

Handout 1: The history of the English language
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1. Proto-Indo-European (roughly 3500-2500 BC)

1.1. Proto-Indo-European and linguistic reconstruction

- Most languages in Europe, and others in areas stretching as far as India, are called **Indo-European languages**, as they descend from a language called **Proto-Indo-European (PIE)**. Here ‘**proto**’ means that there are no surviving texts in the language and thus that linguists **reconstructed** the language by comparing similarities and systematic differences between the languages descended from it.
- The table below gives examples of historically related words in different languages which show either similarities in pronunciation, or *systematic* differences. Example: most IE languages have /p/ in the first two lines, suggesting that PIE originally had /p/ in these words. Gothic and English have /f/ in these contexts, suggesting that PIE /p/ changed into /f/ in these languages. The underlined sounds furnish other examples of systematic differences between other sounds in IE languages. Systematic differences between sounds in related languages/dialects are very common because over time all languages/dialects undergo **sound changes (sound shifts)** in which particular sounds change their pronunciation.

Meaning	Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Gothic	English	PIE
father	pita	pater	pater	<u>f</u> adar	<u>f</u> ather	*p ^h ater-
foot	padam	poda	pedem	<u>f</u> otu	<u>f</u> oot	*ped-
brother	b ^h ratar	p ^h rater	<u>f</u> rater	<u>b</u> rothar	<u>b</u> rother	*b ^h rater-
bear/carry	b ^h arami	p ^h ero	<u>f</u> ero	<u>b</u> aira	<u>b</u> ear	*b ^h er-
6	sas	<u>h</u> ex	sex	saihs	six	*seks
7	septa	<u>h</u> epta	septem	sibun	seven	*septm
same	samah	<u>h</u> omos	similius	sama	same	*samos
10	dasa	deka	decem	<u>t</u> aihun	<u>t</u> en	*dekm-
tree	dru	drys		<u>t</u> ru	<u>t</u> ree	*druo-
eat	ad-	ed-	ed-	<u>i</u> tan	<u>e</u> at	*ed-
3	tri	tris	tres	<u>t</u> hri	<u>t</u> hree	*trei-
thou	twa	su	tu	<u>t</u> hu	<u>t</u> hou	*tu-
live	jivah		/wiwos/	/kwius/	quick	*gwei-
man	virah		/wir/	wair	were(wolf)	*wi-ro-

- The asterisk (*) in the last column marks reconstructed forms. (The reconstructions are based on many facts beyond those seen in the table. They reflect 200 years of research.)
- The similarities and systematic differences in the table suggest a **genetic relation** between these languages (i.e. that they had the same ancestor language). They can't be coincidental since the same sound correspondences are found in many other words in these languages, but such correspondences are not found in most other languages in the world (say Arabic, Hungarian, Turkish), and especially not in languages spoken in areas very distant from the areas where IE languages were originally found (e.g. Japanese, Zulu, Mohawk, Maori).
- Reconstruction is assisted by knowledge of normal patterns of linguistic change for which direct evidence is available (e.g. development of Romance languages from Latin).

1.2. What we know about the people who spoke PIE

- Inferences about PIE speakers, based on vocabulary common to all/most Indo-European languages, and hence likely to have existed in PIE:
 - They may have lived near Caspian & Black Seas, South Russian steppes. Evidence:
 - They lived inland but near water. Words for *lake, rowing* but not for *ocean*.

- Cold climate: they had a word for *snow*: **sneigwh-* (cf. Latin *nix*, Greek *niphos*, Gothic *snaivs*, Gaelic *sneachta*).
- Words for *beech, birch, elm, ash, oak, apple, cherry; bee, bear, beaver, eagle*.
- Original location is also deduced from subsequent spread of IE languages.
- Bronze age technology. They had gold, silver, copper, but not iron.
- They rode horses and had domesticated sheep, cattle. Cattle a sign of wealth (cf. *fee*/German *Vieh* ‘cattle’, Latin *pecunia* ‘money’/*pecus* ‘cattle’)
- Agriculture: cultivated cereals **gre-no-* (>*grain, corn*), also grinding of corn **mela-* (cf. *mill, meal*); they also seem to have had ploughs and yokes.
- Wheels and wagons (*wheel* < *k^w(e)-k^wlo* < *k^wel* ‘go around’)
- Religion: priests, polytheistic with sun worship **deiw-os* ‘shine’ cf. Lat. *deus*, Gk. *Zeus*, Sanskrit *deva*. Patriarchal, cf. *Zeus pater, Iupiter*, Sanskr. *dyaus pitar*.
- Trade/exchange: **do-* yields Lat. *donare* ‘give’ and a Hittite word meaning ‘take’, **nem-* > German *nehmen* ‘take’ but in Gk. *nemesis* (orig. ‘distribution’), **ghabh-* > *give*, Old Irish *gaibid* ‘take’.
- Unclear whether PIE was spoken by a single ethnic group.
- PIE-speaking community is thought to have been together around 3500-2500 BC (neolithic).

1.3. Indo-European language families

PIE split into distinct dialects/languages/families due to migration, language contact, conquest. **Ten main families:** *Tocharian* (extinct languages in Western China), *Indo-Iranian* (Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Pashto...), *Armenian, Anatolian* (extinct languages in Turkey, Syria, incl. Hittite), *Albanian, Greek, Italic* (Latin, Romance lges), *Balto-Slavic* (Latvian, Russian, Czech...) *Celtic, Germanic* (Gothic, English, German, Danish...) Few languages in/near Europe are not IE (exceptions are Basque, Hungarian, Turkish). For more details, see the family trees and maps on the Moodle page.

2. Proto-Germanic/Common Germanic (roughly 2000 BC - 250 BC)

- Proto-Germanic (Common Germanic):** reconstructed ancestor of **Germanic** languages:
 - West Germanic** languages: German, Dutch, English
 - North Germanic (Scandinavian)** languages: Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic
 - East Germanic** languages (all extinct), e.g. Gothic (the oldest attested Gmc. language)
- Proto-Germanic speakers: originally IE nomads, settled in an area in Nth Germany and Sth Scandinavia, perhaps around 2000 B.C. (give or take several centuries).
- References to them by Roman authors after about 200 B.C.
- Very little common Germanic is recorded: a few words written down by Roman writers in 1st century BC & rare artefacts thought to reflect this stage of the language.
- Proto-Germanic may have been influenced by contact with speakers of now unknown languages (substrate effect: input from conquered people). These languages seem to have contributed a substantial amount of vocabulary to Proto-Germanic.

2.1. Proto-Germanic phonology

- Initial stress:** Proto-Gmc had word-initial stress, whereas in PIE word stress varied according to various different factors. Example: **póds* ‘foot’ (nominative singular) vs. **pedés* (genitive singular) (cf. Sanskrit *pás/padàs*, Gk *póus/podós* vs. Gothic *fótus/fótaus*).

