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ИСТОРИЯ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

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Учебник охватывает всю программу курса истории английского
языка. Каждый раздел снабжен вопросами и упражнениями, кон-
тролирующими понимание и стимулирующими самостоятельный
анализ фактов языка. Приложена хрестоматия текстов разных эпох
с образцами анализа, словарями и переводом.
    Предназначен для студентов институтов и факультетов иност-
ранных языков.

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Part Two

List of Abbreviations

Acc. = Accusative
A. D. = Anno Domini ('of our era')
adj = adjective
adv = adverb
Am E = American English
anom. = anomalous
arch. = archaic
art. = article

Br E = British English

c. = century; circa; case
Celt = Celtic
cf. = confer
Comm. = Common
comp. = comparative
conj. = conjunction

Dat. = Dative
decl. = declension
def. = definite
dem. = demonstrative
dial. = dialectal

E = English
e. g. = exempli gratia = for instance

F, Fem. = Feminine
ff. = following (paragraphs)
Fr = French

G = German
Gen. = Genitive
Gt = Gothic

i. e. = id est = that is
IE = Indo-European
Ind. (Mood) = Indicative (Mood)
indef. = indefinite
inf. = infinitive
Instr. = Instrumental
Ir = Irish
It = Italian

L = Latin
Lith = Lithuanium
lit. = literal(ly)

M, Masc. = Masculine
ME = Middle English
mod. = modern
Mod E = Modern English

n = noun
N, Neut. = Neuter

NE = New English
neg. = negative
NG = North Germanic
Nom. = Nominative
num. = numeral

O = Object
Obj = Objective
obs. = obsolete
OE = Old English
O Fr = Old French
OG = Old Germanic
OHG = Old High German
O Icel = Old Icelandic
O Ind = Old Indian
orig. mean. = original meaning
OS = Old Saxon
O Scand = Old Scandinavian
O Sw = Old Swedish

p. = person
P. = Predicate
Part. = Participle
Pass. = Passive
Perf. = Perfect
pers. = personal
PG = Proto-Germanic
PIE = Proto-Indo-European
pl = plural
Poss. = Possessive
prep. = preposition
Pres. = Present
pret.-pres. = preterite-present
pron. = pronoun
prop. = proper

R = Russian
rel. (to) = related (to)

S = Subject
Sanskr = Sanskrit
sg = singular
Sp = Spanish
str. = strong
Subj. (Mood) = Subjunctive (Mood)
superl. = superlative
Sw = Swedish

v = verb

w = weak
WG = West Germanic
WS = West Saxon

PREFACE

This book on the history of the English language is intended for students of English at universities, pedagogical institutes and institutes of foreign languages.

The book consists of two parts. Part I contains a discussion of some theoretical aspects of language evolution, a short description of the Germanic languages, a preliminary brief survey of the history of English, and a detailed description of the language in the Old English period. Only a sound knowledge of Old English can ensure an understanding of the subsequent development of the language. Part II outlines the development of the English language from the 12th to the 19th c. The description is not based on periods; every part of the language — the sounds, spelling, grammar, vocabulary, as well as the relevant historical conditions — is described separately, through all the periods so as to show their uninterrupted evolution and gradual transition from Old English to Modern English.

The book differs from previous works on the subject in the arrangement and order of presentation of the material, and in the treatment of some historical processes. It is based on the results of recent research in theoretical linguistics and in the history of English.

The book includes supplementary pedagogical material: sets of questions and assignments on the chapters which will enable the student to test his knowledge as he advances and will ensure a more profound understanding of the subjects discussed. A knowledge of the path which the language has followed will enable the student to account for the features of Modern English from a historical point of view, this being essential both for the student and for the would-be teacher of English.

Appended to the book is a graduated reader. It contains specimens of English from different centuries. The Old English texts are supplied with models of analysis, a commentary, partial translation, a glossary and special assignments calling attention to the most important peculiarities of the language. The plan followed in arranging the material is to carry the student's mind gradually forward from easier tasks to more difficult ones. The less difficult texts from later periods are presented according to the same plan and are supplied with the minimum of information required for reading and analysis. For fuller information, especially on the etymology of words, the student can turn to the CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY or other dictionaries which provide etymological data. The study of the texts in the Appendix will prepare the student for more extensive reading of English written records published in other readers: such as SPECIMENS OF ENGLISH FROM THE 7TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY compiled by A. I. Smirnitsky, A READER IN EARLY ENGLISH by I. P. Ivanova, T. M. Belyaeva and THE OLD ENGLISH LANGUAGE compiled by L. S. Alexeieva.

The material in the book is subdivided into short paragraphs, so that the discriminating teacher can select items appropriate to the level of particular groups of students.

In conclusion I should like to thank Professor V. Y. Plotkin and Assistant professors L. S. Kuznetsova and M. V. Khvesina who reviewed the text of the book and made many valuable suggestions.

T. A. Rastorguyeva

INTRODUCTION

Subject and Aims of the History of English

§ 1. This outline history covers the main events in the historical development of the English language: the history of its phonetic structure and spelling, the evolution of its grammatical system, the growth of its vocabulary, and also the changing historical conditions of English-speaking communities relevant to language history.

A language can be considered from different angles. In studying Modern English (Mod E) we regard the language as fixed in time and describe each linguistic level — phonetics, grammar or lexis — synchronically, taking no account of the origin of present-day features or their tendencies to change. The synchronic approach can be contrasted to the diachronic. When considered diachronically, every linguistic fact is interpreted as a stage or step in the never-ending evolution of language. In practice, however, the contrast between diachronic and synchronic study is not so marked as in theory: we commonly resort to history to explain current phenomena in Mod E. Likewise in describing the evolution of language we can present it as a series of synchronic cross-sections, e.g. the English language of the age of Shakespeare (16th-17th c.) or the age of Chaucer (14th c.).

§ 2. Through learning the history of the English language the student achieves a variety of aims, both theoretical and practical.

The history of the language is of considerable interest to all students of English, since the English language of today reflects many centuries of development. As F. Engels wrote: "Substance and form of one's own language, however, become intelligible only when its origin and gradual evolution are traced, and this cannot be done without taking into account, first, its own extinct forms, and secondly, cognate languages, both living and dead" (Anti-Dühring. M., 1959, p. 441).

This is no less true of a foreign language. Therefore one of the aims of this course is to provide the student with a knowledge of linguistic history sufficient to account for the principal features of present-day English. A few illustrations given below show how modern linguistic features can be explained by resorting to history.

§ 3. Any student of English is well aware of the difficulties of reading and spelling English. The written form of the English word is conventional rather than phonetic. The values of Latin letters as used in English differ greatly from their respective values in other languages, e.g. French, German or Latin. Cf.:

bit — [bɪt]
three letters — three sounds

full correspondence between Latin letters and English sounds

bite — [baɪt]
four letters — three sounds

no correspondence between the vowels and their graphic representation: the final *e* is not pro-

nounced, but conventionally serves to show that the preceding letter *i* has its English alphabetic value which is [aɪ], not [ɪ] as in other languages

knight — [naɪt]
six letters — three sounds

the letters *k* and *gh* do not stand for any sounds but *gh* evidently shows that *i* stands for [aɪ]

The history of English sounds and spelling accounts for these and similar peculiarities. Without going into details it will suffice to say that at the time when Latin characters were first used in Britain (7th c.) writing was phonetic: the letters stood, roughly, for the same sounds as in Latin. Later, especially after the introduction of printing in the 15th c., the written form of the word became fixed, while the sounds continued to change. This resulted in a growing discrepancy between letter and sound and in the modern peculiar use of Latin letters in English. Many modern spellings show how the words were pronounced some four or five hundred years ago, e.g. in the 14th c. *knight* sounded as [knix't], *root* as [roːt], *tale* as [ˈtaːlə].

§ 4. Another illustration may be drawn from the vocabulary. Since English belongs to the Germanic group of languages, it would be natural to expect that it has many words or roots in common with cognate Germanic languages: German, Swedish, Danish and others. Instead, we find many more words in Mod E having exact parallels in the Romance languages: French, Latin, Spanish. Cf.:

English	Other Germanic languages	Romance languages
give	G *geben*	
	Sw *giva*	—
peace	G *Frieden*	Fr *paix*
(OE *friðֿ*[1])	Sw *fred*	L *pace*
	Dutch *vrede*	It *pace*
		Sp *paz*
army	G *Heer*	Fr *armée*
(OE *here*[1])	Sw *här*	It *armata*

The first word — *give* — is of native, Germanic origin, which is confirmed by the parallels from other Germanic tongues; the other words — *peace* and *army* — are borrowings from Romance languages (note that in OE the respective words were Germanic.) In present-day English the proportion of Romance roots is higher than that of native roots. The history of English will say when and how these borrowings were made and will thus account for the composition of the modern vocabulary.

§ 5. As far as grammar is concerned, it can only be noted at this stage that the history of the language will supply explanations both

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[1] Old English (OE) is the name given to the English language between c. 450 and 1100 A.D.

for the general, regular features of the grammatical structure and for its specific peculiarities and exceptions. It will explain why English has so few inflections; how its "analytical" structure arose — with an abundance of compound forms and a fixed word order; why modal verbs, unlike other verbs, take no ending -s in the 3rd p.sg.; why some nouns add -en or change the root-vowel in the plural instead of adding -s (e.g. *oxen, feet*) and so on and so forth.

§ 6. Another important aim of this course is of a more theoretical nature. While tracing the evolution of the English language through time, the student will be confronted with a number of theoretical questions such as the relationship between statics and dynamics in language, the role of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, the interdependence of different processes in language history. These problems may be considered on a theoretical plane within the scope of general linguistics. In describing the evolution of English, they will be discussed in respect of concrete linguistic facts, which will ensure a better understanding of these facts and will demonstrate the application of general principles to language material.

§ 7. One more aim of this course is to provide the student of English with a wider philological outlook. The history of the English language shows the place of English in the linguistic world; it reveals its ties and contacts with other related and unrelated tongues.

Sources of Language History

§ 8. Every living language changes through time. It is natural that no records of linguistic changes have ever been kept, as most changes pass unnoticed by contemporaries.

The history of the English language has been reconstructed on the basis of written records of different periods. The earliest extant written texts in English are dated in the 7th c.; the earliest records in other Germanic languages go back to the 3rd or 4th c. A. D.

The development of English, however, began a long time before it was first recorded. In order to say where the English language came from, to what languages it is related, when and how it has acquired its specific features, one must get acquainted with some facts of the pre-written history of the Germanic group.

Certain information about the early stages of English and Germanic history is to be found in the works of ancient historians and geographers, especially Roman. They contain descriptions of Germanic tribes, personal names and place-names. Some data are also provided by early borrowings from Germanic made by other languages, e.g. the Finnish and the Baltic languages. But the bulk of our knowledge comes from scientific study of extant texts.

§ 9. The pre-written history of English and cognate languages was first studied by methods of comparative linguistics evolved in the 19th c. By applying these methods linguists discovered the kinship of what is now known as the Indo-European (IE) family of languages and grouped them into Germanic, Slavonic, Romance, Celtic, and others. It is one of the intentions of this course to show how comparison of existing and reconstructed forms can demonstrate differences and

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similarities in languages, and how reconstructed forms help to understand later developments.

§ 10. Modern linguistics has improved on the methods of comparative linguistic research applied in the 19th c. In addition to external reconstruction which was based on comparing different languages, the recently formulated method of internal reconstruction studies history from internal sources alone. This method is based on the assumption that every language is a well organised and well balanced structure of elements. Hence, if among the productive systems of the language there occur some smaller, non-productive systems one can surmise that they are relics of preceding stages of development. When traced into the past, these systems often appear more numerous and more productive, e. g. modern plural forms like *oxen*, *teeth*, isolated now, were. found in larger groups of nouns at an earlier period. It follows that the past history of a language can also be reconstructed by considering its dialectal varieties, since the dialects often preserve forms, words or pronunciations which have become obsolete in the literary standard.

SOME THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE HISTORY

Preliminary Remarks

§11   t has long been recognised that a living language can never be absolutely static; it develops together with the speech community, that is, with the people who speak it.

The great upsurge of interest in historical linguistics and its actual rise from the state of amateur speculation to a serious science date from the early 19th c. Accumulation of facts about the early stages of living languages called for theoretical interpretation of linguistic evolution. It was soon realised that the relationship of language to time involved many difficult and contradictory problems. Here are some of the questions which may naturally arise in connection with language history: What does the evolution of language consist of? Is the concept "evolution" equivalent to that of "linguistic change"? How does a linguistic change operate? What are the conditions or factors that determine and direct the development of language? What are the relationships between the facts of internal linguistic history and the history of the people?

In order to answer such questions with regard to English, and to understand not only *what* events occurred in the course of time but also *how* and *why* they occurred we must first consider a few theoretical questions and principles pertaining to language history.

Evolution of Language and Scope of Language History

§ 12. The evolution or historical development of language is made up of diverse facts and processes. In the first place it includes the internal or structural development of the language system, its various sub-

systems and component parts. The description of internal linguistic history is usually presented in accordance with the division of language into linguistic levels. The main, commonly accepted levels are: the phonetic and phonological levels, the morphological level, the syntactic level, and the lexical level. Accordingly, the history of the language can be subdivided into *historical phonetics (phonology), historical morphology, historical syntax* and *historical lexicology.*

The evolution of language includes also many facts which pertain to the functioning of language in the speech community. These functional aspects constitute what is known as the "external" history of the language and embrace a large number of diverse matters: the spread of the language in geographical and social space, the differentiation of language into functional varieties (geographical variants, dialects, standard and sub-standard forms, etc.), contacts with other languages. In discussing these aspects of history we shall deal with the concept of *language space,* that is the geographical and social space occupied by the language (known as its horizontal and vertical dimensions); and also with the concept of *linguistic situation,* which embraces the functional differentiation of language and the relationships between the functional varieties. Most of these features are connected with the history of the speech community, e.g. with the structure of society, the migration of tribes, economic and political events, the growth of culture and literature.

Statics and Dynamics in Language History

§ 13. Although certain changes constantly occur at one or another linguistic level, the historical development of language cannot be regarded as permanent instability. Many features of the language remain static in diachrony: these constant features do not alter through time or may be subject to very slight alteration.

In the first place there exist certain permanent, universal properties to be found in all languages at any period of time, such as e.g. the division of sounds into vowels and consonants, the distinction between the main parts of speech and the parts of the sentence. In addition to these universal properties, English, like other languages, has many stable characteristics which have proved almost immune to the impact of time. For instance, some parts of the English vocabulary have been preserved through ages; to this stable part belong most of the pronouns, many form-words and words indicating the basic concepts of life. Many ways of word-formation have remained historically stable. Some grammatical categories, e.g. number in nouns, degrees of comparison in adjectives, have suffered little alteration while other categories, such as case or gender, have undergone profound changes. The proportion of stable and changeable features varies at different historical periods and at different linguistic levels but there is no doubt that we can find statics and dynamics both in synchrony and in diachrony. Dynamics in diachrony, that is *linguistic change,* requires special consideration.

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Concept of Linguistic Change

§ 14. One can distinguish three main types of difference in language: geographical, social and temporal. Linguistic changes imply temporal differences, which become apparent if the same elements or parts of the language are compared at successive historical stages; they are transformations of the same units in time which can be registered as distinct steps in their evolution. For instance, the OE form of the Past tense pl Ind. Mood of the verb *to find* — *fundon* ['fundon] became *founden* ['fu:ndən] in the 12th-13th c. and *found* in Mod E. The continuity of the item was not broken, though we can register several changes: a) phonetic and spelling changes as the root vowel [u] became [u:] and then [au] and the letter *u* was replaced by the digraph *ou*; b) phonetic and morphological changes in the inflection: *-on*>*-en*>—[1]; c) morphological changes in the place of the form in the verb paradigm and its grammatical meaning: *fundon* was the Past tense pl of the Ind. Mood; its descendant *founden* was also the form of Past pl Subj. and Part. II, as these three forms had fallen together; the modern *found* has further extended its functions — it stands now both for the singular and plural since these forms are not distinguished in the Past tense. All these changes can be defined as structural or intralinguistic as they belong to the language system.

The concept of linguistic change is not limited to internal, structural changes. It also includes temporal differences in the position of the given unit in language space, that is the extent of its spread in the functional varieties of the language. A new feature — a word, a form, a sound — can be recognised as a linguistic change only after it has been accepted for general use in most varieties of the language or in its main, "prestige" variety — the Literary Standard. For instance, in the 10th-11th c. many Scandinavian words penetrated into the Northern dialects of the English language (as a result of Scandinavian invasions and mixture of the population), e.g. *sky, they, call*; later they entered literary English.

§ 15. Most linguistic changes involve some kind of substitution and can therefore be called *replacements*. Replacements are subdivided into different *types* or *patterns*. A simple one-to-one replacement occurs when a new unit merely takes the place of the old one, e.g. in the words *but, feet* the vowels [u] and [e:] (pronounced four or five hundred years ago) have been replaced by [ʌ] and [i:] respectively ([u]>[ʌ] and [e:]> [i:]). OE *ēa* was replaced by the French loan-word *river*, OE *ēode* ['eode], the Past tense of *to go*, was replaced by a new form, *went*. Replacements can also be found in the plane of content; they are shifts of meaning in words which have survived from the early periods of history, e.g. OE *feoh* [feox] had the meaning 'cattle', 'property', its modern descendant is *fee*.

Those are the simplest one-to-one replacements. Most linguistic changes, however, both in the language system and language space, have a more complicated pattern. Two or more units may fall together

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[1] The sign > means 'became, developed into'.

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and thus may be replaced by one unit, or, vice versa, two distinct units may take the place of one. The former type of replacement is defined as *merging* or *merger*; the latter is known as *splitting* or *split*. The modern Common case of nouns is the result of the merging of three OE cases — Nom., Gen. and Acc. Many instances of splitting can be found in the history of English sounds, e.g. the consonant [k] has split into two phonemes [k] and [tʃ] in words like *kin*, *keep* and *chin*, *child*.

§ 16. Linguistic changes classified into different types of replacement, namely *splits* and *mergers*, can also be described in terms of *oppositions*, which is a widely recognised method of scientific linguistic analysis. Thus a merger is actually an instance of neutralisation or loss of oppositions between formerly contrasted linguistic units, while the essence of splitting is the growth of new oppositions between identical or nondistinctive forms. To use the same examples, when three OE cases merged into the Comm. case, the opposition between the cases was neutralised or lost. When [k] split into [k] and [tʃ] there arose a new kind of phonemic opposition — a plosive consonant came to be opposed to an affricate (cf. *kin* and *chin*).

§ 17. Although many linguistic changes can be described in terms of replacements and explained as loss and rise of oppositions, the concept of replacement is narrower than that of linguistic change. Some changes are pure innovations, which do not replace anything, or pure losses. Thus we should regard as innovations numerous new words which were borrowed or coined to denote entirely new objects or ideas, such as *sputnik*, *Soviet*, *nylon*, *high-jacking*, *baby-sitter*. On the other hand, many words have been lost (or have died out) together with the objects or ideas which have become obsolete, e.g. OE *witenaʒemōt* 'Assembly of the elders', numerous OE poetic words denoting warriors, ships and the sea.

§ 18. In addition to the distinctions described above — and irrespective of those distinctions, — various classifications of linguistic changes are used to achieve an orderly analysis and presentation. It is obvious from the examples quoted that linguistic changes are conveniently classified and described in accordance with linguistic levels: we can speak of phonetic and phonological changes (also sound changes), spelling changes, grammatical changes, including morphology and syntax, lexical and stylistic changes. At these levels further subdivisions are made: phonetic changes include vowel and consonant changes, qualitative and quantitative changes, positional and independent changes, and so on. Changes at the higher levels fall into formal and semantic, since they can affect the plane of expression and the plane of content; semantic changes, in their turn, may take various forms: narrowing or widening of meaning, metaphoric and metonymic changes, etc.

§ 19. In books on language history one may often come across one more division of linguistic changes: into *historical* and *analogical*. This distinction was introduced by the Young Grammarian school in the late 19th c. A change is defined as *historical* only if it can be shown as a phonetic modification of an earlier form, e. g., the modern pl ending of nouns -*es* has descended directly from its prototype, OE -*as* due to phonetic reduction and loss of the vowel in the unstressed ending (cf. OE *stān-as* and NE *stones*). Both the change and the resulting form are called

"historical". An *analogical* form does not develop directly from its prototype; it appears on the analogy of other forms, similar in meaning or shape. When the plural ending *-es* began to be added to nouns which had never taken *-as* — but had used other endings: *-u, -an,* or *-a*, — it was a change by analogy or an instance of *analogical levelling*. This analogical change gave rise to new forms referred to as "analogical" (cf. OE *nam-an* and NE *nam-es*).

§ 20. So far we have spoken of separate changes: those of sounds, grammatical forms, or words. In describing the evolution of language, we shall more often deal with the development of entire sets or systems of linguistic units. Every separate change enters a larger frame and forms a part of the development of a certain system. As known, language is a system of interrelated elements, subsystems and linguistic levels. Every linguistic unit is a component part of some system or subsystem correlated to other units through formal or semantic affinities and oppositions. The alteration of one element is part of the alteration of the entire system as it reveals a re-arrangement of its structure, a change in the relationships of its components.

The systemic nature of linguistic change can be illustrated by the following examples.

In the early periods of history the verb system in English was relatively poor: there were only two simple tenses in the Ind. Mood — Pres. and Past — the prototypes of the modern Pres. and Past Indef. In the course of time the system was enriched by numerous analytical forms: the Future tense, the Continuous and Perfect forms. The development of these forms transformed the entire verb system, which has acquired new formal and semantic oppositions; the growth of analytical forms has also affected the employment of the two simple forms, for some of their former meanings came to be expressed by the new compound forms (e.g. futurity and priority).

In the age of Shakespeare (late 16th—early 17th c.) in certain phonetic conditions the sonorant [r] changed into [ə] giving rise to diphthongs, e.g. *bear, beer, poor;* the new set of diphthongs with a central glide [ɪə], [ɛe], [uə] introduced new distinctive features into the system of vowel phonemes.

Rate of Linguistic Changes

§ 21. Linguistic changes are usually slow and gradual. They proceed in minor, imperceptible steps unnoticed by the speakers. The rate of linguistic changes is restricted by the communicative function of language, for a rapid change would have disturbed or hindered communication between speakers of different generations. Unlike human society, language undergoes no revolutions or sudden breaks. The slow rate of linguistic change is seen in the gradual spread of new features in language space.

This should not be understood to mean that the speed of evolution in language is absolutely consistent or that all changes proceed at exactly the same pace. As shown below, at some historical periods linguistic changes grew more intensive and more rapid, whereas at other periods they slowed down and the English language was stabilised.

§ 22. It is important to note that different parts or levels of language develop at different rates.

It is often said that the vocabulary of a language can change very rapidly. This is true only if we compare lexical changes with changes at other linguistic levels, e.g. grammatical. Lexical changes are quite conspicuous and easy to observe, since new items spring into being before our very eyes, though, as a matter of fact, they rarely amount to more than isolated words or groups of words. New words are usually built in conformity with the existing ways of word-formation which are very slow to change; the new formations make use of available elements — roots, affixes — and support the productive word-building patterns by extending them to new instances. Cf. *motel* and *hotel*, *typescript* and *manuscript*. It should be added that if the number of new words is very large, it takes them several hundred years to be adopted and assimilated (as was the case in the Middle Ages, when English borrowed hundreds of words from French).

The system of phonemes cannot be subjected to sudden or rapid changes since it must preserve the oppositions between the phonemes required for the distinction of morphemes. Sometimes phonetic changes affect a whole set of sounds — a group of vowels or a group of consonants, — but as a rule they do not impair the differentiation of phonemes.

Likewise, the grammatical system is very slow to change. Being the most abstract of linguistic levels it must provide stable formal devices for arranging words into classes and for connecting them into phrases and sentences.

Mechanism of Change. Role of Synchronic Variation

§ 23. From comparing the state of linguistic units before and after a change one can determine the nature of the change, define its type and direction; but in order to understand *how* the change came about one must also trace the process or mechanism of the change.

A linguistic change begins with synchronic variation. Alongside the existing language units — words, forms, affixes, pronunciations, spellings, syntactic constructions — there spring up new units. They may be similar in meaning but slightly different in form, stylistic connotations, social values, distribution in language space, etc. In the same way new meanings may arise in the existing words or forms in addition to their main meanings. Both kinds of variation — formal and semantic — supply the *raw material* for impending changes.

§ 24. Synchronic variation is to be found in every language at every stage of its history. It is caused by two main factors: functional differentiation of language and tendencies of historical development.

Language is a heterogeneous system of immeasurable complexity; it functions in various forms as a group of mutually intelligible overlapping speech varieties. The range of synchronic variation largely depends on the distinction of the main functional varieties and also on the variable use of the language in different conditions of communica-

tion, in various social groups and in individual forms of speech. Synchronic differences between the varieties of language may consist of specific items not to be found in other varieties, or in the different use of the same items, which may seem slightly unusual and yet quite intelligible to the speakers of other varieties.

Synchronic variation reveals the tendencies of historical development and is produced by those tendencies. New features, which appear as instances of synchronic variation, represent *dynamics in synchrony* and arise in conformity with productive historical trends.

§ 25. Variation supplies material for linguistic change and also provides conditions for its realisation.

At every period of history, language offers a wide choice of expressive means to the speaker. From this stock — consciously or unconsciously — the speaker selects forms of expression suitable in the given situation; in making this choice he observes the speech habits of his social group or employs forms of expression current in other varieties of the language; sometimes he creates new expressive means — forms, words, phrases — in accordance with the productive historical tendencies. Old and new forms begin to be used indiscriminately, in *free variation*, which may lead to a change in their relative frequencies and finally to the substitution of one for another. Thus synchronic variation ensures a gradual imperceptible realisation of the change. If the co-existing competing units lose all differences, one rival will die out and the other will occupy its place, for only in rare cases can genuine free variation exist for long (that is, co-existence of absolute equivalents). If the differences between parallel means of expression persist and are accentuated, both rivals will survive as distinct units.

§ 26. The process of change consisting of several stages, including the stage of variation is illustrated below by the substitution of the verb ending -(e)s for the earlier -eth:

Before the change		Process of change Variation stage		After the change
	Appearance of new forms	Co-existence of old and new forms	Selection of new forms	
14th c.		15th-17th c.		18th c.
-eth		-eth		—
		-(e)s		-(e)s
e. g. help-eth		help-eth		—
		help-s		help-s

The variation stage may extend over a long period. During this period, at successive cross-sections, we can observe the gradual rapprochement of the co-existing, competing units, shifts in their frequencies, growth or loosening of stylistic and dialectal constraints and other evidence of the change in progress (the ending -(e)s was first recorded in the Northern dialects and was dialectally restricted; when it came into general use, -eth acquired stylistic restrictions: it was used only in high poetry and religious texts).

Causes of Language Evolution

§ 27. The causes or moving factors in language history have always attracted the attention of linguists and have given rise to various ex-

planations and theories. In the early 19th c. philologists of the romantic trend (J. G. Herder, J. and W. Grimm and others) interpreted the history of the Indo-European, and especially the Germanic languages, as decline and degradation, for most of these languages have been losing their richness of grammatical forms, declensions, conjugations and inflections since the so-called "Golden Age" of the parent-language. Linguists of the naturalist trend (e.g. A. Schleicher) conceived language as a living organism and associated stages in language history with stages of life: birth, youth, maturity, old age, and death. In the later 19th c. the psychological theories of language (W. Wundt, H. Paul) attributed linguistic changes to individual psychology and to accidental individual fluctuations. The study of factual history undertaken by the Young Grammarians led them to believe that there are no superior or inferior stages in language history and that all languages are equal; changes are brought about by phonetic laws which admit of no exceptions (seeming exceptions are due to analogy, which may introduce a historically unjustified form, or else to borrowing from another language). Sociologists in linguistics (J. Vendryes, A. Meillet) maintained that linguistic changes are caused by social conditions and events in external history.

Some modern authors assert that causality lies outside the scope of linguistics, which should be concerned only with the fact and mechanism of the change; others believe that linguistics should investigate only those causes and conditions of language evolution which are to be found within the language system; external factors are no concern of linguistic history. In accordance with this view the main internal cause which produces linguistic change is the *pressure* of the language system. Whenever the balance of the system or its symmetrical structural arrangement is disrupted, it tends to be restored again under the pressure of symmetry inherent in the system.

The recent decades witnessed a revival of interest in extralinguistic aspects of language history. The Prague school of linguists was the first among the modern trends to recognise the functional stratification of language and its diversity dependent on external conditions. In present-day theories, especially in the sociolinguistic trends, great importance is attached to the variability of speech in social groups as the primary factor of linguistic change.

§ 28. Like any movement in nature and society, the evolution of language is caused by the struggle of opposites. The moving power underlying the development of language is made up of two main forces: one force is the growing and changing needs of man in the speech community; the other is the resisting force that curbs the changes and preserves the language in a state fit for communication. The two forces are manifestations of the two principal functions of language — its expressive and communicative functions. The struggle of the two opposites can also be described as the opposition of thought and means of its expression or the opposition of growing needs of expression and communication and the available resources of language.

These general forces operate in all languages at all times; they are so universal that they fail to account for concrete facts in the history of a particular language. To explain these facts many other conditioning factors must be taken into consideration.

§ 29. The most widely accepted classification of factors relevant to language history divides them into external or extralinguistic and 'internal (also intra-linguistic and systemic).

Strictly speaking, the term "extra-linguistic" embraces a variety of conditions bearing upon different aspects of human life, for instance, the psychological or the physiological aspects. In the first place, however, extralinguistic factors include events in the history of the people relevant to the development of the language, such as the structure of society, expansion over new geographical areas, migrations, mixtures and separation of tribes, political and economic unity or disunity, contacts with other peoples, the progress of culture and literature. These aspects of external history determine the linguistic situation and affect the evolution of the language.

§ 30. Internal factors of language evolution arise from the language system. They can be subdivided into general factors or general regularities, which operate in all languages as inherent properties of any language system, and specific factors operating in one language or in a group of related languages at a certain period of time.

The most general causes of language evolution are to be found in the tendencies to improve the language technique or its formal apparatus. These tendencies are displayed in numerous assimilative and simplifying phonetic changes in the history of English (e.g. the consonant cluster [kn] in know, and knee was simplified to [n]; [t] was missed out in often and listen, etc.) To this group we can also refer the tendency to express different meanings by distinct formal means and thus avoid what is known as "homonymy clashes".

On the other hand, similar or identical meanings tend to be indicated by identical means, therefore the plural ending of nouns -(e)s has gradually spread to most English nouns and replaced numerous markers of the plural.

Another group of general internal tendencies aims to preserve the language as a vehicle fit for communication. These tendencies resist linguistic change and account for the historical stability of many elements and features ("statics in diachrony"). For instance, since the earliest periods English has retained many words and formal markers expressing the most important notions and distinctions, e.g. the words he, we, man, good, son; the suffix -d- to form the Past tense. This tendency also accounts for the growth of compensatory means to make up for the loss of essential distinctions, e.g. the wider use of prepositional phrases instead of case forms.

Among the general causes of language evolution, or rather among its universal regularities, we must mention the interdependence of changes within the sub-systems of the language and the interaction of changes at different linguistic levels.

Interdependence of changes at different linguistic levels can be il-

lustrated by the history of noun morphology in English. In the course of history nouns have lost most of their cases (in OE there were four cases, nowadays — only two). The simplification of noun morphology involved changes at different levels: phonetic weakening of final syllables, analogical levelling of forms at the morphological level, and stabilisation of the word order at the level of syntax.

§ 31. Some factors and causes of language evolution are confined to a certain group of languages or to one language only and may operate over a limited span of time. These specific factors are trends of evolution characteristic of separate languages or linguistic groups, which distinguish them from other languages. Since English belongs to the Germanic group of languages, it shares many Germanic trends of development with cognate languages. These trends were caused by common Germanic factors but were transformed and modified in the history of English, and were combined with other trends caused by specifically English internal and external factors. The combination of all these factors and the resulting course of evolution is unique for every language; it accounts for its individual history which is never repeated by other languages. Thus English, like other Germanic languages, displayed a tendency towards a more analytical grammatical structure, but it has gone further along this way of development than most other languages, probably owing to the peculiar combination of internal and external conditions and to the interaction of changes at different linguistic levels.

In conclusion it must be admitted that motivation of changes is one of the most difficult problems of the historical linguistics. The causes of many developments are obscure or hypothetical. Therefore in discussing the causes of the most important events in the history of English, we shall have to mention various theories and interpretations.

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Explain why linguistic changes are usually slow and gradual.

2. At first glance the vocabulary of the language seems to change very rapidly, as new words spring up all the time. Could the following words be regarded as absolutely new? (Note the meaning, component parts and word-building pattern): *jet-plane* (cf. *airplane*), *typescript* (cf. *manuscript*), *air-lift*, *baby-sitter*, *sputnik*, *Soviet*, *safari*, *best-seller*, *cyclization*, *air-taxi*, *astrobiology*, *sunsuit*, *pepper*, *gas*.

3. In the 14th c. the following words were pronounced exactly as they are spelt, the Latin letters retaining their original sound values. Show the phonetic changes since the 14th c.: *moon, fat, meet, rider, want, knee, turn, first, part, for, often*, e.g. *nut* — [nut]>[nʌt].

4. Point out the peculiarities in grammatical forms in the following passages from Shakespeare's SONNETS and describe the changes which must have occurred after the 17th c.:

a) As fast as thou shalt wane, so fast thou grow'st
   In one of thine, from that which thou departest ...

b) It is thy spirit that thou send'st from thee ...

It is my love that keeps mine eyes awake;
Mine own true love that doth my rest defeat —
c) Bring me within the level of your frown.
But shoot not at me in your wakened hate!

5. Comment on the following quotations from the works of prominent modern linguists and speak on the problems of linguistic change:
a) One may say with R. Jakobson, a little paradoxically, that a linguistic change is a synchronic fact. (A. Sommerfelt)
b) Visible change is the tip of an iceberg. Every alteration that eventually establishes itself, had to exist formerly as a choice. This means that the seedbed for variation in time is simply the whole landscape of variation in space. (D. Bolinger)
c) The structure of language is nothing but the unstable balance between the needs of communication, which require more numerous and more specific units and man's inertia, which favours less numerous, less specific and more frequently occurring units. (A. Martinet)
d) That two forms, the new and the old, can occasionally exist in wholly free variation is a possibility that has not yet been disproved but, as Bloomfield rightly remarked "when a speaker knows two rival forms, they differ in connotation, since he has heard them from different persons under different circumstances". (M. Samuels)

Chapter II

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Modern Germanic Languages

§ 32. Languages can be classified according to different principles. The historical, or genealogical classification, groups languages in accordance with their origin from a common linguistic ancestor.
Genetically, English belongs to the Germanic or Teutonic group of languages, which is one of the twelve groups of the IE linguistic family. Most of the area of Europe and large parts of other continents are occupied today by the IE languages, Germanic being one of their major groups.
§ 33. The Germanic languages in the modern world are as follows:
English — in Great Britain, Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the South African Republic, and many other former British colonies and dominions;
German — in the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Luxemburg, Liechtenstein, part of Switzerland;
Netherlandish — in the Netherlands and Flanders (Belgium) (known also as Dutch and Flemish respectively);
Afrikaans — in the South African Republic;

Danish — in Denmark;
Swedish — in Sweden and Finland;
Norwegian — in Norway;
Icelandic — in Iceland;
Frisian — in some regions of the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany;
Faroese — in the Faroe Islands;
Yiddish — in different countries.

Lists of Germanic languages given in manuals and reference-books differ in some points, for the distinction between separate languages, and also between languages and dialects varies. Until recently Dutch and Flemish were named as separate languages; Frisian and Faroese are often referred to as dialects, since they are spoken over small, politically dependent areas; the linguistic independence of Norwegian is questioned, for it has intermixed with Danish; Br E and Am E are sometimes regarded as two independent languages.

It is difficult to estimate the number of people speaking Germanic languages, especially on account of English, which in many countries is one of two languages in a bilingual community, e.g. in Canada. The estimates for English range from 250 to 300 million people who have it as their mother tongue. The total number of people speaking Germanic languages approaches 440 million. To this rough estimate we could add an indefinite number of bilingual people in the countries where English is used as an official language (over 50 countries).

All the Germanic languages are related through their common origin and joint development at the early stages of history. The survey of their external history will show where and when the Germanic languages arose and acquired their common features and also how they have developed into modern independent tongues.

The Earliest Period of Germanic History.
Proto-Germanic

§ 34. The history of the Germanic group begins with the appearance of what is known as the Proto-Germanic (PG) language (also termed Common or Primitive Germanic, Primitive Teutonic and simply Germanic). PG is the linguistic ancestor or the parent-language of the Germanic group. It is supposed to have split from related IE tongues sometime between the 15th and 10th c. B.C. The would-be Germanic tribes belonged to the western division of the IE speech community.

As the Indo-Europeans extended over a larger territory, the ancient Germans or Teutons [1] moved further north than other tribes and settled on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea in the region of the Elbe. This place is regarded as the most probable original home of the Teutons. It is here that they developed their first specifically Germanic linguistic features which made them a separate group in the IE family.

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[1] Both names correspond to R 'германцы', 'древние германцы' (to be distinguished from Germans 'немцы').

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PG is an entirely pre-historical language: it was never recorded in written form. In the 19th c. it was reconstructed by methods of comparative linguistics from written evidence in descendant languages. Hypothetical reconstructed PG forms will sometimes be quoted below, to explain the origin of English forms.

It is believed that at the earliest stages of history PG was fundamentally one language, though dialectally coloured. In its later stages dialectal differences grew, so that towards the beginning of our era Germanic appears divided into dialectal groups and tribal dialects. Dialectal differentiation increased with the migrations and geographical expansion of the Teutons caused by overpopulation, poor agricultural technique and scanty natural resources in the areas of their original settlement.

The external history of the ancient Teutons around the beginning of our era is known from classical writings. The first mention of Germanic tribes was made by Pitheas, a Greek historian and geographer of the 4th c. B.C., in an account of a sea voyage to the Baltic Sea. In the 1st c. B.C. in COMMENTARIES ON THE GALLIC WAR (COMMENTARII DE BELLO GALLICO) Julius Caesar described some militant Germanic tribes — the Suevians — who bordered on the Celts of Gaul in the North-East. The tribal names *Germans* and *Teutons*, at first applied to separate tribes, were later extended to the entire group. In the 1st c. A. D. Pliny the Elder, a prominent Roman scientist and writer, in NATURAL HISTORY (NATURALIS HISTORIA) made a classified list of Germanic tribes grouping them under six headings. A few decades later the Roman historian Tacitus compiled a detailed description of the life and customs of the ancient Teutons DE SITU, MORIBUS ET POPULIS GERMANIAE; in this work he reproduced Pliny's classification of the Germanic tribes. F. Engels made extensive use of these sources in the papers ON THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS and THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE. Having made a linguistic analysis of several Germanic dialects of later ages F. Engels came to the conclusion that Pliny's classification of the Teutonic tribes accurately reflected the contemporary dialectal division. In his book on the ancient Teutons F. Engels described the evolution of the economic and social structure of the Teutons from Caesar's to Tacitus's time.

§ 35. Towards the beginning of our era the common period of Germanic history came to an end. The Teutons had extended over a larger territory and the PG language broke into parts. The tri-partite division of the Germanic languages proposed by 19th c. philologists corresponds, with a few adjustments, to Pliny's grouping of the Old Teutonic tribes. According to this division PG split into three branches: East Germanic (*Vindili* in Pliny's classification), North Germanic (*Hilleviones*) and West Germanic (which embraces *Ingueones, Istævones* and *Herminones* in Pliny's list). In due course these branches split into separate Germanic languages.

The traditional tri-partite classification of the Germanic languages was reconsidered and corrected in some recent publications. The deve-

lopment of the Germanic group was not confined to successive splits; it involved both linguistic divergence and convergence. It has also been discovered that originally PG split into two main branches and that the tri-partite division marks a later stage of its history.

The earliest migration of the Germanic tribes from the lower valley of the Elbe consisted in their movement north, to the Scandinavian peninsula, a few hundred years before our era. This geographical segregation must have led to linguistic differentiation and to the division of PG into the northern and southern branches. At the beginning of our era some of the tribes returned to the mainland and settled closer to the Vistula basin, east of the other continental Germanic tribes. It is only from this stage of their history that the Germanic languages can be described under three headings: East Germanic, North Germanic and West Germanic.

East Germanic

§ 36. The East Germanic subgroup was formed by the tribes who returned from Scandinavia at the beginning of our era. The most numerous and powerful of them were the Goths. They were among the first Teutons to leave the coast of the Baltic Sea and start on their great migrations. Around 200 A. D. they moved south-east and some time later reached the lower basin of the Danube, where they made attacks on the Eastern Roman Empire, Byzantium. Their western branch, the *Visigotæ*, invaded Roman territory, participated in the assaults on Rome under Alaric and moved on to southern Gaul, to found one of the first barbarian kingdoms of Medieval Europe, the Toulouse kingdom. The kingdom lasted until the 8th c. though linguistically the western Goths were soon absorbed by the native population, the Romanised Celts.[1] The eastern Goths, *Ostrogotæ* consolidated into a powerful tribal alliance in the lower basin of the Dniester, were subjugated by the Huns under Atilla, traversed the Balkans and set up a kingdom in Northern Italy, with Ravenna as its capital. The short-lived flourishing of Ostrogothic culture in the 5th—6th c. under Theodoric came to an end with the fall of the kingdom.

§ 37. The Gothic language, now dead, has been preserved in written records of the 4th—6th c. The Goths were the first of the Teutons to become Christian. In the 4th c. Ulfilas, a West Gothic bishop, made a translation of the Gospels from Greek into Gothic using a modified form of the Greek alphabet. Parts of Ulfilas' Gospels — a manuscript of about two hundred pages, probably made in the 5th or 6th c. — have been preserved and are kept now in Uppsala, Sweden. It is written on red parchment with silver and golden letters and is known as the SILVER CODEX (CODEX ARGENTEUS). Ulfilas' Gospels were first published in the 17th c. and have been thoroughly studied by 19th and 20th c. philologists. The SILVER CODEX is one of the earliest texts in the

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[1] The Celts of Modern France and Spain had been subjected to strong Roman influence — "Romanised": they spoke local varieties of Latin which gave rise to modern Romance languages.
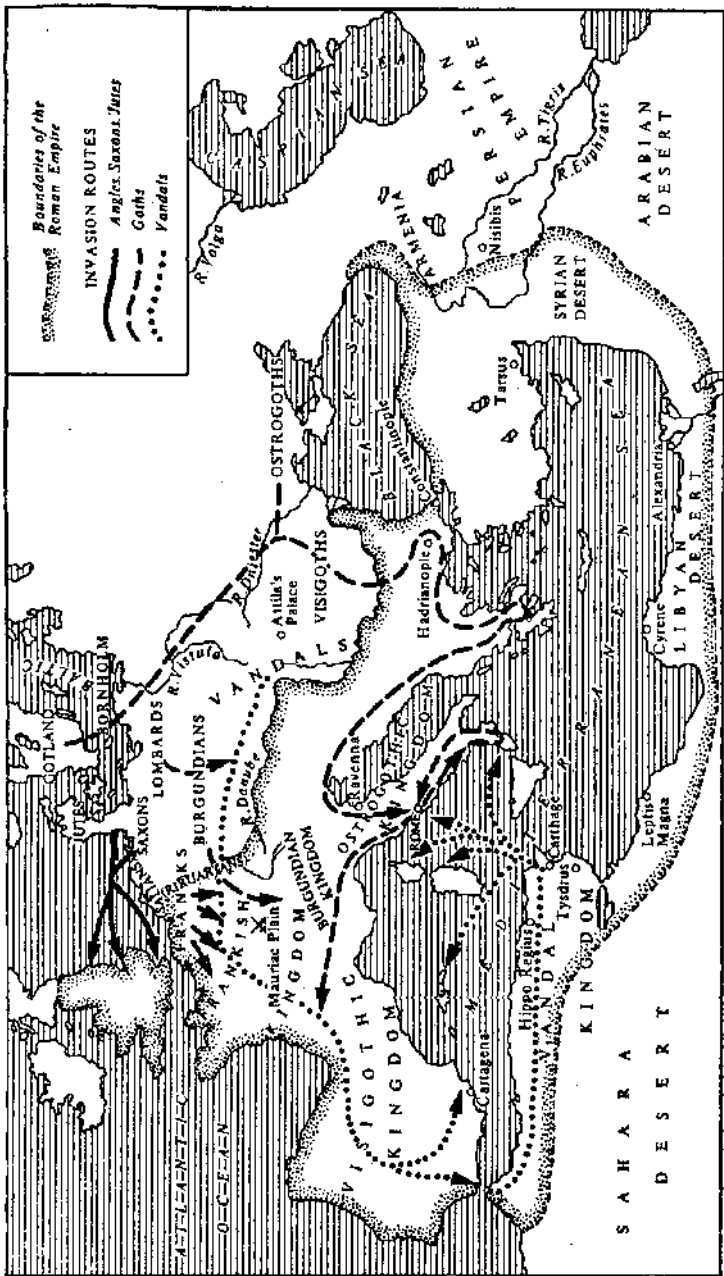
Migration of Germanic tribes in the 2nd-5th centuries

languages of the Germanic group; it represents a form of language very close to PG and therefore throws light on the pre-written stages of history of all the languages of the Germanic group, including English.

The other East Germanic languages, all of which are now dead, have left no written traces. Some of their tribal names have survived in place-names, which reveal the directions of their migrations: *Bornholm* and *Burgundy* go back to the East Germanic tribe of *Burgundians; Andalusia* is derived from the tribal name *Vandals; Lombardy* got its name from the *Langobards,* who made part of the population of the Ostrogothic kingdom in North Italy.

North Germanic

§ 38. The Teutons who stayed in Scandinavia after the departure of the Goths gave rise to the North Germanic subgroup of languages. The North Germanic tribes lived on the southern coast of the Scandinavian peninsula and in Northern Denmark (since the 4th c.). They did not participate in the migrations and were relatively isolated, though they may have come into closer contacts with the western tribes after the Goths left the coast of the Baltic Sea. The speech of the North Germanic tribes showed little dialectal variation until the 9th c. and is regarded as a sort of common North Germanic parent-language called *Old Norse* or *Old Scandinavian*. It has come down to us in runic inscriptions dated from the 3rd to the 9th c. Runic inscriptions were carved on objects made of hard material in an original Germanic alphabet known as the *runic alphabet* or the *runes*. The runes were used by North and West Germanic tribes.

The disintegration of Old Norse into separate dialects and languages began after the 9th c., when the Scandinavians started out on their sea voyages. The famous Viking Age, from about 800 to 1050 A.D., is the legendary age of Scandinavian raids and expansion overseas. At the same period, due to overpopulation in the fjord areas, they spread over inner Scandinavia.

§ 39. The principal linguistic differentiation in Scandinavia corresponded to the political division into Sweden, Denmark and Norway. The three kingdoms constantly fought for dominance and the relative position of the three languages altered, as one or another of the powers prevailed over its neighbours. For several hundred years Denmark was the most powerful of the Scandinavian kingdoms: it embraced Southern Sweden, the greater part of the British Isles, the southern coast of the Baltic Sea up to the Gulf of Riga; by the 14th c. Norway fell under Danish rule too. Sweden regained its independence in the 16th c., while Norway remained a backward Danish colony up to the early 19th c. Consequently, both Swedish and Norwegian were influenced by Danish.

The earliest written records in Old Danish, Old Norwegian and Old Swedish date from the 13th c. In the later Middle Ages, with the growth of capitalist relations and the unification of the countries, Danish, and then Swedish developed into national literary languages. Nowadays Swedish is spoken not only by the population of Sweden; the language

has extended over Finnish territory and is the second state language in Finland.

Norwegian was the last to develop into an independent national language. During the period of Danish dominance Norwegian intermixed with Danish. As a result in the 19th c. there emerged two varieties of the Norwegian tongue: the state or bookish tongue *riksmål* (later called *bokmål*) which is a blending of literary Danish with Norwegian town dialects and a rural variety, *landsmål*. Landsmål was sponsored by 19th c. writers and philologists as the real, pure Norwegian language. At the present time the two varieties tend to fuse into a single form of language *nynorsk* ("New Norwegian").

§ 40. In addition to the three languages on the mainland, the North Germanic subgroup includes two more languages: Icelandic and Faroese, whose origin goes back to the Viking Age.

Beginning with the 8th c. the Scandinavian sea-rovers and merchants undertook distant sea voyages and set up their colonies in many territories. The Scandinavian invaders, known as Northmen, overran Northern France and settled in Normandy (named after them). Crossing the Baltic Sea they came to Russia — the "varyagi" of the Russian chronicles. Crossing the North Sea they made disastrous attacks on English coastal towns and eventually occupied a large part of England — the Danes of the English chronicles. They founded numerous settlements in the islands around the North Sea: the Shetlands, the Orkneys, Ireland and the Faroe Islands; going still farther west they reached Iceland, Greenland and North America.

Linguistically, in most areas of their expansion, the Scandinavian settlers were assimilated by the native population: in France they adopted the French language; in Northern England, in Ireland and other islands around the British Isles sooner or later the Scandinavian dialects were displaced by English. In the Faroe Islands the West Norwegian dialects brought by the Scandinavians developed into a separate language called Faroese. Faroese is spoken nowadays by about 30,000 people. For many centuries all writing was done in Danish; it was not until the 18th c. that the first Faroese records were made.

§ 41. Iceland was practically uninhabited at the time of the first Scandinavian settlements (9th c.). Their West Scandinavian dialects, at first identical with those of Norway, eventually grew into an independent language, Icelandic. It developed as a separate language in spite of the political dependence of Iceland upon Denmark and the dominance of Danish in official spheres. As compared with other North Germanic languages Icelandic has retained a more archaic vocabulary and grammatical system. Modern Icelandic is very much like Old Icelandic and Old Norse, for it has not participated in the linguistic changes which took place in the other Scandinavian languages, probably because of its geographical isolation. At present Icelandic is spoken by over 200 000 people.

Old Icelandic written records date from the 12th and 13th c., an age of literary flourishing. The most important records are: the ELDER EDDA (also called the POETIC EDDA) — a collection of heroic songs

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of the 12th c., the YOUNGER (PROSE) EDDA (a text-book for poets compiled by Snorri Sturluson in the early 13th c.) and the Old Icelandic sagas.

West Germanic

§ 42. Around the beginning of our era the would-be West Germanic tribes dwelt in the lowlands between the Oder and the Elbe bordering on the Slavonian tribes in the East and the Celtic tribes in the South. They must have retreated further west under the pressure of the Goths, who had come from Scandinavia, but after their departure expanded in the eastern and southern directions. The dialectal differentiation of West Germanic was probably quite distinct even at the beginning of our era since Pliny and Tacitus described them under three tribal names (see § 35). On the eve of their "great migrations" of the 4th and 5th c. the West Germans included several tribes. The Franconians (or Franks) occupied the lower basin of the Rhine; from there they spread up the Rhine and are accordingly subdivided into Low, Middle and High Franconians. The Angles and the Frisians (known as the Anglo-Frisian group), the Jutes and the Saxons inhabited the coastal area of the modern Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and the southern part of Denmark. A group of tribes known as High Germans lived in the mountainous southern regions of the Federal Republic of Germany (hence the name *High Germans* as contrasted to *Low Germans* — a name applied to the West Germanic tribes in the low-lying northern areas. The High Germans included a number of tribes whose names are known since the early Middle Ages: the Alemanians, the Swabians, the Bavarians, the Thüringians and others.

In the Early Middle Ages the Franks consolidated into a powerful tribal alliance. Towards the 8th c. their kingdom grew into one of the largest states in Western Europe. Under Charlemagne (768—814) the Holy Roman Empire of the Franks embraced France and half of Italy, and stretched northwards up to the North and Baltic Sea. The empire lacked ethnic and economic unity and in the 9th c. broke up into parts. Its western part eventually became the basis of France. Though the names *France, French* are derived from the tribal name of the Franks, the Franconian dialects were not spoken there. The population, the Romanised Celts of Gaul, spoke a local variety of Latin, which developed into one of the most extensive Romance languages, French.

The eastern part, the East Franconian Empire, comprised several kingdoms: Swabia or Alemania, Bavaria, East Franconia and Saxony; to these were soon added two more kingdoms — Lorraine and Friesland. As seen from the names of the kingdoms, the East Franconian state had a mixed population consisting of several West Germanic tribes.

§ 43. The Franconian dialects were spoken in the extreme North of the Empire; in the later Middle Ages they developed into Dutch — the language of the Low Countries (the Netherlands) and Flemish — the language of Flanders. The earliest texts in Low Franconian date from the 10th c.; 12th c. records represent the earliest Old Dutch. The

formation of the Dutch language stretches over a long period; it is linked up with the growth of the Netherlands into an independent bourgeois state after its liberation from Spain in the 16th c.

The modern language of the Netherlands, formerly called *Dutch*, and its variant in Belgium, known as the Flemish dialect, are now treated as a single language, *Netherlandish*. Netherlandish is spoken by almost 20 million people; its northern variety, used in the Netherlands, has a more standardised literary form.

About three hundred years ago the Dutch language was brought to South Africa by colonists from Southern Holland. Their dialects in Africa eventually grew into a separate West Germanic language, Afrikaans. Afrikaans has incorporated elements from the speech of English and German colonists in Africa and from the tongues of the natives. Writing in Afrikaans began as late as the end of the 19th c. Today Afrikaans is the mother-tongue of over four million Afrikaners and coloured people and one of the state languages in the South African Republic (alongside English).

§ 44. The High German group of tribes did not go far in their migrations. Together with the Saxons (see below § 46 ff.) the Alemanians, Bavarians, and Thuringians expanded east, driving the Slavonic tribes from places of their early settlement.

The High German dialects consolidated into a common language known as Old High German (OHG). The first written records in OHG date from the 8th and 9th c. (glosses to Latin texts, translations from Latin and religious poems). Towards the 12th c. High German (known as Middle High German) had intermixed with neighbouring tongues, especially Middle and High Franconian, and eventually developed into the literary German language. The Written Standard of New High German was established after the Reformation (16th c.), though no Spoken Standard existed until the 19th c. as Germany remained politically divided into a number of kingdoms and dukedoms. To this day German is remarkable for great dialectal diversity of speech.

The High German language in a somewhat modified form is the national language of Austria, the language of Liechtenstein and one of the languages in Luxemburg and Switzerland. It is also spoken in Alsace and Lorraine in France. The total number of German-speaking people approaches 100 million.

§ 45. Another offshoot of High German is Yiddish. It grew from the High German dialects which were adopted by numerous Jewish communities scattered over Germany in the 11th and 12th c. These dialects blended with elements of Hebrew and Slavonic and developed into a separate West Germanic language with a spoken and literary form. Yiddish was exported from Germany to many other countries: Russia, Poland, the Baltic states and America.

§ 46. At the later stage of the great migration period — in the 5th c. — a group of West Germanic tribes started out on their invasion of the British Isles. The invaders came from the lowlands near the North Sea: the Angles, part of the Saxons and Frisians, and, probably, the Jutes. Their dialects in the British Isles developed into the English language.

The territory of English was at first confined to what is now known as England proper. From the 13th to the 17th c. it extended to other parts of the British Isles. In the succeeding·centuries English spread overseas to other continents. The first English written records have come down from the 7th c., which is the earliest date in the history of writing in the West Germanic subgroup (see relevant chapters below).

§ 47. The Frisians and the Saxons who did not take part in the invasion of Britain stayed on the continent. The area of Frisians, which at one time extended over the entire coast of the North Sea, was reduced under the pressure of other Low German tribes and the influence of their dialects, particularly Low Franconian (later Dutch). Frisian has survived as a local dialect in Friesland (in the Netherlands) and Ostfriesland (the Federal Republic of Germany). It has both an oral and written form, the earliest records dating from the 13th c.

§ 48. In the Early Middle Ages the continental Saxons formed a powerful tribe in the lower basin of the Elbe. They were subjugated by the Franks and after the breakup of the Empire entered its eastern subdivision. Together with High German tribes they took part in the eastward drive and the colonisation of the former Slavonic territories. Old Saxon known in written form from the records of the 9th c. has survived as one of the Low German dialects.

§ 49. The following table shows the classification of old and modern Germanic languages.

Table

Germanic Languages

	East Germanic	North Germanic	West Germanic
Old Germanic languages (with dates of the earliest records)	Gothic (4th c.) Vandalic Burgundian	Old Norse or Old Scandinavian (2nd-3rd c.) Old Icelandic (12th c.) Old Norwegian (13th c.) Old Danish (13th c.) Old Swedish (13th c.)	Anglian, Frisian, Jutish, Saxon, Franconian, High German (Alemanic, Thüringian, Swavian, Bavarian) Old English (7th c.) Old Saxon (9th c.) Old High German (8th. c.) Old Dutch (12th c.)
Modern Germanic languages	No living languages	Icelandic Norwegian Danish Swedish Faroese	English German Netherlandish Afrikaans Yiddish Frisian

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Preliminary Remarks

§ 50. All the Germanic languages of the past and present have common linguistic features; some of these features are shared by other groups in the IE family, others are specifically Germanic.

The Germanic group acquired their specific distinctive features after the separation of the ancient Germanic tribes from other IE tribes and prior to their further expansion and disintegration, that is during the period of the PG parent-language. These PG features inherited by the descendant languages, represent the common features of the Germanic group. Other common features developed later, in the course of the individual histories of separate Germanic languages, as a result of similar tendencies arising from PG causes. On the other hand, many Germanic features have been disguised, transformed and even lost in later history.

PHONETICS

Word Stress

§ 51. The peculiar Germanic system of word accentuation is one of the most important distinguishing features of the group; it arose in PG, was fully or partly retained in separate languages and served as one of the major causes for many linguistic changes.

It is known that in ancient IE, prior to the separation of Germanic, there existed two ways of word accentuation: musical pitch and force stress. The position of the stress was free and movable, which means that it could fall on any syllable of the word—a root-morpheme, an affix or an ending — and could be shifted both in form-building and word-building (cf. R *дóмом, домá, домовнúчать, дóма*).

Both these properties of the word accent were changed in PG. Force or expiratory stress (also called dynamic and breath stress) became the only type of stress used. In Early PG word stress was still as movable as in ancient IE but in Late PG its position in the word was stabilised. The stress was now fixed on the first syllable, which was usually the root of the word and sometimes the prefix; the other syllables — suffixes and endings — were unstressed. The stress could no longer move either in form-building or word-building.

These features of word accent were inherited by the Germanic languages, and despite later alterations are observable today. In Mod E there is a sharp contrast between accented and unaccented syllables due to the force of the stress. The main accent commonly falls on the root-morpheme, and is never shifted in building grammatical forms. The following English and German words illustrate its fixed position in grammatical forms and derived words:

English: *be'come, be'coming, over'come;* '*lover,* '*loving, be'loved;* German: '*Liebe,* '*lieben* '*liebte, ge'liebt,* '*lieberhaft,* '*Liebling.* (Cf. these native words with words of foreign origin which move the stress in derivation, though never in form-building: *ex'hibit* v, *exhi'bition* n).

§ 52. The heavy fixed word stress inherited from ·PG has played an important role in the development of the Germanic languages, and especially in phonetic and morphological changes. Due to the difference in the force of articulation the stressed and unstressed syllables underwent widely different changes: accented syllables were pronounced with great distinctness and precision, while unaccented became less distinct and were phonetically weakened. The differences between the sounds in stressed position were preserved and emphasised, whereas the contrasts between the unaccented sounds were weakened and lost. Since the stress was fixed on the root, the weakening and loss of sounds mainly affected the suffixes and grammatical endings. Many endings merged with the suffixes, were weakened and dropped. Cf., e.g., the reconstructed PG word 'fish', with its descendants in Old Germanic languages:

PG *fiskaz, Gt fisks, O Icel fiskr, OE fisc.

(The asterisk * is placed before reconstructed hypothetical forms which have not been found in written records; the words may be pronounced exactly as they are written; spelling in Old Germanic languages was phonetic).

Vowels

§ 53. Throughout history, beginning with PG, vowels displayed a strong tendency to change. They underwent different kinds of alterations: *qualitative* and *quantitative, dependent* and *independent. Qualitative* changes affect the quality of the sound, e.g.: [o>a] or [þ>f]; *quantitative* changes make long sounds short or short sounds long, e.g.: [i>i:], [ll>l]; *dependent* changes (also *positional* or *combinative*) are restricted to certain positions or phonetic conditions, for instance, a sound may change under the influence of the neighbouring sounds or in a certain type of a syllable; *independent* changes — also *spontaneous* or *regular* — take place irrespective of phonetic conditions, i.e. they affect a certain sound in all positions.

From an early date the treatment of vowels was determined by the nature of word stress. ·In accented syllables the oppositions between vowels were carefully maintained and new distinctive features were introduced, so that the number of stressed vowels grew. In unaccented positions the original contrasts between vowels were weakened or lost; the distinction of short and long vowels was neutralised so that by the age of writing the long vowels in unstressed syllables had been shortened. As for originally short vowels, they tended to be reduced to a neutral sound, losing their qualitative distinctions and were often dropped in unstressed final syllables (see the example *fiskaz in § 52).

§ 54. Strict differentiation of long and short vowels is commonly regarded as an important characteristic of the Germanic group. The

contrast of short and long vowels is supported by the different directions of their changes. While long vowels generally tended to become closer and to diphthongise, short vowels, on the contrary, often changed into more open sounds. These tendencies can be seen in the earliest vowel changes which distinguished the PG vowel system from its PIE source.

IE short [o] changed in Germanic into the more open vowel [a] and thus ceased to be distinguished from the original IE [a]; in other words in PG they merged into [o]. The merging of long vowels proceeded in the opposite direction: IE long [a:] was narrowed to [o:] and merged with [o:]. The examples in Table 1 illustrate the resulting correspondences of vowels in parallels from Germanic and non-Germanic languages (more apparent in Old Germanic languages than in modern words, for the sounds have been modified in later history).

Table 1

Independent Vowel Changes in Proto-Germanic

Change illustrated		Exsmples		
PIE	PG	Non-Germanic	Germanic	
			Old	Modern
o	a	L nox, *Ir* nochd, R ночь R могу; мочь	Gt nahts, O *Icel* nátt, *OHG* naht Gt magan, OE maʒan, mæʒ	Sw *natt*, G *Nacht* Sw *mâ*, NE *may*
a:	o:	L mater, R мать O *Ind* bhrāta, L frater, R брат	O *Icel* móðir, OE mōdor Gt broþar, O *Icel* bróðir, OE brōðor	Sw *moder*, NE *mother* Sw *broder*, NE *brother*

§ 55. In later PG and in separate Germanic languages the vowels displayed a tendency to positional assimilative changes: the pronunciation of a vowel was modified under the influence of the following or preceding consonant; sometimes a vowel was approximated more closely to the following vowel. The resulting sounds were phonetically conditioned allophones which could eventually coincide with another phoneme or develop into a new phoneme.

The earliest instances of progressive assimilation were common Germanic mutations; they occurred in Late PG before its disintegration or a short time after. In certain phonetic conditions. namely before the nasal [n] and before [i] or [j] in the next syllable the short [e], [i] and [u] remained or became close (i. e. appeared as [i] and [u]), while in the absence of these conditions the more open allophones were used: [e] and [o], respectively. Later, these phonetic conditions became irrelevant and the allophones were phonologised.

Table 2

Mutation of Vowels in Late PG

Change illustrated	Examples		
	Non-Germanic	Germanic	
		Old	Modern
PIE G	*L* ventus, *R* ветер	*Gt* winds, *O Icel* vindr, *OE* wind	Sw *vind*, NE *wind*
e { i	*L* edit, *R* ест *L* edere, *R* есть	*OHG* iȝit, *OE* iteþ, *O Icel* eta, *OE* etan	G *ißt*, NE *eats*, G *essen*, NE *eat*
e			
u { u	*Lith* sunus, *R* сын	*O Icel* sunr, *OE* sunu	Sw *son*, NE *son*
o	*Celt* hurnan	*O Icel*, *OE* horn	NE *horn*, Sw *horn*

§ 56. After the changes, in Late PG, the vowel system contained the following sounds:

SHORT VOWELS   i   e   a   o   u

LONG VOWELS   i: e: a: o: u:[1]

It is believed that in addition to these monophthongs PG had a set of diphthongs made up of more open nuclei and closer glides: [ei], [ai], [eu], [au] and also [iu]; nowadays, however, many scholars interpret them as sequences of two independent monophthongs.

CONSONANTS. PROTO-GERMANIC CONSONANT SHIFT

§ 57. The specific peculiarities of consonants constitute the most remarkable distinctive feature of the Germanic linguistic group. Comparison with other languages within the IE family reveals regular correspondences between Germanic and non-Germanic consonants. Thus we regularly find [f] in Germanic where other IE languages have [p]; cf. e.g., E *full*, R *полный*, Fr *plein*; wherever Germanic has [p], cognate words in non-Germanic languages have [b] (cf. E *pool*, R *болото*). The consonants in Germanic look 'shifted' as compared with the consonants of non-Germanic languages. The alterations of the consonants took place in PG, and the resulting sounds were inherited by the languages of the Germanic group.

The changes of consonants in PG were first formulated in terms of a phonetic law by Jacob Grimm in the early 19th c. and are often called Grimm's Law. It is also known as the *First* or *Proto-Germanic*

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[1] As shown in § 54 IE [a:] became [o:]; the new [a:] developed from short [a] before nasals and also from the open [ɛ:] in West and North Germanic.

consonant shift (to be distinguished from the 2nd shift which took place in OHG in the 9th c.).

By the terms of Grimm's Law voiceless plosives developed in PG into voiceless fricatives (Act I); IE voiced plosives were shifted to voiceless plosives (Act II) and IE voiced aspirated plosives were reflected (See Note 1 to Table 3) either as voiced fricatives or as pure voiced plosives (Act III).

Table 3

Consonant Shift in Proto-Germanic (Grimm's Law)

Correspondence illustrated		Examples		
		Non-Germanic	Germanic	
			Old	Modern
PIE	**PG**			
ACT I				
p	f	*L* pes, pedis	*Gt* fōtus, *O Icel* fótr, *OE* fōt	Sw *fot*, NE *foot* G *Fuß*
		R пена	*OE* fām	G *Feim*, NE *foam*
		L piscis, *R* пескарь	*Gt* fisks, *OE* fisc	G *Fisch*, NE *fish*
t	θ	*L* tres, *R* три	*Gt* þreis, *O Icel* þrír, *OE* þrēo	Sw *tre*, G *drei*, NE *three*
		L tu, *Fr* tu, *R* ты	*Gt* þu, *OE* þū	G Sw *du*, NE *thou*
k	x	*L* cor, cordis, *Fr* coeur, *R* сердце	*Gt* hairto, *O Icel* hjarta, *OE* heort	G *Herz*, NE *heart*
		L canis	*Gt* hunds, *OE* hund	G *Hund*, NE *hound*
		R колода	*OE* holt	G *Holz*, NE *holt*
ACT II				
b	p	*Lith* balà, *R* болото	*OHG* pfuol, *OE* pōl	G *Pfuhl*, NE *pool*
		L labare, *R* слабый	*Gt* slepan, *OE* slǣpən	G *schlafen*, NE *sleep*
d	t	*L* decem, *Fr* dix, *R* десять	*Gt* taíhun, *O Icel* tíu, *OE* tien	Sw *tio*, G *zehn*, NE *ten*
		Fr deux, *R* два	*OE* twā	NE *two*
		L edere, *R* еда	*Gt* itan, *OE* etan	Sw *äta*, NE *eat*
		L vidēre, *R* ведать, видеть	*OE* witan	G *wissen*, NE *wit*
g	k	*L* genu, *Fr* genou	*OE* cnēo, *Gt* kniu	NE *knee*, G *Knie*
		L ager	*Gt* akrs, *O Icel* akr, *OE* æcer	Sw *aker*, NE *acre*
		L iugum, *R* иго	*Gt* juk, *O Icel* ok, *OE* ʒeoc	Sw *ok*, NE *yoke*

Correspon-dence illu-strated	Examples		
		Germanic	
	Non-Germanic	Old	Modern
ACT III bh[1] v (or b)	O *Ind* bhrāta, *L* frater, *R* брат	Gt broþar, O *Icel* bróðir, OE brōþor	Sw *broder*, G *Bru-der*, NE *brother*
	L ferre, *R* беру	Gt bairan, OE be-ran	G *gebären*, NE *bear*
	Fr future, *R* быть	OHG bin, bist, OE bēon	G *bin, bist*, NE *be*
dh ð (or d)	O *Ind* rudhira, *R* рдеть	Gt rauþs, O *Icel* rauðr, OE rēad	G *rot*, Sw *röd*, NE *red*
	O *Ind* mádhyas, *L* medius *R* делать	Gt midjis [ð], OE middel Gt gadeþs, OE dǣd, dōn	G *Mittel*, NE *mid-dle* NE *deed, do*
gh γ (or g)	*L* hostis, *R* гость	Gt gasts, O *Icel* gestr, OE giest	Sw *gäst*, G *Gast*, NE *guest*
	L (leg-) lectus, *R* залегать	Gt ligan [γ], O *Icel* liggja, OE licʒan	G *liegen*, NE *lie*
	O *Ind* vaha, *L* via, *R* везти	Gt wiga [γ], O *Icel* vegr, OE weʒ	Sw *väg*, G *Weg*, NE *way*

[1] It is assumed that PIE contained sets of aspirated plosives opposed to pure non-aspirated plosives: [bh, dh, gh] vs [b, d, g] as well as [ph, th, kh] vs [p, t, k]. The voiceless [ph, th, kh] are not included in the shift. since they behaved like the corresponding pure plosives [p, t, k] and probably were not distinguished in West IE.

§ 58. Another important series of consonant changes in PG was discovered in the late 19th c. by a Danish scholar, Carl Verner. They are known as Verner's Law. Verner's Law explains some correspondences of consonants which seemed to contradict Grimm's Law and were for a long time regarded as exceptions. According to Verner's Law all the early PG voiceless fricatives [f, θ, x] which arose under Grimm's Law, and also [s] inherited from PIE, became voiced between vowels if the preceding vowel was unstressed; in the absence of these conditions they remained voiceless. The voicing occurred in early PG at the time when the stress was not yet fixed on the root-morpheme. The process of voicing can be shown as a step in a succession of consonant changes in prehistorical reconstructed forms; consider, e.g. the changes of the second consonant in the word *father*:

*pa'ter   > *fa'θar >   *fa'ðar >   >*'faðar

Verner's Law accounts for the appearance of voiced fricative or its later modifications [d] in place of the voiceless [θ] which ought to be expected under Grimm's Law. In late PG, the phonetic conditions that caused the voicing had disappeared: the stress had shifted to the first syllable.

Table 4

Voicing of Fricatives in Proto-Germanic (Verner's Law)

Change illustrated		Examples		
PIE	PG	Non-Germanic	Germanic	
	Early Late		old	modern
p	f > v	L caput	Gt haubiþ, O Icel haufoð, OE hēafod [v]	Sw huvud, G Haupt, NE head
		L septem	Gt sibun, OE seofon [v]	G sieben, NE seven
t	θ > ð, d	O Ind satam, R сто	Gt hund, O Icel hundrað, OE hund	G Hundert, Sw hundrade, NE hundred
		L pater, O Ind pitá	Gt fadar [ð], O Icel faðir, OE fæder	G Vater, Sw fader, NE father
k	x > γ, g	L cunctāri	O Icel hanga, OE hanʒian	Sw hänga, NE hang
		L socrus, R свекровь	Gt swaihro, OHG swigur, OE sweʒer	G Schwager
s	s > z	L auris, Lith ausis	Gt auso, O Icel eyra, OE ēare	Sw öra, G Ohr, NE ear

(Note: [z] in many languages became [r])

§ 59. As a result of voicing by Verner's Law there arose an interchange of consonants in the grammatical forms of the word, termed *grammatical interchange*. Part of the forms retained a voiceless fricative, while other forms — with a different position of stress in Early PG — acquired a voiced fricative. Both consonants could undergo later changes in the OG languages, but the original difference between them goes back to the time of movable word stress and PG voicing. The interchanges can be seen in the principal forms of some OG verbs, though even at that time most of the interchanges were levelled out by analogy.

Table 5

Grammatical Interchanges of Consonants caused by Verner's Law

Interchange		Principal forms of the verbs				
PG	OG languages	Infini- tive	Past Tense sg	Past Tense pl	Participle II	NE
f ~ v	OHG f~b	heffen	huob	huobun	gi-haban	*heave*
θ ~ ð	OE θ/ð~d	sēoðan	sēað	sudon	soden	*seethe*
x ~ γ	O Icel,	slá	sló	slógum	sleginn	
	OE x ~ γ	slēan	slōჳ	slōჳon	slæჳen	*slay*
s ~ z	OE s/z~r	cēosan	cēas	curon	coren	*choose*

Note that some Mod E words have retained traces of Verner's Law, e. g.
seethe — sodden; death — dead; raise — rear; was — were.

Interpretation of the Proto-Germanic Consonant Shift

§ 60. The causes and mechanism of the PG consonant shift have been a matter of discussion ever since the shift was discovered.

When Jacob Grimm first formulated the law of the shift he ascribed it to the allegedly daring spirit of the Germanic tribes which manifested itself both in their great migrations and in radical linguistic innovations. His theory has long been rejected as naive and romantic.

Some philologists attributed the shift to the physiological peculiarities of the Teutons, namely the shape of their glottis: it differed from that of other IE tribes, and the pronunciation of consonants was modified. Other scholars maintained that the consonant shift was caused by a more energetic articulation of sounds brought about by the specifically Germanic force word stress. Another theory suggested that the articulation of consonants in Germanic was, on the contrary, marked by lack of energy and tension.

The theory of "linguistic substratum" which was popular with many 20th c. linguists, attributes the PG consonant changes — as well as other Germanic innovations — to the influence of the speech habits of pre-Germanic population in the areas of Germanic settlement. The language of those unknown tribes served as a sort of substratum ('under-layer') for the would-be Germanic tongues; it intermixed with the language of the Teutons and left certain traces in PG. This hypothesis can be neither confirmed nor disproved, since we possess no information about the language of pre-IE inhabitants of Western Europe.

According to recent theories the PG consonant shift could be caused by the internal requirements of the language system: the need for more precise phonemic distinction reliable in all phonetic conditions. Before the shift (according to J. Kuryłowicz) the opposition of voiced and voiceless plosives was neutralised (that is, lost) in some positions, namely before the sound [s]; therefore new distinctive features arose in place of or in addition to sonority. [p, t, k] changed into [f, θ, x] and began to be contrasted to [b, d, g] not only through sonority but also through the manner of articulation as fricatives to plosives. This change led to further changes: since [f, θ, x] were now opposed to [b, d, g] through their frica-tive character, sonority became irrelevant for phonemic distinction and [b, d, g] were devoiced: they changed into [p, t, k], respectively. That is how the initial step stimulated further changes and the entire system was shifted. It is essential that throughout the shift the original pattern of the consonant system was preserved:

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three rows of noise consonants were distinguished, though instead of opposition through sonority consonants were opposed as fricatives to plosives. (For a critical review of various theories see «Сравнительная грамматика германских языков», М., 1962, кн. II, ч. I, гл. 1, 7.1 — 8.5.)

Another explanation based on the structural approach to language interprets the role of the language system from a different angle. Every subsystem in language tends to preserve a balanced, symmetrical arrangement: if the balance is broken, it will soon be restored by means of new changes. After the replacement of [p, t, k] by [f, θ, k] the positions of the voiceless [p, t, k] in the consonant system were left vacant; to fill the vacuums and restore the equilibrium [b, d, g] were devoiced into [p, t, k]. In their turn the vacant positions of [b, d, g] were filled again in the succeeding set of changes, when [bh, dh, gh] lost their aspirated character. This theory, showing the shift as a chain of successive steps, fails to account for the initial push.

§ 61. The chronology of the shift and the relative order of the changes included in Grimm's Law and Verner's Law, has also aroused much interest and speculation. It is believed that the consonant shift was realised as a series of successive steps; it began first on part of Germanic territories and gradually spread over the whole area. The change of [p, t, k] into fricatives is unanimously regarded as the earliest step — the first act of Grimm's Law; it was followed, or, perhaps, accompanied by the voicing of fricatives (Verner's Law). Linguists of the 19th c. were inclined to refer the voicing of fricatives to a far later date than the first act of Grimm's Law. However, there are no grounds to think that the effect of word stress and intervocal position on sonority could have been much delayed. In all probability, the IE plosives split into voiced and voiceless sounds soon after they had acquired their fricative character or even during that process.

The order of the other two steps (or acts of Grimm's Law) varies in different descriptions of the shift.

GRAMMAR

Form-building Means

§ 62. Like other old IE languages both PG and the OG languages had a synthetic grammatical structure, which means that the relationships between the parts of the sentence were shown by the forms of the words rather than by their position or by auxiliary words. In later history all the Germanic languages developed analytical forms and ways of word connection.

In the early periods of history the grammatical forms were built in the synthetic way: by means of inflections, sound interchanges and suppletion.

The suppletive way of form-building was inherited from ancient IE, it was restricted to a few personal pronouns, adjectives and verbs.

Compare the following forms of pronouns in Germanic and non-Germanic languages:

L	Fr	R	Gt	O Icel	OE	NE
ego	je	я	ik	ek	ic	I
mei	mon	меня	meina	mín	mīn	my, mine
mihi	me, moi	мне	mis	mér	mē	me

The principal means of form-building were inflections. The inflections found in OG written records correspond to the inflections used in non-Germanic languages, having descended from the same original IE

prototypes. Most of them, however, were simpler and shorter, as they had been shortened and weakened in PG.

The wide use of sound interchanges has always been a characteristic feature of the Germanic group. This form-building (and word-building) device was inherited from IE and became very productive in Germanic. In various forms of the word and in words derived from one and the same root, the root-morpheme appeared as a set of variants. The consonants were relatively stable, the vowels were variable.[1] Table 6 shows the variability of the root *ber- in different grammatical forms and words.

<div align="right">Table 6</div>

Variants of the Root *ber-

	Old Germanic languages			Modern Germanic languages		
	Gt	O Icel	OE	Sw	G	NE
forms of the verb *bear*	bairan bar berum baúrans	bera bar bárum borinn	beran bær bæron boren birþ	bära bar buro buren	gebären gebar — geboren	bear bore (sg) (pl) born bears
other words from the same root	barn baúr	barn burðr byrð	bearn ʒebyrd	barn	Geburt	barn (dial. 'child') birth

Vowel Gradation with Special Reference to Verbs

§ 63. Vowel interchanges found in Old and Modern Germanic languages originated at different historical periods. The earliest set of vowel interchanges, which dates from PG and PIE, is called *vowel gradation* or *ablaut*. Ablaut is an independent vowel interchange unconnected with any phonetic conditions; different vowels appear in the same environment, surrounded by the same sounds (all the words in Table 6 are examples of ablaut with the exception of the forms containing [i] and [y] which arose from positional changes.

Vowel gradation did not reflect any phonetic changes but was used as a special independent device to differentiate between words and grammatical forms built from the same root.

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[1] Consonant interchanges were also possible but rare. They appeared in PG due to voicing of fricatives under Verner's Law but were soon levelled out (see § 58).

Ablaut was inherited by Germanic from ancient IE. The principal gradation series used in the *IE* languages — [e~o] — can be shown in Russian examples: *нести~ноша*. This kind of ablaut is called *qualitative*, as the vowels differ only in quality. Alternation of short and long vowels, and also alternation with a "zero" (i.e. lack of vowel) represent *quantitative ablaut*:

Prolonged grade (long vowel)	Normal or full grade (short vowel)	Reduced grade (zero grade) (neutral vowel or loss of vowel)
ē	e	
L lēgi 'elected'	lego 'elect'	
R —	e ~ o	
	беру — сбор	*брал*

The Germanic languages employed both types of ablaut — qualitative and quantitative, — and their combinations. In accordance with vowel changes which distinguished Germanic from non-Germanic the gradation series were modified: IE [e~o] was changed to [e/i~a]; likewise, quantitative ablaut [a~a:] was reflected in Germanic as a quantitative-qualitative series [a~o:] (for relevant vowel changes see § 53, 54). Quantitative ablaut gave rise to a variety of gradation series in Germanic owing to different treatment of the zero-grade in various phonetic conditions.

§ 64. Of all its spheres of application in Germanic ablaut was most consistently used in building the principal forms of the verbs called *strong*. Each form was characterised by a certain grade; each set of principal forms of the verb employed a gradation series. Gradation vowels were combined with other sounds in different classes of verbs and thus yielded several new gradation series. The use of ablaut in the principal forms of 'bear' was shown in Table 6. The Gothic verbs in Table 6 give the closest possible approximation to PG gradation series, which were inherited by all the OG languages and were modified in accordance with later phonetic changes (see OE strong verbs § 200—203).

Table 7

Examples of Vowel Gradation in Gothic Strong Verbs

IE	e	o	zero	zero
PG	e/i	a	zero	zero
Principal forms	Infinitive	Past sg	Past pl	Participle II
Class 1	reisan	rais	risum	risans NE *rise*
Class 2	kiusan	kaus	kusum	kusans *choose*
Class 3	bindan	band	bundum	bundans *bind*

§ 65. The use of ablaut in the sphere of grammar was not confined to the root-vowels of strong verbs. The gradation series [e/i~a] accounts for the interchange of vowels in some grammatical endings in the noun and verb paradigms. This gradation series is found, e.g. in the following noun-endings: PG Nom. sg — *-az, Gen.sg -*eso/-iso (the vowels represent different grades of ablaut of the suffix -a — see § 67). The same series [e/i~a] is found in the endings of many verbs (called *thematic* in contrast to *athematic* verbs, which did not contain any vocalic element), e.g. Present Tense —

2nd p. sg Gt -*is* — OE -*est*
3rd p. sg Gt -*iþ* — OE -*(i)þ*
   pl Gt -*and* — OE -*að*

Simplification of Word Structure in Late Proto-Germanic.
Role of Stem-suffixes in the Formation
of Declensions

§ 66. Some changes in the morphological structure of the word in Late PG account for the development of an elaborate system of declensions in OG languages, and for the formation of grammatical endings.

Originally, in Early PG the word consisted of three main component parts: the root, the stem-suffix and the grammatical ending. The stem-suffix was a means of word derivation, the ending — a marker of the grammatical form. In Late PG the old stem-suffixes lost their derivational force and merged with other components of the word, usually with the endings. The word was simplified: the three-morpheme structure was transformed into a two-morpheme structure. The original grammatical ending, together with the stem-suffix formed a new ending:
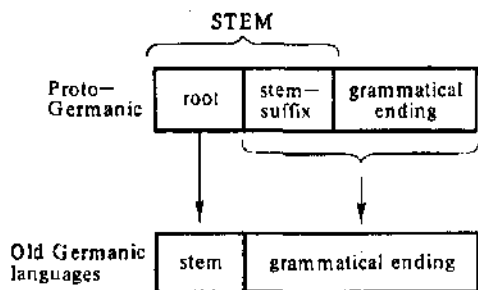
e. g.   PG *fisk-a-z*   Gt *fisks* (NE *fish*)
        PG *mak-ōj-an*   OE *mac-ian*, Past Tense *mac-ode*
                              (NE *make, made*)

(In Gt *fisks* the stem-suffix was dropped, in OE *macian, macode* it merged with the ending, preserving one of the sounds — [i] or [o].)
The simplification of the word structure and the loss of stem-suffixes

as distinct components was facilitated — or, perhaps, caused — by the heavy Germanic word stress fixed on the root.

§ 67. Most nouns and adjectives in PG, and also many verbs, had stem-forming suffixes; according to stem-suffixes they fell into groups, or classes: *a*-stems, *i*-stems, *ō*-stems, etc. This grouping accounts for the formation of different declensions in nouns and adjectives, and for some differences in the conjugation of verbs.

Groups of nouns with different stem-suffixes made distinct types of declension. The original grammatical endings were alike for most nouns, e.g. Nom. sg -*z*, Dat. -*i*, Acc. -*m*. When these endings fused with different stem-suffixes, each group of nouns acquired a different set of endings. The division of nouns into declensions resting on the stem-suffixes is not peculiar to Germanic alone; it is also found in other IE languages (some types of declension in Germanic correspond to certain declensions in non-Germanic languages, e.g. *ō*- stems correspond to the first declension in Latin and Russian (their stem-suffix is -*a*: Germanic -*ō* has developed from IE -*ā*; Germanic *a*-stems correspond to the second declension in Latin and in Russian (*o*-stems in both these languages, since IE [o] became [a] in Germanic).

The Germanic languages preserved the old classification of nouns with great accuracy, added other distinctive features to the noun paradigms and, as a result, had a complicated system of noun declensions in the early periods of history.

Strong and Weak Verbs

§ 68. The bulk of the verbs in PG and in the OG languages fall into two large groups called *strong* and *weak*.

The terms strong and weak were proposed by J. Grimm; he called the verbs *strong* because they had preserved the richness of form since the age of the parent-language and in this sense could be contrasted to *weak* verbs lacking such variety of form. From the verbs the terms were extended to noun and adjective declensions. The main difference between these groups lies in the means of building the principal forms: the Present tense, the Past tense and Participle II. The strong verbs built their principal forms with the help of root vowel interchanges plus certain grammatical endings; they made use of IE ablaut with certain modifications due to phonetic changes and environment (see § 64).

§ 69. The weak verbs are a specifically Germanic innovation, for the device used in building their principal forms is not found outside the Germanic group. They built the Past tense and Participle II by inserting a special suffix between the root and the ending. The suffix — PG -*ð* — is referred to as the *dental suffix*, as [ð] is an interdental fricative consonant. The use of the dental suffix is seen in the following forms of weak verbs in OG languages:

	Infinitive	Past Tense	Participle II	NE
Gt	domjan	domida [ð]	domiþs	*deem, deemed*
O Icel	kalla	kallaða	kallaðr	*call, called*
OE	macian	macode	macod	*make, made*

The dental suffix [ð, 0, d] is a marker of the Past and Participle II; it is preceded by remnants of the old stem-suffixes: -i- in the Gt *domida*, -o- in OE *macode*. The weak verbs formed several classes with different stem-suffixes, in the same way as nouns fell into declensions.

VOCABULARY

§ 70. Until recently it was believed that the Germanic languages had a large proportion of words, which have no parallels in other groups of the IE family. Recent research, however, has revealed numerous non-Germanic parallels for words formerly regarded as specifically Germanic. It appears that Germanic has inherited and preserved many IE features in lexis as well as at other levels.

The most ancient etymological layer in the Germanic vocabulary is made up of words (or, more precisely, roots) shared by most IE languages. They refer to a number of semantic spheres: natural phenomena, plants and animals, terms of kinship, verbs denoting basic activities of man, some pronouns and numerals; in addition to roots, the common IE element includes other components of words: word-building affixes and grammatical inflections. Numerous examples of parallels belonging to this layer were quoted above, to show the sound correspondences in Germanic and non-Germanic languages (§ 54, 55, 57, 58).

§ 71. Words which occur in Germanic alone and have no parallels outside the group constitute the specific features of the Germanic languages; they appeared in PG or in later history of separate languages from purely Germanic roots. Semantically, they also belong to basic spheres of life: nature, sea, home life. Like the IE layer the specifically Germanic layer includes not only roots but also affixes and word-building patterns. The examples in Table 8 illustrate Germanic words, whose roots have not been found outside the group, and some word-building patterns which arose in Late PG. Those are instances of transition from

Table 8

Specifically Germanic Words and Word Building Patterns

Old Germanic languages				Modern Germanic languages		
Gt	*O Icel*	*OHG*	*OE*	*Sw*	*G*	*NE*
hus	hûs	hûs	hūs	hus	Haus	*house*
drigkan	drekka	trinkan	drincan	dricka	trinken	*drink*
land	land	lant	land	land	Land	*land*
saiws	sǽr	sēo	sǽ	sjö	See	*sea*
—	vís*dómr*	wis*tuom*	wis*dōm*	visdom	—	*wisdom*
fjands-	fjands-	fiands-	fēond-	fiend*skap*	Feind-	'hostility'
kapr		*caft*	*scipe*		*schaft*	(cf. *fiend*)

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compound words into derived words; they show the development of new suffixes — from root-morphemes — at the time when many old derivational stem-suffixes had lost their productivity and ceased to be distinguished in the word structure. The new suffixes made up for the loss of stem-suffixes.

(Though some of these words have no direct descendants we find the same suffixes in other formations: G *Irrtum*, *Freundschaft*, NE *friendship* — the roots may be common IE but the suffixes are specifically Germanic (*vis-* is related to R *ведать*, *frēond* to R *приятель*).

§ 72. Both etymological layers of the vocabulary — the IE and the specifically Germanic layer — are native words. In addition to native words the OG languages share some borrowings made from other languages. Some of the early borrowings are found in all or most languages of the group; probably they were made at the time when the Germanic tribes lived close together as a single speech community, that is in Late PG. It is known that the name of the metal *iron* was borrowed from the Celtic languages in Late PG; cf. Celt *isarno*, Gt *eisnrn*, O Icel *isarn*, OE *isen*, *iren*. (The Teutons may have learnt the processing of iron from the Celts.) A large number of words must have been borrowed from Latin prior to the migration of West Germanic tribes to Britain. These words reflect the contacts of the Germanic tribes with Rome and the influence of the Roman civilisation on their life; they mostly refer to trade and warfare; e.g.:

L pondō, Gt pund, O Icel pund, OE pund, NE *pound*
L prunus, O Icel plóma, OE plūme, NE *plum*
L strata via, OHG strâƶa, OS strâta, OE stræt, NE *street*

(For a more detailed discussion of early Latin borrowings see Ch. X.)

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Name the closest linguistic relations of English.

2. Account for the following place-names: *Germany, Saxony, Bavaria, Anglia, Thuringia, Swabia, Gothenburg, Gothland, Burgundy, Allemagne* (Fr for *Germany*), *Gotha, Jutland, France, Frankfurt, Normandy, Anglesea, England*.

3. Analyse the shifting of word stress in word-building and form-building and point out the words which can illustrate the original Germanic way of word accentuation: *read, reading, re-read, readable; bear* v., *bearer, unbearable; satisfy, satisfaction, unsatisfactorily; circumstance, circumstantial, circumstantiality*.

4. Explain the sound correspondence in the following parallels from Germanic and non-Germanic languages (the sounds are italicized).

R *б*оль	OE *b*alu 'mischief';
R *с*оль	G *S*alz 'salt'
L *g*ena	OE *c*in [kin] (NE *ch*in)
L *pec*us	Gt *faih*u, OE *feoh* (NE *fee*)
R на*г*ой	NE na*k*ed, G nac*k*t

R приятель   NE *f*riend
R *d*ерево   Gt *t*riu, NE *t*ree
L *d*omare   NE *t*ame

5. Analyse the consonant correspondences in the following groups of words and classify the words into Germanic and non-Germanic: *foot, pedal, pedestrian; twofold, double, doublet, twin, brotherly, fraternal; tooth, dental, dentist; canine, hound; hearty, cordial; three, trinity; decade, decimals, ten; agriculture, acre; agnostic, know; tame, domestic.*

6. Why can examples from the Gothic language often be used to illustrate the PG state while OE and OHG examples are less suitable for the purpose?

7. Classify the following Mod E verbs into descendants of the strong verbs and the weak verbs (Note that the PG -ð- became *d* or *t* in English): *sing, live, rise, look, answer, speak, run, shake, warn.*

8. Prove that suppletion is an ancient way of form-building which goes back to the epoch of the PIE parent-language.

9. We can infer a good deal about the culture of the people, their social structure and geographical conditions from the words of their language. What can be reconstructed of the life of the Teutons from the following list of English words, whose cognates are found in other Germanic languages: *borough, brew, broth, cliff, earl, east, lore, king, knead, north, sea, seal, ship, south, steer, strand, tin, were, west, whale, wheat?*

Chapter IV

CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISIONS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH. SHORT SURVEY OF PERIODS

§ 73. The historical development of a language is a continuous uninterrupted process without sudden breaks or rapid transformations. Therefore any periodisation imposed on language history by linguists, with precise dates, might appear artificial, if not arbitrary. Yet in all language histories divisions into periods and cross-sections of a certain length, are used for teaching and research purposes. The commonly accepted, traditional periodisation divides English history into three periods: Old English (OE), Middle English (ME) and New English (NE), with boundaries attached to definite dates and historical events affecting the language. OE begins with the Germanic settlement of Britain (5th c.) or with the beginning of writing (7th c.) and ends with the Norman Conquest (1066); ME begins with the Norman Conquest and ends on the introduction of printing (1475), which is the start of the Modern or New English period (Mod E or NE); the New period lasts to the present day.

The amendments proposed to the traditional periodisation shift the boundary lines or envisage other subdivisions within the main periods: it has been suggested that ME really began at a later date, c. 1150

(A. Baugh), for the effect of the Norman Conquest on the language could not have been immediate; another suggestion was that we should single out periods of transition and subdivide the three main periods into early, classical, and late (H. Sweet). Some authors prefer a division of history by centuries (M. Schlauch) or a division into periods of two hundred years (B. Strang).

It has been noticed that although language history is a slow uninterrupted chain of events, the changes are not evenly distributed in time: periods of intensive and vast changes at one or many levels may be followed by periods of relative stability. It seems quite probable that the differences in the rate of changes are largely conditioned by the linguistic situation, which also accounts for many other features of language evolution. Therefore division into chronological periods should take into account both aspects: external and internal (extra- and intralinguistic). The following periodisation of English history is partly based on the conventional three periods; it subdivides the history of the English language into seven periods differing in linguistic situation and the nature of linguistic changes.

§ 74. The *first* — pre-written or pre-historical — period, which may be termed *Early Old English*, lasts from the West Germanic invasion of Britain till the beginning of writing, that is from the 5th to the close of the 7th c. It is the stage of tribal dialects of the West Germanic invaders (Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians), which were gradually losing contacts with the related continental tongues. The tribal dialects were used for oral communication, there being no written form of English.

§ 75. The evolution of the language in this period is hypothetical. It has been reconstructed from the written evidence of other Old Germanic languages, especially Gothic, and from later OE written records. It was the period of transition from PG to Written OE. Early OE linguistic changes, particularly numerous sound changes, marked OE off from PG and from other OG languages.

§ 76. The second historical period extends from the 8th c. till the end of the 11th. The English language of that time is referred to as *Old English* or *Anglo-Saxon*; it can also be called *Written OE* as compared with the pre-written Early OE period. The tribal dialects gradually changed into local or regional dialects. Towards the end of the period the differences between the dialects grew and their relative position altered. They were probably equal as a medium of oral communication, while in the sphere of writing one of the dialects, West Saxon, had gained supremacy over the other dialects (Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian). The prevalence of West Saxon in writing is tied up with the rise of the kingdom of Wessex to political and cultural prominence.

The language of this historical period is usually described synchronically and is treated as a more or less stable system, though this assumption may be due to scarcity of evidence. Careful examination of OE texts has revealed increasing variation in the 10th and 11th c., which testifies to growing dialectal divergence and the historical instability of the language.

§ 77. OE was a typical OG language, with a purely Germanic vo-

cabulary, and few foreign borrowings; it displayed specific phonetic peculiarities, owing to intensive changes which took place in Early OE. As far as grammar is concerned, OE was an inflected or "synthetic" language with a well-developed system of morphological categories, especially in the noun and adjective, and with an elaborate grouping of all inflected parts of speech into morphological classes. H. Sweet, a prominent English scholar of the late 19th c., called OE the "period of full endings" in comparison with later periods. The decline of the morphological system began in the Northern dialects in the 10th and 11th c.

§ 78. The *third* period, known as *Early Middle English,* starts after 1066, the year of the Norman Conquest, and covers the 12th, 13th and half of the 14th c. It was the stage of the greatest dialectal divergence caused by the feudal system and by foreign influences — Scandinavian and French. The dialectal division of present-day English owes its origin to this period of history.

Under Norman rule the official language in England was French, or rather its variety called *Anglo-French* or *Anglo-Norman*; it was also the dominant language of literature. There is an obvious gap in the English literary tradition in the 12th c. The local dialects were mainly used for oral communication and were but little employed in writing. Towards the end of the period their literary prestige grew, as English began to displace French in the sphere of writing, as well as in many other spheres. Dialectal divergence and lack of official English made a favourable environment for intensive linguistic change.

§ 79. Early ME was a time of great changes at all the levels of the language, especially in lexis and grammar. English absorbed two layers of lexical borrowings: the Scandinavian element in the North-Eastern area (due to the Scandinavian invasions since the 8th c.) and the French element in the speech of townspeople in the South-East, especially in the higher social strata (due to the Norman Conquest). Phonetic and grammatical changes proceeded at a high rate, unrestricted by written tradition. Grammatical alterations were so drastic that by the end of the period they had transformed English from a highly inflected language into a mainly analytical one; for the most part, they affected the nominal system. Accordingly, the role of syntactical means of word connection grew.

§ 80. The *fourth* period — from the later 14th c. till the end of the 15th — embraces the age of Chaucer, the greatest English medieval writer and forerunner of the English Renaissance. We may call it *Late* or *Classical Middle English.* It was the time of the restoration of English to the position of the state and literary language and the time of literary flourishing. The main dialect used in writing and literature was the mixed dialect of London. (The London dialect was originally derived from the Southern dialectal group, but during the 14th c. the southern traits were largely replaced by East Midland traits.) The literary authority of other dialects was gradually overshadowed by the prestige of the London written language.

In periods of literary efflorescence, like the age of Chaucer, the pattern set by great authors becomes a more or less fixed form of language.

Chaucer's language was a recognised literary form, imitated throughout the 15th c. Literary flourishing had a stabilising effect on language, so that the rate of linguistic changes was slowed down. At the same time the written forms of the language developed and improved.

§ 81. The written records of the late 14th and 15th c. testify to the growth of the English vocabulary and to the increasing proportion of French loan-words in English. The phonetic and grammatical structure had incorporated and perpetuated the fundamental changes of the preceding period. Most of the inflections in the nominal system — in nouns, adjectives, pronouns — had fallen together. H. Sweet called Middle English the period of "levelled endings". The verb system was expanding, as numerous new analytical forms and verbal phrases on the way to becoming analytical forms were used alongside old simple forms.

§ 82. The *fifth* period — *Early New English* — lasted from the introduction of printing to the age of Shakespeare, that is from 1475 to c. 1660. The first printed book in English was published by William Caxton in 1475. This period is a sort of transition between two outstanding epochs of literary efflorescence: the age of Chaucer and the age of Shakespeare (also known as the *Literary Renaissance*).

It was a time of great historical consequence: under the growing capitalist system the country became economically and politically unified; the changes in the political and social structure, the progress of culture, education, and literature favoured linguistic unity. The growth of the English nation was accompanied by the formation of the national English language.

Caxton's English of the printed books was a sort of bridge between the London literary English of the ME period and the language of the Literary Renaissance. The London dialect had risen to prominence as a compromise between the various types of speech prevailing in the country and formed the basis of the growing national literary language.

