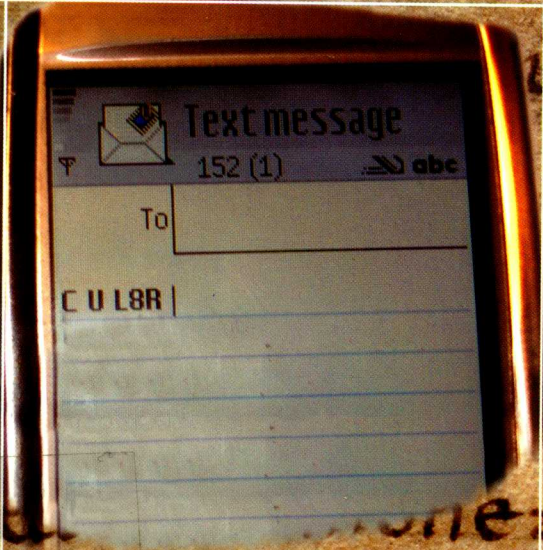


EDITED BY

Richard Hogg and
David Denison

A HISTORY OF THE
English Language



CAMBRIDGE

A History of the English Language

Edited by

RICHARD HOGG AND DAVID DENISON



 **CAMBRIDGE**
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521662277

© Cambridge University Press 2006

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2006

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

A history of the English language / edited by Richard Hogg and David Denison.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-66227-3

1. English language – History. I. Hogg, Richard M. II. Denison, David, 1950– III. Title.

PE1075.H57 2006

420.9 – dc22 2005032565

ISBN-13 978-0-521-66227-7 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-66227-3 hardback

A History of the English Language

The history and development of English, from the earliest known writings to its status today as a dominant world language, is a subject of major importance to linguists and historians. In this authoritative volume, a team of international experts cover the entire recorded history of the English language, outlining its development over fifteen centuries. With an emphasis on more recent periods, every key stage in the history of the language is discussed, with full accounts of standardisation, names, the distribution of English in Britain and North America, and its global spread. New historical surveys of the crucial aspects of the language (sounds, word structure, grammar and vocabulary) are presented, and historical changes that have affected English are treated as a continuing process, helping to explain the shape of the language today. Comprehensive and fully up-to-date, the volume will be indispensable to all advanced students, scholars and teachers in this prominent field.

RICHARD HOGG is Smith Professor of Language and Medieval English at the University of Manchester. He is editor of volume 1 of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (six volumes, 1992–2001) and one of the founding editors of the journal *English Language and Linguistics* (also published by Cambridge University Press). He is author of *Metrical Phonology* with Christopher McCully (Cambridge University Press, 1986), *A Grammar of Old English* (1992) and *An Introduction to Old English* (2002). He is Fellow of the British Academy (1994), and Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (2004).

DAVID DENISON is Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Manchester, and has held visiting appointments at the universities of Amsterdam, British Columbia, Santiago de Compostela and Paris 3. He is one of the founding editors of the journal *English Language and Linguistics* (published by Cambridge University Press), and author of *English Historical Syntax* (1993/2004) and of the 'Syntax' chapter in volume 4 of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (1998). He is also co-editor of *Fuzzy Grammar* (2004).



Frontispiece: Map of England

Contributors

Richard Coates, Professor of Linguistics, University of Sussex.

David Crystal, Honorary Professor of Linguistics, University of Wales, Bangor.

David Denison, Professor of English Linguistics, University of Manchester.

Edward Finegan, Professor of Linguistics and Law, University of Southern California.

Olga Fischer, Professor of Germanic Linguistics, University of Amsterdam.

Richard Hogg, Smith Professor of English Language and Medieval English Literature, University of Manchester.

Dieter Kastovsky, Professor of English Linguistics, University of Vienna.

Roger Lass, Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, Senior Professorial Fellow and Honorary Research Associate in English, University of Cape Town.

Terttu Nevalainen, Professor of English Philology, University of Helsinki.

Ingrid Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, Senior Lecturer in Historical Linguistics, University of Leiden.