• The effects of **Grimm’s Law (=The (First) Germanic Sound Shift)**:

A)		Voiceless unaspirated plosives became fricatives	
<u>PIE</u>	<u>Germanic</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
p	f	pedis ^{lat} /foot, pecus ^{lat} /Vieh, per ^{lat} /for, poly ^{greek} /viel ^{German} , piscis ^{lat} /fisc ^{OE}	
t	θ	tonitrus ^{lat} /thunder, tenuis ^{lat} /thin, tres ^{lat} /three	
k	x/h	canis ^{lat} /hound, sequor ^{lat} ‘follow’/saihun ^{goth} ‘see’, cornu ^{lat} /horn	
B)		PIE voiced unaspirated plosives lose their voicing	
<u>PIE</u>	<u>Germanic</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
b	p	labium ^{latin} /lip, jabloko ^{russian} /apple	
d	t	decem ^{latin} /ten, edere ^{lat} /eat, sedere ^{lat} /sit	
g	k	granum ^{latin} /corn, gyne ^{gk} ‘woman’/queen, genu ^{lat} /Knie, ager ^{lat} /acre	
C)		PIE aspirated stops end up as unaspirated (they became voiced fricatives first, which is ignored here):	
<u>PIE</u>	<u>Germanic</u>	<u>Examples</u>	
b ^h	b	b ^h arami ^{Sanskrit} /ferre ^{lat} /bear, frater ^{lat} /brother	(PIE b ^h > Latin f)
d ^h	d	d ^h e ^{PIE} /facere ^{lat} /do, foris ^{lat} /door, vidua ^{lat} /widow	(PIE d ^h > Latin f/d)
g ^h	g	hostis ^{lat} /Gast, hortis ^{lat} /garden, homo ^{lat} /gumo ^{goth}	(PIE g ^h > Latin h)

- When did this happen? Clue: shift in *hemp* from Greek *kánnabis*. The Germanics learned about hemp from the Greeks, who first knew about it around 500 B.C. So the sound shift occurred after 500 B.C. The sound shift was no longer in action by the time the Germanic people had contact with the Romans (1st century B.C.), since Latin borrowings don’t undergo it (*pepper*<*piper*, *street*<*via strata*, *peach*<*persica*, *pound*<*pondo*, *tile*<*tegula*).
- **A note on German:** Many German words will have other consonants than those seen above due to the effects of the *High German Consonant Shift* (3rd-9th century C.E.). We will not describe this here, except to note some of results of the shift:
 - a. /t/ > /ts/ or /s/: *eat/essen*, *foot/Fuß*, *tide/Zeit*, *ten/zehn*
 - b. /p/ > /pf/ or /f/: *pepper/Pfeffer*, *pound/Pfund*, *ape/affe*, *top/Zopf*
 - c. /k/ > /x/: *make/machen*, *cake/Kuchen*, Dutch *ik/ich*
 - d. /d/ > /t/: *day/Tag*, *dish/Tisch*, *middle/mittel*
 - e. /θ/ or /ð/ > /d/: *thatch/Dach*, *thistle/Distel*, *then/dann*, *path/Pfad*

2.2. Proto-Germanic morphology

- The Proto-Germanic inflectional system was less complex than the PIE one. E.g.:
 - PIE had 8 cases, Gmc had 4 (+occasional relics of locative & instrumental).
 - Loss of *synthetic* passive, 6 tenses/aspects reduced to 2.
- Reasons for this may be a substrate effect (maybe the conquered people were in a majority and had difficulties learning an elaborate inflectional system) and erosion of inflectional endings due to shift to initial stress. Alternative view: there was no real tendency toward weaker inflection in Proto-Gmc than in other IE languages (Greek, Latin, Sanskrit). The first surviving Gmc text (Gothic New Testament translation by Ulfilas, 350 CE) was from a much later period than texts in the other languages.

3. Anglo-Saxon (Old English) (450-1100)

3.1. Early history of the British Isles

- From around 6000-4000 BC: Non-Indo-Europeans in British Isles.
- From about 700 BC: the first IE people in British Isles: the Celts.
- 55 BC-410 AD: Roman presence in British Isles (abandoned 410 AD).

3.2. Anglo-Saxon Settlements

- A traditional idea: In 449 AD hordes of Germanic speakers (Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians; collectively called the **Anglo-Saxons**) from what is now Northern Germany/Southern Denmark invaded Britain in waves. Caveat: The idea of an invasion in 449 is now contested. There may have been significant numbers of Anglo-Saxons in Britain long before.¹
- By late 6th cent, Anglo-Saxons dominated British Isles, pushed the Celts to the West (Scotland, Ireland, Wales Cornwall). Very few Celtic words were adopted in English.
- The different Germanic dialects they spoke are called **Anglo-Saxon** or **Old English** (the latter term is sometimes confined to the period after about 700 AD when the dialects were established in the British Isles and when the first known texts appeared).

3.3. The Viking invasions (787ff)

- 787: Scandinavian (=Viking, Norse, Danish, Norwegian) invasions. Continued for nearly 200 years. In early 11th cent. England was ruled by Danes (*Danelaw*).
- Linguistic effects of Scandinavian invasions:
 - Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon were perhaps mutually intelligible, but inflections differed, resulting in eroded inflection (standard assumption, at least).
 - About 1000 words borrowed into OE in late OE period:
- (2) *anger, bag, both, call, die, egg, flat, get, husband, knife, leg, low, sister, steak, take, until, want, window, wrong*
- (3) Pronouns: *they/them/their*
- (4) Many words with /sk/: *sky, skin, skill, skull*. (The cluster /sk/ was historically older; in Anglo-Saxon it had shifted to /ʃ/.) **Doublets** (often with semantic differentiation): *shirt/skirt, shriek/screech, ship/skipper, shatter/scatter*.
- (5) Other doublets: *bathe/bask, church/kirk, whole/hale, ditch/dike*
- (6) Borrowing yields near-synonyms: *heaven/sky, carve/cut, craft/skill, hide/skin, sick/ill*
- (7) Place names: *-by (Derby, Rugby), -thorp (Linthorpe, Althorp)*

3.4. Old English inflectional morphology

- OE had a rich inflectional system. Like PIE and Proto-Gmc, it was a **synthetic** language, whereas current English has become more **analytic**. Examples of this:
 - Inflection on verbs was richer (see table below).
 - OE had **case** inflection on nouns, determiners and adjectives (see table below), while current English only has case on pronouns (*they/them/their*).
 - Unlike current English, OE **Adjectives** were inflected for gender and number.