§ 83. The Early NE period was a time of sweeping changes at all levels, in the first place lexical and phonetic. The growth of the vocabulary was a natural reflection of the progress of culture in the new, bourgeois society, and of the wider horizons of man's activity. New words from internal and external sources enriched the vocabulary. Extensive phonetic changes were transforming the vowel system, which resulted, among other things, in the growing gap between the written and the spoken forms of the word (that is, between pronunciation and spelling). The loss of most inflectional endings in the 15th c. justifies the definition "period of lost endings" given by H. Sweet to the NE period. The inventory of grammatical forms and syntactical constructions was almost the same as in Mod E, but their use was different. The abundance of grammatical units occurring without any apparent restrictions, or regularities produces an impression of great "freedom of grammatical construction". Perhaps the choice of forms was motivated in a given situation, but its reasons are hard to discern today, and they appear to be used in free variation.

§ 84. The *sixth* period extends from the mid-17th c. to the close of the 18th c. In the history of the language it is often called "the age of

normalisation and correctness", in the history of literature — the "neo-classical" age. This age witnessed the establishment of "norms", which can be defined as received standards recognised as correct at the given period. The norms were fixed as rules and prescriptions of correct usage in the numerous dictionaries and grammar-books published at the time and were spread through education and writing.

It is essential that during the 18th c. literary English differentiated into distinct styles, which is a property of a mature literary language. It is also important to note that during this period the English language extended its area far beyond the borders of the British Isles, first of all to North America.

§ 85. Unlike the age of Shakespeare, the neo-classical period discouraged variety and free choice in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The 18th c. has been called the period of "fixing the pronunciation". The great sound shifts were over and pronunciation was being stabilised. Word usage and grammatical construction were subjected to restriction and normalisation. The morphological system, particularly the verb system, acquired a more strict symmetrical pattern. The formation of new verbal grammatical categories was completed. Syntactical structures were perfected and standardised.

§ 86. The English language of the 19th and 20th c. represents the *seventh* period in the history of English — *Late New English* or *Modern English*. By the 19th c. English had achieved the relative stability typical of an age of literary florescence and had acquired all the properties of a national language, with its functional stratification and recognised standards (though, like any living language, English continued to grow and change). The classical language of literature was strictly distinguished from the local dialects and the dialects of lower social ranks. The dialects were used in oral communication and, as a rule, had no literary tradition; dialect writing was limited to conversations interpolated in books composed in Standard English or to recording folklore.

The 20th c. witnessed considerable intermixture of dialects. The local dialects are now retreating, being displaced by Standard English. The "best" form of English, the *Received Standard*, and also the regional modified standards are being spread through new channels: the press, radio, cinema and television.

Nevertheless the two dimensions of synchronic functional stratification of English are as important as before; the horizontal stratification in Britain applies to modified regional standards and local dialects, while the vertical dimension reflects the social structure of the English-speaking communities.

The expansion of English overseas proceeded together with the growth of the British Empire in the 19th c. and with the increased weight of the United States (after the War of Independence and the Civil War). English has spread to all the inhabited continents. Some geographical varieties of English are now recognised as independent variants of the language.

§ 87. In the 19th and 20th c. the English vocabulary has grown on an unprecedented scale reflecting the rapid progress of technology,

science and culture and other multiple changes in all spheres of man's activities. Linguistic changes in phonetics and grammar have been confined to alterations in the relative frequency and distribution of linguistic units: some pronunciations and forms have become old-fashioned or even obsolete, while other forms have gained ground, and have been accepted as common usage.

Though most of these changes are difficult to notice and to define, it is apparent that an English speaker of the 1950s or 1980s uses a form of language different from that used by the characters of Dickens or Thackeray one hundred and fifty years ago. Therefore we may be fully justified in treating the 19th and 20th c. as one historical period in a general survey of the history of English. But in order to describe the kind of English used today and to determine the tendencies at work now, the span of the last thirty or forty years can be singled out as the final stage of development, or as a cross-section representing Present-day English.

§ 88. The following table gives a summary of the periods described above; the right column shows the correlation between the seven periods distinguished in the present survey and the traditional periods.

Table

Periodisation of the History of English

I	Early OE (also: Pre-written OE)	c. 450 — c. 700	OLD ENGLISH
II	OE (also: Written OE)	c. 700 — 1066	
III	Early ME	1066 — c. 1350	MIDDLE ENGLISH
IV	ME (also: Classical ME)	c. 1350 — 1475	
V	Early NE	1476 — c. 1660	EARLY NEW ENGLISH
VI	Normalisation Period (also: Age of Correctness, Neo-Classical period)	c. 1660 — c. 1800	NEW ENGLISH (also: MODERN ENGLISH)
VII	Late NE, or Mod E (including Present-day English	c. 1800 . . . . . since 1945 . . .	

The short survey of the history of English presented as seven successive historical periods may serve as an introduction to the detailed description of the historical development of English given below. The history of English described in the succeeding chapters will not be subdivided into seven periods. It begins with a synchronic description of the language in the OE period as known from the West Saxon texts of the 9th and 10th c. The description of Written OE is preceded by an outline of external conditions bearing upon language history. It is also accompanied by a description of the most important linguistic changes

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of the Early OE (pre-written) period which account for the peculiarities of OE of the age of writing. The history of English from the 12th to the 19th c. is presented in accordance with linguistic levels. Each level of the language — its sound system, grammatical structure and vocabulary (as well as the external historical conditions relevant to linguistic history) — will be described separately, through all historical periods, so as to show its continuous uninterrupted development in time and the gradual transition of OE into Mod E. Wherever necessary, reference will be made to the main periods of history — ME and NE — or to the shorter periods, distinguished in the present chapter: Early ME, Early NE, the "Normalisation period" and the Modern period, including Present-day English.

Chapter V

OLD ENGLISH. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Pre-Germanic Britain

§ 89. The history of the English language begins with the invasión of the British Isles by Germanic tribes in the 5th c. of our era. Before describing these events it is essential to recall a few preceding facts of history relevant to the development of English.

Prior to the Germanic invasion the British Isles must have been inhabited for at least fifty thousand years. Archeological research has uncovered many layers of prehistoric population. The earliest inhabitants whose linguistic affiliation has been established are the Celts. The Celts came to Britain in three waves and immediately preceded the Teutons.

Economically and socially the Celts were a tribal society made up of kins, kinship groups, clans and tribes; they practised a primitive agriculture, and carried on trade with Celtic Gaul.

The first millenium B.C. was the period of Celtic migrations and expansion. Traces of their civilisation are still found all over Europe. Celtic languages were spoken over extensive parts of Europe before our era; later they were absorbed by other IE languages and left very few vestiges behind. The Gaelic branch has survived as *Irish* (or Erse) in Ireland, has expanded to Scotland as *Scotch-Gaelic* of the Highlands and is still spoken by a few hundred people on the Isle of Man (the *Manx language*). The Britonnic branch is represented by *Kymric* or *Welsh* in modern Wales and by *Breton* or *Armorican* spoken by over a million people in modern France (in the area called *Bretagne* or *Brittany*, where the Celts came as emigrants from Britain in the 5th c.); another Britonnic dialect in Great Britain, *Cornish*, was spoken in Cornwall until the end of the 18th c.

§ 90. In the first century B.C. Gaul was conquered by the Romans. Having occupied Gaul Julius Caesar made two raids on Britain, in 55 and 54 B.C. The British Isles had long been known to the Romans as

a source of valuable tin ore; Caesar attacked Britain for economic reasons — to obtain tin, pearls and corn, — and also for strategic reasons, since rebels and refugees from Gaul found support among their British kinsmen. Although Caesar failed to subjugate Britain, Roman economic penetration to Britain grew; traders and colonists from Rome came in large numbers to settle in the south-eastern towns. In A.D. 43 Britain was again invaded by Roman legions under Emperor Claudius, and towards the end of the century was made a province of the Roman Empire.

The province was carefully guarded and heavily garrisoned: about 40,000 men were stationed there. Two fortified walls ran across the country, a network of paved Roman roads connected the towns and military camps. Scores of towns with a mixed population grew along the Roman roads — inhabited by Roman legionaries and civilians and by the native Celts; among the most important trading centres of Roman Britain was London.

Evidently, the upper classes and the townspeople in the southern districts were to a considerable extent Romanised, while the Romanisation of rural districts was far less thorough. The population further north was but little affected by the Roman occupation and remained Celtic both in language and custom. On the whole, the Romanisation of distant Britain was more superficial than that of continental provinces (e.g. Gaul and Iberia, where the complete linguistic conquest resulted in the growth of new Romance language, French and Spanish).

The Roman occupation of Britain lasted nearly 400 years; it came to an end in the early 5th c. In A.D. 410, the Roman troops were officially withdrawn to Rome by Constantine. This temporary withdrawal turned out to be final, for the Empire was breaking up due to internal and external causes, — particularly the attacks of barbarian tribes (including the Teutons) and the growth of independent kingdoms on former Roman territories. The expansion of Franks to Gaul in the 5th c. cut off Britain from the Roman world.

After the departure of the Roman legions the richest and most civilised part of the island, the south-east, was laid waste. Many towns were destroyed. Constant feuds among local landlords as well as the increased assaults of the Celts from the North and also the first Germanic raids from beyond the North Sea proved ruinous to the civilisation of Roman Britain.

§ 91. Since the Romans had left the British Isles some time before the invasion of the West Germanic tribes, there could never be any direct contacts between the new arrivals and the Romans on British soil. It follows that the elements of Roman culture and language which the new invaders learnt in Britain were mainly passed on to them at second hand by the Romanised Celts. It must be recalled, however, that the West Germanic tribes had already come into contact with the Romans, and the Romanised population of continental provinces, prior to their migration to Britain: they had met Romans in combat, had gone to Rome as war prisoners and slaves, had enlisted in the Roman troops, and had certainly traded with Roman, or Romanised Celtic merchants.

Thus, in a number of various ways they had got acquainted with the Roman civilisation and the Latin language.

Germanic Settlement of Britain.
Beginning of English

§ 92. Undoubtedly, the Teutons had made piratical raids on the British shores long before the withdrawal of the Romans in A.D. 410, but the crisis came with the departure of the last Roman legions. The Britons fought among themselves and were harried by the Picts and Scots from Scotland. Left to their own resources, they were unable to offer a prolonged resistance to the enemies attacking them on every side. The 5th c. was the age of increased Germanic expansion. About the middle of the century several West Germanic tribes overran Britain and, for the most part, had colonised the island by the end of the century, though the invasions lasted well into the 6th c.

Reliable evidence of the period is extremely scarce. The story of the invasion is told by Bede (673-735), a monastic scholar who wrote the first history of England, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLORUM.

According to Bede the invaders came to Britain in A.D. 449 under the leadership of two Germanic kings, Hengist and Horsa; they had been invited by a British king, Vortigern, as assistants and allies in a local war. The newcomers soon dispossessed their hosts, and other Germanic bands followed. The invaders came in multitude, in families and clans, to settle in the occupied territories; like the Celts before them, they migrated as a people and in that the Germanic invasion was different from the Roman military conquest, although it was by no means a peaceful affair.

The invaders of Britain came from the western subdivision of the Germanic tribes. To quote Bede, "the newcomers were of the three strongest races of Germany, the Saxons, the Angles and the Jutes". (See an extract from his work — in the Appendix.) Modern archeological and linguistic research has shown that this information is not quite precise. The origin and the linguistic affiliation of the Jutes appears uncertain: some historians define them as a Frankish tribe, others doubt the participation and the very existence of the Jutes and name the Frisians as the third main party in the invasion. It is also uncertain whether the early settlers really belonged to separate tribes, Saxons and Angles, or, perhaps, constituted two mixed waves of invaders, differing merely in the place and time of arrival. They were called Angles and Saxons by the Romans and by the Celts but preferred to call themselves *Angelcyn* (English people) and applied this name to the conquered territories: *Angelcynnes land* ('land of the English', hence *England*).

§ 93. The first wave of the invaders, the Jutes or the Frisians, occupied the extreme south-east: Kent and the Isle of Wight.

The second wave of immigrants was largely made up of the Saxons, who had been expanding westwards across Frisia to the Rhine and to what is now known as Normandy. The final stage of the drift brought

them to Britain by way of the Thames and the south coast. They set up their settlements along the south coast and on both banks of the Thames and, depending on location, were called *South Saxons, West Saxons* and *East Saxons* (later also *Mid Saxons,* between the western and eastern groups). The Saxons consolidated into a number of petty kingdoms, the largest and the most powerful of them being *Wessex,* the kingdom of West Saxons.

Last came the Angles from the lower valley of the Elbe and southern Denmark; they made their landing on the east coast and moved up the rivers to the central part of the island, to occupy the districts between the Wash and the Humber, and to the North of the Humber. They founded large kingdoms which had absorbed their weaker neighbours: *East Anglia, Mercia,* and *Northumbria.*

§ 94. There was, probably, little intermixture between the newcomers and the Celtic aborigines, though there is a wide difference of opinion among modern historians as to their relative proportion in the population. Gildas, a Celtic historian of the day, alluded to the settlement as the "ruin of Britain" and described the horrible devastation of the country: the invaders pulled down British villages and ruined the Roman British towns. They killed and enslaved the Britons or drove them to the distant parts of the country. The Britons found refuge in the mountainous districts of Cornwall and Wales; some Britons fled to Armorice (later called *Small Britanny* or *Bretagne,* in Modern France). Celtic tribes remained intact only in Scotland and Ireland.

The bulk of the new population sprang from the Germanic invaders, though, to a certain extent, they intermixed with the Britons. Gradually the Germanic conquerors and the surviving Celts blended into a single people.

The invaders certainly prevailed over the natives so far as language was concerned; the linguistic conquest was complete. After the settlement West Germanic tongues came to be spoken all over Britain with the exception of a few distant regions where Celts were in the majority: Scotland, Wales and Cornwall.

§ 95. The migration of the Germanic tribes to the British Isles and the resulting separation from the Germanic tribes on the mainland was a decisive event in their linguistic history. Geographical separation, as well as mixture and unification of people, are major factors in linguistic differentiation and in the formation of languages. Being cut off from related OG tongues the closely related group of West Germanic dialects developed into a separate Germanic language, English. That is why the Germanic settlement of Britain can be regarded as the beginning of the independent history of the English language.

Events of External History between the 5th and 11th c.

§ 96. The history of Anglo-Saxon Britain from the 5th to the 11th c. has been reconstructed from multiple sources: Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon historical chronicles and le-

gal documents. Some events of external history have a direct bearing on the development of the language and therefore must be recalled here. They are: the economic and social structure of society, the introduction of Christianity and the relations between the kingdoms.

The period from the 5th till the 11th c. (which is called *Old English* in the history of the language) was a transitional period from the tribal and slave-owning system to feudalism.

The basic economic unit was the feudal manor; it was a self-contained economic unit, as it grew its own food and carried on some small industries to cover its needs. Consequently, there was little social intercourse between the population of neighbouring areas. Tribal and clan division was gradually superseded by townships and shires, which were local entities having no connection with kinship. The new economic and geographical groupings and barriers did not necessarily correspond to the original areas of tribal settlement.

These conditions were reflected in the development of the West Germanic tongues brought to Britain. The economic isolation of the regions as well as the political disunity of the country led to the formation of new geographical boundaries between the speech of different localities. The growth of feudalism was accompanied by the rise of regional dialectal division replacing the tribal division of the Germanic settlers. These forces, however, worked together with the unifying force: the complete separation from related continental tribes (and tongues) united the people into one corporate whole and transformed their closely related dialects into a single tongue different from its continental relations.

§ 97. The relative weight of the OE kingdoms and their inter-influence was variable. Four of the kingdoms at various times secured superiority in the country: Kent, Northumbria and Mercia — during the Early OE, pre-written period, and Wessex — all through the period of Written OE.

The supremacy of Kent to the south of the Humber lasted until the early 7th c.; it is attributed to the cultural superiority of Kent and its close contact with the mainland. The 7th and the 8th c. witnessed the temporary rise of Northumbria, followed by a period of balance of power of the three main rivals (Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex) and the dominance of Mercia, large and prosperous kingdom in the rich Midland plains. Yet already during Mercia's supremacy Wessex had secured the control of Sussex and Kent, and was growing more influential. The conquest of Mercia by Wessex in the early 9th c. reversed the position of the two kingdoms: Wessex was brought to the fore and acquired the leadership unsurpassed till the end of the OE period (11th c.). Wessex was a kingdom with good frontiers and vast areas of fertile land in the valley of the Thames; the control of London and the lower Thames valley (formerly part of Essex) as well as the growing contacts with the Franconian Empire contributed to the rise of Wessex. Apart from internal reasons the unification of England under the leadership of Wessex was speeded up by a new factor: the pressure of a common enemy.

§ 98. In the 8th c. raiders from Scandinavia (the "Danes") made

their first plundering attacks on England. The struggle of the English against the Scandinavians lasted over 300 years, in the course of which period more than half of England was occupied by the invaders and reconquered again. At first the Danes came in small bands, ravaged the district and escaped with the booty to their ships. About the middle of the 9th c. the raids increased in frequency and entered upon a new phase; great war hosts began to arrive making attempts at conquest and settlement. The Scandinavians subdued Northumbria and East Anglia, ravaged the eastern part of Mercia, and advanced on Wessex. Like their predecessors, the West Germanic invaders, the Scandinavians came in large numbers to settle in the new areas. They founded many towns and villages in northern England; in many regions there sprang up a mixed population made up of the English and the Danes. Their linguistic amalgamation was easy, since their tongues belonged to the same linguistic group. The ultimate effect of the Scandinavian invasions on the English language became manifest at a later date, in the 12th-13th c., when the Scandinavian element was incorporated in the central English dialects; but the historical events that led to the linguistic influence date from the 9th and 10th c.

Wessex stood at the head of the resistance. Under King Alfred of Wessex, one of the greatest figures in English history, by the peace treaty of 878 England was divided into two halves: the north-eastern half under Danish control called *Danelaw* and the south-western half united under the leadership of Wessex. The reconquest of Danish territories was carried on successfully by Alfred's successors but in the late 10th c. the Danish raids were renewed again; they reached a new climax in the early 11th c. headed by Sweyn and Canute. The attacks were followed by demands for regular payments of large sums of money (called *Danegeld* "Danish money"), which was collected from many districts and towns; about one eighth of Danegeld came from London, the largest and wealthiest of English towns. In 1017 Canute was acknowledged as king, and England became part of a great northern empire, comprising Denmark and Norway. On Canute's death (1035) his kingdom broke up and England regained political independence; by that time it was a single state divided into six earldoms.

§ 99. A most important role in the history of the English language was played by the introduction of Christianity. The first attempt to introduce the Roman Christian religion to Anglo-Saxon Britain was made in the 6th c. during the supremacy of Kent. In 597 a group of missionaries from Rome despatched by Pope Gregory the Great ("St. Augustine's mission") landed on the shore of Kent. They made Canterbury their centre and from there the new faith expanded to Kent, East Anglia, Essex, and other places. The movement was supported from the North; missionaries from Ireland brought the Celtic variety of Christianity to Northumbria. (The Celts had been converted to Christianity during the Roman occupation of Britain.) In less than a century practically all England was Christianised. The strict unified organisation of the church proved a major factor in the centralisation of the country.

The introduction of Christianity gave a strong impetus to the growth

of culture and learning. Monasteries were founded all over the country, with monastic schools attached. Religious services and teaching were conducted in Latin. A high standard of learning was reached in the best English monasteries, especially in Northumbria, as early as the 8th and 9th c. There was the famous monastery of Lindisfarne, founded by Aidan, who had come with the Irish priests; the monastery of Jarrow, where the Venerable Bede, the first English historian, lived and worked. During the Scandinavian invasions, the Northumbrian culture was largely wiped out. The monastery at Lindisfarne was destroyed by the Danes in one of their early plundering attacks. English culture shifted to the southern kingdoms, most of all to Wessex, where a cultural efflorescence began during the reign of Alfred (871-901); from that time till the end of the OE period Wessex, with its capital at Winchester, remained the cultural centre of England.

Old English Dialects. Linguistic Situation

§ 100. The Germanic tribes who settled in Britain in the 5th and 6th c. spoke closely related tribal dialects belonging to the West Germanic subgroup. Their common origin and their separation from other related tongues as well as their joint evolution in Britain transformed them eventually into a single tongue, English. Yet, at the early stages of their development in Britain the dialects remained disunited. On the one hand, the OE dialects acquired certain common features which distinguished them from continental Germanic tongues; on the other hand, they displayed growing regional divergence. The feudal system was setting in and the dialects were entering a new phase; tribal dialectal division was superseded by geographical division, in other words, tribal dialects were transformed into local or regional dialects.

The following four principal OE dialects are commonly distinguished:

Kentish, a dialect spoken in the area known now as Kent and Surrey and in the Isle of Wight. It had developed from the tongue of the Jutes and Frisians.

West Saxon, the main dialect of the Saxon group, spoken in the rest of England south of the Thames and the Bristol Channel, except Wales and Cornwall, where Celtic tongues were preserved. Other Saxon dialects in England have not survived in written form and are not known to modern scholars.

Mercian, a dialect derived from the speech of southern Angles and spoken chiefly in the kingdom of Mercia, that is, in the central region, from the Thames to the Humber.

Northumbrian, another Anglian dialect, spoken from the Humber north to the river Forth (hence the name — North-Humbrian).

The distinction between Mercian and Northumbrian as local OE dialects testifies to the new foundations of the dialectal division: regional in place of tribal, since according to the tribal division they represent one dialect, Anglian.

The boundaries between the dialects were uncertain and probably movable. The dialects passed into one another imperceptibly and dia-

England in the Old English period

lectal forms were freely borrowed from one dialect into another; however, information is scarce and mainly pertains to the later part of the OE period. Throughout this period the dialects enjoyed relative equality; none of them was the dominant form of speech, each being the main type used over a limited area.

As mentioned above, by the 8th c. the centre of English culture had shifted to Northumbria, which must have brought the Northumbrian dialect to the fore; yet, most of the writing at that time was done in

Latin or, perhaps, many OE texts have perished. In the 9th c. the political and cultural centre moved to Wessex. Culture and education made great progress there; it is no wonder that the West Saxon dialect has been preserved in a greater number of texts than all the other OE dialects put together. Towards the 11th c. the written form of the West Saxon dialect developed into a bookish type of language, which, probably, served as the language of writing for all English-speaking people.

§ 101. It follows from the above description that the changes in the linguistic situation justify the distinction of two historical periods. In Early OE from the 5th to the 7th c. the would-be English language consisted of a group of spoken tribal dialects having neither a written nor a dominant form. At the time of written OE the dialects had changed from tribal to regional; they possessed both an oral and a written form and were no longer equal; in the domain of writing the West Saxon dialect prevailed over its neighbours. (Alongside OE dialects a foreign language, Latin, was widely used in writing.)

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What languages were spoken in the British Isles prior to the Germanic invasion? Which of their descendants have survived today?

2. What historical events account for the influence of Latin on OE?

3. Describe the linguistic situation in Britain before and after the Germanic settlement.

4. Explain the origin of the following place-names: *Britain, Scotland, Great Britain, Bretagne, England, Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, Wessex, Northumberland, Wales, Cornwall.*

5. The OE language is often called *Anglo-Saxon*. Why is this term not fully justified?

6. Why can we regard the group of OE dialects as a single language despite their differences, which continued to grow in later OE? What binds them together?

Chapter VI

OLD ENGLISH WRITTEN RECORDS

Runic Inscriptions

§ 102. The records of OE writing embrace a variety of matter: they are dated in different centuries, represent various local dialects, belong to diverse genres and are written in different scripts . The earliest written records of English are inscriptions on hard material made in a special alphabet known as the *runes*. The word *rune* originally meant 'secret', 'mystery' and hence came to denote inscriptions believed to be magic. Later the word "rune" was applied to the characters used in writing these inscriptions.

There is no doubt that the art of runic writing was known to the Germanic tribes long before they came to Britain, since runic inscriptions have also been found in Scandinavia (see § 38). The runes were used as letters, each symbol to indicate a separate sound. Besides, a

rune could also represent a word beginning with that sound and was called by that word, e.g. the rune þ denoting the sound [θ] and [ð] was called "thorn" and could stand for OE þorn (NE thorn); the runes ᚠ ᚹ stood for [w] and [f] and were called wynn 'joy' and feoh 'cattle' (NE fee).

In some inscriptions the runes were found arranged in a fixed order making a sort of alphabet. After the first six letters this alphabet is called futhark ᚠᚢᚦᚩᚱᚲ .

The runic alphabet is a specifically Germanic alphabet, not to be found in languages of other groups. The letters are angular; straight lines are preferred, curved lines avoided; this is due to the fact that runic inscriptions were cut in hard material: stone, bone or wood. The shapes of some letters resemble those of Greek or Latin, others have not been traced to any known alphabet, and the order of the runes in the alphabet is certainly original. To this day the origin of the runes is a matter of conjecture.

The number of runes in different OG languages varied. As compared to continental, the number of runes in England was larger: new runes were added as new sounds appeared in English (from 28 to 33 runes in Britain against 16 or 24 on the continent).

Neither on the mainland nor in Britain were the runes ever used for everyday writing or for putting down poetry and prose works. Their main function was to make short inscriptions on objects, often to bestow on them some special power or magic.

§ 103. The two best known runic inscriptions in England are the earliest extant OE written records. One of them is an inscription on a box called the "Franks Casket", the other is a short text on a stone cross in Dumfriesshire near the village of Ruthwell known as the "Ruthwell Cross". Both records are in the Northumbrian dialect.

ᛉᚷᛗᛖᚱᛁᛜᚠᚹᛖᛏᚨᚱᛚᚢᚾᚻᛖᚳᚳᚠᛗᛁᚺᛏᛗᛊᚳᛖᛏᛁᛏᛖᛏ

Agate ring with runic inscription (1/1).

The Franks Casket was discovered in the early years of the 19th c. in France, and was presented to the British Museum by a British archeologist, A. W. Franks. The Casket is a small box made of whale bone; its four sides are carved: there are pictures in the centre and

runic inscriptions around. The longest among them, in alliterative verse, tells the story of the whale bone, of which the Casket is made.

The Ruthwell Cross is a 15ft tall stone cross inscribed and ornamented on all sides. The principal inscription has been reconstructed into a passage from an OE religious poem, THE DREAM OF THE ROOD, which was also found in another version in a later manuscript.

Many runic inscriptions have been preserved on weapons, coins, amulets, tombstones, rings, various cross fragments. Some runic insertions occur in OE manuscripts written in Latin characters. The total number of runic inscriptions in OE is about forty; the last of them belong to the end of the OE period.

Old English Manuscripts

§ 104. Our knowledge of the OE language comes mainly from manuscripts written in Latin characters. Like elsewhere in Western Europe Latin in England was the language of the church and also the language of writing and education. The monks were practically the only literate people; they read and wrote Latin and therefore began to use Latin letters to write down English words. Like the scribes of other countries, British scribes modified the Latin script to suit their needs: they changed the shape of some letters, added new symbols to indicate sounds, for which Latin had no equivalents, attached new sound values to Latin letters.

§ 105. The first English words to be written down with the help of Latin characters were personal names and place names inserted in Latin texts; then came glosses and longer textual insertions.

All over the country, in the kingdoms of England, all kinds of legal documents were written and copied. At first they were made in Latin, with English names and place-names spelt by means of Latin letters, later they were also written in the local dialects. Many documents have survived on single sheets or have been copied into large manuscripts: various wills, grants, deals of purchase, agreements, proceedings of church councils, laws, etc. Most of them are now commonly known under the general heading of "Anglo-Saxon Charters"; the earliest are in Kentish and Mercian (8-9th c.); later laws and charters are written in West Saxon though they do not necessarily come from Wessex: West Saxon as the written form of language was used in different regions.

Glosses to the Gospels and other religious texts were made in many English monasteries, for the benefit of those who did not know enough Latin. Their chronology is uncertain but, undoubtedly, they constitute early samples of written English. We may mention the Corpus and Epinal glossaries in the 8th c. Mercian, consisting of words to the Latin text arranged alphabetically, the interlinear glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels: separate words and word-for-word translations scribbled between the Latin lines of beautifully ornamented manuscripts, and the glosses in the Durham Ritual, both in the 10th c. Northumbrian; and

also the Rushworth Gospels in Mercian and Northumbrian of the same century. *:·, ;:·(∪

§ 106. Among the earliest insertions in Latin texts are pieces of OE poetry. Bede's HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLO-RUM (written in Latin in the 8th c.) contains an English fragment of five lines known as "Bede's Death Song" and a religious poem of nine lines, "Cædmon's Hymn".

OE poetry constitutes a most precious literary relic and quite a substantial portion of the records in the vernacular. All in all we have about 30,000 lines of OE verse from many poets of some three centuries. The names of the poets are unknown except Cædmon and Cynewulf, two early Northumbrian authors.

OE poetry is mainly restricted to three subjects: heroic, religious and lyrical. It is believed that many OE poems, especially those dealing with heroic subjects, were composed a long time before they were written down; they were handed down from generation to generation in oral form. Perhaps, they were first recorded in Northumbria some time in the 8th c., but have survived only in West Saxon copies made a long time after-wards — the 10th or 11th c.

The greatest poem of the time was BEOWULF, an epic of the 7th or 8th c. It was originally composed in the Mercian or Northumbrian dialect, but has come down to us in a 10th c. West Saxon copy. It is valued both as a source of linguistic material and as a work of art; it is the oldest poem in Germanic literature. BEOWULF is built up of several songs arranged in three chapters (over 3,000 lines in all). It is based on old legends about the tribal life of the ancient Teutons. The author (unknown) depicts vividly the adventures and fights of legendary heroes some of which can be traced to historical events.

In the 10th c., when the old heroic verses were already declining, some new war poems were composed and inserted in the prose historical chronicles: THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH, THE BATTLE OF MALDON. They bear resemblance to the ancient heroic poems but deal with contemporary events: the wars with the Scots, the Picts and the raiders from Scandinavia.

Another group of poems are OE elegiac (lyrical) poems: WIDSITH ("The Traveller's Song"), THE WANDERER, THE SEAFARER, and others. THE WANDERER depicts the sorrows and bereavement of a poet in exile: he laments the death of his protectors and friends and expresses his resignation to the gloomy fate. THE SEAFARER is con-sidered to be the most original of the poems; it gives a mournful picture of the dark northern seas and sings joy at the return of the spring. Most of those poems are ascribed to Cynewulf.

Religious poems paraphrase, more or less closely, the books of the Bible — GENESIS, EXODUS (written by Cædmon). ELENE, AND-REAS, CHRIST, FATE OF THE APOSTLES tell the life-stories of apostles and saints or deal with various subjects associated with the Gospels (e.g. in the DREAM OF THE ROOD, the tree of which the cross was made tells its story from the time it was cut to the crucifixion of

Christ; extracts from this poem were carved in runes on the Ruthwell Cross).

§ 107. OE poetry is characterised by a specific system of versification and some peculiar stylistic devices. Practically all of it is written in the OG alliterative verse: the lines are not rhymed and the number of the syllables in a line is free, only the number of stressed syllables being fixed. The line is divided into two halves with two strongly stressed syllables in each half and is bound together by the use of the same sound at the beginning of at least two stressed syllables in the line.

Here is the beginning of BEOWULF arranged in lines with stressed syllables and alliterating sounds italicized:

Hwæt wē ӡār-Dena in ӡēardaӡum
"Lo, we of the spear-Danes in yore-days
þēodcyninӡa þrym ӡefrunon
of the(ir) folk-kings the fame have heard
hū þā æþelinӡas ellen fremedon
how the nobly-descended (ones) deeds of valour wrought."

The style of OE poetry is marked by the wide use of metaphorical phrases or compounds describing the qualities or functions of the thing; e.g. OE hēaþu-swāt — 'war-sweat' for blood, OE brēost-hord — 'breast-hoard' for thought (see also § 278). This kind of metaphor naturally led to the composition of riddles, another peculiar production of OE poetry. (Some riddles contain descriptions of nature; many riddles describe all kinds of everyday objects in roundabout terms and make a sort of encyclopedia of contemporary life; for instance, the riddle of the shield which describes its sufferings on the battle-field; of an ox-horn used as a trumpet and as a drinking cup: a swan, a cuckoo, a bookworm (see text 5 in Appendix).

§ 108. OE prose is a most valuable source of information for the history of the language. The earliest samples of continuous prose are the first pages of the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES: brief annals of the year's happenings made at various monasteries. In the 9th c. the chronicles were unified at Winchester, the capital of Wessex. Though sometimes dropped or started again, the Chronicles developed into a fairly complete prose history of England; the Winchester annals were copied and continued in other monasteries.

Several versions of the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES have survived. Having no particular literary value they are of greatest interest to the philologist, as they afford a closer approach to spoken OE than OE poetry or prose translations from Latin; the style lacks conciseness, the syntax is primitive, for it reflects faithfully the style of oral narration.

Literary prose does not really begin until the 9th c. which witnessed a flourishing of learning and literature in Wessex during King Alfred's reign. The flourishing is justly attributed to King Alfred and a group of scholars he had gathered at his court at Winchester. An erudite himself, Alfred realised that culture could reach the people only in their own tongue. He translated from Latin books on geography, history and

philosophy, popular at the time. One of his most important contributions is the West Saxon version of Orosius's World History (HISTORIARUM ADVERSUS PAGANOS LIBRI SEPTEM "Seven books of history against the heathens"). It abounds in deviations from the original, expansions and insertions, which make it the more interesting; he included there a full description of the lands where Germanic languages were spoken; two accounts of voyages: one made by Ohthere, a Norwegian, who had sailed along the coast of Scandinavia into the White Sea (some passages from this account are quoted in § 113); another by Wulfstan, a Dane, who had travelled round the Baltic Sea. Alfred's (or his associates') other translations were a book of instruction for parish priests PASTORAL CARE (CURA PASTORALIS) by Pope Gregory the Great; the famous philosophical treatise ON THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY (DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ) by Boethius, a Roman philosopher and statesman. Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE, written about a hundred and fifty years before, was first rendered in English in Alfred's time, if not by Alfred himself.

By the 10th c. the West Saxon dialect had firmly established itself as the written form of English. The two important 10th c. writers are Ælfric and Wulfstan; they wrote in a form of Late West Saxon which is believed to have considerably deviated from spoken West Saxon and to have developed into a somewhat artificial bookish language.

Ælfric was the most outstanding writer of the later OE period. He produced a series of homilies to be used by the clergy during a year's service; the LIVES OF THE SAINTS written in alliterative metrical prose. He was the first to translate from Latin some parts of the Bible. Of especial interest are his textbooks: the COLLOQUIUM, which is a series of dialogues written as a manual for boys at a monastic school in Winchester and a LATIN GRAMMAR giving OE equivalents of Latin forms and constructions. The grammar shows the author's great ingenuity in devising English grammatical terms by means of translation-loans (see § 245).

Wulfstan, the second prominent late West Saxon author, was Archbishop of York in the early 11th c. He is famous for his collections of passionate sermons known as the HOMILIES.

§ 109. It was many hundred years later that scholars began to take an interest in older forms of the language and turned their attention to the old manuscripts. In the 17th c. Franciscus Junius, of Holland, accomplished an enormous amount of work in the study of early written records in OG tongues. He published the Gothic Gospels and a number of OE texts. Later, in the 18th and 19th c., many more OE texts were discovered; they were published in facsimile editions, and in the more modern English script, with commentary and translations. Most of the OE written material is kept in the British Museum; some of it is scattered elsewhere. A valuable manuscript of Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY dated in the year 746 is preserved in the Leningrad Public Library; the Latin text contains OE personal names, place-names and an early version of Cædmon's famous hymn in the Northumbrian dialect.

§ 110. Principal Old English Written Records

Dialects			
Kentish	West Saxon	Mercian	Northumbrian
8th century			
Names in Latin, Charters Glosses to Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE	Charters	Names in Latin, Charters Glosses	Runic inscriptions; the Ruthwell Cross; the Franks Casket Poetry attributed to Cædmon (HYMN, GENESIS, EXODUS) Poetry attributed to Cynewulf (CHRIST, FATE OF THE APOSTLES, ELENE) BEOWULF Elegiac poems (TRAVELLER'S SONG, SEAFARER, WANDERER)
9th century			
Charters	Charters Alfred's literary activity (translations of Gregory's PASTORAL CARE; Orosius' WORLD HISTORY; Boethius CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY; Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY); the earliest part of the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, Charters; Royal Writs	Charters of Mercian kings Interlinear glosses to psalters and gospels Hymns	Riddles

Dialects			
Kentish	West Saxon	Mercian	Northumbrian
	10 — 11th century		
Kentish Hymn; Kentish Psalm; Glosses to Proverbs	Ælfric's works: GOSPELS, HOMILIES, LIVES OF SAINTS, LATIN GRAMMAR, COLLOQUIUM, OLD TESTAMENT Copies of OE poetry[1] ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE continued; Wulfstan's HOMILIES		Glosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels The Rushworth Gospels The Durham Ritual

[1] The dialect of OE poetry is uncertain. Most of the poems are Anglian by origin (Northumbrian or Mercian) but were preserved in 10th c. West Saxon copies.

In modern publications, and especially in readers designed for students, the old records are edited. The runes are usually replaced by Latin characters, the abbreviations are deciphered, marks of length and missing letters are supplied, punctuation marks inserted. The spelling is to some extent regulated and normalised. In poetry the lines are shown in accordance with modern standards (in OE manuscripts verse was written out continuously, like prose). Apart from these minor adjustments all the peculiarities of the records are carefully reproduced, so that modern publications can be used as reliable material for the study of the OE language.

Chapter VII

OLD ENGLISH ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION

§ 111. OE scribes used two kinds of letters: the runes and the letters of the Latin alphabet. The runic alphabet was described above (§ 102). The bulk of the OE material — OE manuscripts — is written in the Latin script. The use of Latin letters in English differed in some points from their use in Latin, for the scribes made certain modifications and additions in order to indicate OE sounds.

Depending of the size and shape of the letters modern philologists distinguish between several scripts which superseded one another during the Middle Ages. Throughout the Roman period and in the Early Middle Ages capitals and uncial letters were used reaching almost an inch in height, so that only a few letters could find place on a large page; in the 5th—7th c. the uncial became smaller and the cursive script began to replace it in everyday life, while in book-making a still smaller script, minuscule, was employed. The variety used in Britain is known as the Irish, or insular, minuscule. Out of the altered shapes of letters used in this script — *d, f, g,* and others — only a peculiar shape of *g, ʒ* is preserved in modern publications. In the OE variety of the Latin alphabet *i* and *j* were not distinguished; nor were *u* and *v*; the letters *k, q, x* and *w* were not used until many years later. A new letter was devised by putting a stroke through *d — đ* or *ð,* also the capital letter — Đ to indicate the voiceless and the voiced interdental [θ] and [ð]. The letter *a* was used either alone or as part of a ligature made up of *a* and *e — æ*; likewise in the earlier OE texts we find the ligature *œ* (*o* plus *e*), which was later replaced by *e*.

The most interesting peculiarity of OE writing was the use of some

runic characters, in the first place, the rune called "thorn" Þ which

was employed alongside the crossed *d, ð* to indicate [θ] and [ð] — it is usually preserved in modern publications as a distinctive feature of the OE script. In the manuscripts one more rune was regularly

used — ƿ "wynn" for the sound [w]. In modern publications it is

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replaced by *w*. Some runes were occasionally used not as letters but as symbols for the words which were their names: e.g. ᛞ for OE *dæᵹ*, ᛗ for OE *mann* (NE *day, man*).

A page from the Gospels in Latin with
interlinear Old English glosses

Like any alphabetic writing, OE writing was based on a phonetic principle: every letter indicated a separate sound. This principle, however, was not always observed, even at the earliest stages of phonetic

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spelling. Some OE letters indicated two or more sounds, even distinct phonemes, e.g. ȝ stood for four different phonemes (see below); some letters, indicating distinct sounds stood for positional variants of phonemes — a and æ. A careful study of the OE sound system has revealed that a set of letters, s, f and þ (also shown as ð) stood for two sounds each: a voiced and voiceless consonant. And yet, on the whole, OE spelling was far more phonetic and consistent than Mod E spelling.

The letters of the OE alphabet below are supplied with transcription symbols, if their sound values in OE differ from the sound values normally attached to them in Latin and other languages.

Old English Alphabet

a		n	[n], [ŋ]
æ			
b		o	
c	[k] or [k'][1]	p	
d		r	
e		s	[s] or [z]
f	[f] or [v]	t	
ȝ	[g], [g'], [γ] or [j]	þ, ð	[ð] or [θ]
h	[x], [x'] or [h]	u	
i		w	
l		x	
m		y	[y][a]

The letters could indicate short and long sounds. The length of vowels is shown by a macron: bāt [baːt], NE boat or by a line above the letter, as in the examples below; long consonants are indicated by double letters. (The differences between long and short sounds are important for the correct understanding of the OE sound system and sound changes, but need not be observed in reading.)

§ 112. In reading OE texts one should observe the following rules for letters indicating more than one sound.

The letters f, s and þ, ð stand for voiced fricatives between vowels and also between a vowel and a voiced consonant; otherwise they indicate corresponding voiceless fricatives:

f	OE ofer ['over]	NE over	OE feohtan ['feoxtan]	NE fight
	selfa ['selva]	self	oft [oft]	often
s	risan ['riːzan]	rise	rās [raːs]	rose
			ȝāst [gaːst]	ghost
þ, ð	ōðer ['oːðer]	other	ðæt [θæt]	that
	wyrþe ['wyrðe]	worthy	lēoþ [leoːθ]	'song'

---

[1] The symbol ' means 'soft, palatal'.
[a] A front labialised vowel like the vowel in Fr plume or G Bücher.

The letter ȝ stands for [g] initially before back vowels, for [j] before and after front vowels, for [γ] between back vowels and for [g'] mostly when preceded by c:

OE ȝān [g], ȝēar [j], dæȝ [j], daȝas [γ], secȝan [gg] (NE go, year, day, days, say).

The letter h stands for [x] between a back vowel and a consonant and also initially before consonants and for [x'] next to front vowels; the distribution of [h] is uncertain:

OE hlǣne [x], tāhte [x], niht [x'], hē [x] or [h] (NE lean, taught, night, he).

The letter n stands for [n] in all positions except when followed by [k] or [g]; in this case it indicates [ŋ]: OE sinȝan (NE sing).

§ 113. The following sentences supplied with transcription and a translation into Mod E illustrate the use of the alphabet in OE. The passage is taken from Ohthere's account of his voyage round the Scandinavian peninsula, inserted by King Alfred in his translation of Orosius' WORLD HISTORY (West Saxon dialect, 9th. c.):

Ōhthere sǣde his hlāforde Ælfrēde
['o:xtxere 'sæ:de his 'xla:vorde 'ælfre:de]
"Ohthere said (to) his lord Alfred

cyninȝe þæt hē ealra Norðmanna norþmest
['kyniŋge θæt he: 'ealra 'norθ͵mānna 'norθ͵mest]
king that he (of) all Northmen to the North

būde ... þā fōr he ȝiet norþryhte
['bu:de θa: fo:r he: jiet 'norθ͵ryx'te]
lived (had lived). Then sailed he yet (farther) northwards

swā feor swā hē meahte on þǣm
[swa: feor swa: he: 'meaxte on θæ:m]
as far as he might (could) in the

ōþrum þrim daȝum ȝesiȝlan.
['o:ðrum θri:m 'dayum je'siylan]
other three days sail".

<center>Chapter VIII</center>

<center>OLD ENGLISH PHONETICS</center>

<center>Preliminary Remarks</center>

§ 114. OE is so far removed from Mod E that one may take it for an entirely different language; this is largely due to the peculiarities of its pronunciation.

The survey of OE phonetics deals with word accentuation, the systems of vowels and consonants and their origins. The OE sound system developed from the PG system. It underwent multiple changes in the

pre-written periods of history, especially in Early OE. The diachronic description of phonetics in those early periods will show the specifically English tendencies of development and the immediate sources of the sounds in the age of writing.

Word Stress

§ 115. The system of word accentuation inherited from PG underwent no changes in Early OE.

In OE a syllable was made prominent by an increase in the force of articulation; in other words, a dynamic or a force stress was employed. In disyllabic and polysyllabic words the accent fell on the root-morpheme or on the first syllable. Word stress was fixed; it remained on the same syllable in different grammatical forms of the word and, as a rule, did not shift in word-building either. For illustration re-read the passage given in § 113 paying special attention to word accentuation; cf. the forms of the Dat. case of the nouns *hlāforde* ['xlɑ:vorde], *cyninʒe* ['kyniŋge] used in the text and the Nom. case of the same nouns: *hlāford* ['xlɑ:vord], *cyninʒ* ['kyniŋg]. Polysyllabic words, especially compounds, may have had two stresses, chief and secondary, the chief stress being fixed on the first root-morpheme, e.g. the compound noun *Norðmonna* from the same extract, received the chief stress upon its first component and the secondary stress on the second component; the grammatical ending -a (Gen. pl) was unaccented. In words with prefixes the position of the stress varied: verb prefixes were unaccented, while in nouns and adjectives the stress was commonly thrown on to the prefix. Cf.:

ā-'risan, mis-'faran — v (NE *arise*, 'go astray')
tō-weard, 'or-eald — adj (NE *toward*, 'very old');
'mis-dǣd, 'uð-ʒenʒ — n (NE *misdeed*, 'escape').

If the words were derived from the same root, word stress, together with other means, served to distinguish the noun from the verb, cf.:

'and-swaru n — and-'swarian v (NE *answer*, *answer*)
'on-ʒin n — on-'ʒinnan v (NE *beginning*, *begin*)
'forwyrd n — for-'weorþan v ('destruction,' 'perish')

ORIGIN OF OLD ENGLISH VOWELS

Changes of Stressed Vowels in Early Old English

§ 116. Sound changes, particularly vowel changes, took place in English at every period of history.

The development of vowels in Early OE consisted of the modification of separate vowels, and also of the modification of entire sets of vowels.

It should be borne in mind that the mechanism of all phonetic changes strictly conforms with the general pattern (see § 26). The change begins with growing variation in pronunciation, which manifests itself in the appearance of numerous allophones: after the stage of increased variation, some allophones prevail over the others and a replacement takes place. It may result in the splitting of phonemes and their numerical growth, which fills in the "empty boxes" of the system or introduces new distinctive features. It may also lead to the merging of old phonemes, as their new prevailing allophones can fall together. Most frequently the change will involve both types of replacement, splitting and merging, so that we have to deal both with the rise of new phonemes and with the redistribution of new allophones among the existing phonemes. For the sake of brevity, the description of most changes below is restricted to the initial and final stages.

Independent Changes. Development of Monophthongs

§ 117. The PG short [a] and the long [a:], which had arisen in West and North Germanic, underwent similar alterations in Early OE: they were fronted and, in the process of fronting, they split into several sounds.

The principal regular direction of the change — [a]>[æ] and [a:]>[æ:] — is often referred to as the fronting or palatalisation of [a, a:]. The other directions can be interpreted as positional deviations or restrictions to this trend: short [a] could change to [ɔ] or [ā] and long [a:] became [o:] before a nasal; the preservation (or, perhaps, the restoration) of the short [a] was caused by a back vowel in the next syllable — see the examples in Table 1 (sometimes [a] occurs in other positions as well, e.g. OE *macian, land*, NE *make, land*).

Table 1

Splitting of [a] and [a:] in Early Old English

Change Illustrated		Examples		
PG	OE	Other OG languages	OE	NE
a	æ	Gt þata	þæt	*that*
		O Icel dagr	dæჳ	*day*
	o, ā	Gt mann(a)	mon	*man*
		O Icel land	land	*land*
	a	Gt magan	maჳan	*may*
		Gt dagos	daჳas	*days*
a:	æ:	OHG dâr	þǣr	*there*
		OHG slâfen	slǣpan	*sleep*
	o:	OHG mâno	mōna	*moon*
		O Icel mánaðr	mōnaþ	*month*

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Development of Diphthongs

§ 118. The PG diphthongs (or sequences of monophthongs, see § 56) — [ei, ai, iu, eu, au] — underwent regular independent changes in Early OE; they took place in all phonetic conditions irrespective of environment. The diphthongs with the *i*-glide were monophthongised into [i:] and [a:], respectively; the diphthongs in -*u* were reflected as long diphthongs [io:], [eo:] and [ea:]. (The changes are shown in Table 2.)

If the sounds in PG were not diphthongs but sequences of two separate phonemes, the changes should be defined as phonologisation of vowel sequences. This will mean that these changes increased the number of vowel phonemes in the language. Moreover, they introduced new distinctive features into the vowel system by setting up vowels with diphthongal glides; henceforth, monophthongs were opposed to diphthongs.

Table 2

Old English Reflexes of Proto-Germanic Diphthongs (or Bi-Phonemic Sequences)

Change illustrated		Examples		
PG	OE	Other OG languages	OE	NE
a + i	a:	*Gt* stains	stān	*stone*
		Gt ains	ān	*one*
e + i	i:	*Gt* meins[1]	mīn	*mine, my*
		Gt reisan	rīsan	*rise*
a + u	ea:	*O Icel* austr	ēast	*east*
		Gt auso	ēare	*ear*
		Gt augo (cf. G Auge)	ēaʒe	*eye*
e + u	eo:	*Gt* þiudans	þēoden	'king'
		Gt kiusan	cēosan	*choose*
i + u	io:	*Gt* diups	dēop, dīop[2]	*deep*

[1] The vowel in Gt is [i:], though the spelling resembles the PG [ei].
[2] In OE the diphthongs [eo:] and [io:] occur as dialectal variants.

§ 119. All the changes described in § 117, 118 were interconnected. Their independence has been interpreted in different ways.

The changes may have started with the fronting of [a] (that is the change of [a] to [æ]), which caused a similar development in the long vowels: [a:] > [æ:], and could also bring about the fronting of [a] in the biphonemic vowel sequence [a + u], which became [æa:], or more precisely [æ:ə], with the second element weakened. This weakening as well as the monophthongisation of the sequences in [-i] may have

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been favoured by the heavy stress on the first sound. According to other explanations the appearance of the long [a:] from the sequence [a+i] may have stimulated the fronting of long [a:], for this latter change helped to preserve the distinction between two phonemes; cf. OE *rād* (NE *road*) and OE *rǣd* ('advice') which had not fallen together because while [ai] became [a:] in *rād*, the original [a:] was narrowed to [æ:] in the word *rǣd*. In this case the fronting of [a:] to [æ:] caused a similar development in the set of short vowels; [a] > [æ], which reinforced the symmetrical pattern of the vowel system.

Another theory connects the transformation of the Early OE vowel system with the rise of nasalised long vowels out of short vowels before nasals and fricative consonants ([a, i, u] plus [m] or [n] plus [x, f, θ or s]), and the subsequent growth of symmetrical oppositions in the sets of long and short vowels (see § 143).

Assimilative Vowel Changes: Breaking and Diphthongisation

§ 120. The tendency to assimilative vowel change, characteristic of later PG and of the OG languages, accounts for many modifications of vowels in Early OE. Under the influence of succeeding and preceding consonants some Early OE monophthongs developed into diphthongs.

If a front vowel stood before a velar consonant there developed a short glide between them, as the organs of speech prepared themselves for the transition from one sound to the other. The glide, together with the original monophthong formed a diphthong.

The front vowels [i], [e] and the newly developed [æ], changed into diphthongs with a back glide when they stood before [h], before long (doubled) [ll] or [l] plus another consonant, and before [r] plus other consonants, e.g.: [e] > [eo] in OE *deorc*, NE *dark*. The change is known as breaking or fracture. Breaking is dated in Early OE, for in OE texts we find the process already completed; yet it must have taken place later than the vowel changes described above as the new vowel [æ], which appeared some time during the 5th c., could be subjected to breaking under the conditions described.

Breaking produced a new set of vowels in OE — the short diphthongs [ea] and [eo]; they could enter the system as counterparts of the long [ea:], [eo:], which had developed from PG prototypes (§ 118).

§ 121. Breaking was unevenly spread among the OE dialects: it was more characteristic of West Saxon than of the Anglian dialects (Mercian and Northumbrian); consequently, in many words, which contain a short diphthong in West Saxon, Anglian dialects have a short monophthong, cf. WS *tealde*, Mercian *talde* (NE *told*).

§ 122. Diphthongisation of vowels could also be caused by preceding consonants: a glide arose after a palatal consonants as a sort of transition to the succeeding vowel.

Table 3

Breaking and Diphthongisation

Conditions		Change illustrated		Examples		
		Early OE	OE	Other OG languages and OE dialects		WS	NE

Conditions		Early OE	OE	Other OG languages and OE dialects		WS	NE
Breaking	before *l+l* or *l*+other consonants	æ	ea	Gt Merc North	alls all ald	eall eald	*all* *old*
	h *h*+other consonants	æː æ e	eaː ea eo	OHG Gt OHG	nâh ahtau fehtan	nēah eahta feohtan	*near* *eight* *fight*
	r+ other consonants	e æ	eo ea	OHG OHG Gt	herza arm hardus	heorte earm heard	*heart* *arm* *hard*
Diphthongisation	after { sk'	e æ	ie ea	OHG OHG Gt	skild scal skadus	scield, scyld sceal sceadu	*shield* *shall* *shade*
	k'	e æ	ie ea	loan-words 	cerasus (L) castra (L)	cieres, cyrs ceaster	*cherries* *chester* ('camp')
	j	æː e	eaː ie	OHG Gt	jâr giban	ȝēar ȝiefan	*year* *give*

After the palatal consonants [k'], [sk'] and [j] short and long [e] and [æ] turned into diphthongs with a more front close vowel as their first element, e.g. Early OE *scæmu>OE sceamu* (NE *shame*). In the resulting diphthong the initial [i] or [e] must have been unstressed but later the stress shifted to the first element, which turned into the nucleus of the diphthong, to conform with the structure of OE diphthongs (all of them were falling diphthongs). This process known as "diphthongisation after palatal consonants" occurred some time in the 6th c. (see Table 3).

§ 123. Breaking and diphthongisation are the main sources of short diphthongs in OE. They are of special interest to the historians of English, for OE short diphthongs have no parallels in other OG languages and constitute a specifically OE feature.

The status of short diphthongs in the OE vowel system has aroused much discussion and controversy. On the one hand, short diphthongs are always phonetically conditioned as they are found only in certain phonetic environments and appear as positional allophones of respective monophthongs (namely, of those vowels from which they have originated). On the other hand, however, they are similar in quality to the long diphthongs, and their phonemic status is supported by the symmetrical arrangement of the vowel system. Their very growth can be accounted for by the urge of the system to have all its empty positions filled. However, their phonemic status cannot be confirmed by the contrast of minimal pairs: [ea], [æ], [a] as well as [eo] and [e] occur only in complementary distribution, never in identical phonetic conditions to distinguish morphemes; they also occur as variants in different dialects. On these grounds it seems likely that short diphthongs, together with other vowels, make up sets of allophones representing certain phonemes: [a, æ, ea] and [e, eo]. Perhaps the rise of short diphthongs merely reveals a tendency to a symmetrical arrangement of diphthongs in the vowel system, which was never fully realised at the phonemic level.

Palatal Mutation

§ 124. The OE tendency to positional vowel change is most apparent in the process termed "mutation". Mutation is the change of one vowel to another through the influence of a vowel in the succeeding syllable.

Table 4

Palatal Mutation

Change illustrated		Examples		
Vowels prior to palatal mutation	Mutated vowels	Gt or OE (without palatal mutation)	OE (palatal mutation)	NE
æ a ɔ	e	Gt mats OE sala, Gt sal-jan	mete sellan	*meat* *sale, sell*
		Gt sandjan	sendan	*send*
a:	æ:	OE lār, Gt lais-jan	lǣran	'teaching', 'teach'
		OE ān	ǣniȝ	*one, any*
o	e	OE dohtor	dehter	*daughter* (Nom. and Dat. sg)
o:	e:	OE bōc	bēc	*book, books*
		OE dōm		*doom*
		Gt gadōmjan	dēman	*deem*
u	y	OE full		*full*
		Gt fulljan	fyllan	*fill*
u:	y:	OE mūs	mȳs	*mouse, mice*
ea eo	ie	OE eald	ieldra	*old, elder*
		OE feor	fierra	*far, farther*
ea: eo:	ie:	OE ȝelēafa		*belief,*
		Gt galaubjan	ȝeliefan	*believe*
		OE þēod	elþiediȝ *adj*	'tribe', 'of a tribe'

This kind of change occurred in PG when [e] was raised to [i] and [u] could alternate with [o] under the influence of succeeding sounds (see § 55).

In Early OE, mutations affected numerous vowels and brought about profound changes in the system and use of vowels.

§ 125. The most important series of vowel mutations, shared in varying degrees by all OE languages (except Gothic), is known as "*i*-Umlaut" or "palatal mutation". Palatal mutation is the fronting and raising of vowels through the influence of [i] or [j] (the non-syllabic [i]) in the immediately following syllable. The vowel was fronted and made narrower so as to approach the articulation of [i]. Cf. OE *ān* (NE *one*) with a back vowel in the root and OE *æniȝ* (NE *any*) derived from the same root with the root vowel mutated to a narrower and more front sound under the influence of [i] in the suffix: [a:]>[æ:].

Since the sounds [i] and [j] were common in suffixes and endings, palatal mutation was of very frequent occurrence. Practically all Early OE monophthongs, as well as diphthongs except the closest front vowels [e] and [i] were palatalised in these phonetic conditions.

Due to the reduction of final syllables the conditions which caused palatal mutation, that is [i] or [j], had disappeared in most words by the age of writing; these sounds were weakened to [e] or were altogether lost (this is seen in all the examples above except *ænig* and *elpiediȝ*).

§ 126. Of all the vowel changes described, palatal mutation was certainly the most comprehensive process, as it could affect most OE vowels, both long and short, diphthongs and monophthongs. It led to the appearance of new vowels and to numerous instances of merging and splitting of phonemes.

The labialised front vowels [y] and [y:] arose through palatal mutation from [u] and [u:], respectively, and turned into new phonemes, when the conditions that caused them had disappeared. Cf. *mūs* and *mȳs* (from the earlier **mȳsi*, where [y:] was an allophone of [u:] before [i]). The diphthongs [ie, ie:] (which could also appear from diphthongisation after palatal consonants) were largely due to palatal mutation and became phonemic in the same way, though soon they were confused with [y, y:]. Other mutated vowels fell together with the existing phonemes, e.g. [œ] from [o] merged with [e, æ:], which arose through palatal mutation, merged with [æ:] from splitting (see § 117).

§ 127. Palatal mutation led to the growth of new vowel interchanges and to the increased variability of the root-morphemes: owing to palatal mutation many related words and grammatical forms acquired new root-vowel interchanges. Cf., e.g. two related words: OE *ȝe-mōt* n 'meeting' and OE *mētan* (NE *meet*), a verb derived from the noun-stem with the help of the suffix *-j-* (its earlier form was **mōtjan; -j-* was then lost but the root acquired two variants: *mōt-/mēt-*). Likewise we find variants of morphemes with an interchange of root-vowels in the grammatical forms *mūs, mȳs* (NE *mouse, mice*), *bōc, bēc* (NE *book, books*), since the plural was originally built by adding *-iz*. (Traces of palatal mutation are preserved in many modern words and forms, e.g. *mouse — mice,*

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foot — feet, tale — tell, blood — bleed; despite later phonetic changes, the original cause of the inner change is *i*-umlaut or palatal mutation.)

§ 128. Another kind of change referred to umlaut in Early OE is the so-called "velar-mutation" found in some of the OE dialects. It was caused by the influence of back vowels in the succeeding syllables, which transformed the accented root-vowels into diphthongs. Cf. OHG *swestar*, OE *sweostor* (NE *sister*); WS *limu*, other dialects *liomu* ('limbs'), WS *cæru, caru, cearu* (NE *care*).

§ 129. The dating, mechanism and causes of palatal mutation have been a matter of research and discussion over the last hundred years.

Palatal mutation in OE had already been completed by the time of the earliest written records; it must have taken place during the 7th c., though later than all the Early OE changes described above. This relative dating is confirmed by the fact that vowels resulting from other changes could be subjected to palatal mutation, e. g. OE *ieldra* (NE *elder*) had developed from **ealdira* by palatal mutation, which occurred when the diphthong [ea] had already been formed from [æ] by breaking (in its turn [æ] was the result of the fronting of Germanic [a]). The successive stages of the change can be shown as follows:

fronting breaking palatal mutation
[a] > [æ]   > [ea] > [ie]

The generally accepted phonetic explanation of palatal mutation is that the sounds [i] or [j] palatalised the preceding consonant, and that this consonant, in its turn, fronted and raised the root-vowel. This "mechanistic" theory is based on the assumed workings of the speech organs. An alternative explanation, sometimes called "psychological" or "mentalistic", is that the speaker unconsciously anticipates the [i] and [j] in pronouncing the root-syllable — and through anticipation adds an *i*-glide to the root-vowel. The process is thus subdivided into several stages, e.g. **dōmjan>*dōimjan>*dæmjan>*dēman* (NE *deem*). It has been found that some OE spellings appear to support both these theories, e.g. OE *secʒan* has a palatalised consonant [gg'] shown by the digraph *cʒ*; *Cōinwulf*, a name in BEOWULF, occurring beside another spelling *Cēnwulf*, shows the stage [oi:] in the transition from PG [o:] to OE [œ:], and [e:]: OE *cēn* 'bold'. The diphthongoids resulting from palatal mutation developed in conformity with the general tendency of the vowel system: in Early OE diphthongal glides were used as relevant phonemic distinctive features. In later OE the diphthongs showed the first signs of contraction (or monophthongisation) as other distinctive features began to predominate: labialisation and vowel length. (The merging of [ie, ie:] and [y, y:] mentioned above, can also be regarded as an instance of monophthongisation of diphthongs.)

§ 130. The following table shows changes of stressed vowels.

Table 5

Early Old English Vowel Changes

Proto-Germanic vowels	Changes with approximate dates		Late Old English vowels

5c.   6c. (breaking)   6-7c. (palatal mutation)

i — io — i · io

e — ie — e · eo

eo

æ — ea — æ · ea

a — a

ā — ā

o — o

u — u · y

i: — i:

e: — e:

ɛ: (W G a:) — æ: — æ: — æ:

a: — a: — a:

ɔ: — o: — o:

u: — y: — u: · y:

e+i — i:

a+i

e/i+u — io:/eo: — ie: · io:/eo:

a+u — ea: — ie: · ea:

———————— Main developments

— — — — — — Developments under certain conditions

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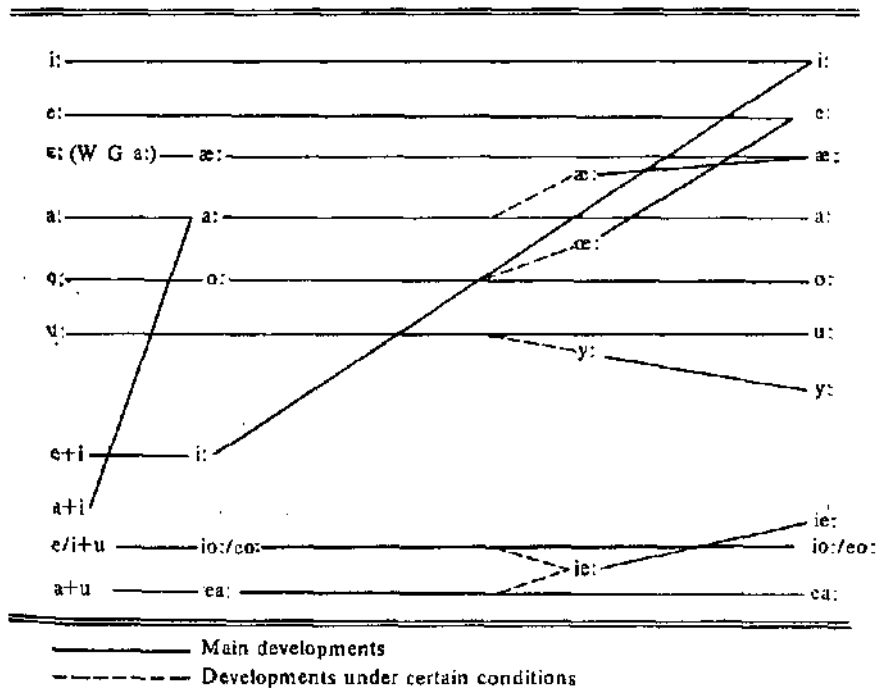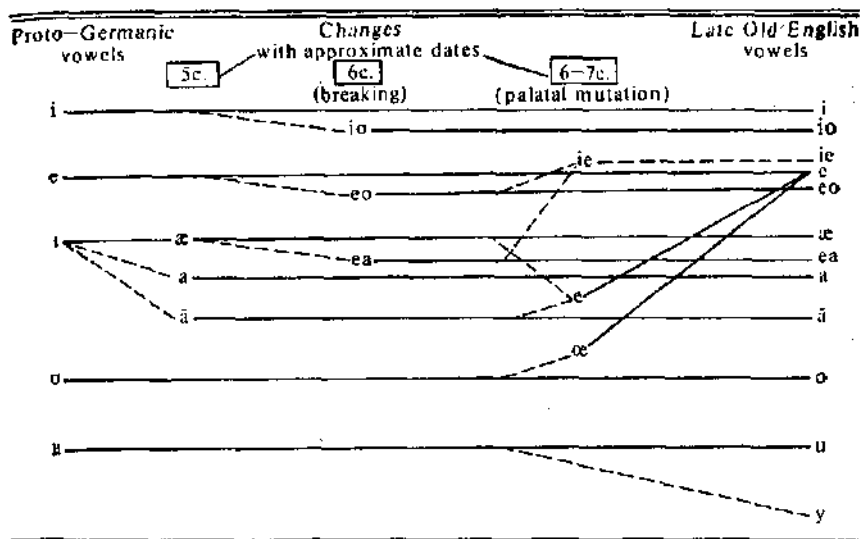
Changes of Unstressed Vowels
in Early Old English

§ 131. All the changes described above affected accented vowels. The development of vowels in unstressed syllables, final syllables in particular, was basically different. Whereas in stressed position the number of vowels had grown (as compared with the PG system), due to the appearance of new qualitative differences, the number of vowels distinguished in unstressed position had been reduced. In unaccented syllables, especially final, long vowels were shortened, and thus the opposition of vowels — long to short — was neutralised. Cf. OE *nama* (NE *name*) to the earlier **namōn*.

§ 132. It must also be mentioned that some short vowels in final unaccented syllables were dropped. After long syllables, that is syllables containing a long vowel, or a short vowel followed by more than one consonant, the vowels [i] and [u] were lost. Cf. the following pairs, which illustrate the retention of [u] and [i] after a short syllable, and their loss after a long one: OE *scipu* and *scēap* (NE *ships, sheep*, pl from **skeapu*); OE *werian — dēman* (NE *wear, deem*; cf. Gt *dōmjan*).

Old English Vowel System (9th-10th c.)

§ 133. The system of OE vowels in the 9th and 10th c. is shown in Table 6. The sounds are indicated with the help of OE letters serving as transcription symbols ([ā] is a nazalised [a]); length is shown by a colon.

The vowels shown in parentheses were unstable and soon fused with resembling sounds: [ā] with [a] or [o], [ie, ie:] with [y, y:].

The vowels are arranged in two lines in accordance with the chief phonemic opposition: they were contrasted through quantity as long to short and were further distinguished within these sets through qualitative differences as monophthongs and diphthongs, open and close, front and back, labialised and non-labialised.

Table 6

Old English Vowels

Monophthongs									Diphthongs		
Short	i	e	(œ)	æ	(ā)	a	o	u	y	(ie)	ea	eo
Long	i:	e:	(œ:)	æ:	a:		o:	u:	y:	(ie:)	ea:	eo:

Cf. some minimal pairs showing the phonemic opposition of short and long vowels:

OE dæl — dǣl (NE *dale,* 'part')
   is — īs (NE *is, ice*)
   col — cōl (NE *coal, cool*).

The following examples confirm the phonemic relevance of some qualitative differences:

OE rǣd — rād — rēad (NE 'advice', *road, red*)
   sē — sēo 'that' Masc. and Fem.
   mā — mē (NE *more, me*)

The OE vowel system displayed an obvious tendency towards a symmetrical, balanced arrangement since almost every long vowel had a corresponding short counterpart. However, it was not quite symmetrical: the existence of the nasalised [ā] in the set of short vowels and the debatable phonemic status of short diphthongs appear to break the balance.

§ 134. All the vowels listed in the table could occur in stressed position. In unstressed syllables we find only five monophthongs, and even these five vowels could not be used for phonemic contrast:

i — ǣniȝ (NE *any*)
e — *stāne,* Dat. sg of *stān* as opposed to
a — *stāna,* Gen. pl of the same noun (NE *stone*)
o — *bǣron* — Past pl Ind (of *beran* as opposed to *bǣren,* Subj. (NE *bear*)
u — *talu* (NE *tale*), Nom. sg as opposed to *tale* in other cases

The examples show that [e] was not contrasted to [i], and [o] was not contrasted to [u]. The system of phonemes appearing in unstressed syllables consists of three units:

<p style="text-align:center">e/i   a   o/u</p>

<p style="text-align:center">ORIGIN OF OLD ENGLISH CONSONANTS</p>

<p style="text-align:center">Consonant Changes in Pre-Written Periods</p>

§ 135. On the whole, consonants were historically more stable than vowels, though certain changes took place in all historical periods.

It may seem that being a typical OG language OE ought to contain all the consonants that arose in PG under Grimm's and Verner's Law. Yet it appears that very few noise consonants in OE correspond to the same sounds in PG; for in the intervening period most consonants underwent diverse changes: qualitative and quantitative, independent and positional.

Some of the consonant changes dated in pre-written periods are referred to as "West Germanic" (WG) as they are shared by all the languages of the WG subgroup; WG changes may have taken place at the transitional stage from PG to Early OE prior to the Germanic settlement of Britain. Other changes are specifically English; they took place in Early OE.

Treatment of Fricatives. Hardening. Rhotacism.
Voicing and Devoicing

§ 136. As shown in § 58, after the changes under Grimm's Law and Verner's Law PG had the following two sets of fricative consonants: voiceless [f, θ, x, s] and voiced [v, ð, γ, z].

In WG and in Early OE the difference between the two groups was supported by new features. PG voiced fricatives tended to be hardened to corresponding plosives while voiceless fricatives, being contrasted to them primarily as fricatives to plosives, developed new voiced allophones.

§ 137. The PG voiced [ð] (due to Verner's Law or to the third act of the shift) was always hardened to [d] in OE and other WG languages; cf., for instance, Gt *goþs, godai* [ð], O Icel, *gōðr* and OE *gōd* (NE *good*). The two other fricatives, [v] and [γ] were hardened to [b] and [g] initially and after nasals, otherwise they remained fricatives (see examples in Table 7).

§ 138. PG [z] underwent a phonetic modification through the stage of [ʒ] into [r] and thus became a sonorant, which ultimately merged with the older IE [r]. Cf. Gt. *wasjan*, O Icel *verja* and OE *werian* (NE *wear*). This process, termed *rhotacism*, is characteristic not only of WG but also of NG.

§ 139. In the meantime or somewhat later the PG set of voiceless fricatives [f, θ, x, s] and also those of the voiced fricatives which had not turned into plosives, that is, [v] and [γ], were subjected to a new process of voicing and devoicing. In Early OE they became or remained voiced intervocally and between vowels, sonorants and voiced consonants; they remained or became voiceless in other environments, namely, initially, finally and next to other voiceless consonants. Cf. Gt *qiþan, qaþ* with [θ] in both forms, and OE *cweðan* [ð] between vowels and *cwæð* [θ] at the end of the word (NE arch. *quoth* 'say').

The mutually exclusive phonetic conditions for voiced and voiceless fricatives prove that in OE they were not phonemes, but allophones.

Table 7

Reflexes of Proto-Germanic Fricatives in Old English

Change illustrated			Examples			
	Late PG	OE	Other OG languages	OE		NE
Hardening	ð	d	O Icel rauðr	rēad		*red*
			Gt wasida [ð]	werede		*wore*, past of *wear*
	v	b	Gt broþar	brōþor		*brother*
				dumbe		*dumb*
	γ	g	Gt guma	ʒuma		'man'
Voicing or devoicing	v {	v	Gt sibun [v]	seofon [v]		*seven*
		f	Gt hlaifs	hlāfas [v]		*loaves*
			(Cf. R хлеб)	hlāf [f]		*loaf*
	f {	v	Gt wulfos	wulfas [v]		*wolves*
		f	Gt wulfs	wulf [f]		*wolf*
	θ {	ð	Gt siuþan [θ]	sēoþan [ð]		*seethe*
		θ	Gt sauþ [θ]	sēað [θ]		*seethed*
	γ {	γ	Gt dagos	daʒas		*days*
		x	Gt baúrgs	buruh, burh		*borough*
	s {	z	Gt kiusan [s]	cēosan [z]		*choose*
		s	Gt kaus [s]	cēas [s]		*chose*
Rhotacism	z	r	Gt maiza [z]	māra		*more*
			Gt huzd	hord		*hoard*

West Germanic Gemination of Consonants

§ 140. In all WG languages, at an early stage of their independent history, most consonants were lengthened after a short vowel before [j]. This process is known as WG "gemination" or "doubling" of consonants, as the resulting long consonants are indicated by means of double letters, e. g.: * *fuljan* > OE *fyllan* (NE *fill*); * *sætjan* > OE *settan* (NE *set*), cf. Gt *satjan*.

During the process, or some time later, [j] was lost, so that the long consonants ceased to be phonetically conditioned. When the long and short consonants began to occur in identical phonetic conditions, namely between vowels, their distinction became phonemic.

The change did not affect the sonorant [r], e. g. OE *werian* (NE *wear*); nor did it operate if the consonant was preceded by a long vowel, e. g. OE *dēman, mētan* (NE *deem, meet*) — the earlier forms of these words contained [j], which had caused palatal mutation but had not

led to the lengthening of consonants (the reconstruction of pre-written forms *mōtjan and *dōmjan is confirmed by OS motian and Gt domjan).

Velar Consonants in Early Old English. Growth of New Phonemes

§ 141. In Early OE velar consonants split into two distinct sets of sounds, which eventually led to the growth of new phonemes.

The velar consonants [k,g,x,γ] were palatalised before a front vowel, and sometimes also after a front vowel, unless followed by a back vowel. Thus in OE cild (NE child) the velar consonant [k] was softened to [k'] as it stood before the front vowel [i]: [*kild]>[k'ild]; similarly [k] became [k'] in OE sprǣc (NE speech) after a front vowel but not in OE sprecan (NE speak) where [k] was followed by the back vowel [a]. In the absence of these phonetic conditions the consonants did not change, with the result that lingual consonants split into two sets, palatal and velar. The difference between them became phonemic when, a short time later, velar and palatal consonants began to occur in similar phonetic conditions; cf. OE cild [k'ild], ciest [k'iest] (NE child, chest) with palatal [k'] and ceald, cēpan (NE cold, keep) with hard, velar [k] — both before front vowels.

Though the difference between velar and palatal consonants was not shown in the spellings of the OE period, the two sets were undoubtedly differentiated since a very early date. In the course of time the phonetic difference between them grew and towards the end of the period the palatal consonants developed into sibilants and affricates: [k']>[tʃ], [g]>[dʒ]; in ME texts they were indicated by means of special digraphs and letter sequences (see the Mod E descendants of the OE examples in Table 8).

Table 8

Palatalisation and Splitting of Velar Consonants

Change illustrated		Examples	
Before and after front vowels	In other positions	OE	NE
k	k'		cinn, birce, tǣcan (from *tākjan)	chin, birch, teach
	k	can, macian (from *makōjan)	can, make
g	g'	senɜan (from *sang-jan)	singe
g:	g':	ecɜ, brycɜ	edge, bridge
	g	ɜān, ɜrētan	go, greet
x	x'	neaht, niht	night
	x, h	hors, hlāf	horse, loaf
γ	j	dæɜ, ɜeard	day, yard
	γ	daɜas	days

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§ 142. The date of the palatalisation can be fixed with considerable precision in relation to other Early OE sound changes. It must have taken place after the appearance of [æ, æ:] (referred to the 5th c.) but prior to palatal mutation (late 6th or 7th c.); for [æ, æ:] could bring about the palatalisation of consonants (recall OE *spræc*, NE *speech*), while the front vowels which arose by palatal mutation could not. In OE *cēpan* (from **kōpjan*) and OE *cyninʒ* (with [e:] and [y] through palatal mutation) the consonant [k] was not softened, which is confirmed by their modern descendants, *keep* and *king*. The front vowels [y] and [e:] in these and similar words must have appeared only when the splitting of velar consonants was well under way. Yet it is their appearance that transformed the two sets of positional allophones into phonemes, for a velar and a palatal consonant could now occur before a front vowel, that is, in identical phonetic conditions: cf. OE *cyninʒ* and *cȳse* (NE *king*, *cheese*).

Loss of Consonants in Some Positions

§ 143. Comparison with other OG languages, especially Gothic and O Icel, has revealed certain instances of the loss of consonants in WG and Early OE.

Nasal sonorants were regularly lost before fricative consonants; in the process the preceding vowel was probably nasalised and lengthened. Cf.:

Gt *fimf*, O Icel *fim*, OHG *fimf* — OE *fīf* (NE *five*)
Gt *uns*, OHG *uns* — OE *ūs* (NE *us*)

§ 144. Fricative consonants could be dropped between vowels and before some plosive consonants; these losses were accompanied by a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel or the fusion of the preceding and succeeding vowel into a diphthong, cf. OE *sēon*, which corresponds to Gt *saihwan*, OE *slēan* (NE *slay*), Gt *slahan*, G. *schlagen*, OE *sæʒde* and *sæde* (NE *said*).

§ 145. We should also mention the loss of semi-vowels and consonants in unstressed final syllables. [j] was regularly dropped in suffixes after producing various changes in the root: palatal mutation of vowels, lengthening of consonants after short vowels. The loss of [w] is seen in some case forms of nouns: Nom. *trēo*, Dat. *trēowe* (NE *tree*); Nom. *sæ*, Dat. *sæwe* (NE *sea*), cf. Gt *triwa*, *saiws*.

Old English Consonant System

§ 146. Table 9 shows the system of OE consonants in the 9th and 10th c. (see p. 90).

The system consisted of several correlated sets of consonants. All the consonants fell into noise consonants and sonorants. The noise consonants were subdivided into plosives and fricatives; plosives were further differentiated as voiced and voiceless, the difference being phonemic. The fricative consonants were also subdivided into voiced and voiceless; in this set, however, sonority was merely a phonetic difference

Table 9

Old English Consonants

Place of articulation / Manner of articulation			Labial, labiodental	Forelingual (dental)	Mediolingual (palatal)	Back lingual (velar)
Noise consonants	plosive	voiceless voiced	p p: b b:	t t: d d:	k' k': g':	k k: g g:
	fricative	voiceless voiced	f f: v	θ θ: s s: ð z	x' x': γ' (j)	x x: (h) γ
Sonorants			m m: w	n n: r l	j	(ŋ)

between allophones. Cf. OE *pin — bin*, where the difference in sonority is phonemically relevant (NE *pin, bin*) and OE *hlāf* [f] — *hlāford* [v] where the difference is positional: the consonant is voiced intervocally and voiceless finally (incidentally, voiced and voiceless fricatives were not distinguished in OE spelling). The opposition of palatal and velar lingual consonants [k] — [k'], [g] — [g'] had probably become phonemic by the time of the earliest written records (see § 141). (Some scholars include in the system one more palatal consonant: [sk'], spelt as *sc*, e. g. OE *scip* (NE *ship*); others treat it as a sequence of two sounds [s'] and [k'] until Early ME when they fused into a single sibilant [ʃ].) It is noteworthy that among the OE consonants there were few sibilants and no affricates.

§ 147. The most universal distinctive feature in the consonant system was the difference in length. During the entire OE period long consonants are believed to have been opposed to short ones on a phonemic level; they were mostly distinguished in intervocal position. Single and geminated (long) consonants are found in identical phonetic conditions. Cf. OE *lǣde* — 1st p. sg Pres. of *lǣdan* (NE *lead*) and *lǣdde* (Past); OE *sticca* (NE *stick*) — *stica* (Gen. case pl of OE *stice*, NE *stitch*). In final position the quantitative opposition was irrelevant and the second letter, which would indicate length, was often lacking, e. g. OE *man* and *eal* are identical to *mann, eall* (NE *man, all*).

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Did word stress in OE always fall on the first syllable? Recall some regular shifts of stress in word-building and give similar examples from present-day English.

2. Comment on the phonemic status of OE short diphthongs (give your reasons why they should be treated as phonemes or as allophones).

3. Account for the difference between the vowels in OE *pæt, eal* and *monn,* all going back to PG words with [a] (cf Gt *pata, manna, alls*).

4. Account for the interchange of vowels in OE *dæʒe, daʒas* (NE *day* — Dat. sg and Nom. pl); *bæð, baðian* (NE *bath, bathe*).

5. Say which word in each pair of parallels is OE and which is Gt. Pay attention to the difference in the vowels:

rauþs — ̣rēad (NE *red*); hām — haims (NE *home*); beald — balþei (NE *bold*); barms — bearm ('chest'); dēaf — daufs (NE *deaf*); triu — trēo (NE *tree*); lēof — liufs ('dear', rel. to NE *love*); qiþan — cweðan (NE quoth 'say').

In the same way classify the following words into OE and O Scand: bēaʒ — baugr ('ring'); fár — fær (NE *fear*); man *or* mon — maðr (Gt *manna*); dauþr — dēaþ (NE *death*); eall — allr (NE *all*); earm — armr (NE *arm*); harpa — hearpe (NE *harp*); faðir — fæder (NE *father*); fæst — fastr (NE *fast*).

6. Account for the difference between the root-vowels in OE and in parallels from other OG languages:

Gt langiza, OE lenʒra (NE *longer*); Gt marei, OHG meri, OE mere (NE obs. *mere* 'lake'); Gt sandian, OE sendan (NE *send*); Gt ubils, OE yfel (NE *evil*); Gt be-laibian, OE lǣfan (NE *leave*); Gt. baugian, OE bȳʒan, bieʒan ('bend'); Gt fulljan, OE fyllan (NE *fill*); Gt laisjan — OE lǣran 'teach'.

7. Explain the term "mutation" and innumerate the changes referred to mutations in Late PG and in Early OE. What do they all have in common?

8. Which word in each pair could go back to an OE prototype with palatal mutation and which is more likely to have descended from the OE word retaining the original non-mutated vowel? Mind that the spelling may often point to the earlier pronunciation of the word: *old — elder; strong — strength; goose — geese; man — men; full — fill; food — feed; brother — brethren; far — further* .

9. Was the OE vowel system symmetrical? State your arguments in favour and against its interpretation as a completely balanced system (See also question 2).

10. Define the sound values of the letters *f, ð, s* and comment on the system of OE consonant phonemes:

OE heofon, faran, ʒe-faran, hæfde, offrung, ofer (NE *heaven, fare, had, offering, over*); oððe, oðer, Norð, ðanne ('or', NE *other, North, then*); sæ, wisse, cēosan, cēas (NE *sea,* 'knew', *choose, chose*).

11. What consonant and vowel changes are illustrated by the following pairs of words?

Gt maiza — OE māra (NE *more*); Gt kunþian, OE cȳðan ('inform'); Gt dauþs — OE dēad (NE *dead*). Gt saljan — OE sellan (NE *sell*); OE þyncan — þūhte (NE *think — thought*); OE mæʒden, mǣden (NE *maiden*); Gt kinnus, OE cinn (NE *chin*); OHG isarn — OE ɪren (NE *iron*).

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Gt hausjan — OE hīeren (NE *hear*); O Scand skaft — OE sceaft (NE *shaft*).

12. Why can the voicing of fricative consonants in Early OE be regarded as a sort of continuation of Verner's Law? Describe the similarities and the differences between the two processes.

13. What peculiarities of OE consonants can account for the difference in the sound values of the italicised letters in the following modern words?

sand; ri*se* (OE rīsan); hou*se* — hou*ses* (OE hūs); ho*se* (OE hosa); hor*se* (OE hors); *th*ink, ba*th*e, pa*th* (OE þyncan, bāðian, pæð).

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Chapter IX

OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

Preliminary Remarks. Form-Building.
Parts of Speech and Grammatical Categories

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§ 148. OE was a synthetic, or inflected type of language; it showed the relations between words and expressed other grammatical meanings mainly with the help of simple (synthetic) grammatical forms. In building grammatical forms OE employed grammatical endings, sound interchanges in the root, grammatical prefixes, and suppletive formation.

Grammatical endings, or inflections, were certainly the principal form-building means used: they were found in all the parts of speech that could change their form; they were usually used alone but could also occur in combination with other means.

Sound interchanges were employed on a more limited scale and were often combined with other form-building means, especially endings. Vowel interchanges were more common than interchanges of consonants.

The use of prefixes in grammatical forms was rare and was confined to verbs. Suppletive forms were restricted to several pronouns, a few adjectives and a couple of verbs.

§ 149. The parts of speech to be distinguished in OE are as follows: the noun, the adjective, the pronoun, the numeral (all referred to as *nominal parts of speech* or *nomina*), the verb, the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction, and the interjection. Inflected parts of speech possessed certain grammatical categories displayed in formal and semantic correlations and oppositions of grammatical forms. Grammatical categories are usually subdivided into nominal categories, found in nominal parts of speech and verbal categories found chiefly in the finite verb.

We shall assume that there were five nominal grammatical categories in OE: number, case, gender, degrees of comparison, and the category of definiteness/indefiniteness (see § 185). Each part of speech had its own peculiarities in the inventory of categories and the number of members within the category (categorial forms). The noun had only two grammatical categories proper: number and case (for the distinction of gender see § 160 below). The adjective had the maximum number of categories — five. The number of members in the same grammatical

categories in different parts of speech did not necessarily coincide: thus the noun had four cases, Nominative, Genitive, Dative, and Accusative, whereas the adjective had five (the same four cases plus the Instrumental case)[1]. The personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd p., unlike other parts of speech, distinguished three numbers — Singular, Plural and Dual. Cf.

sg OE ic (*NE* I), *dual* wit 'we two', *pl* wē (*NE* we)
OE stān *n* (*NE* stone) — stānas (*NE* stones).

Verbal grammatical categories were not numerous: tense and mood — verbal categories proper — and number and person, showing agreement between the verb-predicate and the subject of the sentence.

The distinction of categorial forms by the noun and the verb was to a large extent determined by their division into morphological classes: declensions and conjugations.

§ 150. The following survey of OE grammar deals with the main parts of speech: the noun, the adjective, the pronoun, and the verb. Many features of the OE syntactic structure will be self-evident from the study of morphology; therefore the description of syntax is confined to the main peculiarities which may help to trace the trends of development in later periods.

The OE grammatical system is described synchronically as appearing in the texts of the 9th and 10th c. (mainly WS); facts of earlier, pre-written, history will sometimes be mentioned to account for the features of written OE and to explain their origin.

THE NOUN

Grammatical Categories. The Use of Cases

§ 151. The OE noun had two grammatical or morphological categories: number and case. In addition, nouns distinguished three genders, but this distinction was not a grammatical category; it was merely a classifying feature accounting, alongside other features, for the division of nouns into morphological classes.

The category of number consisted of two members, singular and plural. As will be seen below, they were well distinguished formally in all the declensions, there being very few homonymous forms.

The noun had four cases: Nominative, Genitive, Dative and Accusative. In most declensions two, or even three, forms were homonymous, so that the formal distinction of cases was less consistent than that of numbers.

§ 152. Before considering the declension of nouns, we shall briefly touch upon the meaning and use of cases.

The functions of cases in OE require little explanation for the Russian student, since they are those which ought to be expected in a language with a well-developed case system.

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[1] Perhaps in the pre-written period the noun had five cases, since cases of adjectives depend on the cases of nouns; this supposition is confirmed by several instances of specific Instrumental noun-endings in the earliest texts.

§ 153. The Nom. can be loosely defined as the case of the active agent, for it was the case of the subject mainly used with verbs denoting activity; the Nom. could also indicate the subject characterised by a certain quality or state; could serve as a predicative and as the case of address, there being no special Vocative case, e. g.:

þæt *flōd* wēox þā and ābær upp þone arc — *subject, active agent* ('that flood increased then and bore up the arc')

wearþ þā ǣlc *þinʒ* cwices ādrenct — *subject, recipient of an action or state* ('was then everything alive drowned')

Hē wæs swīþe spēdiʒ *man* — *predicative* ('He was a very rich man')

Sunu mīn, hlyste mīnre lāre — *address* ('My son, listen to my teaching').

§ 154. The Gen. case was primarily the case of nouns and pronouns serving as attributes to other nouns. The meanings of the Gen. were very complex and can only roughly be grouped under the headings "Subjective" and "Objective" Gen. Subjective Gen. is associated with the possessive meaning and the meaning of origin, e. g.:

ʒrendles dǣda 'Grendel's deeds'

hiora scipu 'their ships'

Beowulf *ʒēata* 'Beowulf of the Geats'.

Objective Gen. is seen in such instances as *þæs landes scēawunʒ* 'surveying of the land'; and is associated with what is termed "partitive meaning" as in *sum hund scipa* 'a hundred of ships', *hūsa sēlest* 'best of the houses'. The use of the Gen. as an object to verbs and adjectives was not infrequent, though the verbs which regularly took a Gen. object often interchanged it with other cases, cf.:

hē bād ... *westanwindes* 'he waited for the west wind'

friʒe menn ne mōtan wealdan *heora sylfra* 'free men could not control themselves' (also with the Acc. *wealdan hie*..).

§ 155. Dat. was the chief case used with prepositions, e. g.:

on *morʒenne* 'in the morning'

from þǣm *here* 'from the army'

þā sende sē cyninʒ tō þǣm *here* and *him* cȳþan hēt 'then sent the king to the army and ordered (him) to inform them'.

The last example illustrates another frequent use of the Dat.: an indirect personal object.

The OE Dat. case could convey an instrumental meaning, indicating the means or manner of an action:

hit haʒolade *stānum* 'it hailed (with) stones'

worhte Ælfrēd cyninʒ *lytle werede* ʒeweorc 'King Alfred built defence works with a small troop'.

Alongside the Acc., Dat. could indicate the passive subject of a state expressed by impersonal verbs and some verbs of emotion:

him ʒelicode heora þēawas 'he liked their customs' (lit. 'him pleased their customs').

§ 156. The Acc. case, above all, was the form that indicated a relationship to a verb. Being a direct object it denoted the recipient of an action, the result of the action and other meanings:

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sē wulf nimþ and tōdǣlþ þā scēap 'the wolf takes and scatters the sheep'.
(Its use as an object of impersonal verbs, similar to the use of Dat., is illustrated by
hine nānes þinges ne lyste 'nothing pleased him').
Besides these substantival functions the oblique cases of OE nouns, especially the Acc. case, could be used in some adverbial meanings, e. g. to indicate time or distance:
þā sǣton hīe þone winter æt Cwatbrycʒe 'then stayed they that winter at Cwatbridge'
lēt him ealne weʒ þæt wēste land on þæt stēor-bord 'was all the way the desolate land on the right side of the ship' (ealne weʒ was later simplified to always).
§ 157. It is important to note that there was considerable fluctuation in the use of cases in OE. One and the same verb could be construed with different cases without any noticeable change of meaning. The semantic functions of the Gen., Dat. and Acc. as objects commonly overlapped and required further specification by means of prepositions. The vague meaning of cases was of great consequence for the subsequent changes of the case system.

Morphological Classification of Nouns.
Declensions

§ 158. The most remarkable feature of OE nouns was their elaborate system of declensions, which was a sort of morphological classification. The total number of declensions, including both the major and minor types, exceeded twenty-five. All in all there were only ten distinct endings (plus some phonetic variants of these endings) and a few relevant root-vowel interchanges used in the noun paradigms; yet every morphological class had either its own specific endings or a specific succession of markers. Historically, the OE system of declensions was based on a number of distinctions: the stem-suffix, the gender of nouns, the phonetic structure of the word, phonetic changes in the final syllables.
§ 159. In the first place, the morphological classification of OE nouns rested upon the most ancient (IE) grouping of nouns according to the stem-suffixes (see § 66, 67). Stem-suffixes could consist of vowels (vocalic stems, e. g. a-stems, i-stems), of consonants (consonantal stems, e. g. n-stems), of sound sequences, e. g. -ja-stems, -nd-stems. Some groups of nouns had no stem-forming suffix or had a "zero-suffix"; they are usually termed "root-stems" and are grouped together with consonantal stems, as their roots ended in consonants, e. g. OE man, bōc (NE man, book).
The loss of stem-suffixes as distinct component parts had led to the formation of different sets of grammatical endings (see § 67). The merging of the stem-suffix with the original grammatical ending and their phonetic weakening could result in the survival of the former stem-suffix in a new function, as a grammatical ending; thus n-stems had many

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forms ending in -*an* (from the earlier -*eni, -*enaz, etc.); *u*-stems had the inflection -*u* in some forms.

Sometimes both elements — the stem-suffix and the original ending — were shortened or even dropped (e. g. the ending of the Dat. sg -*e* from the earlier -*ai, Nom. and Acc. pl -*as* from the earlier -*ōs;* the zero-ending in the Nom. and Acc. sg) in *a*-stems.

§ 160. Another reason which accounts for the division of nouns into numerous declensions is their grouping according to gender. OE nouns distinguished three genders: Masc., Fem. and Neut. Though originally a semantic division, gender in OE was not always associated with the meaning of nouns. Sometimes a derivational suffix referred a noun to a certain gender and placed it into a certain semantic group, e. g. abstract nouns built with the help of the suffix -*þu* were Fem. — OE *lenȝþu, hȳhþu* (NE *length, height*), nomina agentis with the suffix -*ere* were Masc. — OE *fiscere, bōcere* (NE *fisher*, 'learned man'). The following nouns denoting human beings show, however, that grammatical gender did not necessarily correspond to sex: alongside Masc. and Fem. nouns denoting males and females there were nouns with "unjustified" gender, cf.:

OE *widuwa*, Masc. ('widower') — OE *widowe*, Fem. (NE *widow*); OE *spinnere*, Masc. (NE *spinner*) — OE *spinnestre*, Fem. ('female spinner'; note NE *spinster* with a shift of meaning) and nouns like OE *wif*, Neut. (NE *wife*), OE *mæȝden* Neut. (NE *maiden, maid*), OE *wifman*, Masc. (NE *woman*, originally a compound word whose second component -*man* was Masc.).

In OE gender was primarily a grammatical distinction; Masc., Fem. and Neut. nouns could have different forms, even if they belonged to the same stem (type of declension).

The division into genders was in a certain way connected with the division into stems, though there was no direct correspondence between them: some stems were represented by nouns of one particular gender, e. g. *ō*-stems were always Fem., others embraced nouns of two or three genders.

§ 161. Other reasons accounting for the division into declensions were structural and phonetic: monosyllabic nouns had certain peculiarities as compared to polysyllabic; monosyllables with a long root-syllable (that is, containing a long vowel plus a consonant or a short vowel plus two consonants — also called "long-stemmed" nouns) differed in some forms from nouns with a short syllable (short-stemmed nouns).

§ 162. Table 1 shows the morphological classification of OE nouns and the hierarchial application of the main features which account for this division (division of nouns into mono- and polysyllables is not included; see the descriptions of the declensions below).

The paradigms of nouns belonging to the main types of OE declensions are given in Tables 2, 3 and 4.

The majority of OE nouns belonged to the *a*-stems, *ō*-stems and *n*-stems. Special attention should also be paid to the root-stems which displayed specific peculiarities in their forms and have left noticeable traces in Mod E.

Table 1

Morphological Classification of Nouns in Old English
Division according to stem

Vocalic stems				Consonantal stems		
Strong declension[1]						
a-stems and their ja-stems wa-stems	ō-stems variants jō-stems wo-stems	i-stems	u-stems	n-stems (weak declension)	Root-stems	Other minor stems: r-, s-, nd-

Division according to gender

M N	F	M N F	M F	M N F	M F	M N F

Division according to length of the root-syllable

short long	short long	short long	short long			

[1] Vocalic stems are also called the "strong" declension; one of the consonantal stems — the n-stems — are termed the "weak" declension.

§ 163. **a-stems** included Masc. and Neut. nouns. About one third of OE nouns were Masc. a-stems, e. g. *cniht* (NE *knight*), *hām* (NE *home*), *mūþ* (NE *mouth*); examples of Neut. nouns are: *lim* (NE *limb*), *hūs* (NE *house*), *þinʒ* (NE *thing*). (Disyllabic nouns, e. g. *finʒer*, differed from monosyllabics in that they could drop their second vowel in the oblique cases: Nom. sg *finʒer*, Gen. *finʒres*, Dat. *finʒre*, NE *finger*.)

As seen from Table 2 the forms in the *a*-stem declension were distinguished through grammatical endings (including the zero-ending). In some words inflections were accompanied by sound interchanges: nouns with the vowel [æ] in the root had an interchange [æ~a], since in some forms the ending contained a back vowel, e. g. Nom. sg *dæʒ*, Gen. *dæʒes* — Nom. and Gen. pl *daʒas*, *daʒa* (for the origin of the interchange see § 117). If a noun ended in a fricative consonant, it became voiced in an intervocal position, cf. Nom. sg *mūþ*, *wulf* — [θ], [f] — and Nom. pl *mūþas*, *wulfas* — [ð], [v] (see § 139). (Note that their modern descendants have retained the interchange: NE *mouth* — *mouths* [θ~ð], *wolf* — *wolves*, also *house* — *houses* and others.) These interchanges were not peculiar of *a*-stems alone and are of no significance as grammatical markers; they are easily accountable by phonetic reasons.

Table 2

DECLENSION OF NOUNS [1]
Strong Declensions (Vocalic Stems)

a-stems				
Singular				
M	short-stemmed N	long-stemmed N	ja-stems M	wa-stems N
Nom. fisc	scip	dēor	ende	cnēo(w)
Gen. fisces	scipes	dēores	endes	cnēowes
Dat. fisce	scipe	dēore	ende	cnēowe
Acc. fisc	scip	dēor	ende	cnēo(w)
Plural				
Nom. fisces	scipu	dēor	endas	cnēo(w)
Gen. fisca	scipa	dēora	enda	cnēowa
Dat. fiscum	scipum	dēorum	endum	cnēowum
Acc. fiscas	scipu	dēor	endas	cnēo(w)
(NE *fish*)	(NE *scip*)	(NE *deer*)	(NE *end*)	(NE *knee*)

[1] The tables contain the main noun paradigms in OE. For fuller lists see B. Ilyish. HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, L. 1973 or J. Wright. AN ELEMENTARY OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR, Oxford, 1935.

Table 3

Strong Declensions (Vocalic Stems)
(continued)

Singular					
ō-stems short-stemmed	long-stemmed F	i-stems short-stemmed[1] M	u-stems short-stemmed	long-stemmed M	
Nom. talu	wund	mete	sunu	feld	
Gen. tale	wunde	metes	suna	felda	
Dat. tale	wunde	mete	suna	felda	
Acc. tale	wunde	mete	sunu	felda	

[1] Long-stemmed Masc. i-stems decline like ja-stems.

