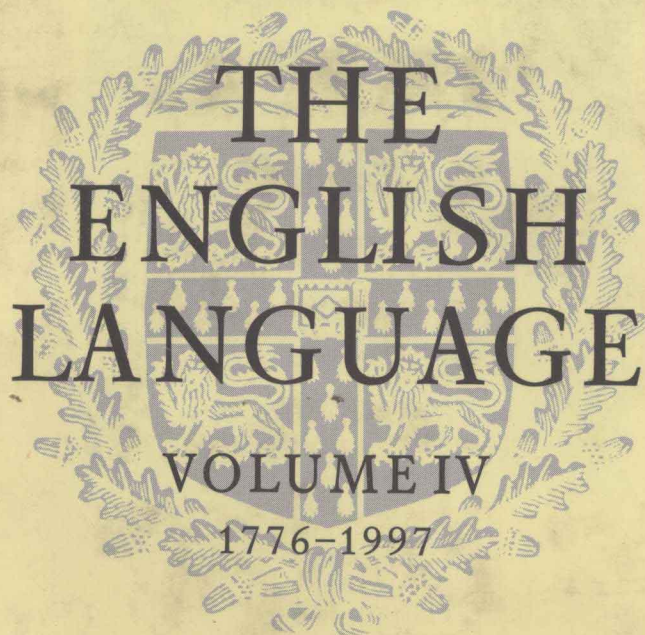


THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF



EDITED BY
SUZANNE ROMAINE

THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE

VOLUME IV 1776–1997

EDITED BY

SUZANNE ROMAINE

*Merton Professor of English Language,
University of Oxford*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 1998

This book 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 1998
Reprinted 2004

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Monotype Garamond 11/13 pt [SE]

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

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

The Cambridge history of the English language.

Vol. 1 edited by Richard M. Hogg.

Vol. 2 edited by Norman Blake.

Vol. 4 edited by Suzanne Romaine.

Vol. 5 edited by Robert Burchfield.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 1. The beginning to 1066 – v. 2. 1066–
1476 – v. 4. 1776–1997 – v. 5. English in Britain and Overseas:
origins and development.

1. English language – History. I. Hogg, Richard M.

II. Blake, N. F. (Norman Francis) III. Burchfield,

R. W. (Robert William) IV. Romaine, Suzanne

PE1072.C36 1992 420'.9 91–13881

ISBN 0 521 26474 X (v. 1)

ISBN 0 521 26475 8 (v. 2)

ISBN 0 521 26478 2 (v. 5)

ISBN 0 521 26477 4 (v. 4)

The Cambridge History of the English Language is the first multi-volume work to provide a full account of the history of English. Its authoritative coverage extends from areas of central linguistic interest and concern to more specialised topics such as personal and place names. The volumes dealing with earlier periods are chronologically based, whilst those dealing with more recent periods are geographically based, thus reflecting the spread of English over the last 300 years.

Volume IV deals with the history of the English language from 1776 to 1997. An extensive introduction details the changing socio-historical setting in which English has developed in response to a continuing background of diversity as it was transplanted to North America and beyond. Separate chapters on pronunciation, syntax, and vocabulary chronicle the linguistic features of the language during this period, taking as the basis for discussion the common core inherited from the sixteenth century and shared by what are now the two principal varieties, American and British English. In addition, there are chapters on English as a literary language, English grammar and usage, and onomastics.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY
OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

GENERAL EDITOR Richard M. Hogg

VOLUME IV 1776–1997

CONTRIBUTORS

SYLVIA ADAMSON *University Lecturer in English Language, University of Cambridge*

JOHN ALGEO *Professor Emeritus, University of Georgia*

RICHARD COATES *Professor of Linguistics, University of Sussex*

DAVID DENISON *Professor of English Linguistics, University of Manchester*

EDWARD FINEGAN *Professor of Linguistics and Law, University of Southern California*

MICHAEL K. C. MacMAHON *Professor of Phonetics, University of Glasgow*

SUZANNE ROMAINE *Merton Professor of English Language, University of Oxford*

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Although it is a topic of continuing debate, there can be little doubt that English is the most widely spoken language in the world, with significant numbers of native speakers in almost every major region – only South America falling largely outside the net. In such a situation an understanding of the nature of English can be claimed unambiguously to be of world-wide importance.