OE Noun Inflection		Masc.		Neuter		Feminine	
		Strong	Weak	Strong	Weak	Strong	Weak
Singular	Nominative	<i>stan</i>	<i>nam-a</i>	<i>scip</i>	<i>eag-e</i>	<i>sorg</i>	<i>tung-e</i>
	Accusative	<i>stan</i>	<i>nam-an</i>	<i>scip</i>	<i>eag-e</i>	<i>sorg</i>	<i>tung-an</i>
	Genitive	<i>stan-es</i>	<i>nam-an</i>	<i>scip-es</i>	<i>eag-an</i>	<i>sorg-e</i>	<i>tung-an</i>
	Dative	<i>stan-e</i>	<i>nam-an</i>	<i>scip-e</i>	<i>eag-an</i>	<i>sorg-e</i>	<i>tung-an</i>
Plural	Nom/Acc	<i>stan-as</i>	<i>nam-an</i>	<i>scip-u</i>	<i>eag-an</i>	<i>sorg-a</i>	<i>tung-an</i>
	Genitive	<i>stan-a</i>	<i>nam-ena</i>	<i>scip-a</i>	<i>eag-ena</i>	<i>sorg-a</i>	<i>tung-ena</i>
	Dative	<i>stan-um</i>	<i>nam-um</i>	<i>scip-um</i>	<i>eag-an</i>	<i>sorg-um</i>	<i>tung-um</i>

¹ Books arguing against the AS invasion include Francis Pryor (2005) *Britain AD* and Stephen Oppenheimer (2005) *The Origins of the British*. It is unclear how the debate surrounding these claims will be resolved.

OE verb inflection		<i>fremman</i> 'do'	<i>helpan</i> 'help'
Present indicative	1. sg.	<i>fremme</i>	<i>helpe</i>
	2. sg.	<i>fremest</i>	<i>hulpst</i>
	3. sg.	<i>fremeþ</i> (þ = [θ])	<i>hilpþ</i>
	pl.	<i>fremmaþ</i>	<i>helpaþ</i>
Past indicative	1. sg.	<i>fremede</i>	<i>healp</i>
	2. sg.	<i>fremedest</i>	<i>hulpe</i>
	3. sg.	<i>fremede</i>	<i>healp</i>
	pl.	<i>fremedon</i>	<i>hulpon</i>
Present subjunctive	sg.	<i>fremme</i>	<i>helpe</i>
	pl.	<i>fremmen</i>	<i>helpen</i>
Past subjunctive	sg.	<i>fremede</i>	<i>hulpe</i>
	pl.	<i>fremeden</i>	<i>hulpen</i>

3.5. Old English Syntax

- Verb-final order possible in subordinate clauses; verb-second in main clauses (i.e. one constituent, not necessarily a subject, before the inflected verb).

(8) forþon he cristen wif hæfde [Baugh/Cable 1978:62]
 since he Christian wife had

(9) þa andswarode se cyning [Baugh/Cable 1978:62]
 then answered the king

- Multiple negation (negative concord):

(10) & hiera nænig hit geþicgean nolde [Denison 1993:449]
 and of them not any it accept not.wanted
 'and none of them would accept it'

- Perfect starting to develop, initially with agreement between participle and object. This started with the idea of having the object in the state named by the participle (cf. similar structures with AP or PP: *I had the window open, I had the key in the lock*).

(11) oþ þæt wintra biþ þusend urnen
 until winters^{gen} is thousand run
 'until a thousand years have passed'

(12) oþ þat hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon
 until that they him slain had
 'until they had him slain/until they had slain him'

3.6. Texts

- Oldest known Anglo-Saxon writing is in short inscriptions. No attested longer texts until about 700. Important works:
 - Caedmon's Hymn* (first recorded OE poem, 9 lines, probably written 658-680)
 - Beowulf* (some time 8th-11th century; epic poem of over 3000 lines)
 - Bede (672?-735), a monk who wrote texts in Latin and OE. Best known for *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (in Latin, later translated into OE).
 - Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (describes historical events in England; first written during reign of Alfred the Great (871-899) but continued for several centuries).
- Before 7th century, Anglo-Saxon was written in runes. After the Anglo-Saxons were exposed to Christianity and other aspects of European culture (7th century), this was

replaced by the Latin alphabet with a few additional runes (<þ> or <ð> for [θ, ð], <æ> for [æ], <ƿ> for [w]).

- Texts show different features according to different dialects in OE (West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian, Northumbrian). These distinctions were partly based on differences between the dialects of the Anglo-Saxon invaders.

- Text sample: Lord's Prayer (version probably from the 10th century)

1. <i>Fæder ure þu þe eart on heofonum</i>	Father our thou that art in heavens
2. <i>Si þin nama gehalgod</i>	be thy name hallowed
3. <i>to becume þin rice</i>	come thy kingdom
4. <i>gewurþe ðin willa</i>	be-done thy will
5. <i>on eorðan swa swa on heofonum.</i>	on earth as in heavens
6. <i>urne gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us todæg</i>	our daily bread give us today
7. <i>and forgyf us ure gyltas</i>	and forgive us our sins
8. <i>swa swa we forgyfað urum gyltendum</i>	as we forgive their sins
9. <i>and ne geled þu us on costnunge</i>	and not lead thou us into temptation
10. <i>ac alys us of yfele soþlice</i>	but deliver us from evil truly.

4. Middle English (1100 – 1500)

4.1. The Normans in England (1066ff)

- The **Norman Conquest**: Normans under William the Conqueror won the battle of Hastings (1066) and took over England. The Normans were from Normandy; descendants of Norse invaders who had invaded Northern France. They spoke Norman French dialect.
- The **Middle English period** is often dated from either 1100 or 1150, since by then the linguistic effects of the Norman Conquest were starting to take hold.

4.1.1. Linguistic effects of the Norman Conquest

- (Norman) French replaced English in upper classes, but the vast majority spoke English. Since lower classes couldn't write, not much English was written at this time.
- England bilingual. Thousands of Norman French words imported into the English. E.g.:
 - (13) **Government**: *crown, parliament, tax, castle, noble, baron, count, duke, prince*;
Law: *accuse, attorney, court, crime, judge, prison, punish*; **Church**: *abbey, clergy, parish, prayer, religion, saint*; **Fashion**: *apparel, costume, dress, fashion*;
Culture: *art, beauty, chant, colour, music, paint, poem*; **War**: *armour, battle, war*
- Sometimes semantic differences between Germanic-French word pairs reflect the social/political situation in Anglo-Norman England, examples:
 - (14) *house*^{Germanic}/*mansion*^{Norman}, *ask*^{Germanic}/*demand*^{Norman}
 - (15) *pig*^{Germanic}/*pork*^{Norman}, *cow/beef, calf/veal, sheep/mutton*
- Bilingualism resulted in Germanic-French binomial expressions:
 - (16) *law and order, ways and means, lord and master, goods and chattels, love and cherish*
- Some Parisian French words came into English via Norman French. Dialect differences are seen in some doublets like the following:
 - (17) *catch/chase, cattle/chatel, warden/guardian, warranty/guarantee*
- Some (Norman) French spelling habits replaced Old English ones. E.g. <qu> replaced <cw> as spelling for the string [kw] (*cwene* > *queen*), <ou> used for [u] (*house, hour*).