			Plural		
Nom.	tala, -e	wunda, -e	mete, -as	suna	felda
Gen.	tala (-ena)	wunda (-ena)	mela	suna	felda
Dat.	talum	wundum	metum	sunum	feldum
Acc.	tala, -e	wunda, -e	mete, -as	suna	felda
	(NE tale)	(NE wound)	('food', NE meat)	(NE son)	(NE field)

Table 4

Consonantal Stems

	Singular				
	n-stems (weak declension)			root-stems	
	M	N	F	M	F
Nom.	nama	ēare	tunᴣe	fōt	mūs
Gen.	naman	ēaran	tunᴣan	fōtes	mȳs, mūse
Dat.	naman	ēaran	tunᴣan	fēt	mȳs
Acc.	naman	ēaran	tunᴣan	fōt	mūs
	Plural				
Nom.	naman	ēaran	tunᴣan	fēt	mȳs
Gen.	namena	ēarena	tunᴣena	fōta-	mūsa
Dat.	namum	ēarum	tunᴣum	fōtum	mūsum
Acc.	naman	ēaran	tunᴣan	fēt	mȳs
	(NE name)	(NE ear)	(NE tongue)	(NE foot)	(NE mouse)

Note should be taken of the inflections -es of the Gen. sg, -as of the Nom. and Acc. Masc. Towards the end of the OE period they began to be added to an increasing number of nouns, which originally belonged to other stems. These inflections are the prototypes and sources of the Mod E pl and Poss. case markers -(e)s and -s.

§ 164. Neut. a-stems differed from Masc. in the pl of the Nom. and Acc. cases. Instead of -as they took -u for short stems (that is nouns with a short root-syllable) and did not add any inflection in the long-stemmed variant — see Nom. and Acc. pl of scip and dēor in the table. Consequently, long-stemmed Neuters had homonymous sg and pl forms: dēor — dēor, likewise scēap — scēap, þinᴣ — þinᴣ, hūs — hūs. This peculiarity of Neut. a-stems goes back to some phonetic changes (see § 132) in final unaccented syllables which have given rise to an important grammatical feature: an instance of regular homonymy or neutralisation of number distinctions in the noun paradigm. (Traces of this group of a-stems have survived as irregular pl forms in Mod E: sheep, deer, swine.)

§ 165. wa- and **ja-stems** differed from pure *a*-stems in some forms, as their endings contained traces of the elements -*j*- and -*w*-. Nom. and Acc. sg could end in -*e* which had developed from the weakened -*j*- (see *ende* in Table 2), though in some nouns with a doubled final consonant it was lost — cf. OE *bridd* (NE *bird*); in some forms -*j*- is reflected as -*i*- or -*iʒ*-, e. g. Nom. sg *here*, Dat. *herie, herʒe*, or *heriʒe* ('army'). Short-stemmed *wa*-stems had -*u* in the Nom. and Acc. sg which had developed from the element -*w*- but was lost after a long syllable (in the same way as the plural ending of neuter *a*-stems described above); cf. OE *bearu* (NE *bear*) and *cnēo;* -*w*- is optional but appears regularly before the endings of the oblique cases (see the declension of *cnēo* in Table 2).

§ 166. **ō-stems** were all Fem., so there was no further subdivision according to gender. The variants with -*j*- and -*w*- decline like pure ō-stems except that -*w*- appears before some endings, e. g. Nom. sg *sceadu*, the other cases — *sceadwe* (NE *shadow*). The difference between short- and long-stemmed ō-stems is similar to that between respective *a*-stems: after a short syllable the ending -*u* is retained, after a long syllable it is dropped, cf. *wund, talu* in Table 3. Disyllabic ō-stems, like *a*-stems, lost their second vowel in some case forms: Nom. sg *ceaster*, the other cases *ceastre* ('camp', NE -*caster*, -*chester* — a component of place-names). Like other nouns, ō-stems could have an interchange of voiced and voiceless fricative consonants as allophones in intervocal and final position: *ʒlōf* — *ʒlōfe* [f~v] (NE *glove*). Among the forms of ō-stems there occurred some variant forms with weakened endings or with endings borrowed from the weak declension — with the element -*n*- — *wundena* alongside *wunda*. Variation increased towards the end of the OE period.

§ 167. The other vocalic stems, **i-stems** and **u-stems**, include nouns of different genders. Division into genders breaks up *i*-stems into three declensions, but is irrelevant for *u*-stems: Masc. and Fem. *u*-stems decline alike, e. g. Fem. *duru* (NE *door*) had the same forms as Masc. *sunu* shown in the table. The length of the root-syllable is important for both stems; it accounts for the endings in the Nom. and Acc. sg in the same way as in other classes: the endings -*e*, -*u* are usually preserved in short-stemmed nouns and lost in long-stemmed.

Comparison of the *i*-stems with *a*-stems reveals many similarities. Neut. *i*-stems are declined like Neut. *ja*-stems; the inflection of the Gen. sg for Masc. and Neut. *i*-stems is the same as in *a*-stems — -*es;* alongside pl forms in -*e* we find new variant forms of Masc. nouns in -*as*, e. g. Nom., Acc. pl — *winas* 'friends' (among Masc. *i*-stems only names of peoples regularly formed their pl in the old way: *Dene, Enʒle,* NE *Danes, Angles*). It appears that Masc. *i*-stems adopted some forms from Masc. *a*-stems, while Neut. *i*-stems were more likely to follow the pattern of Neut. *a*-stems; as for Fem. *i*-stems, they resembled ō-stems, except that the Acc. and Nom. sg were not distinguished as with other *i*-stems.

§ 168. The most numerous group of the **consonantal stems** were **n-stems** or the weak declension. *n*-stems had only two distinct forms in the sg: one form for the Nom. case and the other for the three oblique cases; the element -*n*- in the inflections of the weak declension was

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a direct descendant of the old stem-suffix -n, which had acquired a new, grammatical function. n-stems included many Masc. nouns, such as *boʒa, cnotta, steorra* (NE *bow, knot, star*), many Fem. nouns, e. g. *cirice, eorþe, heorte, hlæfdiʒe* (NE *church, earth, heart, lady*) and only a few Neut. nouns: *ēaʒa* (NE *eye*).

§ 169. The other consonantal declensions are called minor consonantal stems as they included small groups of nouns. The most important type are the root-stems, which had never had any stem-forming suffix. In Early OE the root-vowel in some forms was subjected to phonetic changes: if the grammatical ending contained the sound [i], the vowel was narrowed and/or fronted by palatal mutation (see § 125 ff). After the ending was dropped the mutated vowel turned out to be the only marker of the form. Cf. the reconstructed forms of Dat. sg and Nom., Acc. pl of *fōt* (NE *foot*): **fēti, *fētiz* (from earlier **fōti, *fōtiz*) and their descendants in OE — *fēt, fēt*. The interchange of root-vowels had turned into a regular means of form-building used similarly with inflections (see the forms of *fōt* and *mūs* in Table 4). This peculiarity of the root-stems is of considerable consequence for later history and has left traces in Mod E. (Irregular pl forms — *men, women, teeth* and the like come from the OE root-stem declension.)

§ 170. Among the other consonantal stems we should mention a small group of nouns denoting family relationship with the stem-suffix -r, e. g. *brōþor, fæder, mōdor* (NE *brother, father, mother*). They commonly had a mutated vowel in the Dat. sg: *brēþer*, lost the second vowel in some forms like other disyllabic nouns: *brōþrum, mōdra* and employed some endings adopted from other stems, e. g. *fæderas* — Nom., Acc. pl (cf. *-as* in *a*-stems).

§ 171. Another small group of nouns is known as s-stems, though in OE, as well as in other West and North G languages this [s] had long changed into [r]. Only a few Neut. nouns remained in that group in OE, e. g. *lamb, cealf, cild* (NE *lamb, calf, child*). In the sg they were declined like Neut. *a*-stems, but in the pl had a specific inflection, not to be found outside that group: their stem-suffix -s, transformed into -r, had survived as part of the inflection: Nom. pl *lambru*, Gen. *lambra*, Dat. *lambrum*, Acc. *lambru*. ([r] in the pl form of *children* in Mod E is a trace of the stem-suffix -r).

§ 172. It may be concluded that for all its complicated arrangement the system of noun declensions lacked consistency and precision. There were many polyfunctional and homonymous markers in the paradigms. The distinction between morphological classes was not strict. Some forms were alike in all the declensions (namely, -a and -um for the Gen. and Dat. pl), many forms acquired new analogical variants under the influence of the more numerous classes or variants with phonetically weakened endings, which eliminated the differences between the declensions and between the forms within the paradigm. Towards the end of the OE period formal variation grew and the system tended to be re-arranged according to gender on the basis of the most influential types: *a*-stems, *n*-stems and *ō*-stems.

The distinction of forms in the paradigms was inconsistent. None of the declensions made a distinction between eight forms — for two numbers and four cases; some declensions distinguished between five forms, others — between three or even two. Nom. and Acc. pl had the same form in all the declensions. In the sg there were two main ways of case differentiation: one common form for the Nom. and the Acc. and two distinct forms for the Dat. and Gen.; or else—one common form for the three oblique cases, distinct from the Nom. The difference between the two numbers — sg and pl — was shown with greater precision.

§ 173. OE pronouns fell roughly under the same main classes as modern pronouns: personal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite. As for the other groups — relative, possessive and reflexive — they were as yet not fully developed and were not always distinctly separated from the four main classes. The grammatical categories of the pronouns were either similar to those of nouns (in "noun-pronouns") or corresponded to those of adjectives (in "adjective pronouns"). Some features of pronouns were peculiar to them alone.

Personal Pronouns

§ 174. As shown in Table 5 below, OE personal pronouns had three persons, three numbers in the 1st and 2nd p. (two numbers — in the 3rd) and three genders in the 3rd p. The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd p. had suppletive forms like their parallels in other IE languages (see § 62). The pronouns of the 3rd p., having originated from demonstrative pronouns, had many affinities with the latter (cf. the forms in Table 6).

§ 175. In OE, while nouns consistently distinguished between four cases, personal pronouns began to lose some of their case distinctions: the forms of the Dat. case of the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd p. were frequently used instead of the Acc.; in fact the fusion of these two cases in the pl was completed in the WS dialect already in Early OE: Acc. ēowic and ūsic were replaced by Dat. ēow, ūs; in the sg usage was variable, but variant forms revealed the same tendency to generalise the form of the Dat. for both cases. This is seen in the following quotation: Sē þe mē ʒehǣlde, sē cwæð tō mē 'He who healed me, he said to me' — the first mē, though Dat. in form, serves as an Acc. (direct object); the second mē is a real Dat.

§ 176. It is important to note that the Gen. case of personal pronouns had two main applications: like other oblique cases of noun-pronouns it could be an object, but far more frequently it was used as an attribute or a noun determiner, like a possessive pronoun, e. g. sunu mīn, his fæder (NE my son, his father). Though forms of the Gen. case were employed as possessive pronouns, they cannot be regarded as possessive pronouns proper (that is, as a separate class of pronouns). The grammatical characteristics of these forms were not homogeneous. The forms of the 1st and 2nd p. — mīn, ūre and others — were declined like adjectives to show agreement with the nouns they modified, while the forms of the 3rd p. behaved like nouns: they remained uninflected and did not agree with the nouns they modified.

Cf.:
Nim þin ʒesceot... and þinne boʒan 'take thy (thine) implements for shooting and thy bow' (þin and þinne show agreement with the nouns — Acc. sg, Neut. and Masc.)

He ... sēalde hit hys mēder 'he gave it to his mother'.

hēo befēold his handa 'she covered his hands' (his does not change its form though mēder is Dat. sg, handa — Acc. pl).

Table 5

Declension of Personal Pronouns

First person			
Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	ic	wit	wē
Gen.	mīn	uncer	ūre, ūser
Dat.	mē	unc	ūs
Acc.	mec, mē	uncit	ūsic, ūs
Second person			
Nom.	þū	ȝit	ȝē
Gen.	þin	incer	ēower
Dat.	þē	inc	ēow
Acc.	þēc, þē	incit, inc	ēowic, ēow

Third person				
	Singular			Plural
	M	F	N	All genders
Nom.	hē	hēo, hīo	hit	hīe, hī, hȳ, hēo
Gen.	his	hire, hiere	his	hira, heora, hiera, hyra
Dat.	him	hire, hiere	him	him, heom
Acc.	hine	hīe, hī, hȳ	hit	hīe, hī, hȳ, hēo

§ 177. The oblique cases of personal pronouns in combination with the adjective *self* could also serve as reflexive pronouns, e. g.:

ȝif hwā hwæt lȳtles ǣniȝes bīwistes *him selfum* ȝearcode... 'If any one provided himself with some small portion of food...'

Demonstrative Pronouns

§ 178. There were two demonstrative pronouns in OE: the prototype of NE *that*, which distinguished three genders in the sg and had one form for all the genders in the pl. (see Table 6) and the prototype of *this* with the same subdivisions: *þes* Masc., *þēos* Fem., *þis* Neut. and *þās* pl. They were declined like adjectives according to a five-case system: Nom., Gen., Dat., Acc., and Instr. (the latter having a special form only in the Masc. and Neut. sg).

Table 6

Declension of sē, sēo, þæt

Case	Singular			Plural
	M	N	F	All genders
Nom.	sē, se	þæt	sēo	þā
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þære ·	þāra, þæra
Dat.	þæm, þām	þæm, þām	þære	þām, þæm
Acc.	þone	þæt	þā	þā
Instr.	þȳ, þon	þȳ, þon	þære	þæm, þām

As seen from the table, the paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun *sē* contained many homonymous forms. Some case endings resembled those of personal pronouns, e. g. *-m* — Dat. Masc. and Neut. sg and Dat. pl; the element *-r-* in the Dat. and Gen. sg Fem. and in the Gen. pl. These case endings, which do not occur in the noun paradigms, are often referred to as "pronominal" endings (*-m, -r-, -t*).

§ 179. Demonstrative pronouns are of special importance for a student of OE for they were frequently used as noun determiners and through agreement with the noun, indicated its number, gender and case. The forms of the pronouns may help to define the forms of the nouns in ambiguous instances, e. g. in the phrases *on þǣm lande, tō þære heorde* 'on that land, to that herd' the forms of the pronouns help to differentiate gender: *þǣm* is Neut. or Masc., *þære* is Fem.; both nouns are in the Dat. sg and happen to have identical endings: *-e*. In the following sentences the forms *þæt* and *þā* help to distinguish between numbers:

Uton ... ӡesēon *þæt word* (sg) 'let us see that event'

Maniӡe cōmen tō bycӡenne *þā þing* (pl) 'many came to buy those things'

(The nouns are Neut. *a*-stems with homonymous sg and pl forms.)

Other Classes of Pronouns

§ 180. Interrogative pronouns — *hwā*, Masc. and Fem., and *hwæt*, Neut., — had a four-case paradigm (NE *who, what*). The Instr. case of *hwæt* was used as a separate interrogative word *hwȳ* (NE *why*). Some interrogative pronouns were used as adjective pronouns, e. g. *hwelc, hwæþer*.

§ 181. Indefinite pronouns were a numerous class embracing several simple pronouns and a large number of compounds: *ān* and its derivative *æniӡ* (NE *one, any*); *nān*, made up of *ān* and the negative particle *ne* (NE *none*); *nānþinӡ*, made up of the preceding and the noun *þing* (NE *nothing*); *nāwiht/nōwiht/nōht* ('nothing', NE *not*), *hwæt-hwuӡu* 'something' and many others.

§ 182. Pronouns of different classes —personal and demonstrative — could be used in a relative function, as connectives. The demonstrative *sē* in its various forms and the personal pronoun *hē*, either alone or together with a special relative particle *þe* could join attributive clauses, e. g.:

Sē þe mē ʒehǣlde sē cwæð tō mē 'he who healed me, he said to me' (For more details and examples see OE syntax, § 220 ff.)

THE ADJECTIVE

Grammatical Categories

§ 183. As stated before, the adjective in OE could change for number, gender and case. Those were dependent grammatical categories or forms of agreement of the adjective with the noun it modified or with the subject of the sentence — if the adjective was a predicative. Like nouns, adjectives had three genders and two numbers. The category of case in adjectives differed from that of nouns: in addition to the four cases of nouns they had one more case, Instr. It was used when the adjective served as an attribute to a noun in the Dat. case expressing an instrumental meaning — e. g.:

lȳtle werede 'with (the help of) a small troop'.

Weak and Strong Declension

§ 184. As in other OG languages, most adjectives in OE could be declined in two ways: according to the weak and to the strong declension. The formal differences between the declensions, as well as their origin, were similar to those of the noun declensions. The strong and weak declensions arose due to the use of several stem-forming suffixes in PG: vocalic *a-*, *ō-*, *u-* and *i-* and consonantal *n-*. Accordingly, there developed sets of endings of the strong declension mainly coinciding with the endings of *a*-stems of nouns for adjectives in the Masc. and Neut. and of *ō*-stems — in the Fem., with some differences between long- and short-stemmed adjectives, variants with *j-* and *w-*, monosyllabic and polysyllabic adjectives and some remnants of other stems. Some endings in the strong declension of adjectives have no parallels in the noun paradigms; they are similar to the endings of pronouns: *-um* for Dat. sg, *-ne* for Acc. sg Masc., [r] in some Fem. and pl endings. Therefore the strong declension of adjectives is sometimes called the "pronominal" declension. As for the weak declension, it uses the same markers as *n*-stems of nouns except that in the Gen. pl the pronominal ending *-ra* is often used instead of the weak *-ena* (see the paradigms in Table 7).