Growing consciousness of such a role for English is one of the motivations behind the History. There are other motivations too. Specialist students have many major and detailed works of scholarship to which they can refer, for example Bruce Mitchell's *Old English Syntax*, or, from an earlier age, Karl Luick's *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*. Similarly, those who come new to the subject have both one-volume histories such as Barbara Strang's *History of English* and introductory textbooks to a single period, for example Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson's *A Guide to Old English*. But what is lacking is the intermediate work which can provide a solid discussion of the full range of the history of English both to the Anglicist who does not specialise in the particular area to hand and to the general linguist who has no specialised knowledge of the history of English. This work attempts to remedy that lack. We hope that it will be of use to others too, whether they are interested in the history of English for its own sake, or for some specific purpose such as local history or the effects of colonisation.

Under the influence of the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, there has been, during this century, a persistent tendency to view the study of language as having two discrete parts: (i) synchronic, where a language is studied from the point of view of one moment in time; (ii) diachronic, where a language is studied from a historical perspective. It might therefore be supposed that this present work is purely diachronic. But this is not so. One crucial principle which guides *The Cambridge History of the English*

Language is that synchrony and diachrony are intertwined, and that a satisfactory understanding of English (or any other language) cannot be achieved on the basis of one of these alone.

Consider, for example, the (synchronic) fact that English, when compared with other languages, has some rather infrequent or unusual characteristics. Thus, in the area of vocabulary, English has an exceptionally high number of words borrowed from other languages (French, the Scandinavian languages, American Indian languages, Italian, the languages of northern India and so on); in syntax a common construction is the use of *do* in forming questions (e.g. *Do you like cheese?*), a type of construction not often found in other languages; in morphology English has relatively few inflexions, at least compared with the majority of other European languages; in phonology the number of diphthongs as against the number of vowels in English is notably high. In other words, synchronically, English can be seen to be in some respects rather unusual. But in order to understand such facts we need to look at the history of the language; it is often only there that an explanation can be found. And that is what this work attempts to do.

This raises another issue. A quasi-Darwinian approach to English might attempt to account for its widespread use by claiming that somehow English is more suited, better adapted, to use as an international language than others. But that is nonsense. English is no more fit than, say, Spanish or Chinese. The reasons for the spread of English are political, cultural and economic rather than linguistic. So too are the reasons for such linguistic elements within English as the high number of borrowed words. This History, therefore, is based as much upon political, cultural and economic factors as linguistic ones, and it will be noted that the major historical divisions between volumes are based upon the former type of events (the Norman Conquest, the spread of printing, the declaration of independence by the USA), rather than the latter type.

As a rough generalisation, one can say that up to about the seventeenth century the development of English tended to be centripetal, whereas since then the development has tended to be centrifugal. The settlement by the Anglo-Saxons resulted in a spread of dialect variation over the country, but by the tenth century a variety of forces were combining to promote the emergence of a standard form of the language. Such an evolution was disrupted by the Norman Conquest, but with the development of printing together with other more centralising tendencies, the emergence of a standard form became once more, from the fifteenth century on, a major characteristic of the language. But processes of emigration and colonisation

then gave rise to new regional varieties overseas, many of which have now achieved a high degree of linguistic independence, and one of which, namely American English, may even have a dominating influence on British English. The structure of this work is designed to reflect these different types of development. Whilst the first four volumes offer a reasonably straightforward chronological account, the later volumes are geographically based. This arrangement, we hope, allows scope for the proper treatment of diverse types of evolution and development. Even within the chronologically oriented volumes there are variations of structure, which are designed to reflect the changing relative importance of various linguistic features. Although all the chronological volumes have substantial chapters devoted to the central topics of semantics and vocabulary, syntax, and phonology and morphology, for other topics the space allotted in a particular volume is one which is appropriate to the importance of that topic during the relevant period, rather than some pre-defined calculation of relative importance. And within the geographically based volumes all these topics are potentially included within each geographical section, even if sometimes in a less formal way. Such a flexible and changing structure seems essential for any full treatment of the history of English.