4.1.2. Decline of Norman French and resurgence of English

- Decline of Norman French: **1362**: English replaces French in parliament, courts.
1399: Henry IV: first native English speaker king
1423: parliament records no longer kept in French.
- Reasons for decline: (a) Normans were always a minority in England (maybe only 2%). Not many Norman women there, so much intermarrying → bilingual children.
(b) 1204: Normans lose Normandy to the French, severing connection to Normandy.
(c) Norman French stigmatised due to rise of Parisian French as standard in 13th c.
(d) Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) → French was the enemy's language.
(e) 1349: Black Death kills 30% of people → labour shortage → surviving Anglo-Saxons get better pay/status → English-speaking middle class.

4.2. Inflectional morphology

- ME inflectional system much simpler than that of OE. Examples:

ME verb inflection		Indicative	Subjunctive
Present	sg 1	-(e)	-(e)
	sg 2	-(e)st	-(e)
	sg 3	-eth/-es	-(e)
	pl	-eth/-e(n)	-e(n)
Past	sg 1,3	-(e) / -d(e)	-(e)
	sg 2	-(e) / -dest	-(e)
	pl	-e(n) / -ede(n)	-e(n)

Noun inflection		Old English	Early ME	Late ME
Sing.	nom./acc.	stan	ston	stoon
	dative	stan-e	ston-e	
	genitive	stan-es	ston-es	
Plur.	nom./acc.	stan-as	ston-en /-es	stoon-(e)s
	dative	stan-um		
	genitive	stan-a		

- Nearly all nouns ended up in one inflectional class (=OE strong masc).
- Shift from grammatical gender to natural gender by 13th century.

4.3. Syntax: Further steps from a synthetic to an analytic language

- Word order became fixed to SVO. It had to be fixed, because there was no longer enough case morphology to guarantee right thematic interpretation for NPs.
- Prepositions increasingly replace case morphology (*to* and *of* replace dative, genitive).
- Development of progressive construction: *be on working* > *be a-working* > *be working*. The suffix was a nominalisation suffix in OE and into ME. Progressive could have a passive meaning until the 19th century: *the road is building* (=being built).
- English starts to develop condition that all sentences have a subject, so subjectless impersonals like the following become rare:
(18) And happyd so, they coomen in a toun

4.4. Middle English Sample Texts

- Few texts in English between 1066 and 1200 (probably because the literate classes were French speakers), but gradual increase after that. Notable writers/texts:

- Some spelling conventions in Middle English (adapted to modern spelling in some editions of some texts): **þ** ("thorn") used for dental fricatives; **ȝ** ("yogh") = [j] or [x], <v> and <u> are interchangeable (e.g. *vpward* for *upward*, *ryueres* for *rivers*, *treuly* for *truly*).
- The ME samples below allude to linguistic misunderstandings due to dialect differences (texts from <https://courses.nus.edu.sg/course/elltankw/history/standardisation/c.htm>)
 - Geoffrey Chaucer (1340[?]-1400), the first great post-Norman English writer, notably of the *Canterbury Tales* (1380ff; <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/CT-prolog-para.html>)

Sample from end of the poem *Troilus and Criseyde* (about 1385):

And for ther is so gret diversite [great diversity]
In English and in writyng of oure tonge, [tongue = language]
So prey I God that non myswrite thee, [miswrite = copy it wrongly]
Ne thee mysmetre for defaute of tonge; [mismetre = get the rhythm wrong]
And red whereso thou be, or elles songe, [and read wherever you are, or else sung]
That thou be understonde, God I beseche! [understonde = understood]

- John de Trevisa (1342-1402), writer and translator, in 1385:

Al the longage of the Northunres and speicialliche at York is so sharp slittyng and fryntyng and vnshape, that we southern men may that longage vnnethe [hardly] vnderstonde.

- A passage attributed to John Lydgate (1370?-1451?):

Oure langage is also so dyuerse in it selfe that the comen maner of spekyng in Englysshe of some contre can skante [scarcely] be vnderstondid in som other contre of the same lond.

- William Caxton (1422?-92), translator and printer. The text below is from preface to *Enydos* (1490). The text shows that French had no prestige then. Note also that *eyren* was an Anglo-Saxon word that was replaced by Norse *eggs*.

And certaynly our langage now vsed varyeth ferre [far] from that whiche was vsed and spoken whan I was borne. For we Englyssche men ben [are] borne vnder the domynacyon of the mone [moon], which is neuer stedfaste but euer wauerynge, wexyng one season and waneth & dyscreseath another season. And that comyn englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from a nother. In so much that in my dayes happened that certayn marchauntes were in a shippe in tamyse [Thames] for to haue sayled ouer the see into zelande [Holland], and for lacke of wynde thei taryed atte forlond [in Kent], and wente to lande for to refreshe them. And one of theym named sheffelde, a mercer, cam into an hows and axed [asked] for mete [food], and specyally he axyd after eggys. And the good wyf answerde that she coude speke no frenshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no frenshe, but wold haue hadde egges, and she vnderstode hym not. And thenne at last a nother sayd that he wolde haue eyren [have eggs]. Then the good wyf sayd that she vnderstod hym wel. Loo what sholde a man in thyse days now wryte, egges or eyren? Certaynly, it is harde to playse [please] eury man by cause of dyuersite & chaunge of langage. For in these dayes eury man that is in any reputacyon in his cowntre wyll vtter his commynycacyon and matters in such maners & terms that fewe men shall vnderstonde them. And som honest and grete clerkes haue been wyth me and desired me to wryte the most curyous termes that I coude fynde. And thus betwene playne, rude & curyous I stande abasshed. But in my iudgements the comyn terms that be dayli vused ben lyghter to be vnderstonde than the olde and aunccient englysshe.

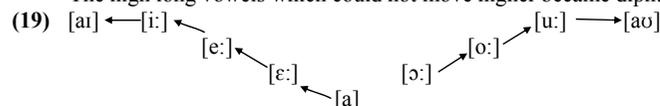
5. Early Modern English (1500-1700)

5.1. General observations

- 1476: William Caxton brings printing to England, enabling massive transfer of language in a *fixed* form (i.e. without scribes transferring texts into their own dialects), helping standardisation (since books had to be in a widely understood type of English).
- Renaissance (16th c.): renewed interest in classical languages, much borrowing from Latin.
- The first attempts at linguistic purism in English, as well as spelling & other school books.

