to keep separate.

As mentioned, speakers change the language. In this section, we will discuss a model, formulated by Klima (1965) and adapted by Andersen (1973) and Lightfoot (1979), accounting for language change in terms of language acquisition. Since the late 1950s, Noam Chomsky has articulated theories of language acquisition that rely on **Universal Grammar** (UG), an innate language faculty that when "stimulated by appropriate and continuing experience, … creates a grammar that creates sentences with formal and semantic properties" (Chomsky 1975: 36). Our innate language faculty, or Universal Grammar, enables us to create a set of rules, or grammar, by being exposed to (generally rather chaotic) language.

Chomsky (1986) sees Universal Grammar as the solution to what he calls **Plato's Problem**: how do children acquire their language(s) so fast given that the input is so poor. The set of rules we acquire enables us to produce sentences we have never heard before. These sentences can also be infinitely long (if we had the time and energy). Language acquisition, in this framework, is not imitation but interplay between Universal Grammar and the exposure to a particular language. We know that acquisition is **not just imitation** since children create e.g. *goed* as the past tense of *go*, and we know that input is essential

from the fact that children who were neglected by their parents never acquired a regular language (see Curtiss 1977 on Genie). Some linguists disagree with this position and put more emphasis on the actual input than on Universal Grammar and some on the communicative needs of speakers.

The need for exposure to a particular language explains why, even though we all start out with the same Universal Grammar, we acquire slightly different grammars. It also explains why we acquire grammars slightly different from those of our parents. Figure 10.1 represents Andersen's (1973) model.

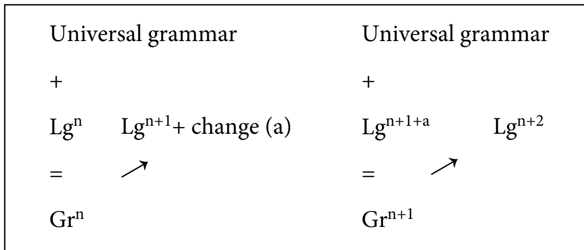

Figure 10.1 Universal Grammar and the acquisition of grammars

In this model, a child starts to construct a grammar (Gr^n) on the basis of the language s/he hears (Lg^n). The resulting grammar (Gr^n) will produce sentences that might be slightly different from those in the input (Lg^n). The language the child produces (Lg^{n+1}) undergoes changes during her/his lifetime: words get added and constructions are adopted for external reasons (e.g. fashion). This modified output serves as the input for a new generation building its grammar (Gr^{n+1}) from scratch, based on the Lg^{n+1} that has undergone change. This Gr^{n+1} will produce yet another output, Lg^{n+2}. This output is then of course modified when the child goes to school and learns certain (prescriptive) rules that are not really part of the child's grammar, e.g. to use *whom*.

Let's think about what Universal Grammar might contain. It might, for instance, include nouns and verbs as building blocks, or in more abstract terms features such as shapes, colors, duration, and time. It might include Economy Principles (van Gelderen 2004; 2011) that require us to choose the easiest analysis and are based on general cognitive principles. It probably includes choices (Baker 2001) or **parameters** to be set: for example, verbs either follow objects, as in most Old English sentences, or precede them, as in Modern English. Thus, a child acquiring Middle English might have reset the parameter from verb-after-the-object to verb-before-the-object. See Lightfoot (1999) for more on this.

Grammaticalization has been mentioned frequently in this book. It involves a lexical item losing its semantic and phonological features and increasing its grammatical function. For instance, in Old English, *willan* was a main verb meaning 'to want', but it lost some

of its lexical meaning and became (was reanalyzed by the language learner as) a modal auxiliary. Once an auxiliary, it also weakened phonologically, becoming *'ll*. Other cases of grammaticalization discussed in this book (even though not always emphasized as grammaticalization) are listed in Table 10.1. Heine & Kuteva (2002) provide numerous other examples from the world's languages.

Table 10.1 Some instances of grammaticalization

Negative phrase *na wiht* 'no creature'	> *not/n't* (Chapter 4 and 6)
Preposition *for* and *till*	> Complementizer (Chapter 6)
Verbs *have, be, will, do*	> Auxiliaries (Chapter 6 and 7)
Preposition *to*	> future/unreal marker (Chapter 6)
Preposition *like*	> Complementizer and Discourse marker (Chapter 8)

There have been many attempts to explain grammaticalization, some using Universal Grammar and some general cognitive principles. See e.g. Hopper & Traugott (2003) and van Gelderen (2004; 2011).

In conclusion, there are two kinds of linguistic change. One kind has nothing to do with Universal Grammar, but is motivated by a need to be creative and expressive, e.g. through borrowings. The other kind is due to reanalysis by the language learner, guided by Universal Grammar. Lightfoot (1979: 405) distinguishes these as "provoked by extra-grammatical factors" and "changes necessitated by various principles of grammar", hence, chance and necessity.

3. The linguistic cycle: Synthetic to analytic to synthetic again?

We saw English change from a language with many endings to one with fewer endings, from synthetic to analytic. We currently find more evidence of this trend with cases being lost and endings regularized in varieties of English. However, there is some evidence that (at least in the verbal system) English speakers are incorporating synthetic forms into their grammars.

The change from synthetic to analytic occurs mainly between Old and Middle English and may be due to changes in stress. Throughout Middle English, there is a loss of endings and an increase in the use of grammatical words such as the auxiliary *have* and prepositions. However, starting as early as the Late Middle English period (e.g. in the 15th century *Paston Letters*), there are also signs that auxiliaries contract and become more synthetic. Sentences (1) to (3) illustrate this trend. In (1), the auxiliary *have* has become an affix, in (2) the negative *not* has become an affix, and, in the colloquial (3), the first person pronoun *I,* right next to the auxiliary, serves as an agreement marker on the verb (*me* is the subject pronoun):

(1) I shoulda known that. (starts in 1450)

(2) Don't you be jealous now. (HC from1680)

(3) Me, I was flying economy, but the plane, … was guzzling gas. (BNC from 1985)

Sentences such as (4) sound archaic (or formal) because the agreement marker *I* is not close enough to the verb, with the pronoun separated from the verb by *possibly*:

(4) I possibly won't do that.

This change where separate pronouns start marking the agreement on the verb is known as the **linguistic cycle.** It is not unexpected: languages go from synthetic to analytic and to synthetic again. If the pronoun in (3) becomes the agreement on the verb, there is an increase in synthetic marking. In the case of English, the change towards synthetic seems to involve only the verbal system. The case endings on nominals that we saw in Chapter 4 are not reappearing, but number such as the plural in *you all* may be.

4. Some theories about language

In this section, we examine a few language theories relevant to language change. First of all, we will clarify some misconceptions about what the terms innateness and Universal Grammar mean; we will also discuss the fact that the influence of language/grammar on thinking/culture is often overemphasized.

The model in Figure 10.1 assumes that no language specific feature, such as particular vowels or certain words, is innate. Children have to be exposed to language to build up a grammar and Universal Grammar helps in this process. Children can therefore learn any language they are exposed to, regardless of the language of their parents. There is still sometimes a mistaken perception that language is in children's DNA and that they are better at learning the languages of their biological parents. This is absolutely not true.

Genetic theories have affected theories of language change. In the 1930s, for instance, a theory based on Mendelian genetics hypothesized that at some point there was a language of laughing people with the front vowel [i] and a language of non-laughing people with the back vowel [u]. These people intermarried and the result is a system with three vowels, [i, a, u]. This theory is of course not taken seriously nowadays, but was worked out in great detail by van Ginneken (1932: 26ff.).

Other theories had to do with the climate of a region or the ethnic character of a group: for example, one theory claimed that consonants shift in mountainous regions (Collitz 1918) or due to the 'desire for liberty' on the part of the people (Grimm 1853). We have to evaluate these claims very carefully. It may be that a nation, in order to assert its independence, adopts spellings or pronunciations identified as especially significant. Much change, however, is due to internal factors, not a particular climate or geographic configuration.

Recently, researchers (Trudgill 2005) have looked at very isolated communities and argued that they might use more pronouns and demonstratives rather than full nouns because every speaker knows what the other is talking about. It would be interesting to see more work on this.

A very influential theory is the one that the language we speak influences our thinking. It has been named the **Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis** or **the Linguistic Relativity Principle**, after two linguists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, who wrote about Native American languages in the early 20th century. Their work was extremely influential. However, it led to the claim that Hopi is a language without tense and that, consequently, its speakers do not have much sense for time. In the same vein, it could be argued that Turkish and Chinese, languages without gender, would lead to less gendered societies than the US, for instance. This seems not to be true.

Much in the spirit of this work, Otto Jespersen, a Danish linguist from the early 20th century, says this about Hawaiian on the basis of its sound system: "the total impression is childlike and effeminate"; therefore, we should:

> not expect much vigour or energy in a people speaking such a language; it seems adapted only to inhabitants of sunny regions where the soil requires hardly any labour.... In a lesser degree we find the same phonetic structure in such languages as Italian and Spanish; but how different are our Northern tongues. (1938: 3)

Generalizations such as this one are dangerous; they are often used to put down the people who speak a particular language and can have social and political consequences.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis has been criticized on a variety of empirical grounds. First, even though Whorf argued that Hopi has no grammatical tense marking, Malotki (1983) shows that Hopi has many ways to express time; thus, the lack of grammatical tense should not influence the thinking of Hopi speakers. Secondly, Navajo has certain verbs that have a different stem depending on whether their object is long, or single solid and round, or fabric-like, or some other shape. If the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis were correct, Navajo children (and adults) should do better at games using objects of different shapes since they would be attuned to that from their language. There is no evidence to support that claim (see Casagrande 1960).