The relations between the declensions of nouns, adjectives and pronouns are shown in the following chart:

```
  ┌──────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
  │ PRONOUNS │        │               NOUNS                 │
  └──────────┘        │  a—stems  │  ō—stems  │  n—stems    │
       │              │           │           │  (weak)     │
       │              └─────────────────────────────────────┘
       │                   │           │           │
       ▼                   ▼           ▼           ▼
  ┌──────────────────────────────────────┬──────────────┐
  │              Strong                   │    Weak      │
  ├──────────────────────────────────────┴──────────────┤
  │                   ADJECTIVES                          │
  └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
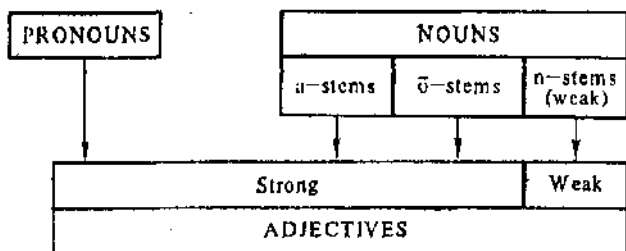
§ 185. The difference between the strong and the weak declension of adjectives was not only formal but also semantic. Unlike a noun, an adjective did not belong to a certain type of declension. Most adjectives could be declined in both ways. The choice of the declension was determined by a number of factors: the syntactical function of the adjective, the degree of comparison and the presence of noun determiners. The adjective had a strong form when used predicatively and when used attributively without any determiners, e. g.:

þā menn sindon ʒōde 'the men are good'
mid *hnescre* beddinʒe 'with soft bedding'

The weak form was employed when the adjective was preceded by a demonstrative pronoun or the Gen. case of personal pronouns, e. g.:

Table 7

Declension of Adjectives

Singular					
Strong (pure *a-* and *ō*-stems)[1]			Weak		
M	N	F	M	N	F
Nom. blind	blind	blind	blinda	blinde	blinde
Gen. blindes	blindes	blindre	blindan	blindan	blindan
Dat. blindum	blindum	blindre	blindan	blindan	blindan
Acc. blindne	blind	blinde	blindan	blinde	blindan
Instr. blinde	blinde	blindre	blindan	blindan	blindan
Plural					
			All genders		
Nom. blinde	blind	blinda, -e	blindan		
Gen. blindra	blindra	blindra	blindra, -ena		
Dat. blindum	blindum	blindum	blindum		
Acc. blinde	blind	blinda, -e	blindan		
Instr. blindum	blindum	blindum	blindum		
(NE *blind*)					

[1] *Blind* is a long-stemmed adjective; short-stemmed adjectives had the same forms except Nom. sg Fem., which took -*u* or -*o*, e. g. *blacu, ʒladu*.

þæt *wēste* land 'that uninhabited land'

þȳ *betstan* lēoþe 'with the best song';

and also when the adjective formed a part of a direct address:

þū lēofa drihten 'thou dear Lord'.

Some adjectives, however, did not conform with these rules: a few adjectives were always declined strong, e. g. *eall, maniჳ, ōþer* (NE *all, many, other*), while several others were always weak: adjectives in the superlative and comparative degrees, ordinal numerals, the adjective *ilca* 'same'. Despite these instances of fixed, unmotivated usage, there existed a certain semantic contrast between the strong and weak forms: the strong forms were associated with the meaning of indefiniteness (roughly corresponding to the meaning of the modern indefinite article), the weak forms — with the meaning of "definiteness" (corresponding to the meaning of the definite article). Therefore the weak forms were regularly used together with demonstrative pronouns. The formal and semantic opposition between the two declensions of adjectives is regarded by some historians as a grammatical category which can be named "the category of definiteness/indefiniteness" (A. I. Smirnitsky).

§ 186. It follows that potentially OE adjectives could distinguish up to sixty forms. In reality they distinguished only eleven. Homonymy of forms in the adjective paradigms was three times as high as in the noun. It affected the grammatical categories of the adjective to a varying degree.

Neutralisation of formal oppositions reached the highest level in the category of gender: gender distinctions were practically non-existent in the pl, they were lost in most cases of the weak declension in the sg; in the strong declension Neut. and Masc. forms of adjectives were almost alike.

Formal distinction of number, case and the strong and weak forms was more consistent. As seen from Table 7, number and case were well distinguished in the strong declension, with only a few instances of neutralisation; the distinction of number was lost only in the Dat. case, Masc. and Neut. Cf.:

æfter fēawum daჳum — Dat. pl 'after a few days' and

hē folჳode ānum burჳsittend*um* menn — Dat. sg 'he followed a town-dwelling man'.

The forms in the weak declension were less distinctive, as thirteen forms out of twenty ended in *-an*.

The formal difference between strong and weak forms was shown in all cases and both numbers, the only homonymous forms being Dat. pl and Gen. pl, — if it took the ending *-ra*.

In later OE the distinction of forms in the adjective paradigm became even more blurred. The Instr. case fell together with the Dat. Numerous variant forms with phonetically reduced endings or with markers borrowed from other forms through analogy impaired the distinction of categorial forms.

Degrees of Comparison

§ 187. Like adjectives in other languages, most OE adjectives distinguished between three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative and superlative. The regular means used to form the comparative and the superlative from the positive were the suffixes *-ra* and *-est/ost*. Sometimes suffixation was accompanied by an interchange of the root-vowel (see Table 8).

Table 8

Comparison of Adjectives in Old English

Means of form-build-ing	Positive	Comparative	Superlative	NE
Suffixation	soft wēriჳ	softra wēriჳra	softost wēriჳost	*soft* *weary*
Suffixation plus vowel inter-change	ჳlæd lonჳ eald *(also:*	ჳlædra lenჳra ieldra ealdra	ჳladost lenჳest ieldest ealdost, ealdest)	*glad* *long* *old*
Suppletion	ჳōd lўtel micel	bettra lǣssa māra	bet(e)st lǣst mǣst	*good* *little* *much*

The root-vowel interchanges in *long, eald,* ჳ*læd* go back to different sources. The variation [a~æ] is a purely phonetic phenomenon; retraction of [æ] before the back vowel in the suffix *-ost* is not peculiar to the adjective (see § 163 for similar interchanges in nouns and § 117 for pertinent phonetic changes). The interchange in *long* and *eald* is of an entirely different nature: the narrowed or fronted root-vowel is regularly employed as a marker of the comparative and the superlative degrees, together with the suffixes. The mutation of the root-vowel was caused by *i*-umlaut in Early OE. At that stage the suffixes were either *-ira*, *-ist* or *-ora*, *-ost*. In the forms with *-i-* the root vowel was fronted and/or made narrower (see palatal mutation § 125 ff); later *-i-* was lost or weakened to *-e-* — but the mutated root-vowel survived as an additional formal marker of the comparative and superlative degrees.

Some adjectives had parallel sets of forms: with and without a vowel interchange. These sets could arise if the adjective had originally employed both kinds of suffixes; or else the non-mutated vowel was restored on the analogy of the positive degree and other adjectives without sound interchanges.

§ 188. The adjective ჳōd had suppletive forms. Suppletion was a very old way of building the degrees of comparison (it can be illustrated by the forms of adjectives in other IE languages: G *gut, besser, beste,* Fr *mal, pire,* R хороший, лучше).

THE VERB

§ 189. The OE verb was characterised by many peculiar features. Though the verb had few grammatical categories, its paradigm had a

very complicated structure: verbs fell into numerous morphological classes and employed a variety of form-building means. All the forms of the verb were synthetic, as analytical forms were only beginning to appear. The non-finite forms had little in common with the finite forms but shared many features with the nominal parts of speech.

Grammatical Categories of the Finite Verb

§ 190. The verb-predicate agreed with the subject of the sentence in two grammatical categories: number and person. Its specifically verbal categories were mood and tense. Thus in OE *hē bindeþ* 'he binds' the verb is in the 3rd p. sg, Pres. Tense Ind. Mood; in the sentence *Brinȝaþ mē hider þā* 'Bring me those (loaves)' *brinȝaþ* is in the Imper. Mood pl.

Finite forms regularly distinguished between two numbers: sg and pl. The homonymy of forms in the verb paradigm did not affect number distinctions: opposition through number was never neutralised (see the conjugations in Table 9).

The category of Person was made up of three forms: the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd. Unlike number, person distinctions were neutralised in many positions. Person was consistently shown only in the Pres. Tense of the Ind. Mood sg. In the Past Tense sg of the Ind. Mood the forms of the 1st and 3rd p. coincided and only the 2nd p. had a distinct form. Person was not distinguished in the pl; nor was it shown in the Subj. Mood.

The category of Mood was constituted by the Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive. As can be seen from the paradigms in Table 9 there were a few homonymous forms which eliminated the distinction between the moods: Subj. did not differ from the Ind. in the 1st p. sg Pres. Tense — *bere, dēme* — and in the 1st and 3rd p. in the Past. The coincidence of the Imper. and Ind. Moods is seen in the pl — *lōciaþ, dēmaþ*.

The category of Tense in OE consisted of two categorial forms, Pres. and Past. The tenses were formally distinguished by all the verbs in the Ind. and Subj. Moods, there being practically no instances of neutralisation of the tense opposition.

§ 191. In order to understand the structure of the verb system one should get acquainted with the meanings and use of moods and tenses in OE.

The use of the Subj. Mood in OE was in many respects different from its use in later ages. Subj. forms conveyed a very general meaning of unreality or supposition. In addition to its use in conditional sentences and other volitional, conjectural and hypothetical contexts Subj. was common in other types of construction: in clauses of time, clauses of result and in clauses presenting reported speech, e. g.:

þā ȝiet hē ascode hwæt heora cyninȝ hāten wǣre, and him man andswarode and cwæð þæt hē Ælle *hāten wǣre* 'and yet he asked what their king was called, and they answered and said that he was called Ælle'. In presenting indirect speech usage was variable: Ind. forms occurred by the side of Subj.

Table 9

Conjugation of Verbs in Old English

	Strong		Weak	
Infinitive	findan	beran	dēman	lōcian
	(NE *find*	*bear*	*deem*	*look)*
Present tense				
Indicative				
Singular 1st	finde	bere	dēme	lōcie
2nd	fintst	bir(e)st[1]	dēmst	lōcast
3rd	fint	bir(e)þ	dēmþ	lōcaþ
Plural	findaþ	beraþ	dēmaþ	lōciaþ
Subjunctive				
Singular	finde	bere	dēme	lōcie
Plural	finden	beren	dēmen	lōcien
Imperative				
Singular	find	ber	dēm	lōca
Plural	findaþ	beraþ	dēmaþ	lōciaþ
Participle I	findende	berende	dēmende	lōciende
Past tense				
Indicative				
Singular 1st	fond	bær	dēmde	lōcode
2nd	funde	bǣre	dēmdest	lōcodest
3rd	fond	bær	dēmde	lōcode
Plural	fundon	bǣron	dēmdon	lōcodon
Subjunctive				
Singular	funde	bǣre	dēmde	lōcode
Plural	funden	bǣren	dēmden	lōcoden
Participle II	(ʒe)fundon	(ʒe)boren	(ʒe)dēmed	(ʒe)lōcod

[1] Some verbs had a narrowed vowel in the 2nd and 3rd p. sg Pres. Tense Ind. Mood due to PG mutations (see § 55).

§ 192. The meanings of the tense forms were also very general, as compared with later ages and with present-day English. The forms of the Pres. were used to indicate present and future actions. With verbs of perfective meaning or with adverbs of future time the Pres. acquired the meaning of futurity; Cf.:

þonne þū þā in *brinʒst*, hē *ytt* and *blētsaþ* þē — futurity — 'when you bring them, he will eat and bless you'

þū *ʒesihst* þæt īc *ealdiʒe* 'you see that I am getting old' the Pres.

tense *ealdiȝe* indicates a process in the present which is now expressed by the Continuous form. Future happenings could also be expressed by verb phrases with modal verbs:

forþæm ȝē *sculon* ... *wēpan* 'therefore you shall weep'

ȝif ȝē *willaþ* mīnum bebodum ȝehȳrsumnian 'if you want to obey my orders' (those were the sources and prototypes of the modern Future tense).

The Past tense was used in a most general sense to indicate various events in the past (including those which are nowadays expressed by the forms of the Past Continuous, Past Perfect, Present Perfect and other analytical forms). Additional shades of meaning could be attached to it in different contexts, e. g.:

Ond þæs ofer Ēastron ȝefōr Æþerēd cyninȝ; ond hē *ricsode* fif ȝēar 'and then after Easter died King Aethered, and he had reigned five years' (the Past Tense *ricsode* indicates a completed action which preceded another past action — in the modern translation it is rendered by *had reigned*).

§ 193. The existence of the four grammatical categories described above is confirmed by consistent opposition of form and meaning. In addition to these categories we must mention two debatable categories: Aspect and Voice.

Until recently it was believed that in OE — as well as in other OG languages — the category of aspect was expressed by the regular contrast of verbs with and without the prefix ȝe-; verbs with the prefix had a perfective meaning while the same verbs without the prefix indicated a non-completed action, e. g. OE *feohtan* — ȝefeohtan 'fight'- — 'gain by fighting', *lician* — ȝelician 'like' — 'come to like' (cf. R: нравится — понравится). In some recent explorations, however, it has been shown that the prefix ȝe- in OE can hardly be regarded as a marker of aspect, it could change the aspective meaning of the verb by making it perfective, but it could also change its lexical meaning, cf. OE *sittan* — ȝesittan 'sit' — 'occupy', *beran* — ȝeberan 'carry' — 'bear a child'. It has also been noticed that verbs without a prefix could sometimes have a perfective meaning: *sippan* Wiðerȝyld læȝ 'since Withergild fell', while verbs with ȝe- would indicate a non-completed repeated action: *maniȝ* oft ȝecwæð 'many (people) often said'. It follows that the prefix ȝe- should rather be regarded as an element of word-building, a derivational prefix of vague general meaning, though its ties with certain shades of aspective meaning are obvious.

It is important to note that in OE texts there were also other means of expressing aspective meanings: — verb phrases made up of the verbs *habban, bēon, weorðan* (NE *have, be*, 'become') and the Past or Present Participle. The phrases with Participle I were used to describe a prolonged state or action, the phrases with Participle II indicated a state resulting from a previous, completed action, e. g.:

þær *wæron* sume of ðæm bōcerum *sittende* 'there were some of those learned men sitting'

hīe *hæfdon* þā heora stefn ȝesetenne — 'they had finished that term' (lit. 'they had that term finished').

These phrases did not form regular oppositions with the simple forms of the verb and cannot be treated as members of grammatical categories. They belonged to the periphery of the verb system and provided a supply of phrases which was later used for further extension of the system.

§ 194. The category of voice in OE is another debatable issue. In OE texts we find a few isolated relics of synthetic Mediopassive forms (which may have existed in PG and were well developed in Gothic). Cf. the old Mediopassive *in þā ēa þe hātte Araxis* 'the river that is called Arax' with the active use of the same verb: *þā dēor hie hātaþ hrānas* 'those deer they called reindeer'. The passive meaning was frequently indicated with the help of Participle II of transitive verbs used as predicatives with the verbs *bēon* (NE *be*) and *weorðan* 'become':

þæt hūs *wearð* þā *forburnen* 'that house was (got) then burned down'
hīe *wǣron* micle swiþor ȝebrocode on þǣm þrim ȝearum 'they were badly afflicted in these three years'.

During the OE period these constructions were gradually transformed into the analytical forms of the Passive voice.

Grammatical Categories of the Verbals

§ 195. In OE there were two non-finite forms of the verb: the Infinitive and the Participle. In many respects they were closer to the nouns and adjectives than to the finite verb; their nominal features were far more obvious than their verbal features, especially at the morphological level. The verbal nature of the Infinitive and the Participle was revealed in some of their functions and in their syntactic "combinability": like finite forms they could take direct objects and be modified by adverbs.

§ 196. The Infinitive had no verbal grammatical categories. Being a verbal noun by origin, it had a sort of reduced case-system: two forms which roughly corresponded to the Nom. and the Dat. cases of nouns —

beran — uninflected Infinitive ("Nom." case)
tō berenne or *tō beranne* — inflected Infinitive ("Dat." case)

Like the Dat. case of nouns the inflected Infinitive with the preposition *tō* could be used to indicate the direction or purpose of an action, e. g.:

Maniȝe cōmen *tō bycȝenne* þā þinȝ 'many (people) came to buy those things'

þæt weorc is swīþe plēolic mē... tō underbeȝinenne 'that work is very difficult for me to undertake'.

The uninflected Infinitive was used in verb phrases with modal verbs or other verbs of incomplete predication, e. g.:

hīe woldon hine *forbærnan* 'they wanted to burn him'
þū meaht *sinȝan* 'you can sinȝ' (lit. "thou may sing")
þa onȝon hē sōna *sinȝan* 'then began he soon to sing'.

§ 197. The Participle was a kind of verbal adjective which was characterised not only by nominal but also by certain verbal features. Participle I (Present Participle) was opposed to Participle II (Past Participle) through voice and tense distinctions: it was active and expressed

present or simultaneous processes and qualities, while Participle II expressed states and qualities resulting from past action and was contrasted to Participle I as passive to active, if the verb was transitive. Participle II of intransitive verbs had an active meaning; it indicated a past action and was opposed to Participle I only through tense. The translations of the Participles in Table 10 explain the meanings of the forms (for the forms of Participles see also Table 9 in § 190).

<div align="right">*Table 10*</div>

Participles in Old English

Tense \ Voice	Active	Passive	NE
Present	berende secȝende ȝanȝende farende	—	*bearing* *saying* *going* 'travelling'
Past	ȝeȝān ȝefaren	ȝeboren ȝesǣdd	*gone, born* 'who has departed, said'

As seen from the tables the forms of the two participles were strictly differentiated. Participle I was formed from the Present tense stem (the Infinitive without the endings -*an*, -*ian*) with the help of the suffix -*ende*. Participle II had a stem of its own — in strong verbs it was marked by a certain grade of the root-vowel interchange and by the suffix -*en;* with weak verbs it ended in -*d/-t* (see morphological classification of verbs § 199 ff.) Participle II was commonly marked by the prefix ȝe-, though it could also occur without it, especially if the verb had other word-building prefixes, e. g.

Infinitive	Participle I	Participle II	
bindan	*bindende*	ȝe-*bunden*	(NE *bind*)
ā-drencan	*ā-drencende*	*ā-drenced*	('drown')

§ 198. Participles were employed predicatively and attributively like adjectives and shared their grammatical categories: they were declined as weak and strong and agreed with nouns in number, gender and case. Sometimes, however, they remained uninflected. Cf. the following examples:

Hie hæfdon hira cyninȝ *āworpenne* 'they had their king deposed' — Participle II is in the Acc. sg Masc., strong declension — it agrees with *cyninȝ:*

Ic nāt hwǣnne mīne daȝas *āȝāne* bēoþ 'I don't know when my days will be over' (lit. "my days are gone") — *āȝāne* agrees with *daȝas.*

hæfde sē cyninʒ his fierd on tū *tōnumen* 'had that king his army into two (halves) divided' — the participle is uninflected, though the noun *fierd* (Fem., Acc. sg) suggests the ending *-e*.

It is probable that lack of agreement with participles-predicatives and with participles used in predicative constructions after *habban* ('have') testifies to the gradual transition of these phrases into compound verb forms.

Morphological Classification of Verbs

§ 199. The conjugation of verbs given in Table 9 (§ 190) shows the means of form-building used in the OE verb system. Most forms were distinguished with the help of inflectional endings or grammatical suffixes; one form — Participle II — was sometimes marked by a prefix; many verbs made use of vowel interchanges in the root; some verbs used consonant interchanges and a few had suppletive forms. The OE verb is remarkable for its complicated morphological classification which determined the application of form-building means in various groups of verbs. The majority of OE verbs fell into two great divisions: the strong verbs and the weak verbs. Besides these two main groups there were a few verbs which could be put together as "minor" groups. The main difference between the strong and weak verbs lay in the means of forming the principal parts, or the "stems" of the verb. There were also a few other differences in the conjugations.

All the forms of the verb, finite as well as non-finite, were derived from a set of "stems" or principal parts of the verb: the Present tense stem was used in all the Present tense forms, Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, and also in the Present Participle and the Infinitive; it is usually shown as the form of the Infinitive; all the forms of the Past tense were derived from the Past tense stems; the Past Participle had a separate stem.

The strong verbs formed their stems by means of vowel gradation (ablaut, see § 63, 64) and by adding certain suffixes; in some verbs vowel gradation was accompanied by consonant interchanges. The strong verbs had four stems, as they distinguished two stems in the Past Tense — one for the 1st and 3rd p. sg Ind. Mood, the other — for the other Past tense forms, Ind. and Subj.

The weak verbs derived their Past tense stem and the stem of Participle II from the Present tense stem with the help of the dental suffix *-d-* or *-t-*; normally they did not change their root vowel, but in some verbs suffixation was accompanied by a vowel interchange. The main differences between the strong and the weak verbs can be seen in the following examples (see also Table 9, § 190)·

	Present Tense stem (Infinitive)	Past Tense stem sg	pl	Participle II
Strong verb	beran	bær	bǣron	(ʒe)boren
Weak verb	lōcian	lōcode		(ʒe)lōcod

(The Past tense stem of the weak verbs is the form of the 1st and 3rd p. sg; the pl *lōcodon* is formed from the same stem with the help of

the plural ending -*on*). The same ending marks the Past pl of strong verbs.

(Note the lack of ending in the form of the strong verb *bær* and the ending -*de* in the same form of the weak verb.)

Both the strong and the weak verbs are further subdivided into a number of morphological classes with some modifications in the main form-building devices.

Minor groups of verbs differed from the weak and strong verbs but were not homogeneous either. Some of them combined certain features of the strong and weak verbs in a peculiar way ("preterite-present" verbs); others were suppletive or altogether anomalous. The following chart gives a general idea of the morphological classification of OE verbs.

Table 11

Morphological Classification of Old English Verbs

Strong	Weak	Minor groups
Seven classes with different gradation series	Three classes with different stem-suffixes	Preterite-presents Suppletive Anomalous

Strong Verbs

§ 200. There were about three hundred strong verbs in OE. They were native words descending from PG with parallels in other OG languages; many of them had a high frequency of occurrence and were basic items of the vocabulary widely used in word derivation and word compounding.

The strong verbs in OE (as well as in other OG languages) are usually divided into seven classes.

Classes from 1 to 6 use vowel gradation which goes back to the IE ablaut-series modified in different phonetic conditions in accordance with PG and Early OE sound changes. Class 7 includes reduplicating verbs, which originally built their past forms by means of repeating the root-morpheme; this doubled root gave rise to a specific kind of root-vowel interchange.

As seen from the table the principal forms of all the strong verbs have the same endings irrespective of class: -*an* for the Infinitive, no ending in the Past sg stem, -*on* in the form of Past pl, -*en* for Participle II. Two of these markers — the zero-ending in the second stem and -*en* in Participle II — are found only in strong verbs and should be noted as their specific characteristics. The classes differ in the series of root-vowels used to distinguish the four stems. However, only several classes and subclasses make a distinction between four vowels as markers

of the four stems — see Class 2, 3b and c, 4 and 5b; some classes distin-guish only three grades of ablaut and consequently have the same root vowel in two stems out of four (Class 1, 3a, 5a); two classes, 6 and 7, use only two vowels in their gradation series.

In addition to vowel gradation some verbs with the root ending in -s, -þ or -f employed an interchange of consonants: [s~z~r]; [θ~ð~d] and [f~v]. These interchanges were either instances of po-sitional variation of fricative consonants in OE or relics of earlier po-sitional sound changes (see the references in § 203); they were of no significance as grammatical markers and disappeared due to levelling by analogy towards the end of OE.

§ 201. The classes of strong verbs — like the morphological classes of nouns — differed in the number of verbs and, consequently, in their

Strong Verbs in Old English

Principal forms Classes	Infinitive	Past Singular[1]	Past Plural	Partici-ple II[2]	NE
1	wrītan	wrāt	writon	writen	*write*
2	(a) cēosan (b) būȝan	cēas bēaȝ	curon buȝon	coren boȝen	*choose* *bow*
3	(a) findan (b) helpan (c) feohtan	fand healp feaht	fundon hulpon fuhton	funden holpen fohten	*find* *help* *fight*
4	beran	bær	bǣron	boren	*bear*
5	(a) cweðan (b) sittan	cwæð sæt	cwǣdon sǣton	cweden seten	'say' (obs. *quoth*) *sit*
6	scacan	scōc	scōcon	scacen	*shake*
7	(a) hātan (b) ȝrōwan	hēt (heht) ȝrēow	hēton (hehton) ȝrēowon	hāten ȝrōwen	'call', 'name' *grow*

[1] The 2nd stem is called "Past sg" though it is the form of the 1st and 3rd p. Ind. only; "Past pl" is the stem used to build the 2nd p. sg Ind., the pl forms of the Ind. and all the forms of the Subj.

[2] Participle II is often marked by the prefix -ȝe, e. g. ȝe-writen, ȝe-coren.

role and weight in the language. Classes 1 and 3 were the most numerous of all: about 60 and 80 verbs, respectively; within Class 3 the first group — with a nasal or nasal plus a plosive in the root (*findan*, *rinnan* — NE *run*) included almost 40 verbs, which was about as much as the number of verbs in Class 2; the rest of the classes had from 10 to 15 verbs each. In view of the subsequent interinfluence and mixture of classes it is also noteworthy that some classes in OE had similar forms; thus Classes 4 and 5 differed in one form only — the stems of Participle II; Classes 2, 3b and c and Class 4 had identical vowels in the stem of Participle II.

§ 202. The history of the strong verbs traced back through Early OE to PG will reveal the origins of the sound interchanges and of the division into classes; it will also show some features which may help to identify the classes.

The gradation series used in Class 1 through 5 go back to the PIE qualitative ablaut [e~o] and some instances of quantitative ablaut. The grades [e~o] reflected in Germanic as [e/i~a] (see § 54, 55) were used in the first and second stems; they represented the normal grade (a short vowel) and were contrasted to the zero-grade (loss of the gradation vowel) or to the prolonged grade (a long vowel) in the third and fourth stem. The original gradation series split into several series because the gradation vowel was inserted in the root and was combined there with the sounds of the root. Together with them, it was then subjected to regular phonetic changes. Each class of verbs offered a peculiar phonetic environment for the gradation vowels and accordingly transformed the original series into a new gradation series.

Table 13 shows the development of the OE vowel gradation from the IE ablaut [e~o] which accounts for the first five classes of strong verbs. In Classes 1 and 2 the root of the verb originally contained [i] and [u] (hence the names *i*-class and *u*-class); combination of the gradation vowels with these sounds produced long vowels and diphthongs in the first and second stems. Classes 3, 4 and 5 had no vowels, consequently the first and second forms contain the gradation vowels descending directly from the short [e] and [o]; Class 3 split into subclasses as some of the vowels could be diphthongised under the Early OE breaking. In the third and fourth stems we find the zero-grade or the prolonged grade of ablaut; therefore Class 1 — *i*-class — has [i], Class 2 — [u] or [o]; in Classes 4 and 5 the Past pl stem has a long vowel [æ]. Class 5 (b) contained [j] following the root in the Inf.; hence the mutated vowel [i] and the lengthening of the consonant: *sittan*.

In the verbs of Class 6 the original IE gradation was purely quantitative; in PG it was transformed into a quantitative-qualitative series.

Class 7 had acquired its vowel interchange from a different source: originally this was a class of reduplicating verbs, which built their past tense by repeating the root. Reduplication can be illustrated by Gothic verbs, e.g. *maitan* — *maimait* — *maimaitum* — *maitans* ('chop'). In OE the roots in the Past tense stems had been contracted and appeared as a single morpheme with a long vowel. The vowels were different with different verbs, as they resulted from the fusion of various root-morphemes, so that Class 7 had no single series of vowel interchanges.

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Table 13

Development of Vowel Gradation in Old English Strong Verbs
(Classes 1-6)

Classes	I	II	III	IV	Notes
1-5	e	o			IE
	e/i	a			PG (for [i > e/i]
	normal grade		zero grade		[o>a] see § 54,
Class 1					55)
(*i*-class)	e/i + i	a + i	i	i	Gradation vowel combined with the sounds of the root
	i:	ai	i	i	PG
	i:	a:	i	i	OE (for [ai > a:] see § 118)
Class 2					
(*u*-class)	e/i+u	a + u	u	u	Gradation vowel combined with the sounds of the root
	eu/iu	au	u	o	PG (for [u ~ o] see § 55)
	eo:	ea:	u	o	OE (for [iu > eo:, au > ea:] see § 118)
Class 3					
a) nasal or nasal + plosive	e/i	a	u	u/o	PG
	i	a	u	u	OE
b) *l* + plosive	e	ea	u	o	OE (for short diphthongs see § 120)[1]
c) *h,g* or *r* + consonant	eo/e	ea/æ	u	o	OE
Class 4			lengthened grade		
(sonorant)	e/i	a	e:	o	PG
	e/i	æ/a	æ:	o	OE

[1] The appearance of vowels before sonorants in the zero-grade (stems III and IV) is explained by the need to form a syllable when the sonorants had lost their syllabic nature.

Classes	Vowels in the four principal forms				Notes
Class 5 (noise con- sonant)	e/i e/i	a æ	e: æ:	e/i e	PG OE
Class 6	o a	ō ō	ō ō	o a	IE PG and OE (for [o > a] see § 54)

Direct traces of reduplication in OE are rare; they are sometimes found in the Anglian dialects and in poetry as extra consonants appearing in the Past tense forms: Past tense of *hātan* — *heht* alongside *hēt* ('call'), Past tense of *ondrædan* — *ondrēd* and *ondrēord* (NE *dread*).

§ 203. To account for the interchanges of consonants in the strong verbs one should recall the voicing by Verner's Law and some subsequent changes of voiced and voiceless fricatives. The interchange [s ~ z] which arose under Verner's Law was transformed into [s ~ r] due to rhotacism and acquired another interchange [s ~ z] after the Early OE voicing of fricatives. Consequently, the verbs whose root ended in [s] or [z] could have the following interchange:

z	s	r	r	
cēosan	cēas	curon	coren	NE *choose* (Class 2)

Verbs with an interdental fricative have similar variant with voiced and voiceless [θ, ð] and the consonant [d], which had developed from [ð] in the process of hardening:

ð	θ	d	d	
sniþan	snāþ	snidon	sniden	'cut' (Class 1)

Verbs with the root ending in [f/v] displayed the usual OE interchange of the voiced and voiceless positional variants of fricatives:

v	f	v	v	
ceorfan	cearf	curfon	corfen	NE *carve* (Class 3)

(For relevant phonetic changes see § 57, 137, 138, 139).

Verbs with consonant interchanges could belong to any class, provided that they contained a fricative consonant. That does not mean, however, that every verb with a fricative used a consonant interchange, for instance *risan*, a strong verb of Class I, alternated [s] with [z] but not with [r]: *risan* — *rās* — *rison* — *risen* (NE *rise*). Towards the end of the OE period the consonant interchanges disappeared.

Weak Verbs

§ 204. The number of weak verbs in OE by far exceeded that of strong verbs. In fact, all the verbs, with the exception of the strong

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verbs and the minor groups (which make a total of about 315-320 units) were weak. Their number was constantly growing since all new verbs derived from other stems were conjugated weak (except derivatives of strong verbs with prefixes). Among the weak verbs there were many derivatives of OE noun and adjective stems and also derivatives of strong verbs built from one of their stems (usually the second stem — Past sg), e.g.

OE *talu* n	*tellan* v	(NE *tale, tell*)
OE *full* adj	*fyllan* v	(NE *full, fill*)
OE *findan*, v str.	*fandian* v	(NE *find, find out*)
(Past sg *fand*)		

Weak verbs formed their Past and Participle II by means of the dental suffix *-d-* or *-t-* (a specifically Germanic trait — see § 69). In OE the weak verbs are subdivided into three classes differing in the ending of the Infinitive, the sonority of the suffix, and the sounds preceding the suffix. The principal forms of the verbs in the three classes are given in Table 14, with several subclasses in Class I.

The main differences between the classes were as follows: in Class I the Infinitive ended in *-an*, seldom *-ian* (*-ian* occurs after [r]); the Past form had *-de, -ede* or *-te;* Participle II was marked by *-d, -ed* or *-t*. Some verbs of Class I had a double consonant in the Infinitive (Subclass b), others had a vowel interchange in the root, used together with suffixation (types e and f)).

Class II had no subdivisions. In Class II the Infinitive ended in *-ian* and the Past tense stem and Participle II had [o] before the dental suffix. This was the most numerous and regular of all the classes.

The verbs of Class III had an Infinitive in *-an* and no vowel before the dental suffix; it included only four verbs with a full conjugation and a few isolated forms of other verbs. Genetically, the division into classes goes back to the differences between the derivational stem-suffixes used to build the verbs or the nominal stems from which they were derived.

§ 205. The verbs of Class I, being *i*-stems, originally contained the element [-i/-j] between the root and the endings. This [-i/-j] caused the palatal mutation of the root-vowel, and the lengthening of consonants which becomes apparent from comparing the verbs with related words (see *fyllan* and *tellan* in § 204, earlier forms **fulian*, **tælian*; and § 124 ff, for phonetic changes). [-i/-j] was lost in all the verbs before the age of writing, with the exception of those whose root ended in *-r* (cf. *styrian, dēman* and *temman* in Table 14).

In the Past tense the suffix *-i-* was weakened to *-e-* after a short root-syllable (types (a), (b)) and was dropped — after a long one (types (c) and (d)); if the preceding consonant was voiceless the dental suffix was devoiced to [t]. Hence *cēpan — cēpte*. If the root ended in [t] or [d] with a preceding consonant the dental suffix could merge with the [t, d] of the root and some forms of the Past and Present tense became homonymous: thus *sende* was the form of the 1st p. sg of the Pres. Tense Ind. and Subj. and also the form of the Past Tense, 1st and 3rd p. sg Ind.

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Table 14

Weak Verbs in Old English

Principal forms / Classes	Infinitive	Past Tense	Participle II[1]	NE
I	*-an/-ian*	*-de/-ede/-te*	*-ed/-d/-t*	
	(a) styrian	styrede	styred	*stir*
	(b) temman	temede	temed	*tame*
	(c) dēman	dēmde	dēmed	*deem*
	(d) cēpan	cēpte	cēped	*keep*
	(e) tellan	tealde	teald	*tell*
	(f) þyncan	þūhte	þūht	*think*
II	*-ian*	*-ode*	*-od*	
	lōcian	lōcode	lōcod	*look*
III	*-an*	*-de*	*-d*	
	libban	lifde	lifd	*live*
	habban	hæfde	hæfd	*have*

[1] Part. II of weak verbs, like that of strong verbs, was often marked by the prefix ʒe-. In the table the forms of Part. II are given without the prefix.

and all the persons of the sg Subj. (cf. also *restan — reste, wendan — wende,* NE *send, rest, wend*).

Participle II of most verbs preserved -*e*- before the dental suffix, though in some groups it was lost (types (e), and (f)).

Two groups of verbs in Class I — types (e) and (f) had one more peculiarity — an interchange of root-vowels: the Infinitive had a mutated vowel like all the verbs of Class I, while the other two forms retained the original non-mutated vowel — probably these forms had no stem-suffix at the time of palatal mutation. The diphthong [ea] in *tealde* (type e) is the result of breaking before [ld]; it is found in the WS dialect, the Anglian forms being *talde, ʒe-tald.* The absence of the nasal [n] in the Past and Participle II and the long vowel of *þyncan — þūhte, ʒe-þūht* is the result of the loss of nasal consonants before fricatives (see phonetic changes in § 120, 121, 125 ff, 143).

§ 206. The verbs of Class II were built with the help of the stem-suffix -*ō*, or -*ōj*- and are known as ō-stems. Their most conspicuous feature — the element -*o*- before the dental suffix in the Past and Participle II —

is a remnant of the stem-suffix. The Infinitives of all the verbs of Class II ended in *-ian* but the root-vowel was not affected because at the time of palatal mutation, the verbs preserved the full stem-suffix *-ōj-* and the long [o:] protected the root-vowel from assimilation. (Pre-written reconstructed forms of the verbs of Class II are *lōkōjan, lufōjan, OE lōcian, lufian, NE look, love).

§ 207. Class III was made up of a few survivals of the PG third and fourth classes of weak verbs, mostly -æj-stems. The doubling of the consonants in the Infinitive and the mutated vowels are accounted for by the presence of the element *-i/-j-* in some forms in Early OE.

Minor Groups of Verbs

§ 208. Several minor groups of verbs can be referred neither to strong nor to weak verbs.

The most important group of these verbs were the so-called "preterite-presents" or "past-present" verbs. Originally the Present tense forms of these verbs were Past tense forms (or, more precisely, IE perfect forms, denoting past actions relevant for the present). Later these forms acquired a present meaning but preserved many formal features of the Past tense. Most of these verbs had new Past Tense forms built with the help of the dental suffix. Some of them also acquired the forms of the verbals: Participles and Infinitives; most verbs did not have a full paradigm and were in this sense "defective".

The conjugation of OE preterite-presents is shown in Table 15.

The verbs were inflected in the Present like the Past tense of strong verbs: the forms of the 1st and 3rd p. sg were identical and had no ending — yet, unlike strong verbs, they had the same root-vowel in all the persons; the pl had a different grade of ablaut similarly with strong verbs (which had two distinct stems for the Past: sg and pl, see § 200 ff). In the Past the preterite-presents were inflected like weak verbs: the dental suffix plus the endings *-e, -est, -e*. The new Infinitives *sculan, cunnan* were derived from the pl form. The interchanges of root-vowels in the sg and pl of the Present tense of preterite-present verbs can be traced to the same gradation series as were used in the strong verbs. Before the shift of meaning and time-reference the would-be preterite-presents were strong verbs. The prototype of *can* may be referred to Class 3 (with the grades [a ~ u] in the two Past tense stems); the prototype of *sculan* — to Class 4, *maзan* — to Class 5, *witan, wāt* 'know' — to Class 1, etc.

In OE there were twelve preterite-present verbs. Six of them have survived in Mod E: OE *āз; cunnan, cann; dear(r), sculan,sceal; maзan, mæз; mōt* (NE *owe, ought; can; dare; shall; may; must*). Most of the preterite-presents did not indicate actions, but expressed a kind of attitude to an action denoted by another verb, an Infinitive which followed the preterite-present. In other words, they were used like modal verbs, and eventually developed into modern modal verbs. (In OE some of them could also be used as notional verbs, e.g.:

þe him āht *sceoldon* 'what they owed him'.)

Table 15

Conjugation of Preterite-Presents in Old English

Infinitive	cunnan (NE *can*)	sculan (NE *shall, should*)
Present tense		
Indicative		
Singular 1st	cann	sceal(l)
2nd	canst	scealt
3rd	cann	sceal(l)
Plural	cunnon	sculon
Subjunctive		
Singular	cunne	scule, scyle
Plural	cunnen	sculen, scylen
Participle I	—	—¹
Past tense		
Indicative		
Singular 1st	cūðe	sceolde
2nd	cūðest	sceoldest
3rd	cūðe	sceolde
Plural	cūðon	sceoldon
Subjunctive		
Singular	cūðe	sceolde
Plural	cūðen	sceolden
Participle II	cunnen, cūð	—

¹ These verbs had no Participle I; some preterite-presents built Participle I from the Present Tense stem, e. g. OE *maȝan, mæȝ*, Participle I — *maȝende* (NE *may*).

§ 209. Among the verbs of the minor groups there were several anomalous verbs with irregular forms.

OE *willan* was an irregular verb with the meaning of volition and desire; it resembled the preterite-presents in meaning and function, as it indicated an attitude to an action and was often followed by an Infinitive. Cf.:

þā ðe *willað* mīnes forsīðes fæȝnian 'those who wish to rejoice in my death' and

hyt mōten habban eall 'all could have it'.

Willan had a Past tense form *wolde*, built like *sceolde*, the Past tense of the preterite-present *sculan, sceal*. Eventually *willan* became a modal verb, like the surviving preterite-presents, and, together with *sculan* developed into an auxiliary (NE *shall, will, should, would*).

Some verbs combined the features of weak and strong verbs. OE *dōn* formed a weak Past tense with a vowel interchange: and a Participle in -*n*: *dōn — dyde — ȝe-dōn* (NE *do*). OE *būan* 'live' had a weak Past — *būde* and Participle II, ending in -*n*, ȝe-*būn* like a strong verb.

§ 210. Two OE verbs were suppletive. OE *ȝān*, whose Past tense

was built from a different root: ʒān — eōde — ʒe-ʒān (NE go); and bēon (NE be).

Bēon is an ancient (IE) suppletive verb. In many languages — Germanic and non-Germanic — its paradigm is made up of several roots. (Recall R быть, есть, Fr être, suis, fut.) In OE the Present tense forms were different modifications of the roots *wes- and *bhū-, 1st p. sg — eom, bēo, 2nd p. eart, bist, etc. The Past tense was built from the root *wes- on the pattern of strong verbs of Class 5. Though the Infinitive and Participle II do not occur in the texts, the set of forms can be reconstructed as: *wesan — wæs — wǣron — *weren (for the interchange of consonants in strong verbs see § 203; the full conjugation of bēon is given in § 494 together with its ME and NE forms).

<center>SYNTAX</center>

§ 211. The syntactic structure of OE was determined by two major conditions: the nature of OE morphology and the relations between the spoken and the written forms of the language.

OE was largely a synthetic language; it possessed a system of grammatical forms which could indicate the connection between words; consequently, the functional load of syntactic ways of word connection was relatively small. It was primarily a spoken language, therefore the written forms of the language resembled oral speech — unless the texts were literal translations from Latin or poems with stereotyped constructions. Consequently, the syntax of the sentence was relatively simple; coordination of clauses prevailed over subordination; complicated syntactical constructions were rare.

The Phrase. Noun, Adjective and Verb Patterns

§ 212. The syntactic structure of a language can be described at the level of the phrase and at the level of the sentence. In OE texts we find a variety of word phrases (also: word groups or patterns). OE noun patterns, adjective patterns and verb patterns had certain specific features which are important to note in view of their later changes.

§ 213. A noun pattern consisted of a noun as the head word and pronouns, adjectives (including verbal adjectives, or participles), numerals and other nouns as determiners and attributes. Most noun modifiers agreed with the noun in gender, number and case, e.g.:

on þǣm ōþrum þrim daʒum ... 'in those other three days' — Dat. pl Masc.

Ōhthere sǣde his hlāforde, Ælfrēde cyninʒe 'Ohthere said to his lord, king Alfred' — the noun in apposition is in the Dat. sg like the head noun.

Nouns which served as attributes to other nouns usually had the form of the Gen. case: hwāles bān, dēora fell 'whale's bone, deer's fell'. Some numerals governed the nouns they modified so that formally the relations were reversed: tamra dēora ... syx hund 'six hundred tame deer'; twentiʒ scēapa 'twenty sheep' (dēora, scēapa — Gen. pl).

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§ 214. An adjective pattern could include adverbs, nouns or pronouns in one of the oblique cases with or without prepositions, and infinitives, e. g.:

hū lāþ *ēow selfum* wæs *tō ȝelæstenne* ēowre āþas 'how loath it was for you to keep your oaths'

him wæs *manna* þearf 'he was in need of men

hiora hȳd biŏ swīŏe ȝōd *tō scio-rāpum* 'their hide is very good for ship ropes'.

§ 215. Verb patterns included a great variety of dependant components: nouns and pronouns in oblique cases with or without prepositions, adverbs, infinitives and participles, e.g.:

brinȝ *þā þinȝ* 'bring those things' (Acc.)

Hē ... sealde *hit* hys *māder* 'he ... gave it to his mother' (Acc., Dat.)

hē ŏǣr bād *westanwindes* 'there he waited for the western wind' (Gen.)

Isaac cwæŏ *tō his suna* 'Isaac said to his son' (preposition plus Dat.);

bī þǣre ēa siȝlan 'sail past that river' (preposition plus Dat. in an adverbial meaning).

Hū mihtest þū hit swā *hrædlice* findan? 'how could you find it so quickly' (adverb)

Infinitives and participles were often used in verb phrases with verbs of incomplete predication (some of these phrases were later transformed into analytical forms): *mihtest findan* 'might find' in the last example, *hē wolde fandian* 'he wanted to find out', *hie onȝunnon mā reþian* 'they began to rage more' (see also § 192).

The Simple Sentence

§ 216. The following examples show the structure of the simple sentence in OE, its principal and secondary parts:

Sōŏlice sum *mann hæfde* twēȝen suna (*mann* — subject, *hæfde* — Simple Predicate) 'truly a certain man had two sons'. Predicates could also be compound: modal, verbal and nominal:

Hwæŏre þū *meaht sinȝan* 'nevertheless you can sing'.

Hē *was swȳŏe spediȝ mann* 'he was a very rich man'.

The secondary parts of the sentence are seen in the same examples: *twēȝen suna* 'two sons' — Direct Object with an attribute, *spediȝ* 'rich' — attribute. In the examples of verb and noun patterns above we can find other secondary parts of the sentence: indirect and prepositional objects, adverbial modifiers and appositions: *hys māder* 'to his mother' (Indirect Object), *tō his suna* 'to his son' (Prep. Object). *his hlāforde, Ælfrēde cyninȝe* 'his lord king Alfred' (apposition), etc. The structure of the OE sentence can be described in terms of Mod E syntactic analysis, for the sentence was made up of the same parts, except that those parts were usually simpler. Attributive groups were short and among the parts of the sentence there were very few predicative constructions ("syntactical complexes"). Absolute constructions with the noun in the Dat. case were sometimes used in translations from Latin in imitation of the Latin Dativus Absolutus. The objective predicative construction "Accusative with the Infinitive" occurred in original OE texts:

... ðā liðende land ȝesāwon,
brimclifu blican, beorȝas stēape (BEOWULF)

'... the travellers saw land, the cliffs shine, steep mountains'.
Predicative constructions after *habban* (NE *have*) contained a Past Participle (see the examples in § 198).

§ 217. The connection between the parts of the sentence was shown by the form of the words as they had formal markers for gender, case, number and person. As compared with later periods agreement and government played an important role in the word phrase and in the sentence. Accordingly the place of the word in relation to other words was of secondary importance and the order of words was relatively free (see § 223 ff).

The presence of formal markers made it possible to miss out some parts of the sentence which would be obligatory in an English sentence now. In the following instance the subject is not repeated but the form of the predicate shows that the action is performed by the same person as the preceding action:

þā com hē on morȝenne tō þæm tūn-ȝerefan sē þe his ealdorman wæs; sæȝde him, hwylce ȝife hē onfēnȝ 'then in the morning he came to the town-sheriff the one that was his alderman; (he) said to him what gift he had received'.

The formal subject was lacking in many impersonal sentences (though it was present in others); cf.:

Norþan snȳwde 'it snowed in the North';
him þūhte 'it seemed to him';
Hit haȝolade stānum 'it hailed with stones'.

§ 218. One of the conspicuous features of OE syntax was multiple negation within a single sentence or clause. The most common negative particle was *ne*, which was placed before the verb; it was often accompanied by other negative words, mostly *nāht* or *nōht* (which had developed from *ne* plus *ā-wiht* 'no thing'). These words reinforced the meaning of negation:

Ne con īc *nōht* sinȝan... īc *nāht* sinȝan *ne* cūðe 'I cannot sing' (lit. "cannot sing nothing"), 'I could not sing' (*nōht* was later shortened to *not*, a new negative particle).

Another peculiarity of OE negation was that the particle *ne* could be attached to some verbs, pronouns and adverbs to form single words:

...hē ne mihte *nān* þing ȝesēon 'he could not see anything' (*nān* from *ne ān* 'not one')

hit *nā* būton ȝewinne *næs* 'it was never without war' (*næs* from *ne wæs* 'no was'; NE *none, never, neither* are traces of such forms).

Compound and Complex Sentences. Connectives

§ 219. Compound and complex sentences existed in the English language since the earliest times. Even in the oldest texts we find numerous instances of coordination and subordination and a large inventory of subordinate clauses, subject clauses, object clauses, attributive clauses,

adverbial clauses. And yet many constructions — especially in early original prose — look clumsy, loosely connected, disorderly and wanting precision, which is natural in a language whose written form had only begun to grow.

§ 220. Coordinate clauses were mostly joined by *and*, a conjunction of a most general meaning, which could connect statements with various semantic relations. The ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES abound in successions of clauses or sentences all beginning with *and*, e.g.:

And þā onʒeat sē cyninʒ þæt ond hē, on þa duru ēode, *and* þā unbēanlīce hine werede, oþ hē on þone æþeling lōcude, *and* þā ūt ræsde on hine, *and* hine miclum ʒewundode; *and* hīe alle on þone cyninʒ wæron feohtende, oþ þæt hīe hine ofslæʒenne hæfdon, 'and then the king saw that, and he went to the door, and then bravely defended himself, until he saw that noble, and then out rushed on him, and wounded him severely, and they were all fighting against that king until they had him slain' (from the earliest part of the CHRONICLES A.D. 755).

§ 221. Repetition of connectives at the head of each clause (termed "correlation") was common in complex sentences:

þā hē þær tō ʒefaren wæs, *þa* ēodon hīe tō hīora scipum 'then (when) he came there, then they went to their ship.'

Attributive clauses were joined to the principal clauses by means of various connectives, there being no special class of relative pronouns. The main connective was the indeclinable particle *þe* employed either alone or together with demonstrative and personal pronouns:

and him cȳþdon þæt hiera mæʒas him mid wæron, *þā þe* him from noldon 'and told him that their kinsmen were with him, those that did not want (to go) from him'.

The pronouns could also be used to join the clauses without the particle *þe*:

Hit ʒelamp ʒīo þætte ān hearpere wæs on þære ðīode ðe Dracia hātte, *sio* wæs on Crēca rice; se hearpere wæs swīðe unʒelræʒlīce ʒōd, ðæs nama wæs Orfeus; hē hæfde ān swīðe ænlic wīf, *sio* wæs hāten Eurydice 'It happened once that there was a harper among the people on the land that was called Thrace, that was in the kingdom of Crete; that harper was incredibly good; whose name (the name of that) was Orpheus; he had an excellent wife; that was called Eurydice' (see also § 182 for the use of pronouns).

The pronoun and conjunction *þæt* was used to introduce object clauses and adverbial clauses, alone or with other form-words: oð ðæt 'until', ær, þæm þe 'before', þæt 'so that' as in:

Isaac ealdode and his ēaʒan þȳstrodon, *þæt* hē ne mihte nān þing ʒesēon 'Then Isaac grew old and his eyes became blind so that he could not see anything'.

§ 222. Some clauses are regarded as intermediate between coordinate and subordinate: they are joined asyndetically and their status is not clear:

þā wæs sum consul, Boethius wæs hāten 'There was then a consul, Boethius was called' (perhaps attributive: '(who) was called Boethius' or co-ordinate '(he) was called Boethius').

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In the course of OE the structure of the complex sentence was considerably improved. Ælfric, the greatest writer of the late 10th—early 11th c., employed a variety of connectives indicating the relations between the clauses with greater clarity and precision.

Word Order

§ 223. The order of words in the OE sentence was relatively free. The position of words in the sentence was often determined by logical and stylistic factors rather than by grammatical constraints. In the following sentences the word order depends on the order of presentation and emphasis laid by the author on different parts of the communication:

Þā Finnas, him þūhte, and þā Beormas spræcon neah ān ʒeþēode 'the Finns, it seemed to him, and the Permians spoke almost the same language' — direct word order

Fela spella him sædon þā Beormas ǽʒþer ʒe of hiera āʒnum lande ʒe of þæm landum þe ymb hīe ūtan wæron 'many stories told him (lit. "him told") the Permians either about their own land or about the lands that were around them' — the objects spella, him are placed at the beginning; the order of the subject and predicate is inverted and the attention is focussed on the part of the sentence which describes the content of the stories.

§ 224. Nevertheless the freedom of word order and its seeming independence of grammar should not be overestimated. The order of words could depend on the communicative type of the sentence — question versus statement, on the type of clause, on the presence and place of some secondary parts of the sentence.

Inversion was used for grammatical purposes in questions; full inversion with simple predicates and partial — with compound predicates, containing link-verbs and modal verbs:

Hwanon feriʒeaþ ʒē fǣtte scyldas? 'From where do you bring (lit. "bring you") ornamented shields?'

Eart þū Ēsau, mīn sunu? 'Are you Esau, my son?'

Hwæt sceal ic sinʒan? 'What shall I sing?'

If the sentence began with an adverbial modifier, the word order was usually inverted; cf. some common beginnings of yearly entries in the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES:

Hēr cuōm sē here tō Rēadinʒum... 'In this year came that army to Reading'.

Hēr on þyssum ʒēare fōr sē micla here... 'in this year went that big army'

with a relatively rare instance of direct word order after hēr:

hēr Cynewulf benam Siʒebryht his rices ond Westseaxna wiotan for unryhtum dǣdum, būton Hāmtūnscīre 'In this year Cynewulf and the councillors of Wessex deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom for his wicked deeds, except Hampshire (note also the separation of the two coordinate subjects Cynewulf and wiotan).

§ 225. A peculiar type of word order is found in many subordinate and in some coordinate clauses: the clause begins with the subject fol-

lowing the connective, and ends with the predicate or its finite part, all the secondary parts being enclosed between them. Recall the quotation:

Ohthere sæde his hlāforde, Ælfrēde cyninʒe þæt hē ealra Norðmonna norþmest būde (see the translation in § 113.) But the very next sentence in the text shows that in a similar clause the predicate could be placed next to the subject:

Hē cwæþ þæt hē būde on þǣm lande, norþweardum wiþ þā Westsæ 'He said that he lived on the land to the North of the Atlantic ocean'.

In the following passage the predicate is placed in final position both in the subordinate and coordinate clauses:

Æfter þǣm þe hē hīe oferwunnen hæfde, hē fōr on Bretanie þæt iʒlond, and wið þā Brettas ʒefeaht, and ʒefliemed wearð 'After he had overcome them, he went to Britain, that island, and against those Britons fought and was put to flight'. (Note also the place of the object hīe — objects were often placed before the predicate or between two parts of the predicate.)

§ 226. Those were the main tendencies in OE word order. They cannot be regarded as rigid rules, for there was much variability in syntactic patterns. The quotations given above show that different types of word order could be used in similar syntactical conditions. It appears that in many respects OE syntax was characterised by a wide range of variation and by the co-existence of various, sometimes even opposing, tendencies.

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Explain why OE can be called a "synthetic" or "inflected" language. What form-building means were used in OE?

2. Speak on the differences between the categories of case, number and gender in nouns, pronouns and adjectives.

3. Why are noun declensions in OE referred to as "stems"? Point out relics of the stem-suffixes in the forms of nouns.

4. Explain the difference between the grouping of nouns into declensions and the two declensions of adjectives.

5. Which phonetic changes account for the alternation of consonants in the following nouns: mūþ — mūpa (Nom. sg. Gen. pl N. -a); hūs — hūsum (Nom. sg. Dat. pl N. -a); wif — wife (Nom., Dat. sg N. -a); (NE mouth, house, wife). Were these consonant interchanges confined to certain declensions? Decline ʒlōf (F. -ō) and ʒōs (F. -root-stem) according to the models to confirm your answer (NE glove, goose).

6. Account for the vowel interchange in hwæl — hwalas (Nom. sg and pl, M. -a); pæþ — paþum (Nom. sg, Dat. pl, M. -a) (NE whale, path).

7. Determine the type of noun declension and supply the missing forms:

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom.	word	word	earm	earmas
Gen.	wordes	?	earmes	?
Dat.	?	?	?	?
Acc.	?	?	?	?
Nom.	bōc	bēc	cuppe	?
Gen.	bēc, bōce	?	?	?
Dat.	?	?	?	?
Acc.	?	?	cuppan	?

(NE word, arm, book, cup)

8. Point out instances of variation in the noun paradigms. From which stems were the new variants adopted?

9. Which forms of the nouns originated due to palatal mutation? Describe their history in Early OE.

10. Prove that suppletion is an ancient way of form-building that can be traced to PIE.

11. Which forms of adjectives, weak or strong, should be used in the following contexts? Fill in the blanks with appropriate endings: and þā þone hālʒ — mann ātuʒon ūt of his hūse 'and they drove that holy man out of his house...'; Ic eom ʒōd — hierde 'I am a good shepherd'.

12. Account for the interchange of vowels in the forms of the degrees of comparison:

smæl	smælra	smalost	'slender'
hēah	hīerra	hīehst	NE high
brād	brādra	brādost	NE broad
	brǣdra	brǣdest	

13. In what respects was the OE verb system "simpler" than the Mod E system?

14. Would it be correct to say that the strong verbs formed their principal parts by means of root-vowel interchanges and the weak verbs employed suffixation as the only form-building means? Make these definitions more precise.

15. Build the principal forms of the verbs forlēosan (str. 2), weorpan (str. 3) and drīfan (str. 1) and explain the interchange of vowels and consonants (NE lose, 'throw', drive).

16. Determine the class of the following strong verbs and supply the missing principal forms:

Pres. Tense stem.	Past sg.	Past pl.	Part. II	NE
stelan	?	?	?	steal
?	scān	?	?	shine
?	?	ǣton	?	eat
?	?	?	sunʒen	sing
ceorfan	?	?	?	carve
?	wearð	wurdon	worden	'become'
?	sanc	?	?	sink
?	?	?	ʒliden	glide
?	wōc	?	?	wake
?	?	?	bacen	bake

17. Find instances of "breaking" in the principal forms of strong and weak verbs.

18. How was gemination of consonants and the loss of -*j*- reflected in the forms of weak verbs?

19. What traces of palatal mutation can be found in the weak verbs?

20. Prove that the non-finite forms in OE had more nominal features than they have today.

21. Define the form and class of the verbs and nouns in the following phrases and reconstruct their initial forms: Nom. sg of nouns and the Infinitive of the verbs:

... wīciað Finnas ... fōr hē... þā Beormas sprǣcon... Ōhthere mētte ...hē bād... his ēaȝan þȳstrodon... hē clypode... wē willað secȝan...

Chapter X

OLD ENGLISH VOCABULARY

Preliminary Remarks

§ 227. The full extent of the OE vocabulary is not known to present-day scholars. There is no doubt that many words have not been recorded in the extant texts at all. The evidence of the records has been supplemented from other sources: from the study of the words of closely related OG languages and from later, more extensive ME texts.

Modern estimates of the total vocabulary of OE range from about thirty thousand words to almost one hundred thousand (A. I. Smirnitsky, M. Pei), — the latter figure being probably too high and unrealistic. (Among other causes the differences in the estimates depend on the treatment of polysemy and homonymy. But even the lowest estimates show that OE had already developed about as many words as used by a present-day cultured English speaker.) Despite the gaps in the accessible data, philological studies in the last centuries have given us a fairly complete outline of the OE vocabulary as regards its etymology, word structure, word-building and stylistic differentiation.

ETYMOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE OLD ENGLISH VOCABULARY

§ 228. Examination of the origin of words is of great interest in establishing the interrelations between languages and linguistic groups. Word etymology throws light on the history of the speaking community and on its contacts with other peoples.

The OE vocabulary was almost purely Germanic; except for a small number of borrowings, it consisted of native words inherited from PG or formed from native roots and affixes.

Native Words

§ 229. Native OE words can be subdivided into a number of etymological layers coming from different historical periods. The three main

layers in the native OE words are: a) common IE words, 2) common Germanic words, 3) specifically OE words.

§ 230. Words belonging to the common IE layer constitute the oldest part of the OE vocabulary. They go back to the days of the IE parent-language before its extension over the wide territories of Europe and Asia and before the appearance of the Germanic group. They were inherited by PG and passed into the Germanic languages of various subgroups, including English.

Among these words we find names of some natural phenomena, plants and animals, agricultural terms, names of parts of the human body, terms of kinship, etc.; verbs belonging to this layer denote the basic activities of man; adjectives indicate the most essential qualities; this layer includes personal and demonstrative pronouns and most numerals. In addition to roots, this portion of the OE (and Germanic) heritage includes word-building and form-building elements. OE examples of this layer are: *eolh, mere, mōna, trēow, sāwan, næӡl, beard, brōðor, mōdor, sunu, dōn, bēon, niwe, long, ic, min, þæt, twā*, etc. (NE *elk, 'sea', moon, tree, sow, nail, beard, brother, mother, son, do, be, new, long, I, my, that, two*). Some words of this oldest layer are not shared by all the groups of the IE family but are found only in certain areas. In the early days of their separate history the Germanic tribes were more closely connected with their eastern neighbours, the Baltic and Slavonic tribes, while later they came into closer contact with the Italic and Celtic groups. These facts are borne out by the following lexical parallels: OE *beard* (NE *beard*) is found in the Germanic group (OHG *bart*) and has parallels in Latvian *barda* and in R *борода*. OE *tūn* (NE *town*) belongs to the Germanic vocabulary (cf. O Icel *tún*) and is also found in Celtic: Old Irish *dun*; OE *lippa* (NE *lip*), and its OHG parallel *leffur*, appears in the Italic group as L *labium*; other examples of the same type are OE *spere*, NE *spear*, OHG *sper*, L *sparus*, OE *ӡemǣne* 'common', OHG *gimeini*, L *communus*.

§ 231. The common Germanic layer includes words which are shared by most Germanic languages, but do not occur outside the group. Being specifically Germanic, these words constitute an important distinctive mark of the Germanic languages at the lexical level. This layer is certainly smaller than the layer of common IE words. (The ratio between specifically Germanic and common IE words in the Germanic languages was estimated by 19th c. scholars as 1:2; since then it has been discovered that many more Germanic words have parallels outside the group and should be regarded as common IE.)

Common Germanic words originated in the common period of Germanic history, i.e. in PG when the Teutonic tribes lived close together. Semantically these words are connected with nature, with the sea and everyday life. OE examples of this layer are given together with parallels from other OG languages (Table 1, see also Table 8 in § 71).

Some of the words did not occur in all the OG languages. Their areal distribution reflects the contacts between the Germanic tribes at the beginning of their migrations: West and North Germanic languages (represented here by OE, OHG and O Icel) had many words in common,

Table 1

Common Germanic Words in Old English

OE	OHG	Gt	O Icel	NE
hand	hant	handus	hǫnd	*hand*
sand	sant	—	sandr	*sand*
eorþe	erda	airþa	jǫrð	*earth*
sinʒan	singan	siggwan	singva	*sing*
findan	findan	finþan	finna	*find*
ʒrēne	gruoni	—	grǽn	*green*
steorfan	sterban	—	—	*starve*
scrēap	scâf	—	—	*sheep*
fox	fuhs	—	—	*fox*
macian	mahhon	—	—	*make*

due to their rapproachement after the East Teutons (the Goths) left the coast of the Baltic Sea. The languages of the West Germanic subgroup had a number of words which must have appeared after the loss of contacts with the East and North Teutons but before the West Germanic tribes started on their migrations.

§ 232. The third etymological layer of native words can be defined as specifically OE, that is words which do not occur in other Germanic or non-Germanic languages. These words are few, if we include here only the words whose roots have not been found outside English: OE *clipian* 'call', OE *brid* (NE *bird*) and several others. However, they are far more numerous if we include in this layer OE compounds and derived words formed from Germanic roots in England. For instance, OE *wifman* or *wimman* (NE *woman*) consists of two roots which occurred as separate words in other OG languages, but formed a compound only in OE (cf. OHG *wib*, O Icel *vif*, NE *wife*; OE *man*, Gt *mann(a)*, NE *man*). Other well-known examples are — OE *hlāford*, originally made of *hlāf* (NE *loaf*, cf. R хлеб) and *weard* 'keeper' (cf. Gt *wards*). This compound word was simplified and was ultimately shortened to NE *lord*. OE *hlǣfdiʒe* was a compound consisting of the same first component *hlāf* of the root *diʒe* which is related to parallels in other OG languages: Gt *digan*, O Icel *deigja* 'knead' — lit. 'bread-kneading', later simplified to NE *lady*. Some compounds denoted posts and institutions in OE kingdoms: OE *scirʒerefa* 'chief of the shire' (NE *sheriff*), OE *witenaʒemōt* 'meeting of the elders, assembly'.

Foreign Element in the Old English Vocabulary

§ 233. Although borrowed words constituted only a small portion of the OE vocabulary — all in all about six hundred words, — they are of great interest for linguistic and historical study. The borrowings

reflect the contacts of English with other tongues resulting from diverse political, economic, social and cultural events in the early periods of British history. OE borrowings come from two sources: Celtic and Latin.

Borrowings from Celtic

§ 234. There are very few Celtic loan-words in the OE vocabulary, for there must have been little intermixture between the Germanic settlers and the Celtic in Britain. Though in some parts of the island the Celts population was not exterminated during the WG invasion, linguistic evidence of Celtic influence is meager. Obviously there was little that the newcomers could learn from the subjugated Celts. Abundant borrowing from Celtic is to be found only in place-names. The OE kingdoms *Kent, Deira* and *Bernicia* derive their names from the names of Celtic tribes. The name of *York*, the *Downs* and perhaps *London* have been traced to Celtic sources (Celtic *dūn* meant 'hill'). Various Celtic designations of 'river' and 'water' were understood by the Germanic invaders as proper names: *Ouse, Exe, Esk, Usk, Avon, Evan* go back to Celtic *amhuin* 'river', *uisge* 'water'; *Thames, Stour, Dover* also come from Celtic. Some elements frequently occurring in Celtic place-names can help to identify them: -*comb* 'deep valley' in *Batcombe, Duncombe, Winchcombe*; -*torr* 'high rock' in *Torr, Torcross*; -*llan* 'church' in *Llandaff, Llanelly*; -*pill* 'creek' in *Pylle, Huntspill*. Many place-names with Celtic elements are hybrids; the Celtic component, combined with a Latin or a Germanic component, make a compound place-name; e.g.

Celtic plus Latin	*Celtic plus Germanic*
Man-chester	York-shire
Win-chester	Corn-wall[1]
Glou-cester	Salis-bury
Wor-cester	Lich-field
Devon-port	Devon-shire
Lan-caster	Canter-bury

§ 235. Outside of place-names Celtic borrowings in OE were very few: no more than a dozen. Examples of common nouns are: OE *binn* (NE *bin* 'crib'), *cradol* (NE *cradle*), *bratt* 'cloak', *dun* (NE *dun* 'dark coloured'), *dūn* 'hill', *cross* (NE *cross*), probably through Celtic from the L *crux*. A few words must have entered OE from Celtic due to the activities of Irish missionaries in spreading Christianity, e.g. OE *ancor* 'hermit', *drȳ* 'magician', *cursian* (NE *curse*). In later ages some of the Celtic borrowings have died out or have survived only in dialects, e.g. *loch* dial. 'lake', *coomb* dial. 'valley'.

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[1] It means 'Cornubian Welsh'; the name *Wealhas (Wales, Welsh)* was a common noun, meaning 'strangers'; it was given by the newcomers to the unfamiliar Celtic tribes.

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§ 236. The role of the Latin language in Medieval Britain is clearly manifest; it was determined by such historical events as the Roman occupation of Britain, the influence of the Roman civilisation and the introduction of Christianity. It is no wonder that the Latin language exerted considerable influence on different aspects of English: the OE alphabet, the growth of writing and literature. The impact of Latin on the OE vocabulary enables us to see the spheres of Roman influence on the life in Britain.

§ 237. Latin words entered the English language at different stages of OE history. Chronologically they can be divided into several layers.

The earliest layer comprises words which the WG tribes brought from the continent when they came to settle in Britain. Contact with the Roman civilisation began a long time before the Anglo-Saxon invasion (see § 91).

The adoption of Latin words continued in Britain after the invasion, since Britain had been under Roman occupation for almost 400 years. Though the Romans left Britain before the settlement of the West Teutons, Latin words could be transmitted to them by the Romanised Celts.

Early OE borrowings from Latin indicate the new things and con‐ cepts which the Teutons had learnt from the Romans; as seen from the examples below they pertain to war, trade, agriculture, building and home life.

§ 238. Words connected with *trade* indicate general concepts, units of measurements and articles of trade unknown to the Teutons before they came into contact with Rome: OE *cēapian, cēap, cēapman* and *manȝian, manȝunȝ, manȝere* ('to trade', 'deal', 'trader', 'to trade', 'trading', 'trader') came from the Latin names for 'merchant' — *caupo* and *mango*.

Evidently, the words were soon assimilated by the language as they yielded many derivatives.

Units of measurement and containers were adopted with their Lat‐ in names: OE *pund* (NE *pound*), OE *ynce* (NE *inch*) from L *pondo* and *uncia*, OE *mynet, mynetian* ('coin', 'to coin'), OE *flasce, ciest* (NE *flask, chest*).

The following words denote articles of trade and agricultural prod‐ ucts, introduced by the Romans: OE *win* (from L *vinum*), OE *butere* (from L *būtȳrum*), OE *plume* (from L *prunus*), OE *ciese* (from L *cāseus*), OE *pipor* (from L *piper*), (NE *wine, butter, plum, cheese, pepper*).

Roman contribution to *building* can be perceived in words like OE *cealc, tiȝele, coper* (NE *chalk, tile, copper*). A group of words relating to *domestic life* is exemplified by OE *cytel, disc, cuppe, pyle* (NE *kettle, dish, cup, pillow*), etc.

Borrowings pertaining to *military affairs* are OE *mil* (NE *mile*) from L *millia passuum*, which meant a thousand steps made to measure the distance; OE *weall* (NE *wall*) from L *vallum*, a wall of fortifications erected in the Roman provinces; OE *strǣt* from Latin *strata via*, — a

"paved road" (these "paved roads" were laid to connect Roman military camps and colonies in Britain; the meaning of the word changed when houses began to be built along these roads, hence NE *street*); to this group of words belong also OE *pil* 'javelin', OE *pytt* (NE *pile, pit*).

There is every reason to suppose that words of the latter group could be borrowed in Britain, for they look as direct traces of the Roman occupation (even though some of these words also occur in the continental Germanic tongues, cf. G *Straße*).

§ 239. Among the Latin loan-words adopted in Britain were some place-names or components of place-names used by the Celts. L *castra* in the shape *caster, ceaster* 'camp' formed OE place-names which survive today as *Chester, Dorchester, Lancaster* and the like (some of them with the first element coming from Celtic); L *colonia* 'settlement for retired soldiers' is found in *Colchester* and in the Latin-Celtic hybrid *Lincoln*; L *vicus* 'village' appears in *Norwich, Woolwich*, L *portus* — in *Bridport* and *Devonport* (see also the examples in § 234). Place-names made of Latin and Germanic components are: *Portsmouth, Greenport, Greenwich* and many others.

§ 240. It should be noted that the distinction of two layers of early Latin borrowings is problematic, for it is next to impossible to assign precise dates to events so far back in history. Nevertheless, it seems more reasonable to assume that the earlier, continental layer of loan words was more numerous than the layer made in Britain. In the first place, most OE words quoted above have parallels in other OG languages, which is easily accounted for if the borrowings were made by the Teutons before their migrations. At that time transference of loan-words from tribe to tribe was easy, even if they were first adopted by one tribe. Secondly, we ought to recall that the relations between the Germanic conquerors and the subjugated Britons in Britain could hardly be favourable for extensive borrowing.

§ 241. The third period of Latin influence on the OE vocabulary began with the introduction of Christianity in the late 6th c. and lasted to the end of OE.

Numerous Latin words which found their way into the English language during these five hundred years clearly fall into two main groups: (1) words pertaining to religion, (2) words connected with learning. The rest are miscellaneous words denoting various objects and concepts which the English learned from Latin books and from closer acquaintance with Roman culture. The total number of Latin loan-words in OE exceeds five hundred, this third layer accounting for over four hundred words.

§ 242. The new religion introduced a large number of new conceptions which required new names; most of them were adopted from Latin, some of the words go back to Greek prototypes:

OE	NE	from L	from Gr
apostol	apostle	apostolus	apóstolos
antefn	anthem	antiphōna	antiphona
biscop	bishop	episcopus	episcopos
candel	candle	candēla	
clerec 'clergyman'	clerk	clēricus	klerikós

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dēofol	devil	diabolus	diábolos
mæsse	mass	missa	
mynster	minster	monastērium	
munuc	monk	monachus	monachós

To this list we may add many more modern English words from the same source: *abbot, alms, altar, angel, ark, creed, disciple, hymn, idol, martyr, noon, nun, organ, palm, pine* ('torment'), *pope, prophet, psalm, psalter, shrine, relic, rule, temple* and others.

§ 243. After the introduction of Christianity many monastic schools were set up in Britain. The spread of education led to the wider use of Latin: teaching was conducted in Latin, or consisted of learning Latin. The written forms of OE developed in translations of Latin texts. These conditions are reflected in a large number of borrowings connected with education, and also words of a more academic, "bookish" character. Unlike the earlier borrowings scholarly words were largely adopted through books; they were first used in OE translations from Latin, e.g.:

OE scōl	*NE* school	*L* schola (*Gr* skhole)
scōlere	scholar	scholāris
māʒister	master, 'teacher'	magister
fers	verse	versus
dihtan	'compose'	dictare

Other modern descendants of this group are: *accent, grammar, meter, gloss, notary, decline.*

§ 244. A great variety of miscellaneous borrowings came from Latin probably because they indicated new objects and new ideas, introduced into English life together with their Latin names by those who had a fair command of Latin: monks, priests, school-masters. Some of these scholarly words became part of everyday vocabulary. They belong to different semantic spheres: names of trees and plants — *elm, lily, plant, pine;* names of illnesses and words pertaining to medical treatment — *cancer, fever, paralysis, plaster;* names of animals — *camel, elephant, tiger;* names of clothes and household articles — *cap, mat, sack, sock;* names of foods — *beet, caul, oyster, radish;* miscellaneous words — *crisp, fan, place, spend, turn.*

§ 245. The Latin impact on the OE vocabulary was not restricted to borrowing of words. There were also other aspects of influence. The most important of them is the appearance of the so-called "translation-loans"·— words and phrases created on the pattern of Latin words as their literal translations. The earliest instances of translation-loans are names of the days of the week found not only in OE but also in other Old (and modern) Germanic languages:

OE *Mōnan-dæʒ (Monday)* 'day of the moon', L *Lunae dies;*

Tiwes-dæʒ (Tuesday) 'day of Tiw' L *Martis dies* (Tiw — a Teutonic God corresponding to Roman Mars). The procedure was to substitute the name of the corresponding Germanic god for the god of the Romans. Other translation-loans of the type were OE *ʒōdspell* (NE *gospel*) 'good tidings', L *euangelium;* OE *þriness* (lit. 'three-ness'), NE *Trinity.*

In late OE, many new terms were coined from native elements according to Latin models as translation-loans: OE *eorþbiʒenʒa* 'inhabitant of the earth' (L *terricola*); OE *ʒoldsmiþ* (NE *goldsmith*) 'worker in gold' (L *aurifex*); OE *tunʒolcræft* 'astronomy', lit. 'the knowledge of stars' (L *astronomos*).

Some grammatical terms in Ælfric's GRAMMAR are of the same origin: OE *dǣlnimend* 'participle', lit. 'taker of parts' (L *participium*); OE *nemniʒendlic* (L *Nominatiuus*), OE *wreʒendlic* 'Accusative', lit. 'accusing, denouncing' (L *Accusatiuus*). This way of replenishing the vocabulary may be regarded as a sort of resistance to foreign influence: instead of adopting a foreign word, an equivalent was produced from native resources in accordance with the structure of the term.

§ 246. Another question which arises in considering borrowings from a foreign language is the extent of their assimilation. Most Latin loan-words were treated in OE texts like native words, which means that they were already completely assimilated.

Judging by their spellings and by later phonetic changes they were naturalised as regards their sound form. Like native English words, early Latin loan-words participated in the sound changes, e.g. in *disc* and *ciese* the consonants [sk] and [k'] were palatalised and eventually changed into [ʃ] and [tʃ] (NE *dish, cheese*). Note that some later borrowings, e.g. *scōl, scōlere* did not participate in the change and [sk] was retained.

Loan-words acquired English grammatical forms and were inflected like respective parts of speech, e.g. *cirice, cuppe* (NE *church, cup*). Fem. nouns were declined as *n*-stems: *munc, dēofol* (NE *monk, devil*), Masc. — like *a*-stems, the verbs *pinian, temprian* were conjugated like weak verbs of the second class ('torture', NE *temper*).

Important proofs of their assimilation are to be found in word-formation. Stems of some Latin borrowings were used in derivation and word compounding, e.g. the verbs *fersian* 'versify', *plantian* (NE *plant*) were derived from borrowed nouns *fers, plant;* many derivatives were formed from the early Latin loan-words *caupo, mengo* (see § 238); abstract nouns — *martyrdōm, martyrhād* were built by attaching native suffixes to the loan-word *martyr* (NE *martyrdom*); compound words like *ciriceʒeard* (NE *churchyard*), *mynster-hām* (lit. 'monastery home'), *mynster-man* 'monk' were Latin-English hybrids.

The grammatical form of several loan-words was misunderstood: *pisum* on losing -*m* was treated as a plural form and -*s*- was dropped to produce the sg: OE *pese*, NE pl *peas*, hence sg *pea;* in the same way L *cerasum* eventually became *cherries* pl, *cherry* — sg.

Table 2

Native Words				Borrowings
Common IE	Common Germanic	West Germanic	Specifically OE	Latin Celtic

WORD-FORMATION IN OLD ENGLISH
Word Structure

§ 248. The bulk of the OE vocabulary were native words. In the course of the OE period the vocabulary grew; it was mainly replenished from native sources, by means of word-formation.

According to their morphological structure OE words (like modern words) fell into three main types:

a) simple words ("root-words") or words with a simple stem, containing a root-morpheme and no derivational affixes, e.g. *land, sinʒan, ʒōd* (NE *land, sing, good*);

b) derived words consisting of one root-morpheme and one or more affixes, e.g. *be-ʒinnan, weorþ-unʒ, un-scyld-iʒ, ʒe-met-inʒ* (NE *begin*, 'worthiness', 'innocent', *meeting*).

c) compound words, whose stems were made up of more than one root-morpheme, e.g. *mann-cynn, norþe-weard, fēower-tiene, weall-ʒeat, scir-ʒe-refa* (NE *mankind, northward, fourteen, wall gate, sheriff*).

As stated above (§ 66), in Late PG the morphological structure of the word was simplified. By the age of writing many derived words had lost their stem-forming suffixes and had turned into simple words. The loss of stem-suffixes as means of word derivation stimulated the growth of other means of word-formation, especially the growth of suffixation.

Ways of Word-Formation

§ 249. In OE there existed a system of word-formation of a complexity similar to that of Mod E. One of the most striking examples of the potentials of OE word-formation was the ability of a single root to appear in an abundant store of simple, derived and compound words. For instance, OE *mōd* (NE *mood*) yielded about fifty words: derived words, such as *mōdiʒ, ʒemōded, ofermōd* ('proud', 'disposed', 'arrogance'), compound words *mōd-caru, mōd-lēof, mōd-ʒeþōht, ʒlædmōdnis* ('care', 'beloved', 'thought', 'kindness'). Scores of words contained the roots of OE *dæʒ, ʒōd, monn, weorþ, lonʒ* (NE *day, good, man, worth, long*). Many derivational affixes appear to have been very productive as they occurred in numerous words: *wiþ-* a prefix in more than fifty words, *ofer-* in over a hundred words.

It is not always possible for the present-day linguist to assess correctly the productivity of OE word-building means. It is difficult to

distinguish processes which were active from those that had ceased to be productive but whose products were still in use. Due to the scarcity of written evidence sometimes we cannot say whether the word was in common use or it was created by the author of a certain text for one occasion — these kinds of words "said once" are termed "hapax legomena".

OE employed two ways of word-formation: derivation and word-composition.

Word-Derivation

§ 250. Derived words in OE were built with the help of affixes: prefixes and suffixes; in addition to these principal means of derivation, words were distinguished with the help of sound interchanges and word stress.

Sound Interchanges

§ 251. Sound interchanges in the roots of related words were frequent, and nevertheless they were used merely as an additional feature which helped to distinguish between words built from the same root. Sound interchanges were never used alone; they were combined with suffixation as the main word-building means and in many cases arose as a result of suffixation.

Genetically, sound interchanges went back to various sources and periods.

§ 252. The earliest source of root-vowel interchanges employed in OE word-building was ablaut or vowel gradation, inherited from PG and IE.

Vowel gradation was used in OE as a distinctive feature between verbs and nouns and also between verbs derived from a single root. The gradation series were similar to those employed in the strong verbs:

rīdan *v* — rād *n* [i:~a:] (like Class 1 of strong verbs), NE *ride, raid*
sinȝan *v* — sonȝ *n* [i~a] (like Class 3 of strong verbs), NE *sing, song*
sprecan *v* — spræce *n* [e~æ:] (see Class 5 of strong verbs)
beran *v* — bære *n* — the same; NE *speak, speech, bear, bearer.*

In the following pairs both words are verbs; the weak verbs given in the second column are derived from the strong verbs with the vowel grade of the Past sg:

findan — *Past sg* fand   — fandian, NE *find,* 'find out'
sittan — *Past sg* sæt   — settan, NE *sit, set*
drincan — *Past sg* dranc — drencan, NE *drink, drench.*

(The two latter verbs, *settan* and *drencan* were built with the help of the stem-suffix -*i*, therefore the vowels of the Past tense stems were narrowed; their earlier forms were **sætjan, *drankjan* — see weak verbs of Class 1, § 205.)

§ 253. Many vowel interchanges arose due to palatal mutation; the element [i/j] in the derivational suffix caused the mutation of the root-vowel; the same root without the suffix retained the original non-mutated vowel, e.g.:

a) nouns and verbs: *dōm — dēman* from the earlier **dōmjan* (NE *doom — deem*); *fōd — fēdan* (NE *food — feed*); *bōt — bētan* and also *bettre* ('remedy', 'improve', NE *better*);

b) adjectives and verbs: *full — fyllan* (NE *full — fill*); *hāl — hælan* ('healthy' — *heal*), cf. Gt *fulljan*;

c) nouns and adjectives: *long — lenзþu* (NE *long, length*), *stronз — strenзþu* (NE *strong — strength*); *brād — brǣdþu* (NE *broad — breadth*); the nouns were originally derived with the help of the suffix *-in*, which was later replaced by *-þu*.

§ 254. Vowel interchanges could also go back to Early OE breaking, or to several phonetic changes, including breaking. Cf. *beran — bearn* (NE *bear*, 'child', dial. *barn*) — breaking has modified the vowel [æ] which developed from the Germanic [a] by splitting; the original vowel interchange [e~a] is a case of ablaut.

§ 255. The use of consonant interchanges as a distinctive feature in word-building was far more restricted than the use of vowels. Like most vowel interchanges consonant interchanges arose due to phonetic changes: Verner's Law, rhotacism, hardening of [ð] and the Early OE splitting of velar consonants (see relevant paragraphs). Cf. the following pairs:

rīsan — rǣran (NE *rise, rear*) — *Verner's Law+rhotacism*
dēaþ — dēad (NE *death, dead*) — *Verner's Law+hardening*
talu — tellan (NE *tale, tell*) — *gemination of consonants*
sprǣc [k'] — sprecan [k] (NE *speech—speak*) — *splitting of velar consonants*.

Word Stress

§ 256. The role of word accentuation in OE word-building was not great. Like sound interchanges, the shifting of word stress helped to differentiate between some parts of speech being used together with other means. The verb had unaccented prefixes while the corresponding nouns had stressed prefixes, so that the position of stress served as an additional distinctive feature between them, e.g. *ond-'swarian* v — *'ond-swaru* n (see more examples in § 115, dealing with word stress). In some nouns, however, the prefix was as unaccented as in the verbs.

Prefixation

§ 257. Prefixation was a productive way of building new words in OE. Genetically, some OE prefixes go back to IE prototypes, e.g. OE *un-*, a negative prefix (the element *-n-* is found in negative prefixes in many IE languages, cf. Fr *ne*, R *не, ни*). Many more prefixes sprang in PG and OE from prepositions and adverbs, e.g. *mis-, be-, ofer-*. Some of these prepositions and adverbs continued to be used as independent words as well.

§ 258. Prefixes were widely used with verbs but were far less productive with other parts of speech. We can cite long lists of verbs derived from a single root with the help of different prefixes:

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ȝān — 'go'	faran — 'travel'
ā-ȝān — 'go away'	ā-faran — 'travel'
be-ȝān — 'go round'	tō-faran — 'disperse'
fore-ȝān — 'precede'	for-faran — 'intercept'
ofer-ȝān — 'traverse'	forþ-faran — 'die'
ȝe-ȝān — 'go', 'go away'	ȝe-faran — 'attack', etc.

The most frequent, and probably the most productive, OE prefixes were: ā-, be-, for-, fore-, ȝe-, ofer-, un-. Of these only un- was common with nouns and adjectives, the rest were mainly verb prefixes.

§ 259. The prefix modified the lexical meaning of the word, usually without changing its reference to a part of speech: ȝe-boren — unȝeboren (adjectivised participle; NE born — unborn); sīþ — for-sīþ n 'journey', 'death'; dǣd — un-dǣd n NE deed 'crime'; ieþelice —un-ieþelice adv 'easily', with difficulty', spēdiȝ — unspēdiȝ adj 'rich', 'poor'.

Some prefixes, both verbal and nominal, gave a more special sense to the word and changed its meaning very considerably: e.g. ȝytan — on-ȝytan (NE get), 'perceive', weorðan — for-weorðan v, forwyrð n 'become', 'perish', 'destruction', būȝan — bebūȝan (NE bow), 'surround'. A distinct semantic group was constituted by negative prefixes un-, mis-, wan-, or- (the two latter were nominal prefixes only), e.g.: hāl — unhāl or wan-hāl 'healthy', 'unhealthy', wīsdōm — unwīsdōm (NE wisdom), 'folly'; līcian — mislīcian (NE like), 'displease', limpan or ȝelimpan — mislimpan 'happen' — 'go wrong', sorȝ n — orsorȝ adj (NE sorrow), 'unconcerned, careless'.

Some prefixes had a very weak or general meaning bordering on grammatical, e.g.: ȝe-, the commonest verb prefix, conveyed the meaning of result or completion and was therefore often used as a marker of the Past Participle — sittan — ȝe-sett, stelan — ȝestolen (NE sit, steal). (For the use of ȝe- with Participle II and as a marker of aspect see § 193 and § 197). ȝe- and ā- changed the aspective meaning of the verb and turned it from durative into perfective or terminative without affecting its lexical meaning as in feran — ȝeferan 'go — reach', drincan — ȝe-drincan 'drink — drink off', winnan — ȝewinnan 'fight — win', sendan — āsendan 'send — send off'. With some verbs the meaning of the prefix was so weak and vague that there was practically no difference between the verb with the prefix and without it, e.g.: ābīdan — bīdan 'await', swerian — āswerian 'swear'. With other verbs the same prefix could bring about a shift of meaning, e.g.: sittan — ȝe-sittan 'sit — occupy' (see more examples in § 193).

Suffixation

§ 260. Suffixation was by far the most productive means of word derivation in OE. Suffixes not only modified the lexical meaning of the word but could refer it to another part of speech. Suffixes were mostly applied in forming nouns and adjectives, seldom — in forming verbs.

Etymologically OE suffixes can be traced to several sources: old stem-suffixes, which had lost their productivity, but could still be distin-

guished in some words as dead or non-productive suffixes; derivational suffixes proper inherited from PIE and PG; new suffixes which developed from root-morphemes in Late PG and OE in the course of morphological simplification of the word.

§ 261. The old stem-suffixes cannot be regarded as means of derivation in OE. They must have been productive at earlier stages of history, probably in PG, and had left their traces in the morphological classes of nouns, verbs and adjectives. Their application in word derivation can be best shown in reconstructed, pre-written forms of weak verbs. Weak verbs of Class I were originally derived from nominal or verbal roots with the help of the stem-forming suffix -i/j-, e.g. *tæl-i-an, *mōt-i-an, OE tellan, mētan — from the roots of OE talu, ʒe-mōt[1]; verbs of Class II were formed with the help of the most productive stem-suffix -ō-, or -ōj-, e.g.: *hop-ō-jan, *luf-ō-jan, OE hopian, lufian from corresponding nouns hopa, lufu (NE tell, meet, hope, love).

The productivity of -ōj- in verb derivation is confirmed by the fact that Class II was the most numerous of all classes; verbs of this class continued to be formed in Early OE (see § 207).

Most stem-suffixes had been lost by the age of writing; the surviving suffixes were dead or non-productive, e.g. -t in OE meaht (NE might), see also § 263, 264.

§ 262. Suffixes are usually classified according to the part of speech which they can form. In OE there were two large groups of suffixes: suffixes of nouns and suffixes of adjectives. Noun suffixes are divided into suffixes of "agent nouns" ("nomina agentis") and those of abstract nouns.

§ 263. Among the suffixes of "agent nouns" there were some dead, unproductive suffixes: -a, as in the Masc. a-stem hunta (NE hunter), -end, originally the suffix of the Present Participle, e.g. OE frēond, fiend, hǣlend (NE friend, fiend, 'saviour'). -end in word-building was later replaced by -ere, a suffix of IE descent, whose productivity grew after the adoption of numerous Latin words with the same suffix, e.g. scōlere, sutere (NE scholar, 'shoemaker').[2] OE agent nouns in -ere were derived from nouns and verbs: bōcere, fiscere, leornere, bæcere, etc. (NE 'scribe', fisher, learner, baker).

The nouns in -ere were Masc.; the corresponding suffix of Fem. nouns -estre was less common: bæcestre, spinnestre ('female baker', 'female spinner'). The suffix -inʒ was used to build patronymics and to show the descent of a person, e.g.: Æþelwulfinʒ 'son of Æþelwulf', Centinʒ 'a man coming from Kent', cyninʒ 'head of clan or tribe' — OE cynn 'clan'.

§ 264. Among suffixes of abstract nouns there were some survivals of old stem-suffixes and numerous later formations: the stem-suffix -t in meaht, siht or sihþ (NE might, sight) was dead; -þ reinforced by the addition of a vowel, was more alive: alongside -þu the element -þ- appears

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[1] At the pre-written stage both words — the [noun and the verb — had stem-suffixes: talu was an ō-stem, mōt- an a-stem, etc.

[2] Some philologists believe that -ere in OE is a borrowed suffix, which was adopted in Latin loan-words.

in -*oþ*, -*aþ*, -*uþ*, e.g. *þiefþ* (NE *theft*), *huntoþ*, *fiscaþ*, ʒeoʒuþ ('hunting', 'fishing', 'youth'). Some nouns in -*þu* had a mutated root-vowel, probably a trace of the earlier suffix -*in*, which caused the palatal mutation and was displaced by -*þ*; cf., e.g. *brād* adj — *brǣdu*, *brǣdþu* (NE *broad, breadth*); *lanʒ* — *lenʒþu* (NE *long* — *length*); *stronʒ* — *strenʒþu* (NE *strong, strength*). Another productive suffix which formed abstract nouns from adjective stems was -*nes/-nis*: *beorhtnes* (NE *brightness*), *blindnis* (NE *blindness*), *unrihtwisnes* 'injustice', *druncennis* (from Part. II *druncen*).

Another productive suffix, -*ung/-ing*, was used to build abstract nouns from verbs (especially weak verbs), e.g. *bodian* — *bodung* ('preach, preaching'), *earnian* — *earnung* (NE *earn, earning*), *wilnian* — *wilnung* ('desire' v, n).

§ 265. A most important feature of OE suffixation is the growth of new suffixes from root-morphemes. The second components of compound words turned into suffixes and the words were accordingly transformed from compound to derived. To this group belong OE -*dōm*, -*hād*, -*lāc*, -*scipe*, -*rǣden*. As compared with the same morphemes used as roots, the suffixes had a different — usually a more general — meaning. Thus, OE *dōm* as a noun meant 'judgement, choice', 'honour', while as a second affixal component it lost this lexical meaning to a varying extent, e.g.: *frēodōm* 'free choice', 'freedom' (NE *freedom*), *wisdōm* 'wise judgement' (NE *wisdom*), *cristendōm* 'Christianity', *lǣcedōm* 'medicine'. Likewise OE *hād* 'title' yielded words like *cildhād* (NE *childhood*); the noun *lāc* 'gift' became a suffix in OE *wedlāc* (NE 'wedlock').

As long as the morpheme was used as the root of an independent word, the ties between the root and the new affix were still felt, and the transition into a suffix was not complete as was the case with -*dōm*, -*hād* and -*lāc*. If the word went out of use, the new affix was no longer associated with a root-morpheme and became an ordinary suffix. Thus -*scipe* occurred only as a component part of abstract nouns — *frēondscipe* (NE *friendship*), ʒebēorscipe 'feast', *hǣþenscipe* 'heathenism'. The growth of new suffixes from root-morphemes made up for the decline of the old system of stem-suffixes.

§ 266. In the derivation of adjectives we find suffixes proper such as -*iʒ*, -*isc*, -*ede*, -*sum*, -*en* (from the earlier -*in*) and a group of morphemes of intermediate nature — between root and affix — like the noun suffixes described above. The suffixes with the element -*i*-, that is -*isc*, -*iʒ* and -*en* (-*in*) were often, though not always, accompanied by mutation. Adjectives were usually derived from nouns, rarely from verb stems or other adjectives. The most productive suffixes were -*iʒ*, and -*isc*: *mōdiʒ* 'proud' (from *mōd*, NE *mood*), *hāliʒ* (NE *holy*), *bysiʒ* (NE *busy*); *mennisc* 'human' (from *man* with the root-vowel [a]), *Enʒlisc*, *Denisc* (NE *English, Danish*). Examples with other suffixes are: *lanʒsum* 'lasting' (from *lanʒ*, NE *long*); *hōcede* 'curved, hooked' (from *hōc*, NE *hook*) (for the use of -*ede* with compound adjectives see § 272).

§ 267. The productive adjective suffix -*lic* originated from the noun *lic* 'body', but had evidently lost all semantic ties with the latter. It could derive adjectives from nouns and other adjectives: *sceandlic*

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'disgraceful' (from *sceand* 'disgrace'), *woruldlic* 'worldly' (from *woruld*, NE *world*), *scearplic* 'sharp' (from the adjective *scearp*), *dēadlic* (NE *deadly*), *frēondlic* (NE *friendly*), etc.

By adding another suffix *-e* the adjective was turned into an adverb: *frēondlic* — *frēondlice* 'friendly, in a friendly manner', *wundorlic* 'wonderful' — *wundorlice* 'wondrously'; also: *heard* adj — *hearde* adv (NE *hard*), *lanʒ* adj — *lanʒe* adv (NE *long*). The use of *-e* after *-lic* was very common; thus *-lice* became a frequent component of adverbs and began to be applied as a suffix of adverbs, even if they were not derived from adjectives in *-lic*, e.g.: *rot* 'glad' adj — *rotlice* adv 'cheerfully', *innweard* 'deep' adj — *innweardlice* adv 'deeply' (NE *inward*) [1]

The ties of the other new adjective suffixes with corresponding roots are more transparent: OE *full* was an adjective which yielded derived adjectives (or compounds) being attached to other stems, mostly those of abstract nouns: *weorðfull* 'illustrious' (lit. "full of worth"), *carfull* (NE *careful*), *synnfull* (NE *sinful*). The adjective *lēas* 'deprived, bereft of' employed as a suffix retained its meaning: *sāwollēas* 'lifeless, deprived of soul', *hlāfordlēas* 'without a lord', *slǣplēas* (NE *sleepless*).

§ 268. Verb suffixes were few and non-productive. They can be illustrated by *-s* in *clǣnsian*, a verb derived from the adjective *clǣne* (NE *clean*) and *-lǣc* in *nēalǣcan* 'come near, approach' and *ǣfenlǣcan*, an impersonal verb meaning 'the approach of evening' (R *вечереть*).

Word-Composition

§ 269. Word composition was a highly productive way of developing the vocabulary in OE. This method of word-formation was common to all IE languages but in none of the groups has it become as widespread as in Germanic. An abundance of compound words, from poetic metaphors to scientific terms, are found in OE texts.

As in other OG languages, word composition in OE was more productive in nominal parts of speech than in verbs.

§ 270. Compounds in OG languages are usually divided into two types: morphological or primary compounds and syntactic or secondary. Morphological compounds — which must have been the earlier type — were formed by combining two stems, with or without a linking element, e. g.: OE *mid-niht* and *midd-e-niht* (NE *midnight*). Syntactic compounds were a later development; they reproduced the pattern of a syntactic group, usually an attributive phrase consisting of a noun in the Gen. case and a head noun: OE *Sunnan-dæʒ* — *Sunnan* — Gen. sg of *sunne* (Fem. *n*-stem); *dæʒ* — the head word, 'Sun's day' (NE *Sunday*); *Enʒlaland* 'land of the Angles' (NE *England*) — *Enʒla* Gen. pl of *Enʒle*; *Oxena-ford* 'oxen's ford' (NE *Oxford*). The distinction between the two types can help to determine the origin of the linking element, which may be a remnant of the stem-suffix in a morphological compound or a grammatical inflection — in a syntactical compound. In OE, however, syntactical compounds are rare and the linking vowels in morphological compounds are either reduced and generalised under *-e* or lacking.

§ 271. Compound nouns contained various first components — stems of nouns, adjectives and verbs; their second components were nouns.

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[1] Originally *-e* was the ending of the Instr. case of adjectives used in an adverbial function. The loss of *-e* has produced homonymous pairs in Mod E: *hard* adj — *hard* adv; the suffixes *-lic* and *-lice* were reduced to *-ly*, which is now both an adverb and an adjective suffix, cf.: *deadly* adj and *meekly* adv.

The pattern "noun plus noun" was probably the most productive type of all: OE *hēafod-mann* 'leader' (lit. "head-man"), *mann-cynn* (NE *mankind*), *hēafod-weard* 'leader' (*weard* 'guard'), *stān-bryᵹ* (NE *stone bridge*), *ᵹimm-stān* (NE *gem*, lit. "gem stone"), *bōc-cræft* 'literature' (lit. "book craft"), *lēop-cræft*, *sonᵹ-cræft* 'poetry' (lit. "song craft, art of singing"), *eorp-cræft* 'geography' (OE *eorpe*, NE *earth*).

Among compound nouns there were some syntactical compounds: OE *witena-ᵹemōt* 'assembly of Elders', *dæᵹes-ēaᵹe* 'day's eye' (simplified to NE *daisy*; see also the names for the days of the week in § 245).

Compound nouns with adjective-stems as the first components were less productive, e.g. *wīd-sǣ* 'ocean' (lit. "wide sea"), *cwic-seolfor* (NE *quicksilver*), *ᵹōd-dǣd* (lit. "good deed"). Compound nouns with verb and adverb-stems were rare: *bæc-hūs* 'baking house', *inn-ᵹanᵹ* 'entrance'.

§ 272. Compound adjectives were formed by joining a noun-stem to an adjective: *dōm-ᵹeorn* (lit. 'eager for glory'), *mōd-ceariᵹ* 'sorrowful'. The following adjectives are compounded of two adjective stems: *wid-cūp* 'widely known', *fela-mōdiᵹ* 'very brave'.

The most peculiar pattern of compound adjectives was the so-called "bahuvrihi type" — adjective plus noun-stem as the second component of an adjective. This type is exemplified by *mild-heort* 'merciful', *stip-mōd* 'brave', *ān-ēaᵹe* 'one-eyed'; soon, however, the second component acquired an adjective suffix *-ede*, thus combining two methods of word-formation: composition and suffixation; cf. *ān-ēaᵹe* lit. "one eye" and *ān-hyrnede* 'one-horned, with one horn'.

§ 273. The remarkable capacity of OE for derivation and word-composition is manifested in numerous words formed with the help of several methods: *un-wīs-dōm* 'folly' — *un-* — negative prefix, *wīs* — adjective-stem (NE *wise*), *dōm* — noun-stem turning into a suffix; *pēaw-fæst-nes* 'discipline' — *pēaw* n 'custom', *fæst* adj 'firm' (NE *fast*), *-nes* — suffix.

§ 274. Table 3 gives a summary of the principal means of word-formation employed in OE and the main spheres of their usage.

Table 3

Word-Formation in Old English

Derivation		Word Composition
Prefixation	Suffixation	
Verbs (Nouns, Adjectives)	Nouns, Adjectives	Nouns, Adjectives
for-ᵹietan (un-riht n, a) (NE *forget*, 'wrong' (lit. "not right"))	ᵹōd-nis (NE *goodness*) ᵹrǣd-iᵹ (NE *greedy*) wīs-dōm, frēond-lēas (NE *wisdom, friendliness*) (suffixation ← composition)	hām-cyme, cīld-ᵹeonᵹ (NE *home-coming, young as a child*)

Stylistic Stratification of the Old English Vocabulary

§ 275. Extant OE texts fall into a number of genres: poetic, religious, legal, and more or less neutral. From comparing their vocabularies it has been discovered that apart from a natural distribution of words determined by the contents of the texts, there existed a certain stylistic stratification of the OE vocabulary. Modern philologists subdivide OE words into three stylistically distinct groups: neutral words, learned words and poetic words.

§ 276. Neutral words were characterised by the highest frequency of occurrence, wide use in word-formation and historical stability; the majority of these words — often in altered shape — have been preserved to the present day. Numerous examples of these words were given above — to illustrate phonetic changes, grammar rules and word formation (OE *mann*, *stān*, *blind*, *drincan*, *bēon*, etc.) Most words of this group are of native origin (see, however, early borrowings from Latin in § 238).

§ 277. Learned words are found in texts of religious, legal, philosophical or scientific character. Among learned words there were many borrowings from Latin. Numerous compound nouns were built on Latin models as translation loans to render the exact meaning of foreign terms, e. g.: *wrēȝendlic* (L *Accusatiuus*), *feorȝbold* 'body' (L *animæ domus* 'dwelling of the soul') — see later Latin borrowings in OE in § 238—244. In later periods of history many OE learned words went out of use being replaced by new borrowings and native formations.

§ 278. Poetic words in OE are of special interest: OE poetry employs a very specific vocabulary. A cardinal characteristic of OE poetry is its wealth of synonyms. In BEOWULF, for instance, there are thirty-seven words for the concept "warrior", twelve for "battle", seventeen for "sea". Among the poetic names for "hero" are *beorn*, *rinc*, *secȝ*, *þeȝn* and many metaphoric circumlocutions ("kennings") — compounds used instead of simple words: *ȝār-berend* lit. "spear-carrier", *ȝar-wiȝa* 'spear-warrior', *sweord-freca* 'sword-hero', *hyrn-wiȝa* 'corslet-warrior', *ȝūþ-ȝewinn* 'war contest', *lind-hæbbende* 'having a shield', *ȝūþ-rinc* 'man of war, warrior', *þēod-ȝuma* 'man of the troop', *ȝūþ-wine* 'war-friend'. Similarly, *brēost-hord* 'treasure of the breast' denoted 'heart' or 'thought'; *ȝūþ-wudu* 'battle-wood' stood for spear; *bān-cofa* 'chamber for bones', *flæsc-hord* 'hoard of flesh' and *flæsc-hama* 'covering for flesh' — all meant 'body'; *hord-cofa* 'treasure-chamber' was a metaphoric circumlocution for "secret thoughts". These compounds were used as stylistic devices — for ornament, for expressive effect, to bring out and emphasize a certain quality, and for the sake of alliteration.

Probably many poetic words were already archaic in late OE; some of the kennings were trite, conventional metaphors, while others were used only once in a certain text and therefore cannot be included in the basic OE vocabulary. And yet they constitute a unique feature of OE poetry and the OE language. Together with the decline of the genre OE poetic words went out of use.

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Why does the OE vocabulary contain so few borrowings from the Celtic languages of Britain? Why do place-names constitute a substantial part of Celtic element?

2. From lists of Latin loan-words in OE speculate on the kind of contacts the English had with Rome at different historical periods.

3. What facts can be given to prove that OE was generally resistant to borrowing and preferred to rely upon its own resources?

4. Pick out the OE suffixes and prefixes which are still used in English and can be regarded as productive today.

5. What is meant by "simplification of the morphological structure"? Use words from the following list to illustrate your answer: OE *ealdian* (< *eald-ō-jan*) 'grow old'; *mētan* (< *mȳt-i-an*) 'meet'; wulf *Nom.* (< *wulf-a-z*) NE *wolf*; *wulfe*, Dat. sg (< *wulf-a-i*); *woruld* (< *werealdi* 'age', 'old') NE *world*; *hlāford* (< *hlāf-weard* 'bread, loaf', 'keeper') NE *lord*; *hlǣfdiʒe* (< *hlāf-diʒe* 'bread-kneading') NE *lady*; *ēaland* (< *ēa-land* 'water', 'land') NE *island*; *ʒōdlic* (< *gōd-līc* 'good', 'body') NE *goodly*, *fair*.

6. Determine the part of speech and the meaning of the words in the right column derived from the stem given in the left column:

leorn-ian *v* 'learn' leorn-ere, leorn-inʒ, leorn-unʒ

ʒe-samn-ian *v* 'assemble' ʒe-samn-unʒ

scēot-an *v* 'shoot' scēot-end

lēoht *n* 'light' lēoht-līc

stranʒ *adj* 'strong' stranʒ-ian, stranʒ-lic, stranʒ-lice

eald *adj* 'old' eald-ian, eald-unʒ, eald-dōm

scearp *adj* 'sharp' scearp-lic, scearp-lice, scearp-nis

sorʒ *n* 'sorrow' sorʒ-ian, sorʒ-lic, sorʒ-full

fæst *adj* 'firm, fast' fæst-e, fæst-an, fæst-lic, fæst-lice, fæst-nis

ʒeorn *adj* 'eager' ʒeorn-full, ʒeorn-e, ʒeorn-an, ʒeorn-lice, ʒeorn-ful-nes, ʒeorn-ful-lic

frēond *n* 'friend' frēond-lēas, frēond-lic, frēond-lice, frēond-scipe, frēond-rǣden

7. Add negative prefixes to the following words and explain the meaning of the derivatives:

rot 'glad', — un-...; hal 'healthy' — wan- ...; spēdiʒ 'rich' — un-..., wan- ...; cūþ 'known' — un- ...; lícian 'please' — mis- ...; limpan 'happen' — mis- ...

Part Two

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND FROM THE 11TH TO 15TH C. LINGUISTIC SITUATION. WRITTEN RECORDS

Economic and Social Conditions in the 11th-12th c.

§279   he OE period in the history of the language corresponds to the transitional stage from the slave-owning and tribal system to the feudal system in the history of Britain. In the 11th c. feudalism was already well established. According to a survey made in the late 11th c. slaves and freemen were declining classes. The majority of the agricultural population (and also of the total population, which amounted to about 2,000,000 people) were bound to their lord and land. Under natural economy, characteristic of feudalism, most of the things needed for the life of the lord and the villain were produced on the estate. Feudal manors were separated from their neighbours by tolls, local feuds, and various restrictions concerning settlement, travelling and employment. These historical conditions produced a certain influence on the development of the language.

§ 280. In Early ME the differences between the regional dialects grew. Never in history, before or after, was the historical background more favourable for dialectal differentiation. The main dialectal division in England, which survived in later ages with some slight modification of boundaries and considerable dialect mixture, goes back to the feudal stage of British history.

In the age of poor communication dialect boundaries often coincided with geographical barriers such as rivers, marshes, forests and mountains, as these barriers would hinder the diffusion of linguistic features.

In addition to economic, geographical and social conditions, dialectal differences in Early ME were accentuated by some historical events, namely the Scandinavian invasions and the Norman Conquest.

§ 281. Though the Scandinavian invasions of England are dated in the OE period, their effect on the language is particularly apparent in ME.

We may recall that since the 8th c. the British Isles were ravaged by sea rovers from Scandinavia, first by Danes, later — by Norwegians. By the end of the 9th c. the Danes had succeeded in obtaining a perma-
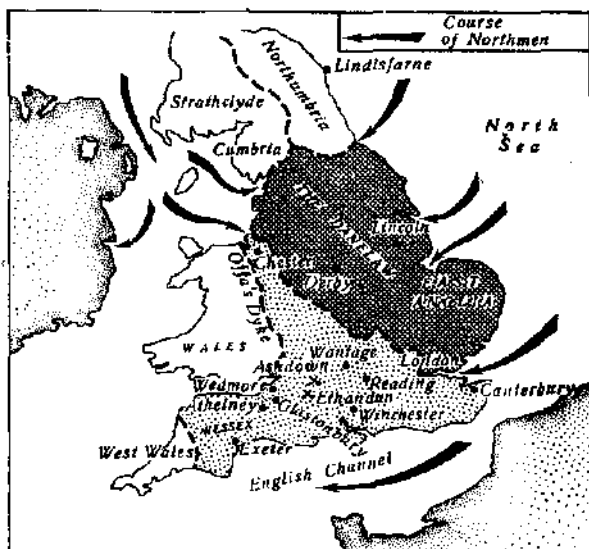
The Scandinavian invasions

nent footing in England; more than half of England was yielded to the invaders and recognised as Danish territory — "Danelaw". While some of the Scandinavians came to England merely to plunder and return to their homeland, others made their permanent home in North East England.

In the early years of the occupation the Danish settlements were little more than armed camps. But gradually the conditions stabilised and the Danes began to bring their families. The new settlers and the English intermarried and intermixed; they lived close together and did not differ either in social rank or in the level of culture and customs; they intermingled the more easily as there was no linguistic barrier between them. (OE and O Scand belonged to the Germanic group of languages and at that time were much closer than their descendants are today.) The colonisation and the intermixture of the newcomers with their former foes continued from the 9th c. on, during two hundred years, which witnessed diverse political events: the reconquest of Danelaw under Alfred's successors, the renewal of Scandinavian onslaughts

in the late 10th c. under Sweyne, and the political annexation of England by Denmark under Canute (see § 98).

§ 282. In the areas of the heaviest settlement the Scandinavians outnumbered the Anglo-Saxon population, which is attested by geographical names. In Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Cumberland — up to 75 per cent of the place-names are Danish or Norwegian. Altogether more than 1,400 English villages and towns bear names of Scandinavian origin (with the element *thorp* meaning "village", e.g. *Woodthorp*, *Linthorp*; *toft* 'a piece of land', e.g. *Brimtoft*, *Lowestoft* and others). Probably, in many districts people became bilingual, with either Old Norse or English prevailing.

Eventually the Scandinavians were absorbed into the local population both ethnically and linguistically. They merged with the society around them, but the impact on the linguistic situation and on the further development of the English language was quite profound.

The increased regional differences of English in the 11th and 12th c. must partly be attributed to the Scandinavian influence. Due to the contacts and mixture with O Scand, the Northern dialects (to use OE terms, chiefly Northumbrian and East Mercian) had acquired lasting and sometimes indelible Scandinavian features. We find a large admixture of Scandinavian words in Early ME records coming from the North East whereas contemporary texts from other regions are practically devoid of Scandinavian borrowings.

In later ages the Scandinavian element passed into other regions. The incorporation of the Scandinavian element in the London dialect and Standard English was brought about by the changing linguistic situation in England: the mixture of the dialects and the growing linguistic unification.[1] Yet neither in the South nor in Standard English did the Scandinavian element ever assume such proportions as in the North-Eastern ME dialects.

The Norman Conquest

§ 283. Soon after Canute's death (1042) and the collapse of his empire the old AS line was restored but their reign was short-lived. The new English king, Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), who had been reared in France, brought over many Norman advisors and favourites; he distributed among them English lands and wealth to the considerable resentment of the Anglo-Saxon nobility and appointed them to important positions in the government and church hierarchy. He not only spoke French himself but insisted on it being spoken by the nobles at his court. William, Duke of Normandy, visited his court and it was rumoured that Edward appointed him his successor. In many respects Edward paved the way for Norman infiltration long before the Norman Conquest. However, the government of the country was still in the hands of Anglo-Saxon feudal lords, headed by the powerful Earl Godwin of Wessex.

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[1] See *Ярцева В. Н.* Развитие национального литературного английского языка. М., 1969., p. 48 ff.

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§ 284. In 1066, upon Edward's death, the Elders of England (OE Witan) proclaimed Harold Godwin king of England. As soon as the news reached William of Normandy, he mustered a big army by promise of land and plunder (one third of his soldiers were Normans, others, mercenaries from all over Europe) and, with the support of the Pope, landed in Britain.

In the battle of Hastings, fought in October 1066, Harold was killed and the English were defeated. This date is commonly known as the date of the Norman Conquest, though the military occupation of the country was not completed until a few years later. After the victory at Hastings, William by-passed London cutting it off from the North and made the Witan of London and the bishops at Westminster Abbey crown him king. William and his barons laid waste many lands in England, burning down villages and estates. They conducted a relentless campaign of subjugation, devastated and almost depopulated Northumbria and Mercia, which tried to rise against the conquerors. Scores of earthen forts and wooden stockades, built during the campaign, were soon replaced by huge stone Norman castles. Most of the lands of the Anglo-Saxon lords passed into the hands of the Norman barons, William's own possessions comprising about one third of the country. The Normans occupied all the important posts in the church, in the government, and in the army.

Following the conquest hundreds of people from France crossed the Channel to make their home in Britain. Immigration was easy, since the Norman kings of Britain were also dukes of Normandy and, about a hundred years later, took possession of the whole western half of France, thus bringing England into still closer contact with the continent. French monks, tradesmen and craftsmen flooded the south-western towns, so that not only the higher nobility but also much of the middle class was French.

Effect of the Norman Conquest on the Linguistic Situation

§ 285. The Norman Conquest was not only a great event in British political history but also the greatest single event in the history of the English language. Its earliest effect was a drastic change in the linguistic situation.

The Norman conquerors of England had originally come from Scandinavia (compare *Norman* and *Northman*). About one hundred and fifty years before they had seized the valley of the Seine and settled in what was henceforth known as Normandy. They were swiftly assimilated by the French and in the 11th c. came to Britain as French speakers and bearers of French culture. They spoke the Northern dialect of French, which differed in some points from Central, Parisian French. Their tongue in Britain is often referred to as "Anglo-French" or "Anglo-Norman", but may just as well be called French, since we are less concerned here with the distinction of French dialects than with the continuous French influence upon English, both in the Norman period of

history and a long while after the Anglo-Norman language had ceased to exist.

In the early 13th c., as a result of lengthy and inefficient wars with France John Lackland lost the French provinces, including the dukedom of Normandy. Among other consequences the loss of the lands in France cut off the Normans in Britain from France, which speeded up the decline of the Anglo-French language.

§ 286. The most immediate consequence of the Norman domination in Britain is to be seen in the wide use of the French language in many spheres of life. For almost three hundred years French was the official language of administration: it was the language of the king's court, the law courts, the church, the army and the castle. It was also the everyday language of many nobles, of the higher clergy and of many townspeople in the South. The intellectual life, literature and education were in the hands of French-speaking people; French, alongside Latin, was the language of writing. Teaching was largely conducted in French and boys at school were taught to translate their Latin into French instead of English.

For all that, England never stopped being an English-speaking country. The bulk of the population held fast to their own tongue: the lower classes in the towns, and especially in the country-side, those who lived in the Midlands and up north, continued to speak English and looked upon French as foreign and hostile. Since most of the people were illiterate, the English language was almost exclusively used for spoken communication.

At first the two languages existed side by side without mingling. Then, slowly and quietly, they began to permeate each other. The Norman barons and the French town-dwellers had to pick up English words to make themselves understood, while the English began to use French words in current speech. A good knowledge of French would mark a person of higher standing giving him a certain social prestige. Probably many people became bilingual and had a fair command of both languages.

§ 287. These peculiar linguistic conditions could not remain static. The struggle between French and English was bound to end in the complete victory of English, for English was the living language of the entire people, while French was restricted to certain social spheres and to writing. Yet the final victory was still a long way off. In the 13th c. only a few steps were made in that direction. The earliest sign of the official recognition of English by the Norman kings was the famous PROCLAMATION issued by Henry III in 1258 to the councillors in Parliament. It was written in three languages: French, Latin and English.

§ 288. The three hundred years of the domination of French affected English more than any other foreign influence before or after. The early French borrowings reflect accurately the spheres of Norman influence upon English life; later borrowings can be attributed to the continued cultural, economic and political contacts between the countries. The French influence added new features to the regional and social dif-

ferentiation of the language. New words, coming from French, could not be adopted simultaneously by all the speakers of English; they were first used in some varieties of the language, namely in the regional dialects of Southern England and in the speech of the upper classes, but were unknown in the other varieties. This led to growing dialectal differences, regional and social. Later the new features adopted from French extended to other varieties of the language.

The use of a foreign tongue as the state language, the diversity of the dialects and the decline of the written form of English created a situation extremely favourable for increased variation and for more intensive linguistic change.

Early Middle English Dialects. Extension of English Territory

§ 289. The regional ME dialects had developed from respective OE dialects. A precise map of all the dialects will probably never be made, for available sources are 'scarce and unreliable: localised and dated documents are few in number. Early ME dialects and their approximate boundaries have been determined largely by inference; for later ME the difficulty lies in the growing dialect mixture.

With these reservations the following dialect groups can be distinguished in Early ME.

The *Southern* group included the *Kentish* and the *South-Western* dialects. Kentish was a direct descendant of the OE dialect known by the same name, though it had somewhat extended its area. The South-Western group was a continuation of the OE Saxon dialects, — not only West Saxon, but also East Saxon. The East Saxon dialect was not prominent in OE but became more important in Early ME, since it made the basis of the dialect of London in the 12th and 13th c. Among the dialects of this group we may mention the Gloucester dialect and the *London dialect, which must have been an influential form of speech* at all times.

The group of *Midland* ("Central") dialects — corresponding to the OE Mercian dialect — is divided into West Midland and East Midland as two main areas, with further subdivisions within: South-East Midland and North-East Midland, South-West Midland and North-West Midland. In ME the Midland area became more diversified linguistically than the OE Mercian kingdom occupying approximately the same territory: from the Thames in the South to the Welsh-speaking area in the West and up north to the river Humber.

The *Northern* dialects had developed from OE Northumbrian. In Early ME the Northern dialects included several provincial dialects, e.g. the Yorkshire and the Lancashire dialects and also what later became known as Scottish.

§ 290. In the course of Early ME the area of the English language in the British Isles grew. Following the Norman Conquest the former Celtic kingdoms fell under Norman rule. Wales was subjugated in the late 13th c.: its eastern half became part of England, while the North

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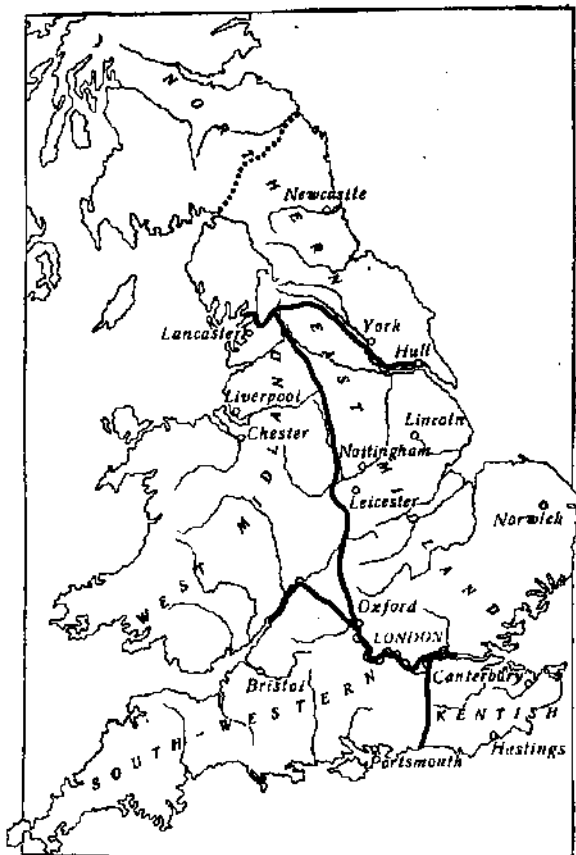
A map of Middle English dialects

and West of Wales was a principality governed separately. In the late
12th c. the English made their first attempts to conquer Ireland. The
invaders settled among the Irish and were soon assimilated, a large
proportion of the invaders being Welshmen. Though part of Ireland
was ruled from England, the country remained divided and had little
contact with England. The English language was used there alongside
Celtic languages — Irish and Welsh — and was influenced by Celtic.

§ 291. The Early ME dialectal division was preserved in the succeed-
ing centuries, though even in Late ME the linguistic situation changed.
In Early ME, while the state language and the main language of litera-
ture was French, the local dialects were relatively equal. In Late ME,
when English had been reestablished as the main language of administra-
tion and writing, one of the regional dialects, the London dialect, pre-
vailed over the others (see § 295, 301 ff).

Early Middle English Written Records

§ 292. For a long time after the Norman Conquest there were two written languages in England, both of them foreign: Latin and French. English was held in disdain as a tongue used only by common illiterate people and not fit for writing. In some dialects the gap in the written tradition spanned almost two hundred years.