5.2. The Great Vowel Shift (roughly 1350-1700)

- The **Great Vowel Shift (GVS)**; roughly 1350-1700):
 - All long vowels moved one step higher.
 - The high long vowels which could not move higher became diphthongs.



- Examples:

(20)	ME	1700	ME	1700
<i>rise</i>	[i:]	→ [a:]	<i>mouth</i>	[u:] → [əu]
<i>meet</i>	[e:]	→ [i:]	<i>boot</i>	[o:] → [u:]
<i>meat</i>	[ɛ:]	→ [i:]	<i>stone</i>	[ɔ:] → [o:] (later → [əu])
<i>name</i>	[a:]	→ [ɛ:] (later → [eɪ])		

- **English spelling** of vowels largely reflects their pronunciation *before* the GVS, hence differences between Engl. spelling and that in other European languages like German.

1. Question: which names for letters of the alphabet show the effects of the GVS?

- Since GVS affected long vowels but not short vowels, there are differences in vowel quantity in some pairs of morphologically related words where originally the only difference was vowel length. (The differences in length are due to vowel lengthening/shortening processes in late OE/early ME (not mentioned above).

- (21) [eɪ/æ] *chaste/chastity, mania/manic, fable/fabulous, grade/gradual, grain/granular, grateful/gratitude/gratify, navy/navigate, sane/sanity, state/static*
- (22) [i:/ɛ] *athlete/athletic, discrete/discretion, gene/genesis, legal/legislate, penal/penalty, serene/serenity, sincere/sincerity*
- (23) [aɪ/ɪ] *analyse/analytic, child/children, alive/living; apply/applicable, Christ/Christmas, crime/criminal, wild/wilderness, license/illicit, mime/mimicry, miser/miserable, oblige/obligatory, sign/signature*
- (24) [əʊ/ʌ] *south/southern, abound/abundant, profound/profundity, out/utter*

- **Chronology of the GVS:** Different vowels shifted at different times in the GVS. Linguists disagree on which vowels shifted first. Two important proposals (see Lass (1999: 72ff) for sources and more discussion):

- **Otto Jespersen:** high vowels diphthongised first, then there was a **drag chain (pull chain)** shift, where the mid vowels [e, o] moved into the empty space created by change to high vowels, then the low vowels moved into the former positions of [e, o].

- **Karl Luick:** Two-step combination of **push chain** and drag chain shifts:

- 1) Mid vowels [o, e] raised first, moving towards positions of the high vowels [i, u]. To prevent the pairs of vowels from becoming too similar, threatening communicational efficiency, the high vowels diphthongised.

- 2) Then there was a drag chain where the low vowels moved into the empty space created by the raising of the mid vowels (this part of the proposal is like Jespersen's.)

- **Evidence for Luick's position:** Some dialects in North England and Scotland lacked [o] in ME (because it had been fronted to [e]). Interestingly, these dialects retain the original ME [u:] (*house* = [hu:s]). This follows if diphthongisation of [u] was forced by raising of [o].
- **Evidence for Jespersen's position:** High vowels have diphthongised in other languages without mid vowels raising (e.g. German diphthongs in *mein Haus* from earlier *min Hus*).

5.3. Changes in consonant system in EME (not reflected in orthography)

- [ŋ] had been an allophone of [n] (conditioned by velar sounds after it). When /g/ after [ŋ] was lost (see last point), the original cause for the allophony disappeared. Result: minimal pairs like *sung/sun, thing/thin*, so [ŋ] and [n] are now distinct phonemes.
- Palatal fricative [ç] was dropped in words like *night, right* (with compensatory lengthening: [niçt] → [ni:t] → [na:t]). Velar fricative [x] was either dropped or became [f]: *laugh, slaughter, enough*. The old spelling with <gh> was retained.
- Simplification of word-initial cluster [wr]: *write, wring, wrong*.
- Loss of syllable-initial velar plosives before /n/: *knee, know, gnaw, gnat*. (Kept if syllable boundary intervenes: *ag.nostic, ack.knowledge*.)
- Loss of /l/ in certain syllable-final clusters: *walk, half, calm*
- Some plosives disappear after nasals at end of syllable: *numb, thumb, long, thing, bomb*. (Retained when syllable boundary intervenes: *num.ber, lon.ger, fin.ger, bom.bastic*.)

5.4. Morphology and syntax

- From the 13th century, 2nd **person singular pronouns/inflection** (*thou sittest*) had started to be replaced by plural forms (*ye/you*) in addressing royalty, and later an increasing set of respected people. By the 18th century *thou* was no longer used except in certain dialects and in religious usage.

- (25) Keep that light in your eye, and go up directly thereto, so shalt thou see the gate (John Bunyan, *Pilgrims Progress, Second Stage* 1677)

- (26) SIR WALTER RALEIGH: I do not hear yet that you have spoken one word against me; here is no treason of mine done. If my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?
SIR EDWARD COKE: All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I thou thee, thou traitor.

RALEIGH: It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so: but I take comfort in it, it is all you can do. (At Raleigh's trial, 1603)

- **Nouns:** No dative or accusative marking on nouns survived. In 16th century the genitive –s ceased to be an inflection of nouns, and became a clitic added to whole NP:

- (27) Lord, open [NP the king of England]'s eyes (William Tyndale's last words, 1536)

- **Adjectives:** all inflection lost except comparative/superlative.

- **Verbs:** Change of inflectional system to its present form:

- (a) Northern –s suffix gradually replaces Southern –eth in 3rd pers. sg. present in 16th c after a long period of transition. Cf. Shakespeare's use of both forms in Henry VI (1591): *With her, that hateth thee and hates vs all*.
- (b) inflectional distinctions in past tense lost → identical forms in indicative and subjunctive except with *be* (*if I had it vs. if I was/were rich*)
- (c) Many strong verbs became weak; weak class is now default/regular class.