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can also be criticized on other grounds. The syntax of a language is an arbitrary device. Languages can have OV in one clause and VO in another (e.g. Old English and many Germanic languages). Embracing a theory similar to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis can lead to claims that, because English is a simpler language than German, for example, it is more suitable for being a world language (e.g. Baugh & Cable 2002: 10–11 speak of assets and liabilities of English). Nothing in English, however, is special linguistically, even though this has often been claimed. Jacob Grimm, for instance, says: "Of all modern languages, not one has acquired such great strength and vigour as the English" (Bailey 1991: 109). According to Grimm, English did this by "casting off almost all

inflections" and freeing itself of ancient phonetic laws. More recently, McWhorter (2007) has argued that languages such as English, with more speakers that have learned it as adults than as children, are less complex than languages that have few adult learners.

As we have seen, English became widespread for external reasons, migrations, colonialism, and (later) globalization, not because of its grammar. One area in which languages are different is vocabulary: it may be the case that having a variety of words for a particular concept enables more subtle distinctions, though the case of the Inuit people who were supposed to have many words for snow has proved to be a myth. However, there is no evidence that the grammatical features of a language affect the thinking of its speakers.

Chomsky (1986), when discussing Plato's problem (how we acquire language so fast on the basis of so little input), also discusses the opposite, namely **Orwell's Problem** (how we know so little given that we have so much evidence). A lot of Chomsky's political writing have shown that, in a democracy, the media and government manufacture consent and deceive us in that process (see also Chapter 5). The worry about the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis may be that it provides no barrier to deception: if language determines our thinking, we will have no means to discover the true state of affairs. We will now turn to something practical.

5. Resources

Throughout the book, we have used the OED. You can download texts easily (be careful that the editions have not been modernized), and listen to a few audio versions. Table 10.2 lists a few useful URLs.

The sites listed in Table 10.2 contain many texts. For instance, the Georgetown Labyrinth site allows you to download texts. If you are interested in all the texts of the *Exeter Book*, they are available. The easiest way to examine them may be to download them one by one and save them together. Some texts are not as fragmented and are easier to save. After you have saved the texts, you can use a word processing program to find certain words or phrases; this is tedious, however, and will not give you a quick sense for a word or construction. If you use a concordance program, such as AntConc (freely available at http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html), the search is faster and the search results are presented in a more organized manner. It allows you to use .txt files and then you can search for prefixes and suffixes (e.g. *walk** will search for *walked, walks, walker,* and *walking*) and for certain constructions.

If you do not want to download the texts and use a concordance program, there are ready-made corpora, such as the Old English Dictionary Corpus at http://www.doe.utoronto.ca, with search engines attached (this corpus is not freely available).

Table 10.2 Some HEL URLs

Texts:
Old English: http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/oe/oe.html
OTA: http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/
Middle English: http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/me/me.html
Early Modern English and Modern English: http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/authors.html
Mainly Modern English: http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/
Corpora:
BNC: http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/
COCA : http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/
COHA (American English since 1800): http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/
Audio
http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/audio.htm
http://faculty.virginia.edu/OldEnglish/Beowulf.Readings/Prologue.html
Manuscripts/writing
Lindisfarne at: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/ttpbooks.html
http://image.ox.ac.uk
www.snake.net/people/paul/kells
www.omniglot.com/writing/runic.htm
Old and Middle English Dictionaries and maps:
http://beowulf.engl.uky.edu/~kiernan/BT/Bosworth-Toller.htm
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kurisuto/germanic/oe_clarkhall_about.html
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/%7Ekurisuto/germanic/oe_bright_glossary.html
http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/
LALME: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html
OE Grammar and pronunciation
http://www.ucalgary.ca/UofC/eduweb/engl401/grammar/index.htm
http://www.ucalgary.ca/UofC/eduweb/engl401/lessons/pronunc1.htm

6. Conclusion

This book focuses on changes in the sound system, grammar (morphology and syntax), and lexicon of English since 450 CE, a somewhat arbitrary point in time. Another arbitrary issue is what counts as English, a difficult question to answer. We can look at the **history** or at the **structure** of the language, as we have done in this book. Either way, the result is a complex picture.

Major questions you should be able to discuss: the origin of English and its definition; differences and similarities between Modern English and earlier stages as well as other languages; the role of dictionaries; issues concerning EIL/World Englishes; the relationship between language and political decisions; the pros and cons of spelling reform; your position regarding about prescriptive rules; and the influence of the internet

Instead of exercises, I list a few excerpts from texts to review the various stages of the language. One goal of this book was to enable you, the reader, to recognize the stages; see how well you do! A list of projects and paper topics also follows. The projects are practical, possibly for undergraduates; the paper topics are more suited to advanced undergraduates and graduate students.

Excerpts from texts

Give an estimate of the time the below excerpts were produced, the genre they are in, and the geographical location (if possible).

A

IN the present state of society it appears necessary to go back to first principles in search of the most simple truths, and to dispute with some prevailing prejudice every inch of ground. To clear my way, I must be allowed to ask some plain questions, and the answers will probably appear as unequivocal as the axioms on which reasoning is built; though, when entangled with various motives of action, they are formally contradicted, either by the words or conduct of men.

In what does man's pre-eminence over the brute creation consist? The answer is as clear as that a half is less than the whole; in Reason.

What acquirement exalts one being above another? Virtue; we spontaneously reply.

For what purpose were the passions implanted? That man by struggling with them might attain a degree of knowledge denied to the brutes; whispers Experience.

B

Whan folk hadde laughen at this nyce cas
Of absolon and hende nicholas,
Diverse folk diversely they seyde,
But for the moore part they loughe and pleyde.
Ne at this tale I saugh no man hym greve,
But it were oonly osewold the reve.
By cause he was of carpenteris craft,
A litel ire is in his herte ylaft;
He gan to grucche, and blamed it a lite.
So theek, quod he, ful wel koude I thee quite
With bleryng of a proud milleres ye,
If that me liste speke of ribaudye.

C

Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
metudes miltse, þeah þe he modcearig
geond lagulade longe sceolde
hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sæ,
wadan wræclastas.

D

Worshipful fader yn god ri3t trusty and welbeloued / We grete yow wel / And for as muche as we haue vnderstande / þat þe prebende of Swerdys yn oure chirche of Deuelyn ys voyde yn lawe / and longeþ to oure collacion we have yeue to oure trusty and welbeloued clerc maister Thomas Bolton bringer of þis þe same prebende / wherfor we wol þat ye maake lettres of oure collaci on of þe saide prebende vnder oure greet seel to oure said clerc yn due fourme / yeuen vnder oure signet yn oure cite of Baieux þe .vj. day of Auerill

E

Faust. Settle my studies, Faustus, and begin
To sound the depth of that thou wilt profess;
Having commenc'd, be a divine in show,
Yet level 2 and at the end of every art,
And live and die in Aristotle's works.
Sweet Analytics, 3 'tis thou hast ravish'd me,
Bene disserere est finis logices.
Is to dispute well logic's chiefest end?
Affords this art no greater miracle?
Then read no more, thou hast attain'd the end;
A greater subject fitteth Faustus' wit.
Bid [Greek] 5 farewell; Galen come,
Seeing Ubi desinit Philosophus ibi incipit Medicus;
Be a physician, Faustus, heap up gold,
And be eternis'd for some wondrous cure.
Summum bonum medicinæ sanitas,

Practical projects

1. Compare four or five translations of *Beowulf* into Modern English, e.g. Donaldson (1966), Chickering (1977), Rebsamen (1991), or Heaney (2000). Comment on the choice of vocabulary, the word order, the use of grammatical words, and the use of alliteration.
2. Take a formal and less formal piece of (your own) writing and then estimate how many loans you use in each. Then, take a group of related loans from your own writing (e.g. on medicine, sports, wildlife) and see if there is a pattern in terms of where the loans come from.
3. Select a few pages of a text you like (Old, Middle, or Modern English) and examine the different editions. Is there a facsimile; did the writer (in the case of a recent author) leave his original with changes; are there translations?
4. Use the OED's Advanced search (first cited date) to find the new words for several years you are interested in. Are there patterns (new words for space exploration in the 1960s)?
5. Take a few pages of an alliterating text, either Old or Middle English or both, and see what sounds alliterate the most (alveolar or voiced or is there no pattern?) See Minkova (2003).