One question that came up as this project began was the extent to which it might be possible or desirable to work within a single theoretical linguistic framework. It could well be argued that only a consensus within the linguistic community about preferred linguistic theories would enable a work such as this to be written. Certainly, it was immediately obvious when work for this History began, that it would be impossible to lay down a 'party line' on linguistic theory, and indeed, that such an approach would be undesirably restrictive. The solution reached was, I believe, more fruitful. Contributors have been chosen purely on the grounds of expertise and knowledge, and have been encouraged to write their contributions in the way they see most fitting, whilst at the same time taking full account of developments in linguistic theory. This has, of course, led to problems, notably with contrasting views of the same topic (and also because of the need to distinguish the ephemeral flight of theoretical fancy from genuine new insights into linguistic theory), but even in a work which is concerned to provide a unified approach (so that, for example, in most cases every contributor to a volume has read all the other contributions to that volume), such contrasts, and even contradictions, are stimulating and fruitful. Whilst this work aims to be authoritative, it is not prescriptive, and the final goal must be to stimulate interest in a subject in which much work remains to be done, both theoretically and empirically.

The task of editing this History has been, and still remains, a long and complex one. As General Editor I owe a great debt to my friends and colleagues who have devoted much time and thought to how best this work might be approached and completed. Firstly, I should thank my fellow-editors: John Algeo, Norman Blake, Bob Burchfield, Roger Lass and Suzanne Romaine. They have been concerned as much with the History as a whole as with their individual volumes. Secondly, there are those fellow linguists, some contributors, some not, who have so generously given of their time and made many valuable suggestions: John Anderson, Cecily Clark, Frans van Coetsem, Fran Colman, David Denison, Ed Finegan, Olga Fischer, Jacek Fisiak, Malcolm Godden, Angus McIntosh, Lesley Milroy, Donka Minkova, Matti Rissanen, Michael Samuels, Bob Stockwell, Tom Toon, Elizabeth Traugott, Peter Trudgill, Nigel Vincent, Anthony Warner, Simone Wyss. One occasion stands out especially: the organisers of the Fourth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, held at Amsterdam in 1985, kindly allowed us to hold a seminar on the project as it was just beginning. For their generosity, which allowed us to hear many views and exchange opinions with colleagues one rarely meets face-to-face, I must thank Roger Eaton, Olga Fischer, Willem Koopman and Federike van der Leek.

With a work so complex as this, an editor is faced with a wide variety of problems and difficulties. It has been, therefore, a continual comfort and solace to know that Penny Carter of Cambridge University Press has always been there to provide advice and solutions on every occasion. Without her knowledge and experience, encouragement and good humour, this work would have been both poorer and later. After the work for Volume I was virtually complete, Marion Smith took over as publishing editor, and I am grateful to her too, not merely for ensuring such a smooth change-over, but for her bravery when faced with the mountain of paper from which this series has emerged.

Richard M. Hogg

EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Given the long time this volume was in preparation, it has passed through the hands of more than a few editors at Cambridge University Press. I would like to thank, in particular, Penny Carter, Judith Ayling and Kate Brett for their help during their respective tenures as editor in charge of the Cambridge History of the English Language project. I am grateful to Richard Hogg for comments on my introduction.

Suzanne Romaine
Oxford, 1997

CONTRIBUTORS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The contributors to this volume are grateful for the help and advice they have received from friends, colleagues and students, as well as from their fellow contributors and the editors of and contributors to other volumes. We wish especially to thank the following.

James Adamson, Adele S. Algeo, Dwight Atkinson, Syd Bauman, Linda van Bergen, Douglas Biber, Norman Blake, Joe Bray, R. W. Burchfield, Colin T. Clarkson, Teresa Fanego, Anne Finell, Olga Fischer, Susan Fitzmaurice, Julia Flanders, Nik Gisborne, Sarah Hawkins, Jane Hodson, Dick Hudson, Merja Kytö, Sidney Landau, Roger Lass, Grevel Lindop, Peter Matthews, Terry Moore, Fujio Nakamura, Terttu Nevalainen, Francis Nolan, John Payne, Jackie Pearson, Allen Renear, Matti Rissanen, Alan Shelston, Barry Symonds, Mary Syner, Ingrid Ticken-Boon van Ostade, Elizabeth Traugott, Graeme Trousdale, Nigel Vincent, Anthony Warner, E. S. C. Weiner, Marcus Wood, John Woolford, students at Manchester 1994–5.