- **Auxiliaries:**

- *Have* replacing *be* as perfect auxiliary; *be*-perfect is confined to *go* and *come* (for some writers this is already archaic usage):

- (28) *I was sorry to hear that ... Betty was gone away yesterday, for I was in hope to have had a bout with her before she had gone.* (Samuel Pepys, diary, 1st of August 1661)
- (29) *Svmmr is icumen in* (song title, from 13th century)
- By late EME, *do*-support was used as it is now. In early EME, it was not needed in the structures where we now need it (questions, negation, polarity focus etc.), but it had a now-impossible non-emphatic use which is often assumed to be semantically vacuous. Examples from Shakespeare (1564-1616):
- (30) *that suggestion whose horrid image doth unfix my hair* (Shakespeare, Macbeth, 1611)
- (31) *The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat* (Genesis 3:13; King James Bible, 1611)
- (32) a. *He heard not that.* (Shakespeare, Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1592)
 b. *They make often alliances with Scotland* (Francis Bacon, letter, 1596)
- (33) a. *...what says she to my little jewel?* (Shakespeare, Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1592)
 b. *What availeth wit when it fails the owner at greatest need?* (Queen Elizabeth 1, 1586, letter to William Davison)
- **Verb position:** Lexical verbs could appear in pre-negation, pre-adverb, pre-subject positions (i.e. I, C) that can only be filled by auxiliaries in current English, e.g. (32), (33).
 - **Exercise: OV vs. VO order:** Examine the relative positions of lexical verbs and objects in the underlined parts of the passage below. Identify a word order pattern which is unknown in current English, rare in EME, and more typical of Old English and German. (The relevant examples possibly use archaic word order for poetic-stylistic purposes).
 1. It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul. (Shakespeare, 1622, Othello 5:2)
 2. Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars,
 3. It is the cause. Yet I'll not shed her blood,
 4. Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow
 5. And smooth as monumental alabaster.
 6. Yet she must die, else she'll betray more men.
 7. Put out the light, and then put out the light.
 8. If I quench thee, thou flaming minister,
 9. I can again thy former light restore
 10. Should I repent me. But once put out thy light,
 11. Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature,
 12. I know not where is that Promethean heat
 13. That can thy light relume. When I have plucked thy rose
 14. I cannot give it vital growth again,
 15. It must needs wither. I'll smell thee on the tree.
 16. Oh, balmy breath, that dost almost persuade
 17. Justice to break her sword! One more, one more.
 18. Be thus when thou art dead and I will kill thee
 19. And love thee after. (*kissing her*) One more, and that's the last.
 20. So sweet was ne'er so fatal. I must weep,
 21. But they are cruel tears. This sorrow's heavenly,
 22. It strikes where it doth love. She wakes.
 - **Exercise: More on word order:** What phenomenon is found in the following EME examples that is no longer possible?

(34) *Full often hath she gossiped by my side* (Shakespeare, Midsummer Night's Dream)

(35) *And hereof commeth the destruction of the reprobates* (James Bell, 1581)

(36) *My case is hard, but yet am I not so desperat as to reuenge it vpon my selfe* (Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587)

(37) *He causeth wyndowes to be hewen there in, and the sylinges [cealings] and geastes [beams] maketh he off Cedre [cedar]* (Jeremiah 22:14, Coverdale Bible 1535)

- **Exercise: Negation:** What phenomenon in the area of negation is found in the following examples which is no longer present in (standard) English?

(38) *I wyll not meddle with no duplycyte* (Stephen Hawes, 1503)

(39) *I can nat sette a gowne, I was never no taylour* (John Palsgrave, 1530)

(40) *Hee absented not himselfe in no place* (Philemon Holland, 1606).
- **Exercise: Complementisers:** Describe a difference between EME and current English in the use of complementisers (so-called 'subordinating conjunctions') below.

(41) *The propertie thereof is to mount alwaies vpwards, vntill that it hath attained to the place destinated vnto it* (R. Dolman, 1601).

(42) *If that thou be'st a devil, I cannot kill thee.* (Shakespeare, Othello)

(43) *Though that the Queene on speciall cause is here, Hir army is mowed on* (King Lear)

(44) *...and after as they haue iourneied in sommer, wash often their feete with cold water,...or to bath them with the lees of wine* (Leonard Mascall, Book of Cattell, 1596)

(45) *The enemy perhaps may challenge my sex for that I am a woman, so may I likewise charge their mould for that they are but men* (Queen Elizabeth, Tilbury Speech, 1588)
- **Exercise: Relative clauses:** What option did EME speakers have in forming relative clauses in the following examples that is absent in modern (standard) English?

(46) *My father had a daughter lou'd a man.* (Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, 1602)

(47) *I have a brother is condemned to die.* (Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, 1604)

(48) *There is nothing moves my charity like gratitude; and when a beggar's thankful for a small relief, I always repent it was not more.* (Dorothy Osbourne, 1653)

(49) *Life it self ... is a burden cannot be born under the lasting ... pressure of such an uneasiness* (John Locke, 1694)

5.5. Vocabulary and interactions with other languages

- In EME period, much learned discourse was still in Latin, since this was the universal language for learned people in Europe (like English now), but this gradually gave way to English, especially if a wide readership in England was desired. Examples:
 - Isaac Newton: *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687) vs. *Opticks* (1704). The latter was one of the first major scientific works in English; later published in Latin to make it accessible to other Europeans.
 - Religious and political writing would be in Latin for theological works intended for broader European consumption, but in English to reach a larger audience in England (especially by Protestants, who felt Latin was the language of the Catholic church and resented that church's disapproval of English bible translations).
 - Texts on various arts and trades would be in English if aimed at professional classes who had no Latin education.
 - Pride in national languages like English became greater when nationalist feelings replace earlier feeling that Europeans were subjects of Christendom.
- In EME period there was a large intake of vocabulary from other languages:

(50) a. **Latin/Greek:** *agile, alienate, anachronism, anonymous, appropriate, assassinate, crisis, criterion, critic, disability, emphasis, encyclopaedia, epilepsy, explain, external, fact, habitual, impersonal, lexicon, lunar, skeleton, soda, system, tactic, virus*
 b. **French:** *alloy, anatomy, battery, bizarre, chocolate, comrade, detail, duel, entrance, explore, invite, muscle, passport, pioneer, ticket, tomato, vase, vogue*
 c. **Italian:** *balcony, carnival, concerto, giraffe, lottery, macaroni, opera, portico, rocket, sonata, sonnet, stanza, trill, violin, volcano*
 d. **Spanish/Portuguese:** *alligator, banana, cannibal, canoe, cocoa, desperado, embargo, guitar, hammock, hurricane, maize, mosquito, port (wine), tobacco*