Wim van der Wurff, Senior Lecturer in English Language and Linguistics, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Preface

Who is this book written for? There are already so many books on the history of English, both large and small, that another one might at first sight seem otiose, redundant and unnecessary. But one of the beauties of the language is its ability to show continuous change and flexibility while in some sense remaining the same. And if that is true of the language, it is also true of the study of the language, whether undertaken for strictly academic purposes or not. This book is pitched at senior undergraduates in the main, though we trust that the general reader will also find in it much that is enlightening and enjoyable. Our justification for this work, then, is that knowledge of the history of English is a part of our common culture which needs – and repays – constant renewal.

But there is more to it than that. There are indeed many good existing accounts, including, in particular, Barbara Strang's first-class *A History of English* (1970). In the thirty-five years since its publication, the language has continued to change, and scholarship has advanced along several different paths. Most obviously, the advent of computerised material has enabled us to analyse and hence understand much material which was previously impractical for the individual scholar to assimilate. Secondly, the (very different) Chomskyan and Labovian revolutions in linguistics, both in their infancy in 1970, have had repercussions in many domains relevant to this book. While the essence of the subject remains the same, the focus of attention may have shifted.

How does the current work relate to *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (*CHEL*; six volumes, 1992–2001)? A mixture of old and new contributors will be apparent, albeit with some of the 'old' contributors working on 'new' areas (and the whole book in any case written afresh). More important is the fact that the orientation of this work is rather different from that of *CHEL*. The most obvious difference is in emphasis, now tilted (within a full account of the history of the language) slightly more towards the later than the earlier periods. A further shift is the emphasis on variation, both in terms of standard and non-standard varieties and of different Englishes – in Britain, North America and worldwide.

On the other hand, we do attempt to cover, if more concisely than was possible in *CHEL*, the 'core' structural elements of the language. To make a slightly artificial division, Chapters 2 to 4 deal with major domains of the internal, structural history of English, while Chapters 5 to 9 tackle aspects of its use, distribution and variation. All eight are individual, coherent and linguistically informed accounts, taking their subject-matter through the whole sweep of the recorded history of

English. In the opening chapter, and continuing throughout the book, we attempt to situate these linguistic developments in their historical and social context. From the continual, dynamic interaction of internal and external factors comes what is by any standards a richly varied language.

Richard Hogg and David Denison, Manchester, May 2005

Acknowledgements

Richard Hogg and David Denison wish to thank Sylvia Adamson, Jeff Denton, Robert Fulk, Willem Hollmann, Jussi Klemola, Meg Laing, Steve Rigby and Mary Syner for help with or comments on Chapter 1. Olga Fischer and Wim van der Wurff particularly wish to thank Willem Koopman for reading Chapter 3 with great care and meticulousness; their chapter was also improved by comments from students on van der Wurff's course 'English Historical Syntax' at the University of Leiden in 2003. Ed Finegan is grateful to Richard W. Bailey and Michael B. Montgomery for comments and suggestions on a draft of Chapter 8.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	page vi
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
<i>List of contributors</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
1 Overview	1
<i>David Denison and Richard Hogg</i>	
2 Phonology and morphology	43
<i>Roger Lass</i>	
3 Syntax	109
<i>Olga Fischer and Wim van der Wurff</i>	
4 Vocabulary	199
<i>Dieter Kastovsky</i>	
5 Standardisation	271
<i>Terttu Nevalainen and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade</i>	
6 Names	312
<i>Richard Coates</i>	
7 English in Britain	352
<i>Richard Hogg</i>	
8 English in North America	384
<i>Edward Finegan</i>	
9 English worldwide	420
<i>David Crystal</i>	
<i>Further reading</i>	440
<i>References</i>	445
<i>Index</i>	479

