THE
NEW LEXICON
WEBSTER'S
DICTIONARY
OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Encyclopedic Edition
1,230 Pages

170,000 Entries

Flags of the World
16 Pages in Full Color

The Presidency of the United States
32 Pages in Full Color

THE
NEW LEXICON
WEBSTER'S
DICTIONARY
OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

◆ ◆ ◆

Dictionary Usage Guide

PRONUNCIATION KEY USED IN THIS DICTIONARY

ə	adjust, bacillus, colony
æ	cat, apple, laugh
ɑ	father, guitar, art
ɛə	bear, aerial
ei	snake, alien, parade
b	banana, rebel, ebb
tʃ	charm, fetch, ratchet
d	dog, elder, feed
e	egg, exit, request
i:	even, relief, sneeze
iə	fear, career, earring
f	fee, effort, rough
g	goat, hog, bigger
h	house, behind
i	fish, kitten, corrosive
ai	tiger, bright
dʒ	general, legend, dodge
ʒ	leisure, corsage
k	kill, luck, vacation
l	life, lily, dull
'l	rabble, trouble
m	moon, lemon, dam
n	night, train, canal
'n	redden
ŋ	bring, wearing
ɒ	lock, rotten
ɔ	fawn, court
ou	vote, elope, low
au	cow, round
ɔi	void, royal
p	pack, slipper, wrap
r	rise, errand, paper
s	silly, whisper, juice

Guide words showing the alphabetical range of entries on the page

Syllabicated main entry See Part 1A.

Usage labels See Part 4B.

Derivative forms See Part 1D.

Encyclopedic entry See Part 3.

Plural form See Part 1C.

Pronounced derivative See Part 1D.

Multiple definitions in single part of speech See Part 3A.

---

ab·ne·gate (ǽbnigeit) *pres. part.* **ab·ne·gat·ing** *past* and *past part.* **ab·ne·gat·ed** *v.t.* to renounce, give up (a right etc.) [fr. L. *abnegare (abnegatus)*, to deny]

ab·ne·ga·tion (æbnigéiʃən) *n.* renunciation, denial [fr. L. *abnegatio (abnegationis)*]

ab·nor·mal (æbnɔ́rməl) *adj.* different from the norm or average, unusual ‖ pertaining to that which is not normal, *abnormal psychology* **ab·nor·mal·i·ty** (æbnɔrmǽliti) *pl.* **ab·nor·mal·i·ties** *n.* [fr. F. *anormal* and L. *abnormis*]

ABO a classification of blood groups (A, B, AB or O) with regard to their use in transfusion

a·board (əbɔ́rd, əbóurd) **1.** *adj.* and *adv.* on or into a ship, plane, train etc. **2.** *prep.* on board, *aboard the last ship*

a·bode (əbóud) *n.* (*old-fash., rhet.*) the place someone lives in ‖ (*old-fash., rhet.*) residence, *he took up his abode at the east gate of the city* [fr. ABIDE]

abode alt. *past* and *past part.* of ABIDE

ab·ohm (æbóum) *n.* the cgs electromagnetic unit of resistance equal to 10^{-9} ohm

a·bol·ish (əbɒ́liʃ) *v.t.* to do away with completely, put an end to (laws, customs, taxes, privileges etc.) [F. *abolir (aboliss-)*]

ab·o·li·tion (æbɒliʃən) *n.* the act of abolishing ‖ (esp. *hist.*) the movement against slavery **ab·o·li·tion·ism, ab·o·li·tion·ist** *ns* [F. or fr. L. *abolitio (abolitionis)*] —The movement to abolish the international slave trade and the institution of chattel slavery was largely religious. It centered in Great Britain, the U.S.A. and western Europe, between c. 1783 and 1888. Following the pioneer work of Granville Sharp, the struggle was led by the Quakers, who had outlawed slavery in Pennsylvania as early as 1675. Under the leadership of William Wilberforce they obtained, almost singlehandedly, the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire and the U.S.A. by acts of Parliament and Congress in 1808. In England the struggle then became one for emancipation, while in the U.S.A. the act of Congress was blatantly defied. The U.S. movement, led chiefly by William Llyod Garrison, Theodore Dwight Weld, and Frederick Douglass, was obstructed by the U.S. Constitution's toleration of slavery and by the South's economic defense of it. Only after the Civil War could the 13th amendment outlawing slavery be enacted. In 1862 the U.S.A. adhered to an international agreement reached in 1842 affording the reciprocal right of search, which thereafter put an end to the slave trade

ab·o·ma·sum (æbəméisəm) *pl.* **ab·o·ma·sa** (æbəméisə) *n.* the fourth chamber of the stomach of a ruminant [Mod. L. fr. *ab*, from + *omasum*, bullock's tripe]