- e. **Other languages:** *bamboo, ketchup* (Malay), *bazaar, caravan* (Persian), *yoghurt, coffee, kiosk* (Turkish), *cruise, yacht, landscape* (Dutch), *curry* (Tamil), *guru* (Hindi), *harem* (Arabic) (Examples in (50) from Crystal 2000)
- Reasons for mass borrowing included:
 - Names for new concepts (e.g. technology, culture, daily life) taken from other cultures (e.g. in colonies, trade). E.g. *landscape, coffee, banana, tobacco...*
 - Feeling that English was not yet a fully satisfactory vehicle for academic discourse.
 - Renaissance (in England: 16th-17th century) promoted a continued interest in classical Latin and rediscovery of ancient Greek texts.
 - Increased publication of technical works in English rather than Latin increased the need for technical vocabulary.
 - Inkhorn terms:** 15-17th centuries: terms from Latin/Greek borrowed into English that were perceived as pretentious, unnecessarily hard to understand and redundant because they had English synonyms.
 - (51) Now-established 'inkhorn terms': *reciprocal, spurious, dismiss, celebrate, strenuous, encyclopedia, commit, capacity, ingenious,*
 - (52) Now forgotten 'inkhorn terms': *lubrical* 'slippery', *turgidous* 'swollen', *cohibit* 'restrain', *suppeditate* 'supply'
 - (53) This should first be learned, that we neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but so speake as is commonly receiued. Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553).
 - (54) I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borowing of other tungen, wherein if we take not heed by tiim, ever borowing and never payeng, she shall be fain [=inclined] to keep her house as bankrupt. For then doth our tung naturallie and praisablie vtter her meaning, when she bouroweth no counterfeitness of other tungen to attire her self withall, but useth plainlie her own, with such shift, as nature, craft, experiens and folowing of oher excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want at ani tiim (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borow with such bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned ['denizened', i.e. already borrowed] wordes could content and eased this neede, we wold not boldly venture of unknowen wordes. [Sir John Cheke (1514 - 1557), letter]
 - (55) As for the antiquitie of our speche, whether it be measured by the ancient *Almane*, whence it cummeth originallie, or euen but by the latest terms which it borroweth daielie from foren tungs, either of pure necessitie in new matters, or of mere brauerie, to garnish it self withall, it cannot be young. Onelesse the *Germane* himself be young, which claimeth a prerogatiue for the age of his speche, of an infinit prescription: Onelesse the *Latin* and *Greke* be young, whose words we enfranchise to our own vse, tho not allwaie immediatlie from them selues, but mostwhat thorough the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish*: Onelesse other tungs [...] will for companie sake be content to be young, that ours maie not be old. [Richard Mulcaster, 1582, *The First Part of the Elementarie*, a school textbook]
 - In a purist backlash against inkhorn terms, some writers invented Germanic-based words to replace inkhorn terms: *endsay* 'conclusion', *yeartide* 'anniversary', *gleeman* 'musician', *sicker* 'certainly', *witcraft* 'logic', *inwit* 'conscience'. None of these stuck.
 - Spelling/pronunciation adjusted to (assumed) Latin etymology:
 - (56) *debt* (ME *dette*, Lat. *debitum*), *receipt*, *doubt*, *indict*, *subtle*
 - (57) *adventure*, *advantage*, *admiral*, *adultery*, *advance*, *assault*, *perfect*, *verdict*

5.6. More EME text excerpts and exercises

- A. Comment on how Queen Elizabeth I used inflection in the following examples:
- (58) *What avaieth wit when it fails the owner at greatest need?* (1586, letter to William Davison)
- (59) *Though God hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my reign, that I have reigned with your loves....You may have many a wiser prince sitting in this seat, but you never have had, or shall have, any who loves you better.* (1601, Golden Speech)
- B. In the following passages, identify grammatical features which are now impossible
- (60) John Florio, *Florio his firste fruites* (1578), ch. 27.
- 'What thinke you of this English, tel me I pray you.'
 - 'It is a language that wyl do you good in England but passe Dover, it is woorth nothing.'
 - 'Is it not used then in other countreyes?'
 - 'No sir, with whom wyl you that they speake?' 'With English marchants.'
 - 'English marchantes, when they are out of England, it liketh hem not, and they doo not speake it.'
- (61) Passage in John 8 from William Tyndale's 1525 translation of the Bible (which had an influence on the Authorised Version (=King James Version) of 1611):
- Jesus went unto mount olivet,
 - and early in the morning came again into the temple,
 - and all the people came unto him, And he sat down, and taught them.
 - The scribes and pharises brought unto him a woman taken in advoutry, and set her in the midst and said unto him: Master this woman was taken in advoutry, even as the deed was a doing.
 - Moses in the law commanded us that such should be stoned: What sayest thou therefore?
 - And this they said to tempt him: that they might have, whereof to accuse him. Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground.
 - And while they continued asking him, he lifted himself up, And said unto them: let him that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at her.
 - And again he stooped down and wrote on the ground.
 - As soon as they heard that, they went out one by one the eldest first. And Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.
 - When Jesus had lifted up himself again, and saw no man, but the woman, He said unto her: Woman, where are those thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee?
 - She said: Sir no man. Jesus said: Neither do I condemn thee. Go hence and sin no more.

5.7. Steps towards standardisation in the ME and EME periods

- The Middle English text samples seen above suggest that English was felt to be very diverse, and that standardisation of spelling, grammar, pronunciation would be good.
- There had been a sort of written standard in Old English (the West Saxon dialect, which profited from the political prestige of Winchester; this dialect provides most texts that we still have). But the Norman Conquest killed this standard, as Norman French replaced English as the ruling language, and London became the capital.
- We now discuss several factors that led to development of Standard English in ME and EME periods: East Midlands dialects, London English, Chancery English and printing.
- **East Midlands dialects** provided many characteristics of Standard English. Why:
 - East Midlands dialects were a convenient basis for a standard variety, since their dialects were a compromise between Northern and Southern dialects:
- (62) *for men of þe est wiþ men of þe west, as it were vndir þe same partie of heuene, acordeþ more in sownyng of speche* [sounding of speech: pronunciation] *þan men of þe norþ wiþ men of þe souþ; þerfore it is þat Mercii* [Mercians], *þat beþ men of myddel Engelond, as it were parteners of þe endes* [i.e. extreme North and South] *vnderstondeþ bettre þe side langages, norberne and souberne, þan norberne and souberne vnderstondeþ eiber ober* [each other]. [John Trevisa, 1385, *Polychromicon*]
- East Midlands had more fertile land, and thus was more prosperous. It thus attracted more people from everywhere. Result: compromise dialect with elements of other dialects (making it easier to understand everywhere). East Midlands had about 25% of England's population, so its speakers outnumbered other visitors in nearby London.
- Oxford and Cambridge Universities (founded 1167, 1209) were also in East Midlands. They were important centres of learning, though not clear if they were important standardising forces in themselves.
- **London** as capital and socio-economic centre, attracted people from everywhere, so it absorbed features from other dialects, making London English easier to understand country-wide than other dialects. People would spread London features all over the country (e.g. government workers, traders, people returning home from London).
- The London influence is indirectly an East Midlands influence. London was geographically not far from the East Midlands. Midlands features (some originally Northern features) gradually replaced the more conservative Southern features in London. This effect was greater in middle and upper classes.
- We can now see why East Midlands and London English from earlier times was closer to current Standard English than other varieties. An impression of this:
- (63) *Pronouncing according as one would say at London* "I would eat more cheese if I had it", *the Northern man saith* "Ay suld eat mare cheese gin ay hadet", *and the Western man saith* "Chud eat more cheese an chad it". [Richard Verstegan, 1605, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*]
- These factors gave London English a certain prestige. An impression:
- (64) *Ye shall therfore take the vsual speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. [60] myles, and not much aboue.* [George Puttenham, 1589, *Arte of English Poesie*]
- **Chancery English** was a crucial standardising influence:
 - The **Chancery** was an administrative body in Westminster (near London) that prepared legal and government documents.
 - 1417: Henry V decreed that government documents should be in English, not French/Latin. It was advantageous to write official documents in a standard, unambiguous form. By about 1430 its documents had a relatively (if not completely) unified form (now known as **Chancery Standard**, **Chancery English**).