6. Kachru (1985) makes a distinction between inner, outer, and expanding circle with respect to International English. Listen to some of the sites mentioned in Chapter 9 (ICE and IDEA) and provide some evidence for or against Kachru's way of organizing the different Englishes.
7. Take a topic you are interested in (music, wall paper, dogs, Civil War, railroads), select one area (train parts, dog breeds, car names) and try to find a pattern. Where do the words originate and when do they first come into English?
8. Find differences in naming patterns between two periods in the history of English. Coates (1998) provides a good starting point.
9. Examine the influence of English on another language or of another language on English. Pick the influence on sounds, grammar, or the lexicon.
10. Examine *wal* and *gal* in place names. They may provide clues to where the Celts lived.
11. Which letters of the alphabet have more entries in an English dictionary. Explore why. Think, for instance, about our discussion of *v*-initial words.
12. Bartlett is a familiar name. *Bartlett's familiar quotations: a collection of passages, phrases, and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature* had its 1st edition in 1855 and its 17th edition in 2002. Bartlett also published a concordance to Shakespeare in 1894, with an edition in 1972, entitled *A complete concordance or verbal index to words, phrases, and passages in the dramatic works of Shakespeare, with a supplementary concordance to the poems.* Explore how the latter resource might still be relevant in today's world of electronic corpora and editions.
13. Redmonds, King, and Hey (2011) connect last names and DNA. Pick a last name that is mentioned in their book and explain how an interdisciplinary approach such as theirs sheds light on the history of the name and on the bearers of the name.

Paper projects

1. The Great Vowel Shift (GVS) can be discussed in great detail. Review some of the literature that goes into more GVS intricacies (Jespersen 1909; Lass 1987, 1999; Stockwell 1985) and select one aspect for further analysis, e.g. was it a push or a drag-chain.
2. Discuss the grammaticalization of a preposition into a complementizer, e.g. *like* or *after* (see Heine & Kuteva 2002 for data and Heine & Reh 1984, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Roberts & Roussou 2003, or van Gelderen 2004 for a framework).
3. Old English has many compounds. In Chapter 6, we mentioned that Middle English has fewer. Modern English has many phrasal compounds such as *chocolate toy factory* as well as compounds of the Old English kind. Compare an Old English text to its contemporary translation and draw conclusion about the frequency of compounding. Josefsson (2005) and others have explained certain differences in terms of the loss of inflection in Modern English; evaluate those claims.

4. Take a period in the history of linguistics, such as the early or late 19th century, and see what issues were of interest to those linguists. You can read William Jones or Schlegel or Humboldt in e.g. Lehmann (1967).
5. Examine Webster's nationalism and moralism as influences on the dictionary, see e.g. Rollins (1976).
6. Pennycook (1994; 1998) and Phillipson (1999) examines the role of English as a gatekeeper (for access to jobs and higher education) and its role in colonialism (sometimes promoted and sometimes not). Review his claims with a focus on one particular situation, e.g. Hong Kong.
7. Authorship debate. Review Wells & Taylor's (1986) statistics and see if you can duplicate some of their findings.
8. Describe the possible Latin or Celtic or Scandinavian influence on a Middle English text.
9. The history of discourse particles: *already, well,* etc. See Jucker (1993) or van Gelderen (2002).
10. Vennemann (1999; 2003) argues that speakers of Indo-European languages (Germanic and Celtic) interacted with speakers of Basque and Semitic languages. Summarize his evidence and evaluate it.
11. We know more about social nuances in Modern English than in Old or Middle English. The differences between men and women, older and younger people, upwardly mobile and not so mobile can be investigated. Speech patterns of women and men have been studied extensively. Phillipps (1970) studied the modes of address in the late 18th century. The use of first names is very restricted between men and women and different social classes, as in the following exchange in Jane Austen's *Emma* between Emma and 'Mr. Knightley', who are in love and to be married:

    "Mr. Knightley." – You always called me, "Mr. Knightley;" … I want you to call me something else, but I do not know what.

    I remember once calling you George, in one of my amiable fits, about ten years ago. I did it because I thought it would offend you; but, as you made no objection, I never did it again.

    And cannot you call me "George" now?

    Impossible. (Jane Austen, *Emma*)

12. Lakoff's (1975) *Language and Woman's Place* sparked a lot of research and criticism. Does the language of women differ from that of men in using more adjectives, tag questions, and hedges, or are these preferences a matter of social status? Nowadays, research is also focused on gender in the classroom and other public spaces.

Appendix I

Possible answers to the exercises and some additional information on in-text questions

Chapter 1

1. Recent changes are the introduction of *like* as a hedge marker, as in 'you like still owe me some money', and as a quotation marker. These are internal changes, since the preposition *like* is used in a different grammatical function and speakers were initially not aware of this change. If it is being used by speakers to mark a certain variety of English, it is an external one.
2. To encourage change, you could start to use a word frequently from a popular book or TV-series. Example is *germaphobe* in Seinfeld 'an obsessive about cleanliness'. There is a site just on new terms in Seinfeld: www.movieprop.com/tvandmovie/Seinfeld/terms.htm.
3. *Just, street*, and *poor* do not look like loans. *Just* is introduced in 1382 with quite a different function and meaning; *street* already occurs in Old English, indicating it was borrowed into Germanic before Old English split of, and *poor* around 1200. These words had time to be 'adapted' and therefore look English.
4. For France, the 2009 edition of Ethnologue (edited by Lewis) lists 38 language varieties, apart from French, e.g. Assyrian Neo-Aramaic, Central Atlas Tamazight, and Central Khmer. The Ethnologue is periodically updated, so this may change if a language becomes extinct.
5. One such word is *contumely* 'insolent or insulting language'. The OED lists Chaucer as first using it around 1386.
6. You might take 10 pages of a 1000-page dictionary (not all starting with the same letter though) and see how many of the words you know on these pages. Say it is 100, then you might know 10,000 words. Testing more pages is safer.
7. English differs from Dutch in its word order (Dutch can have the verb last), its sounds (Dutch has a velar fricative, much like Scottish English *loch*, but no velar stop; it lacks a low short front vowel [æ]), and its spelling (Dutch spelling is more phonetic).

8. *Assistant, honorable, travelled, studied,* and *scholar* are different words in Modern English and they are indeed loans. (The name *Albinus* and *Angle-* and *abbad* occur in Old English but are early loans from Latin).

Chapter 2

1. The text of 1 was adapted from a story in the *New York Times* in 1996 and with all vowels and consonants it reads as follows:

   The Moon May have Water
   Scientists think they have detected water on the Moon. Suddenly, visions of people living in lunar colonies that stop off to refuel on the way to Mars are less far-fetched. After two years of careful analysis, scientists said yesterday that radar signals from an American spacecraft indicated the moon was not bone-dry. The spacecraft's radar signatures suggested the presence of water ice in the permanently cold shadows of a deep basin near the lunar south pole.

   The text with the vowels left out is easier to read. This shows that consonants are the most relevant in recognizing English words (but not so in Hawaiian). If we were to engage in spelling reform, we could therefore simplify the vowels used in the spelling of English. There are, however, varieties of English with consonant cluster simplification, and therefore not concentrating on the vowels might be problematic.
2. From my own experience, some of the grammatical words (due to their lack of stress) are often confused, e.g. *their* for *there* and *it's* for *its*. Of the lexical words, I often see *grammer* for *grammar* and I myself often have to check the spelling of *responsible, occurrence*, and *chocolate*.
3. For: reduces time needed to learn the system. Against: hard to agree on; would make older texts harder to understand.
4. [b], [θ], [u],
   [dʒ], [ŋ], [æ]
5. manner: non-nasal (oral)-nasal   voice: voiceless-voiced
   manner: stop-fricative   place: alveolar-velar
6. [k] = velar (others alveolar);
   [k] (again) = voiceless (others voiced);
   [ɪ] = high (others low)
7. [k]: voiceless velar stop
   [n]: alveolar nasal (nasals are also stops and voiced)
   [f]: voiceless labio-dental fricative
   [d]: voiced alveolar stop

8. The IPA should read "Language is a fundamental human faculty used for creative expression, face-to-face communication, scientific inquiry, and many other purposes". Your pronunciation may differ from mine…

9. a. vowel shift and cluster simplification (deletion)
   b. metathesis, vowel shift, and deletion of the last syllable
   c. metathesis (and change in the spelling of the vowel)
   d. assimilation (of the nasal to the place of the following consonant)
   e. deletion of intervocalic [f] and shortening of the vowel.

10. The subjects are in bold and the objects are underlined in:

    The Gila monster is a species of venomous lizard indigenous to the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexican state of Sonora. **It** is a heavy, slow-moving lizard and the only venomous lizard native to the United States. **The animal** produces venom in modified salivary glands in its lower jaw, unlike snakes, **whose venom** is produced in the upper jaw. **The Gila monster** lacks the musculature to forcibly inject the venom; instead, **the venom** is propelled from the gland to the tooth by chewing. Because **the Gila monster** mainly eats eggs, small animals, and otherwise "helpless" prey, **it** is thought that **its venom** evolved for defensive rather than for hunting use.

11. Subjects: *Ohtere, he, he, he, he, þæt land, hit,* and *Finnas*; Indirect Object: *his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge*; objects of prepositions: *þæm lande*, *þa Westsæ*, *feawum stowum*.

    The word *bude* might be related to *abode* 'place to live' and *þeah* to *though*.

Chapter 3

Answer to the exercises

1. Three language families: A is separate, B is too, and C to M cluster together. As mentioned above Ruhlen, who bases this division on Greenberg's work, has been criticized. According to Ruhlen, the language families are Eskimo-Aleut (A), Na-Dene (B), and Amerind (C).