Figures

Frontispiece: Map of England	
1.1 Anglo-Saxon England (from Hill, 1981)	page 4
1.2 The Indo-European languages	5
1.3 The Germanic languages	5
1.4 Wave representation of Germanic (after Trask, 1996)	6
1.5 The homeland of the Angles	9
1.6 Scandinavian place-names (from Hill, 1981)	13
1.7 Domesday population (from Hill, 1981)	19
1.8 The Caistor runes (from Page, 1973)	30
1.9 Prefaces to the <i>Cura Pastoralis</i> (from Brook, 1955)	31
1.10 S-curve	37
7.1 Anglo-Saxon England (from Hogg, 1992a: 419)	354
7.2 Survey points used for the <i>Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i>	363
7.3 Traditional dialect areas (from Trudgill, 1999b)	372
7.4 Modern dialect areas (from Trudgill, 1999b)	373
7.5 Limits of postvocalic /r/ in present-day dialects (from Trudgill, 1999b)	377
8.1 DARE map and conventional map, with state names (from <i>Dictionary of American Regional English</i> , I, 1985)	400
8.2 Distribution of HERO on a DARE map (from <i>Dictionary of American Regional English</i> , II, 1991)	401
8.3 Distribution of HOAGIE on a DARE map (from <i>Dictionary of American Regional English</i> , II, 1991)	401
8.4 Distribution of POORBOY on a DARE map (from <i>Dictionary of American Regional English</i> , II, 1991)	402
8.5 Distribution of SUBMARINE SANDWICH on a DARE map (from <i>Dictionary of American Regional English</i> , IV, 2002)	402
8.6 Kurath's dialect regions of the eastern states, based on vocabulary (from Kurath, 1949)	403
8.7 Carver's dialect regions of the USA, based on vocabulary (from Carver, 1987)	404

8.8	Northern Cities Shift (adapted from Labov, forthcoming)	405
8.9	Southern Shift (adapted from Labov, forthcoming)	406
8.10	Dialect areas of North America, based on vowel pronunciation (adapted from Labov, forthcoming)	407
8.11	Pronunciation of <i>-ing</i> as /IN/ by four SES groups in three situations in New York City (from Labor, 1996)	409

Tables

1.1	Some sources of English words (<i>OED</i> ²)	<i>page</i> 2
1.2	An example of comparative reconstruction	7
1.3	National GDP in 1890	21
1.4	National GDP and population in 2003	27
1.5	Two quantifiers	38
3.1	The main syntactic changes	111
3.2	Element order within the NP in PDE	114
3.3	Combinations of auxiliaries in the verbal group (adapted from Denison, 2000a: 139)	159
5.1	Concord patterns in conversation (from Biber et al., 1999: 191)	298
7.1	Some Middle English texts	365
9.1	Some recent estimates of world English speakers as a first, second and foreign language (in millions)	424
9.2	Annual growth rate in population, 1998–2003: selected countries. Data from Encyclopaedia Britannica (2004)	426

1 Overview

David Denison and Richard Hogg

1.1 Introduction

David Crystal estimates that about 400 million people have English as their first language, and that in total as many as 1500 million may be to a greater or lesser extent fluent speakers of English (see Chapter 9, Table 9.1). The two largest countries (in terms of population) where English is the inherited national language are Britain and the USA. But it is also the majority language of Australia and New Zealand, and a national language in both Canada and South Africa. Furthermore, in other countries it is a second language, in others an official language or the language of business.

If, more parochially, we restrict ourselves to Britain and the USA, the fact that it is the inherited national language of both does not allow us to conclude that English shows a straightforward evolution from its ultimate origins. Yet originally English was imported into Britain, as also happened later in North America. And in both cases the existing languages, whether Celtic, as in Britain, or Amerindian languages, as in North America, were quickly swamped by English. But in both Britain and the USA, English was much altered by waves of immigration. Chapter 8 will demonstrate how that occurred in the USA.

In Britain, of course, the Germanic-speaking Anglo-Saxons brought their language with them as immigrants. The eighth and ninth centuries saw Scandinavian settlements and then the Norman Conquest saw significant numbers of French-speaking settlers. Both these invasions had a major impact on the language, which we shall discuss later in this chapter. However, they should not obscure the constant influence of other languages on English, whether through colonisation or through later immigration. Some idea of the polyglot nature of the language (as opposed to its speakers) can be gleaned from the figures presented in Table 1.1, based upon etymologies in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. (Note that the already-existing language English did not get its basic vocabulary and structure from any of the languages in Table 1.1; the origins of English will be introduced shortly.)

The *OED* is probably the most complete historical dictionary of any language. The languages in Table 1.1 have been chosen (from over 350 in *OED*!) only in order to demonstrate the variety of linguistic sources for English. The figures in Table 1.1 remain imprecise, despite elaborate electronic searches of the entire *OED* (with its 20+ ways of marking a French loan and 50+ for Scandinavian): exact figures are beside the point and in fact unattainable.