- Chancery English was spread around England by documents and by traveling bureaucrats. Also adopted by other administrative bodies (e.g. the Exchequer).
- Chancery scribes came from all over England, so Chancery English was not based on one regional variety. This melting pot facilitated communication between dialects. Elements of London, East Midland, among others. E.g.:
 - Northern (more Scandinavian-influenced) forms imported via Midlands:
 - 3rd person plural pronouns *they/their/them*, not London/Southern forms *her/hir/hem*. (This avoided potential confusion with singular *he/her/him*.)
 - Adverbs ending in *-ly*, not Southern *-lich*,
 - Conservative spellings retained even if no longer reflected in pronunciation. E.g.:
 - <gh> in *night, high* etc. though [x, ç] were dying out in spoken language.
 - Other 'silent letters': *knife, thumb, write, half* (recall section 5.3)
 - Spellings *any, many* don't reflect raising of front vowel ('umlaut').
 - More unified spelling, e.g. consistently *such*, not *swich(e), sich(e), sych*, etc.
- Chancery Standard was widely understood by mid 15th century, so it was the basis of the variants adopted by printers from 1476 onwards.
- **Printing**: 1476: William Caxton introduces **printing** to England, and other printers soon set up shop. To sell more books, it made sense to print one edition in a widely understood variety. (Books were no longer individually copied by hand, where copyists could adapt texts to local dialects.)
- Caxton used a variant based on Chancery and London English. The variants used by printers gradually became increasingly similar to each other.
- Printers eventually replaced some features of Chancery usage with London equivalents, such as third person *-s* instead of *-th* (*hopes*, not *hopeth*), and *are* instead of *be*.
- The advent of printing is one reason why 1500 is a common date for end of ME period.

6. Late Modern English (1700 – now)

- **Late Modern English (LME)**: from about 1700 until now (subsuming **Present-Day English** PDE from about 1900).

6.1. Effects of technological developments and colonisation

- **Technological innovations** (Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850) in England, USA (e.g. steam boat/train, electric devices, telegraph, phonograph, sewing machine).
- New technology led to many innovations in the vocabulary:
 - (65) New coinages: *combustion, piston, hydraulic, condenser, electricity, telephone, telegraph, camera*
 - (66) Preexisting words receive new meanings: *train, engine, locomotive, vacuum*
 - (67) Compounds: *railway, horsepower, typewriter, airplane*
- Scientific advances also necessitated new coinages, often from Latin/Greek morphemes:
 - (68) *vaccine, electron, chromosome, chloroform, caffeine, bacteria, chronometer, claustrophobia, ethnology*
- Technical innovations from Britain, USA led to further spread of English, since people from other countries had to learn about the technology in English.
- **Colonies** in 18th-20th centuries: Canada, Australia, India, the Caribbean, Egypt, South Africa, Singapore, etc.: British Empire included 25% of the world around 1900. Resulting in spread of English and adoption of vocabulary from colonies:
 - (69) India: *pyjamas, thug, bungalow, cot, jungle, loot, bangle, shampoo, candy, tank*
 - (70) Australia: *boomerang, kangaroo, budgerigar*
- **Spread of English**: By 1950 about 80% of English speakers lived outside Britain.
- (71) "English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age. The

reason for this is obvious, because the increasing population in America, and their universal connection and correspondence with all nations will, aided by the influence of England in the world...force their language into general use..." (John Adams, 1780)

- (72) "Of all modern languages, not one has acquired such great strength and vigor as English... [it] may be called justly a language of the world, and seems, like the English nation, to be destined to reign in future with still more extensive sway over all parts of the globe". (Jacob Grimm, 1852)

6.2. Developments in syntax: The auxiliary system

- Establishment of *go*-future (*I am going to leave*) and *get*-passive (*he got hit*).
- Auxiliary *do* came to develop its current system of uses, the main ones being:

(73) With negation: *I like it vs. I do not like it*

(74) Inversion in front of subject: *Do you like it?*

(75) Polarity focus: *I DO like it!*

6.3. Phonetics/phonology

6.3.1. The development of non-rhotic accents

- In the 18th cent, starting in Southeast of England, /r/ was dropped in coda of syllable, e.g.

(76) *barkeeper* [ba:rkɪ:pər] → [ba:ki:pə]
- Hence, most speakers in England, Australia, NZ, Sth Africa have **non-rhotic accents**, i.e. don't pronounce /r/ in coda. Accents unaffected by this (e.g. Irish, Scottish, parts of SW England, most Nth American) are called **rhotic accents**.
- Originally, this was a **deletion** process, which however failed to occur if a vowel immediately followed /r/:

(77) *far better* [fa:r betər] → [fa: betə]

(78) *far away* [fa: r əweɪ] (no /r/ deletion before vowel)

Similar: director [r] of; fear [r] of; jar [r] of honey
- As there was no independent evidence for the presence/absence of underlying /r/, it was **reanalysed** as an *epenthetic* consonant (=one *inserted* as a result of a phonological rule) serving to break up vowel-vowel sequences.
- Consequence: appearance of so-called **intrusive /r/** in cases where it was ahistorical, and absent in spelling. (Intrusive /r/ is subject to prescriptive attacks.)

(79) Russia [r] and France; ma [r] and pa; law [r] and order; Shah [r] of Persia

(80) draw[r]ing; saw[r]ing; saw[r] it
- There is no intrusive /r/ in rhotic dialects because abovementioned reanalysis didn't occur.

6.3.2. /ae/ and /a/

- In the 17th & 18th c., /ae/ shifted to /a:/, inconsistently, depending on the dialect, the phonological environment.

(81) a. *pat, bad, cap* /ae/ [original sound]
 b. *path, laugh, grass* /a:/ [before most voiceless fricatives]
 c. *dance, demand, sample, chant* /a:/ [before cluster starting with nasal]
- The pronunciations above are RP. Examples of variety differences:
 - Midlands, North of England have /ae/ in (b) and (c).
 - American English was isolated from the changes in Britain, so it retains /ae/.
 - Australia: just like RP, except that some words in class (c) have free variation between /ae/ and /a:/, while others are fixed in a particular way (*can't* only with /a:/, *romance* only with /ae/).

- Since these changes were not fully productive, we end up with minimal pairs like *ant* vs. *aunt*. It is thus not possible to see /ae/ and /a:/ as allophones of the same phoneme.

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