2. bhar to beran
   pitar to fæder
   pada to fot
   trayas to þrie
   tvam to þu

3. We can't say much about the vowel changes, e.g. [o] > [i] in (a). The other changes are as follows, with Latin supposedly representing proto Indo-European.

a. *Night* in comparison to *noctis* loses the ending *-is* and the [k] > [h], according to Grimm's Law, which in this case is a palatal variant of the voiceless fricative. This shift is still visible in the spelling of *night* but the fricative disappeared in the pronunciation.
b. *Gelu* and *glacial* both have the pre-Grimm's Law [g]. Both are Latin words; *glacial* was borrowed into English from Latin in a later period (according to the OED in 1656).
c. Hemp's initial [h] corresponds to a [k] in *cannabis*, according to Grimm's Law, and the *-is* and medial vowel are lost. The word-final labial [b] devoices to [p] and the alveolar [n] assimilates to labial [m] (because of the [p]).
d. The [d] in *dentis* devoices to [t] and the stop [t] changes to a fricative, both according to Grimm's Law. The ending is again lost.
e. The [g] in *gens* devoices to [k] and the ending is lost.

4. You could go with the Latin [kɛntum]. The changes would then involve fronting of the [k] (palatalization) to the affricate [tʃ] in Italian and to the fricative [s] in Spanish and French. The final *-m* would delete, the French vowel would become nasalized and the final [nt] would delete.

5. If you look up *bher-*, you will find a number of related words: *fertile, burden, birth, fortune, infer, offer*, and *prefer*. According to Grimm's Law, Germanic should have an initial [b]. It has that in *birth* and *burden* and these are Germanic words derived from Indo European. The others go back to Latin words (where the Sanskrit [bh] becomes an [f] in Latin). Greek loan words into English that derive from the root *bher* are *anaphor, metaphor,* and *euphoria*.

6. According to Grimm's Law, Sanskrit [gh] should be [g] in Germanic, and it is in *geit* and *goat*. If you check Figure 3.7, you will see that the Sanskrit [gh] corresponds to the Latin [h], so that explains *haedus*.

7. The underlined word in (a) is an instrumental, in (b) an ablative, and in (c) a subject and an object.

Chapter 4

1. heafod – head
   sawolhus – body
   segl – sail
   seoce – sick
   halgode – hallowed 'blessed'
   gecuron – chosen
   tiȝul – tile

2. a. metathesis (and semantic narrowing of *wrist*)
   b. palatalization of the final consonant

3. a. The nobles sailed over the sea to Normandy.
   b. Rome was sacked by the Goths.
   c. The king heard that the archbishop wanted to talk to his friends and wise people.
   d. Edwin was slain during the fight.
   e. Now the serpent lays bereft of his treasure.
   f. He killed himself.

   The gloss could be:

   a. þa æþeling-as ferd-on ofer sæ into Normandig
      those.NOM noble-NOM.PL go-PST over sea into Normandy
      'Those/the nobles went by sea to Normandy.'

4. a. fisces, fisce, hund, hundum
   b. (þa) sceap
   c. gomban, eafera, guma are clear.

5. There are other answers possible than the ones given below:

   narrowing
   narrowing
   narrowing
   shift
   narrowing
   narrowing
   widening

6. The preposition *on* is frequent while *æt* and *to* also appear. Other recognizable words in the first two lines are perhaps *man(n), halgode, dæg, cyng, hine, bebyrgede, innan*, and *circean*. Some of these can indeed be found in the facsimile.

7. Note the Old English character of both texts, e.g. no determiners and auxiliaries, the presence of cases). The differences between I and II concern:

   A. Orthography/sound:

   – The *u* in I corresponds to *w* in II.
   – The 'th' sounds are written differently. Since Latin has no symbol for [þ] and [ð], early manuscripts use *d* or *th* for them, but later the Runic *þ* is used and an Irish symbol is adapted to *ð*. Scribes use them indiscriminately from C8 onwards. The former lasts until the 16th century, but the latter disappears in the 13th. See lines 2, 7.
   – Palatalization in II, e.g. *herian* in line 1 and *mihte* in line 2.

- Stops in I correspond to fricatives in II, e.g. in lines 2 and 6. The voicing in *heben* is probably an indication that the sound is [v] but that there is no way to represent it. The scribe is not consistent though.
- Breaking in II, e.g. *weard* in lines 1 and 7, and *bearnum* in line 5.

B. Morphology/syntax:

- Case endings weaken in II, e.g. in lines 1, 2, 7. However, text II has some Case endings that are quite strong (still): e.g. *-um* in lines 5 and 9.
- Subjects are left out in I, line 1.
- *til* in I corresponds to *to* in II.
- the participial prefix *ge-* is not present in I.

8. This is really up to you.

9. These are *loud(ly), many*, and *even(ing)*. From Old to Modern English, they have undergone, deletion of initial [h], palatalization, and voicing, respectively.

   These all mean 'be silent'; *mec* is the accusative of the first person singular, and *ofer* is spelled that way since voicing in between vowels may not always have taken place.

   The answer to Riddle 7 is quite probably a swan; and the one to Riddle 8 could be a jay or a nightingale (see Mackie 1934).

10. In the below answer, only some of the more obvious differences are pointed out; this cannot be complete, unfortunately.

    In line 1 of *Wulf and Eadwacer*, the word order is typical for Old English since the verb of the main clause, *is*, is in second position and the verb of the embedded clause, *gife*, is in final position. The word order in lines 2 and 3 is standard again, verb-first in the main clause of line 2 since it is a question but verb last in the embedded clause in line 2, and verb-second in line 3. The words other than the verbs are much freer, e.g. *minum* 'my' and *leodum* 'people' in line 1 can be split even though they go together, and *him* and *man* occur in reverse order from Modern English.

    The Wanderer starts out with an impersonal construction, i.e. one that doesn't have a nominative subject. The verb is not often in second position (except in line 4). We see some adjectives and nouns follow what they precede in Modern English, e.g. *earfeþa gemyndig* 'mindful of hardship' and *modsefan minne* 'my thoughts'.

11. *Garlic* is related to Old English *garleac* a compound of 'spear' and 'leek'; *marshal* comes from *mare* and *scald* 'servant'; *nostril* derives from *nosetyrel* 'nose hole' and went via *nosethirl* to the modern form; *Mildred* comes from an Old English word meaning 'mild power'.

12. This again is up to you and the text you choose.

Chapter 5

Answer to the in-text questions

The history of *gown* is complex. It came into English via French around 1400 and has cognates in the other Romance languages. The etymology is not clear and the OED says that "[s]ome scholars regard it as of Celtic origin" not surprising if you see that Welsh has *gŵn* but leaves it unclear.

The placenames in (4): Applethwaite is indeed in the Norwegian area on the West, i.e. in Cumbria. Althorpe and Eastoft are in North Lincolnshire, as expected for Danish names in *-thorpe* and *-toft*. Nottingham, Buckingham, Hamstead, Stanstead, Brighton, and Reading are names that have Old English parts so can be expected in less specialized areas.

The borrowings in (12) are listed in bold; 25% of the words are loans in this prose fragment.

(12) The **phrase** and the day and the **scene harmonised** in a **chord**. Words. Was it their **colours**? He **allowed** them to glow and **fade**, hue after hue: sunrise gold, the **russet** and green of apple orchards, **azure** of waves, the greyfringed fleece of clouds. No, it was not their **colours**: it was the **poise** and **balance** of the **period** itself. Did he then love the **rhythmic** rise and fall of words better than their **associations** of **legend** and **colour**? Or was it that, being as weak of sight as he was shy of mind, he drew less **pleasure** from the **reflection** of the glowing **sensible** world through the **prism** of a **language** many**colour**ed and richly **stori**ed than from the **contemplation** of an inner world of **individual emotions mirrored perfectly** in a **lucid supple periodic prose**?

The borrowings in (13) are again marked in bold; 5% and 11% respectively are loans in these poems. Of these loans, *just* and *tasted* are well-incorporated loans, borrowed in the 14th and 13th centuries respectively:

(13)

A word is dead
When it is said,
Some say.
I say it **just**
Begins to live
That day.

Fire and Ice
Some say the world will end in fire,
Some say in ice.
From what I've **tasted** of **desire**
I hold with those who **favor** fire.

But if it had to **perish** twice,
I think I know enough of hate
To say that for **destruction** ice
Is also great
And would **suffice**.