ABBREVIATIONS

~	contrasts with/ corresponds to	ME	Middle English
ø	zero form or site of gap	ModE	Modern English
AmerE	American English	NP	noun phrase
AP	adjective phrase	OE	Old English
ARCHER	A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers	<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
BrE	British English	p.c.	personal communication
<i>CHEL</i>	<i>Cambridge History of the English Language</i>	PDE	Present-Day English
CV	Cardinal Vowel	PL	plural
e	early	PP	prepositional phrase
<i>EPD</i>	<i>English Pronouncing Dictionary</i>	ppl	participle
Gen.Am.	General American	PRES	present tense
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	SAI	subject-auxiliary inversion
l	late	SG	singular
Lat.	Latin	1, 2, 3	first, second third person
<i>LPD</i>	<i>Longman Pronunciation Dictionary</i>	s.v.	<i>sub voce, sub verbo</i> ‘under the/ that word’
		VP	verb phrase
		WWP	Women Writers Project, Brown University

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>List of contributors</i>	xii
<i>General Editor's preface</i>	xiii
<i>Editor's acknowledgements</i>	xvii
<i>Contributors' acknowledgements</i>	xviii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xix
1 INTRODUCTION <i>Suzanne Romaine</i>	1
1.1 From Old English to New Englishes: unity in diversity?	1
1.2 1776 and after: an age of revolutions and empires	6
1.3 Shifting centres of gravity and the notion of a common core	22
1.4 Language, nation, and identity: staking a claim on the past and future	48
1.5 Conclusion: a remarkable success story?	54
Further reading	56
2 VOCABULARY <i>John Algeo</i>	57
2.1 The study of the English vocabulary	57
2.2 The growth of the vocabulary	61
2.3 Creating as a source of new words	66
2.4 Shifting as a source of new words	66
2.5 Shortening as a source of new words	71
2.6 Composing as a source of new words	74
2.7 Blending as a source of new words	76
2.8 Borrowing as a source of new words	76

2.9	Recent neologisms	82
2.10	Vocabulary change as a mirror of cultural change	88
	Further reading	91
3	SYNTAX <i>David Denison</i>	92
3.1	Introduction	92
3.2	The noun phrase	96
3.3	The verbal group	130
3.4	Elements of the clause	212
3.5	Structure of the clause	235
3.6	Composite sentences	255
	Notes	312
	Textual sources	323
	Further reading	326
4	ONOMASTICS <i>Richard Coates</i>	330
	Preamble	330
4.1	Sources for British names	332
4.2	Scholarship	336
4.3	Personal names	339
4.4	Surnames	348
4.5	Place-names	350
4.6	Street-names	365
4.7	Other categories of nameables	370
4.8	Academic writings on names	371
	Further Reading	371
5	PHONOLOGY <i>Michael K. C. MacMahon</i>	373
5.1	The soundscapes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries	373
5.2	The historical sources and their interpretation	375
5.3	Methods of phonetic/phonological analysis	381
5.4	Standards and styles of pronunciation	382
5.5	Vowel systems	403
5.6	Vowel phonotactics (structural)	418
5.7	Vowel phonotactics (lexical-incidental)	438
5.8	Vowel realisations	448
5.9	Consonant systems	467
5.10	Consonant phonotactics (structural)	469
5.11	Consonant phonotactics (lexical-incidental)	483

Contents

5.12	Consonant realisations	486
5.13	Lexical stress	492
5.14	Intonation and rhythm	517
5.15	Voice qualities	519
5.16	Conclusions	520
	Notes	522
	Further reading	535
6	ENGLISH GRAMMAR AND USAGE	
	<i>Edward Finegan</i>	536
6.1	Introduction	536
6.2	First period: mid-eighteenth century–1830	540
6.3	Second period: 1830–1930	557
6.4	Third period: 1930–present	579
6.5	Conclusions and prospects	585
	Further reading	587
7	LITERARY LANGUAGE <i>Sylvia Adamson</i>	589
7.1	Introduction	589
7.2	Breaking the standard	598
7.3	Breaking the pentameter	614
7.4	The breaking of hypotaxis	630
7.5	The problem of metaphor	646
7.6	Self-expression and self-representation	661
7.7	CODA: the two revolutions and the literary common core	679
	Further reading	681
	Key to the numbered examples	684
	Key to the cited authors	689
	<i>Glossary of linguistic terms</i>	693
	<i>Bibliography</i>	708
	<i>Index</i>	762

FIGURES

1.1	Pronunciation differences among varieties of English (from Trudgill & Hannah 1982: 5)	<i>page</i> 40
5.1	The International Phonetic Alphabet	423
5.2	Intonation and rhythm	518
7.1	Level of context-dependent reference in three genres across three centuries (adapted from Biber & Finegan 1989: 502)	593