The earliest samples of Early ME prose are the new entries made in the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES from the year 1122 to the year 1154, known as the PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE.

The works in the vernacular, which began to appear towards the end of the 12th c., were mostly of a religious nature. The great mass of these works are homilies, sermons in prose and verse, paraphrases from the Bible, psalms and prayers. The earliest of these religious works, the POEMA MORALE ("Moral Ode") represents the Kentish dialect of the late 12th or the early 13th c.

Of particular interest for the history of the language is ORMULUM, a poem composed by the monk Orm in about 1200 in the North-East Midland dialect (Lincolnshire). It consists of unrhymed metrical paraphrases of the Gospels. The text abounds in Scandinavianisms and lacks French borrowings. Its most outstanding feature is the spelling system devised by the author. He doubled the consonants after short vowels in closed syllables and used special semicircular marks over short vowels in open syllables. Here are some lines from the poem where the author recommends that these rules should be followed in copying the poem:

Annd whase wilenn shall þis boc   And if anyone wants to
  efft operrsiþe writenn,   write this book another time,
                                             again,

Himm bidde icc þatt het write rihht,   I bid him that he write right
  swasumm þiss boc himm   as this book him teaches...
  tæchepþ...
Annd tatt he loke wel þatt he   And that he sees to it
  an bocstall write ·twiȝȝess.   that he write a letter twice
Eȝȝwhær þæritt uppo þiss   boc   Where it in this book
  iss writenn o þatt wise.   is written in that way.

Among other works of religious nature we may mention ANCRENE RIWLE ("The Rule of Anchorites"), a prose treatise in the South-Western dialect of the early 13th c. and two later poems in the Northern dialect: CURSOR MUNDI, an amplified version of the Gospels, and the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE, a translation attributed to Richard Rolle of Hampole.

§ 293. Alongside these religious works there sprang up a new kind of secular literature inspired by the French romances of chivalry. Romances were long compositions in verse or prose, describing the life and adventures of knights. The great majority of romances fell into groups or cycles concerned with a limited number of matters. Those relating to the "matter of Britain" were probably the most popular and original works of English poets, though many of them were paraphrased from French.

One of the earliest poems of this type was BRUT composed by Laya-mon in the early 13th c. It is a free rendering of the BRUT D'ANGLE-TERRE by Wace, an Anglo-Norman writer of the 12th c., which tells the story of the legendary foundation of Britain by Brutus, the alleged great grandson of Aeneas of Troy; the last third of the poem is devoted to Brut's most famous descendant, the mythical British king Arthur and his "Knights of the Round Table", who became the favourite sub-ject of English knightly romances. The poem is written in alliterative verse with a considerable number of rhymes. It is noteworthy that the West Midland dialect of BRUT, though nearly a century and a half after the Norman Conquest, contains very few French words; evidently the West Midlands were as yet little affected by French influence.

§ 294. Some romances deal with more recent events and distinctly English themes: episodes of the Crusades or Scandinavian invasions. HAVELOK THE DANE (East Midland dialect of the late 13th c.) narrates the adventures of a Danish prince who was saved by a fisher-man, Grim (the founder of Grimsby). Another poem in the same dia-lect and century, KING HORN, is more of a love story. Both poems make use of characters and plots found in French sources but are nevertheless original English productions.

§ 295. Among the Early ME texts in the South-Western dialects we should mention THE LONDON PROCLAMATION of the year 1258 (see § 287) and the political poems of the early 14th c. which voiced the complaint of the poor against their oppressors. In the poem EVIL TIMES OF EDWARD II the unknown author described the vices of the cler-gy and the nobility as the causes of the wretched condition of the people. Those were the earliest ME texts in the London dialect.

As seen from this survey Early ME written records represent differ-ent local dialects. The dialects were relatively equal as forms of the written language, beneath the twofold oppression of Anglo-Norman and Latin writing. They retained a certain literary authority until it was overshadowed in the 14th c. by the prestige of the London written language.

Late Middle English. Reestablishment of English as the Language of the State and Literature

§ 296. The domination of the French language in England came to an end in the course of the 14th c. The victory of English was pre-determined and prepared for by previous events and historical condi-tions (see § 286).

Little by little the Normans and the English drew together and in-termingled. In the 14th c. Anglo-Norman was a dead language; it ap-peared as corrupt French to those who had access to the French of Paris through books, education or direct contacts. The number of people who knew French had fallen; Anglo-Norman and French literary composi-tions had lost their audience and had to be translated into English.

Towards the end of the 14th c. the English language had taken the place of French as the language of literature and administration. Eng-

lish was once more the dominant speech of all social classes in all regions. It had ousted French since it had always remained the mother tongue and the only spoken language of the bulk of the population.

§ 297. It may be interesting to mention some facts showing how the transition came about. In 1362 Edward III gave his consent to an act of Parliament ordaining that English should be used in the law courts, since "French has become much unknown in the realm". This reform, however, was not carried out for years to come: French, as well as Latin, continued to be used by lawyers alongside English until the 16th c. Yet many legal documents which have survived from the late 14th and 15th c. are written in English: wills, municipal acts, petitions. In 1363, for the first time in history, Parliament was opened by the king's chancellor with an address in English. In 1399 King Henry IV used English in his official speech when accepting the throne. In 1404 English diplomats refused to conduct negotiations with France in French, claiming that the language was unknown to them. All these events testify to the recognition of English as the state language.

Slowly and inevitably English regained supremacy in the field of education. As early as 1349 it was ruled that English should be used at schools in teaching Latin, but it was not until 1385 that the practice became general, and even the universities began to conduct their curricula in English. By the 15th c. the ability to speak French had come to be regarded as a special accomplishment, and French, like Latin, was learnt as a foreign language. At the end of the 15th c. William Caxton, the first English printer, observed: "the most quantity of the people understand not Latin nor French here in this noble realm of England".

§ 298. One might have expected that the triumph of English would lead to a weakening of the French influence upon English. In reality, however, the impact of French became more apparent. As seen from the surviving written texts, French loan-words multiplied at the very time when English became a medium of general communication. The large-scale influx of French loans can be attributed to several causes. It is probable that many French words had been in current use for quite a long time before they were first recorded. We should recall that records in Early ME were scarce and came mostly from the Northern and Western regions, which were least affected by French influence. Later ME texts were produced in London and in the neighbouring areas, with a mixed and largely bilingual population. In numerous translations from French — which became necessary when the French language was going out of use — many loan-words were employed for the sake of greater precision, for want of a suitable native equivalent or due to the translator's inefficiency. It is also important that in the course of the 14th c. the local dialects were brought into closer contact; they intermixed and influenced one another: therefore the infiltration of French borrowings into all the local and social varieties of English progressed more rapidly.

§ 299. As with other foreign influences, the impact of French is to be found, first and foremost, in the vocabulary. The layers and the semantic spheres of the French borrowings reflect the relations between

the Norman rulers and the English population, the dominance of the French language in literature and the contacts with French culture (see § 577). The prevalence of French as the language of writing led to numerous changes in English spelling (see § 357).

Dialects in Late Middle English. The London Dialect

§ 300. The dialect division which evolved in Early ME was on the whole preserved in later periods. In the 14th and 15th c. we find the same grouping of local dialects: the Southern group, including Kentish and the South-Western dialects, the Midland group with its minute subdivisions and the Northern group. And yet the relations among them were changing. The extension of trade beyond the confines of local boundaries, the growth of towns with a mixed population favoured the intermixture and amalgamation of the regional dialects. More intensive inter-influence of the dialects, among other facts is attested by the penetration of Scandinavian loan-words into the West Midland and Southern dialects from the North and by the spread of French borrowings in the reverse direction. The most important event in the changing linguistic situation was the rise of the London dialect as the prevalent written form of language.

§ 301. The history of the London dialect reveals the sources of the literary language in Late ME and also the main source and basis of the Literary Standard, both in its written and spoken forms.

The history of London extends back to the Roman period. Even in OE times London was by far the biggest town in Britain, although the capital of Wessex — the main OE kingdom — was Winchester. The capital was transferred to London a few years before the Norman conquest.

The Early ME records made in London — beginning with the PROCLAMATION of 1258 — show that the dialect of London was fundamentally East Saxon; in terms of the ME division, it belonged to the South-Western dialect group. Later records indicate that the speech of London was becoming more mixed, with East Midland features gradually prevailing over the Southern features. The most likely explanation for the change of the dialect type and for the mixed character of London English lies in the history of the London population.

In the 12th and 13th c. the inhabitants of London came from the south-western districts. In the middle of the 14th c. London was practically depopulated during the "Black Death" (1348) and later outbreaks of bubonic plague. It has been estimated that about one third of the population of Britain died in the epidemics, the highest proportion of deaths occurring in London. The depopulation was speedily made good and in 1377 London had over 35,000 inhabitants.

Most of the new arrivals came from the East Midlands: Norfolk, Suffolk, and other populous and wealthy counties of Medieval England, although not bordering immediately on the capital. As a result the speech of Londoners was brought much closer to the East Midland dialect. The official and literary papers produced in London in the late 14th c. dis-

play obvious East Midland features. The London dialect became more Anglian than Saxon in character.

This mixed dialect of London, which had extended to the two universities (in Oxford and Cambridge) ousted French from official spheres and from the sphere of writing.

Written Records in Late Middle English.
The Age of Chaucer

§ 302. The flourishing of literature, which marks the second half of the 14th c., apart from its cultural significance, testifies to the complete reestablishment of English as the language of writing. Some authors wrote in their local dialect from outside London, but most of them used the London dialect, or forms of the language combining London and provincial traits. Towards the end of the century the London dialect had become *the principal type of language used in literature, a sort of literary "pattern"* to be imitated by provincial authors.

The literary texts of the late 14th c. preserved in numerous manuscripts, belong to a variety of genres. Translation continued, but original compositions were produced in abundance; poetry was more prolific than prose. This period of literary florescence is known as the "age of Chaucer", the greatest name in English literature before Shakespeare. Other writers are referred to as "Chaucer's contemporaries".

§ 303. One of the prominent authors of the time was John de Trevisa of Cornwall. In 1387 he completed the translation of seven books on world history — POLYCHRONICON by R. Higden — from Latin into the South-Western dialect of English. Among other information it contains some curious remarks about languages used in England: "Trevisa: ... gentle men have now left to teach (i. e. "stopped teaching") their children French... Higden: It seems a great wonder how Englishmen and their own language and tongue is so diverse in sound in this one island and the language of Normandy coming from another land has one manner of sound among all men that speak it right in England... men of the East with men of the West, as it were, under the same part of heaven, accord more in the sound of their speech than men of the North with men of the South."

Of greatest linguistic consequence was the activity of John Wyclif (1324—1384), the forerunner of the English Reformation. His most important contribution to English prose was his (and his pupils') translation of the BIBLE completed in 1384. He also wrote pamphlete protesting against the corruption of the Church. Wyclif's BIBLE was copied in manuscript and read by many people all over the country. Written in the London dialect, it played an important role in spreading this form of English.

§ 304. The chief poets of the time, besides Chaucer, were John Gower, William Langland and, probably, the unknown author of SIR GAWAINE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT.

The remarkable poem of William Langland THE VISION CONCERN-

ING PIERS THE PLOWMAN was written in a dialect combining West Midland and London features; it has survived in three versions, from 1362 to 1390; it is an allegory and a satire attacking the vices and weaknesses of various social classes and sympathising with the wretchedness of the poor. It is presented as a series of visions appearing to the poet in his dreams. He sees diverse people and personifications of vices and virtues and explains the way to salvation, which is to serve Truth by work and love. The poem is written in the old alliterative verse and shows no touch of Anglo-Norman influence.

John Gower, Chaucer's friend and an outstanding poet of the time, was born in Kent, but there are not many Kentisms in his London dialect. His first poems were written in Anglo-Norman and in Latin. His longest poem VOX CLAMANTIS ("The Voice of the Crying in the Wilderness") is in Latin; it deals with Wat Tyler's rebellion and condemns all ranks of society for the sins which brought about the terrible revolt. His last long poem is in English: CONFESSIO AMANTIS ("The Lover's Confession"), a composition of 40,000 octo-syllabic lines. It contains a vast collection of stories drawn from various sources and arranged to illustrate the seven deadly sins. John Gower told his tales easily and vividly and for long was almost as popular as Chaucer.

We should mention one more poet whose name is unknown. Four poems found in a single manuscript of the 14th c. — PEARL, PATIENCE, CLEANNESS and SIR GAWAINE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT — have been attributed to the same author. Incidentally, the latter poem belongs to the popular Arthurian cycle of knightly romances (see § 293), though the episodes narrated as well as the form are entirely original. The poems are a blending of elaborate alliteration, in line with the OE tradition, and new rhymed verse, with a variety of difficult rhyme schemes.

§ 305. Geoffrey Chaucer (1340 — 1400) was by far the most outstanding figure of the time. A hundred years later William Caxton, the first English printer, called him "the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of ornate eloquence in our language." In many books on the history of English literature and the history of English Chaucer is described as the founder of the literary language.

Portrait of Chaucer (from a manuscript of the CANTERBURY TALES)

Chaucer was born in London about the year 1340 and had the most varied experience as student, courtier, official, and member of Parliament. His early works were more or less imitative of other authors — Latin, French or Italian — though they bear abundant evidence of his skill. He never wrote in any other language than English. The culmination of Chaucer's work as a poet is his great unfinished collection of stories THE CANTERBURY TALES.

The Prologue of this poem, the masterpiece of English poetry, describes how the poet found himself at the Tabard Inn, in Southwark, bound on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury. There he met twenty-nine other pilgrims, who, at the suggestion of the host, agreed to liven up the journey by story-telling. Chaucer lived to write only twenty-four stories out of the intended sixty, but in the Prologue he managed to give a most vivid picture of contemporary England: he presented in the pilgrims a gallery of life-like portraits taken from all walks of life. In social position they range from knight and prioress to drunken cook and humble plowman — a doctor, a lawyer, a monk, a sailor, a carpenter, an Oxford scholar and many others. These people are shown as they appear on the road, with their distinctive dress and features, and with a bit of their personal history. Even in their choice of tales they unconsciously reveal themselves, the stories being in harmony with the character of the narrators (e. g. the knight relates a story of chivalry).

Chaucer wrote in a dialect which in the main coincided with that used in documents produced in London shortly before his time and for a long time after. Although he did not really create the literary language, as a poet of outstanding talent he made better use of it than his contemporaries and set up a pattern to be followed in the 15th c. His poems were copied so many times that over sixty manuscripts of THE CANTERBURY TALES have survived to this day. His books were among the first to be printed, a hundred years after their composition.

Chaucer's literary language, based on the mixed (largely East Midland) London dialect is known as classical ME; in the 15th and 16th c. it became the basis of the national literary English language.

§ 306. The 15th c. could produce nothing worthy to rank with Chaucer. The two prominent poets, Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate, were chiefly translators and imitators. The style of Chaucer's successors is believed to have drawn farther away from everyday speech; it was highly affected in character, abounding in abstract words and strongly influenced by Latin rhetoric (it is termed "aureate language").

§ 307. Whereas in English literature the decline after Chaucer is apparent, the literature of Scotland forms a happy contrast. The Scottish language, which grew from a Northern dialect of English flourished from the 13th until the 16th c. THE BRUCE, written by John Barbour between 1373 and 1378 is a national epic, which describes the real history of Robert Bruce, a hero and military chief who defeated the army of Edward II at Bannockburn in 1314 and secured the independence of Scotland. This poem was followed by others, composed by prominent 15th c. poets: e. g. WALLACE attributed to Henry the Minstrel; KING'S QUHAIR ("King's Book") by King James I of Scotland.

Table

§ 308. Principal Middle English Written Records

Approximate dating	Groups of Dialects					
	Kentish	South, Western of West Midland	London	Midland or East Midland	Northern	Scottish
12th c.				THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE		
13th c.	Kentish Sermons POEMA MORALE	ANCRENE RIWLE Layamon: BRUT	PROCLAMATION of Henry III Political poems	ORMULUM; HAVELOK THE DANE	THE PROSE RULE OF ST BENEDICT	
14th c.	Dan Michael AY ENBITE OF INWIT	Robert of Gloucester, a versified CHRONICLE SIR GAWAINE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT and other poems by the same author Higden: translation of POLYCHRONICON	Romances of Chivalry; RICHARD COEUR DE LION and others; Wyclif's works; Langland PIERS THE PLOWMAN; Chaucer's works Gower's works	Adam Davy's poems Romances of Chivalry; Miracle Plays	CURSOR MUNDI; Richard Rolle of Hampole: THE PRICK OF CONSCIENCE	J. Barbour: BRUCE; Henry the Minstrel: WALLACE
15th c.			Hoccleve's poems Lydgate poems Th. Malory: MORTE D'ARTHUR	York Plays		James I: KING'S QUHAIR

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL LITERARY ENGLISH LANGUAGE (16TH-19TH C.)

Preliminary Remarks

§ 309. The formation of the national literary English language cov-ers the Early NE period (c. 1475—1660). Henceforth we can speak of the evolution of a single literary language instead of the similar or different development of the dialects.[1]

There were at least two major external factors which favoured the rise of the national language and the literary standards: the unification of the country and the progress of culture. Other historical events, such as increased foreign contacts, affected the language in a less general way: they influenced the growth of the vocabulary.

Economic and Political Unification. Conditions for Linguistic Unity

§ 310. As early as the 13th c., within the feudal system, new econom-ic relations began to take shape. The villain was gradually superseded by the copy-holder, and ultimately, by the rent-paying tenant. With the growing interest in commercial profits, feudal oppression grew and the conditions of the peasants deteriorated. Social discontent showed itself in the famous peasants' rebellions of the 14th and 15th c.

The village artisans and craftsmen travelled about the country look-ing for a greater market for their produce. They settled in the old towns and founded new ones near big monasteries, on the rivers and at the cross-roads. The crafts became separated from agriculture, and new social groups came into being: poor town artisans, the town middle class, rich merchants, owners of workshops and money-lenders.

The 15th and 16th c. saw other striking changes in the life of the country: while feudal relations were decaying, bourgeois relations and the capitalist mode of production were developing rapidly. Trade had extended beyond the local boundaries and in addition to farming and cattle-breeding, an important wool industry was carried on in the coun-tryside. Britain began to export woollen cloth produced by the first big enterprises, the "manufactures". The landowners evicted the peas-

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[1] The "national" language embraces all the varieties of the language used by the nation including dialects; the "national literary language" applies only to re-cognized standard forms of the language, both written and spoken; for earlier pe-riods of history the term "literary language" may indicate the language of writ-ing in a wider sense, including chronicles, legal documents, religious texts, etc. A mature national literary language is characterised by codified norms or rules of usage and functional stylistic differentiation.

ants and enclosed their land with ditches and fences, turning it into vast pastures.[1]

The new nobility, who traded in wool, fused with the rich townspeople to form a new class, the bourgeoisie, while the evicted farmers, the poor artisans and monastic servants turned into farm labourers, wage workers and paupers.

The changes in the economic and social conditions led to the intermixture of people coming from different regions and to the strengthening of social ties between the various parts of the country.

§ 311. Economic and social changes were accompanied by political unification. In the last quarter of the 15th c. England became a centralised state.

At the end of the Hundred Years' War, when the feudal lords and their hired armies came home from France, life in Britain became more turbulent than ever. The warlike nobles, disappointed with their defeat in France, fought for power at the King's Court; continued anarchy and violence broke out into a civil war known as the Wars of the Roses (1455—1485). The thirty-year contest for the possession of the crown ended in the establishment of a strong royal power under Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty.

The absolute monarchy of the Tudors was based on a new relation of class forces: the crown had the support of the middle class. Henry VII reduced the power of the old nobles and created a new aristocracy out of the rural and town bourgeoisie. The next step in the creation of an absolute monarchy was to break the monopoly of the medieval Papacy. This was achieved by his successor, Henry VIII (1509—1547), who quarrelled with the Pope, declared himself head of the English Church and dissolved the monasteries (the English Reformation, 1529—1536); now the victory of the Crown was complete.

The economic and political unification played a decisive role in the development of the English language.

§ 312. All over the world the victory of capitalism over feudalism was linked up with the consolidation of people into nations, the formation of national languages and the growth of superdialect forms of language to be used as a national Standard. The rise of capitalism helped to knit together the people and to unify their language.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "For the complete victory of commodity production the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, and there must be politically united territories whose population speak a single language, with all obstacles to the development of that language and to its consolidation in literature eliminated... Language is the most important means of human intercourse. Unity and unimpeded development of language are the most important conditions for genuinely free and extensive commerce on a scale commensurate with modern capitalism, for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its

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[1]Thomas More wrote in the early 16th c. in his famous UTOPIA that sheep had "become so great devourers and so wilde that they eat up, and swallow downe the very men themselves".

various classes and, lastly, for the establishment of a close connection between the market and each and every proprietor, big or little, and between seller and buyer."[1]

Progress of Culture. Introduction of Printing

§ 313. The 15th and 16th c. in Western Europe are marked by a renewed interest in classical art and literature and by a general efflorescence of culture. The rise of a new vigorous social class — the bourgeoisie — proved an enormous stimulus to the progress of learning, science, literature and art.

The universities at Oxford and Cambridge (founded in the 12th c.) became the centres of new humanistic learning. Henry VIII assembled at his court a group of brilliant scholars and artists. Education had ceased to be the privilege of the clergy; it spread to laymen and people of lower social ranks. After the Reformation teachers and tutors could be laymen as well as clergymen.

As before, the main subject in schools was Latin; the English language was labelled as "a rude and barren tongue", fit only to serve as an instrument in teaching Latin. Scientific and philosophical treatises were written in Latin, which was not only the language of the church but also the language of philosophy and science. The influence of classical languages on English grew and was reflected in the enrichment of the vocabulary.

§ 314. Of all the outstanding achievements of this great age, the invention of printing had the most immediate effect on the development of the language, its written form in particular. "Artificial writing", as printing was then called, was invented in Germany in 1438 (by Johann Gutenberg); the first printer of English books was William Caxton.

William Caxton (1422—1491) was born in Kent. In 1441 he moved to Flanders, where he spent over three decades of his life. During a visit to Cologne he learned the method of printing and in 1473 opened up his own printing press in Bruges. The first English book, printed in Bruges in 1475, was Caxton's translation of the story of Troy RECUYELL OF THE HISTORYES OF TROYE. A few years later he brought his press over to England and set it up in Westminster, not far outside the city of London. All in all about one hundred books were issued by his press and about a score of them were either translated or edited by Caxton himself.

Among the earliest publications were the poems of Geoffrey Chaucer, still the most popular poet in England, the poems of John Gower, the compositions of John Lydgate, the most voluminous poet of the age, Trevisa's translation of the POLYCHRONICON, and others. Both Caxton and his associates took a greater interest in the works of medieval literature than in the works of ancient authors or theological and scientific treatises published by the printers on the continent. About

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[1] *Lenin V. I.* The Right of Nations to Self-determination. — In: Lenin V. I. Collected works. M., 1977, vol. 20, p. 396.

The last page of MORTE D'ARTHUR as printed by William Caxton

one quarter of his publications were translations from French, e. g.: RECUYELL OF THE HISTORYES OF TROYE mentioned above, GAME AND PLAYE OF THE CHESSE, the famous romance of knightly adventure MORTE D'ARTHUR ("Death of Arthur") by Thomas Malory, one of the last works in this genre.

In preparing the manuscripts for publication William Caxton and his successors edited them so as to bring them into conformity with the London form of English used by their contemporaries. In doing this they sometimes distorted the manuscripts considerably. Their corrections enable us to see some of the linguistic changes that had occurred since the time when the texts were first written. Here are some substitutions made by Caxton in Trevisa's POLYCHRONICON, written a hundred years before:

Trevisa: i-cleped, ich, steihe, as me troweth[1], chapinge;
Caxton: called, I, ascended, as men supposed, market.

§ 315. It is difficult to overestimate the influence of the first printers in fixing and spreading the written form of English. The language they used was the London literary English established since the age of Chaucer and slightly modified in accordance with the linguistic changes that had taken place during the intervening hundred years. With cheap printed books becoming available to a greater number of readers, the London form of speech was carried to other regions and was imitated in the written works produced all over England.

The greatest influence exerted by the printers was that on the written form of the word. Caxton's spelling, for all its irregularities and inconsistencies, was more normalised than the chaotic spelling of the man-

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[1] An impersonal construction (lit. 'as me seems'), which was later replaced by personal, e. g. as I suppose (here as men supposed).

uscripts. The written forms of many words perpetuated by Caxton were accepted as standard and have often remained unchanged to the present day in spite of the drastic changes in pronunciation. It should be noted that Caxton's spelling faithfully reproduced the spelling of the preceding century and was conservative even in his day.

In conclusion we may recall that so great was the effect of printing on the development of the language that the year 1475 — the date of the publication of the first English book — is regarded as a turning point in English linguistic history and the start of a new period — NE.

Foreign Contacts in the Early New English Period

§ 316. The Tudors encouraged the development of trade inside and outside the country. The great geographical discoveries (beginning with the discovery of the New World in 1492) gave a new impetus to the progress of foreign trade: English traders set forth on daring journeys in search of gold and treasures. Under the later Tudors England became one of the biggest trade and sea powers.

The main events of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) were connected with the rise of merchant capital. Ousting her rivals from many markets England became involved in the political struggle of the European countries for supremacy. Most complicated were her relations with France, Spain and Portugal: in 1588 England defeated the Spanish fleet, the Invincible Armada, thus dealing a final blow to Spain, her main rival in overseas trade and in colonial expansion. In the late 16th c. England founded her first colonies abroad.

The contacts of England with foreign nations, although not necessarily friendly, became closer, which had an inevitable influence on the growth of the vocabulary.

Expansion of English over the British Isles

§ 317. As Britain consolidated into a single powerful state, it extended its borders to include Wales, Scotland and part of Ireland.

As mentioned before, the partial subjugation of Wales was the last stage of the Norman Conquest. It was not until the 16th c., however, that the annexation was completed. Both during the wars and after the final occupation, the English language penetrated into Wales and partly replaced the native Celtic dialect; a large proportion of the aboriginal population, however, did not give up their mother tongue and continued to speak Welsh. (It is noteworthy that to this day Wales has preserved a large number of old Celtic place-names and the Welsh dialect.)

§ 318. The attempts to conquer Ireland in the 13th and 14th c. ended in failure. In Ireland, only the area around Dublin was ruled direct from England, the rest of the country being Irish or Anglo-Irish. Ireland remained divided among innumerable chiefs and turned into one of the poorest and most backward countries. Despite the weak ties with Eng-

land and the assimilation of English and Welsh invaders by the Irish, linguistic penetration continued.

§ 319. The repeated claims of the English kings to be overlords of Scotland were met with protest and revolt. In the early 14th c. Scotland's independence was secured by the victories of Robert Bruce. Feudal Scotland remained a sovereign kingdom until the later Tudors, but the influence of the English language was greater than elsewhere.

Scotland began to fall under English linguistic influence from the 11th c., when England made her first attempts to conquer the territory. The mixed population of Scotland — the native Scots and Picts, the Britons (who had fled from the Germanic invasion), the Scandinavians (who had stayed on after the Scandinavian settlement), and the English (who had gradually moved to the north from the neighbouring regions) — was not homogeneous in language. The Scotch-Gaelic dialect of the Scots was driven to the Highlands, while in Lowland Scotland the Northern English dialect gave rise to a new dialect, Scottish, which had a chance to develop into an independent language, an offshoot of English. The Scottish tongue flourished as a literary language and produced a distinct literature as long as Scotland retained its sovereignty (see § 307). After the unification with England under the Stuarts (1603), and the loss of what remained of Scotland's self-government, Scottish was once again reduced to dialectal status. In the subsequent centuries English became both the official and the literary language in Scotland.

Thus by the end of the Early NE period, the area of English had expanded, to embrace the whole of the British Isles with the exception of some mountainous parts of Wales and Scotland, the Isle of Man, Cornwall, and some parts of Ireland, — though even in most of these regions the people were becoming bilingual.

Flourishing of Literature in Early New English (Literary Renaissance)

§ 320. The growth of the national literary language and especially the fixation of its Written Standard is inseparable from the flourishing of literature known as the English Literary Renaissance.

The beginnings of the literary efflorescence go back to the 16th c. After a fallow period of dependence on Chaucer, literary activity gained momentum in the course of the 16th c. and by the end of it attained such an importance as it had never known before. This age of literary flourishing is known as the "age of Shakespeare" or the age of Literary Renaissance (also the "Elizabethan age" for it coincided roughly with the reign of Elizabeth). The most notable forerunners of the literary Renaissance in the first half of the 16th c. were the great English humanist Thomas More (1478-1535) and William Tyndale, the translator of the Bible. The chief work of Thomas More, UTOPIA was finished in 1516; it was written in Latin and was first translated into English in 1551. In UTOPIA Th. More expressed his opposition to the way of life in contemporary England, which he defined as "a conspiracy of the rich against the poor" and drew a picture of an ideal imaginary society in which

equality, freedom and well-being were enjoyed by all. More's other works were written in English; most interesting are his pamphlets issued during a controversy with W. Tyndale over the translation of the Bible. William Tyndale was a student at Oxford and Cambridge and a priest in the church. In 1526 he completed a new English translation of the Bible. Both in his translations and original works Tyndale showed himself one of the first masters of English prose. He exerted a great influence not only on the language of the Church but also on literary prose and on the spoken language. The later versions of the Bible, and first of all the Authorised Version — KING JAMES' BIBLE (produced by a body of translators and officially approved in 1611) was in no small measure based on Tyndale's translation.

§ 321. As elsewhere, the Renaissance in England was a period of rapid progress of culture and a time of great men. The literature of Shakespeare's generation proved exceptionally wealthy in writers of the first order.

Many of the great classics, both ancient and modern, were translated into English: Plutarch and Ovid, Montaigne and Thomas More. Religious prose flourished, not only in the translations of the Bible but also in collections of sermons and other theological compositions. Secular prose grew in the philosophical works of Francis Bacon (1561—1626), who wrote his chief work, NOVUM ORGANUM in Latin, but proved his mastery of the mother tongue in essays and other compositions.

In that age of poets and dramatists poetry penetrated everywhere. "Poetical prose" is the name applied to the romances of John Lyly and Ph. Sidney, to the novels and pamphlets of R. Greene, Th. Nash, Th. Deloney. It is often said that Shakespeare's achievement was largely made possible by the works of his immediate predecessors: the sonnets of Ph. Sidney and E. Spenser, the comedies of John Lyly, the famous tragedies of Th. Kyd, the drama of Christopher Marlowe and other playwrights.

The thirty years or less of Shakespeare's career as actor, poet and playwright were also the culminating years of Spenser's poetry, the years of Ben Jonson's versatile activity as dramatist and poet, the period of the blossoming of the drama represented by many other celebrated names: Thomas Heywood, John Fletcher, Francis Beaumont. The vitality of the theatre was due to its broad contact with popular entertainment, national traditions and living speech.

§ 322. William Shakespeare (1564-1616) was the chief of the Elizabethan dramatists as well as a genius whose writings have influenced every age and every country. Shakespeare's plays were greatly admired in the theatres but less than half of them were printed in his lifetime. The first collected edition of his plays was the Folio of 1623.

It is universally recognised that Shakespeare outclassed all his contemporaries in all genres of drama and poetry (comedies, historical plays, tragedies and sonnets) and surpassed them all in his mastery of the English tongue. His works give an ideal representation of the literary language of his day. His vast vocabulary (amounting to over 20,000 words), freedom in creating new words and new meanings, versatility of grammatical construction reflect the fundamental properties of the language of the period.

HOUSE OF YORK	THE TUDORS				HOUSE OF STUART
	HENRY VII	HENRY VIII	ED VI / M	ELIZABETH I	
1485	1509	1547	1553 1558	1603	

William Shakespeare 1564-1616
Christopher Marlowe 1564-1593
Edmund Spenser 1552?-1599
Francis Bacon 1561-1626
Richard Hakluyt 1552?-1616
James Shirley 1596-1666
Philip Sidney 1554-1586
John Webster 1580?-1625?
Ben Jonson 1573?-1637
Michael Drayton 1563-1631
William Warner 1558?-1609

Great literary men of the Elizabethan age

New Sources of Information about the Language.
Private Papers. Didactic Compositions

§ 323. The amount of written matter which has come down to us from the Early NE period is far greater than that of the OE and ME periods, for the simple reason that many more texts were produced and had a better chance to survive during the relatively short span of time which has elapsed since. In addition to the writings of a literary, philosophical, theological, scientific or official character, produced, copied or printed by professionals, there appeared new kinds of written evidence pertaining to the history of the language: private papers. With the spread of education more people could read and write; they began to correspond and to write diaries. Extant family archives contain papers written both by educated and by uncultivated persons. The significance of their evidence for the history of the language is obvious: the writers were not guided by written tradition and could not set themselves any literary aims; they recorded the words, forms and pronunciations in current use, putting their own English on paper and reflecting all kinds of dialectal and colloquial variants. The earliest collections of letters preserved in family archives are the PASTON LETTERS written between 1430 and 1470 by members of the Paston family in Norfolk (i.e. in the East Midland dialect of late ME) and the CELY PAPERS written in the same dialect a short time later.

Numerous private letters of the 16th c. give a fair picture of colloquial speech, so far as it is possible in a written document. Of greatest

value is the DIARY of Henry Machyn, a London merchant with no particular education. This diary as well as other private papers, bear testimony to the existence of social differences in the regional dialects, e.g. the existence of Cockney, a lower class London dialect since the early 16th c.

§ 324. The renewed interest in living languages in the 16th and 17th c., which came to be regarded as more important for practical purposes than the classical ones, led to the appearance of one more kind of printed matter: books of instruction for pupils, didactic works and various other compositions dealing with the English language.

§ 325. A large number of early works concerned with the English language deal with "correct writing", in other words with spelling and pronunciation. The current ways of indicating sounds seemed inconsistent to many scholars and schoolmasters; they attempted to improve and regulate the graphic system of the language by designing better alphabets or by proposing rules fo more consistent spelling. In the early 16th c. John Cheke, a scholar of Cambridge and a pioneer among spelling reformers, proposed that all letters should be doubled to indicate length — a practice very irregularly employed before his time; his associate Thomas Smith in his DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE CORRECT AND EMENDED WRITING OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (1568) set out a new alphabet of 34 letters to the same object. The greatest English phonetician of the 16th c., in the opinion of modern philologists, was John Hart, who produced a number of works, especially AN ORTHOGRAPHIE (1569). Being a keen observer he noticed the changing values of the letters brought about by the change in the sounds. His reforms of the English spelling, however, were as unsuccessful as those of his contemporaries. Other prominent scholars made no attempt to reform the spelling but tried to make it more consistent, or, conversely, to correct the pronunciation in accordance with the spelling.

For all their limitations and failures, the works of the early spelling reformers and phoneticians are important sources of information about the history of English sounds.

§ 326. Manuals of English were also concerned with matters of grammar and vocabulary.

Like many descriptions of other European languages the earliest books dealing with English grammar were modelled on Latin grammars. Thus one of the early guides used in teaching English was a Latin grammar, written by William Lily: ETON LATIN GRAMMAR; it was supplied with English translations and equivalents of Latin forms. The title of another English grammar published in the late 16th c. displays the same approach: A PERFECT SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE TAKEN ACCORDING TO THE USE AND ANALOGIE OF THE LATIN.

The grammars of the early 17th c. were more original. Alexander Gill's LOGONOMIA ANGLICA published in 1619, written in Latin, contains English illustrations from contemporary authors, e. g. Ph. Sidney, Ben Jonson.

A new approach was postulated in the English grammar composed by the dramatist Ben Jonson, "for the benefit of all strangers out of his observation of the English language now spoken and in use" (1640). Although in the main he followed the traditional pattern of Latin grammars, he paid special attention to word order as an important feature of English grammatical structure, described the article as a separate part of speech; he was puzzled by the lack of order in verb forms, in moods and adverbs; he grouped the nouns into two declensions and subdivided the verbs into conjugations.

The first author to break with the Latin tradition was John Wallis, the most famous of all the 17th c. grammarians and phoneticians. His GRAMMATICA LINGUÆ ANGLICANÆ was first published in 1653; it was translated into English and went into many editions in the second half of the 17th c. (see § 335 for English grammars of the succeeding period).

§ 327. Other kinds of publications dealing with language were lists of words and dictionaries. The swift development of international trade created a demand for dictionaries; bilingual dictionaries of classical and contemporary languages were produced in increasing numbers in the 16th and 17th c.

(Dictionaries of dead languages had appeared before that time: glosses to Latin religious works, made since OE were later combined into dictionaries; in 1499 the printers published the first English-Latin Dictionary.)

The earliest dictionaries of the English language were selective lists of difficult words. In those days the most common English words were difficult to write, whereas the learned ones, usually Latin borrowings, which abounded in the writings of the Renaissance, were not only hard to spell but also hard to understand.

To cope with this difficulty, the first English-English explanatory dictionaries were compiled. Robert Cawdrey's TABLE ALPHABETIC-ALL CONTEYNING AND TEACHING THE TRUE WRITING, AND UNDERSTANDING OF HARD USUAL ENGLISH WORDS, BORROWED FROM THE HEBREW, GREEK, LATIN OR FRENCH-ETC. issued in 1604, is one of the early publications of this kind. Cawdrey's dictionary was quite small, containing about three thousand words. A slightly larger book was produced by John Bullokar in 1616, ENGLISH EXPOSITOR TEACHING THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HARDEST WORDS USED IN OUR LANGUAGE where he attempted to explain "scholastic" words. The first book entitled ENGLISH-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, a small volume compiled by Henry Cockeram, appeared in 1623: it contained explanations of common "hard" words, of "vulgar" words defined with the help of their bookish equivalents, and stray bits of curious information about "Gods and Goddesses, ... Boyes and Maides, ... Monsters and Serpents, ... Dogges, Fishes, and the like".

Establishment of the Written Standard

§ 328. Towards the end of Early NE, that is by the middle of the 17th c., one of the forms of the national literary language — its Written Standard — had probably been established. Its growth and recognition as the correct or "prestige" form of the language of writing had been brought about by the factors described in the preceding paragraphs: the economic and political unification of the country, the progress of culture and education, the flourishing of literature.

The Written Standard can be traced to definite geographical and social sources.

§ 329. As stated above (§ 303) the literary form of English used by Chaucer and his immediate successors arose from the dialect of 14th c. London, which was a mixed regional dialect combining Southern and East Midland types. In the 15th and 16th c. the speech of London became still more mixed owing to increased intermixture of the population: the capital attracted newcomers from different regions of the country.

Elements of various provincial dialects were incorporated in the spoken and written forms of London speech.

§ 330. The social source of the Written Standard is a more problematic issue. H. C. Wyld, a prominent English linguist, maintains that in the course of the 15th and 16th c. the basis of the written form of English shifted from a regional dialect to largely a social one.

H. Wyld believes that the language of literature and writing in the 16th c. was identical to what could be termed "colloquial Court English", learnt either by personal experience or from books; it was a class dialect restricted to a very narrow social group — the highest nobility at the King's Court.

These views can be contested. It is true that by the end of the 16th c. social differentiation of English must have grown. Social divergencies in the language increased not so much owing to the growth of the population as to the new class distinctions in the bourgeois society. Yet it was at that very time that people of different ranks easily intermixed. The age of the Renaissance gave ample opportunity for individual ambition; distinguished sailors, successful merchants and manufacturers, as well as outstanding men-of-letters came from different walks of life. It is known, for instance, that Christopher Marlowe was the son of a shoemaker, Ben Jonson — the son of a town clerk, William Shakespeare — the son of a trader in gloves from Stratford. After the Reformation education had lost its purely clerical character and was spreading to an increasing number of people. It follows that though the Written Standard originated from the speech of educated people, those educated people should not be identified with the nobility at the King's Court. The social basis of the written form of language in the early 17th c. was less restricted than that of the literary language of Caxton's day, just as its geographical basis was not restricted to the city of London.

§ 331. The Written Standard of the early 17th c. was, however, far less stabilised and normalised than the literary standards of later ages. The writings of the Renaissance display a wide range of variation at all linguistic levels: in spelling, in the shape of grammatical forms and word-building devices, in syntactical patterns and in the choice and use of words. Variants are employed as equivalents or "near-equivalents" without any noticeable dialectal or stylistic connotations, although they may have originated from different localities, social groups or literary genres. This linguistic "freedom" is accounted for by the wide social and geographical foundations of the literary language, by the broad contacts of the literary language with folklore and oral speech, and by the increased amount of written matter produced: scientific and philosophical compositions, letters and diaries, poetry and literary prose, drama and official papers.

§ 332. The existence of a prestige form of English in Early NE, which may be regarded as a sort of Standard, is confirmed by some statements of contemporary scholars. The victory of English over French in the sphere of belles-lettres was already a matter of the past; but its rivalry with Latin in the sphere of science, philosophy, and didactics continued during the Renaissance period. It is noteworthy that writers used to preface their works with explanations why they chose to write in English instead of Latin. R. Ascham, the tutor of the Royal family and a well-known author of didactic books, wrote: "If any man would blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writting it in the Englysche tongue, this answere I maye make hym, that whan the beste of the realme think it honest for them to vse, I one of the mean-

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est sorte ought not to suppose it vile for me to write" (R. Ascham, TOXO-PHILUS, 1545). In books written by school-masters we find the first references to a form of speech superior to other forms, which testifies to the recognition of a language Standard. John Hart, a phonetician and spelling reformer, looked upon Court English as the "flower" of the English tongue (ORTHOGRAPHIE, 1569); R. Puttenham recommended for the use of writers the best form of English: "the vsual speach of the Court, and that of London within IX myles and not much above" (THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, 1580). Incidentally, the latter definition does not restrict the best spoken English to the form of speech used at the Court.

Normalising Tendencies. Grammars and Dictionaries in the Late 17th and 18th c.

§ 333. The age of the literary Renaissance, which enriched the language in many ways and was marked by great linguistic freedom, was followed by the period of "normalisation" or period of "fixing the language". This age set great store by correctness and simplicity of expression. The language of Shakespeare and his contemporaries struck the authors of the late 17th c. as rude and unpolished, though the neo-classicists (the term applied to the writers of this period) never reached the heights of the Renaissance writers. John Dryden (1631-1700), a versatile writer and competent stylist of the time, acknowledged "the wit of predecessors" but explicitly disapproved of their language, saying that "there was ever something ill-bred and clownish in it and which confessed the conversation of their authors" (ESSAYS ON THE DRAMATIC POETRY OF THE LAST AGE). The great poet John Milton (1608-1674) noted "the corrupt pronunciation of the lower classes". Correct usage and protection of the language from corruption and change became the subject of great concern and numerous discussions. In 1664 the Royal Society appointed a special committee "for improving the English tongue". The fixed structures of dead languages — Greek and Latin — loomed in the mind of the neo-classicists and made them regard all linguistic change as corruption that ought to be checked.

§ 334. The 18th c. is remarkable for deliberate attempts to fix the language and interfere with its evolution. Among the exponents of this movement were the writer Jonathan Swift (1667—1745), the founders of the first English newspapers R. Steele and J. Addison, the authors of prescriptive English grammars and the great 18th c. lexicographers.

The new journals issued at regular intervals, the TATLER and the SPECTATOR, published essays recommending simplicity in dress, in behaviour and particularly in discourse; language matters were among the most popular subjects. It was in the TATLER (N 230, 1710) that J. Swift published his first article on language followed by longer treatises: "A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue". J. Swift, like other purists, protested against careless and deliberate contractions and elisions in formal and informal speech. Leaving out vowels and consonants corrupted pronunciation; the persistent use of set words and fashionable phrases turned conversation into

a string of clichés; affected imitation of "genteel" persons in speech spoiled the language. He drew up a detailed proposal that a body of well-informed persons — scholars and men of letters — should be set up in order to fix the correct rules of usage. He was concerned that contemporary writings might become incomprehensible a hundred years hence, if the changes in the language were allowed to proceed at the same speed.

§ 335. Many new grammars of English were compiled in the age of "fixing the language". J. Wallis's GRAMMATICA LINGUÆ ANGLICANÆ, which was first published in 1653, won European fame and ran through many editions before the end of the century. He owed much to his predecessors, but was original in the treatment of most problems. He believed that "by reducing the English too much to the Latin norm the grammarians have taught too many useless things about the cases of Nouns, and about the Tenses, Moods and Conjugations of Verbs, about government of Nouns and Verbs, etc., matters absolutely foreign to our language, producing confusion and obscurity rather than serving as explanations. Why should we introduce a fictitious and quite foolish collection of Cases, Genders, Moods and Tenses, without any need, and for which there is no reason in the basis of the language itself?" (By that time the grammatical structure of the English language was very similar to that of present-day English.)

§ 336. The grammars of the 18th c. were influenced both by the descriptions of classical languages and by the principles of logic. They wished to present language as a strictly logical system (incidentally, it was at that time that many logical terms, such as "subject" and "predicate", entered grammatical description). The main purpose of these grammars was to formulate rules based on logical considerations and to present them as fixed and obligatory; grammars were designed to restrict and direct linguistic change. This type of grammars are known as "prescriptive" or "normative" grammars.

§ 337. One of the most influential prescriptive grammars was A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR produced in 1762 by Robert Lowth, a theologician and professor of poetry at Oxford. In the preface to his book R. Lowth agreed with the charge that "our language is extremely imperfect", that it "offends against every part of grammar" and remarked that the best authors commit "many gross improprieties, which ... ought to be corrected"; he complained that in spite of great achievements in literature and style, the English language had made "no advance in Grammatical Accuracy". "The principal design of a Grammar of any Language is to teach us to express ourselves with propriety in that Language; and to enable us to judge every phrase and form of construction, whether it be right or not. The plain way of doing this is to lay down rules and to illustrate them by examples."

R. Lowth's INTRODUCTION appeared in twenty-two editions before the end of the century and was most effective in propagating the doctrine of correctness. R. Lowth distinguished nine parts of speech and made a consistent descriptions of letters, syllables, words and sentences. On logical grounds he condemned double negation as equivalent

to the affirmative and "double comparison" (e.g. *more better*) as illogical; he objected to the confusion of *who* and *whom, whose* and *which*, adjectives and adverbs. Lowth believed in a universal logical grammar, and thought that English was reducible to a system of logical rules. Thus natural usage was abandoned in favour of order, logic and system.

§ 338. Another prominent grammarian of that age, J. Priestley, deviated from the prescriptive aims of grammar and the dominance of Latin. He emphasised custom as the just criterion for correctness and maintained that the business of Academies for the preservation of national languages had never been to arrest what is always in the process of evolving. Nevertheless, like Lowth and other prescriptive grammarians, in his RUDIMENTS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR (1761) and other works J. Priestley advocated not only correctness based on acceptable usage but also laid down regular rules in preference to what looked less regular and systematic.

§ 339. One of the most popular grammars in the prescriptive trend was an ENGLISH GRAMMAR ADAPTED TO THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF LEARNERS written by Lindley Murray, an American, in the late 18th c. (1795). It ran fifty editions in its original form and over one hundred and twenty in an abridged version. For many years Murray's grammar was the most widely used manual at schools; no new grammars were produced unless they repeated Murray.

§ 340. The role of English dictionaries in this period of normalisation was equally significant.

English lexicography made outstanding progress in the 18th c. Works concerned primarily with the explanation of "hard words" continued to be brought out in great numbers, e.g. DICTIONARY OF HARD WORDS by E. Coles in 1676. In 1730 Nathaniel Bailey compiled DICTIONARIUM BRITANNICUM, A MORE COMPLEAT UNIVERSAL ETYMOLOGICAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY THAN ANY EXTANT, which was a distinct improvement on its predecessors. Bailey's dictionary contained about 48,000 items, which is more than Samuel Johnson included in his famous work. Through Johnson, who used Bailey's DICTIONARIUM as the basis of his own, N. Bailey influenced all subsequent lexicographical practice. But the greatest achievement of the 18th c. English lexicography is certainly connected with the name of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

§ 341. Samuel Johnson was one of those 18th c. scholars who believed that the English language should be purified and corrected. With this object in view he undertook to compile a new dictionary based upon the usage of recognised authorities. In the two volumes of his DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (1755) he included quotations from several hundred authors of the 17th and 18th c. The entries of his dictionary contain definitions of meaning, illustrations of usage, etymologies, and stylistic comments. He regulated current usage by giving precise definitions, which, as a rule, were noticeable improvements upon those given by his predecessors. For illustration read the definitions of the word *husband*:

HUSBAND *n* (etymology and quotations follow)
1. The correlative to wife, a man married to a woman.

2. The male of animals.
3. An economist, a man that knows and practises the method of frugality and profit. Its signification is always modified by some epithet implying bad or good.
4. A tiller of the ground, a farmer.

Alongside such full definitions with the principal meanings accurately explained, Johnson's DICTIONARY gives some naïve descriptions, which are often quoted as illustrating his prejudices, e.g.:

OATS — a grain which in England is generally given to horses but in Scotland supports the people.

PENSION — an allowance made to any one without equivalent; in England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.

His DICTIONARY contained a special section devoted to grammar, which deals with orthography and accidence. He distinguished between two pronunciations of English words: "one cursory and colloquial, the other regular and solemn". His well-known recommendation on pronunciation runs as follows: "For pronunciation the best general rule is to consider those the most elegant speakers who deviate least from written words." The grammatical part proper is very short, since he confines his description to inflections (hence, e.g. the verbs for him have only two tenses, past and present).

The weight of Johnson's authority was so great that later writers did not dare to deviate from the spellings and meanings prescribed by the DICTIONARY; even today some authors blame him for fixing English spelling and thus making it conservative. The Dictionary passed through many editions and revisions and was drawn upon freely by numerous successors.

The grammars and dictionaries of the 18th c. succeeded in formulating the rules of usage, partly from observation but largely from the "doctrine of correctness", and laid them down as norms to be taught as patterns of correct English. Codification of norms of usage by means of conscious effort on the part of man helped in standardising the language and in fixing its Written and Spoken Standards.

Growth of the Spoken Standard

§ 342. As shown above the Written Standard had probably been fixed and recognised by the beginning of the 17th c. The next stage in the growth of the national literary language was the development of the Spoken Standard. The dating of this event appears to be more problematic.

Naturally, we possess no direct evidence of the existence of oral norms, since all evidence comes from written sources. Nevertheless, valuable information has been found in private letters as compared to more official papers, in the speech of various characters in 17th and 18th c. drama, and in direct references to different types of oral speech made by contemporaries.

It seems obvious that in the 18th c. the speech of educated people differed from that of common, uneducated people — in pronunciation,

in the choice of words and in grammatical construction. The number of educated people was growing and their way of speaking was regarded as correct. Compositions on language gave diverse recommendations aimed at improving the forms of written and oral discourse. Some authors advised people to model their speech on Latin patterns; others banned borrowing mannerisms and vulgar pronunciation. These recommendations could only be made if their authors were — or considered themselves to be — in a position to distinguish between different forms of speech and label them as "good" or "bad". Indirectly they testify to the existence of recognised norms of educated spoken English.

§ 343. The earliest feasible date for the emergence of the Spoken Standard suggested by historians is the late 17th c. Some authorities refer it to the end of the normalisation period, that is about a hundred years later — the end of the 18th c. The latter date seems to be more realistic, as by that time current usage had been subjected to conscious regulation and had become more uniform. The rules formulated in the prescriptive grammars and dictionaries must have had their effect not only on the written but also on the spoken forms of the language.

The concept of Spoken Standard does not imply absolute uniformity of speech throughout the speech community — a uniformity which, in fact, can never be achieved; it merely implies a more or less uniform type of speech used by educated people and taught as "correct English" at schools and universities. The spoken forms of the language, even when standardised, were never as stable and fixed as the Written Standard. Oral speech changed under the influence of sub-standard forms of the language, more easily than the written forms. Many new features coming from professional jargons, lower social dialects or local dialects first entered the Spoken Standard, and through its medium passed into the language of writing. The Written Standard, in its turn, tended to restrict the colloquial innovations labelling them as vulgar and incorrect and was enriched by elements coming from various functional and literary styles, e.g. poetry, scientific style, official documents. Between all these conflicting tendencies the national literary language, both in its written and spoken forms, continued to change during the entire New English period.

§ 344. The geographical and social origins of the Spoken Standard were in the main the same as those of the Written Standard some two hundred years before: the tongue of London and the Universities, which in the turbulent 17th c. — the age of the English Revolution, further economic progress and geographical expansion — had assimilated many new features from a variety of sources. Intermixture of people belonging to different social groups was reflected in speech, though the rate of changes was slowed down when the norms of usage had been fixed. The flourishing of literature enriched the language and at the same time had a stabilising effect on linguistic change.

Thus by the end of the 18th c. the formation of the national literary English language may be regarded as completed, for now it possessed both a Written and a Spoken Standard.

The Modern Period. Varieties of English in Britain in the 19th and 20th c.

§ 345. The main functional divisions of the national English language, which had been formed by the 19th c., were its standard or literary forms and its substandard forms.

The literary language comprised a great number of varieties (or "forms of existence"). It had a Written and a Spoken Standard; within the Written Standard there developed different literary and functional styles: the belles-lettres style (with further differentiation between poetry, prose and drama), official style, newspaper and publicistic style, scientific prose style.[1] Within the Spoken Standard we can safely assume the existence of more formal and less formal, colloquial varieties which bordered on the sub-standard forms of the language. We can also posit the existence of modified local Standards used by educated people but displaying certain local colouring (the term "Regional Modified Standards", proposed by H. C. Wyld implies that despite some differences these forms of speech belong to Standard English).

Literary English found its ideal representation in the works of English authors of the 19th c. Sub-standard forms of the language — local dialects and lower social dialects — were mainly used for oral communication. During the 18th c., when conformity to the rules of correctness and high style were looked upon as a primary merit, writers were not inclined to employ the non-prestige types of local speech. Characterisation through dialect, which sometimes occurred in the drama of the Renaissance, had fallen into disuse. In the 19th c. literary tastes changed and writers began to take a greater interest in the regional dialects and in folklore. Non-standard forms of the language were recorded in the speech of various characters to show their social rank and origin.

§ 346. Two varieties of English in Great Britain distinguished from Standard English — Scottish and Anglo-Irish — claimed to be literary tongues. Scottish English reemerged again into literary eminence, after a decline in the 17th c., in the poetry of Robert Burns (1759—1796). The literary tradition was not given up in the 19th c.: a series of poets employed the Scottish dialect in depicting the grievances of the common people. For the most part, however, Scottish English was used for oral intercourse by the less educated people, while a Regional Modified Standard displaced it in other functions. As elsewhere the local dialect was transformed into a social local dialect used by the lower classes.

§ 347. The English language in Ireland displayed sharper differences from British English than the Scottish dialect, as for several hundred years it developed in relative isolation from the monopoly. Despite the attempts to revive the Celtic tongue, Gaelic, or Irish (which was one of the major issues in the vigorous struggle for home rule in the 19th c.), by 1900 a variety of English with a strong Irish accent, known as the "brogue", had become the main language of the population. Some authorities regard Anglo-Irish as a separate geographical variant of English possessing an independent national Standard, others treat it as a local dialect. Anglo-Irish is the official language of Northern Ireland and Eire and also the language of literature, school and universities.[2]

§ 348. Dialectal division in England proper in the 19th and 20th c. was roughly the same as before since it goes back to the age of feudalism, particularly to Early ME. The dialects are distinguished by counties or shires, e. g. the dialect of Somersetshire, the Yorkshire dialect. They are usually grouped under the following main headings: the *Southern* dialects, subdivided into East- and West-Southern; the *Midland* dialects subdivided into *Eastern*, *Central*, and *Western*; (the term *Midland* is also used as an equivalent of *Central*); the *Northern* dialects.

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[1] For a detailed description of stylistic differentiation of English see *Galperin I. R.* STYLISTICS, M., 1977.

[2] In the sixties of the 20th c. the number of people speaking Irish in Ireland was about 750,000 (the total population of Eire and Northern Ireland reaching 6 million). Celtic languages are also spoken in Wales, Scotland and the Isle of Manx (over 1,200,000 people).
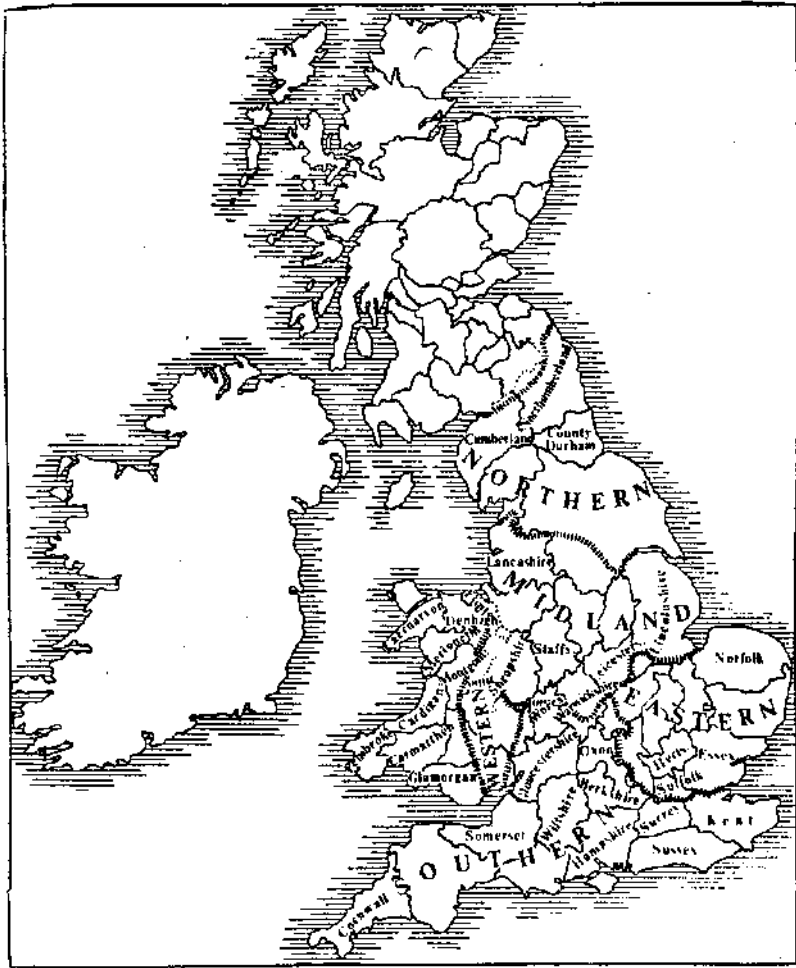
A map of Modern English dialects

Among the social dialects of particular interest is London's *Cockney*. 16th c. spellings testify to the existence of Cockney in the age of Shakespeare. Cockney was used as a form of oral speech by the lower ranks of the Londoners throughout the New English period and was looked upon as a social handicap in the 19th c. (recall PYGMALION by G. B. Shaw).

Geographical Expansion of the English Language from the 17th to 19th c. English Outside Great Britain

§ 349. In the last three hundred years the English language has extended to all the continents of the world and the number of English speakers has multiplied.

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We may recall that in OE and Early ME periods the English dialects were confined to part of the British Isles: they were spoken in what is known as England proper; from the 13th to the 17th c. the English language extended to the whole of the British Isles with the exception of some mountainous regions in Wales, Nothern Scotland and some parts of Ireland.

The number of English speaking people grew: at the end of the 11th c. it is estimated at one and a half or two millions; by 1700 English had over eight million speakers. In the course of two centuries of British expansion overseas, colonisation and emigration to other continents, the number of English speakers increased at such a high rate that by 1900 it had reached one hundred and twenty three million.

§ 350. England's colonial expansion to the New World began in the late 16th c. when her first colonies were set up in Newfoundland (1583). But the real start came later: in 1607 the first permanent settlements were founded in Jamestown and in 1620 the famous ship "Mayflower" brought a group of English settlers to what became known as New England. These Puritan fugitives from the Stuart absolutism came from the London area, from East Anglia and Yorkshire; later colonists came from other regions, including Scotland and Ireland. Immigrants to the Southern areas were of a higher class origin; they received vast stretches of land from the kings of England and gave rise to the Southern "aristocratic" slave-owning plantators. Many immigrants from Great Britain settled in the West Indies, which became a part of the British Empire in the 17th c.

The colonists spoke different dialects of English. In North America those dialects gradually blended into a new type of the language, American English; contacts with other languages, especially Spanish in the South and French in Canada, have played a certain role in its development.

American English was first proclaimed to be an independent language by Noah Webster (1758—1843), a schoolmaster from Connecticut. In his DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (1828), the first in the world-famous series of "Websters", he showed the differences in vocabulary and pronunciation between the English of Britain and the English of the new independent state (after the War for Independence, which ended in 1783); Am E, in his opinion, was a pure uncorrupt descendant of Chaucer and Shakespeare, while Br E had been spoiled by linguistic change. He admitted, though, that the two types of English were basically identical.

§ 351. The expansion of English to Asia is mainly connected with the occupation of India. India was one of the main issues in the colonial struggle of European powers in the 18th c. The conquest of India had been prepared by the activities of the East Indian trade company founded in the 17th c. In the late 18th c. Britain secured partial control over the administration in some of the Indian provinces. In the first half of the 19th c. India became a British colony and Britain acquired other possessions in Asia, turning them into colonies, dominions or protec-

torates. Thus the English language extended to many areas in Asia, as the language of the state and writing.

§ 352. Australia was a place of deportation of British convicts since the late 18th c. A flow of immigrants were attracted to Australia, at first by the free grants of land, later — by the discovery of gold. The bulk of the population in Australia, as well as in New Zealand, came from Great Britain; their language is regarded by some linguists as an independent geographical variant of English, though its difference from Br E is not great: it is confined to some peculiarities of pronunciation and specific words.

§ 353. British penetration into Africa was a lengthy affair that extended over the 19th c. In consequence of financial dependence on British capital, Sudan and Egypt fell under British political control. Tropical Africa and South Africa were raided by the British navy, as sources of slave labour for America and the West Indies. Trade companies were supported by open warfare, and in a long series of wars many African territories fell under British rule. Cecil Rhodes and H. Kitchener undertook to extend British territories, so as to connect Cairo and the Cape colony by a stretch of British land. Numerous conflicts with the Dutch settlers in South Africa led to the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, which established the supremacy of the British. All these events were accompanied by the spread of English to new areas.

§ 354. In the course of the 20th c. Great Britain lost the greater part of its possessions overseas and the use of the English language was reduced. We should distinguish between countries with an English speaking population (or with a large proportion of English speakers) and countries in which English is used only as the state language, the main language of the press, radio and literature. The distinction, however, is not always possible, for in both groups of countries part of the population is bilingual, and the proportion of English speakers cannot be precisely estimated. The list of countries with an English-speaking population outside the British Isles includes the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the South African Republic.

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What historical conditions account for increased dialectal divergence in Early ME?

2. Compare the position of the Old Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman (French) in Early ME (comment on the geographical, social and linguistic differences).

3. Account for the shift of the dialect type of the speech of London in the 14th c. Why is the name "English" language more justified than "Anglo-Saxon" or "Saxon" though in the OE period one of the Saxon dialects, West Saxon, was the main form of language used in writing?

4. Describe the events of external history which favoured the growth of the national literary language.

5. Can the evolution of language be controlled by man? Recall the

efforts made by men-of-letters in the "Normalisation period" to stop the changes and improve the language.

6. Comment on the following quotations:

J. Hart (1570): "The flower of the English tongue is used in the Court of London."

G. Puttenham (1589):"... ye shall therefore take the usual speach of the Court, and that of London whithin IX myles, and not much above. I say this but that in every shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake but specially write as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of every shire..." Discuss the social and geographical basis of the literary English language.

Chapter XIII

SPELLING CHANGES IN MIDDLE ENGLISH. RULES
OF READING

§ 355. The most conspicuous feature of Late ME texts in comparison with OE texts is the difference in spelling. The written forms of the words in Late ME texts resemble their modern forms, though the pronunciation of the words was different. Before considering the evolution of English sounds one must get acquainted with the system of ME spelling in order to distinguish between sound changes and graphical changes.

In the course of ME many new devices were introduced into the system of spelling; some of them reflected the sound changes which had been completed or were still in progress in ME; others were graphic replacements of OE letters by new letters and digraphs.

§ 356. In ME the runic letters passed out of use. Thorn — þ — and the crossed d — d, ð — were replaced by the digraph *th*, which retained the same sound value: [θ] and [ð]; the rune "wynn" was displaced by "double *u*" — *w* —; the ligatures æ and œ fell into disuse.

§ 357. After the period of Anglo-Norman dominance (11th—13th c.) English regained its prestige as the language of writing, though for a long time writing was in the hands of those who had a good knowledge of French. Therefore many innovations in ME spelling reveal an influence of the French scribal tradition. The digraphs *ou*, *ie*, and *ch* which occurred in many French borrowings and were regularly used in Anglo-Norman texts were adopted as new ways of indicating the sounds [u:], [e:], and [tʃ].

Compare the use of these digraphs in some borrowed and native ME words: ME *double* ['duble] from O Fr *double* and ME *out* [u:t] from OE *ūt* (NE *double, out*);[1] ME *chief* [tʃe:f] from French and the native ME *thief* (NE *chief, thief*); ME *chaumbre* ['tʃaumbrə], *chasen* ['tʃa:zən] (NE *chamber, chase*) from French, and native ME *child* [tʃi:ld], ME *much* [mutʃ]. The letters *j*, *k*, *v*, and *q* were probably first used in imitation of French manuscripts. The two-fold use of *g* and *c*, which

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[1] Cf. Modern Fr *poule* or NE *soup, group* where *ou* stands for [u:].

has survived today, owes its origin to French: these letters usually stood for [dʒ] and [s] before front vowels and for [g] and [k] before back vowels; cf. ME *gentil* [dʒen'til], *mercy* [mer'si] and *good* [go:d], *cours* [ku:rs] (NE *gentle, mercy, good, course*).

§ 358. Other alterations in spelling cannot be traced directly to French influence though they testify to a similar tendency: a wider use of digraphs. In addition to *ch, ou, ie,* and *th* mentioned above Late ME notaries introduced *sh* (also *ssh* and *sch*) to indicate the new sibilant [ʃ], e.g. ME *ship* (from OE *scip*), *dg* to indicate [dʒ] alongside *j* and *g* (before front vowels), e.g. ME *edge* ['edʒə], *joye* ['dʒoiə], *engendren* [en'dʒendrən] (NE *edge, joy, engender*); the digraph *wh* replaced the OE sequence of letters *hw* as in OE *hwæt,* ME *what* [hwat] (NE *what*). Long sounds were shown by double letters, for instance ME *book* [bo:k], *sonne* ['sunnə] (NE *book, sun*), though with vowels this practice was not very regular, e.g. long [e:] could be indicated by *ie* and *ee*, and also by *e*, cf. ME *thief* [θe:f], *feet* [fe:t], *meten* ['me:tən] (NE *thief, feet, meet*). The introduction of the digraph *gh* for [x] and [x'] helped to distinguish between the fricatives [x, x'], which were preserved in some positions, and the aspirate [h]; cf. ME *knyght* [knix't] and ME *he* [he:] (NE *knight, he*); in OE both words were spelt with *h*: OE *cnieht, hē.*

§ 359. Some replacements were probably made to avoid confusion of resembling letters: thus *o* was employed not only for [o] but also to indicate short [u] alongside the letter *u*; it happened when *u* stood close to *n, m,* or *v,* for they were all made up of down strokes and were hard to distinguish in a hand-written text. That is how OE *munuc* became ME *monk*, though it was pronounced as [muŋk] and OE *lufu* became ME *love* ['luvə] (NE *monk, love*). This replacement was facilitated — if not caused — by the similar use of the letter *o* in Anglo-Norman.

The letter *y* came to be used as an equivalent of *i* and was evidently preferred when *i* could be confused with the surrounding letters *m, n* and others. Probably *y* acquired the new sound value [i, i:] when the OE vowels [y, y:] shown by this letter had changed into [i, i:] (see § 375). Sometimes, however, *y*, as well as *w*, were put at the end of a word for purely ornamental reasons, so as to finish the word with a curve; ME *nyne* ['ni:nə], *very* ['veri], *my* [mi:] (NE *nine, very, my*). *w* was interchangeable with *u* in the digraphs *ou, au,* e.g. ME *doun, down* [du:n] and was often preferred finally: ME *how* [hu:], *now* [nu:], *lawe* ['lauə], *drawen* ['drauən].

§ 360. The table on p. 186 summarises the peculiarities of spelling in Late ME. It includes the new letters and digraphs introduced in ME and the new sound values of some letters in use since the OE period (the other letters of the English alphabet were employed in the same way as before.)

For letters indicating two sounds the rules of reading are as follows.

G and *c* stand for [dʒ] and [s] before front vowels and for [g] and [k] before back vowels respectively (see the examples in § 357).

Y stands for [j] at the beginning of words, otherwise it is an equi

Peculiarities of Middle English Spelling

Letters indicating vowels	Letters indicating consonants
Single letters	
a [a]	*c* [s] or [k]
y, as well as *i* [i]	*f* [f]
o [o] or [u]	*g* [dʒ] or [g]
	j [dʒ]
	k [k]
	s [s] or [z]
	v (often spelt as *u*) [v]
	y [j]
Digraphs	
ee [e:] or [ɛ:]	*ch, tch* [tʃ]
ie [e:]	*dg* [dʒ]
oo [o:] or [ɔ:]	*gh* [x] or [x']
ou [u:] or [ou]	*qu* [kw]
ow [u:] or [ou]	*th* [θ] or [ð]
	sh, sch, ssh [ʃ]
	wh [hw]

valent of the letter *i*, as in NE, e.g. ME *yet* [jet], *knyght* [knix't], also *veyne* or *veine* ['veinə] (NE *yet, knight, vein*).

The letters *th* and *s* indicate voiced sounds between vowels, and voiceless sounds — initially, finally and next to other voiceless consonants: ME *worthy* ['wurði], *esy* ['ɛ:zi], *thyng* [θiŋ], *sorwe* ['sɔrwə] (NE *worthy, easy, thing, sorrow*). Note that in ME — unlike OE — this rule does not apply to the letter *f*: it stands for the voiceless [f] while the voiced [v] is shown by *v* or *u*; cf. ME *feet* [fe:t] and *vayn* [vein] (NE *feet, vain*).

As stated above, *o* usually stands for [u] next to letters whose shape resembles the shape of the letter *u*, though sometimes even in the same environment it can indicate [o], cf. ME *some* ['sumə] and *mone* ['mo:ne] (NE *some, moon*). To determine the sound value of *o* one can look up the origin of the sound in OE or the pronunciation of the word in NE: the sound [u] did not change in the transition from OE to ME (the OE for *some* was *sum*); in NE it changed to [ʌ]. It follows that the letter *o* stood for [u] in those ME words which contain [ʌ] today, otherwise it indicates [o]. Cf., e.g. ME *some* ['sumə], *not* [nɔt] (NE *some, not*).

The digraphs *ou* and *ow* were interchangeable. Their sound value can be determined either by tracing the words to OE prototypes or by taking into account the modern pronunciation. They indicate [u:] in the words which contained [u:] in OE, since the OE [u:] had

not changed, and which have [au] in NE, e.g. OE *hūs*>ME *hous* [hu:s]>
NE *house*. If the modern word has [ou], the corresponding ME word
should be pronounced with the same diphthong [ou], e.g. ME *snow*
[snou], NE *snow*, as ME [ou] has not altered (the origins of the diph-
thongs are described in § 380).

Long sounds in ME texts are often shown by double letters or di-
graphs. The length of the vowel can sometimes be inferred from the
nature of the syllable; open syllables often contain long vowels, while
closed syllables may contain both short and long vowels. The succeed-
ing consonant groups can also serve as indicators: vowels are long before
a sonorant plus a plosive consonant and short before other consonant
sequences, e.g. ME *maken* ['ma:kən], *lat* [la:t], *lok* [lɔk], *bihynden*
[bi'hi:ndən], *bisetten* [bi'settən] (NE *make, late, lock, behind, beset*).
(See § 370 ff. for quantitative changes of vowels in Early ME which ex-
plain the causes of these differences.)

(In reading ME texts there is no need to observe the distinctions
of sound length but these distinctions are most important for a proper
understanding of ME and Early NE sound changes.)

§ 361. The opening stanzas of the Prologue to the CANTERBURY
TALES by G. Chaucer (late 14th c.) are given below with transcription
and translation; the word stress is shown as required by the iambic
meter of the poem and is therefore marked both in monosyllabic and
polysyllabic words.

(1) Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote
    [xwan 'θat ap'rillə 'wiθ his 'ʃu:rəs 'so:tə]
(2) the droghte of March hath perced to the roote,
    [θə 'druxt of 'martʃ haθ 'persəd 'to: θə 'ro:tə]
(3) And bathed every veyne in swich licour,
    [and 'ba:ðəd 'evri 'vein in 'switʃ li'ku:r]
(4) Of which vertu engendred is the flour;
    [of 'xwitʃ ver'tju: en'dʒendrəd 'is θə 'flu:r]

> When April with his sweet showers
> The draught of March has pierced to the root,
> And bathed every vein in such liquor,
> Of which (whose) virtue (power) engendered is the flower;

(5) Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth
    [xwan 'zefi'rus ɛ:k 'wiθ his 'swe:tə 'brɛ:θ]
(6) Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
    [in'spirəd 'haθ in 'evri 'hɔ:lt and 'hɛ:θ]
(7) The tendre croppes, and the younge sonne
    [θə 'tendrə 'kroppəs 'and θə 'juŋgə 'sunnə]
(8) Hath in the Ram his halve cours y-ronne,
    [haθ 'in θə ram his 'halvə 'kurs i-'runnə]

> When Zephyr also with his sweet breath
> Inspired has into every holt and heath
> The tender crops, and the young sun
> Has in the Ram half his course run (has passed half
> of its way in the constellation of Ram).

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(9) And smale foweles maken melodye,
[and 'smalə 'fu:ləs 'ma:kən 'melo'diə]
(10) That slepen al the nyght with open ye —
[θat 'slɛ:pən 'al θə 'nix't wiθ 'ɔ:pən 'i:e]
(11) So priketh hem nature in here corages —
[sɔ: 'prikəθ 'hem na'tju:r in 'her ku'radʒəs]
(12) Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,
[θan 'loŋgən 'folk to: 'go:n on 'pilgri'madʒəs]

> And small birds sing (lit. fowls make melody)
> That sleep all the night with open eyes (i. e. do not sleep) —
> So raises nature their spirit (lit. pricks their courage) —
> Then folks long to go on pilgrimages,

(13) And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,
[and 'palmrəs 'for to: 'se:kən 'straundʒe 'strɔndəs]
(14) To ferne halwes, couthe in sondry londes...
[to: 'fernə 'ha:lwəs 'ku:ð in 'sundri 'lɔ:ndəs]

> And palmers — to seek strange strands,
> To ancient saints known in different lands ...

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Analyse the relationships between the letters and sounds in the extract given in § 361 and say in which instances the ME spelling system was less phonetic — and more conventional — than the OE system.

2. Read the following ME words and explain the employment of the italicized letters:

certainly, pacient, carrie, killen (NE certainly, patient, carry, kill); geste, gold, (NE jest, gold); was, seson, ese, sory (NE was, season, ease, sorry); other, thinken, the, that, natheless, both (NE other, think, the, that, nevertheless, both); afere, every, fight, thief, very (NE affair, every, fight, thief, very); yonge, sonne, not, hose (NE young, sun, not, hose); mous, low, loud, toun, how (NE mouse, low, loud, town, how); knowen, whether, straunge, what, knyght, taughte (NE know, whether, strange, what, knight, taught).

Chapter XIV

EVOLUTION OF THE SOUND SYSTEM FROM THE 11TH TO 18TH C.

Preliminary Remarks

§ 362. The sound system of the English language has undergone profound changes in the thousand years which have elapsed since the OE period. The changes affected the pronunciation of words, word accentuation, the systems of vowel and consonant phonemes.

In so far as possible the sound changes in the following survey are grouped into two main stages: Early ME changes, which show the transition from Written OE to Late ME — the age of literary flourishing or "the age of Chaucer" — and Early NE changes, which show the transition from ME to later NE — the language of the 18th and 19th c.

Word Stress in Middle English and Early New English

§ 363. The system of word accentuation in OE was described in § 115. In OE stress usually fell on the first syllable of the word, rarely on its second syllable: the prefix or the root of the word were stressed while the suffixes and endings were unaccented. Word stress in OE was fixed: it never moved in inflection and seldom in derivation.

This way of word accentuation, characteristic of OE, was considerably altered in the succeeding periods. The word accent acquired greater positional freedom and began to play a more important role in word derivation. These changes were connected with the phonetic assimilation of thousands of loan-words adopted during the ME period.

In Late ME poetry we find a variety of differently stressed words. Though poetry permits certain fluctuation of word accent, this variety testifies to greater freedom in the position of word stress.

New accentual patterns are found in numerous ME loan-words from French. Probably, when they first entered the English language they retained their original stress — on the ultimate or pen-ultimate syllable. This kind of stress could not be preserved for long. Gradually, as the loan-words were assimilated, the word stress was moved closer to the beginning of the word in line with the English (Germanic) system. This shift is accounted for by what is known as the "recessive" tendency. In disyllabic words the accent moved to the first syllable, so that the resulting pattern conformed to the pattern of native words, e.g. ME *vertu* [ver'tju:] became NE *virtue* ['və:tʃə], cf. native English *shortly*, *childish*. The shift can be shown as follows: s's>'ss (s stands for "syllable").

In words of three or more syllables the shift of the stress could be caused by the recessive tendency and also by the "rythmic" tendency, which required a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. Under the rhythmic tendency, a secondary stress would arise at a distance of one syllable from the original stress. This new stress was either preserved as a secondary stress or else became the only or the principal stress of the word, e.g.

ME *recommenden* [reko'mendən]>NE *recommend* [ˌrekə'mend] — ss'ss>ˌss's;

ME *disobeien* [diso'beiən] > NE *disobey* ['dɪso'beɪ] — ss'ss>'ss's;

ME *comfortable* [komfor'tablə]>NE *comfortable* ['kʌmfətəbl] — ss'ss>'sss;

ME *consecraten* [konse'kra:tən]>NE *consecrate* ['kɔnsɪkreɪt] —ss'ss >'sss

(Accentual patterns of the type 'sss or s'sss are common in Mod E, cf. *ability, evident, necessity.*

In many polysyllabic words both tendencies, the recessive and the rhythmic, operated together and brought about several changes. For instance in NE *consolation* [ˌkɔnsə'leɪʃn] we find the results of the shift from the final to the preceding syllable [leɪ] due to the recessive

tendency and a secondary stress on the first syllable. In NE *possibility* the rhythmic factor accounts both for the primary and secondary stresses (the original position of the accent was on the last syllable).

§ 364. Sometimes the shifting of the word stress should be attributed not only to the phonetic tendencies but also to certain morphological factors. Thus stress was not shifted to the prefixes of many verbs borrowed or built in Late ME and in Early NE, which accords with the OE rule: to keep verb prefixes unstressed, e.g. ME *accepten, engendren, presenten*, NE *accept, engender, present*. Cf. NE verbs *befall, mistake, forget*. Corresponding nouns sometimes, though not always, received the stress on the first syllable: NE *'present* n — *pre'sent* v; *'discord* n — *dis'cord* v. The latter pairs of words show that the role of word accentuation has grown: word stress performs a phonological function as it distinguishes a verb from a noun. (For the role of word stress in word building see § 595.) Thus it appears that as a result of specifically English (or rather Germanic) tendencies, continuously applied to numerous polysyllabic loan-words, the entire system of word accentuation has altered. The position of word stress has become relatively free and its phonological application has widened: it can be shifted in word derivation, though it is never moved in building grammatical forms.

VOWEL CHANGES IN MIDDLE ENGLISH AND EARLY NEW ENGLISH

Unstressed Vowels

§ 365. Extensive changes of vowels are one of the most remarkable features of English linguistic history. A variety of changes affected vowels in stressed syllables; the modification of unaccented vowels was more uniform and simple. It is convenient to begin the description of vowel changes with unstressed vowels, for they will be found in many examples given for other purposes and should therefore be made clear in advance. It should be borne in mind, however, that the boundaries between stressed and unstressed vowels were not static: in the course of time a vowel could lose or acquire stress, as in many words stress was shifted; consequently, the vowel would pass into the other group and would be subjected to other kind of changes.

§ 366. In ME and NE the main direction of the evolution of unstressed vowels was the same as before; even in the pre-written period unstressed vowels had lost many of their former distinctions, namely their differences in quantity as well as some of their differences in quality (§ 131). The tendency towards phonetic reduction operated in all the subsequent periods of history and was particularly strong in unstressed final syllables in ME.

In Early ME the pronunciation of unstressed syllables became increasingly indistinct. As compared to OE, which distinguished five short vowels in unstressed position (representing three opposed phonemes [e/i], [a] and [o/u]), Late ME had only two vowels in unaccented syllables: [ə] and [i], which are never directly contrasted; this means that phonemic contrasts in unstressed vowels had been practically lost.

Cf. some OE words with their descendants in Late ME and NE:

OE *fiscas*	ME *fishes* ['fiʃəs] or	NE *fishes* pl
	[fiʃis]	
fisces	*fishes*	*fish's* Gen. sg
OE *rison*	ME *risen* ['rizən]	NE *rose* (OE Past pl)
risen	*risen*	NE *risen* (Part. II)
OE *talu*	ME *tale* ['ta:lə]	NE *tale* (OE Nom. and
tale		other cases sg, Dat.
talum	*talen*	pl)
OE *bodiȝ*	ME *body* ['bɔdi]	NE *body*

(The last two examples, OE *talum* and *bodiȝ* show also the fate of consonants in final syllables: *-um>-en;* *-iȝ>-i*.)

The occurrence of only two vowels, [ə] and [ı], in unstressed final syllables is regarded as an important mark of ME, distinguishing it on the one hand from OE with its greater variety of unstressed vowels, and on the other hand from NE, when the ME final [ə] was dropped.

This final [ə] disappeared in Late ME though it continued to be spelt as *-e*. The loss of [ə] started in the North, spread to the Midlands, and reached the Southern areas by the 15th c. In the London dialect of Chaucer's time it was very unstable and could be easily missed out before a following initial vowel or when required by rhythm (see the passage from Chaucer in § 361). When the ending *-e* survived only in spelling, it was understood as a means of showing the length of the vowel in the preceding syllable and was added to words which did not have this ending before: cf. OE *stān, rād* and ME *stoon, stone, rode* (NE *stone, rode*). (Sometimes it was added even to words where length was already indicated by another device, e.g. OE *hūs*, ME *house*.)

§ 367. It should be remembered though that while the OE unstressed vowels were thus reduced and lost, new unstressed vowels appeared in borrowed words or developed from stressed ones, as a result of various changes, e.g. the shifting of word stress in ME and NE, vocalisation of [r] in such endings as *writer, actor*, where [er] and [or] became [ə]. Some of the new unstressed vowels were reduced to the neutral [ə] or dropped, while others have retained certain qualitative and quantitative differences, e.g. [ɔ] and [eı] in *consecrate, disobey* after the shift of stress. (Note also diverse unaccented vowels in the following modern words: *ad'versely* [æ]; *al'ternant* [ɔ:] or [ɔˑ]; *direct; fidelity* [aı] or [ı]).

These developments show that the gap between the stressed and unstressed vowels has narrowed, so that in ME and NE we can no longer subdivide the vowels into two distinct sub-systems — that of stressed and unstressed vowels (as was done for OE — see § 134).

Main Trends in the Changes of Stressed Vowels

§ 368. No other part of the English sound system has undergone such sweeping changes as the vowels in stressed syllables. They changed

both in quality and quantity, under the influence of the environment and independently, alone and together with the surrounding sounds. As a matter of fact, not a single OE long monophthong or diphthong has remained unaltered in the course of history; only a few short vowels were not changed, unless they were lengthened and then shared the fate of long vowels (for instance, short [i] and [o] have not suffered any changes in *is* and *of* — OE *is*, *of*, but the same sounds have developed into diphthongs if they became long: OE *blind* > ME *blind* [bli:nd] > NE *blind*, OE *hopa* > ME *hope* [hɔ:pə] > NE *hope*).

§ 369. The system of vowel phonemes has undergone drastic changes in the course of English linguistic history. Though the total number of phonemes has practically remained the same, their distinctive features and the principles of their opposition in the system have altered.

Strictly speaking we can observe all kinds of vowel changes in all historical periods. And yet some prevailing trends of evolution can be singled out for certain groups of vowels at certain periods.

Long vowels were the most changeable and historically unstable group of English sounds. At all times they displayed a strong tendency to become narrower and to diphthongise, whereas short vowels displayed a reverse trend — towards greater openness, though this trend was less obvious and less consistent. Qualitative and quantitative changes were intertwined and often proceeded together.

It may be recalled here that in Early OE the prevalent type of vowel changes were assimilative changes mainly affecting the quality of the vowels. Towards the end of OE quantitative vowel changes gained momentum. Early ME is mainly characterised by positional quantitative changes of monophthongs; at the same time profound independent changes affected the system of diphthongs: OE diphthongs were monophthongised and lost, and new types of diphthongs developed from vowels and consonants.

Late ME saw the beginnings of a new series of sweeping changes: independent qualitative changes of all long vowels known as the "Great Vowel Shift"; it lasted from the 14th till the 17th or even 18th c. Numerous positional vowel changes of this period — together with vocalisation of consonants — gave rise to a number of new long monophthongs and diphthongs.

QUANTITATIVE VOWEL CHANGES IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

§ 370. At the end of OE and in the immediately succeeding centuries accented vowels underwent a number of quantitative changes which affected the employment and the phonological status of short and long vowels in the language. It should be recalled that in OE quantity was the main basis of correlation in the vowel system: short vowels were phonemically opposed to long ones, roughly identical in quality. At that time vowel length was for the most part an inherited feature: OE short vowels had developed from PG short vowels, while long ones went back to long vowels or bi-phonemic vowel sequences (except for a few lengthenings, mainly due to the loss of consonants, see § 143, 144).

In later OE and in Early ME vowel length began to depend on phonetic conditions.

§ 371. The earliest of positional quantitative changes was the readjustment of quantity before some consonant clusters; it occurred in Early ME or perhaps even in Late OE.

(1) Short vowels were lengthened before two homorganic consonants, a sonorant and a plosive; consequently, all vowels occurring in this position remained or became long, e.g. OE *wild*>ME *wild* [wi:ld] (NE *wild*);

(2) All other groups of two or more consonants produced the reverse effect: they made the preceding long vowels short, and henceforth all vowels in this position became or remained short, e.g. OE *cēpte*>ME *kepte* ['keptə] (NE *kept*); OE *bewildrian*>ME *bewildren* [be'wildrən] (NE *bewilder*). (Cf. the latter example with *wild* given above; the third consonant [r] in ME *bɜwildren* prevented the lengthening.)

§ 372. Another decisive alteration in the treatment of vowel quantity took place some time later: in the 12th or 13th c.

(3) Short vowels became long in open syllables. This lengthening mainly affected the more open of the short vowels [e], [a] and [o], but sometimes, though very seldom, it is also found in the close vowels, [i] and [u]. In the process of lengthening close vowels acquired a more open quality, e.g.,

      OE *open*>ME   *open*   ['ɔ:pən] (NE *open*)
      wike>   *weke*   ['we:kə] (NE *week*)
      nama>   *name*   ['na:mə] (NE *name*)

In spite of some restrictions (e.g. no lengthening occurred in polysyllabic words and before some suffixes, OE *bodiȝ* >ME *body* ['bodi] (NE *body*), the alteration affected many words (see Table 1 on p. 194).

§ 373. The changes of vowel quantity reduced the number of positions in which the opposition of long vowels to short ones could be used for phonemic contrast. Before a consonant cluster vowel quantity was now predetermined by the nature of the cluster; and in open syllables three vowels — [ɔ:], [a:] and [ɛ:] were always long. Consequently, opposition through quantity could be used for distinction, as a phonological feature, only in the absence of those phonetic conditions, namely: in closed syllables, in polysyllabic words, or with the vowels [i] and [u] in open syllables. Such is the contrast, e.g. in ME *risen* ['ri:zən] inf. and *risen* ['rizən] Part. II (NE *rise, risen*). The limitations in the application of vowel length as a distinctive feature undermined the role of vowel quantity in the language.

§ 374. Quantitative vowel changes in Early ME have given rise to a number of explanations and hypotheses.

All the changes in vowel quantity have been interpreted as manifestations of a sort of rhythmic tendency. In order to achieve an average uniformity in the length of the syllable, and also to use an average amount of energy for its pronunciation, the vowel was shortened before a group of consonants and was made longer if there were no consonants following, that is, in "open" syllables. Lengthening of vowels before homorganic groups looks as an exception or a contradiction; to account for this lengthening it was suggested that *-nd*, *-ld* and the like were virtually equiva-

lent to single consonants, therefore a long vowel would not make the syllable too heavy.

Table 1

Quantitative Vowel Changes in Late Old English and Early Middle English

Phonetic conditions	Change illustrated	Examples		
		OE	ME	NE[1]
Before homorganic consonant sequences: sonorant plus plosive (*ld, nd, mb*)	Vowels become long	cild findan climban cold feld fundon gold	child [tʃiːld] finden ['fiːndən] climben ['kliːmbən] cold ['koːld] field [feːld] founden ['fuːndən] gold [goːld]	*child* *find* *climb* *cold* *field* *found* (Past of *find*) *gold*
Before other consonant sequences	Vowels become short	fīftiᵹ fēdde mētte wīsdōm	fifty ['fiftɪ] fedde ['feddə][2] mette ['mettə] wisdom ['wɪzdəm]	*fifty* *fed* *met* *wisdom*
In open syllables	Vowels become long and more open	mete stelan macian talu nosu stolen yfel duru	mete ['mɛːtə] stelen ['stɛːlən] maken ['maːkən] tale ['taːlə] nose ['nɔːzə] stolen ['stɔːlən] yvel, evel [iː], [eː] doore ['doːrə]	*meat* *steal* *make* *tale* *nose* *stolen* *evil*[3] *door*

[1] For the development of ME long vowels in NE see the Great Vowel Shift (§ 383 ff.).
[2] The infinitives of these verbs retained a long vowel in the root since it was followed by a single consonant: OE *mētan, fēdan*, ME *meten, feden* [eː].
[3] For the change of OE long and short [y] see § 375.

This theory was criticised for attributing all the quantitative changes to one general cause — the effort to maintain a uniform syllable length — though in reality the changes were not simultaneous. Lengthening in open syllables occurred at a later period — some time in the 13th c. — and may have been caused by other factors. To cope with this difficulty, it was suggested that lengthening in open syllables was tied up with the weakening of final vowels; when the second, unaccented, syllable was weakened, the first syllable became more prominent and the vowel was made longer. Cf. OE *talu* and ME *tale* ['taːlə] — the average amount of energy required for the pronunciation of the word is the same but its distribution is different.

QUALITATIVE VOWEL CHANGES IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH
Development of Monophthongs

§ 375. As compared with quantitative changes, qualitative vowel changes in Early ME were less important. They affected several monophthongs and displayed considerable dialectal diversity. On the whole they were independent of phonetic environment.

The OE close labialised vowels [y] and [y:] disappeared in Early ME, merging with various sounds in different dialectal areas. The treatment of [y] and [y:] in ME can be regarded as evidence of growing dialectal divergence. At the same time it is a relatively rare instance of similar alterations of a short and a long vowel.

The vowels [y] and [y:] existed in OE dialects up to the 10th c., when they were replaced by [e], [e:] in Kentish and confused with [ie] and [ie:] or [i], [i:] in WS. In Early ME the dialectal differences grew. In some areas OE [y], [y:] developed into [e], [e:], in others they changed to [i], [i:]; in the South-West and in the West Midlands the two vowels were for some time preserved as [y], [y:] but later were moved backward and merged with [u], [u:]. (The existence of [y] as a separate vowel may have been prolonged by the borrowing of French words with this sound, e.g. ME *vertu, nature* were at first pronounced as [ver'ty:], [na'ty:r], la-

Development of Old English [y] and [y:] in Middle English dialects

ter as [ver'tju:], [na'tju:r] (NE *virtue, nature*).

The map[1] and the examples show the treatment of OE [y], [y:] in ME dialects:

Examples

OE	ME		NE
fyllan	Kentish	*fellen* ['fellən]	*fill*
	West Midland and South Western	*fullen* ['fyllən, 'fullən]	

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[1] This and the following maps showing ME dialectal variation are reproduced from F. Mossé. A Handbook of Middle English, Baltimore, 1952.

OE	ME		NE
	East Midland and Northern	*fillen* ['fillən]	*fill*
mȳs	Kentish	*mees* [meːs]	
	West Midland and South Western	*mus, muis* [myːs, muːs]	
	Northern and East Midland	*mis, mice* [miːs]	*mice* [1]

ME pronunciations illustrate the variation stage; the NE words given in the last column show the final stage of the change: selection of one of co-existing variants in Standard English. For the most part NE forms descend from the East Midland dialect, which made the basis of the literary language; this is also true of the word *hill* shown in the map and of the words *fire, king, kiss, kin, little* and many others. Some modern words, however, have preserved traces of other dialects: e.g. NE *sleeve* going back to OE *slȳfe* entered Standard English from the South-Eastern regions with the sound [eː] (which later regularly changed to [iː], see the Great Vowel Shift § 383 ff). Sometimes we can find traces of several dialects in one word; thus NE *busy* (OE *bysiʒ*) comes from an East Midland form with [i] as far as sounds go, but has retained a trace of the West-
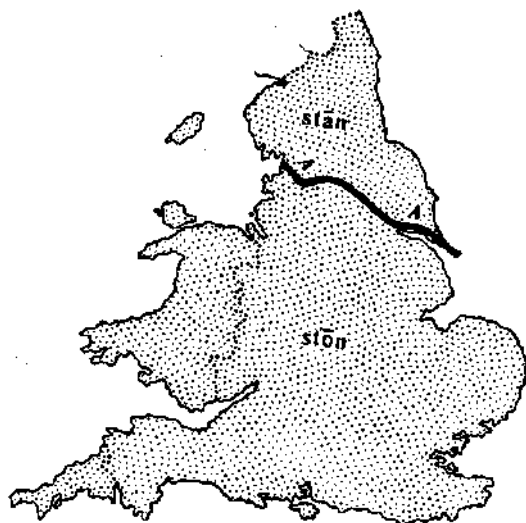
Development of Old English [aː] in Middle English dialects

ern form in the spelling: the letter *u* points to the Western reflex of [y]; likewise the letter *u* in NE *bury* (OE *byrian*) is a trace of the Western forms, while the sound [e] comes from the South-East (Kent).

§ 376. In Early ME the long OE [aː] was narrowed to [ɔː]. This was an early instance of the growing tendency of all long monophthongs to become closer; the tendency was intensified in Late ME when all long vowels changed in that direction. [aː] became [ɔː] in all the dialects except the Northern group (see the map above).

e. g. OE	ME		NE
stān	Northern	*stan(e)* ['staːnə]	*stone*
	other dialects	*stoon, stone* ['stɔːn(ə)]	

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[1] For the change of [iː] to [ai] in NE see the Great Vowel Shift (§ 383 ff.).

| ald[1] | Northern | ald [a:ld][1] | old |
| | other dialects | old [ɔ:ld] | |

The resulting ME [ɔ:] must have been a more open vowel than the long [o:] inherited from OE, e.g. OE fōt, ME foot [fo:t] (NE foot). Judging by their earlier and later history the two phonemes [ɔ:] and [o:] were well distinguished in ME, though no distinction was made in spelling: o, and double o were used for both sounds. (The open [o:] also developed from the short [o] due to lengthening in open syllables, see § 372).[2]

§ 377. The short OE [æ] was replaced in ME by the back vowel [a]. In OE [æ] was either a separate phoneme or one of a group of allophones distinguished in writing [æ, a, ā, ea] (see § 123). All these sounds were reflected in ME as [a], except the nasalised [ã] which became [o] in the West Midlands (and thus merged with a different phoneme [o] or [ɔ]).[3]

<pre>
OE þæt>ME   that [θat]   (NE that)
    earm>   arm [arm]   (NE arm)
    blacu>   blak [blak]   (NE black) [4]
</pre>

See the map on p. 198 and the examples showing the splitting of [ã] in different dialects:

e. g. OE		ME	NE
lond, land	West Midland	lond [lɔnd]	land
	other dialects	land [land]	
lonᴈ, lanᴈ	West Midland	long [lɔŋ]	long
	other dialects	lang [laŋ]	

Most of the modern words going back to the OE prototypes with the vowel [ã] have [a], e.g. NE man, sand, and, which means that they came from any dialect except West Midland; some words, however, especially those ending in [ŋ], should be traced to the West Midlands, e.g. long, song, strong, from, bond (but also sand, rang and band, to be distinguished from bond).

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[1] The short [a] in this word was lengthened in Late OE before the consonant group ld. OE ald is an Anglian (not a Wessex) form, as the latter would contain a diphthong due to Early OE breaking: eald.

[2] ME also made a distinction between a close and open [e:], [ɛ:], going back respectively to OE [e:] and [æ:]. It is believed that OE [æ:] had grown somewhat narrower in ME (e. g. OE strǣt > ME street [ɛ:]) (NE street). ME spelling for [ɛ:] were e, ee, later ea; the close long [e:] was spelt as e, ee, ie.

[3] It is probable that OE [o] in ME became [ɔ] in line with the tendency of short vowels to greater openness. Even in OE it was often spelt o.

[4] The development of OE [æ] to ME [a] is viewed with suspicion by some scholars, because the history of this sound includes several reversals, which is hardly probable: PG [a] > OE [æ] > ME [a] > NE [æ]. Perhaps, it was a graphic replacement and the ME letter a stood for two allophones, [æ] and [a].

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Development of Diphthongs

§ 378. One of the most important sound changes of the Early ME period was the loss of OE diphthongs and the growth of new diphthongs, with new qualitative and quantitative distinctions. OE possessed a well developed system of diphthongs: falling diphthongs with a closer nucleus and more open glide arranged in two symmetrical sets — long and short: [ea:, eo:, ie:] and [ea, eo, ie] (see § 133). Towards the end of the OE period some of the diphthongs merged with monophthongs: all diphthongs were monophthongised before [xt, x't] and after [sk']; the diphthongs [ie:, ie] in Late WS fused with [y:, y] or [i:, i]. Their further development does not differ from the development of corresponding monophthongs.

Development of Old English [ā] in Middle English dialects

§ 379. In Early ME the remaining diphthongs were also contracted to monophthongs: the long [ea:] coalesced with the reflex of OE [æ:] — ME [ɛ:]; the short [ea] ceased to be distinguished from OE [æ] and became [a] in ME; the diphthongs [eo:, eo] — as well as their dialectal variants [io:, io] — fell together with the monophthongs [e:, e, i:, i]. Later they shared in the development of respective monophthongs. The changes of OE diphthongs are shown in Table 2 together with the changes of corresponding monophthongs.

§ 380. As a result of these changes the vowel system lost two sets of diphthongs, long and short. In the meantime a new set of diphthongs developed from some sequences of vowels and consonants due to the vocalisation of OE [j] and [ɣ], that is to their change into vowels.

In Early ME the sounds [j] and [ɣ] between and after vowels changed into [i] and [u] and formed diphthongs together with the preceding vowels, e.g. OE dæʒ>ME day [dai]. These changes gave rise to two sets of diphthongs: with *i*-glides and *u*-glides. The same types of diphthongs appeared also from other sources: the glide -*u* developed from OE [w] as in OE snāw, which became ME snow [snou], and before [x] and [l] as in Late ME smaul (alongside smal) and taughte (NE snow, small, taught). In the two latter cases the consonants were not vocalised and the glide arose between the back consonant and the preceding vowel. See more examples in Table 3. (If the preceding vowels were [i] or [u] the results of the vocalisation were long monophthongs,

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e.g. OE *niȝon*>ME *nyne* [ni:n(ə)], OE *fuȝol*>ME *fowl* [fu:l] (NE *nine, fowl*).

Table 2

Development of Old English Diphthongs in Early Middle English

Change illustrated		Examples		
OE	**ME**	**OE**	**ME**	**NE**
ea:	ɛ:	ēast	eest [ɛ:st]	*east*
		rēad	reed [rɛ:d]	*red*
Cf. æ:	ɛ:	strǣt	street [strɛ:t]	*street*
eo:	e:	dēop	deep [de:p]	*deep*
		cēosan	chesen ['tʃe:zən]	*choose*
Cf. e:	e:	hē	he [he:]	*he*
ie:	i:	līehtan	lighten ['li:x'tən]	*lighten*
	e:	hīeran	heren ['he:rən]	*hear*
Cf. i:	i:	rīsan	risen ['ri:zən]	*rise*
e:	e:	cēpan	kepen ['ke:pən]	*keep*
ea	a	earm	arm [arm]	*arm*
Cf. æ	a	bæc	back [bak]	*back*
eo	e	heorte	herte ['hertə]	*heart*
Cf. e	e	bedd	bed [bed]	*bed*
ie	i	nieht, niht	night [nix't]	*night*
	e	hierde, hyrde	herd [herd]	'shepherd'
Cf. i	i	hit	it [it]	*it*
e	e	(see *bedd* above)		

Table 3

Growth of New Diphthongs in Middle English

Change illustrated		Examples		
OE	**ME**	**OE**	**ME**	**NE**
e+j	ei	weȝ	wey [wei]	*way*
e:+j	ei	ȝrēȝ	grey [grei]	*grey*
æ+j	ai	mæȝ	may [mai]	*may*
a+γ	au	laȝu	lawe ['lauə]	*law*
o+γ	ou	boȝa	bowe ['bouə]	*bow*
a:+w	ou	cnāwan	knowen ['knouən]	*know*
a:+x	au + x	brāhte	braughte ['brauxtə]	*brought*

In addition to the diphthongs which developed from native sources, similar diphthongs — with *i*- and *u*-glides — are found in some ME loan-words, e.g. [ɔi] in ME *boy, joy*, [au] in ME *pause, cause* ['pauzə, 'kauzə]. (The diphthong [au] occurred also in French borrowings before a nasal, in imitation of Anglo-Norman pronunciation, e.g. ME *straunge*.)

§ 381. The formation of new diphthongs in ME was an important event in the history of the language. By that time the OE diphthongs had been contracted into monophthongs; the newly formed ME diphthongs differed from the OE in structure: they had an open nucleus and a closer glide; they were arranged in a system consisting of two sets (with *i*-glides and *u*-glides) but were not contrasted through quantity as long to short.

System of Vowels in Late Middle English

§ 382. To sum up the results of Early ME vowel changes the system of vowels in Late ME is given in Table 4.

Table 4

Middle English Vowels (the Age of Chaucer, Late 14th c.)

Monophthongs						Diphthongs
Short	i	e	a	o	u	ei ai oi au
Long	i: e: ɛ:		a: ɔ:	o:	u:	au ou

As seen from the table, the system of vowels in Late ME was no longer symmetrical. The OE balance of long and short vowels had been disrupted and was never restored again. Correlation through quantity can no more be regarded as the basis of phonemic oppositions in the vowel system. Moreover, the very character of quantitative differences between the vowels is believed to have been considerably altered. Some phoneticians define the new differences between the former long and short vowels as "lax" versus "tense", others interpret their correlations as oppositions of "contact", in which the short vowels are "checked" and the long vowels are "free". (In these new relationships the long vowels constituted the "unmarked member" of the opposition, which favoured the growth of new "free" members — long monophthongs and diphthongs (V. Plotkin).

The Great Vowel Shift

§ 383. Early NE witnessed the greatest event in the history of English vowels — the Great Vowel Shift, — which involved the change of all ME long monophthongs, and probably some of the diphthongs.

The Great Vowel Shift is the name given to a series of changes of long vowels between the 14th and the 18th c. During this period all the long vowels became closer or were diphthongised. The changes can be defined as "independent", as they were not caused by any apparent phonetic conditions in the syllable or in the word, but affected regularly every stressed long vowel in any position.

The changes included in the Great Vowel Shift are shown in Table 5 with some intermediate stages and examples. (It seems reasonable to add to this list the development of the ME diphthong [au] which was narrowed and contracted to [ɔ:] during the same period, though it is not usually included in the Shift.)

Table 5

The Great Vowel Shift

Change illustrated			Examples	
ME	**(Intermediate**	**NE**	**ME**	**NE**
	stage)			
i:	_	aɪ	*time* ['ti:mə]	*time*
			finden ['fi:ndən]	*find*
e:		i:	*kepen* ['ke:pən]	*keep*
			field ['fe:ld]	*field*
ɛ:	e:	i:	*street* [strɛ:t]	*street*
			east [ɛ:st]	*east*
			stelen ['stɛ:lən]	*steal*
a:		eɪ	*maken* ['ma:kən]	*make*
			table ['ta:blə]	*table*
ɔ:	o:	ou	*stone* ['stɔ:n]	*stone*
			open ['ɔ:pən]	*open*
			soo [sɔ:]	*so*
o:		u:	*moon* [mo:n]	*moon*
			goos [go:s]	*goose*
u:		au	*mous* [mu:s]	*mouse*
			founden ['fu:ndən]	*found*
			now [nu:]	*now*
au		ɔ:	*cause* ['kauz(ə)]	*cause*
			drawen ['drauən]	*draw*

As seen from the table all the vowels became closer and some of the vowels occupied the place of the next vowel in the column: thus [e:]>[i:], while the more open [ɛ:] took the place of [e:], and later moved one step further in the same direction and merged with the former [e:] in [i:]. Likewise, the long [o:] was shifted one step, to become [u:], while ME [u:] changed to [au]. Some long vowels — [u:], [i:] and [a:] — broke into diphthongs, the first element being contrasted to the second as a more open sound: [au], [ai] and [ei], respectively.

§ 384. It must be noted that some of the diphthongs which arose

during the Great Vowel Shift could also appear from other sources. The diphthong [ou] was preserved from ME without modification; [ei] could descend from ME [ei] and [ai] which had merged into one diphthong. Those were the diphthongs with *i-* and *-u* glides going back to Early ME vowel and consonant changes (see § 380 for explanation and examples).

§ 385. The following graphic presentation of the Great Vowel Shift shows the consistent character of the changes; it includes also the ME diphthongs [ou, ei, ai] as additional sources of the diphthongs which developed in the Shift.

Note: repetition of the symbols ([e:], [i:] and others) means that the sound which altered in the Shift was not the one that resulted from it: arrows indicate discrete steps and not a continuous process (except in the case of [ɛ: → e: → i:]).

It should be obvious from the chart and the table that the Great Vowel Shift did not add any new sounds to the vowel system; in fact, every vowel which developed under the Shift can be found in Late ME (see the table in § 382). And nevertheless the Great Vowel Shift was the most profound and comprehensive change in the history of English vowels: every long vowel, as well as some diphthongs, were "shifted", and the pronunciation of all the words with these sounds was altered.

§ 386. It is important to note that the Great Vowel Shift (unlike most of the earlier phonetic changes) was not followed by any regular spelling changes: as seen from the examples the modification in the pronunciation of words was not reflected in their written forms. (The few graphic replacements made in the 16th c. failed to reflect the changes: the digraphs *ie, ee,* and the single *e* were kept for the close [e:], while the digraph *ea* was introduced to show the more open [ɛ:] as in *steal;* the further merging of [e:] and [ɛ:] in [i:] made the graphic distinction unnecessary — cf. NE *steal, steel.* A similar distinction between the close [o:], shown as *oo,* and the more open [ɔ:], shown as *oa* since the 16th c. proved to be more useful, as these digraphs indicate different sounds (although the gap between the spelling and the pronunciation is greater than it was: *oo* stands for [u:] while *oa* stands for [ou], cf. NE *room, roam.*)

During the shift even the names of some English letters were

changed, for they contained long vowels. Cf. the names of some English letters before and after the shift:

ME: *A* [aː], *E* [eː], *O* [oː], *I* [iː], *B* [beː], *K* [kaː]
NE: *A* [eɪ], *E* [iː], *O* [ou], *I* [aɪ], *B* [biː], *K* [keɪ].

(By comparing the names of Mod E letters *A*, *O*, *E*, and *I* with the familiar Latin names of the same letters one can easily form an idea of the shift (only three more changes [uː]> [auː], [oː]> [uː] and [au]> [ɔː] have to be added). It is also easy to deduce the changes from comparing the written and spoken forms of many modern words, e.g. *time* ['tiːmə] becomes [taɪm], *make* ['maːkə] becomes [meɪk].)

Some Interpretations of the Great Vowel Shift

§ 387. The Great Vowel Shift has attracted the attention of many linguists (K. Luick, O. Jespersen, F. Mossé, A. Martinet, B. Trnka, V. Plotkin and others).
There are certainly many remarkable aspects in the shift. As we have seen it left no long vowel unaltered. All the vowels were changed in a single direction. The changes formed a sort of series or chain, as many vowels took the place of the adjoining closer vowels. The distances between the vowels were on the whole carefully preserved, the only exception being the merging of [ɛː] and [eː] into [iː] in the 18th c.