Answers to the Exercises

1. The visible Celtic influence on English is restricted to loan words. Many of the loans concern place names and religious words (showing that Christianity was introduced by Irish missionaries). This shows there probably was substantial contact. There is now a lively debate as to how much influence Celtic morphology and syntax might have had.
2. At the point where *hill* was added to *dun*, speakers may no longer have had the knowledge of what *dun* meant. *Dun* could also mean 'fort' and perhaps that's what happened when *bre* and *dun* were compounded. (Thanks to Johanna Wood for suggesting *Bredon Hill*). In Arizona, we have a similar doubling in the name for a mountain, namely *Tabletop Mesa*, where the Spanish *mesa* is of course 'table'.
3. The Scandinavian words introduced were words used daily, e.g. *take, anger, skill* and *want*. There are also place names, indicating the settlement areas of the migrants. Many of the loans are verbs, and this probably shows that the contact was intense.
4. They came in after the sound change by the name of breaking was no longer taking place; otherwise they would have been *earc* and *pealm*. It may be that they did undergo breaking and that they were later borrowed again.
5. The prefix *re-* derives from Latin and is first introduced in the 16th century. Hybrids are *redo, retake*, and *reboot*. The suffix *-ly* is not a loan and can form hybrids such as *accurately* but the loan *-ation* does not seem to form hybrids.
6. I would have guessed *kale* because, as we'll see in the next chapter, a long *-a-* often turns into a long *-o-*. *Cabbage* looks French to me since it is longer and we have adopted it as the regular form. The OED confirms that *kale* is a northern form of *cole* (i.e. it retains the Old English vowel) and that *cabbage* is borrowed from French around 1400.
7. A sentence such as (a) would become a sentence as in (b).
   a. I don't want to talk to them now.
   b. I have a negative desire to converse with them at the present moment.
8. Depending on the date of the text the numbers of loans may be quite different.
9. Both the structure and the vocabulary cause problems. It is of course not fair to take a sentence out of context and we might in fact do better reading an entire book or paper by this author. In order to understand the sentence, the use of brackets may be helpful, as in (a). The sentence contains five finite verbs and one non-finite: and has three relative clauses and a purpose clause.
   a. The move from […] to a view of […] brought the question of temporality into the thinking of structure, and marked a shift from a form of […] to one […].

   The vocabulary too is daunting. For instance, *structuralist* and *structural* are used as adjectives; *structure* is used once as a verb and twice as a noun, and it hard to understand *the thinking of structure* and *structural totalities*.

Chapter 6

Answers to the Exercises

1. The text is **Middle rather than Old** English for the following reasons:
   Sounds: *so* rather than *swa*; the vowel in *voys* is new; *oure* rather than *ure*. Syntax: many articles; word order is mainly VO (*telle another tale*).

   Middle rather than Modern English:
   Morphology: *lough* is a strong verb where it is weak in Modern English; the third person singular *-th* ending on verbs is common (*gooth*); the use of *kan* for 'know'; and *-(e)n* endings on infinitives.
   Syntax: multiple negation in lines 9 and 10; occasional older OV word order (*I you preye*).

2. The most obvious ones are *gooth, is, telleth, art, is, herkneth, make, am, knowe, mysspeke, seye, wyte, preye, hath, stynt, is, mayst*. However, the ones with no obvious endings are present tense verbs as well: *moot, lat, shal, konne, kan, wol, shal, lat, wol, wol, tel, wol*, and *lat*. Since this is a late Middle English text, we can conclude it is relatively southern.

3. The second person pronouns used are *ye* (twice in line 5), *thou,* and *thy* in line 22, *you* in line 27, *thy* in lines 31 and 32, and *thou* in the last line.

   In line 5, the Monk is addressed with *ye* by the Host, but the Miller with *thou* in line 22. The case endings are appropriate since *ye* and *thou* are used as nominatives. The Miller addresses the Host with *you* in line 27 since he is trying to be polite and the case is appropriate for an object. The Reeve then addresses the Miller using a possessive *thy* in line 32 and a nominative *thou* in line 36. These are all 'appropriate' to fit the social relationships of the time as well as case.

4. a. Intervocalic voicing and final vowel weakening.
   b. Unrounding of [y] and loss of final syllable.
   c. [g] to [w] and loss of ending.
   d. Palatalization of [g] to [j] and then deletion of [j]
   e. Deletion of initial [h] and loss of the ending.
   f. [a] shifts to [o] and final [k] palatalizes.

5. a. 'And it happened to him in his sleep that he was walking in a thick forest to weep'.

   There is no pleonastic subject to *byfel* and *hym* is a dative rather than a nominative subject. This is an impersonal construction. In addition, *faste* means 'thick' and comes after the noun it modifies, and the form *welk* is a strong past tense. Notice also that Modern English might indicate the progressive aspect in *was walking*.

b. 'where these things exist, the religion is right'.

The two clauses in Middle English are not embedded by means of a *wh*-word whereas they are in Modern English. The reason the first clause is considered the embedded one is the word order: it is verb-final.

6. One possibility is 'There was a priest whose name was Layamon. He was Leifnoth's son (let God have mercy on him), and lived at a lovely church at Areley, on the bank of the Severn. He thought it was lovely and close to Redstone where he read Mass. A splendid idea came to his mind that he wanted to tell the story of England's noblemen: what they were called and from where they came, these first owners of England after the flood that came from God and that killed everything here except Noah, Sem, Japhet and Ham, and their four wives who were with them on the Ark'.

   As to the endings, there are certainly possessive endings (e.g. *Leouenaðes*) and remnants of prepositional endings (e.g. the *-e* on the noun in *æfter þan flode* and *from Drihtene*). Determiners are not as frequent as in later Middle English, e.g. lacking in *on archen* 'on the Ark' but some appear, e.g. the indefinite *a Frenchis clerc*. This would be Early Middle English as indicated by the word order (*he bock radde*) and the presence of impersonal constructions (e.g. *liðe him beo Drihten*).

   Northern features are the use of *on* in *þonke* (line 6) and *mon* (line 29). Southern are the use of *heo* for 'they' (line 8), *heo* for 'she', and the prefix on the past participle (line 1, 8, and 21). There are both palatalized forms (*chirechen* in line 3) and non-palatalized form (*Englisca* in line 16). This makes it a mixed text expected if it is from the West Midlands.

7. There seems to be more embedding as in *As I bihelde in-to the est an hiegh to the sonne I seigh a toure on a toft trielich ymaked*. Articles are frequent, e.g. *Of alle maner of men the mene and the riche*, and the present participle is of the modern form, *Worchyng and wandryng* and *In settyng and in sowyng*.

   There is still a lot of Middle English too, the present plural ending and the absence of a special reflexive in *Some putt**en hem** to the plow*, and the prefix on the past participle *ymaked*. Impersonals also occur: *Me byfel a ferly*.

8. Examples if its use are *borȝ* 'borough', *wroȝt* 'wrought', *Welneȝe* 'almost', and *brondeȝ* 'brands'. The first three represent old [g] sounds that palatalized; the last word may have been a [z]. Some editions make a distinction and only use ȝ for the former use. Note also the interesting use of *tz* in *watz*, probably pronounced as [s].

9. Just make sure to undo the GVS. Just other notes on this text. Some of the loans are *perced, veyne, licour, vertu, engendred, flour, inspired, tendre, cours, melodye, nature, corages, pilgrimages, palmeres, straunge*. The morphology shows nominative *they* but accusative *hem*; the plural on nouns is *-es* is the plural; the present tense third person has *-th* (as we have seen above too); the past participle still has a prefix in *yronne*.

10. It is southern: the *i-* on *icumen* would have disappeared in the North and *groweth* and *bloweth* (and lots of other verbs) have third person endings typical for the South. The palatalized velar is in evidence in *michel* 'much'.
11. Review the answer to exercise 8 of Chapter 4. Northernisms in Caedmon's Hymn are: *til*, lack of palatalization, and early loss of *ge/i-* on past participles.
12. *gas* and not *goeth*, *wagges* not *waggeth*, and the use of *til*. Chaucer is portraying a Northerner.
13. The spelling in F shows a lot of free variation, e.g. *rygth* and *ryth*, and *I* as well as *i*, and *ȝe* and *ye*. There is a frequent use of *x*, e.g. in *xal, xulde, nexth*, the thorn is still in use, and there is no *wh* in *wan* and *wat*.

Chapter 7

1. Some typical EModE spellings: the thorn has disappeared; the *u* is still used for [v] in *beleue* and the *v* spelling for the [ʌ] vowel in *vnwonted*. Final *-e* still appears on *throwne* and *blynde* and *-ie* is the ending in *mutabilitie*. The *y* and *i* are both used for the same sounds and many words have different spellings from ModE. Spellings are not fixed, e.g. *wo* and *woe*.

   Morphological features typical of EModE: there is a reflexive pronoun, but written as two separate forms, e.g. *her self*, the second person singular forms *thou/the* are still used, and verbs have endings such as *hast* and *hath*.

   Syntactic features: the object follows the verb as it does in ModE and the use of auxiliaries, prepositions, and articles makes this an EModE text rather than an ME one.

   Lexical features: quite some Latin loans, e.g. *allurementes, mutabilitie,* and *felicitie*.
2. The text in Appendix B has Modern English *s* represented as *f*, shows contractions (*th', 't, 's, 'd, 'le, o'*), writes words separately compared to the custom in Modern English (*our selues* and *a ground*), has abundant use of colons, and has word final *e* (*keepe*).

   The signature is 'A'.
3. a. *knave* lost its initial [k] and changed its vowel (GVS).
   b. *wrong* lost its initial [w] and the velar nasal was pronounced in some varieties.
   c. The vowel changed (GVS) and the velar [χ] was lost in *bright*.
   d. The [r] was lost before the [s].
4. Both (a) and (b) show that the *-ly* was not always used on adverbs; (b) shows that *my selfe* is (still) in the process of becoming a reflexive pronoun.