A-bomb (éibɒm) *n.* atomic bomb

a·bom·i·na·ble (əbómin əb'l) *adj.* causing intense disgust, *an abominable crime* [F.]

abominable snowman a bearlike creature said to inhabit the high Himalayas

a·bom·i·na·bly (əbómin əbli:) *adv.* in an abominable way

a·bom·i·nate (əbómineit) *pres. part.* **a·bom·i·nat·ing** *past* and *past part.* **a·bom·i·nat·ed** *v.t.* (*rhet.*) to detest [fr. L. *abominari (abominatus)*]

a·bom·i·na·tion (əbɒminéiʃən) *n.* disgust ‖ a loathsome act or thing [F.]

ab·o·rig·i·nal (æbərídʒinəl) **1.** *adj.* existing from the earliest times ‖ pertaining to aborigines **2.** *n.* an aborigine **ab·o·rig·i·nal·i·ty** (æbərídʒinǽliti:) *n.* [fr. L. *ab origine*, from the beginning]

ab·o·rig·i·ne (æbərídʒini:) *n.* a native inhabitant of a country, esp. before colonization. *an Australian aborigine* ‖ (*pl.*) the native plants and animals of a region [fr. L. *aborigines* pl. n., inhabitants from the beginning]

a·bort (əbɔ́rt) *v.i.* (*med.*) to give birth to a fetus before it is viable ‖ (*biol.*) to become arrested in development ‖ to come to nothing, *their plans aborted* ‖ (*space*, of a missile) to stop before completion of the scheduled flight ‖ *v.t.* (*space*) to bring (a missile flight) to an end before completion of schedule [fr. L. *aboriri (abortus)*, to die, to abort]

a·bor·ti·fa·cient (əbɔrtiféiʃənt) **1.** *n.* something which produces an abortion **2.** *adj.* producing an abortion [fr. L. *aboriri (abortus)*, to abort + *faciens (facientis)*, causing]

a·bor·tion (əbɔ́rʃən) *n.* the spontaneous or induced expulsion from the womb of a nonviable human fetus ‖ a monstrous person or thing ‖ the failure of a project or attempt **a·bór·tion·ist** *n.* a

ab·ro·ga·tion (æbrəgéiʃən) *n.* the act of abrogating (e.g. a law) [fr. L. *abrogatio (abrogationis)*] — Guide words showing the alphabetical range of entries on the page

ab·rupt (əbrΛpt) *adj.* sudden, unexpected, *an abrupt halt* ‖ steep, precipitous ‖ rough, brusque in manner ‖ disconnected, *an abrupt style* [fr. L. *abrumpere (abruptus)*, to break away] — Pronunciation respelling See Part 2.

A·bruz·zi e Mo·li·se (abrú:ttsi:emɔ́li:ze) a region (area 5,954 sq. miles, pop. 1,221,900) in central Italy, formed of the provinces of Aquila, Campobasso, Chieti, Pescara and Teramo, lying in the highest and wildest part of the Apennines (Gran Sasso d'Italia, 9,560 ft), and bounded on the east by the Adriatic: olives, vines, almonds, sheep, hydroelectric power, oil — Foreign pronunciation See Part 2.

Ab·sa·lom (æbsələm) the third and best-loved son of David, king of Judah (11 Samuel xiii–xix)

ABSCAM (æbsxæm) an investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1978–80. Seven U.S. Congressmen and various state and local officials were convicted of bribery, conspiracy, and related charges after FBI agents impersonating an Arab sheikh and his associates had videotaped government officials accepting bribes. Critics accused the FBI of entrapment, but the courts ruled that the FBI acted within legal limits

ab·scess (æbses) *n.* a localized collection of pus occurring anywhere in the body **ab·scessed** *adj.* [fr. L. *abscessus*, a going away] — Etymology See Part 5.