The changes have been interpreted as starting at one end of each set of vowels — front and back, — the initial change stimulating the movement of the other sounds. If the changes started at the more open vowels, [aː] and [ɔː], every step "pushed" the adjoining vowel away to avoid coincidence, so that finally the closest vowels, which could not possibly become narrower were "pushed" out of the set of monophthongs into diphthongs: [iː] > [aɪ] and [uː] > [au]. This interpretation of the shift is known as the "push-chain" (K. Luick).
The opposite view is held by the exponents of the theory of "drag-chain" (O. Jespersen); according to this theory the changes started at the two closest vowels, [iː] and [uː]; these close vowels became diphthongs, "dragging" after themselves their neighbours, [eː] and [oː], which occupied the vacant positions; every vowel made one step in this direction, except [ɛː] which made two: [ɛː] became [eː] and then [iː].
§ 388. It springs to the eye that all these changes went on in conformity with the general tendency of long vowels to become closer and to diphthongise, which was determined by their physical properties: the relatively high pitch and tension. This tendency, as well as the necessity of filling all empty boxes in the vowel system, may account for the general direction of the shift and for the uninterrupted chain of changes. However, it fails to explain why at that particular period of history — Early NE — the changes became particularly intensive, and what was the initial impetus that started the process.
In some recently advanced theories the beginning of the Great Vowel Shift is tied up with some properties of the ME phonological system. As was shown in the preceding paragraphs the Early ME redistribution of vowel quantity according to position restricted the use of vowel quantity as a phonological distinctive feature, differentiating between morphemes and words. It has been suggested that the Great Vowel Shift was an aftereffect of these restrictions: it introduced new qualitative differences between vowels formerly distinguished through length alone. Thus the short [ɔ] and the long [ɔː], which, prior to the shift, differed mainly in quantity, began to be contrasted primarily through quality, as [ɔ] and [ou]. Similarly the difference between [a] and [aː] was emphasised when [aː] was narrowed and was followed by a diphthongal glide.
Cf. ME *fat* [a] and *fate* [aː] which became [fæt] and [feit]
rod [ɔ] and *rood* [ɔ] which became [rod] and [roud].
The new qualitative differences between the vowel phonemes in a way made up for the loss of differences in quantity which had been largely de-phonologised.
Proceeding from these general considerations some authors point out the more immediate causes of the shift within or outside the phonological system. It has been

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suggested (A. Martinet, B. Trnka) that the Great Vowel Shift began as early as the 12th or 13th c., when two short vowels [i] and [u] became more open and began to be contrasted to the long [e:] and [o:], thus leaving their former counterparts [i:] and [u:] isolated in the system of phonemes. The isolation of [i:] and [u:] in the otherwise balanced system of correlated pairs may have stimulated their modification into diphthongs, — which was the initial impetus that started the shift. (The drawback of this theory is the assumption that every system of phonemes in the language must be absolutely symmetrical.)

§ 389. Another theory attributes the intensification of changes in Late ME not only to phonological but also to morphological factors (V. Plotkin). The shift may have been stimulated by the loss of the final [ə] in the 15th c., which transformed disyllabic words into monosyllables. The difference between such monosyllabic words as ME fat [fat] and fate ['fa:tə, 'fa:t] or ME bit and bite [bit, 'bi:tə, bi:t] was not sufficient. The Great Vowel Shift emphasised this difference by changing the quality of the long vowels and by adding new distinctive features in order to maintain the essential contrasts.

§ 390. It must be concluded that the problem of the Great Vowel Shift remains unresolved. If we take into account not only the development of vowels in Standard English, but also the vowel changes ·in the local British dialects, it will appear that the consistency of the changes has been somewhat exaggerated. In many dialects some vowels were not subjected to the Great Vowel Shift or were modified differently. Since the system of Standard English has absorbed various dialectal features at all levels, we may surmise that the Great Vowel Shift, which chronologically coincides with the formation of the nation-wide Standard, was to a certain extent merely a final choice from dialectal variants in pronunciation accepted in literary English and recognised as correct by grammarians and phoneticians. This choice was conditioned not only by intralinguistic systemic factors but also by the linguistic situation, especially the relationship between the coexisting varieties of the language, which they represented.

Changes of Short Vowels in Early New English

§ 391. As compared to the Great Vowel Shift other vowel changes of the NE period seem few and insignificant. Yet, like all the sound changes of that time, they account for the modern system of vowels and clarify certain points in modern spelling.

The short vowels in Early NE were on the whole more stable than the long vowels: only two short vowels out of five underwent certain alterations: [a] and [u].

§ 392. ME [a] is reflected as [æ] in NE, e.g. ME that [θat]>NE that; ME man [man]>NE man. It has been suggested, however, that in ME the sound [æ] existed as well; it was an allophone, or variant of [a]; both allophones [a] and [æ] were indicated by the letter a·in ME. In that case the development of ME [a] in Early NE was merely a replacement of one dominant allophone by another, and the difference between ME man and NE man was very slight (see Note 2 to § 377).

The more obvious change of the ME [a] came about when it was preceded by the semivowel [w]; probably under the influence of this labialised sound the vowel developed an allophone which finally merged with the phoneme [ɔ]:

OE wæs>ME was [was]>NE was
OE wæter>ME water ['water]>NE water

§ 393. The other change in the set of short vowels was a case of delabialisation: ME short [u] lost its labial character and became [ʌ], except in some dialectal forms or when preceded by some labials, e.g.

ME *hut* [hut]>NE *hut*, ME *comen* ['kumən]>NE *come*, but ME *putten* ['putən]>NE *put*; ME *pullen* ['pulən]>NE *pull*.

This development may have been tied up with the loss of ME [a] described above, as the new [ʌ] in a way filled the position of ME [a], which had shifted to [æ]. The variant spellings of the vowel [ʌ], as in NE *son* and *sun* were explained in § 359.

Growth of Long Monophthongs and Diphthongs in Early New English due to Vocalisation of Consonants

§ 394. The history of English vowels would be incomplete if we did not mention the development of new long monophthongs and diphthongs, resulting from the vocalisation of some consonants, though these changes pertain to the history of consonants no less than to that of vowels. We may recall that vocalisation of some fricative consonants led to the appearance of long monophthongs and of new diphthongs — with *i*- and *u*-glides during the Early ME period (see § 380). Similar processes continued in later ages.

§ 395. Two voiceless fricatives, [x] and [x'], were vocalised towards the end of the ME period. The glide [u] had probably developed before the velar consonant [x] even before its vocalisation; it is regularly shown in ME spellings, e.g. ME *taughte, braughte* ['tauxtə], ['brauxtə]. Later [au] was contracted to [ɔ:] in accordance with regular vowel changes (see § 383), and [x] was lost, which transformed the words into NE *taught, brought.*

The palatal fricative [x'] changed to [j] some time during the 15th c.; it changed into the vowel [i] and together with the preceding [i] yielded a long monophthong [i:], which participated in the Great Vowel Shift. Thus, words like *night*, since the age of Chaucer have passed through the following stages: [nix't]>[nijt]>[ni:t]>[naɪt].

§ 396. The most important instance of vocalisation is the development of [r], which accounts for the appearance of many new long monophthongs and diphthongs.

The sonorant [r] began to produce a certain influence upon the preceding vowels in Late ME, long before it showed any signs of vocalisation. [r] made the preceding vowel more open and retracted: the cluster [er] changed to [ar], e.g. OE *deorc* became Early ME *derk* [derk] due to the contraction of the OE diphthong [eo] to [e], and changed to *dark* [dark] in Late ME (NE *dark*); likewise OE *clerec*, which after the loss of the unstressed vowel became ME *clerk* [klerk], changed to [klark] (NE *clerk*); OE *heorte* developed into ME *herte* ['hertə], and Late ME [hart] (NE *heart*). The three examples are also interesting in that they show different reflections of one and the same change in the written form of the word: in *dark* the change of [er] to [ar] was shown in the spelling; in *clerk* the spelling points to the preceding stage, when the sequence sounded as [er]; the spelling of *heart* seems to bear traces of both stages or perhaps shows another attempt to record the transition of [e] into [a] with the help of the digraph *ea*. Although the change of [er] to [ar] was fairly common, it did not affect all the words with the given sounds: cf. ME *serven* ['servən], *person* ['persən].

§ 397. The vocalisation of [r] took place in the 16th or 17th c. In ME [r] was a rolled or trilled sound more like the Russian [r] than its Mod E descendant. The modification of [r] in the early 17th c. was noticed and commented upon by the contemporaries: Ben Jonson remarked that [r] began to sound "firm in the beginning of words and more liquid in the middle and ends". The new variants of pronunciation gradually displaced the older ones.

In Early NE [r] was vocalised when it stood after vowels, either finally or followed by another consonant. Losing its consonantal character [r] changed into the neutral sound [ə], which was added to the preceding vowel as a glide thus forming a diphthong; e.g. ME *there* ['θɛːre]> NE *there*. Sometimes the only trace left by the loss of [r] was the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. ME *arm* [arm]>NE *arm*, ME *for* [fɔr]> [fɔə]> [fɔː] (NE *for*). If [r] stood in the final unstressed syllable after [ə], the vocalisation of [r] to [ə] resulted in the survival of the ending, e.g. ME *rider(e)* ['riːdərə]> ['riːdər]>NE *rider*. If the neutral [ə] produced by the vocalisation of [r] was preceded by a diphthong, it was added to the diphthong to form a sequence of sounds named "triphthong", e.g. ME *shour* [ʃuːr], NE *shower* ['ʃauə]. ([r] was not vocalised when doubled after consonants and initially, NE *errand, dry, read*.)

Table 6

Vocalisation of r and Associated Vowel Changes

Change illustrated		Examples	
ME	NE	ME	NE
After short vowels			
o + r	ɔː	*for* [fɔr]	*for*
		thorn [θɔrn]	*thorn*
a + r	aː	*bar* [bar]	*bar*
		dark [dark]	*dark*
i + r ⎫		*first* [first]	*first*
e + r ⎬ ə:		*serven* ['servən]	*serve*
u + r ⎭		*fur* [fur]	*fur*
ə + r	ə	*brother* ['brɔðər]	*brother*
After long vowels			
iː + r	aɪə	*shire* ['ʃiːrə]	*shire*
eː + r	ɪə	*beer* [beːr]	*beer*
ɛː + r	ɪə	*ere* ['ɛːr(ə)]	*ear*
ɛː + r	ɛə	*there* ['θɛːr(ə)]	*there*
		beren ['berən]	*bear*
aː + r	ɛə	*hare* ['haːrə]	*hare*
ɔː + r	ɔə/ɔː	*floor* [flɔːr]	*floor*
oː + r	uə	*moor* [mɔːr]	*moor*
uː + r	auə	*flour* [fluːr]	*flower*

The formation of monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs in the course of the vocalisation of [r] was a very complicated process, for [r] could occur practically after any vowel, and in the meantime the vowels underwent different alterations. The influence of [r] could sometimes slow down or prevent the changes of long vowels under the Great Vowel Shift, for [r] tended to make the vowel more open, while the shift made it closer; sometimes the vowel changed into the nucleus of a diphthong with the ə-glide from [r] at an intermediate stage of the shift. Various results of the changes are exemplified in Table 6.

§ 398. It is apparent that the vocalisation of [r] had a profound effect on the vowel system: there developed a new set of diphthongs, and also triphthongs, with ə-glides: [ɪə, ɛə, uə, etc.]; there arose a new central long monophthong [ə:]; the new long [a:] filled a vacant position in the system, since ME [a:] had been diphthongised under the Great Vowel Shift, and the new [ɔ:] merged with [ɔ:] resulting from the contraction of ME [au] (e.g. *drauen* ['drauən]>NE *draw*).

§ 399. In addition to the main sources of long monophthongs and diphthongs in Early NE, such as the Great Vowel Shift and the vocalisation of the sonorant [r], there were a few other instances of the growth of long vowels from short ones in some phonetic conditions. These lengthenings resemble Early ME quantitative vowel changes before consonant groups; only this time the consonant sequences which brought about the lengthening were different: [ss], [lt] and [nt]; the sequences mainly affected the vowel [a], e.g. ME *plant* [plant]>NE *plant*, ME *after* ['aftər]>NE *after*, ME *mass* [mass]>NE *mass*.

§ 400. The reverse quantitative change — shortening of vowels — occurred in Early NE before single dental and velar consonants [θ, d, t, k]. The long vowels subjected to this shortening — [e:] and [u:] — were changing, or had already changed under the Great Vowel Shift, e.g. ME *brᴇᴇth* with an open [ɛ:] became [bre:θ] and was shortened to NE *breath* [breθ]; likewise, ME *deed* [dɛ:d]>[de:d]>[ded], NE *dead*. The digraph *ea* was introduced to show the open quality of the long [ɛ:] prior to the changes (see § 386).

The long [u:], which became short before [k], and sometimes also before [t], was a product of the shift; this is evidenced by the spelling of such words as *book, foot*, where long ME [o:] was shown with the help of double *o*; in these words [o:] became [u:] and was shortened to [u].

Principal Changes of Vowels in Middle English and Early New English (Tables)

§ 401. The main qualitative and quantitative changes of vowels between the 11th and 18th c. are summarised in Tables 7 and 8. (The

tables do not show the changes of vowels caused by the vocalisation of consonants, that is the growth of new diphthongs and long monophthongs due to the loss of [j, x, x'] and [r]; for these changes see relevant paragraphs.)

Principal Quantitative Vowel Changes

	Early ME	Early NE
Lengthening	before *ld, nd, mb* in open syllables	before *ss, st, nt, ft*
Shortening	before other consonant clusters	before [θ, d, t, k]

Principal Qualitative Vowel Changes[1]

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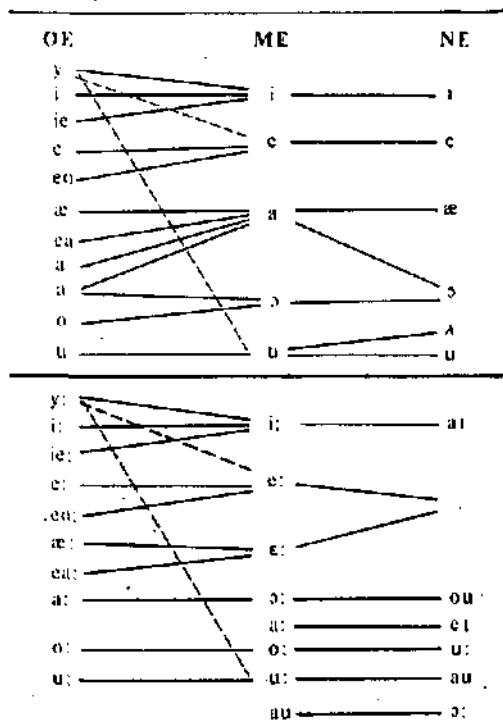
[1] OE diphthongs are placed close to monophthongs so as to show their further development. The columns of ME and NE vowels do not contain complete lists; they include only those vowels which took part in the qualitative changes in the intervening period.

§ 402. English consonants were on the whole far more stable than vowels. A large number of consonants have probably remained unchanged through all historical periods. Thus we can assume that the sonorants [m, n, l], the plosives [p, b, t, d] and also [k, g] in most positions have not been subjected to any noticeable changes. They are found in many words descending from OE though their correlations in the system of phonemes have altered to a varying degree.

The most important developments in the history of English consonants were the growth of new sets of sounds, — affricates and sibilants, — and the new phonological treatment of fricatives. Both changes added a number of consonant phonemes to the system. On the other hand, some consonants were lost or vocalised, which affected both the consonant and the vowel system. Like vowel changes, consonant changes can be shown as occurring in the transition period from Written OE to Late ME that is in Early ME, and in the transition from ME to the language of the 18th c., that is in the Early NE period.

Growth of Sibilants and Affricates

§ 403. In OE there were no affricates and no sibilants, except [s, z]. The earliest distinct sets of these sounds appeared towards the end of OE or during the Early ME period. The new type of consonants developed from OE palatal plosives [k', g'] (which had split from the corresponding velar plosives [k] and [g] in Early OE (see § 141), and also from the consonant cluster [sk']. The three new phonemes which arose from these sources were [tʃ], [dʒ] and [ʃ]. In Early ME they began to be indicated by special letters and digraphs, which came into use mainly under the influence of the French scribal tradition — ch, tch, g, dg, sh, ssh, sch (see § 357, 358).

The sound changes and examples are shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Development of Sibilants and Affricates in Early Middle English

Change illustrated		Examples		
OE	ME	OE	ME	NE
k'	tʃ	cild	child [tʃiːld]	*child*
		tæcan	techen ['tɛtʃən]	*teach*
g'	dʒ	ecʒe	edge ['edʒə]	*edge*
		brycʒe	bridge ['bridʒə]	*bridge*
sk'	ʃ	fisc	fish [fiʃ]	*fish*
		scēap	sheep [ʃɛːp]	*sheep*

It must be added that the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] could also come from a different source: they entered the English language in loan-words from French, e.g. ME *charme* ['tʃarmə], *gentil* [dʒen'til] from O Fr *charme, gentil* ([tʃ] and [dʒ] in the Anglo-Norman pronunciation).

As a result of these changes — and also as a result of the vocalisa-tion of [ɣ] (§ 380) — the consonant system in Late ME was in some respects different from the OE system. The opposition of velar conso-nants to palatal — [k, k'; ɣ, j] — had disappeared; instead, plosive consonants were contrasted to the new affricates and in the set of affri-cates [tʃ] was opposed to [dʒ] through sonority.

§ 404. Another development accounting for the appearance of sib-ilants and affricates in the English language is dated in Early NE and is connected with the phonetic assimilation of lexical borrowings.

In the numerous loan-words of Romance origin adopted in ME and Early NE the stress fell on the ultimate or penultimate syllable, e.g. ME *na'cioun, plea'saunce* (NE *nation, pleasance*). In accordance with the phonetic tendencies the stress was moved closer to the beginning of the word (see § 363). The final syllables which thus became unstressed, or weakly stressed, underwent phonetic alterations: the vowels were reduced and sometimes dropped; the sounds making up the syllable became less distinct. As a result some sequences of consonants fused into single consonants.

In Early NE the clusters [sj, zj, tj, dj] — through reciprocal as-similation in unstressed position — regularly changed into [ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ]. Three of these sounds, [ʃ, tʃ, dʒ], merged with the phonemes already existing in the language, while the fourth, [ʒ], made a new phoneme. Now the four sounds formed a well-balanced system of two correlated pairs: [ʃ, ʒ], [tʃ, dʒ]; see Table 10 for examples.

Table 10

Development of Sibilants and Affricates in Early New English

Change illustrated		Examples	
Late ME	NE	Late ME	NE
sj	ʃ	*condicioun* [kondi'sjuːn]	*condition*
		commissioun [komi'sjuːn]	*commission*
zj	ʒ	*plesure* [ple'zjuːr(ə)]	*pleasure*
		visioun [vi'zjuːn]	*vision*
tj	tʃ	*nature* [na'tjuːr(ə)]	*nature*
		culture [kul'tjuːr(ə)]	*culture*
dj	dʒ	*souldier* [soul'djer]	*soldier*
		procedure [prose'djuːrə]	*procedure*

Compare these words to NE *suit*, *mature*, *duty*, where the same consonant clusters were preserved in stressed syllables. (In some Mod E words, however, we still find the sequences! with [j] in unstressed position as well, usually they are secondary variants in Br E, or American variants of pronunciation, e.g. Br E *issue* ['iʃju:] despite the change of [s] to [ʃ] has preserved [j]; in the American variant ['isju:] no assimilative changes have taken place. Among variants of British pronunciation there are such pairs as NE *associate* [ə'ʃouʃieit] and [ə'sousieit], NE *verdure* ['və:dʒə] and ['və:djə]; they may be due to Early NE dialectal differences or else to the fact that the assimilation has not been completed and is still going on in Mod E.)[1]

Treatment of Fricative Consonants in Middle English and Early New English

§ 405. In order to understand the nature of the changes which affected the fricative consonants in ME and in Early NE we must recall some facts from their earlier history. In OE the pairs of fricative consonants — [f] and [v], [θ] and [ð], [s] and [z] — were treated as positional variants or allophones; sonority depended on phonetic conditions: in intervocal position they appeared as voiced, otherwise — as voiceless. In ME and in Early NE these allophones became independent phonemes.

Phonologisation of voiced and voiceless fricatives was a slow process which lasted several hundred years. The first pair of consonants to become phonemes were [f] and [v]. In Late ME texts they occurred in identical phonetic environment and could be used for differentiation between words, which means that they had turned into phonemes. Cf., e.g. ME *veyne* and *feine* ['veinə, 'feinə] (NE *vein*, *feign*). The two other pairs, [θ, ð] and [s, z], so far functioned as allophones.

§ 406. A new, decisive alteration took place in the 16th c. The fricatives were once again subjected to voicing under certain phonetic conditions. Henceforth they were pronounced as voiced if they were preceded by an unstressed vowel and followed by a stressed one, e.g. Early NE *possess* [po'zes] — the first voiceless [s], which stood between an unstressed and a stressed vowel, had become voiced, while the second [s], which was preceded by an accented vowel, remained voiceless (ME *possessen* [po'sesən]>NE *possess*). In the same way ME *fishes*, *doores*, *takes* ['fiʃəs, 'do:rəs, 'ta:kəs] acquired a voiced [z] in the ending. The last three examples show that one phonetic condition — an unaccented preceding vowel — was sufficient to transform a voiceless sibilant into a voiced one; the second condition — a succeeding stressed vowel — was less important: [s] is the last sound of the word. Probably the effect of stress extended beyond the boundaries of the word: the endings took no accent but could be followed by other words beginning with an accented syllable. This supposition is confirmed by the voicing of consonants in many form-words: articles, pronouns, auxiliaries,

[1] See *V. A. Vassilyev*, ENGLISH PHONETICS, L., 1962, p. 98.

prepositions; they receive no stress in speech but may be surrounded by notional words which are logically accented. For instance, in the following quotation from a Late ME text (Capgrave's CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, c. 1463), there are several unstressed form-words with voiceless fricatives and sibilants *"In this yere, in the XXI day of Aprile, was that frere bore whech mad these Annotaciones"* ('in this year, on the twenty-first day of April, was born the friar who made these notes') — [θis, θe:, of, was, θat, θe:zə] and the ending [əs] in *annotaciones*. In Early NE the consonants in all these unstressed words became voiced, even initially [θis]>[ðis], [θe:]>[ði:], etc. (the initial fricative in notional, stressed, words remained voiceless, cf. ME *thin, thorn* [θin, θorn], NE *thin, thorn*).[1]

Sometimes a similar voicing occurred in consonant clusters containing sibilants, fricatives and affricates (see Table 11).

Table 11

Voicing of Consonants in Early New English

Change illustrated		Examples	
ME	NE	ME	NE
s	z	*resemblen* [rə'semblən]	*resemble*
		foxes ['foksəs]	*foxes*
		was [was]	*was*
		is [is]	*is*
		his [his]	*his*
f	v	*pensif* [pen'sif]	*pensive*
		of [ɔf]	*of*[1]
θ	ð	*there* ['θɛ:rə]	*there*
		they [θei]	*they*
		with [wiθ]	*with*
ks	gz	*anxietie* [aŋksie'tiə]	*anxiety*
		luxurious [luksju:r'iu:s]	*luxurious*[2]
tʃ	dʒ	*knowleche* ['knoulətʃ]	*knowledge*
		Greenwich ['gre:nwitʃ]	*Greenwich* ['gri:nɪdʒ]

[1] Cf. the adverb *off* with [f], which is normally stressed.
[2] Cf. *anxious* and *luxury* with [kʃ] which have a different distribution of stresses.

[1] The phonetic conditions of the Early NE voicing of fricatives and sibilants resemble those of Verner's Law in PG; that is why O. Jespersen called this voicing "Verner's Law in Early New English" (see § 57 for Verner's Law).

§ 407. On the whole the Early NE voicing of fricatives was rather inconsistent and irregular. Though it was a positional change occurring in certain phonetic conditions, these conditions were often contradictory. The voicing had many exceptions; for instance, in *assemble*, *assess* we find a medial voiceless [s] in precisely the same environment as the voiced [z] of *resemble* and *possess*. Therefore after these changes voiced and voiceless fricatives could appear in similar phonetic conditions and could be used for phonological purposes to distinguish between morphemes; in other words, they had turned into phonemes, cf., e.g. NE *thy* [ðaɪ] and *thigh* [θaɪ], *ice* [aɪs] and *eyes* [aɪz].

Loss of Consonants

§ 408. As shown in the preceding paragraphs, the system of consonants underwent important changes in ME and Early NE. It acquired new phonemes and new phonemic distinctions, namely a distinction between plosives, sibilants and affricates, a phonemic distinction through sonority in the sets of fricatives, sibilants and affricates. On the other hand, some changes led to the reduction of the consonant system and also to certain restrictions in the use of consonants.

As was mentioned in the description of vowel changes, particularly the growth of new diphthongs and long monophthongs, a number of consonants disappeared: they were vocalised and gave rise to diphthongal glides or made the preceding short vowels long. The vocalisation of [γ] in Early ME and of [x] in Late ME eliminated the back lingual fricative consonants.

With the disappearance of [x'] the system lost one more opposition — through palatalisation, as "hard" to "soft". (The soft [k'] and [g'] turned into affricates some time earlier, see § 403).

§ 409. Another important event was the loss of quantitative distinctions in the consonant system.

It should be recalled that in OE long consonants were opposed to short at the phonological level. This is confirmed by their occurrence in identical conditions, their phonological application and the consistent writing of double letters, especially in intervocal position (see § 147). In Late ME long consonants were shortened and the phonemic opposition through quantity was lost.

The loss of long consonant phonemes has been attributed to a variety of reasons. Long consonants disappeared firstly because their functional load was very low (the opposition was neutralised everywhere except intervocally), and secondly, because length was becoming a prosodic feature, that is a property of the syllable rather than of the sound. In ME the length of the syllable was regulated by the lengthening and shortening of vowels; therefore the quantitative differences of the consonants became irrelevant.

§ 410. In addition to all these changes, which directly affected the system of phonemes, some consonants underwent positional changes which restricted their use in the language. The consonants [j] and [r] were vocalised under certain phonetic conditions — finally and before

consonants — during the ME and Early NE periods, though they continued to be used in other environments, e. g. initially: ME *rechen*, NE *reach*; ME *yeer*, NE *year*. Some consonants were lost in consonant clusters, which became simpler and easier to pronounce, e.g. the initial [x] survived in ME as an aspirate [h], when followed by a vowel, but was lost when followed by a sonorant; cf. OE *hē, hund*> ME *he* [he:], *hound* [hu:nd] (NE *he, hound*) and OE *hlǣne* which became ME *leene* ['le:nə] (NE *lean*); OE *hlystan* and ME *listen* ['listən] (with further simplification of the medial cluster in NE *listen*, as [t] was dropped between [s] and [n]).

In Early NE the aspirate [h] was lost initially before vowels — though not in all the words, e.g. ME *honour* [ho'nu:r]> NE *honour*, ME *hit* or *it*>NE *it*, but ME *hope* ['hɔ:pə]>NE *hope*.

In Early NE the initial consonant sequences [kn] and [gn] were simplified to [n], as in ME *knowen* ['knowən], *gnat* [gnat], NE *know, gnat*. Simplification of final clusters produced words like NE *dumb, climb*, in which [mb] lost the final [b].

Historical Foundations of Modern English Spelling

§ 411. The alphabetic way of writing (unlike hieroglyphic, pictographic and syllabic writing) was originally based on a phonetic principle: it was designed to give an accurate graphic representation of pronunciation by using letters to indicate sounds. Mod E spelling displays many deviations from this principle. The differences between the pronunciation and the spelling of words are obvious, especially to those who are familiar with the employment of Latin letters in other languages. The reasons for these discrepancies and for the peculiarities of English spelling are to be found in the history of English sounds.

§ 412. OE spelling was phonetic: OE notaries employed Latin characters in accord with the Latin written convention, to put down English words as best they could. They attempted to use a separate letter for each distinct sound; the sound values of the letters were for the most part the same as in Latin. Their spellings, however, were not absolutely consistent, for some letters — as far as we can judge today — indicated two or more sounds: the letter ᵹ stood for four different phonemes, c — for two; f, ð, þ and s indicated two allophones each (which developed into phonemes later). On the whole, OE spellings were fairly good transcriptions of words, made with the help of Latin characters.

§ 413. ME spelling innovations incorporated many sound changes which had taken place since the 9th—10th c., and yet spelling had generally become more ambiguous and conventional. In many instances the one-to-one correspondence of letter and sound had been lost. More letters than before had two sound values: *o* stood for [ɔ], [u], long [ɔ:] and [o:]; *c* — for [s] and [k]; *g* — for [g] and [dʒ], etc.; *u* could even indicate three sounds — the vowels [u] and [y] and the consonant [v]. One and the same sound was commonly shown by different means: [dʒ] could be indicated by *g, j* or *dg*, [k] — by *k, c* and *q*, etc. (see § 360). The digraphs introduced in ME look familiar to the modern

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reader, since many of them are still in use, but their application in ME was rather contradictory: so that they did not make spelling either more precise or more phonetic. For instance, both *ou* and *ow* were used for [u:] and [ou]; double *o* stood for the open and close long [ɔ:] and [o:] alongside *o*; long [e:] and [ɛ:] were shown indiscriminately by *ie*, double *e* and the single letter *e*. The use of digraphs was a digression from the phonetic principle, for it was based on conventional association between sounds and their graphic representation (e.g. *th* or *dg* did not indicate sequences of sounds, but were used as symbols of single sounds, [θ, ð] and [dʒ]). The conventional principle of spelling was later reinforced by the fixation of the written form of the word in printing and by extensive sound changes.

§ 414. The introduction of printing and the spread of printed books perpetuated the written forms of the words reproduced from the manuscripts. They reflected the pronunciation of the age and the accepted devices of spelling; numerous variant spellings characteristic of the manuscripts were employed unrestrictedly in the printed books of the late 15th and the 16th c.

The phoneticians and spelling reformers of the 16th c. strove to restrict the freedom of variation and to improve English orthography by a more consistent use of letters and digraphs, and by the introduction of new symbols.

They insisted upon a strict distinction between *u* and *v* when used to indicate a vowel and a consonant: [u] and [v], e.g. Early NE *loue*, *selues*, *vnripe*, *vnshaken* later spelt as *love*; *selves*, *unripe*, *unshaken*; upon the regular use of the final mute *e* to show the length of the vowel in the preceding syllable, e.g., *rode*, *rose*, and even *beene*, *moone* (though in the two latter words length was shown by double letters). They introduced new digraphs to show the difference between some open and close vowels, namely the digraph *ea* for [ɛ:] as distinguished from *e*, *ee*, and *ie* used for the closed [e:], and the digraph *oa* alongside *o* in open syllables for [ɔ:], as contrasted to *oo* showing a long closed [o:]. Cf. ME *eech*, *seke* with [ɛ:] and [e:] and Early NE *each*, *seek*; ME *hooly*, *boot* [ɔ:, o] and Early NE *holy*, *boat*, *boot*. The use of double consonants became less frequent, except in traditional spellings like *kiss*, *sell*, but double letters were sometimes employed to show that the preceding vowel was short: Early NE *sitten*, *shott*, *dipped* (later *sit*, *shot*, *dipped*).

However, most of the recommendations made by Early NE scholars were never accepted; for instance, it was proposed that [θ] and [ð] should be indicated by an overturned letter *t — ʇ*, or that the number of letters should be increased to thirty-four (Th. Smith, 1568) or else that all long sounds in all the words should be consistently shown by double letters (J. Hart, 1569).

§ 415. The activities of the scholars in the period of normalisation — late 17th and the 18th c. — had a stabilising effect on the development of English spelling. The dictionaries and grammars fixed the written forms of the words as obligatory standards; numerous variant spellings of the Early NE period went out of use. Apart from the standardisation of spelling — which was certainly a great achievement of that age —

only a few innovations were made: a few new digraphs were adopted with borrowed words, such as *ph, ps* — NE *photograph, psychology*, *ch* — NE *chemistry, scheme* and *machine, g* — *genre*.

In the 16th c. the sound changes slowed down. Standard pronunciation (later known as RP — Received Pronunciation) and standard spelling were firmly established, and the gap between the spoken and written form of the word was perpetuated. The conventional use of letters had prevailed over their original, "phonetic" use.

§ 416. Spelling always lagged behind the changing pronunciation, but this discrepancy grew in the NE period. In Early NE vowels and consonants were subjected to extensive changes, while spelling changes were few and inadequate. Mod E spelling shows the pronunciation of words in the late 14th and in the 15th c., that is before the Early NE sound changes. That is why modern spelling is largely conventional and conservative, but seldom phonetic.

Those are the main historical reasons for the gap between Mod E spelling and pronunciation and for the specifically English use of Latin letters. In order to explain modern spellings one must trace the history of the sounds and their graphic representation, especially in ME and Early NE. The following table contains a list of modern sounds and their most common spelling; it supplies information about the origin and history of sounds, which account for the spellings (it does not include the most obvious phonetic spellings of the type *not, it, bed,* — which do not require any special historical explanation).

Table 12

§ 417. Main Historical Sources of Modern Spellings

Sound	Spelling	Examples	Sound changes accounting for the spelling	Notes and references
Vowels *Monoph-thongs* S h o r t			**ME NE**	
æ	*a*	*cat, man*	a > æ	§ 392
ɔ	*a* after *w*	*was, want*	wa > wɔ	§ 392
e	*ea* before *d, th*	*head, death*	ɛ: > e: > e	§ 383, 400
u	*oo* before *t, k*	*foot, book*	o: > u: > u	§ 383, 400
ʌ	*o, u*	*come, nut*	u > ʌ	In ME both *u* and *o* could stand for [u]. § 359, 393
	oo before *d*	*flood*	o: > u: > u > ʌ	§ 383, 393, 400
ə	*-er, -re, -or*	*reader, centre, tutor*	r $\left.\begin{matrix}\\ \\\end{matrix}\right\} > ə$ ər	§ 397

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Table 12 (continued)

Sound	Spelling	Examples	Sound changes accounting for the spelling	Notes and references
Long				
i:	*ee, ie, e, ea*	*meet, field, he, meat*	e: > i: ɛ: > i:	§ 383 § 383
a:	*ar*	*arm*	ar > a:	§ 397
	a before *st, nt, ft*	*blast, plant, after*	a > a:	§ 399
ɔ:	*or, oar, ar* after *w*	*for, board, warm*	or > ɔ: war > wɔ:	§ 397 § 392, 397
	au, aw	*cause, draw*	au > ɔ:	§ 359, 383
ə:	*er, ir, ur*	*her, bird, turn*	ir ur } > ə: er	§ 397
u:	*oo*	*moon*	o: > u:	§ 383
Diphthongs				
eɪ	*ai, ei, ay*	*rain, rein, day*	ai ei } > eɪ	§ 359, 380
	a in open syllables	*make, late*	a: > eɪ	§ 372, 383
aɪ	*i, y* in open syllables	*time, my*	i: > aɪ	§ 359, 383
	i before *ld, nd, mb*	*mild, kind, climb*	i: > aɪ	§ 371, 383
	i before *gh, ght*	*sigh, night*	ix' > i: > aɪ	§ 383, 395
au	*ou, ow*	*sound, now*	u: > au	§ 359, 383
ou	*o* in open syllables, *oa*	*rode, no, oak*	ɔ: > ou	§ 383, 386 § 359, 380
	ou, ow, o before *ld*	*soul, row, old*	ou — ou ɔ: > ou	from OE [a/ea] Early ME [a:] § 371, 383
ɪə	*ere, eer, ear*	*here, beer, ear*	e:r > ɪə ɛ:r > ɪə	§ 383, 397 Diphthongs and
ɛə	*ear, ere, are*	*bear, there, hare*	ɛ:r > ɛə a:r > ɛə	triphthongs with ə-glides
ɔə, ɔ:	*ore*	*more*	ɔ:r > ɔə	arose due to vo-
uə	*oor*	*poor*	o:r > uə	calisation of [r]
Triphthongs				after long vow-
aɪə	*ire*	*shire*	i:r > aɪə	els at different stages of the
auə	*our, ower*	*our, power*	u:r > auə	Great Vowel Shift.

Table 12 (continued)

Sound	Spelling	Examples	Sound changes, accounting for the spelling	Notes and references
Consonants				
ð	*th* between vowels	*bathe*	ð — ð	§ 139, 358
	th initially in form-words	*the*	θ > ð	§ 358, 406
z	*s* between vowels	*choose, easy*	z — z	§ 138
	s finally (unless preceded by voiceless consonants)	*is, days*	s > z	§ 406 (cf. *stops*)
ʃ	*sh*	*ship, flesh*	ʃ — ʃ	from OE [sk'], § 358, 402
	ssi, ti	*passion, action*	sj — ʃ	§ 404
tʃ	*ch, tch*	*chin, watch*	tʃ — tʃ	§ 357
	ture	*nature*	tj > tʃ	§ 404
ʒ	*g*	*bourgeois*	ʒ — ʒ	§ 415
	si, se	*pleasure*	zj > ʒ	§ 404
dʒ	*g*	*gender*	dʒ — dʒ	§ 357 (cf. *go* [g])
s	*c*	*certain*	s — s	§ 357 (cf. *cup* [k])

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Prove, by instances of phonetic changes, that ME was divided into a number of dialects.

2. Point out some changes preceding the Great Vowel Shift which display the same directions of evolution.

3. Cf. the system of vowels in OE with that in Late ME and say in which respects it has become less symmetrical.

4. How could the vowels in OE *talu, findan, hopa, prote, stolen* ultimately develop into diphthongs, though originally they were short monophthongs (NE *tale, find, hope, throat, stolen*)?

5. What are the causes of vowel interchanges in NE *keep, kept; feel, felt; wise, wisdom; leave, left; five, fifth*? Originally, in OE the words in each pair contained the same long vowels.

6. Account for the interchange of vowels in NE *child — children, wild — wilderness, bewilder* (ME *bewildren*), *behind — hindrance*; in OE the root vowel in these words was [i].

7. Give a historical explanation of different spellings of the following homophones: NE *son, sun; meet, meat; see, sea; rein, rain; vein, vain; soul, sole; main, mane; cease, sieze; flour, flower; so, sow; law, lore; bare, bear; root, route; or, oar; rode, road*. Were all these pairs homophones in ME?

8. Why does the letter *e* stand for [e] in *bed*, for [i:] in *he*, for the nuclei [ɪ] and [ɛ] of diphthongs in *here* and *there*?

9. Why does the letter *o* stand for [ɔ] in *not*, for [ou] in *bone*, [ʌ] in *front* and *some*, and for [ɔ:] when followed by *r*: *more*, *port*?

10. Why does the letter *x* stand for [ks] and [gz] in the following words: *oxen — axes — example; execute — executor — executive; exercise — examine — exact — exist*?

11. Account for the sound values of the letter *c* in the following words: [s] in NE *mercy, centre*; [k] in *copper, class*; [ʃ] in *special, sufficient*?

12. Explain from a historical viewpoint the pronunciation of the following words with the letter *g*: *good, again, general, change, regime*.

13. Account for the difference in the sound values of *s, th, f* in the following words: *son, busy, wisdom, mouse, east, deserve* (ME *deserven* [də'servən]), *observe, resemble* (ME *resemblen* [rə'semblən]), *books* (ME *bookes* ['boːkəs]), *robes* (ME *robes* ['roːbəs]), *dresses, thousand, threat, thou, the, mouth, mouths* (ME *mouthes* ['muːðəs]), *they, of, fair, fence*.

14. What is meant by "discrepancy" between pronunciation and spelling in Mod E? Give examples of phonetic and conventional spellings. Prove that the written form of the word usually lags behind its spoken form and indicates its earlier pronunciation.

15. Explain the origin of different sound values of the following digraphs: *ea* in *seat, dead; ie* in *chief, lie; ou* in *pound, soup, soul, rough; ow* in *sow* and *how*. Why do they indicate other sounds before *r*, e.g. *dear, pear; pier, bier; pour, sour; lower, power*.

16. Recall the development of OE [y, y:] and explain the differences in the pronunciation and spelling of *merry, hill, busy, buy, evil, bury* (all descending from OE words with short [y]) and *sleeve, fist, mice, sundry* (descending from OE words with long [y:]).

17. Show how modern spelling can help to reconstruct the phonetic history of the words; use the following words as examples: NE *drive, might, keen, mete, lead, lake, loaf, boot, about, low, draw, applaud, cast, cart, cord, ant, warn, bird, beard, burn, certain, first, nun, none, bloody, bony, knee, gnat, often, limb*.

18. Give the modern descendants of the following words, which developed in accordance with regular phonetic and spelling changes: OE *hind, spēdiӡ, dūst, sceaft, scinan, snāwan, rǣdan, hearm, sceal, wearm, cēap* [k'], *butere, bōc, bāt, metan, mētan, hund, hundred, hwæt, tūn, steorfan, prǣd, smoca, drifan, bana, dēop, āð*.

19. Reconstruct the phonetic changes so as to prove that the words have descended from a single root: NE *listen* and *loud*; *merry* and *mirth*; *deep* and *depth*; *foul* and *filth*; *husband* and *house*; *long* and *length*; *sheep* and *shepherd*; *tell, tale* and *talk*; *thief* and *theft*; *gold, gild* and *yellow*; *person* and *parson*.

20. Account for the mute letters in *late, sight, wrong, often, bomb, autumn, course, knowledge, honour, what, whole, guest, pneumonia, psalm*.

21. Try to account for the appearance of mute letters in the following words: NE *thumb* (OE *puma*); NE *house* (OE *hūs*); NE *delight* (ME *delite*); NE *horse* (OE *hors*); NE *limb* (OE *lim*); NE *whole* (OE *hāl*).

EVOLUTION OF THE GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM FROM THE 11TH TO 18TH C.

Preliminary Remarks: Parts of Speech, Means of Form-building, Main Trends of Development

§ 418. In the course of ME and Early NE the grammatical system of the language underwent profound alteration. Since the OE period the very grammatical type of the language has changed; from what can be defined as a synthetic or inflected language, with a well developed morphology English has been transformed into a language of the "analytical type", with analytical forms and ways of word connection prevailing over synthetic ones. This does not mean, however, that the grammatical changes were rapid or sudden; nor does it imply that all grammatical features were in a state of perpetual change. Like the development of other linguistic levels, the history of English grammar was a complex evolutionary process made up of stable and changeable constituents. Some grammatical characteristics remained absolutely or relatively stable; others were subjected to more or less extensive modification.

§ 419. The division of words into parts of speech has proved to be one of the most permanent characteristics of the language. Through all the periods of history English preserved the distinctions between the following parts of speech: the noun, the adjective, the pronoun, the numeral, the verb, the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction, and the interjection. The only new part of speech was the article which split from the pronouns in Early ME (provided that the article is treated as an independent part of speech).

§ 420. Between the 10th and the 16th c., that is from Late OE to Early NE the ways of building up grammatical forms underwent considerable changes. In OE all the forms which can be included into morphological paradigms were synthetic. In ME and Early NE, grammatical forms could also be built in the analytical way, with the help of auxiliary words. The proportion of synthetic forms in the language has become very small, for in the meantime many of the old synthetic forms have been lost and no new synthetic forms have developed.

In the synthetic forms of the ME and Early NE periods, few as those forms were, the means of form-building were the same as before: inflections, sound interchanges and suppletion; only prefixation, namely the prefix *ʒe-*, which was commonly used in OE to mark Participle II, went out of use in Late ME (instances of Participle II with the prefix *y-* (from OE *ʒe-*) are still found in Chaucer's time (see § 361, Line 8 of the extract from the CANTERBURY TALES).

Suppletive form-building, as before, was confined to a few words, mostly surviving from OE and even earlier periods.

Sound interchanges were not productive, though they did not die out: they still occurred in many verbs, some adjectives and nouns;

moreover, a number of new interchanges arose in Early ME in some groups of weak verbs (see § 485). Nevertheless, their application in the language, and their weight among other means was generally reduced.

Inflections — or grammatical suffixes and endings — continued to be used in all the inflected ("changeable") parts of speech. It is notable, however, that as compared with the OE period they became less varied. As mentioned before the OE period of history has been described as a period of "full endings", ME — as a period of "levelled endings" and NE — as a period of "lost endings" (H. Sweet). In OE there existed a variety of distinct endings differing in consonants as well as in vowels. In ME all the vowels in the endings were reduced to the neutral [ə] and many consonants were levelled under -*n* or dropped. The process of levelling — besides phonetic weakening — implies replacement of inflections by analogy, e.g. -*(e)s* as a marker of pl forms of nouns displaced the endings -*(e)n* and -*e* (see § 428 below). In the transition to NE most of the grammatical endings were dropped.

Nevertheless, these definitions of the state of inflections in the three main historical periods are not quite precise. It is known that the weakening and dropping of endings began a long time before — in Early OE and even in Proto-Germanic; on the other hand, some of the old grammatical endings have survived to this day.

§ 421. The *analytical* way of form-building was a new device, which developed in Late OE and ME and came to occupy a most important place in the grammatical system. Analytical forms developed from free word groups (phrases, syntactical constructions). The first component of these phrases gradually weakened or even lost its lexical meaning and turned into a grammatical marker, while the second component retained its lexical meaning and acquired a new grammatical value in the compound form. Cf., e. g. the meaning and function of the verb *to have* in OE *hē hæfde þā* 'he had them (the prisoners)', *Hie hine ofslægene hæfdon* 'they had him killed' or, perhaps, 'they had killed him', *Hie hæfdon oferʒān Eastenʒle* 'they had overspread East Anglian territory'. In the first sentence *have* denotes possession, in the second, the meaning of possession is weakened, in the third, it is probably lost and does not differ from the meaning of *have* in the translation of the sentence into Mod E. The auxiliary verb *have* and the form of Part. II are the grammatical markers of the Perfect; the lexical meaning is conveyed by the root-morpheme of the participle.

The growth of analytical grammatical forms from free word phrases belongs partly to historical morphology and partly to syntax, for they are instances of transition from the syntactical to the morphological level.

Analytical form-building was not equally productive in all the parts of speech: it has transformed the morphology of the verb but has not affected the noun.

§ 422. The main direction of development for the nominal parts of speech in all the periods of history can be defined as morphological simplification. Simplifying changes began in prehistoric, PG times. They continued at a slow rate during the OE period and were intensified in

Early ME. The period between c. 1000 and 1300 has been called an "age of great changes" (A. Baugh), for it witnessed one of the greatest events in the history of English grammar: the decline and transformation of the nominal morphological system. Some nominal categories were lost — Gender and Case in adjectives, Gender in nouns; the number of forms distinguished in the surviving categories was reduced — cases in nouns and noun-pronouns, numbers in personal pronouns. Morphological division into types of declension practically disappeared. In Late ME the adjective lost the last vestiges of the old paradigm: the distinction of number and the distinction of weak and strong forms.

Already at the time of Chaucer, and certainly by the age of Caxton the English nominal system was very much like modern, not only in its general pattern but also in minor details.

The evolution of the verb system was a far more complicated process; it cannot be described in terms of one general trend. On the one hand, the decay of inflectional endings affected the verb system, though to a lesser extent than the nominal system. The simplification and levelling of forms made the verb conjugation more regular and uniform; the OE morphological classification of verbs was practically broken up. On the other hand, the paradigm of the verb grew, as new grammatical forms and distinctions came into being. The number of verbal grammatical categories increased, as did the number of forms within the categories. The verb acquired the categories of Voice, Time Correlation (or Phase) and Aspect. Within the category of Tense there developed a new form — the Future Tense; in the category of Mood there arose new forms of the Subjunctive. These changes involved the non-finite forms too, for the infinitive and the participle, having lost many nominal features, developed verbal features: they acquired new analytical forms and new categories like the finite verb. It is noteworthy that, unlike the changes in the nominal system, the new developments in the verb system were not limited to a short span of two or three hundred years. They extended over a long period: from Late OE till Late NE. Even in the age of Shakespeare the verb system was in some respects different from that of Mod E and many changes were still underway.

§ 423. Other important events in the history of English grammar were the changes in syntax, which were associated with the transformation of English morphology but at the same time displayed their own specific tendencies and directions. The main changes at the syntactical level were: the rise of new syntactic patterns of the word phrase and the sentence; the growth of predicative constructions; the development of the complex sentences and of diverse means of connecting clauses. Syntactic changes are mostly observable in Late ME and in NE, in periods of literary efflorescence.

THE NOUN

Decay of Noun Declensions in Early Middle English

§ 424. The OE noun had the grammatical categories of Number and Case which were formally distinguished in an elaborate system of de-

clensions. However, homonymous forms in the OE noun paradigms neutralised some of the grammatical oppositions; similar endings employed in different declensions — as well as the influence of some types upon other types — disrupted the grouping of nouns into morphological classes.

§ 425. Increased variation of the noun forms in the late 10th c. and especially in the 11th and 12th c. testifies to impending changes and to a strong tendency toward a re-arrangement and simplification of the declensions. The number of variants of grammatical forms in the 11th and 12th c. was twice as high as in the preceding centuries. Among the variant forms there were direct descendants of OE forms with phonetically weakened endings (the so-called "historical forms") and also numerous analogical forms taken over from other parts of the same paradigms and from more influential morphological classes.

The new variants of grammatical forms obliterated the distinction between the forms within the paradigms and the differences between the declensions. For instance, Early ME *fisshes* and *bootes*, direct descendants of the OE Nom. and Acc. pl of Masc. *a*-stems — *fiscas, bātas* — were used, as before, in the position of these cases and could also be used as variant forms of other cases — Gen. and Dat. pl — alongside the historical forms *fisshe, boote* (OE Gen. pl *fisca, bāta*) and *fischen, booten* or *fisshe, boote* (OE Dat. pl *fiscum, bātum*); (NE *fish, boat*). As long as all these variants co-existed, it was possible to mark a form more precisely by using a variant with a fuller ending, but when some of the variants went out of use and the non-distinctive, levelled variants prevailed, many forms fell together. Thus after passing through the "variation stage" many formal oppositions were lost.

The most numerous OE morphological classes of nouns were *a*-stems, *ō*-stems and *n*-stems. Even in Late OE the endings used in these types were added by analogy to other kinds of nouns, especially if they belonged to the same gender. That is how the noun declensions tended to be re-arranged on the basis of gender.

§ 426. The decline of the OE declension system lasted over three hundred years and revealed considerable dialectal differences. It started in the North of England and gradually spread southwards. The decay of inflectional endings in the Northern dialects began as early as the 10th c. and was virtually completed in the 11th; in the Midlands the process extended over the 12th c., while in the Southern dialects it lasted till the end of the 13th (in the dialect of Kent, the old inflectional forms were partly preserved even in the 14th c.).

§ 427. The dialects differed not only in the chronology but also in the nature of changes. The Southern dialects re-arranged and simplified the noun declensions on the basis of stem and gender distinctions. In Early ME they employed only four markers — *-es, -en, -e*, and the root-vowel interchange — plus the bare stem (the "zero"-inflection) — but distinguished, with the help of these devices, several paradigms. Masc. and Neut. nouns had two declensions, weak and strong, with certain differences between the genders in the latter: Masc. nouns took the ending *-es* in the Nom., Acc. pl, while Neut. nouns had variant forms:

Masc. *fishes* — Neut. *land/lande/landes*. Most Fem. nouns belonged to the weak declension and were declined like weak Masc. and Neut. nouns. The root-stem declension, as before, had mutated vowels in some forms, and many variant forms which showed that the vowel interchange was becoming a marker of number rather than case. Cf.

	ME, Southern dialects		Corresponding OE forms
	sg	*pl*	
Nom., Acc.	foot	feet	fōt — fēt
Dat.	foote, foot	footen, feet	fēt — fōtum
Gen.	footes	foote, feet	fōtes — fōta

§ 428. In the Midland and Northern dialects the system of declension was much simpler. In fact, there was only one major type of declension and a few traces of other types. The majority of nouns took the endings of OE Masc. *a*-stems: *-(e)s* in the Gen. sg (from OE *-es*), *-(e)s* in the pl irrespective of case (from OE *-as*: Nom. and Acc. sg, which had extended to other cases).

A small group of nouns, former root-stems, employed a root-vowel interchange to distinguish the forms of number. Survivals of other OE declensions were rare and should be treated rather as exceptions than as separate paradigms. Thus several former Neut. *a*-stems descending from long-stemmed nouns could build their plurals with or without the ending *-(e)s*; sg *hors* — pl *hors* or *horses* (see OE Neut. *a*-stems, § 164); *some nouns retained weak forms with the ending -en alongside new forms in -es; some former Fem. nouns and some names of relations occur in the Gen. case without -(e)s like OE Fem. nouns, e. g. my fader soule,* 'my father's soul'; *In hope to standen in his lady grace* — 'In the hope of standing in his lady's grace' (Chaucer) — though the latter can be regarded as a set phrase.

§ 429. In Late ME, when the Southern traits were replaced by Central and Northern traits in the dialect of London, this pattern of noun declensions prevailed in literary English. The declension of nouns in the age of Chaucer is given in Table 1 together with some variants and minor groups showing the main deviations, exceptions and variations.

The declension of nouns in the age of Chaucer, in its main features, was the same as in Mod E. The simplification of noun morphology was on the whole completed. Most nouns distinguished two forms: the basic form (with the "zero" ending) and the form in *-(e)s*. The nouns originally descending from other types of declensions for the most part had joined this major type, which had developed from Masc. *a*-stems (see Table 1 on p. 225).

Grammatical Categories of the Noun

§ 430. Simplification of noun morphology affected the grammatical categories of the noun in different ways and to a varying degree.

The OE *Gender*, being a classifying feature (and not a grammatical category proper) disappeared together with other distinctive features of the noun declensions. (Division into genders played a certain role

Table I

Declension of Nouns in the Late 14th and 15th c.

Main declension		Variant forms and deviations
Singular		
Comm. case (OE Nom., Dat., Acc., Gen. case)	fish, end(e) tale, sun(e), etc. wolf, hous(e), etc. fishes, endes, tales, sunes, etc. wolves, houses, etc.[1]	lady/ladys, fader/faderes
Plural		
Comm. case (OE Nom., Dat., Acc., Gen. case)	fishes, endes tales, sunes, etc. wolves, houses,[1] etc. fishes, endes tales, sunes wolves, houses, etc.	hors/horses/horsen, thing/ thinges, eyen/eyes
Minor groups		
Singular		
Comm. case	foot, mous(e), ox	
Gen. case	footes, mouses, oxen	
Plural		
Comm. case	feet, mis(e), oxen	brothers/brethern childre/children
Gen. case	feetes, mices, oxen(es)	

[1] The interchange of voiced and voiceless fricatives [s~z, f ~v] and [θ~ð] arose as allophonic variation in Early OE, but later became phonemic and was preserved in some Mod E words (see § 139).

in the decay of the OE declension system: in Late OE and Early ME nouns were grouped into classes or types of declension according to gender instead of stems (see § 427).

In the 11th and 12th c. the gender of nouns was deprived of its main formal support — the weakened and levelled endings of adjectives and adjective pronouns ceased to indicate gender. Semantically gender was associated with the differentiation of sex and therefore the formal grouping into genders was smoothly and naturally superseded by a semantic division into inanimate and animate nouns, with a further subdivision of the latter into males and females.

In Chaucer's time gender is a lexical category, like in Mod E: nouns

are referred to as "he" and "she" if they denote human beings, e. g.

She wolde wepe, if that *she* saw a mous,
Caught in a trappe, if *it* were deed or bledde (Chaucer)

"She" points here to a woman while "it" replaces the noun *mous*, which in OE was Fem. ('She would weep, if she saw a mouse caught in a trap, if it was dead or it bled.')

§ 431. The grammatical category of *Case* was preserved but underwent profound changes in Early ME.

The number of cases in the noun paradigm was reduced from four (distinguished in OE) to two in Late ME. The syncretism of cases was a slow process which went on step by step. As shown above (§ 163 ff) even in OE the forms of the Nom. and Acc. were not distinguished in the pl, and in some classes they coincided also in the sg. In Early ME they fell together in both numbers.

In the strong declension the Dat. was sometimes marked by -*e* in the Southern dialects, though not in the North or in the Midlands; the form *without* the ending soon prevailed in all areas, and three OE cases, Nom., Acc. and Dat. fell together. Henceforth they can be called the Common case, as in present-day English.

Only the Gen. case was kept separate from the other forms, with more explicit formal distinctions in the singular than in the plural (see the Table in § 429). In the 14th c. the ending -*es* of the Gen. sg had become almost universal, there being only several exceptions — nouns which were preferably used in the uninflected form (names of relationships terminating in -*r*, some proper names, and some nouns in stereotyped phrases). In the pl the Gen. case had no special marker — it was not distinguished from the Comm. case as the ending -*(e)s* through analogy, had extended to the Gen. either from the Comm. case pl or, perhaps, from the Gen. sg. This ending was generalised in the Northern dialects and in the Midlands (a survival of the OE Gen. pl form in -*ena*, ME -*en(e)*, was used in Early ME only in the Southern districts). The formal distinction between cases in the pl was lost, except in the nouns which did not take -*(e)s* in the pl. Several nouns with a weak plural form in -*en* or with a vowel interchange, such as *oxen* or *men*, added the marker of the Gen. case -*es* to these forms: *oxenes, mennes*. In the 17th and 18th c. a new graphic marker of the Gen. case came into use: the apostrophe — e. g. *man's, children's*: this device could be employed only in writing; in oral speech the forms remained homonymous (for the phonetic changes of the ending -*es*, see § 435).

The gradual reduction of the case-system is shown in the following chart:

OE	Early ME	Late ME and NE
Nominative ⎫	Common ⎫	
Accusative ⎬	⎬ ·	Common
Dative	Dative ⎭	
Genitive	Genitive	Genitive

§ 432. The reduction in the number of cases was linked up with a change in the meanings and functions of the surviving forms.

The Comm. case, which resulted from the fusion of three OE cases assumed all the functions of the former Nom., Acc. and Dat., and also some functions of the Gen.

The ME Comm. case had a very general meaning, which was made more specific by the context: prepositions, the meaning of the verb-predicate, the word order. With the help of these means it could express various meanings formerly belonging to different cases. The following passages taken from three translations of the Bible give a general idea of the transition; they show how the OE Gen. and Dat. cases were replaced in ME and Early NE by prepositional phrases with the noun in the Comm. case.

OE translation of the Gospels (10th c.)	Wyclif's translation (late 14th c.)	King James' Bible (17th c.)
(Mt. V-3) Ēadiʒe synd þā ʒāstlican þearfan, for þām hyra ys *heofena* rice. (Gen.)	Blessed be the pore in spirit, for the kingdom *in heuenes* is heren.	Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom *of heaven*.
(Mt. V-15) ðæt hit onlihte *eallum ðam* ðe *on ðām hūse* synd. (Dat.)	that it geue ligt *to all* that ben *in the hous*.	and it giueth light *unto al* that are *in the house*.

The replacement of the Dat. by prepositional phrases had been well prepared by its wide use in OE as a case commonly governed by prepositions.

The main function of the Acc. case — to present the direct object — was fulfilled in ME by the Comm. case; the noun was placed next to the verb, or else its relations with the predicate were apparent from the meaning of the transitive verb and the noun, e. g.

He *knew the tavernes* well in every town.
For *catel hadde* they ynogh and *rente* (Chaucer)

('He knew well the taverns in every town for they had enough wealth and income'.)

§ 433. The history of the Gen. case requires special consideration. Though it survived as a distinct form, its use became more limited: unlike OE it could not be employed in the function of an object to a verb or to an adjective (for its application in OE, see § 154). In ME the Gen. case is used only attributively, to modify a noun, but even in this function it has a rival — prepositional phrases, above all the phrases with the preposition *of*. The practice to express genitival relations by the *of*-phrase goes back to OE. It is not uncommon in Ælfric's writings (10th c.), but its regular use instead of the inflectional Gen. does not become established until the 12th c. The use of the *of*-phrase grew rapidly in the 13th and 14th c. In some texts there appears a certain differentiation between the synonyms: the inflectional Gen. is preferred with animate

nouns, while the *of*-phrase is more widely used with inanimate ones. However, usage varies, as can be seen from the following examples from Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES:

Ful worthy was he in his *lordes* werre
('He was very worthy in his lord's campaigns')
He had maad ful many a mariage
Of yonge *wommen*
('He made many marriages of young women')
And specially, from every *shires* ende,
Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende.
('And especially from the end of every shire of England they went to Canterbury')

§ 434. *Various theories have been advanced to account for the restricted use of the Gen. case, particularly for the preference of the inflectional Gen. with "personal" nouns. It has been suggested that the tendency to use the inflectional Gen. with names of persons is a continuation of an old tradition pertaining to word order. It has been noticed that the original distinction between the use of the Gen. with different kind of nouns was not in form but in position. The Gen. of "personal" nouns was placed before the governing noun, while the Gen. of other nouns was placed after it. The post-positive Gen. was later replaced by the of-phrase with the result that the of-phrase came to be preferred with inanimate nouns and the inflectional Gen. — with personal (animate) ones.*

Another theory attributes the wider use of the inflectional Gen. with animate nouns to the influence of a specific possessive construction containing a possessive pronoun: the painter'ys name, where 'ys is regarded as a shortened form of his — lit. "the painter his name". It is assumed that the frequent use of these phrases may have reinforced the inflectional Gen., which could take the ending -is, -ys alongside -es and thus resembled the phrase with the pronoun his, in which the initial [h] could be dropped.

It may be added that the semantic differentiation between the prepositional phrase and the -s'-Gen. became more precise in the New period, each acquiring its own set of meanings, with only a few overlapping spheres. (It has been noticed though, that in present-day English the frequency of the 's-Gen. is growing again at the expense of the of-phrase.)

§ 435. The other grammatical category of the noun, *Number* proved to be the most stable of all the nominal categories. The noun preserved the formal distinction of two numbers through all the historical periods. Increased variation in Early ME did not obliterate number distinctions. On the contrary, it showed that more uniform markers of the pl spread by analogy to different morphological classes of nouns, and thus strengthened the formal differentiation of number.

As seen from Table 1 in § 429 the pl forms in ME show obvious traces of numerous OE noun declensions. Some of these traces have survived in later periods.

In Late ME the ending -es was the prevalent marker of nouns in the pl. In Early NE it extended to more nouns — to the new words of the growing English vocabulary and to many words, which built their plural in a different way in ME or employed -es as one of the variant endings. The pl ending -es (as well as the ending -es of the Gen. case) underwent several phonetic changes: the voicing of fricatives and the loss of unstressed

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vowels in final syllables. The following examples show the development of the ME pl inflection -es in Early NE under different phonetic conditions:

Phonetic conditions	ME	NE
after a voiced consonant or a vowel[1]	stones ['stɔːnəs] > ['stounəz] > ['stounz] days [dais] > [deiz]	stones days
after a voiceless consonant	bookes ['boːkəs] > [buːks] > [buks]	books
after sibilants and affricates [s, z, ʃ, tʃ, dʒ]	dishes ['diʃəs] > ['diʃiz]	dishes

[1] A voiced fricative or sibilant in the pl sometimes corresponded to a voiceless consonant in the sg, e. g. ME wyf, NE wife — wives (see Note to the Table in § 429, for the voicing of final -s see § 406).

§ 436. The ME pl ending -en, used as a variant marker with some nouns (and as the main marker in the weak declension in the Southern dialects) lost its former productivity, so that in Standard Mod E it is found only in oxen, brethern, and children. (The two latter words originally did not belong to the weak declension: OE brōðor, a r-stem, built its plural by means of a root-vowel interchange; OE cild, an s-stem, took the ending -ru: cild — cildru; -en was added to the old forms of the pl in ME; both words have two markers of the plural.)

The small group of ME nouns with homonymous forms of number (ME deer, hors, thing, see § 164 and § 428) has been further reduced to three "exceptions" in Mod E: deer, sheep and swine. The group of former root-stems has survived only as exceptions: man, tooth and the like.

(It must be noted that not all irregular forms in Mod E are traces of OE declensions; forms like data, nuclei, antennae have come from other languages together with the borrowed words.)

§ 437. It follows that the majority of English nouns have preserved and even reinforced the formal distinction of Number in the Comm. case. Meanwhile they have practically lost these distinctions in the Gen. case, for Gen. has a distinct form in the pl only with nouns whose pl ending is not -es (see § 429).

Despite the regular neutralisation of number distinctions in the Gen. case we can say that differentiation of Number in nouns has become more explicit and more precise. The functional load and the frequency of occurrence of the Comm. case are certainly much higher than those of the Gen.; therefore the regular formal distinction of Number in the Comm. case is more important than its neutralisation in the Gen. case.

THE PRONOUN

Personal and Possessive Pronouns

§ 438. Since personal pronouns are noun-pronouns, it might have been expected that their evolution would repeat the evolution of nouns; in reality it was in many respects different. The development of the same grammatical categories in nouns and pronouns was not alike. It differed in the rate and extent of changes, in the dates and geographical directions, though the morphology of pronouns, like the morphology of nouns, was simplified.

Before describing the grammatical changes of personal pronouns we must mention some lexical replacements.

§ 439. In Early ME the OE Fem. pronoun of the 3rd p. sg *hēo* (related to all the other pronouns of the 3rd p. — *hē, hit, hie*) was replaced by a group of variants — *he, ho, sce, sho, she*: one of them — *she* — finally prevailed over the others. The new Fem. pronoun, Late ME *she*, is believed to have developed from the OE demonstrative pronoun of the Fem. gender — *sēo* (OE *sē, sēo, þæt*, NE *that*). It was first recorded in the North Eastern regions and gradually extended to other areas.

The replacement of OE *hēo* by ME *she* is a good illustration of the mechanism of linguistic change and of the interaction of intra- and extralinguistic factors. Increased dialectal divergence in Early ME supplied the "raw material" for the change in the shape of co-existing variants or parallels. Out of these variants the language preserved the unambiguous form *she*, probably to avoid an homonymy clash, since the descendant of OE *hēo* — ME *he* coincided with the Masc. pronoun *he*. The need to discriminate between the two pronouns was an internal factor which determined the selection. The choice could also be favoured by external historical conditions, for in later ME many Northern and East Midland features were incorporated in the London dialect, which became the basis of literary English (see § 301 for the dialectal shift in the speech of London). It should be noted, however, that the replacement was not complete, as the other forms of OE *hēo* were preserved: *hire/her*, used in ME as the Obj.s case and as a Poss. pronoun is a form of OE *hēo* but not of its new substitute *she; hers* was derived from the form *hire/her*.

§ 440. About the same time — in the course of ME — another important lexical replacement took place: the OE pronoun of the 3rd p. pl *hie* was replaced by the Scand. loan-word *they* [θei]. Like the pronoun *she*, it came from the North-Eastern areas and was adopted by the mixed London dialect. This time the replacement was more complete: *they* ousted the Nom. case, OE *hie*, while *them* and *their* (coming from the same Scand. loan) replaced the oblique case forms: OE *hem* and *heora*. The two sets of forms — coming from *they* and *hie* — occur side by side in Late ME texts, e. g.:

That *hem* hath holpen, whan that *they* were seeke. (Chaucer)
('Who has helped them when they were sick.')

It is noteworthy that these two replacements broke up the genetic

ties between the pronouns of the 3rd p.: in OE they were all obvious derivatives of one pronominal root with the initial [h]: hē, hēo, hit, hie. The Late ME (as well as the NE) pronouns of the 3rd p. are separate words with no genetic ties whatever: he, she, it, they (it is a direct descendant of OE hit with [h] lost).

§ 441. One more replacement was made in the set of personal pronouns at a later date — in the 17th or 18th c. Beginning with the 15th c. the pl forms of the 2nd p. — ye, you, your — were applied more and more generally to individuals. In Shakespeare's time the pl. forms of the 2nd p. were widely used as equivalents of thou, thee, thine. Later thou became obsolete in Standard English. (Nowadays thou is found only in poetry, in religious discourse and in some dialects.) Cf. the free interchange of you and thou in Shakespeare's sonnets.

But if thou live, remember'd not to be,
Die single, and thine image dies with thee.

Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten.

§ 442. The lexical and grammatical changes in the personal and possessive pronouns are shown in Table 2:

Table 2

Personal and Possessive Pronouns in ME and Early NE[1]

Person	Singular		Plural	
	ME	**Early NE**	**ME**	**Early NE**
1st p. Nom. Obj. (from OE Acc. and Dat.) Poss. (from OE Gen.)	ich/I me myn(e)/my	I me my/mine	we us our(e)/ ours	we us our, ours
2nd p. Nom. Obj. (from OE Acc. and Dat.) Poss. (from OE Gen.)	thou/thow thee thyn(e)/thy	thou/ye thee/you thy/your/thine/ yours	ye you your(e)/ yours	you/ye you your, yours

[1] ME personal pronouns displayed considerable dialectal diversity. The table includes the main variants of the forms in ME and Early NE.

Table 2 (continued)

Person	Singular		Plural	
	ME	**Early NE**	**ME**	**Early NE**
3rd p. Nom.	M. F. N. he he/she hit/it	he, she, it	hie/they	they
Obj. (from OE Acc. and Dat.)	him hir(e)/ him/ her it	him, her, it	hem/them	them
Poss. (from OE Gen.)	his her(e)/ his hir	his, her, his/its his, hers, his/its	her(e)/ their(e)	their, theirs

§ 443. Both in ME and in Early NE the pronouns were subjected to extensive grammatical changes. The category of *Number* was brought into conformity with the corresponding categories of nouns and verbs; the forms of the dual number of the 1st and 2nd p. went into disuse in Early ME.

§ 444. The category of *Case* underwent profound alterations. The forms of the Dat. and the Acc. cases began to merge in OE, especially in the West Saxon dialect. The syncretism of the Dat. and Acc. took a long time: it began in Early OE in the 1st and 2nd p. pl; in Late OE it extended to the 1st and 2nd p. sg; in Early ME it spread to the 3rd p.; it was completed in Late ME.

The reduction of the pronoun paradigm proceeded at a slower pace than that of nouns, and its geographical direction was different: beginning in the South it spread northwards. The results of this simplification were less drastic than in the noun morphology: two cases fell together — Dat. and Acc. — into what may be called the Obj. case but its distinction from the Nom. case was preserved. In Late ME the paradigm of personal pronouns consisted of two cases: Nom. and Obj.

Cf. the following instances of the OE Dat. and Acc. cases of pronouns used as objects after the verbs *sellan* 'give' and *nemnian* 'call' and similar ME phrases with the verbs *given* and *callen* governing pronouns in the Obj. case:

Ælfric (10th c.)

hēo sealde *him* þone mete (Dat.)

('she gave him that food')

Alfred (9th c.)
and *hine* be his naman nemnde (Acc.)
('and him by his name called')

Chaucer (14th c.)

... that yaf *hym* wherwith to scoleye

('who gave him (the means) to study')

Chaucer (14th c.)
... I noot how men *hym* calle

('I don't know how men call him')

§ 445. In Early NE the syncretism of cases entered a new phase: the Nom. case began to merge with the Obj. case. In the following quotation from Shakespeare *you*, the Obj. case of *ye*, is used as the subject, while *she*, the Nom. case, is an object: *You have seen Cassio and she together.* Yet the tendency to reduce the case system of personal pronouns was not fully realised. Only two personal pronouns, *you* and *it* lost all case distinctions in NE.

The modern pronoun *you* comes from the ME Obj. case *you* (OE Dat. *ēow*); its Nom. case *ye* has become obsolete. Recall the use of *ye* in elevated, poetic style: *Arise, ye prisoners of starvation* (INTERNATIONALE).

The pronoun *it* goes back to the ME Nom. case *it*, OE *hit;* the ME Obj. case of *it, him* (OE Dat.) was identical with the form of the Masc. pronoun *he, him; it* was used in the function of object in ME as a variant of *him,* as a substitute of inanimate nouns; eventually it displaced *him.* This replacement reflects the new grouping of nouns into animate and inanimate, which had superseded the division into genders: *it,* which stood for inanimate things, had to be kept distinct from *he, him* in both forms — Nom. and Obj.

The loss of case distinctions by these two pronouns did not break up the paradigm of personal pronouns, since the other pronouns have preserved the distinction of two cases, Nom. and Obj. (*I — me, she — her*, etc.): therefore the non-distinctive forms *you* and *it* are merely instances of homonymy in the two-case system.

§ 446. The OE Gen. case of personal pronouns split from the other forms and turned into a new class of pronouns — possessive.

In OE the Gen. case of personal pronouns — like the Gen. case of nouns — was commonly used in the attributive function; its use as an object was rare. Some of these forms were treated like other noun modifiers: they agreed with the head-noun in case and number, while others did not. In ME these pronouns became more homogeneous: they had all lost their forms of agreement and were uninflected. They can be regarded as a separate class of pronouns termed "possessive".

ME possessive pronouns occurring in the literary texts of the late 14th and 15th c. are given in Table 2. Special note should be made of the pronoun *his* which corresponded both to *he* and *it* and was used in reference to animate and inanimate things, e. g.:

He moste han knowen love and *his* servyse. (Chaucer)
('He must have known love and its service.')

(For the new possessive pronoun of the 3rd p. pl *their* see § 440.)

In Early NE there arose a new possessive pronoun *its* derived from *it; its* was built on the analogy of the Gen. case of nouns, of the form *his* or the new variants of other possessive pronouns: *oures, yours. Its* was first recorded in 1598 but was still rare in the age of Shakespeare, cf.:

The earth can have but earth, which is *his* due ...

... and my trust,
Like *a good parent, did beget of him,*

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A falsehood, in *its* contrary as great,
As my trust was ... (Shakespeare)

Some possessive pronouns had two variant forms in ME: *myne/my*, *our(e)/ours*, etc. They could be used in free variation, but the variants in *-n* were preferred before nouns which began with a vowel, e. g. *accepte my bileve* 'accept my belief' but *be myn advocat* (Chaucer) 'be my advocate' (cf. the similar modern distribution of the two variant forms of the Indefinite article — *a* and *an.*)

In the 17th and 18th c. the two variants of the possessive pronouns split into two distinct sets of forms differing in syntactic functions; in modern grammars they are called "conjoint" and "absolute". At the time of Shakespeare both forms could be employed in the attributive function (i. e. as conjoint pronouns), but only the forms in *-s* or *-ne* were used independently, as absolute pronouns. Cf.: *thine own deep-sunken eyes, thy unused beauty* and *ten of thine, Mine ransoms yours, and yours must ransom me.* (Shakespeare)

§ 447. The OE oblique case-forms of personal pronouns and the ME possessive pronouns gave rise to one more type of pronouns — *reflexive*. Reflexive pronouns developed from combinations of some forms of personal pronouns with the adjective *self*. Their origins are obvious from their modern structures: e. g. *myself, ourselves* consist of the Gen. case (or possessive pronoun) and the component *self; himself, themselves* contain the Obj. case of personal pronouns as their first components. (In ME and Early NE reflexive pronouns were not as yet fixed in the schemes familiar today; instances like *He clothed him hastily* were not infrequent.)

Demonstrative Pronouns. Development of Articles

§ 448. Demonstrative pronouns were adjective-pronouns; like other adjectives, in OE they agreed with the noun in case, number and gender and had a well-developed morphological paradigm.

In Early ME the OE demonstrative pronouns *sē, sēo, þæt* and *þes, þēos, þis* — lost most of their inflected forms: out of seventeen forms each retained only two. The ME descendants of these pronouns are *that* and *this*, the former Nom. and Acc. cases, Neut. sg, which served now as the sg of all cases and genders. Each pronoun had a respective pl form, which made up a balanced paradigm of forms opposed through number.

Sg	*this*	Pl	*thise/thes(e)*	(NE	*this — these*)
	that		*tho/thos(e)*	(NE	*that — those*)

(Number distinctions in demonstrative pronouns have survived as an archaic trait in the modern grammatical system, for no other noun modifier agrees now with the noun in number.)

§ 449. The other direction of the development of the demonstrative pronouns *sē, sēo, þæt* led to the formation of the definite article. This development is associated with a change in form and meaning.

In OE texts the pronouns *sē, sēo, þæt* were frequently used as noun-determiners with a weakened meaning, approaching that of the modern definite article, e.g.: *Hēr Offa Miercna cyninȝ hēt Æþelbryhte þæt hēafod ofslēan* 'this year Offa, King of Mercia, ordered the head of Athelbriht to be cut off'.

In the manuscripts of the 11th and 12th c. this use of the demonstrative pronoun becomes more and more common.

In the course of ME there arose an important formal difference between the demonstrative pronoun and the definite article: as a demonstrative pronoun *that* preserved number distinctions whereas as a definite article — usually in the weakened form *the* [θə] — it was uninflected. The following examples show some transitional stages from the demonstrative pronoun to the definite article:

Demetrius *the* ferste brother was hate, and Perseus *that other*.

('The first brother was called Demetrius, the other Perseus.') With nouns in the pl. pl forms of the demonstrative pronoun were not infrequently used in the meaning of the definite article:

among *tha* trees 'among the trees', bitwene *tho* two Noes children 'between the two children of Noah'.

In the 14th c. the article had lost all traces of inflection and became a short unaccented form-word. In the following passage from the CANTERBURY TALES *the* is used with nouns in the pl:

A cook they hadde with hem for the nones
To boille *the chiknes* with the *marybones*
('At the time they had a cook with them to boil the chickens with the marrowbones'.)

The meaning and functions of the definite article became more specific when it came to be opposed to the indefinite article, which had developed from the OE numeral and indefinite pronoun *ān.*

§ 450. In OE there existed two words, *ān,* a numeral, and *sum,* an indefinite pronoun, which were often used in functions approaching those of the modern indefinite article.

An seems to have been a more colloquial word, while *sum* tended to assume a literary character, particularly towards the end of the period, and soon fell into disuse in this function.

In Early ME the indefinite pronoun *ān* which had a five-case declension in OE lost its inflection. In the 12th c. the inflectional forms of *ān* reveal a state of confusion; in the 13th c. the uninflected *oon/one* and their reduced forms *an/a* are firmly established in all regions.

§ 451. The use of articles in the age of Chaucer is often similar to what we find in English today; e. g.:

A knyght ther was, and that *a* worthy man
('There was a knight, and (he was) a worthy man')

Whan *the* sonne was to reste
('When the sun set (lit. "was at rest")')

The hooly, blisful martyr for to seke,
That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seeke
('To seek the holy blissful martyr who had helped them when they
were ill')

... Of which vertu engendred is *the* flour.
('By whose force is engendered the flower' (*the flower* has a gener-
ic meaning: 'flowering, blossoming').

But alongside such examples, ME texts contain instances where the use
of articles and other noun determiners does not correspond to modern
rules, e. g. *For hym was levere have at his beddes heed twenty bookes,
clad in blak or reed.../ Than robes riche, or f i t h e l e, or g a y s a u-
t r i e.* 'For he would rather have at the head of his bed twenty books
bound in black or red than rich robes, or *a fiddle*, or *a gay psaltery*
(a musical instrument); *Yet hadde he but litel gold i n c o f r e* 'yet
he had but little gold in *the* coffer (or: in *his* coffer)'.

§ 452. It is believed that the growth of articles in Early ME was
caused, or favoured, by several internal linguistic factors. The develop-
ment of the definite article is usually connected with the changes in the
declension of adjectives, namely with the loss of distinctions between
the strong and weak forms. Originally the weak forms of adjectives had
a certain demonstrative meaning resembling that of the modern defi-
nite article. These forms were commonly used together with the demon-
strative pronouns *sē, sēo, þæt.* In contrast to weak forms, the strong
forms of adjectives conveyed the meaning of "indefiniteness" which
was later transferred to *ān*, a numeral and indefinite pronoun. In
case the nouns were used without adjectives or the weak and strong
forms coincided, the form-words *ān* and *þæt* turned out to be the only
means of expressing these meanings. The decay of adjective declensions
speeded up their transition into articles.

Another factor which may account for the more regular use of arti-
cles was the changing function of the word order. Relative freedom in
the position of words in the OE sentence made it possible to use word
order for communicative purposes, e. g. to present a new thing or to re-
fer to a familiar thing already known to the listener. After the loss of
inflections, the word order assumed a grammatical function — it
showed the grammatical relations between words in the sentence; now
the parts of the sentence, e. g. the subject or the objects, had their own
fixed places. Accordingly, the communicative functions passed to the
articles and their use became more regular.

The growth of the articles is thus connected both with the changes
in syntax and in morphology.

Other Classes of Pronouns
(Interrogative, Indefinite, Relative)[1]

§ 453. The other classes of OE pronouns — interrogative and in-
definite — were subjected to the same simplifying changes as all nomi-
nal parts of speech. The paradigm of the OE interrogative pronoun *hwā*
was reduced to two forms — *who*, the Nom. case, and *whom*, the Obj.

case. In ME texts the two cases were carefully distinguished, but in Early NE they were commonly confused: *Who is there?... Between who?* (Shakespeare); *Who would you speak with?* (Ben Jonson). *Who* Nom. is used here instead of *whom.*[1]

The Gen. case of OE *hwā, hwæt — hwæs —* developed into a separate interrogative pronoun, similarly with the Gen. case of personal pronouns — ME and NE *whose.* OE *hwī,* the former Instr. case of the same pronouns continued to be used as a separate pronoun *why;* OE *hwelc,* ME *which,* formerly used only with relation to person widened its application and began to be used with relation to things. ME *whether* (from OE *hwæþer*) was used as an interrogative pronoun in the meaning 'which of the two' but later was mainly preserved as a conjunction.

§ 454. Most indefinite pronouns of the OE period simplified their morphological structure and some pronouns fell out of use. For instance, *man* died out as an indefinite pronoun; OE derived pronouns with the prefixes *ā-, ǣʒ-, ne-* were replaced by phrases or simplified: OE *ǣʒhwelc, āʒhwilc, ǣlc* yielded ME *eech,* NE *each;* OE *þyslic, þuslic, þullic, swelc* were replaced by *such; nān-þinʒ* (from *ne+ān+þinʒ*) became *nothing,* etc. Eventually new types of compound indefinite pronouns came into use — with the component *-thing, -body, -one,* etc; in NE they developed a two-case paradigm like nouns: the Comm. and the Poss. or Gen. case: *anybody — anybody's.* (For the development of the pronoun *ān* into the indefinite article see § 450.)

§ 455. OE demonstrative and interrogative pronouns became the source of a new type of pronouns — *relative.* Their growth is described and exemplified in the paragraphs dealing with the development of the complex sentence. (§ 543 ff.)

THE ADJECTIVE

Decay of Declensions and Grammatical Categories

§ 456. In the course of the ME period the adjective underwent greater simplifying changes than any other part of speech. It lost all its grammatical categories with the exception of the degrees of comparison.

In OE the adjective was declined to show the gender, case and number of the noun it modified; it had a five-case paradigm and two types of declension, weak and strong.

By the end of the OE period the agreement of the adjective with the noun had become looser and in the course of Early ME it was practically lost. Though the grammatical categories of the adjective reflected those of the noun, most of them disappeared even before the noun lost the respective distinctions.

The geographical direction of the changes was generally the same as in the noun declensions. The process began in the North and North-East Midlands and spread south. The poem ORMULUM, written in c.

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[1] Fluctuation of *who* and *whom* continued in the period of "normalisation" and is quite common in English today.

1200 in the North-East Midland dialect reveals roughly the same state of adjective morphology as the poems of G. Chaucer and J. Gower written in the London dialect almost two hundred years later.

§ 457. The decay of the grammatical categories of the adjective proceeded in the following order. The first category to disappear was Gender, which ceased to be distinguished by the adjective in the 11th c.

The number of cases shown in the adjective paradigm was reduced: the Instr. case had fused with the Dat. by the end of OE; distinction of other cases in Early ME was unsteady, as many variant forms of different cases, which arose in Early ME, coincided. Cf. some variant endings of the Dat. case sg in the late 11th c.:

mid micl*um* here, mid micl*an* here, 'with a big army'
mid eall*on* his here 'with all his army'
In the 13th c. case could be shown only by some variable adjective endings in the strong declension (but not by the weak forms); towards the end of the century all case distinctions were lost.

The strong and weak forms of adjectives were often confused in Early ME texts. The use of a strong form after a demonstrative pronoun was not uncommon, though according to the existing rules, this position belonged to the weak form, e. g.:

in þere wildere sǣ 'in that wild sea' instead of *wilden sǣ*.
In the 14th c. the difference between the strong and weak form is sometimes shown in the sg with the help of the ending -e (see the paradigm and the examples below).

The general tendency towards an uninflected form affected also the distinction of Number, though Number was certainly the most stable nominal category in all the periods. In the 14th c. pl forms were sometimes contrasted to the sg forms with the help of the ending -e in the strong declension. Probably this marker was regarded as insufficient; for in the 13th and particularly 14th c. there appeared a new pl ending -s. The use of -s is attributed either to the influence of French adjectives, which take -s in the pl or to the influence of the ending -s of nouns, e. g.:

In other places *delitables*. (Chaucer)
('In other delightful places.')
§ 458. In the age of Chaucer the paradigm of the adjective consisted of four forms distinguished by a single vocalic ending -e.

Table 3

**Declension of Adjectives
In Late Middle English**

	sg	*pl*
Strong	blind	blinde
Weak	blinde	blinde

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This paradigm can be postulated only for monosyllabic adjectives ending in a consonant, such as ME *bad, good, long.* Adjectives ending in vowels and polysyllabic adjectives took no endings and could not show the difference between sg and pl forms or strong and weak forms: ME *able, swete, bisy, thredbare* and the like were uninflected.

Nevertheless certain distinctions between weak and strong forms, and also between sg and pl are found in the works of careful 14th c. writers like Chaucer and Gower. Weak forms are often used attributively after the possessive and demonstrative pronouns and after the definite article. Thus Chaucer has: *this ilke worthy knight* 'this same worthy knight'; *my deere herte* 'my dear heart', which are weak forms, the strong forms in the sg having no ending.

But the following examples show that strong and weak forms could be used indiscriminately:

A *trewe* swynkere and a *good* was he (Chaucer)
('A true labourer and a good (one) was he.')

Similarly, the pl and sg forms were often confused in the strong declension, e. g.:

A sheef of pecok-arves, *bright* and *kene,*
Under his belt he bar ful thriftily (Chaucer)
('A sheaf of peacock-arrows, bright and keen,
Under his belt he carried very thriftily.')

The distinctions between the sg and pl forms, and the weak and strong forms, could not be preserved for long, as they were not shown by all the adjectives; besides, the reduced ending *-e* [ə] was very unstable even in 14th c. English. In Chaucer's poems, for instance, it is always missed out in accordance with the requirements of the rhythm.

The loss of final *-e* in the transition to NE made the adjective an entirely uninflected part of speech.

Degrees of Comparison

§ 459. The degrees of comparison is the only set of forms which the adjective has preserved through all historical periods. However, the means employed to build up the forms of the degrees of comparison have considerably altered.

In OE the forms of the comparative and the superlative degree, like all the grammatical forms, were synthetic: they were built by adding the suffixes *-ra* and *-est/-ost,* to the form of the positive degree. Sometimes suffixation was accompanied by an interchange of the root-vowel; a few adjectives had suppletive forms (see § 187).

In ME the degrees of comparison could be built in the same way, only the suffixes had been weakened to *-er, -est* and the interchange of the root-vowel was less common than before. Since most adjectives with the sound alternation had parallel forms without it, the forms with an interchange soon fell into disuse. Cf. — ME *long, lenger, lengest* and *long, longer, longest* (the latter set replaced the former).

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The alternation of root-vowels in Early NE survived in the adjective *old, elder, eldest,* where the difference in meaning from *older, oldest,* made the formal distinction essential. Other traces of the old alternation are found in the pairs *farther* and *further* and also in the modern words *nigh, near* and *next,* which go back to the old degrees of comparison of the OE adjective *nēah* 'near', but have split into separate words.

§ 460. The most important innovation in the adjective system in the ME period was the growth of analytical forms of the degrees of comparison.

The new system of comparisons emerged in ME, but the ground for it had already been prepared by the use of the OE adverbs *mā, bet, betst, swiþor* — 'more', 'better', 'to a greater degree' with adjectives and participles. It is noteworthy that in ME, when the phrases with ME *more* and *most* became more and more common, they were used with all kinds of adjective, regardless of the number of syllables and were even preferred with mono- and disyllabic words.

Thus Chaucer has *more swete, better worthy,* Gower — *more hard* for 'sweeter', 'worthier' and 'harder'. The two sets of forms, synthetic and analytical, were used in free variation until the 17th and 18th c., when the modern standard usage was established.

§ 461. Another curious peculiarity observed in Early NE texts is the use of the so-called "double comparatives" and "double superlatives":

By thenne Syr Trystram waxed *more fressher* than Syr Marhaus. (Malory) ('By that time Sir Tristram grew more angry than Sir Marhaus'.)

Shakespeare uses the form *worser* which is a double comparative. A "double superlative" is seen in:

This was the *most unkindest* cut of all. (Shakespeare)

The wide range of variation acceptable in Shakespeare's day was condemned in the "Age of Correctness" — the 18th c. Double comparatives were banned as illogical and incorrect by the prescriptive grammars of the normalising period.

It appears that in the course of history the adjective has lost all the *dependent* grammatical categories but has preserved the only specifically *adjectival* category — the comparison. The adjective is the only nominal part of speech which makes use of the new, analytical, way of form-building.

Development of Nominal Grammatical Categories

§ 462. The decay of the nominal grammatical categories in Early ME is summarised in Table 4. The figures indicate the number of members or categorial forms distinguished within each category. The column Late ME shows the state of nominal categories in the 15th c., which was the same as in Mod E.

Table 4

Reduction of Nominal Grammatical Categories in Early Middle English

Grammatical Categories									
	Gender		Case		Number		Definiteness/ Indefinite- ness		Comparison
	OE	Late ME	OE	Late ME	OE	Late ME	OE	Late ME	OE Late ME
Noun	3	—	4	2	2	2	—	—	— —
Adjective	3	—	5	—	2	—	2	—	3 3
Personal pronoun 1st and 2nd p.	—	—	4	2	3	2	—	—	— —
3rd p.	3	3	4	2	2	2	—	—	— —
Demonstra- tive prono- uns	3	—	5	—	2	2	—	—	— —

THE VERB

§ 463. Unlike the morphology of the noun and adjective, which has become much simpler in the course of history, the morphology of the verb displayed two distinct tendencies of development: it underwent considerable simplifying changes, which affected the synthetic forms and became far more complicated owing to the growth of new, analytical forms and new grammatical categories. The evolution of the finite and non-finite forms of the verb is described below under these two trends.

SIMPLIFYING CHANGES IN THE VERB CONJUGATION

Finite Forms. Number, Person, Mood and Tense

§ 464. The decay of OE inflections, which transformed the nominal system, is also apparent in the conjugation of the verb — though to a lesser extent. Many markers of the grammatical forms of the verb were reduced, levelled and lost in ME and Early NE; the reduction, levelling and loss of endings resulted in the increased neutralisation of formal oppositions and the growth of homonymy.

The changes in the verb conjugation since the OE period can be seen from comparing the paradigms of the verbs *find* and *look* in Table 5 below to the paradigms of the verbs in OE (§ 190).

ME forms of the verb are represented by numerous variants, which reflect dialectal differences and tendencies of potential changes. The intermixture of dialectal features in the speech of London and in the literary language of the Renaissance played an important role in the

Table 5

Conjugation of Verbs in Middle English and Early New English[1]

	Strong		Weak	
	ME	Early NE	ME	Early NE
Infinitive	finde(n)	find	looke(n)	look
Present tense				
Indicative				
Sg 1st	finde	find	looke	look
2nd	findest/findes	findest	lookest /lookes	lookest
3rd	findeth/findes	finds /findeth	looketh /lookes	looks /looketh
Pl	finde(n)/findeth /findes	find	looke(n) /looketh /lookes	look
Subjunctive				
Sg	finde		looke	
Pl	finde(n)	find	looke(n)	look
Imperative	find(e)		look(e)	
	findeth/finde		looketh /looke	
Participle I	finding(e)/-ende /findind(e) /findand(e)	finding	looking(e) /-ende/-ind(e) /-ande	looking
Past tense				
Indicative				
Sg 1st	fand[2]		looked(e)	
2nd	founde/fand /fandes	found	lookedest	looked
3rd	fand		looked(e)	
Pl	founde(n)		looked(en)	
Subjunctive				
Sg	founde	found	looked(e)	looked
Pl	founde(n)		looked(en)	
Participle II	founden	found	looked	looked

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[1] In the lists of variants the London form comes first.
[2] By the end of the 15th c. the two stems of the Past tense of strong verbs fell together: *fand* and *founde(n)* was replaced by *found*, see strong verbs, § 478.

formation of the verb paradigm. The Early ME dialects supplied a store of parallel variant forms, some of which entered literary English and — with certain modifications — were eventually accepted as standard.

The simplifying changes in the verb morphology affected the distinction of the grammatical categories to a varying degree.

§ 465. *Number* distinctions were not only preserved in ME but even became more consistent and regular; towards the end of the period, however, — in the 15th c. — they were neutralised in most positions.

In the 13th and 14th c. the ending -*en* turned into the main, almost universal,

Endings of the plural of verbs (Present Tense Indicative Mood) in Middle English dialects

marker of the pl forms of the verb: it was used in both tenses of the Indicative and Subjunctive moods (the variants in -*eth* and -*es* in the Present Indicative were used only in the Southern and Northern dialects). In most classes of strong verbs (except Class 6 and 7) there was. an additional distinctive feature between the sg and pl forms in the Past tense of the Indicative mood: the two Past tense stems had different root-vowels (see *fand, fandest, fand* and *founden* in the table). But both ways of indicating pl turned out to be very unstable. The ending -*en* was frequently missed out in the late 14th c. and was dropped in the 15th; the Past tense stems of the strong verbs merged into one form (e. g. *found, wrote* — see the forms in Table 5 and § 478). All number distinctions were thus lost with the exception of the 2nd and 3rd p., Pres. tense Indic. mood: the sg forms were marked by the endings -*est* and -*eth*/-*es* and were formally opposed to the forms of the pl. (Number distinctions in the 2nd p. existed as long as *thou*, the pronoun of the 2nd p. sg was used, see § 466 and § 441. For the verb *to be* — which has. retained number distinction in both tenses of the Indic. mood — see § 494.)

Cf. the forms of the verb with the subject in the pl in the 14th and the 17th c.:

Thanne *longen* folk to goon on pilgrimages. (Chaucer)
('Then folks long to go on pilgrimages.')
All men *make* faults. (Shakespeare)

§ 466. The differences in the forms of *Person* were maintained in

ME, though they became more variable. The OE endings of the 3rd p. sg — -*þ*, -*eþ*, -*iaþ* — merged 'into a single ending -*(e)th*.

The variant ending of the 3rd p. -*es* was a new marker first recorded in the Northern dialects. It is believed that -*s* was borrowed from the pl forms which commonly ended in -*es* in the North; it spread to the sg and began to be used as a variant in the 2nd and 3rd p., but later was restricted to the 3rd.

In Chaucer's works we still find the old ending -*eth*. Shakespeare uses both forms, but forms in -*s* begin to prevail. Cf.:

He *rideth* out of halle. (Chaucer)
('He rides out of the hall')

My life ... *sinks* down to death. (Shakespeare) but also:
But beauty's waste *hath* in the world an end. (Shakespeare)

In Shakespeare's sonnets the number of -*s*-forms by far exceeds that of -*eth*-forms, though some short verbs, especially auxiliaries, take -*th*: *hath, doth*. Variation of -*s/-eth* is found in poetry in the 17th and 18th c.; the choice between them being determined by the rhymes:

But my late spring no buds or blossom *shew'th.*
Perhaps my semblance might deceive the *truth.* (Milton)

In the early 18th c. -*(e)s* was more common in private letters than in official and literary texts, but by the end of the century it was the dominant inflection of the 3rd p. sg in all forms of speech. (The phonetic development of the verb ending -*(e)s* since the ME period is similar to the development of -*(e)s* as a noun ending (see § 435). The use of -*eth* was stylistically restricted to high poetry and religious texts.

The ending -*(e)st* of the 2nd p. sg became obsolete together with the pronoun *thou*. The replacement of *thou* by *you/ye* eliminated the distinction of person in the verb paradigm — with the exception of the 3rd p. of the Present tense.

§ 467. Owing to the reduction of endings and levelling of forms the formal differences between the moods were also greatly obscured. In OE only a few forms of the Indicative and Subjunctive mood were homonymous: the 1st p. sg of the Present Tense and the 1st and 3rd p. sg of the Past. In ME the homonymy of the mood forms grew.

The Indicative and Subjunctive moods could no longer be distinguished in the pl, when -*en* became the dominant flection of the Indicative pl in the Present and Past. The reduction and loss of this ending in Early NE took place in all the forms irrespective of mood.

In the Past tense of strong verbs the difference between the moods in the sg could be shown by means of a root-vowel interchange, for the Subjunctive mood was derived from the third principal form of the verb — Past pl — while the sg forms of the Indicative mood were derived from the second principal form — Past sg. When, in the 15th c. the two Past tense stems of the strong verbs merged, all the forms of the moods in the Past tense fell together with the exception of the verb *to be*, which retained a distinct form of the Subjunctive in the Past sg — *were* as opposed to *was* (see § 494).

Compare the forms of the verb in the following quotations from Shakespeare used in similar syntactic conditions; some forms are distinctly marked, others are ambiguous and can be understood either as Subjunctive or as Indicative:

If there *be* truth in sight, you are my Rosalind...
If thou *survive* my well contented day... — Subj.

Against that time, if ever that time *come*... — Subj.

If truth *holds* true contents... — Indic.

If I *lose* thee, my loss is my love's gain... — Indic. or Subj.

§ 468. The distinction of *tenses* was preserved in the verb paradigm through all historical periods.[1] As before, the Past tense was shown with the help of the dental suffix in the weak verbs, and with the help of the root-vowel interchange — in the strong verbs (after the loss of the endings the functional load of the vowel interchange grew, cf. OE *cuman — cuom — cōmon*, differing in the root-vowels and endings, and NE *come — came*). The only exception was a small group of verbs which came from OE weak verbs of Class I: in these verbs the dental suffix fused with the last consonant of the root — [t] — and after the loss of the endings the three principal forms coincided: cf. OE *settan — sette — ʒe-set(ed)*, ME *seten — sette — set*, NE *set — set — set* (see the development of non-standard verbs below, § 484 ff.).

Verbals. The Infinitive and the Participle

§ 469. The system of verbals in OE consisted of the Infinitive and two Participles. Their nominal features were more pronounced than their verbal features, the Infinitive being a sort of verbal noun, Participles I and II, verbal adjectives.

The main trends of their evolution in ME and NE can be defined as gradual loss of most nominal features (except syntactical functions) and growth of verbal features. The simplifying changes in the verb paradigm, and the decay of the OE inflectional system account for the first of these trends — loss of case distinctions in the infinitive and of forms of agreement in the Participles.

§ 470. The Infinitive lost its inflected form (the so-called "Dat. case") in Early ME. OE *writan* and *tō writanne* appear in ME as *(to) writen*, and in NE as *(to) write*. The preposition *tō*, which was placed in OE before the inflected infinitive to show direction or purpose, lost its prepositional force and changed into a formal sign of the Infinitive. In ME the Infinitive with *to* does not necessarily express purpose. In order to reinforce the meaning of purpose another preposition, *for*, was sometimes placed before the *to*-infinitive. Cf.:

To lyven in delit was evere his wone. (Chaucer)
('To live in delight was always his habit.')

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[1] The changes in the meaning and use of tenses and moods are described below, in the paragraphs dealing with the development of analytical forms.

... to Caunterbury they wende
The hooly, blisful martir *for to seke.* (Chaucer)
('They went to Canterbury to seek the holy blissful martyr.')
It may have been important to preserve the infinitive marker *to* in order to distinguish the infinitive from other forms built from the Present tense stem, which had lost their endings. (Cf. ME 1st p. sg *finde,* 2nd *findest,* 3rd *findeth,* pl — *finden* — Inf. *finden;* Early NE *find.)*

§ 471. The distinctions between the two participles were preserved in ME and NE: Participle I had an active meaning and expressed a process or quality simultaneous with the events described by the predicate of the sentence. Participle II had an active or passive meaning depending on the transitivity of the verb, and expressed a preceding action or its results in the subsequent situation.

The form of Participle I in Early ME is of special interest, as it displayed considerable dialectal differences (see Table 5 in § 464). As shown in the map, the Southern and Midland forms were derived from the present tense stem with the help of *-ing(e),* while other dialects had forms in *-inde, -ende* and *-ande.* The first of these variants — *find-ing(e), looking(e)* — became the dominant form in the literary language. Participle I coincided with the verbal noun, which was formed in OE with the help of the suffixes *-ung* and *-ing,* but had preserved only one suffix, *-ing,* in ME. (The fusion of the Participle with the verbal noun was an important factor of the growth of a new verbal, the Gerund, and played a certain role in the development of the Continuous forms, see § 474 and § 520.)

Forms of Participle I in Middle English dialects

§ 472. The forms of Participle II in ME are shown in Table 5 (§ 464) and their evolution in different morphological classes of verbs is described in detail below (§ 475 ff). In ME the weak verbs built Participle II with the help of the dental suffix *-(e)d, -t,* the strong verbs — with the help of vowel gradation and the suffix *-en.* The Past Participle and the Past tense of the weak verbs fell together by the end of ME, when the unstressed [ə] in the ultimate or penultimate syllable was dropped: ME *lookede* and *looked* merged into NE *looked;* the Past Participle of the strong verbs coincided with the Past pl stem in ME in the classes

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which had the same gradation vowel in both these stems, that is in Class 1 and part of Class 3, e. g. OE *riden* and *ridon* became ME *riden;* OE *funden* and *fundon* became ME *founden*. In Early NE there was a strong tendency to eliminate the difference between the Past tense and Participle II in all strong verbs — but it was cut short in the period of normalisation, so that over 50 modern non-standard verbs have preserved the distinction (see § 479).

The OE prefix ӡе-, which was a frequent marker of the Past Participle was weakened to *i-* or *y-* in ME. It was typical of Southern ME dialects and is fairly common in Chaucer's poetry, but rare in prose (probably it was added if required by rhythm, which means that it was not an obligatory grammatical marker). Cf.:

For he was late *y-come* from his viage,
And wente for to doon his pilgrimage
('For he had come from his voyage late (not long before) and went to do his pilgrimage')

That hem hath *holpen* whan that they were seeke
('What has helped them when they were ill')

§ 473. Being verbal adjectives Participles I and II lost their gender, case and number distinctions and also the weak and strong forms in the same way as the adjectives, and even somewhat earlier. They sometimes took *-e* in Early ME and were totally uninflected in Late ME. Cf.:

Of Þan toforen *i-seide* redesmen   (Proclamation, 1258)
('Of those above mentioned councillors')

Hir hosen were of fine scarlet reed ful streit *y-teyd*. (Chaucer)
('Her stockings were made of fine scarlet red, tied very straight')

It is important to note that while the verbals lost their nominal grammatical categories, they retained their nominal syntactic features: the syntactic functions corresponding to those of the noun and adjectives; they also retained their verbal syntactic features — the ability to take an object and an adverbial modifier (the growth of other verbal features is connected with the development of analytical forms — see § 523 ff).

Development of the Gerund

§ 474. The Late ME period witnessed the growth of a new verbal known in modern grammars as the *Gerund*. The gerund can be traced to three sources: the OE verbal noun in *-unӡ* and *-inӡ*, the Present Participle and the Infinitive. In OE the verbal noun derived from transitive verbs took an object in the Gen. case, which corresponded to the direct object of the finite verb; cf. OE *sēo fēding þāra scēapa* equivalent to 'the feeding of the sheep' with *hie fēdaþ þā scēap* 'they feed the sheep'. The syntactic functions of the verbal noun, the infinitive and the participle partly overlapped. In ME the Present Participle and the verbal

noun became identical: they both ended in -ing. This led to the confusion of some of their features: verbal nouns began to take direct objects, like participles and infinitives. This verbal feature — a direct object — as well as the frequent absence of article before the -ing-form functioning as a noun — transformed the verbal noun into a Gerund in the modern understanding of the term. The disappearance of the inflected infinitive contributed to the change, as some of its functions were taken over by the Gerund.

The earliest instances of a verbal noun resembling a Gerund date from the 12th c. Chaucer uses the -ing-form in substantival functions both ways: with a prepositional object like a verbal noun and with a direct object, e.g. *in getynge on your richesse and the usinge hem* 'in getting your riches and using them'. In Early NE the -ing-form in the function of a noun is commonly used with an adverbial modifier and with a direct object — in case of transitive verbs, e.g.:

Tis pity ... That *wishing well* had not a body in't
Which might be felt. (Shakespeare)

Drink, being poured out of a cup into a glass, by *filling the one,* doth empty the other. (Shakespeare)

Those were the verbal features of the Gerund. The nominal features, retained from the verbal noun, were its syntactic functions and the ability to be modified by a possessive pronoun or a noun in the Gen. case:

And why should we proclaim it in an hour before *his entering*? (Shakespeare)

In the course of time the sphere of the usage of the Gerund grew: it replaced the Infinitive and the Participle in many adverbial functions; its great advantage was that it could be used with various prepositions, e.g.:
And now he fainted and cried, *in fainting,* upon Rosalind.

Shall we clap into't roundly *without hawking,* or spitting, or saying we are hoarse... (Shakespeare) (see also the example above: *by filling*).

CHANGES IN THE MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSES OF VERBS

§ 475. The historical changes in the ways of building the principal forms of the verb ("stems") transformed the morphological classification of the verbs. The OE division into classes of weak and strong verbs was completely re-arranged and broken up. Most verbs have adopted the way of form-building employed by the weak verbs: the dental suffix. The strict classification of the strong verbs, with their regular system of form-building, degenerated. In the long run all these changes led to increased regularity and uniformity and to the development of a more consistent and simple system of building the principal forms of the verb.

Strong Verbs

§ 476. The seven classes of OE strong verbs underwent multiple grammatical and phonetic changes (see Table 6).

In ME the final syllables of the stems, like all final syllables, were weakened, in Early NE most of them were lost. Thus the OE endings -*an*, -*on*, and -*en* (of the 1st, 3rd and 4th principal forms) were all reduced to ME -*en*; consequently in Classes 6 and 7, where the infinitive and the participle had the same gradation vowel, these forms fell together; in Classes 1 and 3a it led to the coincidence of the 3rd and 4th principal forms. In the ensuing period, the final -*n* was lost in the infinitive and the past tense plural, but was sometimes preserved in Participle II, probably to distinguish the participle from other forms. Thus, despite phonetic reduction, -*n* was sometimes retained to show an essential grammatical distinction, cf. NE *stole* — *stolen*, *spoke* — *spoken*, but *bound* — *bound* (see also § 479).

§ 477. In ME and Early NE the root-vowels in the principal forms of all the classes of strong verbs underwent the regular changes of stressed vowels (the vowels in OE forms in Table 6 are seen from the spelling, the vowels in ME are given in brackets). The sound changes of stressed vowels were described in detail in Ch. XIV; they will be mentioned below only in as much as they have grammatical significance.

Due to phonetic changes vowel gradation in Early ME was considerably modified. Lengthening of vowels before some consonant sequences split the verbs of Class 3 into two subgroups: verbs like *findan* had now long root-vowels in all the forms; while in verbs like *drinken* the root-vowel remained short. Thus ME *writen* and *finden* (Classes 1 and 3) had the same vowel in the infinitive but different vowels in the Past and Participle II. Participle II of Classes 2, 4 and 6 acquired long root-vowels [o:] and [a:] due to lengthening in open syllables, while in the Participle with Class 1 — the vowel remained short. These phonetic changes made the interchange less consistent and justified than before, for instance, verbs with long [i:] in the first stem (*writen*, *finden*) would, for no apparent reason, use different interchanges to form the other stems.

At the same time there was a strong tendency to make the system of forms more regular. The strong verbs were easily influenced by analogy. It was due to analogy that they lost practically all consonant interchanges in ME and Early NE (see OE *cēosan*, ME *chesen* in Table 6; however, the interchange [z ~ r] in *was ~ were* was retained). Classes which had many similar forms were often confused: OE *sprecan* — Class 5 — began to build the Past Participle *spoken*, like verbs of Class 4 (also NE *weave* and *tread*).

§ 478. The most important change in the system of strong verbs was the reduction in the number of stems from four to three, by removing the distinction between the two past tense stems. In OE these stems had the same gradation vowels only in Classes 6 and 7, but we should recall that the vast majority of English verbs — which were weak — had a single stem for all the past forms. These circumstances facilitated

Table 6

Changes of the Principal Forms of Strong Verbs in Middle English and Early New English

Left columns

Principal forms	OE	ME	NE
Class 1			
Inf.	wrītan	writen [iː]	write
Past sg	wrāt	wrote [ɔː]	wrote
Past pl	writon	writen [ɪ]	wrote
Part. II	writen	writen [ɪ]	written
Class 3			
Inf.	findan	finden [iː]	find
Past sg	fand	fand [a] or [aː]	found
Past pl	fundon	founden [uː]	found
Part. II	funden	founden [uː]	found
Class 4			
Inf.	beran	beren [ɛː]	bear
Past sg	bær	bar [a]	bore
Past pl	bǣron	beren [ɛː]	bore
Part. II	boren	boren [ɔː]	born
Class 6			
Inf.	scacan	shaken [aː]	shake
Past sg	scōc	shook [oː]	shook
Past pl	scōcon	shoken [oː]	shaken
Part. II	scacen	shaken [aː]	shaken

Right columns

Principal forms	OE	ME	NE
Class 2			
Inf.	cēosan	chesen [eː]	choose
Past sg	cēas ·	chees [ɛː]	chose
Past pl	curon	chosen [ɔː]	chose
Part. II	coren	chosen [ɔː]	chosen
Class 3			
Inf.	drincan	drinken [iː]	drink
Past sg	dronc	drank [a]	drank
Past pl	druncon	drunken [u]	drunk
Part. II	druncen	drunken [u]	drunk
Class 5			
Inf.	sp(r)ecan	speken [ɛː]	speak
Past sg	sp(r)æc	spak [a]	spoke
Past pl	spǣcon	speken [ɛː]	spoke
Part. II	specen	speken [eː], spoken [ɔː]	spoken
Class 7			
Inf.	cnāwan	knowen [ou]	know
Past sg	cnēow	knew [eu]	knew
Past pl	cnēowon	knewen [eu]	knew
Part. II	cnāwen	knowen [ou]	known

¹ ME forms represent the London literary language of the late 14th c.; the final -n in the Infinitive and Past pl is unstable.

analogical levelling, which occurred largely in Late ME. Its direction depended on the dialect, and on the class of the verb.

In the Northern dialects the vowel of the Past sg tended to replace that of the Past pl; in the South and in the Midlands the distinction between the stems was preserved longer than in the North. In the South and South-West the vowel of the Past sg was often replaced by that of the Past pl or of the Past Participle, especially if the 3rd and 4th stems had the same root-vowel. Some classes of verbs showed preference for one or another of these ways.

Different directions of levelling can be exemplified by forms which were standardised in literary English: *wrote, rose, rode* are Past sg forms by origin (Class 1); *bound, found* are Past pl (Class 3a); *spoke, got, bore* (Classes 5, 4) took their root-vowel from Participle II. Since the 15th c. a single stem was used as a base for all the forms of the Past Tense of the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods.

§ 479. The tendency to reduce the number of stems continued in Early NE. At this stage it affected the distinction between the new Past tense stem and Participle II. Identical forms of these stems are found not only in the literary texts and private letters but even in books on English grammar: thus Ben Jonson (1640) recommends *beat* and *broke* as correct forms of Participle II; Shakespeare uses *sang* and *spoke* both as Past tense forms and Participle II.[1]

This tendency was severely criticised by the lexicographers and grammarians of the "age of correctness". In RUDIMENTS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR (1769) J. Priestley lamented the inadequacies of English and condemned the confusion of these forms:

"As the paucity of inflections is the greatest defect of our language, we ought to take advantage of every variety that the practice of good authors will warrant; therefore, if possible, make a participle different from the preterite of a verb, as 'a book is written' not 'wrote', the 'ships are taken' not 'took'."

Nevertheless instances of such merging are found in the works of the best 18th c. authors, e.g. *will have stole* (Swift); *some disaster has befell* (Gay) — Participle II does not differ from the Past. It is probable that prescriptive grammars and dictionaries played a certain role in putting an end to this tendency, at least in some verbs.

§ 480. One of the most important events in the history of the strong verbs was their transition into weak. In ME and Early NE many strong verbs began to form their Past and Participle II with the help of the dental suffix instead of vowel gradation. Therefore the number of strong verbs decreased.

In OE there were about three hundred strong verbs. Some of them dropped out of use owing to changes in the vocabulary, while most of the remaining verbs became weak. Out of 195 OE strong verbs, preserved in the language, only 67 have retained strong forms with root-vowel interchanges roughly corresponding to the OE gradation series

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[1] By that time the weak verbs had lost all distinctions between the forms of the Past tense and Participle II — small as these distinctions were. The model of the weak verbs, with two basic forms, may have influenced the strong verbs.

(see § 484). 128 verbs acquired weak forms; most of these verbs belong nowadays to "regular" or "standard" verbs, e.g. NE *grip* (former Class 1), *seethe, bow, lock* (Class 2), *climb, help, swallow* (Class 3), *wash, fare* (Class 6). The number of new verbs, which joined the classes of strong verbs, was very small — several former weak verbs, e.g. NE *wear, dig, stick* (see § 483) and three borrowings — *take, thrive* (from O Scand), *strive* (from O Fr).

The changes in the formation of principal parts of strong verbs extended over a long period — from the 12th to 18th c. It is natural that during this period — especially in the 14th-17th c. many parallel forms were used in free variation: historical forms due to regular phonetic changes, and analogical forms of diverse origin, which arose under the influence of other classes of strong verbs and of weak verbs (e.g. Chaucer has two parallel forms for the Past of *slepen* and *wepen*: *sleep* [sle:p], *slepte; weep, wept*; two forms of the Past Participle for *faren* — *faren, ferd*).

Weak Verbs

§ 481. The evolution of the weak verbs in ME and in Early NE reveals a strong tendency towards greater regularity and order. Table 7 shows the main changes in the classes of weak verbs (subclasses of OE Class I are described in § 485 as sources of modern non-standard verbs; Class III is not shown as it did not exist in ME). The OE verbs of Class III,

Table 7

Changes of the Principal Forms of Weak Verbs in Middle English and Early New English

	OE	ME	NE
	Class I	*Class I*	
Inf.	dēm-an	deem-en	*deem*
Past	dēm-de	deem-de	*deemed*
Part. II	dēm-ed	deem-ed	*deemed*
		Class II	
Inf.	styr-ian	stir-en	*stir*
Past	styr-ede	stir-ede	*stirred*
Part. II	styr-ed	stir-ed	*stirred*
	Class II		
Inf.	lōc-ian	look-en	*look*
Past	lōc-ode	look-ede	*looked*
Part. II	lōc-od	look-ed	*looked*

either joined the other classes of weak verbs as, e.g. OE *libban*, ME Class I *liven*, NE *live* or became irregular, e.g. OE *habban*, ME *haven*, NE *have*; OE *secȝan*, ME *seyen*, NE *say*.

As seen from Table 7, in ME we can distinguish two classes of weak verbs with some rearrangement between the classes as compared with OE.