5. *Mal* in *maladjust, malcontent, maladapt* is the least productive in numbers, and means 'ill or badly'. It was borrowed from French. The prefix *mis* is actually Germanic (unusual for prefixes) and appears in *misdeed, mistake, misfortune*. It also means 'bad(ly)'. Finally, *pseudo* 'meaning 'fake, false' is very productive, as in *pseudo-science, pseudo-art, pseudo-intellectual*. It came into English via Latin which had borrowed it from Greek.

6. The first of each set is a loan from French that was introduced relatively early (e.g. *poor* is first attested in 1205) and is more incorporated. The second of the set is from the same original word but came into English at a later date, and mainly from Latin.

7. The text of Appendix D shows interesting

   morphology: verbs have Modern English endings and there are lots of contractions.
   syntax: relative clause appear without a relative pronoun, as in the first line, double negatives (*I am not apt to believe neither*), the use of *that* as the relative pronoun for humans, and the use of *be* for a perfect (*I am grown so dull …)* appear.
   lexicon: *charity* has narrowed in Modern English and different prepositions are used (*at your last letter*)
   orthography, spelling, and punctuation: very little is different from Modern English.

   The text of Appendix E shows interesting
   morphology: contractions (*'d*), words written separately (*my felf*), no *-ly* on *I could scarce think*
   syntax: long embeddings (e.g. the first sentence)
   orthography, spelling, and punctuation: Still *f* for *s*, and since Newton wrote in Britain, it is interesting to see that both *colors* and *colours*, appear.

8. Shakespeare for the first two words, Harvey for the third, and Spenser for the last.

9. I picked 1660. Using the Advanced search in the OED, I found 539 new words, and most of those are scientific (e.g. *amalgamate, air-pump, boethic*, and *cortex*) religious (*allotheism, monotheism, cabalize* and *idolizer*), or philosophical/political (*anti-monarchic, restoration, illiteracy*). These reflect the developments of that time period well.

10. Appendix C includes many Northernisms, e.g *quhilk, awen, quher, quhither, knawe* (see Chapter 6). These spellings are of course indicative of the pronunciation. It may be that *pronunced* and *pronuncing* are spellings indicative of not having the GVS apply to [u]. There are other special spelling conventions too, e.g. *symboles, rightlie, everie*, and *voual*.

11. All available techniques should be applied since each author is different. Since it is easier for authors to change their style by using different content words than to increase the use of grammatical words, I would focus on the latter.

    A possible plan is to check the relative pronouns (see also the next chapter and Hope 1994). You could take three pages of three different EModE authors and see how many *wh* or *that* relatives each uses (use percentages and makes tables as with the contraction data in Table 7.11).

Chapter 8

Glossary of the words in Table 8.12

craptacular	crappy and spectacular
to embed	assign a reporter to a combat unit
to jump the shark	deteriorate
SARS	severe acute respiratory syndrome
Amber Alert	In the 1970s, any announcement of a threat to public safety; in the late 1990s, an announcement after a child has been abducted.
black tide	massive oil spill
botox party	social gathering where botox is injected to reduce wrinkles
Bushism	peculiarities noted in the speech of either president
dataveilance	monitoring of a person's online activities
dialarhoea	the dialing of a cell phone in a pocket or hand bag
dirty bomb	conventional bomb packed with radio-active material
virtuecrat	moral or self-righteous politician
walking pinata	person who is the object of relentless criticism or scorn
blog	web log, personal site with commentaries
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction (or as some people put it …)
belligerati	pro-war journalists
gamma girl	teenage girl who is emotionally healthy, socially secure, independent and nice
juice-jacker	person stealing electrical power
to otherize	make someone an 'other'
flexitarian	a flexible vegetarian
freedom fries	French fries, renamed after the French opposition to the Iraq invasion
galactico	soccer superstar

Answers to the Exercises

1. The text of Appendix A is an official petition and basically Modern English. The use of the *-th* in *sheweth* shows the formality, as does the number of formal words, such as *employ, distress, procure*, and *maintenance*. There are some interesting trends, e.g. *the number of … exceed all belief*. In prescriptively correct English, *number* is the head of the subject and must therefore agree with the verb *exceed* in number (which it doesn't).
2. The language in Appendix B and C is Modern English. Appendix B is quite formal, and has a few interesting spellings, e.g. *desart* for *desert*, and the use of *ever* as 'always' (in the third paragraph), an older use. Because the text of Appendix C is a journal, there are many abbreviations, the apostrophe is not used for possessives, e.g. *Mr. Findleys communications*, and the use of commas differs. There are also a few words that are used less narrowly than they are now, e.g. *recital.*

3. a. The interdental voiced fricative has become an alveolar stop.
   b. metathesis.
   c. An [h] is inserted at the beginning of a syllable due to hypercorrection (rule against h-dropping).
   c. consonant cluster simplification.
   d. metathesis.

4. a. Don't be afraid: a dummy *do* is added.
   b. …regularly: the *-ly* is needed on adverbs.

5. Version (a) would be historically correct: *first* was always both an adjective and an adverb, but *second* came into the language later (as an adjective) and at that point in time adverbs were formed using the *-ly*. Version (b) has had regularization and from a non-historical point of view, this would be the most sensible.

6. In Appendix D, the author tries to give a flavor of the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire speech (in the East Midlands) of the gamekeeper. This is hard to do in writing, and Lawrence uses an abundance of contractions to make the speech look more colloquial (e.g. *th'*). Features typical for many regional varieties are *h*-dropping in *'ere* and lack of velar nasal in *gettin'*, as is the occasional double negative. There isn't much that makes it specifically East Midlands.

7. I think I use relative *that* a lot, certainly more than prescriptively correct. However, due to my profession as an English professor, I rarely have people comment on my grammar. The data on what a corpus does are reviewed in this chapter.

8. There are only 11 loans from Vietnamese in the OED (some come in through French) but most of these are very rare. The ones that did get introduced: 1957 *Viet Cong* 'Vietnamese Communist'; 1885 Tet 'New Year', now just used in *Tet Offensive*; 1824 *dong* 'coin', now the official currency.

   There are 7 loans if you search for Inuit but 20 if you use Eskimo, 1662 *kayak* and 1662 *iglu* 'house' (spelled *igloo* in English) the most well-known.

9. By looking at some of the words from Table 8.13 in the OED, you can see the recycling. For instance the verb *embed* first appears in the later 18th century to mean 'fix firmly in a surrounding mass'. It then gets scientific meaning, e.g. as in linguistics (*embedded sentence*).

10. Death is a taboo, and words for dying include: *buy the farm, buy his lunch, cash in your chips, give up the ghost, pay the piper*.

Chapter 9

1. Some of the phonological features include an alveolar stop rather than an interdental fricative in *de(m)* and *troo*, cluster simplification in *an* and *wouldn*, and syllable-final consonant deletion in *gi*.

   Some morphological features are a regularization of verbal agreement (*Wen storm come*) and third person pronoun *im* for both subjects and objects (*im sey a wouldn see im*).

2. In West African Pidgin English, the words listed would be pronounced as listed here (from Schneider 1966: 23):

   [trenja] (with deletion of [s])
   [tret] (with deletion of [s])
   [sikul] (with epenthesis)
   [sinek] (again epenthesis)
   [silip] (again epenthesis)

   You could have chosen other strategies, e.g. epenthesis in *stranger* and *straight* and deletion in *school, snake,* and *sleep*.

3. Widening.

4. Some features are the absence of auxiliaries in questions (*what you do now)*, aspectual auxiliaries used (*I am remembering*) and not used (*you do now*), special vocabulary (*Matric fail* and *inter-caste*), and unchanging tags (*isn't it*).

   The text in Appendix B shows certain special vocabulary (*R(upee)s, autaq, Iqra*) and uses of words in slightly different circumstances (*pertinently, transparent utilization*). The use of auxiliaries (*Where that money had gone has never …*) and non-count nouns (*There is also need to …*) are also interesting.

5. Most striking in Appendix C are word choice in *prosecute the current mission* and *welfarist,* the use of a phrasal verb in *to carry the people along,* the complementation in *the opportunity to using* and *to enable it cope*, and the use of a non-count in *there is … media campaign,*. The spelling is predominantly British (*programmes, publicising*).

6. Phonological are the replacement of the interdental and the loss of clusters in *di, bika* (line 1), *an, di, bes, tingk* (line 2), *bika, wahn, di, ne, de.*

   Syntactic are the use of aspectual auxiliaries (*mi, de* in line 1, *me* in line 3), the use of *fu* as an infinitival marker, and the SVO word order.

7. Recognizable are perhaps *atikel* 'article', *fri(dom)* 'free(dom)', *rait* 'right', *rong* 'wrong', *brata* 'brother', etc.

8. This will depend on your choice. You might be struck by how the vowels sound or cluster simplification.

9. This will depend on your situation.
10. These terms are short for Singapore English, Hindi English, Tagalog English, Yiddish English, Chinese English and Spanish English. The terms are not usually used by linguists and differ widely in what they mean. For instance, code switching as in (46) might be termed Spanglish and that in (47) Konglish (Korean English).

Chapter 10

The excerpts are from Modern English (Mary Wollstonecraft), Middle English (Geoffrey Chaucer), Old English (The Wanderer), Late Middle English (The Paston Letters), and Early Modern English (Christopher Marlowe).