Table 1.1 *Some sources of English words (OED²)*

Latin	24,940
French	9,470
Scandinavian	1,530
Spanish	1,280
Dutch, including Afrikaans	860
Arabic	615
Turkish	125
Hindi	120
Hungarian	26
Cherokee	1–3

Even when we are dealing with only one country, say Britain or the USA, there are a wide range of varieties of English available. These varieties are dependent on various factors. Each speaker is different from every other speaker, and often in non-trivial ways. Thus speaker A may vary from speaker B in geographical dialect. And the context of speech varies according to register, or the social context in which the speaker is operating at the time. Register includes, for example, occupational varieties, and it interacts with such features as the contrast between written and spoken language (medium) or that between formal and colloquial language.

It will be clear that the above points raise the question of what this volume purports to be a history *of*. There are, we can now see, many different Englishes. And these Englishes can interact in an intricate fashion. To take a single example, how might we order the relationships between written colloquial English and spoken formal English? Not, surely, on a single scale. And as English becomes more and more of a global language, the concept of dialect becomes more and more opaque. In writing this volume, therefore, we have had to make some fundamental decisions about what English is, and what history we might be attempting to construct.

In making these decisions we have had to bear two different aims in mind. One is to be able to give some plausible account of where English is situated today. Therefore many of the chapters pay particular attention to the present-day language, the chapter on English worldwide almost exclusively so. But this is a history, and therefore our other aim is to demonstrate how English has developed over the centuries. And not merely for its own sake, but because of our joint belief that it is only through understanding its history that we can hope adequately to understand the present.

At this point we first introduce some conventional labels for periods in the recorded history of English. From its introduction on the island of Britain to the end of the eleventh century, the language is nowadays known as Old English (OE). From c.1100 to around the end of the fifteenth century is called the Middle English

(ME) period, and from c. 1500 to the present day is called Modern English (ModE). ModE is distinct therefore from present-day English (PDE), which, if a period at all, extends at most to the childhoods of people now living, say from the early twentieth century to the present. Division into periods is to a large extent arbitrary, if convenient for reference and sanctioned by scholarly tradition. There is both linguistic and non-linguistic justification for identifying (roughly) those periods, though sometimes with slightly differing transition dates, and sometimes with the main periods of OE, ME and ModE divided into early and late sub-periods. Other periodisations have been proposed, however, and in any case the transition dates suggested above should not be taken too seriously. There is no point in further discussion until more evidence of the detailed history has been presented.

1.2 The roots of English

What is English? Who are the people who have spoken it? Before we begin our exploration of the internal history of English, it is questions such as these which must be answered. If we trace history back, then, wherever English is spoken today; whether it be in Bluff, New Zealand, or Nome, Alaska, in every case its ultimate origins lie in Anglo-Saxon England. If we consider the map of Anglo-Saxon England (Figure 1.1), based on the place-names in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the early eighth century, we get some impression of what the Anglo-Saxons might have thought of as their heartland. This map is, of course, incomplete in that it relies on only a single, albeit contemporary, source. Furthermore, Bede lived his whole life at Jarrow in County Durham, and his material is necessarily centred on Northumbria and ecclesiastical life. Nevertheless, it is a useful reminder that the original English settlements of Britain concentrated on the east and south coasts of the country.

Of course, this is not unexpected. The Anglo-Saxon speakers of English had started to come to Britain early in the fifth century from the lands across the North Sea – roughly speaking, the largely coastal areas between present-day Denmark and the Netherlands and the immediate hinterland. Bede himself states that the Anglo-Saxon invaders came from three tribes, the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes. He equates the Angles with Anglian, the Saxons with Saxon, and the Jutes with Kentish. Certainly, it is safe to conclude that the earliest settlements were in East Anglia and the southeast, with a steady spread along the Thames valley, into the midlands, and northwards through Yorkshire and into southern Scotland.

Looking further afield, both in geography and time, English was a dialect of the Germanic branch of Indo-European. What does this mean? Indo-European refers to a group of languages, some with present-day forms, such as English, Welsh, French, Russian, Greek and Hindi, others now 'dead', such as Latin, Cornish (though revived by enthusiasts), Tocharian and Sanskrit, which are all believed to have a common single source. We do not have texts of Germanic, which is usually held to have existed in a generally common core between about 500 BC and about