ME verbs of Class I took the ending *-de* in the past without an intermediate vowel before the dental suffix — and the ending *-ed* in the Past Participle. They had descended from OE verbs of Class I with a long root syllable (containing a long vowel or a short vowel plus two consonants — OE *dēman*, *temman* — see § 204, Table 14, Cl. I (b), (c).

The verbs of Class II, which were marked by *-ode*, *-od* in OE, had weakened these endings to *-ede*, *-ed* in ME. Since a few verbs of OE Class I had *-ede*, *-ed* (the type Ia *styrian*), they are included in ME Class II. Consequently, the only difference between the two classes of weak verbs in ME was the presence or absence of the element *-e-* before the dental suffix in the Past tense stem.

In Late ME the vowel [e] in unstressed medial and final syllables became very unstable and was lost. This change eliminated the differences between the two classes and also the distinctions between 2nd and 3rd principal forms, thus reducing the number of stems in the weak verbs from three to two. Late ME weak verbs are the immediate source of modern standard (regular) verbs.

§ 482. The development of the inflection *-(e)de* in Early NE shows the origins of the modern variants of the forms of the Past tense and Participle II in standard verbs:

Phonetic conditions	ME		NE
After a voiced consonant or a vowel	*deemde*	['de:mdə] > [di:md]	*deemed*
	pleyede	['pleiədə] > [pleid]	*played*
After a voiceless consonant	*lookede*	['lo:kədə] > [lu:kəd] > [lukt]	*looked*
After [t] or [d]	*wantede*	['wantədə] > [wɔntid]	*wanted*

§ 483. The marker of the Past tense and Participle II employed by the weak verbs — the dental suffix *-d/-t* — proved to be very productive in all historical periods. This simple and regular way of form-building, employed by the majority of OE verbs, attracted hundreds of new verbs in ME and NE. As mentioned above, many former strong verbs began to build weak forms alongside strong ones, the strong forms ultimately falling into disuse. The productivity of this device is borne out by the fact that practically all the borrowed verbs and all the newly-formed verbs in ME and NE built their Past tense and Participle II on the model of weak verbs, e.g. *skate*, *die*, *call* (from O Scand), *assist*, *charm* (from Fr), *decorate*, *execute* (from L).

The reverse process — weak verbs changing into strong ones — was of rare occurrence. And nevertheless a few weak verbs adopted strong

forms. These changes account for the forms of NE *wear* (which was formerly a weak verb of Class I, but acquired new forms by analogy with *bear* or *tear*, Class 4 of strong verbs), NE *hide* (which fell under the influence of *rise*, *ride* — Class 1), *ring*, *fling* and *string* which came to be associated with Class 3 (*sing*) due to the obvious phonetic resemblance, and also *dig*, *chide* and *stave*. (In some verbs we find a mixture of the two types, weak and strong, e.g. OE *scēawian*, weak verb of Class 1 has adopted the suffix *-n* from the strong conjugation, though its Past tense has remained weak, NE *show, showed, shown.*)

Origins of Some Groups of Modern Non-Standard Verbs

§ 484. As shown above, the proportion of strong and weak verbs in the language has considerably altered in the course of history. The OE strong verbs, reduced by over two thirds, constitute a small group of verbs in present-day English: they belong to non-standard verbs, which include nowadays many more verbs coming from various sources.

Sixty-seven non-standard verbs, which can be traced to the classes of strong verbs are listed in Table 8. The changes of their root-vowels, since OE reflect the regular phonetic modifications of stressed vowels, or else were brought about by analogy, under the influence of verbs with resembling forms. Their modern forms are so varied that the OE division into classes is inapplicable. The verbs are grouped under OE classes merely to indicate their origins.

§ 485. Several groups of modern non-standard verbs have developed from the weak verbs of Class I. Nowadays they employ various form-building devices: the dental suffix, vowel and consonant interchanges.

A number of verbs displayed certain irregularities as early as in OE (see § 205), others acquired their peculiarities in ME.

(1) Verbs like OE *sellan* and *tæcan* (Cl. I e, f) had an interchange in the root caused by palatal mutation in the Present tense stem and its absence in the other stems (Past tense *salde/sealde, tāhte*). In ME and NE they preserved the root-vowel interchange, though some of the vowels were altered due to regular quantitative and qualitative vowel changes: ME *sellen — solde* (OE *salde*>Early ME ['sa:lde]>Late ME ['sɔ:ldə]> NE *sold* [sould]), *techen — taughte*; NE *sell — sold, teach — taught.*

(2) Another group of weak verbs became irregular in Early ME as a result of quantitative vowel changes. In verbs like OE *cēpan, fēdan, mētan* (§ 205, Table 14, type Ic) the long vowel in the root was shortened before two consonants in the Past and Participle II; OE *cēpte*> ME *kepte* ['keptə]. The long vowel in the Present tense stem was preserved and was altered during the Great Vowel Shift, hence the interchange [i:~e], NE *keep — kept, feed — fed.*

This group of verbs attracted several verbs from other classes — NE *sleep, weep, read,* which formerly belonged to Class 7 of strong verbs. Some verbs of this group — NE *mean, feel* — have a voiceless [t] in

Table 8

Modern Non-Standard Verbs Originating from Old English Strong Verbs

OE Classes							
Class 1		**Class 2**	**Class 3**				
abide	strike	choose	begin	sling	spin	wring	run
bite	slide	freeze	drink	slink	sting	bind	fight
drive	smile	cleave	shrink	spring	stink	find	
ride	stride	fly	sing	swim	swing	grind	
rise	write	shoot	sink	cling	win	wind	
shine							

(continued)

OE Classes				
Class 4	**Class 5**		**Class 6**	**Class 7**
bear	bid	see	draw	fall
break	eat	sit	forsake	hold
steal	give	speak	shake	hang
tear	get	tread	slay	blow
come	lie	weave	stand	grow
			swear	know
			take	throw

the Past tense and Participle II, though this devoicing cannot be accounted for by phonetic conditions: the preceding sound is a sonorant.

(3) Verbs like OE *settan*, with the root ending in a dental consonant, added the dental suffix without the intervening vowel [e] — OE *sette*. When the inflections were reduced and dropped, the three stems of the verbs — Present, Past and Participle II fell together: NE *set* — *set — set*; *put — put — put*; *cast — cast — cast*, etc. The final -*t* of the root had absorbed the dental suffix. (Wherever possible the distinctions were preserved or even introduced: thus OE *sendan, restan*, which had the same forms — *sende, reste* — for the Past and Present — appear in ME as *senden — sente, resten — rested(e)*.)

§ 486. It must be noted that although the number of non-standard verbs in Mod E is not large — about 200 items — they constitute an important feature of the language. Most of them belong to the basic layer of the vocabulary, have a high frequency of occurrence and are widely used in word-formation and phraseological units. Their significance for the grammatical system lies in the fact that many of these verbs have preserved the distinction between three principal forms, which makes modern grammarians recognise three stems in all English verbs despite the formal identity of the Past and Participle II.

§ 487. The verbs included in the minor groups underwent multiple changes in ME and Early NE: phonetic and analogical changes, which affected their forms, and semantic changes which affected their functions.

Several preterite-present verbs died out. The surviving verbs lost some of their old forms and grammatical distinctions but retained many specific peculiarities. They lost the forms of the verbals which had sprung up in OE and the distinctions between the forms of number and mood in the Present tense. In NE their paradigms have been reduced to two forms or even to one.

§ 488. ME *can* (from OE *cann*, Pres. Ind. sg 1st and 3rd p.) was used not only in the sg but also in the pl by the side of *cunnen*, the descendant of OE pl *cunnon*; the latter, as well as the Subj. forms *cunnen*, *cunne* died out by the end of the ME period. The Past tense Ind. and Subj. appears in ME in two variants: *couth(e)* and *coud(e)*. *Couth* became obsolete in NE, but *coud* was preserved. The insertion of *l* in spelling (*could*) may be due to the analogy of *should* and *would* where *l* was etymologically justified. In ME the verb *can*, and especially its Past Participle is still used in the original meaning 'know', e.g.:

To ferne halves *couthe* in sundry londes (Chaucer)
('To old saints, known in various lands')

However, *can*, *couth/coude* is much more common as a modal verb indicating physical or mental ability; gradually it replaced OE *mæʒ*, ME *may* and OE *mōt* in these meanings:

I grant thee lyf, if thou *kanst tellen* me
What thyng is it that wommen moost desiren. (Chaucer)
('I grant you life, if you can tell me what thing it is that women desire most.')

§ 489. ME *may* (from OE *mæʒ*) was used as the main form of th Present tense, alongside *mowen/mowe*, and as the only form of the Pres ent in Early NE. Its Infinitive and Participle I went out of use; its Past tense *might* (from OE *meahte, mihte*, ME *mighte*) was retained as the Past form, Indicative and Subjunctive. As compared with OE, *may* has narrowed its meaning, for some of its functions, namely indication of physical and mental ability, have passed to the verb *can*.

§ 490. ME *shall* (OE *sceal*) has lost many of its old forms: the pl forms, the forms of Pres. Subj., the Inf., and has retained only two forms *shall* and *should* (ME *sholde, sholde(n)*) — Past Ind. and Subj. In ME it was no longer used as a notional verb of full predication but was widely used, in both forms, as a modal verb, to express necessity, obligation and order, e.g.:

"Nay, by my fader soule, that he *schall* nat!"
Seyde the Shipman, "heer *schall* he nat *preche*" (Chaucer)
("No, by my father's soul, that he shall not (do),"
said the shipman, "he must not preech here.")

The form *sholde* also occurred in Pres. tense contexts as the Subj. of *shall*; eventually it lost its ties with *shall* and became a separate modal verb with its own sphere of meanings. We may say that in Early NE *should* repeated the original history of preterite-present verbs: the Past tense form of *shall*, *should* has acquired the meaning of the present and has turned into a new modal verb, e.g, *should*.

The king commandeth his constable mon ...
But in the same ship as he hire fond,
Hire, and hir yonge sone, and al hir geere,
He *sholde* putte, and croude hire fro the lond. (Chaucer)
('The king commands his constable that he should put
her and her young son in the ship where he found her
with all her gear, and drive her out from the land.')

§ 491. A similar shift of time-reference is observed in the history of *must* and *ought*. *Môste, môstest, môsten* were Past forms of the OE preterite-present *môt* 'can'. The Pres. tense forms have been lost while *must* has acquired the meaning of obligation and is now treated as a Pres. tense form.[2] OE *āȝte, āȝton, āȝten* were Past tense forms of OE *āȝan*, which have acquired the meaning of the present and developed into a new modal verb, ME *ought(e)* (the original meaning 'possess' is preserved in the other descendant of the OE verb, NE *owe*, and also in *own*, related to the same root).

One more modern verb, *dare*, is a preterite-present by origin; unlike other verbs it has lost most of the peculiarities, characteristic of preterite-presents and of modern modal verbs: it usually takes *-s* in the 3rd p. and has a standard Past form *dared*. The only traces of its origin are the negative and interrogative forms, which can be built without the auxiliary *do*.

§ 492. The OE verb *willan*, though not a preterite-present by origin, has acquired many features typical of the group, probably due to semantic and functional affinities (see § 209). In ME it was commonly used as a modal verb expressing volition. In the course of time it formed a system with *shall*, as both verbs, *shall* and *will* (and also *should*, *would*), began to weaken their lexical meanings and change into auxiliaries, see § 498 ff.).

§ 493. OE *ȝân* has had a most unusual history. In OE its Past form was built from a different root and had a weak ending: *ēode*; its Part. II ended in *-n*, similarly with strong verbs (ȝe)ȝân. In ME the verb acquired a new Past tense *wente*, which came from an entirely different verb, OE *wendan* (ME *wenden*, NE *wend*). Its OE Past form *wente* had entered the paradigm of *goon* (NE *go*, *went*), while *wend* acquired a new past form *wended*. Thus the verb *go* remained a suppletive verb,

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[1] *Shall* and *should* were often used with a weakened lexical meaning in verb phrases indicating future and problematic actions; for their development into auxiliaries of the Future tense and Subj. mood see § 497-507.
[2] Traces of the old use of *must* as a Past tense form can be found in reported speech where *must* occurs with the Past tense of the verb-predicate in the main clause: *He said that he must go.*

though its OE Past was replaced by a new form (this is a rare instance of suppletion appearing at a relatively recent period of history).

§ 494. ME *ben* (NE *be*) inherited its suppletive forms from the OE and more remote periods of history. It owes its variety of forms not only to suppletion but also to the dialectal divergence in OE and ME and to the inclusion of various dialectal traits in literary English (see Table 9). The Past tense forms were fairly homogeneous in all the dialects. The forms of the Pres. tense were derived from different roots and displayed considerable dialectal differences. ME *am* and *are(n)* came from the Midland (Anglian) dialects and replaced the West Saxon *eom, sint/sindon.* In OE the forms with the initial *b-* — from *bēon* — were synonymous and interchangeable with the other forms but in Late ME and NE they acquired a new function: they were used as forms of the Subj. and the Imper. moods or in reference to the future and were thus opposed to the forms of the Pres. Ind. Cf.:

Table 9

Conjugation of OE *bēon*, ME *ben*, NE *be*

	OE		ME	NE
Infinitive	*wesan	bēon	been	be
Pres. Indicative				
1st p. sg	eom/am	bēo/biom	am	am
2nd p. sg	eart	bist/bis	art	—
3rd p. sg	is	biþ	is	is
Pl	sint/sindon earon/aron	bēoþ	been/ are(n)	are
Pres. Subjunctive				
Sg	sīe, sȳ	bēo	be ⎫	be
Pl	sīen, sȳn	bēon	been ⎭	
Imperative				
Sg	wes	bēo	bee	be
Pl	wesaþ	bēoþ	beeth	
Part. I	wesende	bēonde	beyng(e) beande	being
Past Indicative				
1st p. sg		wæs	was	was
2nd p. sg		wære	were	—
3rd p. sg		wæs	was	was
Pl		wæron	weren	were
Past Subjunctive				
Sg		wære	were ⎫	were
Pl		wæren	weren ⎭	
Part. II		—	been	been

O myghty God, if that it *be* thy wille,
Sith thou *art* rightful juge, how may it be... (Chaucer)
('Oh, mighty God, if it be thy will, since you are (thou art) the right-
ful judge, how can it be...')
Hang *be* the heavens with black, yield day to night! (Shakespeare)

Forms with the initial *b-* were also retained or built in ME as the
forms of verbals: ME *being/beande* — Part. I, *ben*, *y-ben* — the newly
formed Part. II (in OE the verb had no Past Part.); the Inf. *ben* (NE
being, *been*, *be*).

The redistribution of suppletive forms in the paradigm of *be* made
it possible to preserve some of the grammatical distinctions which were
practically lost in other verbs, namely the distinction of number, person
and mood.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GRAMMATICAL FORMS
AND CATEGORIES OF THE VERB
Preliminary Remarks

§ 495. The evolution of the verb system in the course of history
*was not confined to the simplification of the conjugation and to growing
regularity in building the forms of the verb.* In ME and NE the verb
paradigm expanded, owing to the addition of new grammatical forms
and to the formation of new grammatical categories. The extent of
these changes can be seen from a simple comparison of the number of
categories and categorial forms in Early OE with their number today.
Leaving out of consideration Number and Person — as categories of
concord with the Subject — we can say that OE finite verbs had two
verbal grammatical categories proper: Mood and Tense. According to
Mod E grammars the finite verb has five categories — Mood, Tense,
Aspect, Time-Correlation and Voice. All the new forms which have been
included in the verb paradigm are analytical forms; all the synthetic
forms are direct descendants of OE forms, for *no new synthetic categor-
ial forms have developed since the OE period.*

The growth of analytical forms of the verb is a common Germanic
tendency, though it manifested itself a long time after PG split into
separate languages. The beginnings of these changes are dated in Late
OE and in ME. The growth of compound forms from free verb phrases
was a long and complicated process which extended over many hundred
years and included several kinds of changes.

§ 496. A genuine analytical verb form must have a stable structural
pattern different from the patterns of verb phrases; it must consist of
several component parts: an auxiliary verb, sometimes two or three
auxiliary verbs, e.g. NE *would have been taken* — which serve as a
grammatical marker, and a non-finite form — Inf. or Part., — which
serves as a grammatical marker and expresses the lexical meaning of
the form. The analytical form should be idiomatic: its meaning is not
equivalent to the sum of meanings of the component parts (see also
§ 421 for the analytical way of form-building).

The development of these properties is known as the process of "gram-

matisation". Some verb phrases have been completely grammatised e.g. the Perfect forms. Some of them have not been fully grammatised to this day and are not regarded as ideal analytical forms in modern grammars (for instance, the Future tense).

In order to become a member of a grammatical category and a part of the verb paradigm the new form had to acquire another important quality: a specific meaning of its own which would be contrasted to the meaning of its opposite member within the grammatical category (in the same way as e. g. Past is opposed to Pres. or pl is opposed to sg). It was only at the later stages of development that such semantic oppositions were formed. Originally the verb phrases and the new compound forms were used as synonyms (or "near synonyms") of the old synthetic forms; gradually the semantic differences between the forms grew: the new forms acquired a specific meaning while the application of the old forms was narrowed. It was also essential that the new analytical forms should be used unrestrictedly in different varieties of the language and should embrace verbs of different lexical meanings.

The establishment of an analytical form in the verb system is confirmed by the spread of its formal pattern in the verb paradigm. Compound forms did not spring up simultaneously in all the parts of the verb system: an analytical form *appeared in some part of the system and from there its pattern extended to other* parts. Thus the perfect forms first arose in the Past and Pres. tense of the Ind. Mood in the Active Voice and from there spread to the Subj. Mood, the Passive Voice, the non-finite verb.

Those were the main kinds of changes which constitute the growth of new grammatical forms and new verbal categories. They are to be found in the history of all the forms, with certain deviations and individual peculiarities. The dating of these developments is uncertain; therefore the order of their description below does not claim to be chronological.

Growth of New Forms within the Existing Grammatical Categories

The Future Tense

§ 497. In the OE language there was no form of the Future tense. The category of Tense consisted of two members: Past and Present. The Pres. tense could indicate both present and future actions, depending on the context (see § 192). Alongside this form there existed other ways of presenting future happenings: modal phrases, consisting of the verbs *sculan, willan, maʒan, cunnan* and others (NE *shall, will, may, can*) and the Infinitive of the notional verb. In these phrases the meaning of futurity was combined with strong modal meanings of volition, obligation, possibility.

§ 498. In ME the use of modal phrases, especially with the verb *shall*, became increasingly common. *Shall* plus Inf. was now the principal means of indicating future actions in any context. (We may recall that the Pres. tense had to be accompanied by special time indicators in order to refer an action to the future.) *Shall* could retain its modal meaning of necessity, but often weakened it to such an extent that the phrase denoted "pure" futurity. (The meaning of futurity is often combined with that of modality, as a future action is a planned, potential action, which has not yet taken place.) One of the early instances of *shall* with a weakened modal meaning is found in the Early ME poem ORMULUM (c. 1200); the phrase is also interesting as it contains *willen* as a notional verb:

Annd whase *wilenn shall* þiss boc
efft oþerrsiþe written,.. (see § 292 for translation),ɉ

In Late ME texts *shall* was used both as a modal verb and as a Future tense auxiliary, though discrimination between them is not always possible. Cf.:

Me from the feend and fro his clawes kepe,
That day that I *shal* drenchen in the depe. (Chaucer)
('Save me from the fiend and his claws the day when I am drowned (or am doomed to get drowned) in the deep (sea).'

She *shal have nede* to wasshe away the rede. (Chaucer)
('She will have to wash away the red (blood).')

Future happenings were also commonly expressed by ME *willen* with an Inf., but the meaning of volition in *will* must have been more obvious than the modal meaning of *shall*:

A tale *wol* I telle (Chaucer)
('I intend to tell a story')
But lordes, *wol* ye maken assurance,
As I *shal* seyn, assentynge to my loore,
And I *shal* make us sauf for everemore (Chaucer)
('But, lordes, will you (be so kind as or agree to) make assurance (and take this course) as I shall say and I shall make it safe for us for ever.')

The future event is shown here as depending upon the will or consent of the doer. Instances of *will* with a weakened modal meaning are rare:

But natheless she ferde as she *wolde* deye. (Chaucer)
('But nevertheless she feared that she would die.')

It has been noticed that the verb *will* was more frequent in popular ballads and in colloquial speech, which testifies to certain stylistic restrictions in the use of *will* in ME.

§ 499. In the age of Shakespeare the phrases with *shall* and *will*, as well as the Pres. tense of notional verbs, occurred in free variation; they can express "pure" futurity and add different shades of modal meanings. Phrases with *shall* and *will* outnumbered all the other ways of indicating futurity, cf. their meanings in the following passages from Shakespeare's sonnets:

Then hate me when thou *wilt* (*desire*)
When forty winters *shall besiege* thy brow,
And *dig* deep trenches in thy beauty's field,
Thy youth's proud livery, so gaz'd on now,
Will be a tatter'd weed, of small worth held. (*"pure" future*)
That thou art blam'd — *shall* not be thy defect. (*future with the meaning of certainty, prediction*)

In the 17th c. *will* was sometimes used in a shortened form -'*ll*, (-*ll* can also stand for *shall*, though historically it is traced to *will*): *against myself I'll fight; against myself I'll vow debate.* (Shakespeare)

§ 500. Another confirmation of the change of *shall* and *will* into form-words is to be found in the rules of usage in the grammars of the 17th-18th c. In 1653 John Wallis for the first time formulated the rule about the regular interchange of *shall* and *will* depending on person. Although the data collected by 20th c. scholars show that no such regularity really existed at the time of Wallis, his observations prove that the semantic difference between the two auxiliary verbs must have been very slight, or, perhaps, there was no difference at all. The employment of *shall* and *will* as Future tense auxiliaries was supported by the use of their Past tense forms — *should* and *would* — Ind. and Subj. in similar functions. In phrases with the Inf. they indicated future happenings viewed from the past or served as equivalents of the Past tense of the Subj. Mood (see § 502 below).

The rules concerning *shall* and *will*, introduced by J. Wallis, were repeated in many grammar books in the 18th and 19th c. and were taught at school as obligatory. Probably, that was the reason why in Br E they were observed throughout the 19th c.; the complementary distribution of the two auxiliaries — *shall* for the 1st p., *will* for the 2nd and 3rd — became a mark of the British Standard. With other persons *shall* was used in more official forms of discourse: in religious writings, in high poetry and in documents. *Will* has ousted *shall* completely in Am E, and together with -'*ll*, is now ousting the auxiliary *shall* from Br E.

§ 501. Though the ME modal phrases with *shall*, and the Early NE analytical forms of the Future with *shall, will* and -'*ll* were the main means of indicating futurity, the Pres. tense continued to be employed in this meaning. As compared with OE, the frequency of the Pres. tense with a future meaning was low. (In the age of Shakespeare the ratio of Future to Present in expressing futurity is c. 10:1). The forms were used in free variation, which is contrary to modern usage, e. g.

As fast as thou *shall wane*, so fast thou *grow'st;*

If thou *will leave* me, do not leave me last,
When other petty griefs *have done* their spite;..

The earth can yield me but a common grave,
When you entombed in men's eyes *shall lie.*
(Shakespeare)

Eventually the Future tense went out of use in some syntactical structures, namely clauses of time, condition and concession, and prevailed in other positions. But later the proportion of the Future tense among other means of indicating future actions has fallen again, for, in addition to the Pres. Ind. the last three centuries saw the growth of other means of indicating futurity: the construction *to be going to*, which was first recorded in the 17th c., and the Cont. forms. Nevertheless the inclusion of the Future tense in the verb paradigm has narrowed the meaning of the Pres. tense and has transformed the category of Tense: nowadays it consists of three members: Present, Past, and Future (some grammarians add one more member to the category — Future in the Past).

New Forms of the Subjunctive Mood

§ 502. In OE the forms of the Subj. Mood, like other forms of the verb, were synthetic. In the course of ME and Early NE there sprang

up several new analytical forms of the Subj. Mood. The sources of the new forms as well as the ways of their development are in many respects similar to those of the Future tense.

In ME the formal distinctions between the Subj. and Ind. Moods were to a large extent neutralised. The increased homonymy of the forms stimulated the more extensive use of modal phrases, indicating imaginary and probable actions.

As stated above in OE modal phrases consisting of *sculan*, *willan*, *maʒan* and an Inf. were commonly used to indicate future actions; if the modal verb had the form of the Subj. — Pres. or Past, — the meanings of the phrase approached that of the Subj. Mood of the notional verb, with some additional shades of modality, belonging to the modal verbs:

swā þæt hē *mehte* ǣʒþerne ʒer ǣ can, ʒif hīe ǣniʒne feld *sēcan wolden* 'so that he might reach either (army), if they (those armies) wanted to get to the battlefield'

§ 503. In ME many more modal phrases of similar meaning came into use, with *biden*, *deignen*, *granten*, *leten*, *b.n lever*, *have(n) lever*, *neden*' as their first components (NE *bid*, *deign*, *grant*, *let*, 'please', *need*); but *sholde* and *wolde* outnumbered the other verbs. Modal phrases expressing problematic and imaginary actions occur in the works of Chaucer and his contemporaries along with the old synthetic forms:

In al the parisshe wif ne was ther noon
That to the offrynge before hir *sholde goon*.

('In all the parish there was not one wife who would go before her to the offering.')

I *hadde levere* than twenty pound worth land,
Though it right now *were fallen* in my hond...

('I had better (have it) than twenty pound worth of land, though it should fall into my hands right now.')

§ 504. ME *sholde* and *wolde* could weaken or even lose their lexical meanings and turn into auxiliaries. By the age of Shakespeare the change was complete and the forms *should/would* — originally Past Subj. of *shall* and *will* — had become formal markers of the new, analytical forms of the Subj. Mood. The following quotation shows that they did not differ in meaning:

If all were minded so, the times *should cease*
And threescore year *would make* the world away. (Shakespeare)

The use of *should* and *would* as mood auxiliaries was supported by the parallel development of *shall* and *will* as the auxiliaries of the Future tense. The rules prescribing the distribution of *shall* and *will* according to person (see § 500) applied also to *should* and *would*. Consequently, in the course of the 18th and 19th c. *should* became the dominant auxiliary for the 1st p., *would* — for the 2nd and 3rd; those were the rules of correct usage in Standard Br E. At the same time, similarly with *will* and *shall*, *would* and -'d tended to replace *should*. The replacement has been completed in Am E and is still going on in Br E, perhaps, under American influence.

§ 505. The development of the new forms of the Subj. Mood was accompanied by important changes in the use of forms — both synthetic and analytical — and by certain modifications in their meanings.

On the whole, as compared with OE, the use of the Subj. Mood became more restricted: gradually it fell out of use in indirect speech — except in indirect questions, where forms of the Subj. Mood in Early NE remained fairly common. In adverbial clauses of time and concession the Ind. was preferred, though instances of the Subj. are found not only in Chaucer and Shakespeare but also in the works of later authors.

As the frequency of the forms with *should* and *would* grew, the employment of the old synthetic forms became more restricted. In Early NE, the new analytical forms did not differ from the synthetic forms in meanings and usage and were interchangeable practically in any context, cf.:

How much more praise *deserv'd* thy beauty's use,
If thou *couldst* answer... (Shakespeare)

And if the angel *should have come* to me
And told me Huber *should put out* mine eyes,
I *would not have believed* him. (Shakespeare)

It was not until the end of the 18th c. that the modern differentiation in the usage of synthetic and analytical forms was established.

§ 506. As compared with OE, the meanings of the tenses in the Subj. Mood underwent some alterations. In ME and Early NE the Past tense acquired a new function: to indicate a present or future action presented as imaginary or unreal. The Pres. tense of the Subj. Mood expressed probable or problematic actions referred to the future, or, less frequently, to the present; it was most common in adverbial clauses of condition, e.g.:

Thou shalt nat bothe, thogh that thou *were* wood,
Be maister of my body and my good. (Chaucer)
('You shall not be master both of my body and goods even though you were mad.')

But Jesu Christ, as ye in bookes fynde,
Wil that his glory *laste* and *be* in mynde. (Chaucer)
'But Jesus Christ, as you find in the books, desires that his glory (should) last and be kept in mind.'

At the time of Shakespeare the modal difference between the forms became even more distinct.

In order to indicate improbable events in the past, a new set of forms came to be used: the Past Perf. forms which did not differ from the forms of the Ind. Mood. These forms occur already at the time of Chaucer and are quite common in later ages:

Myself I *wolde have do* the same,
Before God, *hadde* I *ben* as she. (Chaucer)
('Before God I, myself, would have done the same, had I been like her.')

Yet this disposition of mind *had cost* him dear, if God *had* not *been* gracious. (Th. More)[1]

Similar semantic differences developed in the system of the new analytical forms: *should/would* plus the Indef. Inf. indicated a simultaneous or subsequent action of problematic or imaginary character, while *should/would* with the Perf. Inf. presented a past or a preceding improbable event:

If he were living I would try him yet....

Creatures may be alike: were't he, I am sure
He *would have spoken* to us. (Shakespeare)

§ 507. The following chart shows the sources of the NE forms of the Subj. Mood:

Grammatical forms of the verb	Early NE forms of the Subj. Mood	Verb phrases with modal verbs (in the Past tense of the Subj. Mood)
OE Subj. Pres. tense → BE, KNOW OE Subj. Past tense → WERE, KNEW SHOULD/WOULD ←— ME *sholde/wolde* + KNOW simple Inf. ME Past Perf. —→ HAD BEEN/KNOWN ← ME *sholde/wolde* + SHOULD/WOULD Perf. Inf. HAVE KNOWN		

Interrogative and Negative Forms with *do*

§ 508. The Early NE period witnessed the development of a new set of analytical forms which entered the paradigms of the Pres. and Past Tense of the Ind. Mood (and — to a lesser extent — of the Subj. Mood): interrogative and negative forms with the auxiliary verb *do*. These forms are known in English grammars as the "periphrasis with *do*" or "*do*-periphrasis".

In ME the verb *don* was commonly used together with an Inf. to express a causative meaning, e. g.

And *dide* him grete oþes *swere* (13th c.)
('And made him swear great oaths.')

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[1] In many modern grammars the former Pres. and Past Tense of the Subj. Mood are treated as two distinct oblique moods (A. I. Smirnitsky, L. S. Barchudarov). The analytical forms are also divided into two moods — with an interchange of *should/would* as a formal marker of one mood (often called "Conditional") and with *should* as the sole auxiliary ("Suppositional" or "Analytical Conjunctive"). The latter distinction cannot be applied to Early NE as there was no regular interchange of *should* and *would* in the Subj. Mood.

In Early NE the causative meaning passed to a similar verb phrase with *make*, while the periphrasis with *do* began to be employed instead of simple, synthetic forms. Its meaning did not differ from that of simple forms (see the examples below).

At first the *do*-periphrasis was more frequent in poetry, which may be attributed to the requirements of the rhythm: the use of *do* enabled the author to have an extra syllable in the line, if needed, without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Then it spread to all kinds of texts.

In the 16th and 17th c. the periphrasis with *do* was used in all types of sentences — negative, affirmative and interrogative; it freely interchanged with the simple forms, without *do*. Cf. the following instances from the works of Shakespeare:

We *do not know*
How he may soften at the sight o'the child...

Who *told* me that the pour soul *did forsake*
The mighty Warwick, and *did fight* for me?

But what we *doe determine* oft we *break*...

Negative statements and questions without *do* are illustrated by

Heard you all this?

I *know not* why, nor wherefor to say live, boy...

And wherefore *say* not I that I am old?

Towards the end of the 17th c. the use of simple forms and the *do*-periphrasis became more differentiated: *do* was found mainly in negative statements and questions, while the simple forms were preferred in affirmative statements. Thus the *do*-periphrasis turned into analytical negative and interrogative forms of simple forms: Pres. and Past.

§ 509. The growth of new negative and interrogative forms with *do* can be accounted for by syntactic conditions. By that time the word order in the sentence had become fixed: the predicate of the sentence normally followed the subject. The use of *do* made it possible to adhere to this order in questions, for at least the notional part of the predicate could thus preserve its position after the subject. This order of words was already well established in numerous sentences with analytical forms and modal phrases. Cf.:

Do you *pity* him? No, he deserves no pity...

Wilt thou not *love* such a woman?

And *must* they all *be hanged* that swear and lie? (Shakespeare)

Likewise, the place of the negative particle *not* in negative sentences with modal phrases and analytical forms set up a pattern for the similar use of *not* with the *do*-periphrasis. Cf.: *I will not let him stir* and *If I do not wonder how thou darest venture*. The form with *do* conformed with the new pattern of the sentence much better than the old simple form

(though sentences with *not* in postposition to the verb are still common in Shakespeare: *I know not which is which*).

In the 18th c. the periphrasis with *do* as an equivalent of the simple form in affirmative statements fell into disuse (its employment in affirmative sentences acquired a stylistic function: it made the statement emphatic).

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES
Passive Forms. Category of Voice

§ 510. In OE the finite verb had no category of Voice. With the exception of some traces of the Germanic Mediopassive restricted to the verb *hātan* 'call',[1] there was no regular opposition of forms in the verb paradigm to show the relation of the action to the grammatical subject. Only in the system of verbals the participles of transitive verbs, — Pres. and Past — were contrasted as having an active and a passive meaning (see § 197).

The analytical passive forms developed from OE verb phrases consisting of OE *bēon* (NE *be*) and *weorðan* ('become') and Part. II of transitive verbs.

OE *bēon* was used as a link-verb with a predicative expressed by Part. II to denote a state resulting from a previous action, while the construction with OE *weorðan* 'become' indicated the transition into the state expressed by the participle. *Werthen* was still fairly common in Early ME (e.g. in ORMULUM), but not nearly as common as the verb *ben*: soon *werthen* was replaced by numerous new link-verbs which had developed from notional verbs (ME *becomen, geten, semen*, etc., NE *become, get, seem*); no instances of *werthen* are found in Chaucer.

The participle, which served as predicative to these verbs, in OE agreed with the subject in number and gender, although the concord with participles was less strict than with adjectives (see § 198). The last instances of this agreement are found in Early ME: *fewe beoþ icorene* (POEMA MORALE — 13th c.) 'few were chosen'.

§ 511. In ME *ben* plus Past Part. developed into an analytical form. Now it could express not only a state but also an action. The formal pattern of the Pass. Voice extended to many parts of the verb paradigm: it is found in the Future tense, in the Perf. forms, in the Subj. Mood and in the non-finite forms of the verb, e.g. Chaucer has:

... the conseil that *was accorded* by youre neighebores
('The advice that was given by your neighbours')
But certes, wikkidnesse *shal be warisshed* by goodnesse.
('But, certainly, wickedness shall be cured by goodness.')
With many a tempest *hadde* his berde *been shake*.
('His·beard had been shaken with many tempests.')

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[1] Traces of Mediopassive in this verb are found even in Late ME:

This mayden, which that Mayus *highte*. (Chaucer)
('This maid who was called Mayus.')

The new Pass. forms had a regular means of indicating the doer of the action or the instrument with the help of which it was performed. Out of a variety of prepositions employed in OE — *from, mid, wið, bi* — two were selected and generalised: *by* and *with*. Thus in ME the Pass. forms were regularly contrasted to the active forms throughout the paradigm, both formally and semantically. Therefore we can say that the verb had acquired a new grammatical category — the category of Voice.

§ 512. In Early NE the Pass. Voice continued to grow and to extend its application.

Late ME saw the appearance of new types of passive constructions. In addition to passive constructions with the subject corresponding to the direct object of the respective active construction, i.e. built from transitive verbs (see the above examples), there arose passive constructions whose subject corresponded to other types of objects: indirect and prepositional. Pass. forms began to be built from intransitive verbs associated with different kinds of objects, e.g. *indirect objects*:

The angel ys tolde the wordes. (Higden)
('The angel is told the words.')
He shulde soone delyvered be gold in sakkis gret plenty. (Chaucer)
('He should be given (delivered) plenty of gold in sacks.')

prepositional objects:

I wylle that *my moder* be sente for. (Malory)
('I wish that my mother were sent for.')
He himself was oftener laughed at than his iestes were. (Caxton)
'*tis* so concluded on; *We*'ll be waited on (Shakespeare)

It should be added that from an early date the Pass. Voice was common in impersonal sentences with *it* introducing direct or indirect speech:

Hit was accorded, granted and swore, bytwene þe King of Fraunce and þe King of Engelond þat he shulde haue agen al his landes (Brut, 13th c.)
('It was agreed, granted and sworn between the King of France and the King of England that he should have again all his lands.')

The wide use of various pass. constructions in the 18th and 19th c. testifies to the high productivity of the Pass. Voice. At the same time the Pass. Voice continued to spread to new parts of the verb paradigm: the Gerund and the Continuous forms (the use of Pass. in the Continuous form has remained restricted to this day — see § 521).

Perfect Forms. Category of Time-Correlation

§ 513. Like other analytical forms of the verb, the Perf. forms have developed from OE verb phrases.

The main source of the Perf. form was the OE "possessive" construction, consisting of the verb *habban* (NE *have*), a direct object and Part. II

of a transitive verb, which served as an attribute to the object, e.g.:

Hæfde sē ӡoda *cempan ӡecorene* (Beowulf)

(lit. 'had that brave (man) warriors chosen'.) The meaning of the construction was: a person (the subject) possessed a thing (the object), which was characterised by a certain state resulting from a previous action (the participle). The participle, like other attributes, agreed with the noun-object in Number, Gender and Case.

Originally the verb *habban* was used only with participles of transitive verbs; then it came to be used with verbs taking genitival, datival and prepositional objects and even with intransitive verbs, which shows that it was developing into a kind of auxiliary, e.g.:

for sefenn winnterr *haffde* he *ben* in Egypte (Ormulum)
('For seven winters he had been in Egypt')

The other source of the Perf. forms was the OE phrase consisting of the link-verb *bēon* and Part. II of intransitive verbs:
nū *is* sē dæӡ *cumen* (Beowulf)
('Now the day has (lit. "is") come')
hwænne mīne daӡas *āӡāne bēoþ* (Ælfric)...
('When my days are gone (when I die)'.)

In these phrases the participle usually agreed with the subject.

§ 514. Towards ME the two verb phrases turned into analytical forms and made up a single set of forms termed "perfect". The Participles had lost their forms of agreement with the *noun* (the subject — in the construction with *ben*, the object — in the construction with *haven*); the places of the object and the participle in the construction with *haven* changed: the Participle usually stood close to the verb *have* and was followed by the object which referred now to the analytical form as a whole — instead of being governed by *have*. Cf. the OE possessive construction quoted above with ME examples:

The holy blisful martyr for to seke,
That *hem hath holpen* whan that they were seeke. (Chaucer)
('To seek the holy blissful martyr who has helped them when they were ill.')

In the Perfect form the auxiliary *have* had lost the meaning of possession and was used with all kinds of verbs, without restriction. *Have* was becoming a universal auxiliary, whereas the use of *be* grew more restricted. Shakespeare employs *be* mainly with verbs of movement, but even with these verbs *be* alternates with *have*:

He *is* not yet arriv'd ...

On a modern pace I *have* since arrived but hither.

One of the late instances of perfect with both auxiliaries is found in Samuel Pepy's DIARY (late 17th c.):

and My Lord Chesterfield *had killed* another gentlemen and *was fled*.[1]

§ 515. By the age of the Literary Renaissance the perfect forms had spread to all the parts of the verb system, so that ultimately the category of time correlation became the most universal of verbal categories. An isolated instance of Perfect Continuous is found in Chaucer:

We *han ben waityng* al this fortnight.
('We have been waiting all this fortnight.')

Instances of Perfect Passive are more frequent:

O fyl for shame! they that *han been brent*   ·
Allas! can thei nat flee the fyres hete?
('For shame, they who have been burnt, alas, can they not escape the fire's heat?')

Perfect forms in the Pass. Voice, Perf. forms of the Subj. Mood, Future Perf. forms are common in Shakespeare:

if she *had been* blessed....

§ 516. The stabilisation of the formal pattern of the perf. and its wide application throughout the verb paradigm were important stages in the formation of a new verbal category, termed nowadays the category of "Time-Correlation" or "Phase". Yet its final establishment presupposes also the growth of semantic opposition between the members of the category: the Perf. and the non-Perf. forms.

In the beginning the main function of the Perf. forms was to indicate a completed action, to express "perfectivity", rather than priority of one action to another and relevance for the subsequent situation (the meanings ascribed to the Perf. forms today). For a long time the Perf. forms were used as synonyms of the Simple Past: the perfective meaning, as well as that of priority, could be expressed both by the simple form of the Past tense (Past Indef.) and by the Perf. form. The Pres. and Past Perf. commonly alternated with Past Indef. in narration:

> This sowdan for his privee conseil *sente*,
> And, shortly of this matir for to pace,
> He *hath* to hem *declared* his entente,
> And *seyde* hem certein... (Chaucer)

('This Sultan sent for his Privy Council and, to tell the matter briefly, he has declared his intention to them, and said to them resolutely...')

At the same time we find many instances of Perf. forms used in their modern meanings, e. g.

> "Now, goode syre," quod I thoo,
> "Ye *han* wel *told* me herebefore,
> Hyt ys no nede to reherse it more." (Chaucer)

('Now, good sir, said I though, you have told me all well before there is no need to repeat it again.')

> For he *was* late *y-come* from his viage,
> And *wente* for to doon his pilgrymage. (Chaucer)

('For he had come from his voyage late (not long before) and went to do his pilgrimage.')

Towards the age of Shakespeare the contrast between the Perf. and non-Perf.

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[1] The modern phrase *to be gone* goes back to the perfect forms with *be*; the modern predicative construction with *have* descends from the prototype of perfect forms and retains the old word order, e. g. He *had his watch repaired*.

forms became more obvious. In the main Shakespeare and his contemporaries employ the Perf. forms in the same way as they are employed in present-day English:

> Oh, speak no more! for I *have heard* too much.
> I *have fled* myself, and *have instructed* cowards
> To run and show their shoulders.

I thought the King *had more affected* the Duke of Albany than Cornwall.

Only occasionally usage varies and the spheres of the Past Indef. and the Perf. forms overlap:

> And never, since the middle summer's spring
> *Met* we on hill, in dale, forest or mead.

Sometimes the Pres. and Past Perf. are used indiscriminately, though far more seldom than in Chaucer's age:

> These three *have robbed* me; and this demi-devil —
> For he's a bastard one — *had plotted* with them.

Thus the meaning of "priority and relevance for the subsequent situation" became the domain of the Perf. forms and the meaning of the non-Perf. forms, particularly the Past Indef., was accordingly narrowed. It may be concluded that the category of Time-Correlation was established in the 17th c.

§ 517. The following chart summarises the sources of the Perf. and Pass. forms:

OE compound nominal predicate *bēon* + Participle II	ME and NE forms	OE verb phrases
of intransitive verbs	Perf. forms (*have* →gradually replacing *be*)	Poss. construction: ← *habban* + object + Part. II of transitive verbs
of transitive verbs	→Pass. forms (later— of other objective verbs)	

Continuous Forms. Category of Aspect

§ 518. The development of Aspect is linked up with the growth of the Continuous forms. In the OE verb system there was no category of Aspect; verbal prefixes especially ʒe-, which could express an aspective meaning of perfectivity in the opinion of most scholars, were primarily word-building prefixes (see § 193). The growth of Continuous forms was slow and uneven.

Verb phrases consisting of *bēon* (NE *be*) plus Part. I are not infrequently found in OE prose. They denoted a quality, or a lasting state, characterising the person or thing indicated by the subject of the sentence, e. g. seō... *is irnende* þurh middewearde Babylonia burʒ "that (river) runs through the middle of Babylon"; ealle þā woruld on hiora āʒen ʒewill *onwendende wǣron* nēah C wintra "they all were destroying the world (or: were destroyers of the world) at their own will for nearly fifty years".

§ 519. In Early ME *ben* plus Part. I fell into disuse; it occurs occasionally in some dialectal areas: in Kent and in the North, but not in the Midlands. In Late ME it extended to other dialects and its frequency grew again, e.g.

Syngynge he *was* or *floytynge* al the day. (Chaucer)
('He was singing or playing the flute all day long.')
The flod *is* into the greet see *rennende*. (Gower)
('The river runs into the great sea.')

At that stage the construction did not differ from the simple verb form in meaning and was used as its synonym, mainly for emphasis and vividness of description. Cf.:

We *holden* on to the Cristen feyth and *are byleving* in Jhesu Cryste. (Caxton)
('We hold to the Christian faith and believe (lit. "are believing") in Jesus Christ.')

§ 520. In the 15th and 16th c. *be* plus Part. I was often confused with a synonymous phrase — *be* plus the preposition *on* (or its reduced form *a*) plus a verbal noun. By that time the Pres. Part. and the verbal noun had lost their formal differences: the Part. I was built with the help of *-ing* and the verbal noun had the word-building suffix *-ing*, which had ousted the equivalent OE suffix *-ungʒ*:

She wyst not... whether she *was a-wakyng* or a-slepe. (Caxton)
('She did not know whether she was awake (was on waking) or asleep.')
A Knyght ... *had been on huntynge*. (Malory)   -
('A knight had been hunting (lit. "on hunting").'

The prepositional phrase indicated a process, taking place at a certain period of time. It is believed that the meaning of process or an action of limited duration — which the Cont. forms acquired in Early NE — may have come from the prepositional phrase. Yet even in the 17th c. the semantic difference between the Cont. and non-Cont. forms is not always apparent, e. g.:

The Earl of Wesmoreland, seven thousand strong, *is marching* hitherwards. (Shakespeare)
What, my dear lady Disdain! *Are* you yet *living*? (Shakespeare). Here the Cont. makes the statement more emotional, forceful.)

The non-Cont., simple form can indicate an action in progress which takes place before the eyes of the speaker (nowadays this use is typical of the Cont. form):

Enter Hamlet reading... P o l o n i u s. What *do* you *read*, my lord?

It was not until the 18th c. that the Cont. forms acquired a specific meaning of their own; to use modern definitions, that of incomplete concrete process of limited duration. Only at that stage the Cont. and non-Cont. made up a new grammatical category — Aspect. The mean-

ing of non-Cont. — Indef. — forms became more restricted, though the contrast was never as sharp as in the other categories: in some contexts the forms have remained synonymous and are even interchangeable to this day (e. g. after *while*).

§ 521. By that time the formal pattern of the Cont. as an analytical form was firmly established. The Cont. forms were used in all genres and dialects and could be built both from non-terminative verbs, as in OE, and from terminative verbs. They had extended to many parts of the verb system, being combined with other forms. Thus the Future Cont. is attested in the Northern texts since the end of the 13th c.; the first unambiguous instances of the Perf. Cont. are recorded in Late ME (see § 515).

For many hundred years the Cont. forms were not used in the Pass. Voice. In Late ME the Active Voice of the Cont. form was sometimes used with a passive meaning:

My mighte and my mayne *es* all *marrande*. (York plays)
('My might and my power are all being destroyed.') (lit. "is destroying").

The Active form of the Cont. aspect was employed in the passive meaning until the 19th c. The earliest written evidence of the Pass. Cont. is found in a private letter of the 18th c.:

... a fellow whose uppermost upper grinder *is being torn* out by the roots...

The new Pass. form aroused the protest of many scholars. Samuel Johnson, the great lexicographer, called it a "vicious" expression and recommended the active form as a better way of expressing the passive meaning. He thought that phrases like *the book is now printing; the brass is forging* had developed from *the book is a-printing; the brass is a-forging;* which meant 'is in the process of forging', and therefore possessed the meaning of the Pass. Even in the late 19th c. it was claimed that *the house is being built* was a clumsy construction which should be replaced by *the house is building.* But in spite of all these protests the Pass. Voice of the Cont. aspect continued to be used and eventually was recognised as correct.

The growth of the Cont. forms in the last two centuries is evidenced not only by its spread in the verb paradigm — the development of the Pass. forms in the Cont. Aspect — but also by its growing frequency and the loosening of lexical constraints. In the 19th and 20th c. the Cont. forms occur with verbs of diverse lexical meaning.

§ 522. The uneven development of the Cont. forms, their temporary regress and recent progress, as well as multiple dialectal and lexical restrictions gave rise to numerous hypotheses about their origin and growth.

Some scholars attribute the appearance of the Cont. forms in English to foreign influence: Latin, French or Celtic. These theories, however, are not confirmed by facts.

Numerous instances of OE *bзon* + Part. I were found in original OE texts, particularly in the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES. But the construction is rare in translations from Latin, for instance in Wyklif's translation of the BIBLE.

There have been discovered some points of contact between the usage of the Cont. form and a similar phrase with the Pres. Part. in O Fr. Yet, the latter phrase was of rare occurrence and therefore it could not produce any influence upon English. It should also be recalled, that in the 13th — 14th c., when French literature was popular in England, the Cont. forms fell into decay.

The possibility of Celtic influence is even more doubtful, though in ME the construction is found in the dialects bordering on Celtic territories: in the West Midlands, in Ireland and in the North. It is known that even the English vocabulary was not affected by contacts with Celtic tongues — though the vocabulary of a language is most susceptible to foreign influence. Therefore it would be most unrealistic to think that the Celtic tongues could have produced a serious effect on English grammar.

The *internal sources of the Cont. forms is a moot question too.* The historians of the 19th c. believed that the Cont. form was a direct continuation of the OE phrase *bēon* plus Part. I. Two circumstances, however, have given rise to another theory: the obsolescence of the construction in Early ME and the growth of a prepositional phrase, *ben on/at huntinge*, in Late ME. It was thought probable that the Cont. form came essentially from the phrase with a verbal noun, the preposition being eventually weakened to *a-* and dropped. Some recent investigations have shown, however, that the former view was more justified as the frequency of the type *to be a-doing* has never been high as compared with that of *to be doing*. (According to F. Mossé, between 1500 and 1700, at the time when the prepositional phrase was most popular, its average frequency reached only 10% of that of the participial phrase.) O. Jespersen proposed a sort of compromise between the two extreme views: he did not doubt the continuity of the OE participial construction and the Cont. form but thought that the participial phrase amalgamated with the prepositional phrase and acquired the meaning of process from the latter, though it retained the old formal pattern — *be* plus Part. I.

Growth of Analytical Forms and New Grammatical Categories of the Verbals

§ 523. The development of analytical forms and new grammatical categories has transformed not only the finite verb but also the verbals.

Compound forms of the infinitive appeared at a very early date: the Pass. Inf., consisting of *bēon* plus Part. II, is found in OE texts, though its semantic contrast to the simple form is not consistent, since the OE Active Inf., despite its form, could sometimes have a passive meaning. Cf.:

hwelce þā hǣþnan ʒodas sindon *tō weorþianne*
('which heathen gods were to be worshipped') — active form, passive meaning

Sceolde witedōm *bēon ʒefylled.*
('The prophesy should be fulfilled.') — passive form and meaning.

In ME texts we find different types of compound Inf.: the Pass. Inf., the Perf. Inf. in the Active and Pass. forms, e. g.

þey beþ *to ben blamed* eft þarfore (c. 1300)
('they are to be blamed for that again')

He moste *han knowen* love and his servyse
And *been* a feestlych man as fressh as May. (Chaucer)
('He must have known love and its service and (must have) been a jolly man, as fresh as May.')

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The wordes of the phisiciens ne sholde nat *han been understonden* in thys wise. (Chaucer)
('The words of the physicians should not have been understood in this way.')

In the texts of the 16th and 17th c. we find the same compound forms of the Inf. and also new Cont. and Perf. Cont. forms, e. g.

... first to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurril Plautus whom he confesses *to have been reading* not long before. (J. Milton)

Evidently in the 17th c. the Inf. had the same set of forms as it has in present-day English.

§ 524. The analytical forms of Part. I began to develop later than the forms of the Inf. It was not until the 15th c. that the first compound forms are found in the records:

The *seid* Duke of Suffolk *being* most *trostid* with you... (Paston Letters)
('The said Duke of Suffolk being most trusted by you.')

In the 17th c. Part. I is already used in all the four forms which it can build today: Perf. and non-Perf., Pass. and Active, e. g.:

Now I must take leave of our common mother, the earth, so worthily called in respect of her great merits of us; for she receiveth us *being born*, she feeds and clotheth us *brought* forth, and lastly, as *forsaken* wholly of nature, she receiveth us into her lap and covers us. (Peacham, 17th c.)

Julius Caesar, *having spent* the whole day in the field about his military affairs, divided the night also for three several uses ... (Peacham)

The forms of Part. I made a balanced system: Pass. versus Active Perf. versus non-Perf. Part. II remained outside this system, correlated to the forms of Part. I through formal differences and certain semantic affinities and oppositions (see *forsaken* and *brought* in the examples above and Table 10 below).

§ 525. Compound forms of the -*ing*-form used in the functions of a noun, that is the Gerund, were the last to appear. The earliest instances of analytical forms of the Gerund are found in the age of the Literary Renaissance, — when the Inf. and Part. I possessed already a complete set of compound forms. The formal pattern set by the Part. was repeated in the new forms of the Gerund. The following quotations illustrate compound forms of the Gerund in the texts of the 17th and 18th c.:

To let him spend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age
In *having known* no travel in his youth. (Shakespeare)

Yet afraid they were, it seemed: for presently the doors had their wooden ribs crushed in pieces by *being beaten* together. (Th. Dekker, early 17th c.)

This man, after *having been* long *buffeted* by adversity, went abroad. (Smollett, 18th c.)

§ 526. The formal distinctions which had developed in the system of the verbals towards the 17th and 18th c. are practically the same as in Mod E. The forms of the Inf. and the *-ing*-form (Part. I and Gerund) make up grammatical categories similar to those of the finite verb: Voice, Time-Correlation and Aspect. It may be assumed that the relations between the members of these grammatical categories in the verbals roughly corresponded to those of the finite forms, both semantically and formally. It should be noted though that sometimes the semantic oppositions were less strict or, perhaps, they were more often neutralised. For instance, the Active Inf. could still express a passive meaning:

His noble free offers left us nothing to aske. (Bacon, 17th c.)

(See OE examples in § 523.)

The non-Perf. forms in many contexts acquired the meaning of the perfect form, e. g.:

And so, *giving* her sufficient means and money, for his own reputation sake, to rid her from Bristol and ship her for London, on his wife he bestowed all those jewels (Dekker) (*giving* is equivalent here to *having given*).

Development of Verbal Grammatical Categories

§ 527. The growth of grammatical categories in the verb paradigm in ME and Early NE periods is summarised in Table 10. The figures indicate the number of members distinguished within the categories.

Table 10

**Development of Verbal Grammatical Categories
in Middle English and Early New English**

	Grammatical categories									
	Mood		Tense		Voice		Time correlation		Aspect	
	OE	Late ME or NE	OE	Late ME or NE	OE	Late ME or NE	OE	Late ME or NE	OE	Late ME or NE
Finite verb	3	3[1]	2	3	—	2	—	2	—	2
Non-Finite verb:										
Infinitive	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	2
-ing-Form	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	

[1] Most modern grammars distinguish several oblique moods; therefore the number of moods in the category of Mood ranges from 3 to 6.

§ 528. The evolution of English syntax was tied up with profound changes in morphology; the decline of the inflectional system was accompanied by the growth of the functional load of syntactic means of word connection. The most obvious difference between OE syntax and the syntax of the ME and NE periods is that the word order became more strict and the use of prepositions more extensive. The growth of the literary forms of the language, the literary flourishing in Late ME and especially in the age of the Renaissance, the differentiation of literary styles and the efforts made by 18th c. scholars to develop a logical, elegant style — all contributed to the improvement and perfection of English syntax.

The structure of the sentence and the word phrase, on the one hand, became more complicated, on the other hand — were stabilised and standardised.

The Phrase. Noun, Adjective and Verb Patterns

§ 529. In Early ME while the nominal parts of speech were losing most of their grammatical distinctions, the structure of the main word phrases — with nouns, adjectives, and verbs as head-words — was considerably altered.

In OE the dependent components of noun patterns agreed with the noun in case, number and gender, if they were expressed by adjectives, adjective-pronouns or participles. If expressed by nouns, they either agreed with the head-noun in case and number (nouns in apposition) or had the form of the Gen. case.

By Late ME agreement in noun patterns had practically disappeared, except for some instances of agreement in number. Formal markers of number had been preserved in nouns, demonstrative pronouns and some survivals of the strong declension of adjectives; most adjectives and adjectivised participles had lost number inflections by the age of Chaucer; cf. a few phrases from Chaucer:

sg:... this holy mayden... *that* requeste
pl: These wodes eek recoveren grene. ('These woods become green again.')
as *thise* clerkes seyn ('as these learned men say')
A *good* man was ther of religioun. ('There was a good man, a priest.');
Goode men, herkneth everych on! ('Good men, listen!') but far more often there was no agreement in number:
... his woundes *newe*, the *same* ship, *strange* place, *straunge* strondes, etc. ('his new wounds,' 'the same ship', 'strange place', 'strange strands.')

The last traces of agreement in adjectives were lost in the 15th c. when the inflection *-e* was dropped; only the demonstrative pronouns, the indefinite article and nouns in apposition indicated the number of

the head-word, like in Mod E. When the adjective had lost its forms of agreement, its relationships with the noun were shown by its position; it was placed before the noun, or between the noun and its determiners (articles and pronouns). Sometimes in Late ME the adjective stood in post-position, which can be attributed to the influence of French syntax (in French the adjective was placed after the noun), e. g.: *Brother dere; cares colde; woundes newe.* (Chaucer) (Relics of this practice are now found as some modern set phrases such as *court martial, time immemorial.*)

A noun used attributively had the form of the Gen. case or was joined to the head-noun by a preposition. In Chaucer's time the use of -'s-Gen. was less restricted than in Mod E, so that inanimate nouns commonly occurred as inflectional Gen. in a noun pattern: *fadres sone* 'father's son', *seintes lore* 'saint's lore', *every shires ende* 'end of every shire'. Yet the use of prepositions had certainly become more extensive: *the sergeaunts of the toun of Rome* 'the officials of the town of Rome', *men of armes* 'men of arms', etc. (see also § 433—434 for the history of the Gen. case).

§ 530. In the age of the literary Renaissance, the noun patterns became fixed syntactic frames in which every position had a specific functional significance. The attribute in pre-position was enclosed between the determiner and the head-word; hence every word occupying this position was an attribute. This is evidenced by the wide use of nouns as attributes in noun patterns at the time of Shakespeare, an age famous for its unconventional handling of parts of speech, e. g.:

Jog on, jog on. the *footpath* way; the *darling* buds of May; the *master* mistress of my passion; *rascal* counters. (Shakespeare)

The standardised frame of the noun pattern is also confirmed by the fact that the position of the head noun could not be left vacant — it was at that time that the indefinite pronoun *one* and the demonstrative *that* began to be used as the so-called "prop-words", e. g.:

A barren-spirited fellow, *one* that feeds
On abject orts and imitations.. (Shakespeare)

With the growth of the written language noun patterns became more varied and more extended. Attributes to nouns could contain prepositional phrases with other attributes:

For drunkennesse is verray sepulture
Of mannes wit and his discrecioun. (Chaucer)
('For drunkenness is the burying (lit. "sepulture") of man's wit and his discretion.')

In Early NE noun patterns began to include syntactic complexes: predicative constructions with the Gerund and the Infinitive (see § 541 ff).

§ 531. In ME and Early NE adjective patterns, as before, included a variety of dependent components. Adjectives were commonly modified by adverbs, e. g.:

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He was a *verray* parfit gentil knyght. (Chaucer)
('He was a very perfect noble knight.')

The main difference from the preceding ages lay in the ways of connection between the adjective and the nouns or noun-pronouns used as dependent components of the pattern. In OE an adjective could take an object in the Dat. or Gen. case (with or without prepositions); in ME these objects were replaced by the Comm. case usually preceded by a preposition, e. g.: *with face pale of hewe; so harde of his herte; amyable of port; unlyk to my dede;.. discreet in alle his wordes and dedes; so patient unto a man.* (Chaucer) ('with a pale face; hard-hearted; amiable in behaviour, unlike my deed; discreet in all his words and deeds; so patient to a man').

Some adjectives, especially the most frequent ones, displayed great vacillation in the choice of prepositions. For instance, in the 14th c. *fair* and *good* occur with the prepositions *of, in, to, at, by.*

The adjective freely combined with the Infinitive since the earliest periods. Examples from Chaucer are: *redy for to ryde* 'ready to ride'; *I am free to wedde* 'I am free to marry'; *A manly man, to been an abbot able* 'a manly man, able to be an abbot'.

The use of adjectives with the -*ing*-form was more restricted; in later periods it increased steadily as the gerund and gerundial complexes began to replace the Infinitive in adjective phrases, e. g.;

measurable *in looking* and *in berunge* (Chaucer)
('moderate in appearance and behaviour' (lit. "looking and bearing")
But yet her portion is *worth your taking* notice, Master Aimwell. (Shirley, early 17th c.)

§ 532. The history of the verb pattern embraced a number of important changes and developments.

In some respects verb patterns became more uniform. In OE the verb could take various objects and adverbial modifiers expressed by the oblique cases of nouns. In ME the oblique cases were replaced by the Comm. case (or the Obj. case of pronouns), with — or without — prepositions. Even though the inflectional -'s-Gen. survived, it was no longer used in verb patterns (it occurred in attributive function only). The use of prepositions in verb patterns grew, and so did the number of transitive verbs which took an object without a preposition. The following quotations from Chaucer's poems show the replacement of the oblique cases: by the Comm. case of nouns and the Obj. case of pronouns:

That *hem* hath holpen whan that they were seeke
('Who has helped them when they were ill' — OE *helpan* took an object in the Dat. case)
And first *to Cecilie*, as I understonde,
He yaf *that one*
('And first he gave that one (rose) to Cecily' — the objects correspond to the OE Dat. and Acc. cases.)
After her deeth ful ofte may she wayte.

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('She often waited for death' — the corresponding OE verb *bīdan* governed the Gen. case.)
At nyght were come into that hostelrye
Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye...
('At night came into that inn a company of twenty-nine' the respective OE form was *nihtes* — the Gen. case in an adverbial function.)
In a tabard he rood *upon a mere*.
('He rode upon a mare in a long coat' — OE *mearum rīdan* 'ride a horse' with a noun in the Dat. case; see also § 432)

Throughout ME and Early NE the use of prepositions displayed great fluctuation. Many verbs were used with a variety of prepositions until the age of prescriptive grammars and dictionaries, and some verbs — a long time after. During the NE period the size and complexity of verb patterns grew, as the verbs came to be extended by noun patterns of more complicated structure, by Infin. phrases and predicative constructions with diverse components (see § 541 ff.).

§ 533. An important change took place in the patterns of numerous verbs termed "impersonal" or "quasi-impersonal". These verbs indicated a state or feeling, e. g. OE *līcian* 'please' (NE *like*), OE *lystan* 'desire', OE *sescomian* (NE *shame*), Early ME *wanten*, *semen* (NE *want*, *seem*). Originally most of these verbs took two objects: one — to indicate the person who experienced the state or feeling, the other — to show its cause, e. g. OE *him ne hlyste nānes metes* 'he did not want any food'; the cause, or object of the feeling could sometimes be shown by the subject of the sentence — in the Nom. case: *þām wīfe þā word wel līcodon* 'those words pleased that woman well'.

In Late ME these "impersonal" constructions were transformed into "personal" in which the relationships were reversed: the subject indicated the person affected by the feeling or state, the object — the direction or cause of the feeling. The change can be described as the transition of the type *me līketh* into *I like*.

The following examples from Chaucer show the variation stage of the change — the parallel use of both types of construction with the same verb:

... so sore *longeth me*
To eten of the smale peres grene.
('So badly I long to eat some of these small green pears.')
Than *longen folk* to goon on pilgrimages.
('Then folks long to go on pilgrimages.')

My God, *me mette* I was in swich meschief
('My God, I dreamed I was in such grief.')

And eek I seyde, *I mette of him* al night
('And also I said I dreamt of him all night'.)

This *man mette* in his bed, ther as he lay...
('This man dreamt in his bed, where he lay.')

The two parallel syntactic constructions — *me longeth/I long*, *me mette/I mette* were used in free variation as synonyms or syntactic variants. Eventually the second variant (the "personal" construction) prevailed with most of the verbs. The selection of this variant and the obsolescence of the impersonal type was determined by morphological and syntactic factors. The loss of inflectional endings in nouns made it impossible to distinguish between the subject and object in such instances as *this man(e) mette* (the last example). Syntactic ambiguity stimulated the appearance of the *I like* type, for *man* was more readily associated with the Nom. case of pronouns than with the Obj. case. It must have been interpreted as the subject of the sentence not only owing to the lack of inflectional endings but also due to its position before the verb-predicate, which by that time was becom-

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ing the normal place of the subject. The type *me likes* fell into disuse, being replaced by the type *man liketh* and *I like*. Mod E *meseems* and *methinks* are relics of the old construction.

§ 534. Some verb phrases merged into single grammatical or lexical units and in this sense were "simplified". As shown in the preceding paragraphs verb phrases consisting of a finite and a non-finite verb turned into analytical forms, thus passing from the level of syntax to that of morphology. Verb phrases consisting of verbs and adverbs — which modified or specified the meaning of the verb — formed lexical units known as "composite verbs" or "verb-adverb combinations" (this process made up for the loss of many OE verb prefixes). Likewise, many verb phrases became inseparable "group-verbs" or phraseological units, e. g. *maken melodie* ('sing') in Chaucer and *have mind upon your health*, *have war*, *have business*, etc. in Shakespeare.

The Simple Sentence

§ 535. In the course of history the structure of the simple sentence in many respects became more orderly and more uniform. Yet, at the same time it grew complicated as the sentence came to include more extended and complex parts: longer attributive groups, diverse subjects and predicates and numerous predicative constructions (syntactic complexes).

§ 536. In OE the ties between the words in the sentence were shown mainly by means of government and agreement, with the help of numerous inflections. In ME and Early NE, with most of the inflectional endings levelled or dropped, the relationships between the parts of the sentence were shown by their relative position, environment, semantic ties, prepositions, and by a more rigid syntactic structure.

Every place in the sentence came to be associated with a certain syntactic function: in the new structure of the sentence syntactic functions were determined by position, and no position could remain vacant. This is evidenced by the obligatory use of the subject. For instance, in OE the formal subject, expressed by the pronoun *hit*, was used only in some types of impersonal sentences, namely those indicating weather phenomena. In ME the subject *it* occurs in all types of impersonal sentences, e. g.:

For *it* reynyd almoste euery othir day. (Brut)
('For it rained almost every other day.')
Of his falshede *it* dulleth me to ryme. (Chaucer)
('Of his falsehood it annoys me to speak.')

The use of the verb-substitute *do*, as well as the use of auxiliary and modal verbs without the notional verb proves that the position of the predicate could not be vacant either. This is evident in short answers and other statements with the notional verb left out, e. g.:

Helpeth me now, as I *dyde* yow whileer. (Chaucer)
('Help me now as I did (help) you formerly.')

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Stand! So I *do*, against my will... Is Guilliams with the packet gone? He *is*, my lord, an hour ago. (Shakespeare)

§ 537. As compared with OE the subject of the sentence became more varied in meaning, as well as in the forms of expression. We have already mentioned the increased use of the formal subject *it*. Due to the growth of new verb forms the subject could now denote not only the agent or a thing characterised by a certain property, but also the recipient of an action or the "passive" subject of a state and feeling.

The predicate had likewise become more varied in form and meaning. The simple predicate could be expressed by compound forms which indicated multiple new meanings and subtle semantic distinctions, lacking in OE verb forms or expressed formerly by contextual means.

Though some types of compound predicates had turned into simple — as the verb phrases developed into analytical forms — the compound predicate could express a variety of meanings with the help of numerous new link-verbs and more extended and complex predicatives. ME witnessed a remarkable growth of link-verbs: about 80 verbs occur as copulas in texts between the 15th and 18th c. In a way the new link-verbs made up for the loss of some OE prefixes and compound verbs which denoted the growth of a quality or the transition into a state, e. g.:

And tho it *drewe* nere Cristenesse. (Brut)
('And though it drew near Christmas', 'Christmas was coming')

Cecilie cam, whan it *was woxen* night...
('Cecily came when it was night...')

as me best thinketh (Chaucer)
('as it seems best to me')

It *falleþ profyte* to summe men to be bounde to a stake. (Wyklif)
('It appears good for some men to be bound to a stake.')

A murd'rous guilt shows not itself more soon
Than love that would *seem* hid...

The rose *looks* fair ... (Shakespeare).

The structure of the predicative became more complex: it could include various prepositional phrases and diverse attributes, e. g.:

Of twenty yeer of age he was, I gesse. (Chaucer)
('He was twenty years old, I guess.')

That's *a deep story of a deeper love;*
For he was *more than over shoes in love*. (Shakespeare)

The compound verbal predicate in ME was characterised by a wider use of modal phrases and verbs of aspective meaning, e. g.:

No, though I seye, I *nam* nat *lief to gabbe*. (Chaucer)
('No, though I say I am not inclined to gabble.')

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Most frequent in Chaucer's works was a verb phrase of aspective meaning *gan* plus Inf. (NE *begin*):

He stired the coles til *relente gan* the wex.
('He stirred the coals till the wax began to melt.')

§ 538. One of the peculiar features of the OE sentence was multiple negation. The use of several negative particles and forms continued throughout the ME period, e. g.:

Ne bryng nat every man into thyn hous. (Chaucer)
('Don't bring every man into your house.')

(-*ne*- is a negative particle used with verbs, *nat* — another negative particle, for its origin see § 219.)

No berd hadde he, *ne nevere* sholde have. (Chaucer)
('He had no beard, and never would have one.')

See also the example: *No, though I seye, I nam nat lief to gabbe* above where *nam* is made up of the negative particle *ne* and *am*. In Shakespeare's time the use of negations is variable: the sentence could contain one or more means of expressing negation. Cf.:

So is it *not* with me as with that Muse ...

Good madam, hear me speak,
And let no quarrel, *nor no* brawl to come,
Taint the condition of this present hour... (Shakespeare)

Gradually double negation went out of use. In the age of Correctness — the normalising 18th c. — when the scholars tried to improve and perfect the language, multiple negation was banned as illogical: it was believed that one negation eliminated the other like two minuses in mathematics and the resulting meaning would be affirmative. These logical restrictions on the use of negations became a strict rule of English grammar.

Word Order

§ 539. In ME and Early NE the order of words in the sentence underwent noticeable changes: it has become fixed and direct: subject plus predicate plus object (S+P+O) or subject plus the notional part of the predicate (the latter type was used mainly in questions).

Stabilisation of the word order was a slow process, which took many hundreds of years: from Early ME until the 16th or 17th c. The fixation of the word order proceeded together with reduction and loss of inflectional endings, the two developments being intertwined; though syntactic changes were less intensive and less rapid. They may have been delayed by the break in the written tradition after the Norman conquest and by the general unsettling of the grammatical system during the Early ME dialectal divergence, whereas morphological changes may have been intensified for these very reasons.

Though the word order in Late ME may appear relatively free, several facts testify to its growing stability. The practice of placing the

verb-predicate at the end of a subordinate clause had been abandoned, so was the type of word order with the object placed between the Subject and the Predicate (see OE examples in § 224). The place before the Predicate belonged to the Subject, which is confirmed by the prevalence of this word order in prosaic texts and also, indirectly, by the transition of the "impersonal" constructions into "personal": as shown above, in the pattern *the mann(e) liketh* the noun was understood as the Subject, though originally it was an Object in the Dat. case (cf. *him liketh*, see § 533).

§ 540. In the 17th and 18th c. the order of words in the sentence was generally determined by the same rules as operate in English today. The fixed, direct word order prevailed in statements, unless inversion was required for communicative purposes or for emphasis, e. g.:

Now *comes* in the sweetest *morsel* in the night... These numbers *will I tear* and write in prose. (Shakespeare)

The order of the Subject and Predicate remained direct in sentences beginning with an adverbial modifier:

then *the two bears will not bite* one another when they meet. (In OE an initial adverbial modifier required an inverted word order — P+S — see § 225.)

In questions the word order was partially inverted — unless the question referred to the subject group. The analytical forms of the verb and the use of the *do*-periphrasis instead of simple forms made it possible to place the notional part of the Predicate after the Subject even with simple Predicate. Cf.:

Are they *good?... Can* you *make* no use of your discontent? ... Who *comes* here? ... Lady, *will* you *walk* about with your friend? ... *Did* he never *make* you laugh? (Shakespeare)

Occasionally we find simple verb forms in questions placed before the Subject: Which way *looks* he? ... How *came* you to this? Full inversion in questions is more common with Shakespeare than with later authors (see also § 508 for the history of forms with *do*).

Predicative Constructions

§ 541. One of the most important developments in Late ME and Early NE syntax was the growth of predicative constructions. Predicative constructions date from the OE period, when Dat. Absolute was used in translations from Latin and the Acc. with the Inf. — in original English texts; the latter construction occurred only with verbs of physical perception (see § 216); a short time later a new type of construction appeared after verbs of physical perception: the Acc. with Part I.

In Late ME and in Early NE the Acc. with the Inf. and the Acc. with the Part. came to be used with an increasing number of verbs of various meanings. New types of predicative constructions appeared in

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Late ME and Early NE texts: the Nom. with the Inf. and with Participles I, II (also known as Subjective predicative constructions), the Nom. Absolute construction and the Absolute construction with prepositions, and, finally, the *for*-phrase with the Inf. and the Gerundial construction.

The following quotations from Early NE texts exemplify various predicative constructions:

Objective Predicative Constructions (*"Complex Object"*)

I would desire *you to draw* your knife and grave your name. (Dekker)
When the Noble Caesar saw *him stab;* ... and bid *them speak* for me;
... mothers shall but smile when they behold
Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war. (Shakespeare)

Subjective predicative construction (*"Complex Subject"*)
Although *he* were adjudged, in the court of Rome, *to have forfeited,* all the right which he had to his Kingdome ... (Holinshed)
He was reported *to be* a very uncontended person. (Puttenham)

Absolute constructions
My flesh being troubled, my heart doth hear the spear. (Wyatt)
... and, *after that dede done,* ther was no more money yoven us. (Paston Letters)
... and with hym mette a shippe callyd Nicolas of the Towre, *with other shippis wayting on him.* (Paston Letters)
(The Absolute construction could at first be introduced by various prepositions; later *with* was standardised.)

Gerundial complexes
... the very next day after *his coming home* departed out of this world to receive his reward in the Spiritual court of Heaven. (Dekker) (See also § 474).

For-phrase with the Infinitive

The descriptions whereof were too long *for mee to write,* and you to read. (Dekker)

The advantage of the *for*-phrase and the Gerundial construction over other predicative constructions was that they were less restricted syntactically: they could be employed in various syntactic functions.

All predicative constructions were formed according to a single pattern: they consisted of a nominal element indicating the agent or subject of an action or state and a non-finite form denoting this action. When relationships between the component parts of predicative constructions were firmly established, the second element began to be expressed by nominal parts of speech without the help of verbals, e. g. adjectives and nouns:

... and you shall not sin
If you do say we think *him over-proud* and *under-honest.* (Shakespeare)

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... came the Emperour ... from huntyng, the *Dophin on his ryght hand, the Duke of Orleans on the lyfft.* (Fabian)

§ 542. Though all predicative constructions are based on a uniform underlying pattern, they have developed from different sources: from verb patterns with direct and prepositional objects followed by an infinitive or a participle, noun patterns with participles used as attributes, verbal nouns modified by possessive pronouns or nouns, elliptical infinitive sentences. Some scholars believe that predicative constructions in English arose under the influence of Latin and that they should be regarded as direct borrowings from Latin (M. Callaway). Though predicative constructions were frequently used in translations from Latin at all historical periods, there seems to be no doubt of their native origin.

The earliest instances of the Acc. with the Inf. are found in BEO-WULF, an original OE epic; as mentioned above they were first used after verbs of physical perception and were soon extended to other verbs, while the Inf. began to alternate with Part. I.

In Late ME and Early NE predicative constructions of different types were commonly used both in translations and in original texts. In the age of the Literary Renaissance many works were translated from Latin into English — it has been found that predicative constructions, especially the Objective predicative and the Absolute construction were more frequent in translations from Latin than in original prose. Since their frequency continued to grow in later ages it seems probable that the literal translation of Latin constructions played a certain role in their further growth; it is also probable that some of the more complicated patterns — with the passive forms of the verbals — appeared as direct replicas of Latin constructions. With the exception of these aspects, neither the origin of the constructions nor their growth in NE can be attributed to foreign influence. Their growing productivity in the NE period is part of the development towards more complicated syntactic structures in the written forms of the language in the ages of Literary efflorescence.

Compound and Complex Sentences

§ 543. The growth of the written forms of English, and the advance of literature in Late ME and Early NE manifested itself, among other changes, in the further development of the compound and complex sentence. Differentiation between the two types became more evident, the use of connectives — more precise. The diversity of sentence structures in Late ME and Early NE reveals considerable freedom in the nature and use of clauses. The flexibility of sentence patterns and the variable use of connectives were subjected to new constraints and regulations in the period of normalisation.

§ 544. The complicated hierarchical structure of the sentence in Late ME and also correlation of connectives inherited from OE is illustrated by the opening stanza of Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES (see the text in § 361).

The poem begins with an adverbial clause of time introduced by *whan that*: the interrogative adverb *whan* ('when') is accompanied by the conjunction *that*, the two words together being used as a conjunction; another adverbial clause of time *whan Zephirus*... goes on for two and a half lines, then two temporal clauses are joined by *and*, and two more clauses are inserted — an attributive clause beginning with *That slepen*... and a parenthetical clause; then, finally, the principal clause begins with the adverb *thanne* which correlates with *whan that* and *whan* in the first and fifth lines.

Many new conjunctions and other connective words appeared during the ME period: *both...and*, a coordinating conjunction, was made up of a borrowed Scandinavian dual adjective *bath* and the native *and; because*, a subordinating conjunction, was a hybrid consisting of the native English preposition *by* and a borrowed Latin noun, *cause* (*by+cause* 'for the reason'); numerous connectives developed from adverbs and pronouns — *who, what, which, where, whose, how, why*. These connectives sometimes occurred in combination with *that* (like *whan that* in the above quotation from Chaucer), which probably served to show that the former pronouns and adverbs were employed in a new, connective, function.

The following examples from Chaucer's works illustrate various types of subordinate clauses in ME and some of the connectives used to join the clauses, especially the polyfunctional *that*:

Subject and object clauses:
And notified is thurghout the toun
That every wight, with greet devocioun,
Sholde preyen Crist *that* he this mariage
Receyve in gree, and spede this viage.
('And it is notified throughout the town that every man should pray to Christ with great devotion that he receive this marriage favourably and make the voyage successful.')

An attributive clause joined by *that* and *which* correlated with *thilke* ('such'):
A knyght ther was and that a worthy man
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To riden out, he loved chivalrie...
('There was a knight and he was a worthy man, that loved chivalry from the time he first began to ride out (as a knight.')

That oon of hem was blynd and myghte nat see,
But it were with *thilke* eyen of his mynde
With whiche men seen, *after that* they been blynde.
('That one of them was blind and could not see except with such eyes of his mind, with which men see after they get blind.')

An adverbial clause of result joined by *so* ... *that*:
And *so* ferforth she gan oure lay declare
That she the constable, *er that* it was eve
Converted, and on Crist made hym bileve.

('And she began to declare ("preach") our creed to such a degree that she converted the governor and made him believe in Christ, before evening came.)

The last two quotations contain also *adverbial clauses of time* introduced by *after that, er that.*

An adverbial clause of manner introduced by *as:*
And for to kepe his lordes hir degre —
As it is ryght and skylfyl that they be
Enhaunsed and honoured, ...
('And to maintain the rank of his lords, as it is right and reasonable that they should be promoted and honoured, ...')

Adverbial clauses of condition joined by *if that* and *if:*
What wot I, *if that* Crist have hider ysent
My wyf by see...
('What do I know if Christ has hither sent my wife by sea.')

And *if* so be that thou me fynde fals,
Another day do hange me by the hals
('And if it be so that you find me false, the next day hang me by the neck.')

Adverbial clauses of concession joined by *wher-so* and *though that:*
But forth she moot, *wher-so* she wepe or singe.
('But she must (go) forth, whether she weeps or sings.')

For I ne can nat fynde
A man, *though that* I walked in-to Ynde
Neither in citee nor in no village.
('For I cannot find a man, though I walked to India, either in a city or in a village.')

An adverbial clause of cause joined with the help of *by way of reason* and *by cause that:*
Than seye they ther-in swich difficultee
By way of resoun, for to speke al playn,
By cause that ther was swich diversitee
Bitwene her bothe lawes...
('Then they saw there such difficulty in it for the reason, to speak plainly, because there was so much difference between their two laws...')

§ 545. In the 16th-17th c. the structure of the sentence became more complicated, which is natural to expect in a language with a growing and flourishing literature. The following passage from a prose romance by Philip Sidney, one of the best authors of the Literary Renaissance, shows the complex structure of the sentence:
"But then, Demagoras assuring himselfe, that now Parthenia was her owne, she would never be his, and receiving as much by her owne determinate answere, not more desiring his owne happines, then envying Argalus, whom he saw with narrow eyes, even ready to enjoy the perfection of his desires; strengthening his conceite with all the mischie-

vous counsels which disdayned love, and envious pride could geve unto him; the wicked wretch (taking a time that Argalus was gone to his countrie, to fetch some of his principal frendes to honour the mariage, which Parthenia had most joyfully consented unto), the wicked Demagoras (I say) desiring to speake with her, with ummercifull force, (her weake arms in vaine resisting) rubd all over her face a most horrible poyson: the effect whereof was such, that never leaper lookt more ugly than she did: which done, having his men and horses ready, departed away in spite of her servants, as redy to revenge as they could be, in such an unexpected mischiefe."

§ 546. The structure of the sentence was further perfected in the 18th and 19th c. It suffices to say that from the 15th to 18th c. the number of coordinating connectives was almost doubled. As before, most conspicuous was the frequent use of *and*, a conjunction of a most general meaning; other conjunctions widened their meanings and new connectives arose from various sources to express the subtle semantic relationships between clauses and sentences, e. g. *in consequence, in fact, to conclude, neither...nor*. In the Age of Correctness the employment of connectives, as well as the structure of the sentence, was subjected to logical regulation in the writings of the best stylists: J. Dryden, S. Johnson, R. Steele, J. Addison, J. Swift, D. Defoe, and others. Their style combined a clear order with ease and flexibility of expression, which manifested itself in the choice of words, grammatical forms and syntactic patterns.

The concern of 18th c. men-of-letters with language matters is illustrated by the debate about the use of relative pronouns. In 1711 R. Steele, one of the editors of the first English newspapers, published a letter entitled "The Humble Petition of Who and Which", in which he claimed that the upstart *that* was ousting the older *wh*-forms. He was wrong in asserting that *who* and *which* as relative pronouns were older than *that: that* was common as a relative (also as a conjunctive) pronoun since the earliest periods of history, while *who* and *which* — originally interrogative — turned into relative pronouns at a far later date — probably in ME.

R. Steele objected vehemently to the use of *which* in reference to human beings and suggested that the use of *that* should be restricted. Other authors, who took part in the debate, agreed that a strict distinction should be made between *who* and *which*, and argued that *whose* was the Gen. of *who* but not of *which*. It is noteworthy that the editors of Shakespeare's plays in the 18th c. (Rowe, Pope) made many "corrections" of the forms of pronouns: they corrected *who* and *what* to *which* with an inanimate antecedent, emended *who* to *whom* as an interrogative and relative pronoun in the function of object.[1] In this way they attempted to improve English syntax — in line with the general tendency of 18th c. normalisators to make the language more logical and correct.

The development of English syntax at this stage of history — as well as later — was to a considerable extent determined by the formation and differentiation of styles which is beyond the scope of this course.

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[1] The distinction between *who* and *which* recommended by 18th c. grammarians has been established as a standard of "good", educated English; the recommendations concerning *whose* and *whom* have not been fully observed: *whose* is still used instead of *of which* and *who* interchanges with *whom* when used as an object.

§ 547. The drastic transformation of the grammatical system in the history of English has attracted the interest of many historical linguists and has been the subject of much speculation and comment. The problem of transition from a synthetic to a more analytical grammatical type has given rise to many theories.

In the 19th c. the simplification of English morphology was attributed to the effect of phonetic changes, namely the weakening and loss of unaccented final syllables caused by the heavy Germanic word stress. (The views were promoted by the comparativists, especially by the Young grammarian school, — K. Brugmann, E. Sievers and others.) As the stress was fixed on the root-syllable or the first syllable of the word, the final syllables, i. e. inflectional endings, were reduced and dropped. As a result of phonetic changes many forms fell together and it became difficult to distinguish between cases, genders, numbers and persons. To make up for the losses, new means of showing grammatical relations and of connecting words in a sentence began to develop: prepositions and a fixed word order.

This theory, often called "phonetic", regards sound changes as the primary cause of grammatical changes. It disregards the specifically grammatical trends of evolution and the relative chronology of developments at different levels. And yet it is well known that prepositional phrases were used a long time before the inflections had been dropped and that the position of words in a sentence in relation to other words was not altogether free: thus the attribute was normally placed next to the noun, though their grammatical ties were shown by means of concord. It is true that the changes at different linguistic levels were interconnected, but this does not mean that there could be only one direction of influence — from the lower, phonetic level to the grammatical levels. The interaction of changes at different levels must have operated in different ways in various historical periods, and the changes were determined not only by internal linguistic factors but also by external conditions.

§ 548. The second popular theory, often referred to as "functional", attributed the loss of inflectional endings and the growth of analytical means to functional causes: the endings lost their grammatical role or their functional load and were dropped as unnecessary and redundant for other means began to fulfil their functions. As compared to the phonetic theory, the changes started at the opposite end: the grammatical inflections of nouns became unnecessary *after* their functions were taken over by prepositions; the endings of adjectives showing gender became meaningless when the Category of Gender in nouns had been lost and the markers of number in adjectives were redundant, since number was shown by the forms of nouns. Likewise the distinction between the weak and strong forms of adjectives could easily be dispensed with when the newly developed system of articles could express the same meanings with greater regularity and precision; and even certain verb endings could be dropped as useless when person and number were indicated ana-

lytically — with the help of an obligatory subject. The functional theory first advanced by W. Horn, M. Lehnert and other linguists, was supported by some recent views on language.[1]

A similar approach to the grammatical changes is found in the theory of the "least effort" which claims that the structure of language is an unstable balance between the needs of more numerous expressive means and man's inertia, or his strive for the least effort in achieving the same aims.[2] It is believed that the speakers are always in need of more expressive linguistic means, as the existing means gradually lose their expressive force; these needs, inherent in every living language, account for the use of prepositional phrases alongside case-forms and the growth of verb phrases and analytical forms in addition to simple verb forms.

Although these hypotheses take into account some important general properties of language, they ignore the specific conditions of the development of English at different historical periods and are therefore in some respects as one-sided as the phonetic theory.

§ 549. Many scholars ascribe the simplification of the English morphology and the general transformation of the grammatical type to certain facts of external history, namely to contacts with other tongues. The age of great grammatical changes — between the 10th and 13th c. — was the time of heavy Scandinavian settlement in the North-East and of the Norman Conquest.

In the areas of Scandinavian settlement OE and O Scand intermixed. The two OG languages were not too far apart to allow of a good deal of mutual understanding; they had a large common vocabulary, with certain differences in pronunciation and inflectional endings. Probably distinct pronunciation of the roots was therefore more essential than the pronunciation of endings; consequently grammatical inflections could be missed out and dropped. (Cf. OE *sunu*, O Scand *sunr;* OE *swan*, O Scand *svanr;* OE *fæder;* O Scand *faðir —* NE *son, swan, father*)[2]. The direction of the diffusion of the changes — from the North to the South — seems to support this hypothesis; the Northern dialects showed a high degree of levelling and simplification as early as the 10th c., when the other dialects still retained the OE inflectional system. Nevertheless, it should be recalled that some of the simplifying changes started in the South and spread north — those were, e. g. the grammatical changes in personal pronouns. It may be added that this theory leaves out of consideration the interdependence of changes at different linguistic levels and especially the phonetic and syntactic developments, which began a long time before the Scandinavian invasions.

§ 550. Another theory ascribes the simplification of the noun and

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[1] A modern interpretation of these ideas in the light of the information theory can be found in the article by Л. С. Бархударов. К проблеме развития аналитического строя в английском языке in Иностранные языки в высшей школе, М., 1962, вып. I, с. 47.

[2] The exponents of this theory are H. Bradley, S. Robinson and others. For a critical review of the theory of mixture of languages see the article by В. М. Жирмунский in Ученые записки ЛГУ, серия филологических наук, 1947, № 5.

adjective morphology to the mixture of English with O Fr, though this tongue was not closely related to English. According to this view the French language of the Norman rulers of Britain could have played a more decisive role in the grammatical changes than O Scand for the simple reason that it had a far greater effect on the development of English as a whole (and particularly on its vocabulary). It is thought that any mixture with a foreign tongue leads to an unsettling of the inflectional system; mixture with O Fr could favour the tendency to greater analyticism because at that time French had a more analytical grammatical structure than English. This theory, however, is not confirmed by the chronology of the changes: at the time of strongest French influence — the 13th and 14th c. — English had already lost most of its inflections and had acquired many of its analytical features.

§ 551. We should also mention one more popular theory which attempted to explain the grammatical changes in English — the so-called "theory of progress" advanced by O. Jespersen. O. Jespersen protested against the interpretation of the history of all IE languages as grammatical degeneration and decay. He tried to show the advantages of the analytical type of language over the synthetic type and presented the history of English as the only way to progress and a superior kind of language. He believed that the general tendency of all languages was towards shorter grammatical forms, though languages differ much in the velocity with which they had been moving in this direction; on this way to an ideal grammatical structure English had reached a more advanced stage than other languages, which testifies, according to O. Jespersen,[1] to a superior level of thinking of English-speaking nations.

 The "theory of progress" was severely criticised for its racial implication and for merely reversing the old argument of 19th c. comparativists that the IE parent-language was superior to modern languages because it was highly inflected. The state of inflections and the nature of form-building means employed cannot determine the level of development of language, though they characterises its grammatical type. It has been observed that in some languages grammatical forms evolved in the opposite direction: analytical forms merged into synthetic ones or died out, giving way to synthetic forms (e. g. in French and in Russian); this proves that the trend towards a more analytical type is not the only way of evolution and progress.

§ 552. With the exception of the theory of progress, all the other views outlined above are partly correct, since each factor played a certain role in grammatical changes, though it was only one of their causes, and not the only cause. Like other changes, grammatical changes were brought about by numerous intra- and extralinguistic factors, such as the internal tendencies operating at different linguistic levels, the inter-action of these tendencies and the specific external conditions which determined the linguistic situation at different historical periods. Without going into details we can ascribe the main events in the histo-

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[1] *O. Jespersen.* Progress in Language with Special Reference to English. London, New York, 1894.

ry of English grammar to a number of major causes and conditions.

§ 553. The simplification of the nominal paradigms and the replacement of synthetic means by analytical means of word connection — took place mainly in the Early ME period. We should recall that even in OE the nominal system was in some respects inconsistent and contradictory: there was little regularity in form-building and the meaning of many cases was vague; these conditions pre-determined possible changes. The main factors which brought about the changes can be described as tendencies of different levels.

The phonetic reduction of final unaccented syllables, originally caused by the Germanic word stress, made the grammatical endings less distinct; in Early ME many inflections were weakened and some of them were lost. The main trend in the morphological system was to preserve and to work out reliable formal markers for the most essential grammatical distinctions (in the first place, the distinction of number in nouns); this was achieved by means of analogical levelling — grammatical analogy led to the regular use of the same markers for similar forms. The lexical and syntactic levels furnished diverse means, which could make the meaning and the use of forms more precise and differentiated, — such as prepositions which accompanied the forms of cases and different types of word order; the use of these reliable means favoured the indistinct pronunciation of the endings and their confusion in writing.

Those were the internal, or intralinguistic conditions of grammatical changes in Early ME.

There is no doubt that the extralinguistic conditions contributed to the changes. The linguistic situation in Early ME speeded up the grammatical changes. The increased dialectal divergence of the feudal age, the two foreign influences, Scandinavian and French, and the break in the written tradition made for a wider range of variation, greater grammatical instability and more intensive realisation of internal tendencies.

The transformation was on the whole completed in the 14th—15th c., when some of the co-existing forms and syntactic patterns used in free variation were selected and adopted by the language system and by the prevailing literary dialect — the dialect of London. The selection of forms was determined by the same internal tendencies and by the changed linguistic situation: the dialects had intermixed and their relations and inter-influence reflected the economic, social and demographic events of the time.

§ 554. The growth of analytical forms in the verb system and the formation of new grammatical categories were also to a certain extent pre-determined by the state of the verb system in OE: the paradigm of the verb was relatively poor and, in addition to categorial forms of the verb system, the language made wide use of verb phrases and verb-prefixes to express a variety of meanings connected with the main meanings of the verb forms — temporal, modal and aspective. The main changes of the ensuing period consisted in the enrichment of the verb system which came to include new forms in the paradigm and to develop new oppositions and categories. The verb system has expanded and has be-

come more symmetrical. These alterations were primarily conditioned by internal factors of language evolution, such as the shift of some abstract meanings from the lexical to the grammatical level (e. g. the modal and temporal meanings), and the strive for a balanced regular arrangement of grammatical oppositions. The developments in the verb system, unlike those in the nominal system, were not confined to Early ME; they extended over many hundred years and were associated with different kind of external conditions and new stimuli of development: the growth of culture and the written forms of the language, the formation of the national literary language — with its functional and stylistic differentiation — and the need for more precise and subtle means of expression.

§ 555. The changes at the syntactic level can, on the whole, be attributed to the same factors which operated in the evolution of English morphology. The predominance of syntactic ways of word connection, the strict word order, the wide use of prepositional phrases were a part of the general transition of English from the synthetic to the analytical type. Syntactic changes were linked up with simplifying changes in morphology and made a part of a single historical process (see § 553).

The other major trend of syntactic changes can be defined as growing complexity of the word phrase and of the sentence. The extension of word phrases, the growth of predicative constructions, and the development of the complex and compound sentences made a part of the formation of the literary English language, and particularly its Written Standard and multiple functional styles.

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Compare the historical productivity of different form-building means: synthetic (inflections, sound interchanges), analytical, suppletive.

2. Which part of speech has lost the greatest number of grammatical categories? Which part of speech has acquired new categories?

3. Describe the sources of the modern pl forms of nouns and the spread of the ending -(e)s.

4. Compare the development of case and number in nouns, adjectives and pronouns.

5. Illustrate the process of replacement by tracing the history of the pronouns *she, they, their, him, you, its.*

6. Comment on the forms of pronouns in the following quotations: 'tis better *thee* without than *he* within; Between *who*?; Nay, *you* need not fear for us; Loving offenders, thus I will excuse *ye*. (Shakespeare)

7. What is the connection between the growth of articles, the history of pronouns and the decline of adjectival declensions?

8. Comment on the following statement made by S. Johnson in his DICTIONARY: "He shall seldom err who remembers that when a verb has a participle distinct from its preterite as *write, wrote, written,* that

distinct participle is more proper and elegant, as *the book is written* is better than *the book is wrote* though *wrote* may be used in poetry..." What events called forth this remark?

9. Make a list of verb inflections in Mod E and trace their origin (show their grammatical and dialectal sources).

10. Why would it be incorrect to apply the terms "strong" and "weak" to Mod E standard and non-standard verbs?

11. Describe the development of the principal forms of the following verbs: OE *fēdan* w. I, *wēpan* str. 7, *āscian* w. II, *sincan, windan* str. 3.

12. Point out traces of OE pret.-pres. verbs in modern modal verbs.

13. Have all the phrases consisting of *have* plus Part. II, *be* plus Part. I and *shall/will* plus Inf. become grammatical forms? Describe their histories as instances of splitting.

14. Use the following quotations to describe the history of the Continuous forms:

It was not for nothing that my nose *fell a-bleeding* on Black Monday. (Shakespeare)

The clock struck ten while the trunks *were carrying* down ... (J. Austen, late 18th c.)

15. What developments in English syntax can be illustrated by the following quotations:

"Madam, my interpreter, what *says she*? Whereupon *do you look?*"

"Not from the stars *do I* my judgement *pluck*. And yet *methinks* I have astronomy..."

"How *likes you* this play, my lord?" (Shakespeare)

16. Recall some instances of grammatical changes which involve several linguistic levels: morphological, syntactic, phonetic, lexical.

17. In his "theory of progress" O. Jespersen asserted that English, being an analytical language, was more advanced than other languages. Consider and criticise some of his arguments:

(1) The forms are generally shorter, thus involving less muscular exertion and requiring less time for enunciation.

(2) There are not so many of them to burden the memory.

(3) Their formation is much more regular.

(4) Their syntactic use also presents fewer irregularities.

(5) The clumsy repetitions known under the name of concord have become superfluous.

(6) A clear and unambiguous understanding is secured through a regular word order.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY FROM THE 12TH TO 19TH C.

Preliminary Remarks. Types and Sources of Changes

§ 556. According to the estimates made by modern philologists, in the course of the thousand years — from OE to modern times — the English vocabulary has multiplied tenfold. Perhaps, if it were possible to count all the meanings expressed by lexical items in different historical periods, the figure would be much higher.

Among the changes in the vocabulary we can distinguish losses of words or their meanings, replacements and additions.

§ 557. Like many other lexical changes losses were connected with events in external history: with the changing conditions of life and the obsolescence of many medieval concepts and customs.

Some regulations and institutions of OE kingdoms were cancelled or forgotten in the ME period. OE *witenazemōt* 'assembly of the elders' ceased to exist under the Norman rule; OE *Danezeld*, the tax paid to the Scandinavians, was not collected after the collapse of the Danish Empire — both words have survived only as historical terms. OE *werzeld* was a fine paid by the murderer to the family of the murdered man; the word became obsolete together with the custom.

Some rituals of the heathen religion were abandoned — after the introduction of Christianity — and their names dropped out of use, e.g. OE *tiber*, *blōt* which meant 'sacrifice'.

In OE there were many groups of synonyms whose differentiation became irrelevant in ME; therefore some of the synonyms fell out of use. For instance, OE *here*, *fierd*, *werod* indicated an armed force, an army (*here* must have had a negative connotation as it was used only in reference to a hostile army, the Danes). The distinction between the synonyms was lost when they were all replaced by the ME borrowings from French *army*, *troop*.

The English vocabulary suffered considerable losses when a whole stylistic stratum of words, the specific OE poetic vocabulary, went out of use together with the genre of OE poetry; those were numerous poetic synonyms of ordinary, neutral words, stock metaphors and traditional "kennings".

Many words current in ME fell out of use and became obsolete in NE, e.g.: ME *chapman* 'pedlar', ME *romare* 'pilgrim to Rome', ME *outridere* 'rider visiting the manors of a monastery', ME *gypoun* 'short jacket'.

Losses could also affect the plane of content. Though the word survived, some of its meanings became obsolete. Thus OE *zift* had the meaning 'price of a wife' connected with one of the early meanings of the verb *zyfan* (NE *give*) 'give in marriage'; OE *sellan* lost the meaning 'give' which it could express in OE alongside 'sell'; OE *talu* meant 'number, series' and 'story, narrative', while its ME and NE descendant *tale* retained only the latter meanings.

Though losses proper can be illustrated by numerous examples in all periods, they played a less important role in the development of the vocabulary than replacements and additions.

§ 558. It has been calculated that from 80 to 85% of the OE words went out of use in the succeeding periods. Most of these words were not simply lost; they were replaced by other words of the same or similar meanings. The replacement came as a result of the co-existence and rivalry of synonyms and the ultimate selection of one of the rivals. Thus OE *clipian* came to be replaced by ME *callen*, NE *call*; OE *niman* was ousted by ME *taken*, NE *take*; the pronouns *hie* and *hēo* were substituted for by *they* and *she*; OE *weorčan* was replaced by *beccme*; NE *river* took the place of OE *ēa*; NE *table* — the place of OE *bord* and so on and so forth.

Replacements could also occur in the sphere of content: the word was retained but its meaning was changed or was replaced by a new meaning. Thus OE *drēam* meant 'joy' but acquired an entirely different meaning, formerly rendered by OE *swefn*; OE *cniht* 'boy, servant' changed its meaning to ME and NE *knight*; OE *clerec* 'clergyman' developed into ME *clerk* 'student, scholar' and NE 'secretary in an office'. Sometimes the meanings of the word changed when its referent (the thing it denoted) underwent some kind of changes, for instance, ME *carre* 'wheeled vehicle' now indicates a motor car or part of a train (*sleeping car*), NE *car*, Early ME *carriage; coche* denoted an old form of carriage pulled by four horses, while its descendant, NE *coach*, has acquired the meaning of 'car, carriage' in a train.

The "one-to-one" replacements illustrated by the examples above did not increase the number of words in the vocabulary. Most replacements however belonged to the "split"-type: one item was replaced by two or more, or one meaning differentiated into several meanings. These changes should be classified as additions to the vocabulary.

§ 559. Additions embrace a large number of vocabulary changes. The sum total of this type of change far offsets the process of obsolescence and decay. Among additions we can find pure innovations, that is entirely new words which did not take the place of any other items but were created to name new things, new ideas and new qualities, e.g. ME *citee* 'town with a cathedral', *duke, duchesse, prynce* — new ranks and titles; NE *bourgeois, potato, nylon*.

Many additions to the vocabulary were due to the differentiation of synonyms. The co-existence of synonyms did not necessarily result in the ousting of one by the other as shown in § 558. Both words — or even several words of close meaning — could survive with certain differences in stylistic connotations, combinability and other features. For instance OE *nēah, nēar, nēara* survived as ME *neer*, its ME synonyms were *cloos* and *adjacent*, their NE descendants and synonyms: *near, close, adjacent, neighbouring*. Another example: OE *heard*, ME *hard, ferme, solide*, NE *hard, firm, solid, severe*.

The development of new meanings in the existing words extended the vocabulary and led to the growth of polysemy and homonymy. For instance, OE *cræft* meant 'science', 'skill', 'strength'; in ME and NE

craft lost the meaning 'science' but acquired new meanings 'group of skilled workers, guild' and 'vessel'; ME *journee* meant 'day's work', sometimes 'day's march', later 'travel, journey'.

§ 560. The sources of new words are usually divided into internal and external. Internal ways of developing the vocabulary were productive in all historical periods. Word-formation and semantic changes were equally prolific in the creation of new words and new meanings; they were exceptionally productive in the periods of rapid vocabulary growth, such as the Renaissance period.

The role of external sources in the extension of the English vocabulary is very considerable, perhaps far more so than in most other languages. It is commonly acknowledged that one of the most drastic changes in the English vocabulary is the change in its etymological composition. While the OE vocabulary was almost entirely Germanic and on the whole was highly resistant to borrowing, the language of later periods absorbed foreign words by the hundred and even made use of foreign word components in word formation. As a result the proportion of Germanic words in the English language has fallen: according to modern estimates the native Germanic element constitutes from 30 to 50% of the vocabulary; the other two thirds (or half) come from foreign sources, mainly Romance.

This does not mean, however, that the native element in English is insignificant or that over half of all the words are direct borrowings. The importance of the surviving native words is borne out by the fact that they belong to the most frequent layer of words, and that native components are widely used in word-building, in word phrases and phraseological units.[1] It should also be realised that the foreign origin of a morpheme does not mean that every word containing this morpheme is a borrowing. When the loan-words were assimilated by the language — which happened some time after their adoption — they could yield other words through word-formation or develop new meanings on British soil; these new items are specifically English words and meanings and are, therefore, as "native" as the Germanic heritage. For instance, the foreign root *pass* (from French *passer*) is used in numerous composite verbs ("verb-adverb combinations") like *pass away, pass by, pass for, pass through,* etc.; in phraseological units like *pass by the name of, pass a remark, pass the ball;* in derived and compound words, e.g. *passer-by, passing, pass-book.* All these words and phrases originated in the English language and cannot be treated as borrowings, though they contain the foreign component *pass.*

The influx of borrowings was directly dependent on the linguistic situation in the country, on the extent of bilingualism in the community, and on the position and role of the foreign language. The linguistic situation in ME was most favourable for strong foreign influence — first Scandinavian then French. Foreign words were adopted in large numbers in the succeeding periods as well and their sources became more

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[1] See *R. S. Ginzburg, S. S. Khidekel, G. Y. Knyazeva, A. A. Sankin.* A Course in Modern English Lexicology, M., 1966, pp. 213, 215 and others.

diverse: English freely borrowed both from classical and modern sources though at no other time the immediate effect of the foreign impact was as manifest as in ME.

Scandinavian Influence on the Vocabulary

§ 561. The historical events which led to the contacts between OE and O Scand were described in Ch. V and X. The Scandinavian invasions had far-reaching linguistic consequences which became apparent mainly in ME; the greater part of lexical borrowings from O Scand were not recorded until the 13th c.

As mentioned before, the presence of the Scandinavians in the English population is indicated by a large number of place-names in the northern and eastern areas (former *Danelaʒu*): most frequent are place-names with the Scandinavian components *thorp* 'village', *toft* 'piece of land', *by* from O Scand *bỹr* 'village', *beck* 'rivulet', *ness* 'cape', e.g. *Troutbeck, Inverness, Woodthorp, Grimsby, Brimtoft.*

The fusion of the English and of the Scandinavian settlers progressed rapidly; in many districts people became bilingual, which was an easy accomplishment since many of the commonest words in the two OG languages were very much alike.

Gradually the Scandinavian dialects were absorbed by English, leaving a profound impression on the vocabulary of the Northern English dialects.

In the beginning Scandinavian loan-words were dialectally restricted; they increased the range of language variation; later due to dialect mixture they penetrated into other parts of the language space, passed into London English and the national language. It is noteworthy that the number of Scandinavian loan-words in the Northern dialects has always been higher than in the Midlands and in the South. Probably in Early ME there were more Scandinavian words in current use than have survived today. Some words died out or were retained only in the local dialects, e.g. *kirk* 'church', *daʒ* 'dew'. The total number of Scandinavian borrowings in English is estimated at about 900 words; about 700 of them belong to Standard English.