Appendix II

How to use the OED

In this Appendix, we will discuss some ways of looking up a word in the electronic version of the OED. The OED book version is fairly similar in content. Both versions provide you with the etymology of a word, the various spellings throughout its history, and a number of other facts. They keep changing the interface of the online OED so follow the general ideas below. Two words, *very* and *with*, have been arbitrarily selected. We know from Chapter 4 (Section 2) that the first is most likely a loan since it starts with a [v]. We will also use Advanced Search in the electronic version.

Regular search

Very

When you first get into the online version, you get a Welcome screen, with a box somewhere in the middle that says Quick Search. You type the word in that you want to look up. This is the 'simple search' box. Type in *very* and you get a choice between *1very* as just a noun or *2very* as an adjective, adverb, and noun. In this case, click once on the second option. It then gives you what looks like Figure II.1 below and many pages more (which are not included). Many of the buttons are expandable, e.g. the spellings (or forms) and etymology right at the top. Clicking on Forms, 46 different spellings appear! I have expanded the Show Quotations link.

---

very, adj., adv., and n.[1]
View as outline | full entry
Pronunciation: /'vɛrɪ/
Forms: α. ME (15 *Sc.*) **verray** (ME **verrai**, **verraie**, … (Show More)
Etymology: < Anglo-Norman *verrai, verrey, verai, veray*, Old French *verai*, … (Show More)

A. adj. **I. 1.** Really or truly entitled to the name or designation; possessing the true character of the person or thing named; properly so called or designated; = TRUE adj. 5.
Very common from c 1300 to c 1600; now rare except as an echo of Biblical usage.

a. Of persons, or the Deity.

α, β c1250 *Kent. Serm.* in *O.E. Misc.* 27 Be þet hi offrede gold..seawede þet he was sothfast kink, and be þet hi offrede Stor..seawede þet he was verray prest. a1300 *Cursor M.* 22729 A clude.. bar him vp, wonder bright; Warrai man and godd warrai. … 1533 GAU *Richt Vay* 37 Be this word..he is veray God.

Figure II.1 The OED partial entry for *very*

Under A, the adjectival uses are given, and if you scroll down further, you'll get to B with the adverbial uses and to C with the nominal ones. These pages are not reproduced here. From Figure II.1, you can learn that the first use of *very* as adjective was around 1250 and the texts it is first found in. This adjectival use is not the most typical Modern English use so you may want to scroll down. If the earlier quotes are hard to read, just skip them. In Figure II.1, you also see the roman numeral I after adjective. Scrolling down, you will find and adjectival II with very "used as an intensive, either to denote the inclusion of something regarded as extreme or exceptional, or to emphasize the exceptional prominence of some ordinary thing or feature". Its first use is 1386 and this is the more common one in Modern English.

Let's look at the etymological information more. If you click on the Show More link, you get (1). In earlier versions of the OED, you had to know that AF was Anglo-Norman and OF Old French but in the newest edition they have tried to make life easier. The '<' means 'originates in' and English *very* thus derives from Norman French. French of course gets the form from Latin and the word has cognates in Provencal.

(1) < Anglo-Norman *verrai, verrey, verai, veray*, Old French *verai, varai, vrai* (modern French *vrai*, Provençal *verai*), < the stem of Latin *vērus* true. (Show Less)

This information fits with the first quotations given, because those are from 1250, exactly the time of Normal French influence. What the OED actually says in (1) is that *very* is adopted from the version of French spoken in England. This is a subtle way of saying it is a loan word from French. They may have evidence that it was actually used by French speakers in England rather than borrowed by someone whose main language was English. For our purposes that distinction is not so relevant.

With

The smaller, grammatical words are the hardest to trace in the OED. That is because their spelling is very variant and often the meaning and use change quite a lot. If you look up *with* in the OED, you will get four results. The first *with* listed is a noun, a technical term not known widely for a partition in a chimney, and the second one is *with* as prep., adv., conj. I have noticed (over the years) that the lists change so the next time you look the list may have more results! The online version of 2012 also lists *with* as a prefix and as another noun. Clicking on the second instance will give you a very long entry that starts as in Figure II.2.

The information in this figure gives a good description of the change in meaning but that is pretty abstract. As before, the A, a, 1, and I refer to divisions in the uses and functions. This particular entry is divided into A, B, and C and these correspond to preposition, adverb, and conjunction, respectively. A in its turn is divided into I, II, and III. These are the main meanings, with I "denoting opposition", II "denoting personal relation" etc, and III "denoting instrumentality" etc. We can see from the examples that meanings I and II are from the earliest Old English, but that III first appears only around 1200.

A. prep. The prevailing senses of this prep. in the earliest periods are those of opposition ('against') and of motion or rest in proximity ('towards', 'alongside'), which are now current only in certain traditional collocations or specific applications. These notions readily pass into fig. uses denoting various kinds of relations, among which those implying reciprocity are at first prominent. The most remarkable development in the signification of *with* consists in its having taken over in the ME. period the chief senses belonging properly to OE. *mid* MID *prep.*1 (cognate with Gr. μετά with). These senses are mainly those denoting association, combination or union, instrumentality or means, and attendant circumstance. These are all important senses of ON. *við*, to which fact their currency and ultimate predominance in the English word are partly due. The last important stage was the extension of *with* from the instrument to the agent, in which use it was current for different periods along with *of* and *through*, and later with *by*, which finally superseded the other three. The range of meanings in general has no doubt been enlarged by association with L. *cum*. The interaction of senses and sense-groups has been such that the position of a particular sense in the order of development is often difficult to determine.

Figure II.2 The OED partial entry for *with*

Advanced search for date and language

If you want to find all the words that first appear in say 1600, you could look at the printed *Chronological English Dictionary* (by Finkenstaedt et al. 1970). You could also do this online using the OED and get a much larger set of new words. Go into the search page of the OED, and look for 'advanced search'. Click on this and you get a page where you fill in 1600 in the search box and select '1600 in first quotation'. This will give you 1160 entries of words that first appear in 1600.

If you would like to find all the words in the OED of Celtic or Chinese origin, you go to the same page and you type in Celtic in the empty box and change 'full text' to 'etymologies'. You will find 248 entries, which you will need to check since some say "perhaps Celtic" and the like. I have noticed changes in these numbers over the years. Thus in 2006, there were only 217 such entries.

Other features

When you first open the OED online, you will notice some other words you can click on, e.g. Dictionary, Categories, Timelines, Sources, Historical Thesaurus. The dictionary gives you the list of the currently 273765 entries and is perhaps the least exciting. The Categories link makes it possible to connect words to subjects, such as the Arts and Law, to usages, to region of use, and to origin. You can also click on the Timelines and see in what periods words entered English. The sources tell you what the OED draws on most for quotations: the *Times* is first but Shakespeare is second, with 33132 quotations! Finally, the historical thesaurus gives you words that are connected meaning-wise.

Exercises with the OED

1. Do a simple search for 'tree'. Which of the two hits that turn up should you click on to get the regular entry? Are there cognates in other languages? Is it a loan words into English, or was it always part of Germanic and just passed on that way?
2. In order to find the Old English þ, you can use *th*. Look up 'the'.
3. Using advanced search, look how many instances of 'ain't' there are in the entire OED.
4. First look up 'assasination' in simple search. Then, use advanced search and try the 'full text' option.
5. Are there ways to find out how often Chaucer is cited, or how many words derive from Arabic, or if any words start with a y and end in z? Experiment a little.

Appendix III

Chronology of historical events

This chronology of external events is based on Morgan's (1984) history as well as on McArthur (2002), Fennell (2001), and www.bbc.co.uk/history. It is of course a very limited set.

Earliest occupations

500,000 BP	Evidence of hunters in Boxgrove
100,000 BP	Human language develops
8000 BCE	Hunter-gatherers move across Europe also into what is now the British Isles.
6500 BCE	Formation of English Channel
6000 BCE	Shift to farming
3000 BCE	Stonehenge culture
2500 BCE	Bronze Age in Britain
1000 BCE	Migrations of Celtic people to Britain begins
600 BCE	Iron Age
55–54 BCE	Expeditions by Caesar
43	Invasion by Claudius
43–7	South and East England brought under Roman control
50	London founded
70–84	Wales, Northern England, and Scotland under Roman control
100–200	Uprisings in Scotland
122	Hadrian Wall begun
150	Small groups of settlers from the continent
410	Romans withdraw; collapse of the Roman Empire

The Germanic migrations 450–1066

450 (449)	Hengest and Horsa come to Kent ('invited' to hold back the Picts)
455	Hengest rebels against Vortigern
477	Saxons in Sussex
495	Saxons in Wessex
527	Saxon kingdoms in Essex and Middlesex

550	Anglian kingdoms in Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia
560	Æthelberht becomes King of Kent
597	Augustine missionaries land in Kent and conversion to Christianity starts
731	Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*
793	Scandinavian attacks on Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Iona and subsequent conquest of Northumbria
849	Birth of King Alfred
865	Scandinavian conquest of East Anglia
871–899	Rule of King Alfred and establishment of the Danelaw
1016–1042	Rule of King Cnut and his heirs
1042–1066 (January)	Rule of King Edward