§ 562. It is difficult to define the semantic spheres of Scandinavian borrowings: they mostly pertain to everyday life and do not differ from native words. Only the earliest loan-words deal with military and legal matters and reflect the relations of the people during the Danish raids and Danish rule. These early borrowings are Late OE *barda, cnearr, sceʒþ* (different types of ships), *cnif* (NE *knife*), *liþ* 'fleet', *orrest* 'battle'. Among legal terms are Late OE *laʒu, ūtlaʒu, feolaʒa, hūsbonda* (NE *law, outlaw, fellow, husband*), and also the verb *tacan* (NE *take*).

The word *law* is derived from O Scand *lóg* which meant 'that which is laid down'. It was adopted as early as the 10th c. and was preserved together with its derivatives: ME *outlaw*, NE *in-law, lawyer*; ME *by-law* goes back to *bỹr* 'town' and *lawe*, and denotes 'town' or 'local law'. The word *husband* was originally a legal term 'house holder', one who owns a house; similarly *fellow* which stemmed from O Scand *fēlagi*,

indicated one who lays down a fee, as a partner or shareholder. In the subsequent centuries many Scandinavian military and legal terms disappeared or were displaced by French terms.

§ 563. Examples of everyday words of Scandinavian origin which have been preserved in present-day Standard English are given below in alphabetical order according to the part of speech. The simple character of the borrowings is well illustrated by the lists of nouns, adjectives and verbs. Nouns — *bag, band, birth, brink, bulk, cake, crook, dirt, egg, freckle, gap, gate, keel, kid, leg, link, loan, raft, root, score, scrap, seat, skill, skim, skirt, skull, sky, slaughter, sneer, steak, thrift, window, wing;* adjectives — *awkward, flat, happy, ill, loose, low, meek, odd, rotten, scant, scarce, sly, tight, ugly, weak, wrong;* verbs — *bait, bask, call, cast, clamp, crawl, cut, die, drown, gape, gasp, hit, happen, lift, nag, raise, rake, rid, scare, scatter, scowl, snub, take, thrive, thrust, want.*

§ 564. A most convincing proof of the close contacts between the two languages in everyday life and of bilingualism prevailing in many areas is the replacement of some native form-words by Scandinavian borrowings. It must be mentioned that form-words are rarely borrowed from a foreign language. The Scandinavian pronoun *þegg* (3rd p. pl) was first recorded in ORMULUM, a text which contains many Scandinavian loan-words (c. 1200, North-East Midland dialect). Gradually *they,* together with the forms *them, their, themselves* displaced OE *hie.* It is believed that the final selection of *they* (instead of *hie*) was favoured, if not caused, by the resemblance of ME descendants of several pronouns of the 3rd p.: *hie, hē,* and *hēo,* ('they', 'he', 'she'). It was at that ti me that OE *hēo* was replaced by *she.*

Other form-words borrowed from Scandinavian are: *both, though, fro* (which was used interchangeably with the native parallel *from* and has been preserved in the phrase *to and fro*).

§ 565. Vocabulary changes due to Scandinavian influence proceeded in different ways: a Scandinavian word could enter the language as an innovation, without replacing any other lexical item; such was probably the case of *law, fellow, outlaw.* More often, however, the loan-word was a synonym of a native English word and their rivalry led to different results: the loan-word could eventually disappear or could be restricted to dialectal use (e.g. Late OE *barda* 'ship', *liþ* 'fleet'); it could take the place of the native word (e.g. *they, take, call,* which replaced OE *hie, niman, clipian*); both the borrowed and the native words could survive as synonyms with a slight difference in meaning. Cf. NE *blocm* (from O Scand *blóm*) and native *blossom; ill* (from O Scand *illr*) and native *evil; sky* (from O Scand *skȳ* 'cloud') and *heaven: die* and *starve; task* and *tathe; want* and *wish.* In the course of semantic differentiation the meaning of one or both words became narrower and more specialised and the spheres of reference of the synonyms were divided, e.g. OE *steorfan* had a more general meaning 'die' before *deyen* was adopted from O Scand *deyia* (NE *die*); NE *starve* has narrowed its meaning to 'die of hunger'; *sky* and *heaven* have different spheres of application, the same is true of other pairs of synonyms. Sometimes

the semantic difference is very slight but the survival of both synonyms is supported by their stylistic or syntactic distinctions (cf. *want* and *wish, happy* and *merry, scare* and *frighten, skill* and *craft*).

It is interesting to note that sometimes the Scandinavian parallel modified the meaning of the native word without being borrowed. For instance, OE *drēam* indicated 'joy', but acquired the meaning of the Scandinavian parallel, hence NE *dream;* OE *sēman* 'reconcile' acquired the meaning 'be fit', hence modern *seem.* OE *plōh* was a unit of measurement of land, from Scandinavian it obtained the modern meaning of *plough* 'agricultural implement'.

§ 566. Since both languages, O Scand and OE, were closely related, Scandinavian words were very much like native words. Therefore, assimilation of loan-words was easy. Both in ME and nowadays it is difficult to distinguish Scandinavian loans from native words. The only criteria that can be applied are some phonetic features of borrowed words: the consonant cluster [sk] is a frequent mark of Scandinavian loanwords, e.g. *sky, skill* (see the lists above); [sk] does not occur in native words, as OE [sk] had been palatalised and modified to [ʃ]: cf. ME *fish, ship* (from OE *fisc, scip,* see § 403).[1] The sounds [ʃ] and [sk] are sometimes found in related words in the two languages: native *shirt* and the Scandinavian loan-word *skirt* are etymological doublets (which means that they go back to the same Germanic root but have been subjected to different phonetic and semantic changes; cf. also *scatter* and *shatter, scream* and *shriek*).

Other criteria of the same type are the sounds [k] and [g] before front vowels, which in native words normally became [tʃ] and [dʒ]. Cf. *kid* (from O Scand) and *chin* (native, from OE *cin*), *girth* (from O Scand) and *yield* (from OE *ʒieldan*). These criteria, however, are not always reliable. ([k] could sometimes be retained in native words before a front vowel as well, e.g. *king,* see § 142, 403.)

The intimate relations of the languages, among other things, could result in phonetic modification of native words. Words like *give, get, gift* are included by some scholars in the list of Scandinavian loan-words on the basis of this criterion, but are also regarded as instances of phonetic influence upon native words; we may say that ME *gyven, geten* and *gift* were Northern variants of the words whose pronunciation was influenced by Scandinavian; nevertheless, they are native words. The same is true of the word *sister,* which goes back to native OE *sweostor* and to O Scand *systir.*

French Influence on the Vocabulary
in Middle English

§ 567. The French language was brought to England by the Norman conquerors. The Normans remained masters of England for a sufficiently long time to leave a deep impress on the language. The Norman rulers

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[1] *Some words with* [sk] *come from other foreign languages: Latin and Greek school, scheme; sketch comes from Netherlandish.*

and the immigrants, who invaded the South-Western towns after the Conquest, spoke a variety of French, known as "Anglo-Norman". This variety died out about two hundred years later, having exerted a profound influence upon English. In the 13th and 14th c. English was exposed to a new wave of French influence; this time it came from Central, Parisian French, a variety of a more cultivated, literary kind.

The effect of these successive and overlapping waves was seen first and foremost in a large number of lexical borrowings in ME. At the initial stages of penetration French words were restricted to some varieties of English: the speech of the aristocracy at the king's court; the speech of the middle class, who came into contact both with the rulers and with the ruled; the speech of educated people and the population of South-Eastern towns (see Ch. XI, § 285 ff.). Eventually French loanwords spread throughout the language space and became an integral of the English vocabulary. Early borrowings were mostly made in the course of oral communication; later borrowings were first used in literature — in translations of French books.

The total number of French borrowings by far exceeds the number of borrowings from any other foreign language (though sometimes it is difficult to say whether the loan came from French or Latin). The greater part of French loan-words in English date from ME.

§ 568. During the initial hundred and fifty years of the Norman rule the infiltration of French words into the English language progressed slowly. Early ME texts contain very few French words: only twenty French words are found in ORMULUM (c. 1200, North-East Midland). More words are recorded in manuscripts coming from the southern regions: 150 words in Layamon's BRUT and up to 500 words in ANCRENE RIWLE (South-West Midland). On the whole, prior to the 13th c. no more than one thousand words entered the English language, whereas by 1400 their number had risen to 10,000 (75% of them are still in common use). The majority of French loan-words adopted in ME were first recorded in the texts of the 14th c. Chaucer's vocabulary, which amounts to 8,000 words, contains about 4,000 words of Romance origin, i.e. French and Latin borrowings.

Among the earliest borrowings are Early ME *prisun* (NE *prison*), Early ME *castel* (NE *castle*), Early ME *werre* (NE *war*), Late OE *prȳto*, *prūt* (NE *pride, proud*).

§ 569. The French borrowings of the ME period are usually described according to semantic spheres.

To this day nearly all the words relating to the *government* and *administration* of the country are French by origin: *assembly, authority, chancellor, council, counsel, country, court, crown, exchequer, govern, government, nation, office, parliament, people, power, realm, sovereign* and many others. Close to this group are words pertaining to the *feudal system* and words indicating *titles* and *ranks* of the nobility: *baron, count, countess, duchess, duke, feudal, liege, manor, marquis, noble, peer, prince, viscount.* It is notable that very few words of these semantic groups are native, e.g. *lord, lady, king, queen, earl, knight.* (OE *cniht* originally meant 'boy', 'servant', OE *earl* 'man', 'warrior'.) These

borrowings show that the Normans possessed a far more elaborate administrative system and a more complex scale of ranks.

The host of *military* terms adopted in ME are a natural consequence of the fact that military matters were managed by the Normans and that their organisation of the army and military service was new to the English. The examples are: *aid, armour, arms, army, banner, battle* (from O Fr and ME *battaille*), *captain* (from earlier *cheftain*), *company, dart, defeat, dragoon, ensign, escape, force, lance, lieutenant, navy, regiment, sergeant, siege, soldier, troops, vessel, victory* and many others. It is interesting that some of the loan-words from French were originally borrowed from Germanic languages at an earlier stage of history, e.g. ME *werre* (from O Fr *werre*, Mod Fr *guerre*) entered O Fr, or rather its parent-language, the spoken Latin of Gaul, at the time of the first Franconian kingdoms. (Other words with similar histories are: *guard* from O Fr *guarde, cf.* O Scand *vördhr; garden* from O Fr *garden, jardin, cf.* OHG *garto*).

A still greater number of words belong to the domain of *law* and *jurisdiction*, which were certainly under the control of the Normans. For several hundred years court procedure was conducted entirely in French, so that to this day native English words in this sphere are rare. Many of the words first adopted as juridical terms belong now to the common everyday vocabulary: *acquit, accuse, attorney, case, cause, condemn, court, crime, damage, defendant, false, felony, guilt, heir, injury, interest, judge, jury, just, justice, marry, marriage, money, penalty, plaintiff, plead, poor, poverty, properly, prove, rent, robber, session, traitor.*

A large number of French words pertain to the *Church* and *religion*, for in the 12th and 13th c. all the important posts in the Church were occupied by the Norman clergy: *abbey, altar, archangel, Bible, baptism, cell, chapel, chaplain, charity, chaste, clergy, divine, grace, honour, glory, lesson, miracle, nativity, paradise, parish, passion, pray, preach, procession, religion, rule, sacrifice, saint, save, sermon, tempt, vice, virgin, virtue.*

§ 570. Besides these spheres which reflect the dominant position of the Normans in Britain as conquerors and rulers, there are many others which reveal the influence of the Norman way of life on the English.

From the loan-words referring to *house, furniture* and *architecture* we see that the Normans introduced many innovations, which became known to the English together with their French names: *arch, castle, cellar, chimney, column, couch, curtain, cushion, lamp, mansion, palace, pillar, porch, table, wardrobe.* Some words are connected with *art: art, beauty, colour, design, figure, image, ornament, paint.* Another group includes names of *garments: apparel, boot, coat, collar, costume, dress, fur, garment, gown, jewel, robe.*

Many French loan-words belong to the domain of *entertainment*, which is natural enough, for the Norman nobles amused themselves with various pastimes. The borrowed *chase* competed with its native synonym *hunt*, which has survived as well; other examples are: *cards, dance, dice, leisure, partner, pleasure, sport, tournament, trump.* Some

of these words can be described as relating to knighthood, such as *adventure* (ME *aventure*), *array, chivalry, contest, courteous, honour, romance.*

We can also single out words relating to different aspects of the life of the upper classes and of the town life: forms of address — *sir, madam,* and also *mister, mistress* (as well as *master* and *servant*); names of some meals — *dinner, supper* — and dishes. It was first noticed by J. Wallis (1653) that the names of meals are often French, whereas the names of the animals from whose meat they are cooked are English. Cf. *beef, veal, mutton, pork, bacon, brawn, venison* (French loan-words) and native English *ox, cow, calf, sheep, swine, bear, deer.* The prevalence of French terms in cooking, as well as in clothes, can be accounted for by the fact that the French led the fashion in both these spheres, and that French professional cooks and tailors had settled in Britain. It is notable that town trades bore French names while simple country occupations retained their native names: cf. *butcher, carpenter, draper, grocer, painter, tailor* coming from French and the native *miller, shepherd, shoemaker, smith.*

Finally, many French loan-words cannot be referred to a definite semantic sphere and can only be listed as miscellaneous, e.g.: *advice, air, allow, anxious, boil, carry, change, close, cover, cry, deceive, double, eager, enjoy, enter, envy, excuse, face, firm, flower, honest, hour, joy, large, letter, manner, move, necessary, nice, noise, obey, occupy, pale, pass, please, previous, push, river, remember, satisfy, search, scissors, single, sudden, sure, travel, treasure, very, use.*

§ 571. French influence led to different kinds of changes in the vocabulary. Firstly, there were many innovations, i.e. names of new objects and concepts, which enlarged the vocabulary by adding new items. Secondly, there were numerous replacements of native words by French equivalents, which resulted in a shift in the ratio of Germanic and Romance roots in the language, e.g. the loan-words *very, river, peace, easy* displaced the native OE *swiþe, ēa, friþ, ēaþe.* The adoption of a word synonymous with a native word did not necessarily lead to replacement. Most frequently the co-existence of a borrowed and native synonym ended in their differentiation, they were both retained as they differed in style, dialect, shades of meaning or combinability. This third kind of influence enriched the English vocabulary even more than the adoption of pure innovations. The influx of French words — as well as the later borrowing of Latin words — is one of the main historical reasons for the abundance of synonyms in Mod E. The difference between the native and borrowed words often lies in their stylistic connotations: French loan-words, particularly those which were adopted in Late ME (and later) preserve a more bookish, literary character; hence such pairs of words as French *commence* — native *begin, conceal* — *hide, prevent* — *hinder, search* — *look for, odour* — *smell, desire* — *wish.*

§ 572. The impact of French upon the English vocabulary was not limited to the borrowing of words or roots. The vocabulary was also enriched by the adoption of French affixes. Derivational affixes could not be borrowed as such; they entered the language in scores of loan-

words, were unconsciously or consciously separated by the speakers and used in derivation. They could become productive in English only after the loan-words with those affixes were completely assimilated by the language; that is why the use of borrowed French affixes dates largely from the Early NE period (see § 598, 609 ff.)

§ 573. Assimilation of French words by the speakers of English was a more difficult process than assimilation of Scandinavian words. The French language belonged to a different linguistic group and had very little in common with English.

Anglo-Norman words must have been very hard to pronounce as they contained many sounds which did not exist in English, such as nasalised vowels, the sound [y] and soft, palatalised consonants. Word accentuation in O Fr was foreign to English, a language of the Germanic group: in French the main stress fell on the ultimate or penultimate syllable of the word. Nevertheless, phonetic assimilation of borrowed words progressed quickly. The foreign features were lost and the words were adapted to the norms of English pronunciation. French sounds were replaced by resembling English sounds. Thus French [y] was reflected in English as [u] or [ju], e.g. O Fr *juge*, ME *juge*, NE *judge*, O Fr *vertu*, ME *vertu*, NE *virtue*. Palatalised [l'] and [n'] were shown as ordinary [l] and [n] or as sequences [il, in], cf. e.g. O Fr *faillir*, which contained [l'], and ME *failen*, NE *fail*; O Fr *compagnie* — ME *companye*, NE *company*. The nasalised vowels lost their nasal character: e.g. O Fr *chambre*, ME *chaumbre*, NE *chamber*, O Fr *changier*, ME *chaungen, changen* [a:], NE *change*.

(Sometimes the difference between the French and the English word is accounted for not only by assimilation but also by the peculiarities of the Anglo-Norman variety of French: e.g. ME variants of *changen* contained the diphthong [au], *chaungen* (also *straunge, comaunden*) like the corresponding Anglo-Norman word; the difference in the consonants of Fr *changer* and NE *change* [ʃ] and [tʃ] reflects the dialectal difference between Anglo-Norman and Parisian French).

The stress in French loan-words was shifted in conformity with the English rules of word accentuation, due to the rhythmic or recessive tendency (see § 363). This was probably a slow process, since in Chaucer's time (14th c.) we still find many words accented in the French way, like ME *nature* [na'tjuːrə], *condicioun* [ˌkəndi'siuːn]. By the 17th c. they sounded ['neːtʃə] and [kən'diʃn].

The degree of phonetic assimilation of foreign words is further attested by their participation in the sound changes of English. ME borrowings from French underwent the same Early NE phonetic changes as native words, and as words borrowed in the preceding periods, e.g. long accented vowels were subjected to the Great Vowel Shift, final unstressed vowels were reduced and dropped, e.g. ME *robe* ['rɔːbə]>NE *robe;* ME *changen* ['tʃaːndʒən]>NE *change*.

Grammatical assimilation of borrowed words evidently did not give much trouble to the speakers. They freely added English grammatical endings to the stems of the borrowed words and used them in all grammatical forms like native words: e.g. countable nouns took the univer-

sal ending -(e)s in the pl, all the verbs (except *strive*) became weak and took the suffix -*d*- to form the Past and Part. II.

A most important aspect of assimilation was the participation of borrowed words and their components in word formation. As early as ME some French roots came to be combined with English affixes and other roots, e.g. Late ME *verrai-ly*, *un-fruit-ful*, *gentil-man*, *gentil-woman* (NE *very*, *unfruitful*, *gentleman*, *gentlewoman*). These words are hybrids as their component parts come from different languages. French derivational affixes began to be used in word-building some time later.

§ 574. Since the French loan-words of the ME period were completely assimilated, it is not easy to identify a French borrowing and to distinguish it from native words or borrowings from other languages. Some French loans have retained their bookish character, but this stylistic connotation is even more typical of later borrowings from classical languages (cf. e.g. *sorrow*, *sorry* — native, *grief* — Fr, *affliction* — L). Many French words are polysyllabic, but so are many native words and borrowings from other languages. More reliable criteria are French suffixes and prefixes frequently occurring in borrowed words: -*ment*, -*ty*, -*ion*, *re*-, *de*- and others (see § 616); and yet, since they came to be employed as derivational means in English and yielded new specifically English words, they cannot serve as absolutely reliable marks of French words.

Borrowings from Classical Languages, with Special Reference to the Age of the Renaissance

§ 575. The Latin language continued to be used in England all through the OE and ME periods in religious rituals, in legal documents, and in texts of a scientific and phylosophical character. After the Norman Conquest it was partly replaced by official Anglo-Norman. The main spheres of the Latin language were the Church, the law courts and academic activities.

Latin words were borrowed in all historical periods. In ME they were certainly less numerous than borrowings from French; their proportion was high only in religious texts translated from Latin. John Wyclif (late 14th c.), one of the most prolific borrowers from classical languages, introduced about a thousand Latin words in his translation of the Bible.

§ 576. The extraordinary surge of interest in the classics in the age of the Renaissance opened the gates to a new wave of borrowings from Latin and — to a lesser extent — from Greek (some Greek borrowings were adopted from Latin in a Latinised form, others came directly from Greek). In the 16th and 17th c. Latin was the main language of philosophy and science, its use in the sphere of religion became more restricted after the Reformation and the publication of the English versions of the Bible (see § 311, 320).

Many classical borrowings came into Early NE through French due to continuous contacts with France, for the French language had adopt-

ed many loan-words from classical languages at the time of the Renaissance. Sometimes the immediate source of the loan-word cannot be determined. Thus the words *solid, position, consolation,* and many others, judging by their form, could be adopted either directly from Latin or from French, having entered the French language some time before; such borrowings are often referred to as "Franco-Latin".[1] They should not be confused with loan-words from O Fr, which usually go back to Latin roots, for French is one of the descendants of Latin; words borrowed from O Fr differ from their Latin prototypes as they have been subjected to many changes in French.

Some loan-words from O Fr were re-shaped by the erudites of the age of Renaissance according to their Latin prototypes though their forms were historically correct, since they were adopted from O Fr. This Latinisation in the 15th—16th c. produced words like *describe* in place of Chaucer's *decrive(n), equal* instead of *egal, language* instead of *langage, debt, doubt* and *adventure* instead of the earlier *dette, doute, aventure.* Some corrections even affected the pronunciation: *language, adventure.*

§ 577. Adoption of classical words may have been facilitated by the large number of French loan-words in the English language of the 15th and 16th c. This is how O. Jespersen accounts for extensive borrowing of Latin words:

"The great historical event, without which this influence would never have assumed such gigantic dimensions was the revival of learning. Through Italy and France the Renaissance came to be felt in England as early as the 14th c., and since then the invasion of classical terms has never stopped, although the multitude of new words introduced was greater, perhaps, in the 14th, the 16th, the 19th than in the intervening centuries. The same influence is conspicuous in all European languages, but in English it has been stronger than in any other language, French perhaps excepted. This fact cannot, I think, be principally due to any greater zeal for classical learning on the part of the English than of other nations. The reason seems rather to be that the natural power of resistance possessed by a Germanic tongue against these alien intruders had been already broken in the case of the English language by the wholesale importation of French words. They paved the way for the Latin words which resembled them in so many respects, and they had already created in English minds that predelection for foreign words which made them shrink from consciously coining new words out of the native material. If French words were more distingués than English ones, Latin words were still more so, for did not the French themselves go to Latin to enrich their own vocabulary?"[2]

One of the reasons for the influx of Latin words at the age of the Renaissance was that many of the new ideas encountered in classical

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[1] Taken together French and Latin borrowings are often defined as the "Romance element" in the English vocabulary, while Latin and Greek borrowings constitute its "classical element".

[2] *Jespersen O.* Growth and structure of the English Language, Oxford, 1927, p. 105-106.

works were not susceptible to precise translation — therefore scholars often preferred to retain the Latin terms. (Yet it does not mean, as O. Jespersen suggests, that word-formation was at a standstill; at the time of great vocabulary extension all sources of replenishing the vocabulary were used, internal sources in particular.)

§ 578. In considering classical borrowings a distinction must be made between genuine Latin and Greek words, which were used in ancient times with the same (or roughly the same) meaning, and those which were based on Latin and Greek roots but were made up as new terms in modern times.

Borrowings which were adopted in their original form (and meaning) or with slight adaptation, such as the dropping or change of the ending largely date from the 16th c. They mostly indicate abstract concepts and belong to the vocabulary of educated people or even erudites.

In some cases it has been possible to specify the date of the borrowings and the authors who used them initially. Numerous Latin and Greek words were first used by Thomas More (early 16th c.), who wrote in Latin and in English; among his innovations were *anticipate, contradictory, exact, exaggerate, explain, fact, monopoly, necessitate, pretext.* Many classical borrowings first appeared in Shakespeare's works: *accommodation, apostrophe, dislocate, misanthrope, reliance, submerge.*

The following list includes loan-words of the 16th and early 17th c. which still circulate today (unless indicated in brackets, the words are of Latin origin): *anonymous* (Gr), *aspiration, census, contempt, criterion* (Gr), *explicit, genius, gesture, history, index, include, individual, inferior, interrupt, item, major, minor, ostracise* (Gr), *popular, reject, submit, suppress.* As the borrowings extended to other spheres of usage they could lose their "learned" character, e.g. *add, animal, correct, discuss, obstinate, necessary, picture, quiet, student, suggest.*

Some borrowings have a more specialised meaning and belong to scientific terminology (for the most part, they go back to Greek prototypes and may have been taken either from Greek or from Latin and French in a Latinised form), e.g. *acid, analysis, antenna, apparatus, appendix, atom, axis, complex, curriculum, diagnosis, energy, formula, fungus, inertia, maximum, minimum, nucleus, radius, species, terminus, ultimatum.* A distinct semantic group of Greek loan-words pertains to theatre, literature and rhetoric: *anapest, comedy, climax, critic, dialogue, drama, elegy, epilogue, episode, metaphore, prologue, rhythm, scene, theatre.* Like all borrowings, classical loan-words could undergo a shift of meaning upon entering the English language or some time later. Thus the original meaning of L *musculus* (NE *muscle*) was 'little mouse', *cosmetic* came from Greek *kosmos* 'universe', 'order' (hence 'adornment' and was also adopted in the original meaning (NE *cosmos*); *atom* meant something indivisible and changed its meaning due to the new discoveries in physics; *climax* meant a 'ladder' in Greek.

§ 579. In addition to true borrowings, classical languages have provided a supply of roots in the creation of new words. Words like *protestant, inertia,* are based on classical roots but were created in modern times. Thomas Elyot (16th c.) introduced the Greek word *democ-*

racy, first used the word *education* in the modern sense, and created the word *encyclopaedia* from Greek component parts.

Words of this type were not necessarily created in England; they could be borrowed from contemporary languages but, nevertheless, they constitute part of the classical element in the English vocabulary. Nowadays they form the basis of international terminology, which is the chief element that modern languages hold in common.

The vast body of international terms continued to grow in the 18th—19th c. A new impetus for their creation was given by the great technical progress of the 20th c., which is reflected in hundreds of newly coined terms or Latin and Greek words applied in new meanings, e.g. *allergy, antibiotic, cyclotron, hormones, orthopedic, protein, stratosphere* — all based on Greek roots; examples of new application of Latin terms are — *facsimile, introvert, quantum, radioactive, relativity;* some terms are Greco-Latin hybrids, as they combine Latin and Greek roots: *socio-logy, tele-vision* (Cf. the use of *tele* in numerous compounds denoting instruments or branches of science concerned with transmitting information at a distance: *telegraph, telephone, telepathy, telescope, telegramme.*)

§ 580. In addition to words and roots, Latin and Greek have supplied English (as well as other modern languages) with a profusion of derivational affixes which have become productive in the English language of the recent centuries. These suffixes can be seen in the following classical loan-words: *humanism (-ism* from the Gr *-ismos,* L *-ismus); protagonist* (from the Gr *-istes,* L *-ista); fraternize* (from the Gr *-izein,* L *-izare).* The Greek prefixes *anti-, di-, neo-,* the Latin (and French) prefixes *de-, ex-, re-* and others occur in numerous modern words combined with other components of diverse origin (see below).

§ 581. One of the effects of the classical borrowings on the English language was the further increase of the number of synonyms. Replacement of native words by classical loan-words is of rare occurrence; a normal result of the adoption of Latin words (in case they were not innovations proper) was an addition of another synonym to the existing set. The following examples illustrate three sources of synonyms (or near-synonyms) and their semantic and stylistic differences:

Native English	French	Latin
break	sever	separate
reckon	count	compute
size	calibre	magnitude
kingly	royal	regal

It is evident that Latin and French words are more bookish than native, Latin words being sometimes more "elevated" than French ones.

Some French and Latin loan-words in the English vocabulary go back to one and the same Latin root, i.e. they are etymological doublets. They differ in sound, form and in meaning, as the borrowings from O Fr have undergone many changes both in the history of the French language since the days of the Latin parent-language and in the history of English after their adoption. The borrowings coming directly from Latin have suffered relatively few changes. In the list above, the pairs

sever — separate and *royal — regal* are etymological doublets. Other examples are: *sure — secure* (from O Fr *seure* and L *securum*); *defeat — defect* (from O Fr *defait* and L *defectum*); *pursue — prosecute* (from O Fr *persuir* and L *prosecutum*); *vowel — vocal* (from O Fr *vouel* and L *vocalem*).

§ 582. Early NE borrowings from classical languages have been assimilated by the language: they do not contain any foreign, un-English, sounds and receive primary and secondary stresses like other English words; the grammatical forms of borrowed words are usually built in accordance with the regular rules of English grammar. (Except for some recent borrowings which have preserved their forms: *datum — data, antenna — antennae,* etc.) And nevertheless they are easier to identify than the earlier layers of borrowings because they were borrowed a relatively short time ago and have been subjected to very few changes.

§ 583. In order to identify Latin loan-words of the Early NE period we should note some endings and suffixes which occur in Latin borrowings but are not used for word creation in English. Some verbs were derived from Latin Past Part. of verbs belonging to different conjugations: verbs in *-ate* go back to the 1st Latin conjugation with the Part. in *-atum,* e.g. *dominate, locate, separate;* verbs in *-ute* come from Past Part. in *-utum,* e.g. *execute, prosecute,* verbs in *-ct- —* from Past Part. in *-ctum* (both Part. endings are found in the third conjugation), e.g. *correct, inspect.* Verbs derived from Latin infinitives have miscellaneous endings, which cannot serve as reliable criteria for identification, e.g. *admit, compell, induce.*

More informative are the elements *-ent, -ant* in adjectives. They come from respective suffixes of Pres. Part., e.g.: *apparent, evident, important, reluctant.* The same suffixes may occur in nouns: *incident, accident.*[1]

Some of the Greek loan-words retain peculiarities of spelling which can facilitate identification: *ph* for [f], *ps* for [s], *ch* for [k], e.g.: *photography, psychology, scheme, archaic.*

In addition to these formal marks, one should bear in mind the stylistic and semantic character of classical borrowings: the bulk of these words belong to the bookish varieties of the language, to scientific prose and to special terminology. Hundreds of words of Latin and Greek origin (no matter whether they are borrowings proper or later formations) have parallels in many modern languages — French, German, Russian and others — as they enter the layer of international words. Therefore the existence of Russian parallels (as well as the knowledge of the most frequent international Greek and Latin word components used therein) may prove helpful in identifying words of classical origin, e.g. *-logy, -graphy* (Gr).

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[1] None of these criteria can prove that the loan-word came directly from Latin; the word could have come from French, being a Latin loan-word in the French language, see § 576 above.

Borrowings from Contemporary Languages in New English

§ 584. The foreign influence on the English vocabulary in the age of the Renaissance and in the succeeding centuries was not restricted to Latin and Greek. The influx of *French* words continued and reached new peaks in the late 15th and in the late 17th c.

French borrowings of the later periods mainly pertain to diplomatic relations, social life, art and fashions. French remained the international language of diplomacy for several hundred years; Paris led the fashion in dress, food and in social life and to a certain extent in art and literature; finally, the political events in France in the 18th—19th c. were of world-wide significance. All these external conditions are reflected in French loans. Examples of diplomatic terms are *attaché, communiqué, dossier;* the words *ball, beau, cortege, café, coquette, hotel, picnic, restaurant* refer to social life; *ballet, ensemble, essay, genre* pertain to art; military terms are *brigade, corps, manoeuvre, marine, police, reconnaissance;* fashions in dress and food are illustrated by words like *blouse, chemise, corsage, cravat, champagne, menu, soup.* Words of miscellaneous character are: *comrade, detail, entrance, essay, machine, moustache, progress, ticket.*

As seen from the lists, later French borrowings differ widely from the loan-words adopted in ME. Most of them have not been completely assimilated and have retained a foreign appearance to the present day — note their spellings, the sounds and the position of the stress. Words like *genre* and *restaurant* have nasalised vowels and a French spelling: *police, fatigue, marine* receive the stress on the last syllable and are pronounced with long [i:] indicated by the letter *i* like French words; the digraph *ch* stands for [ʃ] in *machine,* in *beau* the letters *eau* have also retained the sound value of the French prototype [o:].

§ 585. In addition to the three main sources — Greek, Latin and French, English speakers of the NE period borrowed freely from many other languages. It has been estimated that even in the 17th c. the English vocabulary contained words derived from no less than fifty foreign tongues. We shall mention only the most important ones.

The main contributors to the vocabulary were Italian, Dutch, Spanish, German, Portuguese and Russian. A number of words were adopted from languages of other countries and continents, which came into contact with English: Persian, Chinese, Hungarian, Turkish, Malayan, Polynesian, the native languages of India and America.

§ 586. Next to French, Latin and Scandinavian, English owes the greatest number of foreign words to *Italian,* though many of them, like Latin loan-words, entered the English language through French. A few early borrowings pertain to commercial and military affairs while the vast majority of words are related to art, music and literature, which is a natural consequence of the fact that Italy was the birthplace of the Renaissance movement and of the revival of interest in art.

In the 14th c. English imported the Italian words *ducato, million, florin* (from the name of Florence, where the coin was minted), *pistol,*

cartridge, alarm (probably borrowed from French but traced to Italian *all' arme* 'all to arms'). Italian words relating to art are well known to speakers of all European languages. Examples of musical terms adopted in English are: *aria, bass, cello* (genetically, a diminutive suffix in *violoncello*), *concerto, duet, finale, piano, solo, sonata, soprano, tenor, violin.*

The Italian loan-words *balcony, cameo, corridor, cupola, design, fresco, gallery, granite, parapet, pedestal, studio* reveal the priority of the Italians in certain spheres of culture. The loans *replica, sonnet, stanza* indicate new concepts in literature.

As seen from the examples, some loan-words retained their Italian appearance, others were Gallicised (i.e. assumed a French shape); probably they had entered the English language through French, e.g. *artisan, campaign, intrigue.* Many words in general use do not differ from English words either in sounds or spelling and cannot be distinguished from native words without a special study: *barrack, cash, canteen, escort, gallop, laundry, manage, medal, pants, pilot;* these borrowings were probably imported at an earlier date and have lost their foreign flavour.

§ 587. Borrowings from *Spanish* came as a result of contacts with Spain in the military, commercial and political fields, due to the rivalry of England and Spain in foreign trade and colonial expansion. This is apparent from the nature of Spanish borrowings in English made in the 16th and 17th c., e.g.: *armada, barricade, cannibal, cargo, embargo, escapade.* Many loan-words indicated new objects and concepts encountered in the colonies: *banana, canoe, chocolate, cocoa, colibri, maize, mosquito, Negro, potato, ranch, tobacco, tomato.*

§ 588. Borrowings from *Germanic languages* are of special interest as English is a Germanic language too. The influence of Scandinavian in Early ME has certainly remained unsurpassed and the unique conditions of close language contacts were never repeated. By the 15th—16th c. the Germanic languages had driven far apart; their linguistic affinities were disguised by the changes of the intervening periods. Therefore loan-words from related Germanic tongues were no less foreign to English speakers than those from other linguistic groups. Yet their sound form was somewhat closer to English and their assimilation progressed rapidly. Dutch words and some of the German words do not differ in appearance from native English words.

§ 589. *Dutch* made abundant contribution to English, particularly in the 15th and 16th c., when commercial relations between England and the Netherlands were at their peak. Dutch artisans came to England to practise their trade, and sell their goods. They specialised in wool weaving and brewing, which is reflected in the Dutch loan-words: *pack, scour, spool, stripe* (terms of weaving); *hops, tub, scum.* Extensive borrowing is found in nautical terminology: *bowline, buoy, cruise, deck, dock, freight, keel, skipper.* The flourishing of art in the Netherlands accounts for some Dutch loan-words relating to art: *easel, landscape, sketch.*

§ 590. Loan-words from *German* reflect the scientific and cultural achievements of Germany at different dates of the New period. Minera-

logical terms are connected with the employment of German specialists in the English mining industry, e.g.: *cobalt, nickel, zinc.* The advance of philosophy in the 18th and 19th c. accounts for philosophical terms, e.g.: *transcendental, dynamics* (going back to classical roots). Some borrowings do not belong to a particular semantic sphere and can only be classified as miscellaneous: *kindergarten, halt, stroll, plunder, poodle, waltz.*

The most peculiar feature of German influence on the English vocabulary in the 18th and 19th c. is the creation of translation-loans on German models from native English components (sometimes also from foreign roots, borrowed and assimilated before). Whenever compound German nouns, in their alien sound form and morphological structure, were hard to reproduce, translation-loans came in handy in rendering their meaning and creating new terms: English *swan-song* is a literal translation of German *Schwanenlied; home-sickness* comes from *Heimweh, standpoint* from *Standpunkt; environment* was the rendering of *Umgebung* (proposed by Th. Carlyle), *superman* was naturalised by B. Shaw as a translation of Nietzsche's *Übermensch; world outlook* and *class struggle* correspond to *Weltanschauung* and *Klassenkampf; masterpiece* consists of two Romance elements reproducing German *Meisterstück.*

(Recent German borrowings in English, connected with World War II and other political events, are: *blitz, bunker, führer, Gestapo, nazi.*)

§ 591. The *Russian element* in the English vocabulary is of particular interest to the Russian student of the history of English. The earliest Russian loan-words entered the English language as far back as the 16th c., when the English trade company (the Moskovy Company) established the first trade relations with Russia. English borrowings adopted from the 16th till the 19th c. indicate articles of trade and specific features of life in Russia, observed by the English: *astrakhan, beluga, boyar, copeck, intelligentsia, muzhik, rouble, samovar, troika, tsar, verst, vodka.*

The loan-words adopted after 1917 reflect the new social relations and political institutions in the USSR: *bolshevik, Komsomol, Soviet.* Some of the new words are translation-loans: *collective farm, Five-Year-Plan, wall newspaper.* In the recent decades many technical terms came from Russian, indicating the achievements in different branches of science: *sputnik, cosmonaut* (in preference of the American *astronaut*), *synchrophasotron.*

HISTORY OF WORD-FORMATION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE 15TH-17TH C.

§ 592. The growth of the English vocabulary from internal sources — through word-formation and semantic change — can be observed in all periods of history; as mentioned above, internal sources of vocabulary growth may have become relatively less important in ME, when hundreds of foreign words (especially French) entered the language. In the 15th, 16th and 17th c. the role of internal sources of the replenishment

of the vocabulary became more important though the influx of borrowings from other languages continued.

As before, word formation fell into two types: word derivation and word composition.

Word Derivation

§ 593. The means of derivation used in OE continued to be employed in later periods and their relative position and functions were generally the same. Suffixation has always been the most productive way of deriving new words, most of the OE productive suffixes have survived, and many new suffixes have been added from internal and external sources. The development of prefixation was uneven: in ME many OE prefixes fell into disuse; after a temporary decline in the 15th and 16th c. the use of prefixes grew again; like suffixes, Early NE prefixes could come from foreign sources. Sound interchanges and the shifting of word stress were mainly employed as a means of word differentiation, rather than as a word-building means. The Early NE period witnessed the growth of a new, specifically English way of word derivation — conversion (also known as "functional change"), which has developed into a productive way of creating new words.

Sound Interchanges

§ 594. Sound interchanges have never been a productive means of word derivation in English. In OE they served as a supplementary means of word differentiation and were mostly used together with suffixes (see § 251 ff.). In ME and Early NE sound interchanges continued to be used as an accompanying feature together with other derivational means. Although new instances of sound interchanges were few, in NE their role as a means of word differentiation grew.

New vowel alternations in related words could arise as a result of quantitative vowel changes in Early ME. Since those changes were positional, they did not necessarily take place in all the words derived from the same root; consequently, there arose a difference in the root-vowels. For instance, the vowels remained or became long in ME *cleene, wise, wild,* but remained or became short in the related words *clensen, wisdom, wildreness.* (Cf. the resulting vowel interchanges in NE *clean — cleanse, wild — wilderness, wise — wisdom,* see § 371.)

The role of sound interchanges has grown due to the weakening and loss of many suffixes and grammatical endings. If these elements were dropped, sound interchanges turned out to be the only means of distinction between some pairs of words. Cf., e.g.:

OE	ME	NE	
soŋʒ — sinʒan	song — singen	*song — sing*	
talu — tellan	tale — tellen	*tale — tell*	
full — fyllan	full — fillen	*full — fill*	
sittan — settan	sitten — setten	*sit — set*	

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Consonant interchanges were rare, though sometimes they came to serve the same function as vowel interchanges in the absence of endings. Cf. ME *hous* — *housen*, NE *house* [s] n — *house* [z] v, NE *mouth* n — *mouth* v [θ~ð].

Thus the functional load of sound interchanges in word-building has grown as a result of linguistic changes at other levels — loss of some final syllables.

Word Stress

§ 595. The role of stress in word-building has grown in ME and Early NE in consequence of the same changes as affected the use of sound interchanges, namely the weakening and loss of final syllables.

In OE, despite its fixed position in the word, stress was sometimes moved in derivation. The shifting of word stress, together with other means provided a regular distinction between some verbs and nouns with prefixes (see § 114 and § 256).

In ME these pairs of words practically died out, but at the same time word stress acquired greater positional freedom: it was commonly moved in derivatives of borrowed words (Cf. Early NE *confide* — *confidence*, *precede* — *precedence*, *prefer* — *preference*). Similarly with the OE practice the verb prefix is unstressed, while the corresponding nouns take the stress to the first syllable. This distinction is important in words having no other differences; cf. Early NE *'contrast* n and *con'trast* v differing in the position of stress alone (also: NE *'export* — *ex'port*, *'conduct* — *con'duct*, *'increase* — *in'crease*).

These words are Franco-Latin borrowings. In the course of their phonetic assimilation the stress was moved closer to the beginning of the word, but in order to preserve the distinction between verbs and nouns, the stress in verbs was sometimes retained on the second syllable, — in line with the OE tendency. Thus word stress became the only distinctive mark in some pairs of modern words. In many derived words it served as an additional distinctive feature together with other word-building means, e.g.: *relax* — *relaxation*, *necessary* — *necessity*, *confide* — *confidence*. (In some pairs of words, stress is not used for differentiation, cf. *neglect* n, v, *comment* n, v.)

Prefixation

§ 596. During the ME period prefixes were used in derivation less frequently than before. The decline of prefixation can be accounted for by a number of reasons.

As mentioned before (§ 257) OE prefixes were productive means of forming verbs from other verbs. Comparison of verbs with and without prefixes shows that many verb prefixes had a very vague and general meaning, so that the simple and derived verb were synonymous. Consequently the prefix could be easily dispensed with; instead of the OE pairs of synonyms, differing in the prefix, ME retained only the simple verb. Cf., e.g.:

OE	ME	NE
fyllan — a-fyllan	fillen	*fill*
brēcan — tō-brecan	breken	*break*
līcian — ӡe-līcian	liken	*like*

If the prefix had a distinct semantic value, it was commonly retained, e.g. ME *forgiven* as compared to *given*, ME *bequethen* — *quethen*, ME *becomen* — *comen* (NE *forgive* — *give*, *bequeath* — obs. 'say', *become* — *come*).

Another factor which could favour the decline of verb prefixation was the growing use of verb phrases with adverbs (the so-called "composite verbs"). In these phrases the adverbs modified the meaning of the verb like OE prefixes, e.g. OE *ā-ӡan*, *ā-drīfan*, *be-lōcian*, Early ME *be-kerven* were eventually replaced by *go away*, *go off*, *drive away*, *look up*, *cut off*. It is believed the frequency of these phrases in ME increased under the influence of O Scand (unlike other Germanic languages, North Germanic made wider use of verb-adverb phrases than of verb prefixes).

The loss of some verbs with prefixes in ME can be ascribed to replacement of native words by borrowings, e.g.: OE *forfaren* was replaced by ME *perishen* (from O Fr), OE *forӡān* by ME *passen* (NE *perish*, *pass*).

These developments do not mean that prefixation was dying out; it became less productive in ME, but later, in Early NE, its productivity grew again, though it never assumed such proportions as in OE.

Native Prefixes

§ 597. Many OE verb prefixes dropped out of use, e.g. *a-*, *tō-*, *on-*, *of-*, *ӡe-*, *or-*. In some words the prefix fused with the root and the structure of the word was simplified, e.g.: OE *on-ӡinna*>ME *ginnen* or *beginnen*, NE *begin*, OE *tō-brecan* > ME *breken*, NE *break*.

Some OE prefixes continued to be used as word-building means and their productivity grew in Late ME and Early NE. The OE prefix *be-* yielded ME *beseechen* (NE *beseech*), *bewitchen* (NE *bewitch*); NE *befriend*, *belittle;* when added to borrowed stems, it produced hybrids: ME *betaken*, *becharmen;* NE *becircle*, *belace*.

The negative prefixes *mis-* and *un-* produced a great number of new words. *Mis-* was not very productive until the 16th c., ME examples are: *mislayen*, *misdemen* (NE *mislay*, 'misjudge') with a foreign stem — *mistake* n; in Early NE its productivity grew: NE *misjudge*, *mispronounce*, *misappreciate*, *mislead*, etc.

OE *un-* was mainly used with nouns and adjectives, seldom with verbs; it remained productive in all the periods. New formations in ME are *unable*, *unknowen*, in Early NE — *unhook*, *unload* and others; hybrids with this prefix are: ME *uncertain*, *unreasonable*, NE *unscale*, *unreal*, *unfamiliar*.

Several prefixes which had developed from OE adverbs and prepositions yielded an increasing number of words in ME and NE:

OE *ūt*, ME *out-*: ME *outcome*, NE *outlook*, *outspoken*; added to borrowed stems it produced ME *outcast*, NE *outbalance*;

OE *ofer*, ME *over-*: ME *overgrowe(n)*, NE *overload*, *overlook*; with borrowed stems — ME *overcaste(n)*, *overtaken*, NE *overdress*, *overestimate*, *overpay*;

OE *under*, ME *under-*: ME *underwrite(n)*, NE *underfeed*, *undermine*.

Borrowed Prefixes

§ 598. In Late ME, and in Early NE new prefixes began to be employed in word derivation in English: French, Latin, and Greek. Foreign prefixes were adopted by the English language as component parts of loan-words; some time later they were singled out as separate components and used in word-building.

Probably at the time of adoption most foreign words were treated as simple or indivisible even if they were derived or compound words in the source language (e.g. *commit*, *submit* were simple words in English, although they go back to derived French and Latin words with the prefixes *com-* and *sub-*). But in case a large number of words with the same prefix were adopted and the same root occurred in different words — with other affixes or as part of compounds — the morphological structure of the words became transparent and the function of the prefix was understood. Through analogy, foreign prefixes began to be employed in derivation with other roots, both foreign and native. Assimilation of a foreign prefix can be illustrated by in the history of the French prefix *re-*.

Between the years 1200 and 1500 English borrowed many French words with the prefix *re-*, e.g.: ME *re-comforten*, *re-dressen*, *re-formen*, *re-entren*, *re-compensen*; the same roots were found in simple loan-words and in derived words with other affixes, cf.: ME *comforten*, *dressen*, *formen*, *entren*; *entrance*, *comfortable*; *discomforten*, *undressen*, *deformen*. *Re-* was separated, as an element of the word, its meaning became clear to the speakers and in the 16th c. it began to be applied as a means of word derivation:

16th c. examples: *re-greet*, *re-kindle*, *re-live*
17th and 18th c. — *re-act*, *re-adjust*, *re-fill*, *re-construct*, *re-open*
19th c. — *re-attack*, *re-awake*

As seen from the examples, *re-* was used both with foreign and native stems *fill*, *live*, *open*. Eventually it grew into one of the most productive verb prefixes in English. (Most of the borrowed affixes were first applied to borrowed stems, later — to native stems; some only to borrowed stems; in the lists of examples the derivatives from borrowed stems are given before hybrids.)

§ 599. Most of the prefixes of Franco-Latin origin found their way into English in Late ME or in Early NE periods. The earliest derivatives formed with their help in the English language date from the 15th c.; in the 16th and 17th c. their productivity grew.

The verb prefixes *de-* and *dis-* of Romance origin (French and Latin)

entered the English language in many loan-words, e.g.: ME *destructive, decresen, dischargen, discomforten, disgisen.* Later they came to be used with other foreign stems and with native stems: *disconnect, disroot* (borrowed stems), *disbelieve, dislike, disown.*

The prefix *en-/in-* displayed high productivity in Early NE but has not increased it since, for its meaning 'bring into a certain condition' was commonly expressed by link-verbs and adjectives. ME examples are *enablen, enclosen,* NE *encamp, endanger, enlist, enrich* (with borrowed stems). Examples of hybrids with native stems are ME *enhungren,* NE *embody, entwine, entrust.*

The adjectival prefix *in-* (and its variants *in-/im-/il-/ir-*) was one of many ME prefixes of negative meaning; native *mis-, un-,* borrowed *non-.* They produced numerous synonyms recorded in the English texts from the 14th to the 16th c.: *unpleasant, displeasant; unpossible, impossible; disable, unable, non-able; unfirm, infirm.* (In case of absolute synonyms, one of the words replaced the others; if the words expressed or came to express different shades of meaning or acquired some stylistic differences, they were retained. Cf., e.g. ME *disliken,* which replaced OE *mislician; unable,* which displaced the other synonyms, and the following pairs with different prefixes: NE *disbelief — misbelief, inhuman — non-human.*)

The negative prefix *non-* of Franco-Latin origin developed into a highly productive English prefix freely applied both to adjectives and nouns: NE *non-attendance, non-Germanic, non-aggression, non-existent,* etc.

§ 600. A number of new prefixes employed since the 17th c. had entered the language in numerous classical borrowings — Latin and Greek. Since most of the classical loan-words belonged to the sphere of science, philosophy and literature, the use of new prefixes was confined to these spheres. Within these spheres many Greek and Latin prefixes have become highly productive. Like many Latin and Greek roots, these affixes belong to the international layer; they are mostly used with stems of Latin and Greek origin; e.g.: *anti-* (Gr) — *anti-aircraft, anticlimax; co-* (L) — *co-exist, co-operate, co-ordinate; ex-* (L) — *ex-champion, ex-president; extra-* (L) — *extra-mural, extra-ordinary; post-* (L) — *post-position, post-war; pre-* (L) — *pre-classical, pre-written; semi-* (L) — *semi-circle, semi-official.* (In this list only *writ —* is a native English root.)

Suffixation

§ 601. Suffixation has remained the most productive way of word derivation through all historical periods. Though some of the OE suffixes were no longer employed and were practically dead, many new suffixes developed from native and foreign sources, so that there has been no decline in the use of suffixes even in ME despite the fact that the vocabulary was mainly replenished through borrowing.

Native Suffixes

§ 602. Several OE suffixes of *nomina agentis* were lost as means of derivation; in ME *-end, -en, -estre* occur as inseparable parts of the stem. ME *frend, fyxen/vixen, spinnestre* (NE *friend*, she-fox, *spinster*).

OE *-ere* developed into the most productive suffix of agent nouns in ME and NE. At first it formed nouns from substantival stems — OE *bōcere* from *bōc* ('scribe', NE *book*); soon it began to produce agent nouns from verbal stems: OE *writere* (NE *writer*), ME *rider(e), singer(e), weever(e)*. In ME we find numerous agent nouns in *-er* derived from various stems, both of native and foreign origin; the former are exemplified above, the latter are illustrated by the following hybrids: ME *partener, fermer, villager*.

Gradually the meaning of the suffix extended, and it began to indicate also a person coming from a certain locality: *Londoner, Southerner*. In Early NE the suffix acquired a new meaning: it yielded nouns denoting instruments and things, e.g. *knocker, roller*. Cf. *boiler* 'one who boils' in the 16th c. and a 'vessel for boiling' in the 19th c. NE examples are familiar to all students of present-day English: *follower, flyer, hearer, listener, teacher, speaker* (from native stems); *admirer, entertainer, producer* (from foreign stems). Its new meaning is exemplified by *rectifier, revolver, type-writer*. The suffix *-er* had several rivals among synonymous borrowed affixes *-or, -ist, -ite*, but it surpassed them all in productivity and was never stylistically restricted (whereas the three foreign suffixes are productive mainly in the sphere of science, see below).

§ 603. The old suffixes of *abstract nouns -aþ, -oþ, -þ*, had long been dead in ME, and were supplanted in many derived words by more productive synonymous native affixes *-ness* and *-ing* and later by a few borrowed ones.

The suffix *-ness* was equally productive in all historical periods. It was mainly used with adjectival stems, irrespective of their origin: ME *derkness, seekness*, NE *narrowness, prettiness* (native stems); ME *cleerness, tendreness*, NE — *alertness, consciousness, politeness* (borrowed stems).

Another highly productive suffix of abstract nouns was ME *-ing*, which had replaced two OE suffixes: the variants *-inʒ/-unʒ*. It was applied to verbal stems without restrictions. Thus ME *hunting* replaced OE *huntoþ*, ME *meeting* replaced OE *ʒe-mōt*. Numerous new derivatives were produced: ME *beginning, feeling, spelling, preeching*, NE *shopping*, etc.

§ 604. Among OE noun suffixes there were some new items, which had developed from root-morphemes: *-dōm, -lāc, -hād, -rǣden, -scipe*. They remained relatively productive in ME but their productivity fell in the succeeding periods.

New derivatives with *-dom, -ship* and *-hood* can be found in the texts of all historical periods, but the words are rather uncommon and do not belong to the ordinary neutral vocabulary, e.g. ME *sheriffdom, dukedom*, NE *boydom, churchdom;* ME *brotherhood, manhood*, NE *bookhood, invalidhood;* derivatives with *-ship* are less peculiar but as rare as other

abstract nouns with this group of suffixes: ME *hardship, courtship,* NE *editorship, relationship.* The meaning of these suffixes was rather vague and sometimes they interchanged with the more productive suffix of abstract nouns *-ness;* cf. ME *richdom* and *richness, falsedom* and *falseness.*

§ 605. A new suffix *-man,* developed from a root-morpheme in ME in the same way as the OE suffixes mentioned in § 604, though its status is debatable since it could also serve as a root-morpheme. Like other suffixes, it developed from the second component of a compound noun. Some words with this component were simplified in Early ME, e.g. OE *wifman, wimman>*ME *wiman>*NE *woman;* some new compounds, produced by combining *-man* with nominal stems in ME, were soon simplified to derived words with a suffix, e.g. NE *ploughman, seaman.* In NE nomina agentis in *-man* became highly productive: some words with *-man* have the connecting element *-s — kinsman, statesman;* others interchange *-man* with *-woman: nobleman — noblewoman,* which seems to justify their treatment as compounds. On the other hand, repeated instances of simplification throughout history point to the suffixal — or at least transitional — nature of *-man.*

§ 606. Suffixation has always been a very productive way of forming *adjectives.* Unlike noun suffixes, all the OE adjective suffixes remained productive in the subsequent periods — both suffixes proper and suffixes which had developed from root-mor..hemes.

OE *-isc,* ME *-ish* was at first mainly added to nouns indicating nations to form corresponding adjectives (OE *Englisc*), but was soon extended to other nouns to indicate qualities and states: OE *cildisc* (NE *childish*), ME *sleepish, foolish;* NE *bookish, modish, feverish* (the last two examples illustrate its use with foreign stems). Beginning with ME *-ish* acquired a new function: it could also yield adjectives from other adjectives to express a weakened degree of a quality: ME and NE *reddish, greenish.*

OE *-iȝ,* ME *-y* was a suffix of wide application: it produced adjectives from noun-, verb- and adjective-stems in all historical periods: ME *fiery, sleepy, faulty,* NE — *hairy, risky (faulty* and *risky* have Romance stems).

§ 607. The OE adjectival suffix *-lic,* ME and NE *-ly* which had developed from a root-morpheme continued to produce adjectives from nominal stems in ME and NE, though in smaller numbers than the suffixes *-y* and *-ish,* and far less actively than the other OE suffixes of similar origin *-lēas* and *-full.* Nevertheless, a number of new formations were produced in every period, both from native and borrowed roots, e.g. ME *fatherly, manly, masterly, beestly;* Early NE *neighbourly, lonely, cowardly.*[1]

ME *-less* (from OE adjective and suffix *-lēas* 'devoid of' has developed into one of the most productive suffixes. Originally it was added

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[1] The adjective suffix *-ly* is a homonym of *-ly,* the suffix of adverbs (for its origin from OE *-lice* see § 267); as an adverb suffix *-ly* became far more productive than as an adjective suffix (NE *nominally, shortly, surprisingly,* etc.).

to noun-stems but later began to be added to verb-stems (though it was less productive in this function). Both native and borrowed stems could freely combine with the suffix, e.g. ME *helpless, sleepless*, NE *heart-less, fearless* (native stems); ME *colourless, joyless*, NE *motionless, pow-erless* (borrowed stems).

OE and ME *-ful* also owes its origin to morphological simplification. It had developed from the OE adjective *full* and was a genuine suffix as early as ME. Originally it was added to noun stems to form adjectives; later it began to be attached also to adjective- and verb-stems. In spite of some variations it has retained its principal meaning and its semantic ties with the adjective *full*. Numerous examples are to be found in the written records of various periods: ME *harmful, wilful*, NE *hopeful, wishful* (with native stems); *beautiful, joyful, lawful, respectful* (with borrowed stems — French, Scandinavian and Latin).

§ 608. Verb suffixes of native origin have never been productive in English. In ME one native suffix *-en* was used to derive verbs from monosyllabic adjectives, mainly native. (It is traced to OE *-nian*, or to the infinitive ending *-an*, which can be regarded as a verbal deriva-tional affix, cf. OE *eald — ealdian* 'old' — 'grow old'.) ME and NE exam-ples are: *gladden, lighten, weaken;* sometimes it is applied to noun-stems (derived from adjectives in Early OE with the help of *-þ*): *strong — strength, strengthen.*

Borrowed Suffixes

§ 609. Borrowed suffixes came to occupy an important place in English word derivation. Like prefixes, borrowed suffixes entered the English language with the two biggest waves of loan-words: French loans in ME and classical loans in Early NE. The way of their assimi-lation and their inclusion in the word-building system is similar to that of borrowed prefixes (§ 598). When many words with the same suffix had been adopted, and the stems of these words were also used in simple words or with other affixes, the suffixes were isolated and employed according to the patterns set by the loan-words. The process can be il-lustrated by one of the most productive borrowed adjective suffix *-able*. French loan-words with the suffix *-able* contained verbal stems which occurred also in other loan-words as stems of simple verbs or as components of derived and compound words. Cf. ME *agreeable, servysable* and ME *agreen* v, *serven* n, *servyce* n, *servaunt* n. In Late ME the suffix *-able* began to be used in adjective derivation — at first with Romance stems — *admittable, sesonable*, but later also in hybrids with native stems — ME *lovable, etable, redable, understandable*. New derivatives of the subsequent centuries are very numerous: *acceptable, admirable, endurable, presentable* (with borrowed stems) — *breakable, shakable* (with native English stems — *break, shake*).

§ 610. Borrowed suffixes were used to form different parts of speech: nouns, adjectives and verbs. Many suffixes had similar functions and meaning and were synonymous with native suffixes. Like other syno-nyms they were either preserved, with certain differentiation of mean-

ing, function or style, or one of the synonyms supplanted the others. For instance in the days of Shakespeare there were five adjectives derived from the stem *effect*: *effectual*, *effective*, *effectuous*, *effectful*, *effectuating*; as we know, only two of them live on today: *effective* and *effectual*.

§ 611. In Late ME and Early NE several borrowed suffixes began to be used in forming nomina agentis. The French suffix *-ess* produced many derivatives in ME, as it had replaced the native *-estre;* e.g.: ME *authoress, princess, captainess* — with borrowed stems, *goddess, huntress* — with native stems; it remained productive in the New period and yielded many more words, e.g.: *governess, butleress, priestess*.

The French suffix *-ee* (from the form of the Past Part. Fem. gender with the ending *-ée* — *donnée, montrée*) is found in derived words in ME, but becomes more productive only in later NE, e.g. ME *grantee*, NE *employee, addressee* (also with native stems: *trustee*).

The suffix *-or* (from Fr) resembled the native suffix *-er*, though its application remained more restricted: it was used only with borrowed Romance stems, and was mainly confined to scientific style, e.g. *collector, educator*. It has acquired a secondary meaning of 'instrument', — probably from the new meaning of the suffix *-er*, e.g. *refrigerator, compressor*.

The suffixes adopted as components of classical borrowings in Early NE *-ist, -ite* came to be used as means of derivation some time later. They combine with foreign stems and yield such modern words as *columnist, capitalist, structuralist* (also *Darwinist* from the name of Darwin); *Muscovite, Ibsenite* and the like.

§ 612. Borrowed noun-suffixes include a large group of suffixes of abstract nouns *-ance* or *-ence* (the latter is a Latinised form of the French *-ance*), *-ty, -age, -ry, -ment;* to these French suffixes we should add Franco-Latin *-tion/-sion* and Latin or Greek *-ism*.

ME examples of abstract nouns derived with the help of borrowed suffixes are: *avoid-ance*, and *hindr-ance* (a hybrid with a native stem), *peerage, leekage* and *stowage* (with the native stem *stow*). NE formations with borrowed suffixes are known from present-day English; examples of hybrids with native or foreign stems are: forbearance, shortage, goosery, sophistry *(Gr)*, readability, fulfilment, starvation, Darwinism.

§ 613. Borrowed adjective suffixes were less numerous than noun suffixes, perhaps because native suffixes were very productive. The most productive borrowed adjective suffix was *-able/-ible* (which goes back to Latin *-bilis* and French *-able*). It is not related to the adjective *able* but may have been confused with it, for it means 'able to act or be acted upon'. Its original active meaning was largely supplanted by the passive meaning in recent derivatives. Cf. *capable, drinkable, eatable* (see other examples in § 609).

Another frequent adjective suffix *-ous* is traced to O Fr and L *-osus* 'abounding in'. It is found in many borrowings — *dubious, ferocious, tremendous* — but original formations with *-ous* are rare: *lustrous, thunderous, righteous* dating from Early NE — the two latter adjectives employ native stems.

The adjective suffixes -*al* and -*ic* which were adopted as components of classical borrowings (and also -*ive* from French) began to yield new words in the last few centuries, and can be exemplified by modern adjectives: *economical, atomic, defective.*

§ 614. Borrowed verb suffixes were few, but two of them -*ise* and -*fy* became highly productive in some spheres of written English — political, scientific and the like. Like other suffixes, which entered the language in Early NE they were mainly applied to borrowed stems, e.g. *memorise, militarise, normalise,* but *womanise* (native stem); -*fy* — *classify, intensify.*

§ 615. It should be realised that the restricted application of some borrowed affixes does not mean that they have not entered the system of English word-building; some of them are as productive as native affixes. Semantically and stylistically most borrowed affixes belong to the language of science, literature, politics, philosophy, that is to the spheres where borrowed roots abound and native stems are in the minority; it is natural, that the creation of new terms with these affixes is based on borrowed roots. The high frequency of the affixes in the sphere of terminology, and the derivation of new terms with their help in present-day English, is sufficient proof of their complete assimilation and productivity.

Conversion

§ 616. Conversion was a new method of word derivation which arose in Late ME and grew into a most productive, specifically English way of creating new words. Conversion is effected through a change in the meaning, the grammatical paradigm and the syntactic use of the word in the sentence. The word is transformed into another part of speech with an identical initial form, e.g. NE *house* n and *house* v.

§ 617. The growth of conversion is accounted for by grammatical and lexical changes during the ME period: reduction of endings and suffixes and the simplification of the morphological structure of the word. After the loss of endings and suffixes a large number of English verbs and nouns became identical in form. Cf. the following pairs of OE and ME nouns and verbs derived from the same roots, with their descendants in NE:

OE	Late ME	NE
lufu *n* — lufian *v*	love *n* — love(n) *v*	love *n, v*
	chaunge *n* — (*from Fr*)	change *n, v*
	—chaunge(n) *v*	

In Early NE the words in each pair became homonymous: they differed, however, in their grammatical forms (paradigms) and syntactic functions: one of the words was used as a noun, the other — as a verb. The possibility of using identical words as different parts of speech set up a new pattern of word-building. In Late ME this pattern began to be applied by analogy in creating new words, mainly verbs from nouns, e.g.

ME *fyren* v from ME *fire* n (OE *fȳr*); *timen* v from *time* n (OE *tima*); *agen* v from ME *age* (borrowed from Fr), and many others.

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§ 618. The use of conversion was not restricted to the formation of verbs from nouns; when the new relations within the pairs had been well established, the reverse process could occur as well: nouns came to be derived from verbs. These instances were rare in ME but became increasingly common in the subsequent periods: e.g. ME *breke* n from ME *breke(n)* v, NE *break* — *break;* ME *look(e)* n from ME *loken* v. NE *look* — *look;* Early NE *drive* n from *drive* v, *paint* n from *paint* v.

§ 619. Conversion was particularly productive in the Early NE. The great playwrights of the Literary Renaissance are famous for their "freedom of grammatical construction" and "unconventional handling of parts of speech", i.e. for creating new words by conversion. Numerous examples of occasional conversion, as well as of new words which stayed on in the language, have been found in Shakespeare's plays, e.g.:

such stuffe as madman *tongue* and *braine* not;
you shall *nose* him as you go up to the stairs;
our *sacks* shall be a mean to *sack* the city;
fisting each other's throats, etc.

In present-day English conversion has grown into one of the most productive ways of word-building, accounting for the free transformation of nouns into verbs and verbs into nouns through a change in their syntactic position.

Word Composition in Middle English and Early New English

§ 620. Many compound words recorded in OE texts went out of use in ME. Numerous compound nouns used in OE poetry died out together with the genre. In ME word compounding was less productive than in the OE period but in Early NE its productivity grew, together with other ways of word formation. As before, compounding was more characteristic of nouns and adjectives than of verbs.

§ 621. The Early OE classification of compounds into syntactic and morphological (also termed "asyntactic") is irrelevant for later periods. This classification could have been used to explain the origin of the "linking elements" in compounds — but the employment of linking elements, irregular as it was in OE, has never gained ground and has remained rare to this day. Examples like ME *domesman, craftesman* are few. In NE the element *-s* (going back to the Gen. case of the OE noun, which served as the first component) is found in isolated instances and is entirely unmotivated, e.g. *spokesman, sportsman.*

In some compounds, especially nouns, the order of the components resembles that of a free word group, e.g. ME *swete metes* (usually pl.), NE *sweetmeat*, from the ME adjective *swete* (NE *sweet*) and *mete* which meant any kind of food; *sweetheart* which occurs in Chaucer: *Again he calls her my swete herte dere.* NE examples are *horseshoe, blackboard, smallpox, redtape, doorbell.* Judging by the order of the component parts these compounds could be referred to the "syntactic" type.

Compound words of the ME and Early NE periods were formed after the word-building patterns inherited from OE, modifications of these patterns and new structural patterns. In addition to compounds made of native stems there appeared many hybrids with stems of diverse origin.

§ 622. Compound nouns were built according to a variety of patterns. The most productive type — two noun-stems — was inherited from OE, it can be illustrated by many new formations of later periods. A group of compounds with the first component *god* have been recorded since Early ME: *godson, godfader, godmoder* (NE *godson, godfather, godmother*). The compounds *mousetrap, nightertale* ('night time') found in Late ME texts are made of native stems; ME *shopwindow, football, nightgown* are hybrids (*window* and *ball* come from Scandinavian, *gown* — from French). Early NE compounds of this type are more numerous: *workshop, snowdrop, lighthouse, cranberry, gooseberry* — native, and also hybrids: *bread-basket* (E+Fr); *lime-hound, chestnut, puppetshow, tablecloth* (Fr+E), *law-suit* (Scand+Fr); *schoolboy, schoolgirl* (with the L *school); armchair* (E + Fr).

Compounds containing a verbal noun or the newly formed gerund or the stem of agent nouns were new modifications of this basic pattern. They yielded words like ME *working-day, dwelling-house;* NE *looking-glass, reading-room, smoking-room, drawing-room* (from *room for withdrawing* since the 17th c.).

Instances of compound nouns with stems of agent nouns in *-er* are ME *landholder, householder, standard-bearer,* Early NE *fortune-teller, rope-dancer;* (the recent Mod E *type-writer, baby-sitter* (the last five words are hybrids).

Other types of compound nouns were less productive. Adjective stems as the first components occur in ME *stronghold,* Early NE *hot-house, shorthand* and the recent *greenhouse* and *greenback; blackguard* and *bilberry* are hybrids — with Fr and Scand components. Adverb stems are rare — ME *forefader* (NE *forefather*). The patterns with verb-stems have become more productive in NE, e.g. ME *lepeyeer, charcole* (NE *leapyear, charcoal*), ME *breekfast,* which comes from "breaking or interrupting the fast", (NE *breakfast*); also NE *telltale, lay-day, keepsake, makeshift.*

A new pattern of compound nouns arose in NE — consisting of a verb-stem and an adverb. The development of this type owes its origin to the use of stereotyped verb phrases with adverbs and prepositions, which became common in ME as "composite verbs"; cf. NE break down *v* — break-down *n,* lay out *v* — lay-out *n,* make up *v* — make-up *n,* fall out *v* — fall-out *n* (see § 596). This kind of formation of nouns from verbs can be treated as an instance of conversion.

§ 623. Compound adjectives in ME and Early NE continued to be formed in accordance with the same patterns as in OE. Noun- and adjective stems are combined in ME *threedbare, heedstrong,* NE *world-wide, country-wide, colour-blind, sea-green, stone-dead,* etc. The second element can be represented by adjectivised participles — either Pres. Part. or, more often, Past Part. — ME *gold-hewn* ('cut of gold'), *moth-eaten,*

Early and Late NE *heart-broken, home-spun, hand-written,* (Pres. Part. as second components usually combine with adjectives — *good-looking, easy-going*).

The most productive type of compound adjectives in ME and NE was "derivational compounds". They appeared in Late OE and have been gaining productivity ever since. Derivational compounds consisted of an adjective stem, a noun-stem and the suffix *-ed* (from OE *-ede*). They had developed from the OE "bahuvrihi" type (see § 272), which is sometimes found in the texts of later periods, e.g. Early NE *light-foot* (adj+n without derivational suffixes). Derivational compounds have been produced unrestrictedly in ME and NE with native and borrowed stems: ME *light-herted, grey-hared* (NE *light-hearted, gray-haired*), NE *long-legged, dark-eyed, short-tempered, absent-minded,* etc. (the last two words are hybrids).

Simplification. Back Formation

§ 624. All through the ME and Early NE periods compound words could be subjected to morphological simplification. Instances of morphological simplification can be found even in Early OE (recall OE *hlāford* and *hlæfdize* § 232). Simplification of compound nouns and adjectives in OE transformed many compounds into derived words, producing new suffixes out of root-morphemes — *-dōm, -scipe* and the like (see § 265). Instances of morphological simplification can be observed in later periods as well. For example, Late OE *hūs-bōnda* a compound noun — 'holder of the house' (adopted from Scand) changed into a simple indivisible word, NE *husband;* OE *zod-sib* 'sponsor in baptism' (cf. *godfather*) was simplified to ME *gossib,* NE *gossip* (modern meanings 'familiar acquaintance' and 'idle talk'), OE *wifman* was simplified to NE *woman.* Many modern English words have arisen as a result of simplification: *hussy* — from Early NE *house-wife; daisy* — from OE *dæzes-ēage; window* — from OE *windoze,* O Icel *wind-auga* 'eye for the wind'. Simplification could also affect word phrases: *alone* is a contraction of *all one; always* comes from OE *ealne wez* 'all the way'; *good-bye* is a contraction of *God be with you,* an old form of farewell.

§ 625. The concept of "simplification" (or, perhaps, "contraction") can be applied to one more way of word formation often termed "back formation". "Back formation" is a process of word-building based on analogy. For instance many ME and Early NE nouns contained the suffix *-er* (also *-or/-our/-ar*); most of them had been derived from verbs by adding this suffix to the verb-stem. Therefore pairs like *write — writer, speak — speaker, ride — rider* were quite common. Though some nouns ending in *-er* were not derived from verbs, they gave rise to new verbs, which were formed by dropping the suffix. Thus ME *beggere* (NE *beggar*) produced the verb *beg, swindler* produced *swindle, editor* was contracted to *edit.* "Back formation" is a sort of simplification as it changes derived words (or, perhaps, allegedly derived words) into simple ones. (Recent developments of this type are: *televise* from *television, electrocute* from *electrocution, enthuse* from *enthusiasm.*)

Semantic Changes in the Vocabulary

§ 626. The growth of the English vocabulary in the course of history has not been confined to the appearance of new items as a result of various ways of word formation and borrowings. Internal sources of the replenishment of the vocabulary include also multiple semantic changes which created new meanings and new words through semantic shifts and through splitting of words into distinct lexical units.

Semantic changes are commonly divided into widening and narrowing of meaning and into methaphoric and metonymic shifts, though a strict subdivision is difficult, as different changes were often combined in the development of one and the same word. Sometimes semantic changes are combined with formal changes. It will suffice to give a few examples.

Instances of narrowing can be found in the history of OE *dēor* which meant 'animal' and changed into the modern *deer;* OE *mete* 'food', NE *meat;* OE *sellan* 'give, sell', NE *sell;* OE *mōtan* 'may, must', NE *must;* OE *talu* 'number', 'story', NE *tale;* OE *loc* 'fastening, prison', NE *lock;* ME *accident* 'event', NE *accident,* etc. Narrowing of meaning can often be observed in groups of synonyms, as in the course of time each synonym acquires its own, more specialised, narrow sphere of application: thus *deer* was a synonym of *animal* and *beest* in ME, *must* a synonym of *may, lock* — a synonym of *prison.*

Widening of meaning can be illustrated by *slogan* which was formerly only a battle cry of Scottish clans; *journey* which meant a day's work or a day's journey (from O Fr *journée* related to *jour* 'day'); *holiday* was formerly a religious festival, as its first component comes from OE *hāliᵹ,* NE *holy,* but came to be applied to all kinds of occasions when people do not work or attend classes.

Many words of concrete meaning came to be used figuratively, which is an instance of widening of meaning and of metaphoric change. Thus the verbs *grasp, drive, go, start, handle, stop* and many others formerly denoted physical actions alone but have acquired a more general, non-concrete meaning through metaphoric use. The change of ME *vixen* 'she-fox' to 'bad-tempered, quarrelsome woman' can be interpreted as metaphor or metonymy (and also as widening of meaning as the old meaning has also been preserved).

A well-known example of metonymic change is *pen* which meant a feather used in writing. *Gang* formerly meant a 'set of tools', hence 'a group of workmen', 'a group of people'. Metonymic change transferred *caravan* from a 'company of travellers' into 'wagon'; *lark*—from the name of a bird, producing a cheerful song to 'fun', the former meaning being preserved as well.

Some semantic changes can only be referred to as miscellaneous as they involve different kinds of semantic changes and sometimes structural changes too. The changes of meaning undergone by *lord, lady, daisy, window* in the course of their morphological simplification were described above. The meanings of the verbs *strike* and *hit* became synon-

ymous, though in OE the former verb meant 'stroke', 'rub gently' and the latter 'not to miss'; gradually they replaced *smite* and *slay* in the meaning of 'striking, hitting' as more neutral ways of expressing these actions.

Many semantic changes in the vocabulary proceed together with stylistic changes, as in changing their meanings words acquire or lose certain shades of meaning and stylistic connotations. All these subtle changes account for the enrichment of the vocabulary in the ME and NE periods.

QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What conclusions can be drawn about the nature of contacts between the English and the Scandinavians from the nature of Scandinavian loan-words?

2. Comment on the English-Scandinavian etymological doublets — *skirt — shirt; scatter — shatter*.

3. Compare the French and Scandinavian influence on the Middle English vocabulary (linguistic, geographical and social aspects; the number, nature and spheres of borrowings).

4. Comment on the following fragment from IVANHOE by W. Scott:

'Why, how call you those grunting brutes running about on their four legs?' demanded Wamba.

'Swine, fool, swine, ...'

'...And swine is good Saxon,' said the Jester; 'but how call you the sow when she is flayed, and drawn, and quartered, and hung up by the heels, like a traitor?'

'Pork,' answered the swine-herd.

'I am very glad every fool knows that too,' said Wamba, 'and pork, I think, is good Norman-French; and so when the brute lives, and is in charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name; but becomes a Norman and is called pork, when she is carried to the Castle hall to feast among the nobles; what dost thou think of this, friend Gurth, ha?'

5. Discuss the following figures showing the percentage of borrowings from various languages in the first, second and third most frequent thousands of English words:

	English	French	Latin	Danish	Other
The first most frequent thousand	83%	11%	2%	2%	2%
Second thousand	34	46	11	2	7
Third thousand	29	46	14	1	10
Fourth thousand[1]	27	45	17	1	10

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[1] The figures are reproduced from I. M. Williams ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, Ln. 1975, p. 67. The following six thousands show a slight but steady decrease of native words, an increase of Latin loan-words and fluctuations in the other columns.

6. Describe the semantic changes exemplified by the following words; point out instances of metonymic and metaphoric change, narrowing and widening of meaning:

NE	Earlier meanings (OE or ME)
aunt	'father's sister'
bird	'young fowl'
carry	'transport by cart'
corn	'any grain'
fare	'travel, go'
hound	'dog'

APPENDIX

Text 1. From King Alfred's translation of the WORLD HISTORY by Orosius (9th c.)

Read the text and the translation. Study the models of analysis and the commentary.

OHTHERE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE AROUND THE NORTH CAPE

Ōhthere sǣde his hlāforde, Ælfrēde cyninʒe, þæt hē ealra Norð-manna norþmest būde. Hē cwæð þæt hē būde on þǣm lande norþ-weardum wiþ þā Westsǣ. Hē sǣde þēah þæt þæt land sīe swiþe lanʒ norþ þonan; ac hit is eal wēste, būton on fēawum stōwum stycce-mǣlum wīciað Finnas, on huntoðe on wintra and on sumera on fis-caþe be þǣre sǣ.

Model of Grammatical Analysis and Translation

Word as used in the text	Analysis, notes	Corresponding NE word	Translation
Ōhthere ['oːxtxere]	n prop., Nom. sg; S		Ohthere
sǣde	v, also sǣʒde, 3rd p. sg, Past Indef. of secʒan, w. III; P	SAY	said
his	pron pers. Gen. c. of hē, 3rd p. sg, M. (or Poss. pron his)	HIS	to his
hlāforde	n, Dat. sg of hlāford, M.-a	LORD	lord
Ælfrēde	n prop., Dat. sg; M.	ALFRED	Alfred
cynínʒe	n, Dat. sg of cyninʒ, M.-a	KING	king
þæt	conj	THAT	that
hē	pron, 3rd p. sg Nom.; S	HE	he
ealra	pron indef. Gen. pl of eal	ALL	(of) all
Norðmanna	n, Gen. pl of Norðmann, M. root-stem	NORTHMAN	Northmen (Scandina-vians)
norþmest	adv	NORTH-MOST	to the North
būde	v, 3rd p. sg Past Indef. or Subj. of būan, anom. v; P	rel. to BE	lived (or had lived)
cwæð	v, 3rd p. sg, Past Indef. of cweðan, str., Cl. 5; P	obs. QUOTH	said
on	prep	ON	on

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Word as used in the text	Analysis, notes	Corresponding NE word	Translation
þǣm	pron dem., Dat. sg, N. of sē, sēo, þæt	THAT	the
lande	n, Dat. sg of land, N.-a	LAND	land
norþweardum	adj, Dat. sg. N. of norðweard	NORTHWARDS	to the North
wiþ	prep	WITH	of
þā	pron dem., Acc. sg of sēo, F.	THAT	that (the)
Westsǣ	n prop., Acc. of Westsǣ, sǣ, F. i-stem	WEST SEA	Atlantic Ocean
þēah	conj	THOUGH	also
þæt	pron dem., Nom. sg, N.	THAT	that
land	n, Nom. sg, N.-a, S	LAND	land
sīe	v sg Pres. Subj. of bēon; link-verb	BE	is
swīþe	adv	—	very
lanᴣ	adj, Nom. sg. N., str. decl.; P	LONG	long
norþ	adv	NORTH	north
þonan	adv	THENCE	from there
ac	conj	—	but
hit	pron pers., 3rd p. sg, Nom. N.; S	IT	it
is	v 3rd p. sg., Pres. Ind. of bēon; link-verb	IS	is
eal	pron indef., Nom. sg	ALL	all
wēste	adj, Nom. sg, N., str. decl.	—	uninhabited
būton	conj	BUT	but
fēawum	adj, Dat. pl of fēaw, str. decl.	FEW	few
stōwum	n, Dat. pl of stōw, F.-wō	STOW	places
styccemǣlum	adv	rel. to STOCK and MEAL	here and there
wīciað	v, 3rd p. pl Pres. Ind. of wīcian, w. II; P	—	live
Finnas	n, Nom. pl of Finn, M.-a; S	FINN	(the) Finns
huntoðe	n, Dat. sg of huntoð, M.-a	rel. to HUNT	hunting
wintra	n, Dat. sg of winter, M.-u	WINTER	winter
and	conj	AND	and
sumera	n, Dat. sg of sumor/er, M.-u	SUMMER	summer

Word as used in the text	Analysis, notes	Corresponding NE word	Translation
fiscaþe	n, Dat. sg of fiscoð/að, M.-a	rel. to FISH	fishing
be	prep	BY	by
þǣre	pron dem., Dat. sg F. of sē, sēo, þæt	THAT	that
sǣ	n, Dat. sg of sǣ, F-i	SEA	sea

Model of Phonetic Analysis

Word from the text	Analysis	Parallels from cognate languages or related OE words	NE words
sǣde	[s] *voiceless initially;* [ǣ] *lengthening of* [æ] *due to loss of* [g].	*OE* sæȝde *(variant form)*	SAID
ealra	[ea] *breaking of* [æ] *before* [l] + *consonant;* [æ] *from PG* [a] *as in* þæt *above*	*Gt* alls	ALL
þēah	[ea:] — *development of PG* [au]	*Gt* þauh	THOUGH
swīþe	[i:] — *lengthening due to loss of* [n] *before a fricative*	*Gt* swinþs	—
stycce-	[y] — *palatal mutation of* [u] *caused by* [i] *which was later weakened to* [e]	*OHG* stukki	*rel. to* STOCK
fiscaþ	[f] *from* [p] *by Grimm's Law*	*R* пескарь	*rel. to* FISH

Notes on Lexis

Etymology. All the words are native, except *Finn*, name of a non-IE tribe.
Most of the words come from the roots of the common IE layer and have parallels outside the Germanic group, e. g.:

OE sǣde, secȝan, *NE* say — *Lith.* sakýti
OE his, hē, *NE* he — *R* сеħ
OE cyninȝe, cyning, *NE* king — *L* genus
OE Norðmanna, man, *NE* man — *Sanskr* manu
OE būde, būan, *rel. to* bēon, *NE* be — *R* быть

Specifically Germanic words are: *land, swiðe, huntoð, sæ*.
Specifically English formations are: *hláford, Ælfréd, stycce-mǣlum*.
  Word structure and word formation. Most words are simple — either originally or after the loss of stem suffixes — e. g. *hē, secðan, eal, būan, cweðan, land, winter, lanȝ, norð, ēac,* etc.
  Derived words are:
cyn-ing — from the root **kun-* plus the suffix *-ing*, building patronymics; lit. "coming from a tribe, clan", cf. *cynn* Neut.-*ja* 'tribe, clan'
swīþ-e — adv from the adj *swiþ* 'strong' with the help of *-e*, an adverb-building suffix and others.
  Compound words: *Norð-mann* — made up of *norð-* and *mann;*
Wesl-sæ — made up of *west-* and *sæ* Fem. *-i* and others.
  Simplification is seen in *hláford* — see § 232.

Text 2. From the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES (A. D. 911)

  Read the text and its translation into Mod E. Make a grammatical analysis of the italicized words and a phonetic analysis of the words marked with an asterisk according to the models given for Text 1 (use the Glossary). Write out the words derived from the same roots and analyse the means of derivation.

KING EDWARD AND THE DANES

911. Hēr *bræc* sē *here** on Norðhymbrum *þone friðð,* and *forsāwon* ælc frið þe Ēadweard *cyninȝ** and his *witan* him *budon,* and *herȝodon* ofer *Miercna land,* and sē cyninȝ *hæfde ȝeȝadrod* sum hund *scipa,* and *wæs** þā on Cent, and *þā scipu fōron* be sūþan ēast* andlang *sǣ** tōȝēanes him. þā *wēnde** sē here þæt his *fultumes* sē mǣsta *dǣl wǣre** on þǣm *scipum,* and þæt hīe *mihten faran unbefohtene* þǣr þǣr hīe *wolden.* þā *ȝeāscode* sē cyninȝ þæt þæt hīe ūt on *herȝoð fōron,* þā *sende** hē his *fierd* ǣȝðer ȝe of Westseaxum ȝe of *Miercum,* and hīe *offōron ðone here* hindan, þā he *hāmweard** wæs, and him þā wið *ȝefuhton* and þone here *ȝefliemdon*,* and his fela þūsenda *ofslō-ȝon ...*

Translation

  In this year the host in Northumbria broke that peace, and rejected every peace which King Edward and his councillors offered them, and they harried over the land of the Mercians, and the king had gathered about a hundred ships and was then in Kent, and the ships sailed in the south eastwards along the sea coast towards him (to meet him). Then the host thought that the greatest part of his army was on those ships, and that they could journey unopposed there, where they wished. When the king heard that (that) they had gone out on a raid, then he sent his forces both from Wessex and from Mercia, and they overtook the host when it was (on the way) homeward and fought with it and put the host to flight, and killed many thousands (of the host)...

Text 3. From the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES (A. D. 994)

  Read the text. Make a grammatical analysis of all the inflected parts of speech and translate the text into Mod E. Explain the origin of the sounds in the italicized words. Find examples of different types of word order and of multiple negation. Point out the prototypes of analytical forms of the verb. Pick out derived and compound words and analyse their structure. Comment on the meaning of verb prefixes. Note the loan-words from Latin.

ETHELRED THE UNREADY AND THE DANES

994. Hēr on þissum ʒēare cōm Anlāf[1] and Sweʒen[2] tō Lundenby-riʒ[3] on Nativitas Sancte Mārie[4] mid iiii (fēower) and hundniʒontiʒum scipum, and hīe ðā on ðā burh fæstlice feohtende wǣron, and ēac hīe mid fӯre ontendan woldon, ac hīe þǣr ʒefērdon mǎran hearm and yfel þonne hīe ǣfre wēndon þæt him ǣniʒ burhwaru ʒedōn sceolde. Ac sēo hāliʒe Godes mōdor on þǣm dæʒe hire mildheortnesse þǣre burhware ʒecӯðde, and hīe āhredde wið heora fēondum. And hīe þa-non fērdon, and worhton þæt mǣste yfel þe ǣfre ǣniʒ here dōn mihte on bærnette and herʒunʒe and on mannsliehtum, ǣʒðer be ðǣm sǣriman on Ēastseaxum and on Centlande and on Sūðseaxum and on Hāmtūnscīre.[5] And æt nīehstan nāmon him hors, and ridon swā wīde swā hīe woldon, and unāsecʒendlic yfel wyrcende wǣron. þā ʒerǣd-de sē cyninʒ and his witan þæt him man tō sende and him ʒafol be-hēte and metsunʒe, wiþ þon þe hīe þǣre herʒunʒe ʒeswicen.. And hīe þā þæt underfēnʒon, and cōm þā eall sē here tō Hāmtūne,[6] and þǣr wintersetl nāmon, and hīe man þǣr fēdde ʒeond eall Westseaxna rīce, and him man ʒeald xvi (siextiene) þūsend punda. þā sende sē cyninʒ æfter Anlāfe cyninʒe Ælfēah biscop[7] and Æðelward ealdormann, and man ʒīslode þā hwīle into þǣm scipum; and hīe þā læddon Anlāf mid miclum weorþscipe tō þǣm cyninʒe tō Andeferan[8] ... And him þā Anlāf behēt, swā hē hit ēac ʒelǣste, þæt hē nǣfre eft tō Anʒelcyn-ne mid unfriðe cuman nolde ...

Notes to Text 3

[1] Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway; [2] Svein I, King of Denmark; [3] London; [4] On the Nativity of St. Mary (September 8); [5] Hampshire, see scīr; [6] Southampton; [7] St. Alphege, bishop of Winchester, Archbishop of Canterbury; [8] Andover.

Text 4. From the translation of Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE (HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLORUM) made in Wessex in the late 9th c., probably by King Alfred.

Read the text. Make a grammatical analysis of all the inflected parts of speech and a phonetic analysis of the italicized words. Translate the text into Mod E. Comment on the structure of derived and compound words. Point out the proto-types of analytical forms of the verb. Explain the differences in the word order. (Note that the extract contains many variant spellings and variant grammatical endings.)

BEDE'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF WEST
GERMANIC TRIBES IN BRITAIN

Ðā wæs ymb fēower hund wintra and niʒon and fēorwertiʒ fram ūres Drihtnes menniscnysse[1], þæt Martiānus cāsere rīce onfēnʒ and VII (seofon) ʒēar hæfde; sē wæs syxta ēac fēowertiʒum fram Aʒustō þām cāsere.[2] Ðā Anʒelþēod and Seaxna wæs ʒelaðod fram þām fore-sprecenan cyninʒe, and on Breotone cōm on þrim myclum scypum, and on ēastdǣle þyses ēalondes eardunʒ stōwe onfēnʒ þurh ðæs ylcan cy-ninʒes bebod, þe hī hider ʒelaðode, þæt hī sceoldan for heora ēðle compian and feohtan; and hī sōna compedon wið heora ʒewinnan, þe hī oft ǣr norðan onherʒedon; and Seaxan þā siʒe ʒeslōʒan. þā sen-

dan hī *hām* ǣrenddracan, and hēton *secȝan* þysses landes wæstmbǣr-
nysse and Bryttа yrȝðo; and hī þā sōna hider *sendon māran* sciphere
strenȝran wiȝena; and wæs unoferswīþendlic weorud, þā hī tōȝædere
ȝeþēodde wǣron. And him Bryttas *sealdan* and ȝēafan eardunȝstōwe
betwih him, þæt hī for sibbe and for *hǣlo* heora ēðles campodon and
wunnon wið heora fēondum, and hī him andlyfne and āre forȝēafen
for heora ȝewinne. Cōmon hī of þrim folcum ðām stranȝestan Ȝer-
manie, þæt is of Seaxum and of Anȝle and of Ȝeatum...

Notes to Text 4

Text 5. From OE Poetry. A riddle of the late 10th c.

Read the poem and point out the alliteration in each line. Compare the OE
text with its translation into Mod E. Point out the synonyms and circumlocutions
(see § 278). Make a grammatical analysis of the italicized words and a phonetic
analysis of the words marked with an asterisk:

A BOOKMOTH

Moððe *word fræt; mē* þæt þūhte*
wrǣtlicu wyrd, þa *ic* þæt wundor ȝefræȝn,
þæt sē wyrm *forswealȝ wera* ȝied* *sumes,*
þēof in þýstro, þrymfæstne *cwide*
ond *þæs stranȝan staþol.* Stælȝiest* ne wæs
winte þý ȝlēawra þe hē þām *wordum* swealȝ.*

Translation

A moth ate words; that seemed to me
a curious event, when I that wonder learnt,
that the worm swallowed up the word (tale) of someone of men,
a thief in darkness, — glorious speech (words)
and its strong foundation. The thievish guest was not
at all cleverer (when) he those words swallowed.

Glossary to Old English Texts

The order of words in the Glossary is alphabetical (see the OE alphabet in § 111). Æ is included as a separate letter after A; Þ follows T; Q is shown as A or O; I and Y are treated as one letter since they often interchange (Y also alternates with IE). Words with the prefix ȝe- are placed according to the first letter of the root and the prefix is missed out unless it changes the meaning of the word.

The component parts of derived and compound words, wherever possible, are separated by hyphens.

The stroke / shows variant forms or spellings of the word. For words which survived in later periods the ME form is shown after the sign > ; the modern word is given in capital letters. OE words are supplied with translations if they have no modern descendants and if the meaning has changed.

Parallels from other languages and related OE words are given as clues for the analysis of the sounds, the morphological structure and the means of word formation.

See also the list of abbreviations on p. 8.

A

ac *conj* 'but'

a-hreddan *v, w.I* 'save'

and-lyfen *n, F. -ō* 'food' (*rel. to* OE libban *v* 'live')

Anʒel *n, N. -a, name of district, mod.* ANGELN, *hence* OE Anʒle, *later* Enʒle, Enʒlisc, Enʒla-land, ENGLISH, ENGLAND

Anʒel-cynn *n N.-ja* 'English people'; cynn 'tribe, clan'; (*hence* cyninʒ, *see Notes to Text 1, p* 333)

Anʒel-þēod *n, F. -ō* 'English people', *see* Anʒel, þēod *n*

ār *n, F. -ō* 'possessions', 'honour' (*cf.* G Ehre)

ʒe-ascian *v, w.II* 'hear of', ascian > asken, ASK

Æ

æfre *adv* > evre, EVER

æfter *prep* > after, AFTER

æʒþer/æʒ-hwæðer, *conj, pron* > either, EITHER, æʒðer... and 'both... and'

æniʒ *pron* > any, ANY (*cf.* OE ān, ONE)

ær *adv* > ere, ERE *obs.* 'before' (*cf. Gt* airis, O Scand ār)

ærendd-raca/ærend-wrecca *n, M. -n* 'messenger', OE ærende *n,* ERRAND; wrecan *v* 'drive', 'force' (*rel. to* R вpar)

B

bærnet *n, N. -ja* 'burning' (*cf.* OE bærnan *v, w.I.* > bernen, BURN)

be/bi *prep* > by, BY

be-bod *n, N.-a* 'command' (*cf.* OE bēodan *v*)

be-hātan *v, str. 7* 'promise', *see also* hātan

behēte, *see* be-hātan

bēodan *v, str. 2* 'offer' (*cf. Gt* biudan) (*rel. to* BID)

bēon *v anom., see the forms on p. 258* (*cf. R* быть, стоять)

be-twih/be-tweox *prep* > betwix, BETWIXT (*rel. to* BETWEEN)

biscop *n, M. -a.* > bisshop, BISHOP (*from L* episcopus)

brecan *v, str. 4* > breken, BREAK

Breotone/Brytene *n, M. -i, also* Bryttas *n, M. -a. pl* > Britons, BRITONS

burh *n, F. root-stem* > burgh, BOROUGH, OE 'walled town'

burh-waru *n, F. -ō* 'inhabitants of a town'

C

campian *v, w.II* 'fight' (*cf.* OE camp 'battle', G Kampf, *from L* campus)

cāsere *n, M. -ja* 'emperor' (*from L* Caesar)

Cent-land *n, N. -a* KENT (*see* land)

cyninʒ *n, M. -a* > 'kyng', KING (*cf. OHG* kuning), *see Notes to Text 1*

cynn *n, N. -ja* 'kin', KIN (OE 'tribe', 'clan') (*rel. to* KIND); *cf Gt* kuni

cȳðan *v, w. I* 'make known' (*cf. Gt* kunþian, OS kūðian), *rel. to* KNOW, CAN

cōm, cōmon *v, see* cuman

cuman *v, str. 4* (*Past* cuōm/cōm, cōmon, cumen) > comen, COME

cwide/cwiðe *n, M. -a* 'speech, discourse' (*rel. to* cweðan *v; see Notes to Text 1*)

D

dæʒ *n, M. -a* > day, DAY (*cf. Gt* dags)

dǣl *n, M. -i* > deel, DEAL (OE 'part') (*cf. Gt* dails, OE dǣlan *v,* DEAL)

dōn *v, anom.* (dyde, ʒe-don) > doon, DO

drihten/dryhten *n, M. -a* 'lord', 'God'

E

ēac *adv* > eek, EKE *obs.* 'also'
(*cf. Gt* auk, *G* auch)
eal *pron.* > all, ALL (*cf. Gt* alls)
ēa-land *n, M. -a* > iland, island,
LAND (*OE* ēa 'water', 'river')
ealdor-mann *n, M. root-stem* >
alderman, ALDERMAN (*OE*
'chief'; *OE* eald/ald > old, OLD)
eardunȝ-stōw *n, F. -wō* 'place of
dwelling' (*cf. OE* eardian
'dwell', *OS* ard, *for* stōw *see
Notes to Text 1*)
ēast *n, adv* > east, EAST (*cf. O
Scand* austr)
ēast-dǣl *n, M. -i, see* ēast *and*
dǣl

Ēast-seaxe *n, see* ēast *and* Seaxe,
ESSEX
eft *adv* 'again'
eðel *n, M. -a* 'country'

fore-sprecen 'above-mentioned',
Part.II of fore-sprecan (*OE*
fore *adv* 'before', sprecan *v,
str. 5* > speken, SPEAK)
for-ȝēafon *v, see* ȝiefan
for-sāwon *v, see* for-sēon
for-sēon *v, str. 5* 'reject' (sēon-
seah, sǣȝon/sāwon, sewen >
seen, SEE)
for-swelȝan *v, str. 3* 'devour,
swallow up', swelȝan > swal-
wen, SWALLOW
fram/from *prep* > from, FROM
fretan *v, str. 5* 'eat up, devour
(*cf. G* fressen)
ȝe-friȝnan *v, str. 3* 'learn by
asking, hear of' (*cf. OE* ȝe-
ascian)
frið *n, M./N. -a* 'peace' (*cf. G*
Frieden), *OE* frēon *v,* freond
n, FRIEND, R приятель
fultum *n, M. -a* 'support', 'force'

F

faran *v, str. 6* > faren, FARE
(*OE* 'travel')
fæst-lice *adv, also* fæste > fastly,
FAST (*OE* 'firmly')
fēdan *v, w.I* feden, FEED (*cf.
OE* fōd *n, Gt* fodian *v.*)
feohtan *v, str. 3* > fighten, FIGHT
(*cf. OHG* fehtan)
fēond *n, M. -nd, substantivised
Part.I* > fiend, FIEND (*OE*
fēon *v* 'hate')
fēower *num* > four, FOUR
fēower-tiȝ *num* > fourty, FORTY
fēran *v, w.I* 'go', 'suffer' (*rel. to
OE* faran; *cf. OS* fōrian)
fierd/fyrd *n, F. -i* 'army' (*rel. to
OE* faran *v,* fēran *v*)
fȳr *n, N .-a* > fir, FIRE
ȝe-flīeman *v, w.I* 'put to flight'
(*cf. OE* flēam *n* 'flight'; *rel.
to OE* flēoȝan *v* FLY, flēon,
v FLEE)
folc *n, N. -a* > folk, FOLK

Ȝ

ȝaderian *v, w.II* > gaderen,
GATHER (*OE* ȝæd *n* 'fellow-
ship', *see also* tō-ȝædere *and*
ȝied)
ȝafol *n, N. -a* 'tribute' (*rel. to
OE* ȝyfan *v,* GIVE)
ȝēafon/ȝēafan, *see* ȝyfan
ȝēar *n, N. -a* > yeer, YEAR (*cf.
G* Jahr; *orig. mean.* 'spring')
Ȝeat, Ȝeatas *n, M. -a, a Scand
tribe or, perhaps, the Jutes*
ȝeond *adv, prep, also* be-ȝeon-
dan > yond, beyond, BEYOND
Ȝermania *n, F. -ō,* GERMANY
ȝied *n, N. -ja* 'word', 'speech'
(*rel. to OE* ȝaderian *v*)
ȝiefan/ȝyfan *v, str. 5* (ȝeaf, ȝēafon,
ȝefen) > yiven/ȝiven, GIVE
ȝieldan/ȝyldan *v, str. 3* > yelden,
YIELD (*OE also* 'pay')
ȝislian *v, w.II* 'give hostages'
ȝod *n, M. -a* > god, GOD (*cf. O
Scand* goð, *Gt.* guþ)

H

habban *v, w.III* haven, HAVE (*cf. G* haben, *L* habēre)

hāliʒ *adj* > holy, HOLY (*cf. Gt* hailags)

hām *n, M. -a, adv* > hoom, HOME (*cf. Gt* haims)

hām-weard *adv* > hoomward, HOMEWARDS (*see* hām *n; see* -weard *in Notes to Text I —* norþweard)

hand *n, F. -u* > hand, HAND

hātan *v, str. 7* 'name', 'promise', 'order' (*cf. Gt* ga-haitan, *G* heißen)

hæíde *v, see* habban

hǣlo/hǣlu *n, F. -in* 'safety' (*rel. to* OE hāl, WHOLE; *cf. Gt* hails)

hē *pron* > he, HE, *see the forms of* OE hē (p. 103)

hearm *n, M. -a* > harm, HARM (*cf. O Scand* harmr, *R* срам)

heora *pron, see the forms of* hīe (p. 103)

hēr *adv* > here, HERE

here *n, M. -ja* 'host', 'army' (*cf. Gt* harjis, *G* Heer)

herʒian *v, w.II* > heren, harwen, HARRY (*rel. to* OE here)

herʒoð *n, M. -a* 'harrying, ravaging' (*rel. to* OE here, herʒian)

hēt, hēton *v, see* hātan

hīe/hȳ *pron* 'they', *see the forms of* hīe (p. 103)

hider *adv* > hider, HITHER

hire *pron, see the forms of* hēo (p. 103)

hit *pron* > it, IT, *see the forms of* hit (p. 103)

hors *n, N. -a* > hors(e), HORSE

hund *n, num, N. -a, later* hundred > hundred, HUNDRED

hwīl *n, F. -ō* > while, WHILE

I, Y

ic *pron* > ich, i, I, *see the forms* (p. 103)

yíel *n, N. -a adj* > ivel, evel, EVIL (*cf. Gt* ubils)

ilca/ylca *pron* > ilke, ILK, *obs.* 'same'

ymb/ymbe *prep, adv* 'about' (*cf. OHG* umbi; *OE* be/bi, by, BY)

yrʒðo/ierʒðu *n, F. -ō* 'cowardice'

L

land *n, N. -a,* 'land', LAND

laðian *v, w.II* 'invite' (*cf. G* einladen)

lǣdan *v, w.I* > leden, LEAD (*cf. PG* *laidjan)

lǣstan *v, w.I* > lasten, LAST (*OE also* 'carry out') (*cf. Gt* laistjan)

M

maʒan *v, Pret. -Pres.* (mæʒ, *Past* mihte/meahte) > 'may, might', MAY, MIGHT

mann *n, M. root-stem* > man, MAN (*OE also indef. pron.* 'one')

mann-slieht *n, M. -i* 'manslaughter' (*OE* mann *n,* MAN *and* slieht *n, rel. to* slēan *v,* SLAY, *see* slēan)

māra, *see* micel

mǣst, *see* micel

mē *pron, see the forms of* ic (p. 103)

menn-isc-nyss *n, F. -jō* 'incarnation of man' (*cf. OE* mann, *n* MANN, mennisc, *adj* MANNISH)

metsunʒ *n, F. -ō* 'provision' (*rel. to OE* mete 'food', MEAT)

micel *adj, adv* (*cf.* māra, *superl.* mǣst > michel/muchel, MUCH)

mid *prep* 'with'

mihte, mihten *v, see* maʒan

mild-heort-nes *n* 'mercy, pity' (*OE* milde *adj,* MILD, heorte *n* HEART, *cf. NE* mild-heartedness)

Myrce/Mierce *n*, *M. -i or M. -n pl* 'Mercians'
mōdor *n*, *F. -r* > moder, MOTHER (*cf. O Scand* mōðir, *L* māter)

N

nāmon, *see* niman
næfre *adv* (ne + æfre) nevre, NEVER
nīehsta/nȳhsta *adv superl. of* nēah; *comp.* nēarra > neer, NEAR æt nīehstan 'at last'
niʒon *num* > nine, NINE
nolde *neg. particle* + wolde, *see* willan
norð/norðan *adv* 'in *or* from the North' > north, NORTH
Norðhymbre *n*, *M. -i pl.* 'Northumbrians'

O

oft *adv* > oft/often, OFTEN (*cf. Gt* ufta)
on-fēnʒ, *see* on-fōn
on-fōn *v*, *str. 7 (past* onfēng, *Part. II* onfangen) 'undertake', 'receive'
on-herʒian, *see* herʒian
on-tendan *v*, *w.I* 'set on fire'

P

pund *n*, *N. -a* pound, POUND (*from L* pondō)

R

rǣdan *v*, *str. 7 and w.I* > reden, REDE *obs.* READ (*OE also* 'decide' *rel. to* RIDDLE)
rice *n*, *N. -ja* 'kingdom' (*cf. OE* rice *adj* 'strong', 'rich')
rīdan *v*, *str. I* riden, RIDE

S

sǣ *n*, *F/M. -i.* > see, SEA (*cf. Gt* saiws)
sǣ-rima *n*, *M. -n* 'sea shore' (*cf. OE* sǣ *n*), SEA, RIM

sceolde *v*, *see the forms of OE* sculan (p. 123), SHOULD
scip/scyp *n*, *N. -a* ship, SHIP
scip-here *n* 'hostile naval force', *see* scip *and* here
scir *n*, *F. -ō* > shire, SHIRE
sē *pron M.* 'that', 'the', *see the forms of OE* sē (p. 104)
sealdan/sealdon, *see* sellan
secʒan *v*, *w.III* > seyen, SAY (*cf. G* sagen, *PG* *sagjan)
sellan *v*, *w.I (past* sealde) > sellen, SELL (*OE also* 'give') (*cf. OE* salu *n*, *Gt* saljan *v*)
sendan *v*, *w.I* > senden, SEND (*cf. Gt* sandjan)
sēo *pron* 'that', 'the', *see the forms of OE* sēo (p. 104)
sibb *n*, *F. -jō* 'peace,' 'relationship' (*rel. to* GOSSIP)
siʒe *n*, *M. -i* 'victory' (*cf. G* Siege)
syxta/siexta *num* > sixth, SIXTH
slēan *v*, *str. 6* (slōʒ, sloʒon, slæʒen) > sleyen, SLAY
ʒe-slōʒon *v*, *see* slēan
sōna *adv* > sone, SOON
staþol *n*, *M. -a* 'foundation' (*rel. to OE* standan *v*, STAND)
stæl-ʒiest *n* 'thievish guest', *OE* stæl *n*, stelan *v*, STEAL *OE* ʒiest/ʒæst, *cf. OHG* gast, *R* гость
stranʒ *adj* > strong STRONG
sum *pron* > some, SOME
sūð *adj*, *adv* > south, SOUTH
Sūð-seaxe, *see* sūð *and* Seaxe, SUSSEX
swīcan *v*, *str. I* 'deceive', 'cease'

T

to-ʒædere *adv* > together, TOGETHER (*rel. to OE* ʒaderian *v*, GATHER, *see* ʒaderian)

Þ

þā *adv* 'then', 'when'
þā *pron* 'those', 'the', *see the forms of* sē, sēo, þæt (p. 104)

þanon/þonan *adv* > thannes/then-nes, THENCE
þam/þæm *pron, see the forms of* sē, sēo (p. 104)
þāra/þǣre *pron, see the forms of* sē, sēo, þæt (p. 104)
þǣr *adv* > there, THERE
þæs *pron, see the forms of* sē, þæt (p. 104)
þæt *pron* > that, THAT, *see the forms of* þæt (p. 104)
þe *conj or connective particle* 'which', 'that'
þēod *n, F. -ō* 'people' (*rel. to* OE þēodan; *cf.* Gt þiuda)
þēodan *v, w.I* 'join', 'associate' (*rel. to* OE þēod)
þēof *n, M. -a* > thief, THIEF (*cf.* Gt þiubi)
þes, þēos, þis *pron, M., F., N.* > this, THIS
þyncan *v, w.I* (*past* þūhte) > thinken, THINK (*OE* 'seem'; *cf.* Gt þugkjan)
þisses *pron, Gen. sg of* þes, þis
þissum *pron, Dat. sg of* þes, þis; *Dat. pl of* þēs, þēos, þis
þone *pron, see* sē
þonne *adv* > thanne/thenne, THAN, THEN
þūhte *v, see* þyncan
þusend *num* thousand, THOU-SAND

U

un-ā-secȝend-lic *adj* 'unspeakable', *see* secȝan
un-be-fohten *adj* 'unopposed', *see* feohtan
under-fēnȝon *past of* under-fōn *v str. 7* 'receive', *see* on-fōn
un-frið *n, M. -a* 'enmity', 'war', *see* frið
un-ofer-swīþend-lic *adj* 'unconquerable' (*OE* swīþan *v* 'strengthen', *see also* swīðe *in Notes to Text 1; cf.* unasecȝendlic)
ūr *pron* > our, OUR, *see the forms of OE* wē (p. 103)

W

wǣre, wǣron *v, see* bēon
wæs, *see* bēon (*cf.* OHG was)
wæstm-bǣr-nys *n, F. -jō* 'fertility' (*OE* wæstm 'growth', bærnes 'bearing', *rel. to* beran *v*, BEAR)
wēnan *v, w.I* > wenen, WEEN (*OE* 'think'), *cf.* O Scand vana
weorod/werod *n, N. -a* 'troop' (*OE* wer 'man')
weorþ-scipe *n, M. -a* > worship, WORSHIP (*OE* weorþ *adj.* WORTH)
West-seaxe *n,* west *adv,* WEST, *see* Seaxe, WESSEX
wīde *adv* > wīde, WIDE (*OE* wīd *adj*)
wiȝa *n, M. -n* 'warrior', 'man' (*cf.* Gt weihan 'make war', L vincere, NE invincible)
willan *v, anom.* (*past* wolde) > will, wolde, WILL, WOULD
ȝe-winn *n, N. -ja* 'fight' (*see also* winnan *v,* ȝe-winna *n*)
ȝe-winna *n, M. -n* 'enemy' (*see also* ȝe-winn *n,* winnan *v*)
winnan *v, str. 3* > winnen, WIN (*OE also* 'fight')
winter-setl *n* 'winter quarters' (*OE* winter *n,* WINTER, setl 'seat', SETTLE, *cf.* R седло, NE saddle)
wyrcan *v, w.I* (*past* worhte) > wurchen/werken, WORK
wita *n, M. -n* 'councillor' (*cf.* OE wit *n,* witan *v,* WIT)
wiþ *prep* > with, WITH
wiþ þon þe *conj* 'on condition that'
wolde *v, see* willan
word *n. N. -a* > word, WORD (*cf.* L verbum, PG *verdham)
worhton, *see* wyrcan
wunnon, *see* winnan

Text 1. From the Prologue to the CANTERBURY TALES by G. Chaucer (Lines 1-14), London, late 14th c. Read the text observing the rules of pronunciation and the stresses (see the transcription and translation in § 361). Point out ME innovations in spelling. Study the models of analysis and the commentary.

Lines 1-4

Whan that Aprille 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...

(continued in § 361)

Model of Grammatical and Etymological Analysis

Words as used in the text	Analysis, notes	OE or foreign prototype	Corresponding NE word, translation
whan that	*conj*	*OE* hwænne, *pron inter.*, þæt *pron, conj*	WHEN, THAT 'when'
Aprille	*n prop.*	*O Fr* avrill, *L* aprilis	APRIL
with	*prep*	*OE* wiþ *prep*	WITH
his	*pron poss.*	*OE* his *pron pers.*, *M., Gen. (or Poss.) c.*	HIS
shoures	*n, Comm. c. pl*	*OE* scūr *M.-a, F.-ō*	SHOWER
soote	*adj, pl.*	*OE* swōte/swēte	SWEET
the	*def. art.*	*OE* sē, sēo, þæt *dem. pron*	THE
droghte	*n, Comm. c, sg*	*OE* drūʒoð	DROUGHT
of	*prep*	*OE* of	OF
March	*n prop.*	*O Fr* mars, *dial.* march, *L* martius	MARCH
hath perced	*Pres. Perf. of* percen, *3rd p. sg*	*OE* habban *O Fr* percier	PIERCE
roote	*n, Comm. c. sg*	*O Scand* rót	ROOT
and	*conj*	*OE* and	AND
bathed	*Pres. Perf.* (hath bathed) *of* bathen *v, w. II*	*OE* baðian *v, w. II*	BATHE
veyne	*n, Comm. c. sg*	*O Fr* veine	VEIN
swich	*pron indef.*	*OE* swilc	SUCH
licour	*n, Comm. c. sg*	*O Fr* licur, *L* liquor	LIQUOR 'moisture'
vertu	*n, Comm. c. sg*	*O Fr* vertu	VIRTUE 'force'
flour	*n, Comm. c. sg*	*O Fr* flour	FLOWER 'blossoming'

Model of Phonetic Analysis
(the words are selected from Lines 1-14)

Words as used in the text	Changes of spelling and sounds		
	OE	ME	NE
that	þæt [æ] [θ]	that [a] [θ]	THAT [æ] [ð]
	æ, þ *replaced by* a, th		
shoures (shour)	scur [sk'] [u:r]	shour/showr [ʃ] [au]	SHOWER [ʃ] [au]
	u, sc *replaced by* ou/ow, sh		
bathed (bathen)	baðode [a] [ode]	bathed [a:] [ede]	BATHED [eɪ] [d]
	ð *replaced by* th		
sonne	sunne [u]	sunne/sonne [u]	SUN [ʌ]
	u *replaced by* o *or retained*		
foweles (fowel)	fuȝol [uɣ]	fowl/foul [u:]	FOWL [au]
nyght	neaht/niht [ix'] > [i:]	nyght/night	NIGHT [aɪ]
	h *replaced by* gh, y *by* i/y		
nature	—	nature [a:] [tjur]	NATURE [eɪ] [tʃə]
seken	sēcan [e:]	seken/seeken [e:]	SEEK [i:]
	c, e *replaced by* k, ee.		

Notes on Syntax

See § 144.

Notes on Lexis

Etymology. In addition to the loan-words shown in the Model of Grammatical analysis above, the first 14 lines of the poem contain the following borrowings: *Zephirus* — from Latin; *inspiren, tendre, melodye, nature, cours, corage, pilgrimage, palmere, straunge* — from Old French.

Word structure. Most words in the extract are simple. Note foreign affixes in derived words: *en-ʒendren, cor-aʒe, pilʒrim-aʒe, palm-ere* (*-er* is also a native suffix).

Text 2. From the Prologue to the CANTERBURY TALES by G. Chaucer (Lines 285-304, the Clerk). Read the text and translate it into Mod E using the notes and the Glossary. Reconstruct the history of the italicized words from OE to NE (origin, spelling, pronunciation, grammatical forms, structure). Point out the borrowings.

A *Clerk ther was* of Oxenford also,
That unto logyk *hadde* longe *y-go*.
As *leene* was his *hors* as is *a* rake;
And *he has nat right* fat, I undertake,
But *looked* holwe, and *therto* sobrely.
Ful thredbare was his *overeste courtepy;*
For he hadde *geten hym* yet no benefice,
Ne was so worldly for *to* have office.
For hym was levere[1] have at his *beddes* heed
Twenty *bookes*, clad in blak or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophie
Than *robes* riche, or fithele, or gay sautrie.

But al be that[2] he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre;
But al that he *myghte* of his freendes *hente*,
On bookes and his *lernynge* he *it spente.*
And *bisily* gan[3] for the *soules* preye
Of *hem* that *yaf* hym wherwith to scoleye;
Of studie *took* he *moost cure* and moost heede.
Noght o word spak he *moore* than was *neede,*
And that was seyd in forme and reverence.
And *short*, and quyk, and ful of *hy* sentence;
Sownynge in moral vertu was his *speche.*
And gladly *wolde* he *lerne* and gladly *teche.*

Notes to Text 2

[1] *hym was levere* 'it was more pleasing for him' — impersonal construction with *lever*, Comp. degree of ME leef *adj.*, NE *lief*

[2] *al be that*, usually *al be it*, a concessive clause which changed into a conjunction, lit 'all though it be that...', NE *albeit*

[3] *gan*, Past of ME *ginnen* (OE *on-ʒinnan*, NE *begin*) was used with infinitives of other verbs to emphasise the meaning or to indicate the beginning of an action, here *gan ... preye* 'prayed'

Text 3. From the Preface to the ENEYDOS by W. Caxton (late 15th c.). Read the text bearing in mind the state of the sound system in the late 15th c. Render it in Mod E (despite some fluctuations the written forms of the words resemble their modern forms; the words which are difficult to identify are given in the Glossary). Trace the development of the italicized words from OE to NE (spelling, pronunciation, grammatical forms, morphological structure). Point out the borrowings.

After dyverse werkes made, translated, and achieved, havyng noo werke *in hande*, I, *sittyng* in *my* studye where as laye many dyverse paumflettis and *bookys, happened* that to my hande came a lytyl booke

in frenshe, whiche *late was translated oute* of latyn by *some noble clerke* of fraunce, whiche booke *is named* Eneydos... And whan I had advysed *me* in this *sayd* boke, I *delibered* and concluded to translate it into *englysshe*, and forthwyth *toke* a penne and ynke, and *wrote* a *leef* or *tweyne*, whyche I oversawe agayn to correcte it. And whan I sawe the *fayr* and *straunge termes* therin I *doubted* that it *sholde* not please some gentylman whyche late blamed me, *sayeing* that in my *translacyons* I had over curyous termes which *coude* not be understande of comyn peple and *desired* me to use *olde* and *homely* termes in my translacyons. And fayn *wolde* I satisfye every *man*, and so to doo toke an olde booke and *redde* therin, and *certaynly* the Englysshe was so rude and brood that I coude not well understande it. And also my *lorde* abbot of Westmynster *ded do* shewe to me late certayn evydences *wryton* in olde Englysshe for to reduce it in to our Englysshe *now* usid. And certaynly, it was wreton in suche wyse that it was *more* lyke to Dutche *than Englysshe;* I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be understonden. And certaynly, *our* language now used varyeth *ferre* from that which was used and *spoken* whan I *was borne*... Certynly it is *harde* to playse every man *by cause* of dyversitie and *chaunge* of langage. For in these *dayes* every man that is in ony reputacyon in his countre *wyll* utter his *comyncacyon* and *maters* in such maners and termes that fewe *men shall* understonde *theym*. And som honest and grete clerkes *have ben* wyth me and desired me *to wryte* the *moste* curyous termes that I coude *fynde*. And thus bytwene playn, rude, and curyous, I stande abasshed. But in my judgemente the comyn termes that be *dayli* used ben *lyghter* to be understonde than the olde and auncyend Englysshe. And for as moche as this present booke is not for a rude *uplondyssh* man to laboure therein, ne *rede* it, but onely for a clerke and a noble gentylman, that *feleth* and understondeth in *faytes* of *armes*, in *love*, and in noble chyvalrye, therefor in a meane bytwene *bothe* I have reduced and translated this sayd booke in to our Englysshe, not over rude ne curyous, but in such termes as *shall* be understanden by Goddys grace accordynge to my copye.

Glossary to Texts 2 and 3

The order of words in the Glossary is alphabetical, except that *I* and *Y* are treated as one letter, as they are often interchangeable. The forms of personal pronouns and of the verb *to be* are not included as they can be found in the tables on p. 103, 258. The words included in the Glossary to OE texts are supplied with references to OE prototypes.

A

armes *n pl* ARMS 'weapons'
  (from O Fr arme)
auncyend *adj* ANCIENT *(from*
  O Fr ancien)

B

bisily *adv* BUSILY *(OE* bysiʒ
  adj, -lice *adv. suffix)*
borne, *form of* beren *v str. 4*
  (OE beran)

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C

comyn *adj* COMMON (*from O Fr* comun, *L* commūnis)
comyncacyon/comunycacioun COMMUNICATION (*from L* communicātio)
coude/couthe, *forms of* can CAN, COULD, *see forms of OE* cunnan, p. 123)
courtepy *n* 'short coat' (*from Dutch* korte pie)
cure *n* CURE (*from O Fr* cure) *ME also* 'care'

D

ded, do, *forms of* doon, *anom. v* DO (*OE* dōn, dyde, ʒe-dōn)
deliberen *v w.II* DELIBERATE (*from L* deliberare)

E

fayr/fair *adj* FAIR (*OE* fæʒer)
fayt/feet *n* FEAT (*from O Fr* fet)
felan *v w.I* FEEL (*OE* fēlan *w.I*)
ferre *comp. of* fer *adv, adj* FAR (*OE* feor)

G

gentylman *n* GENTLEMAN (*from O Fr* gentil, *OE* mann)
geten *v str. 5,* GET (*from OE* ʒytan *and O Scand* geta)
y-go/goon *Part.II of* goon *v anom.* GO (*OE* ʒān, ēode, ʒe-ʒān)

H

happenen *v w.* HAPPEN (*from O Scand* happ)
haven, havyng, *see OE* habban
henten *v w.I* HINT (*OE* hentan *v. w.I.*) 'get'
hy/high/heigh *adj* HIGH (*OE* hēah)

I and Y

yaf, *form of* yeven/given (*from OE* ʒyfan *and O Scand* gefa)

L

laye, *form of* lyen *v str. 5,* LIE (*OE* licʒan *v*)
leef *n* LEAF (*OE* lēaf *N. -a*)
leene *adj* LEAN (*OE* hlǣne)

M

matere *n* MATTER (*from O Fr* matiere)
myght/mighte, *see OE* maʒan
moore, moost, *see OE* micel

N

nas, *form of* ben, ne + was
nat/not/noght, *neg. particle* NOT (*OE* nā-wiht)

O

overest(e) *superl. of* over *adj, adv* OVER (*OE* ofer)

R

rake *n* RAKE (*OE* raca *n, M. -n*)
reden *v w.I* READ- (*OE* rǣdan *v, str. 7, w.I*)
robe *n* ROBE (*from O Fr* robe, *from G*)

S

shall, sholde, *see OE* sculan (p. 123)
short *adj* SHORT (*OE* sceort)
some *pron indef.* SOME (*OE* sum)
soul(e) *n* SOUL (*OE* sāwol *n, F. -ō*)
sownen/sounden *v, w.II,* SOUND (*from O Fr* soner)
spech(e) *n* SPEECH (*OE* sprǣc/ spǣc *n, F. -ō*)

speken *v*, *str. 4* SPEAK (*OE*
sprecan *v*, *str. 5*)

tweyne *num* TWAIN, TWO (*OE*
twā, tweʒen, *F.*)

T

U

techen *v w.l*, TEACH (*OE* tǣcan)
terme/tearm *n* TERM (*from O Fr*
terme)
toke/took, *Past of* taken *v*, *str.
6*, TAKE (*from O Scand* taka)
translacyon *n* TRANSLATION
(*from O Fr* translation, *L*
translātio, *Acc.* translationem)
translaten *v w.* TRANSLATE
(*from O Fr* translater, *L* trans-
lātio)

. uplondyssh *adj* (*OE* up-lend-isc)
'rural'

W

wherwith 'with which' (*OE*
hwǣr, wið)
wyll, wolde *forms of* willen, *see*
OE willan

Text 4. W. Shakespeare, Sonnet 2.
Supply a historical explanation for the underlined words: probable origin,
spelling, pronunciation, grammatical forms and their meanings. Point out the dif-
ferences from Mod E.

When forty *winters shall besiege* thy brow,
And dig *deep trenches* in thy *beauty's field*,
Thy youth's *proud livery*, so gaz'd on *now*,
Will be a tatter'd weed, of small worth held.
Then *being ask'd* where all thy beauty lies,
Where all the *treasure* of thy lusty *days*
To say, within *thine* own *deep-sunken* eyes,
Were an all-eating *shame*, and *thriftless* praise
How much more praise *deserv'd* thy beauty's use,
If *thou couldst* answer 'This *fair child* of *mine*
Shall sum *my* count, and *make* my old excuse,'
Proving his beauty by *succession* thine!
> This *were* to be new made when thou art *old*,
> And see thy *blood warm* when thou *feel'st* it cold.

Text 5. From INCOGNITA: LOVE AND DUTY RECONCIL'D by W. Congreve
(late 17th c.). Pick out words and forms for historical commentary and account
for all the features which can be explained by resorting to history. Note the dif-
ferences from Mod E.

Being come to the House, they carried him to his Bed, and hav-
ing sent for Surgeons *Aurelian* rewarded and dismissed the Guard.
He stay'd the dressing of *Claudio*'s Wounds, which were many, though
they hop'd none Mortal: and leaving him to his Rest, went to give
Hippolito an Account of what had happened, whom he found with a
Table before him, leaning upon both his Elbows, his Face covered
with his Hands, and so motionless, that *Aurelian* concluded he was
asleep; seeing several Papers lie before him, half written and blotted
out again, he thought to steal softly to the Table, and discover what

he had been employed about. Just as he reach'd forth his Hand to take up one of the Papers, *Hippolito* started up so on the suddain, as surpriz'd *Aurelian* and made him leap back; *Hippolito*, on the other hand, not supposing that any Body had been near him, was so disordered with the Appearance of a Man at his Elbow, (whom his Amazement did not permit him to distinguish) that he leap'd hastily to his Sword, and in turning him about, overthrew the Stand and Candles. Here were they both left in the Dark, *Hippolito* groping about with his Sword and thrusting at every Chair that he felt oppose him. *Aurelian* was scarce come to himself, when thinking to step back toward the Door that he might inform his Friend of his Mistake, without exposing himself to his blind Fury; *Hippolito* heard him stir, and made a full thrust with such Violence, that the Hilt of the Sword meeting with *Aurelian's* Breast beat him down, and *Hippolito* a top of him, as a Servant alarm'd with the noise, came into the Chamber with a Light. The Fellow trembled, and thought they were both Dead, till *Hippolito* raising himself, to see whom he had got under him, swoon'd away upon the discovery of his Friend. But such was the extraordinary Care of Providence in directing the Sword, that it only past under his Arm giving no Wound to *Aurelian*, but a little Bruise between his Shoulder and Breast with the Hilt.

Suggestions for Further Reading

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Notes