From the Norman-French period to the Renaissance 1066–1476

1066 (January)	Death of King Edward
1066 (October)	King Harold's defeat at Hastings and William of Normandy takes over
1066 (December)	William (of Normandy) becomes king
1086	Domesday Book Survey
1095	First Crusade
1162	Becket becomes Archbishop of Canterbury
1170	Becket is murdered
1169–72	Conquest of Ireland
1204	King John loses Normandy to the French
1215	Magna Carta
1282–4	Conquest of Wales
1290	Expulsion of Jews from England
1315–6	Great Famine
1337–1453	The 100-year War
1348–1351	The Plague, killing one-third of the population
1362	Statute of Pleadings (legal proceedings in English)
1381	The Peasants' revolt
1382	Condemnation of Wycliff

Renaissance and Restoration 1476–1680

1476	Introduction of the printing press by Caxton
1489	English is used in Parliament
1492	Columbus reaches the 'New World'
1497	Cabot reaches Newfoundland, Canada
1504	St John's, Newfoundland, established as the first British colony in North America
1509–47	Reign of Henry VIII
1534	Act of Supremacy, English monarch becomes head of the Church of England
1536	Monasteries dissembled
1539	English bible in every church
1550	Population of England reaches 3 million
1558–1603	Queen Elizabeth I
1600	The East India Company is granted a charter
1607	First permanent settlement in America at Jamestown
1611	The King James Bible (KJV)
1612	English presence in Bermuda and in India
1620	Pilgrim fathers establish colony in Plymouth
1624–30	War between England and Spain
1626–29	War between England and France
1627–47	Settlements on Barbados and the Bahamas
1629	Charles I dissolves parliament
1642–48	First and Second Civil War
1649	Charles I beheaded; Charles II becomes king
1649–55	Cromwell conquers Ireland
1649	Jews officially admitted
1655	English presence in Jamaica
1653–60	Cromwell is 'Lord Protector'
1660	Charles II 'restored'
1660	Royal Society founded, to promote science
1670	Hudson Bay Company active
1670s	Colonization of West Africa

Enlightenment, Romanticism, Colonialization, and Industrial Revolution 1680–1900)

1688	The Glorious Revolution
1689–1702	Rule of William and Mary
1700	Population of England is 5 million
1707	Act of Union, uniting England and Scotland as the UK
1746	Battle of Culloden, with subsequent repression of Scottish Gaelic
1759	Wolfe takes Quebec for England
1760–1850	Highland Clearances in Scotland, with resulting emigration and loss of Celtic.
1763	Trading in Basra, Iraq
1765–1947	British rule over India
1773	Boston Tea Party
1775–1783	American War of Independence
1776	American Declaration of Independence
1780s	Colonies (of convicts) in Australia
1789	French Revolution; George Washington first American president
1791	British colonies in Upper and Lower Canada
1800	World population 1 billion
1800s	Death of Cornish
1803	Louisiana Purchase
1806	British take over the Cape Colony in South Africa
1821–1823	Irish famine
1820s	Railroads in the UK and US
1819–24	Malacca and Singapore occupied by the British
1834	Slavery abolished in the British Empire
1830s	Settlement of New Zealand
1842	China cedes Hong Kong
1837–1901	Reign of Queen Victoria
1853	Gadsden Purchase; Japan opened to Western trade
1858	Decision to start the OED
1861–65	American Civil War
1861	British colony in Nigeria
1862	British colony in Honduras
1865	Abolition of slavery in the United States of America
1869	Suez Canal opened
1876	Telephone invented
1877	Phonograph invented
1884	Berlin Conference determines colonial power in Africa
1886	Annexation of Burma

1890s	Rhodesia and Uganda conquered in an attempt to control the Cape-to-Cairo corridor.
1880–1902	Boer Wars and British conquest of South Africa
1898	American control over Hawaii, Philippines, and Puerto Rico; Hong Kong and Territories leased to Britain for 99 years

The Modern Period 1900–present

1901	Death of Queen Victoria
1907	Hollywood becomes a filmmaking center
1914–1918	First World war
1916	Easter Uprising, leading to Irish independence in 1921
1918	Women (over 30) get the vote in Britain
1920	Kenya as British colony
1922	BBC starts
1928	OED appears (with supplement in 1933)
1930	World population 2 billion
1931	Statute of Westminster (former British Dominions de facto independent); British Commonwealth
1937	Welsh becomes an official language in Wales
1939	photocopying invented
1939–1945	Second World war
1942	First computers
1945	United Nations founded
1946	Philippines independent
1947	The independence of India and Pakistan; and New Zealand
1948	Burma and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) independent
1949	NATO founded
1950–53	Korean War
1951	First computers
1960	Nigeria becomes independent
1960	World population reaches 3 billion
1961–75	Vietnam War
1962	Uganda, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago independent
1963	Kenya becomes independent
1968	Arpanet, beginnings of the internet
1971	First electronic-mail
1973	Britain joins European Union (and a 1975 referendum confirms this)
1980	CNN starts
1984	Apple/PC

1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall
1990s	Internet becomes major communication tool
1990–1	Gulf War
1997	blogs
1998	google
1999	World population 6 billion
2000	OED online
2003	Iraq War
2004	Facebook
2006	WikiLeaks starts publication
2007	70% of Americans use the internet
2011–2012	World population 7 billion
2012	45% of internet users are in Asia and 21% in Europe
2012	Discovery of Higgs boson
2013	Discovery of two planetary systems with habitable planets

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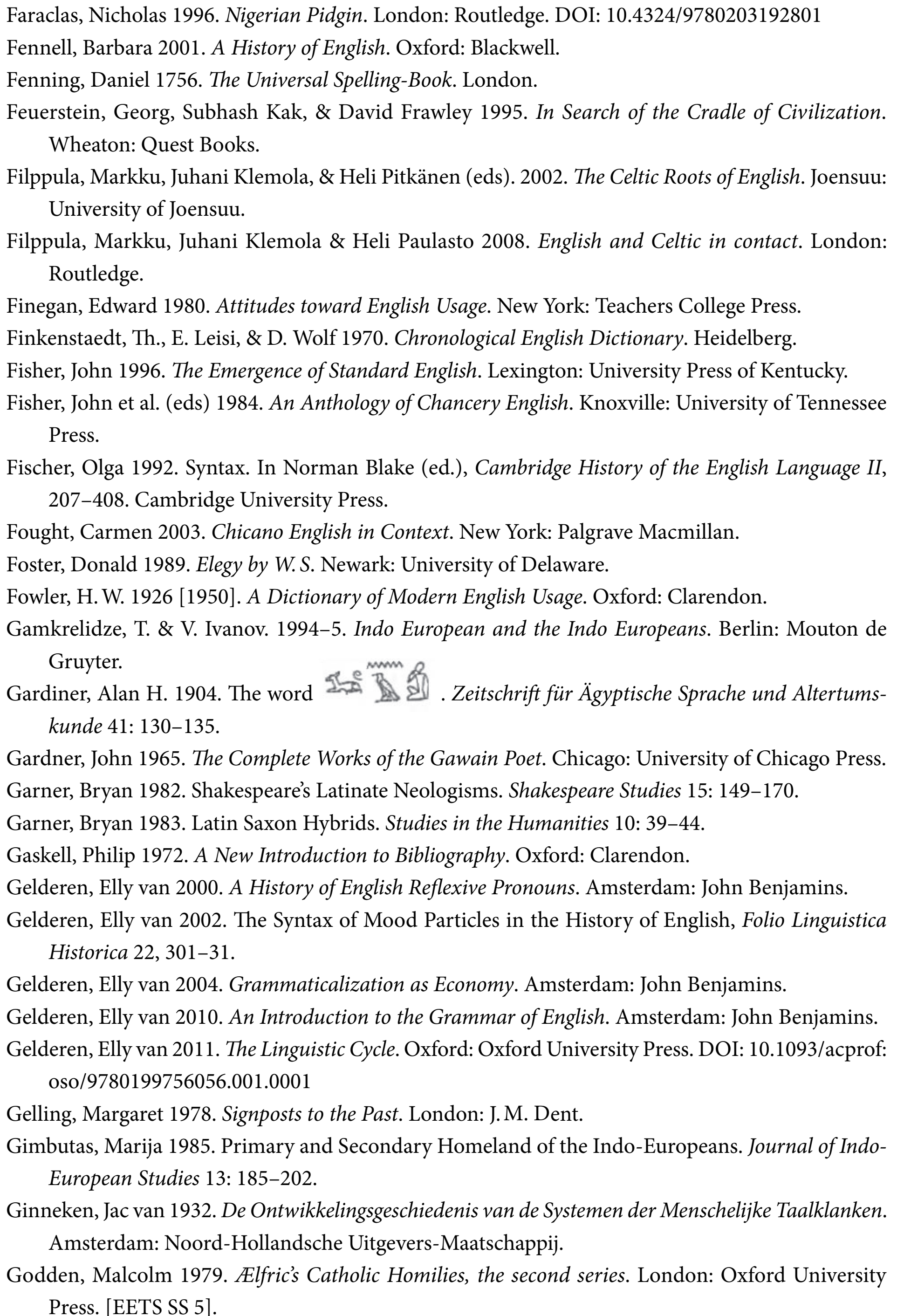
Gardiner, Alan H. 1904. The word  . *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 41: 130–135.

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