ab·scis·sa (æbsísə) *n.* (*math.*) the horizontal or x-coordinate in a plane coordinate system [L. = (part) cut off] — Field label See Part 4A.

ab·scis·sion (æbsíʒən) *n.* a cutting off [fr. L. *abscissio (abscissionis)*]

ab·scond (æbskɔ́nd) *v.i.* to flee secretly, esp. to escape the law [fr. L. *abscondere*, to hide]

ab·sence (æbsəns) *n.* a being away ‖ a failure to be present ‖ lack, *absence of proof* [F.]

absence of mind inattention, mental abstraction

ab·sent (æbsənt) *adj.* away, not present ‖ abstracted, *an absent air* [F.]

ab·sent (æbsént) *v. refl.* to keep (oneself) away, *to absent oneself from a meeting* **ab·sen·tee** (æbsənti:) *n.* a person who is absent **ab·sen·tee·ism** *n.* persistent absence from work, usually without good reason [F. *absenter*] — Stress-marked derivative See Part 1D.

absentee landlord a proprietor who does not live on his estate and care for his tenants but merely exploits his property — Unsyllabicated main entry See Part 1A.

ab·sent·ly (æbsəntli:) *adv.* in an absent way, inattentively

ab·sent·mind·ed (æbsəntmáindid) *adj.* preoccupied and for that reason not paying attention to what one is doing

ab·sinthe, ab·sinth (æbsinθ) *n.* the plant wormwood ‖ a strongly alcoholic liqueur made from high-proof brandy, wormwood and other aromatics [F.] — Spelling variants See Part 1B.

ab·sis·sic acid (æbsísik) (*chem.*) [$C_{15}H_{20}O_4$] organic inhibitor of plant growth marketed as Dormin. *abbr* ABA

ab·so·lute (æbsəlu:t) **1.** *adj.* whole, complete ‖ pure, *absolute alcohol* ‖ having unrestricted power, *an absolute ruler* ‖ not conditioned by, or dependent upon, anything else ‖ (*gram.*) of a case not determined by any other word in the sentence (*ABLATIVE) ‖ (*philos.*) existing independently of any cause outside itself and of our sense perceptions **2.** *n.* something that is absolute **the Absolute** the self-existent, the First Cause, God [F. *absolut*] — Multiple definitions in several parts of speech See Part 3A. — Cross-reference to related term See Part 3C.

absolute address location of stored information in a digital computer

absolute alcohol ethyl alcohol containing not less than 99% pure ethyl alcohol by weight

absolute altimeter radio or similar apparatus designed to indicate the true vertical height of an aircraft above the terrain

absolute code (*computer*) code for an absolute address

absolute dud (*mil.*) a nuclear weapon that fails to explode when launched at, or emplaced on, a target

absolute expansion the true expansion of a liquid irrespective of the expansion of the containing vessel

absolute film *ABSTRACT FILM — Defining cross-reference See Part 3C.

absolute humidity the humidity of the air measured by the number of grams of water vapor present in one cubic meter of the air

absolute music music which does not illustrate or depict (in contrast to program music)

absolute pitch the pitch of a note as determined by a simple frequency, not a combination

PRONUNCIATION KEY USED IN THIS DICTIONARY

(Continued)

∫	*fish*, a*cti*on, *fissi*on
t	*t*ime, we*t*, le*tt*er
θ	*th*ick, tru*th*
ð	mo*th*er, *th*ough
Λ	d*u*ck, t*ou*gh, r*u*dder
ə:	b*ir*d, l*ear*n
u	b*u*ll, c*u*shion, b*oo*k
uə	p*oor*, s*ewer*
u:	f*oo*d, tr*u*e
ju:	*u*nite, conf*u*se
v	*v*erb, o*v*er, wa*v*e
w	*w*ell, *w*aver
x	lo*ch*
j	*y*outh, *y*ellow
z	*z*oom, ro*s*e

Foreign Sounds

y	l*u*ne
ɔ̃	b*on*
ã	*an*
ɛ̃	v*in*
œ̃	br*un*

Stress

The symbol ′ marks the primary stress in pronouncing the word. The syllable in which the primary stress symbol appears is pronounced with greater emphasis than other syllables.

The symbol ˌ marks the secondary stress of a word. The syllable under which this symbol appears is pronounced with less emphasis than the syllable with primary stress.

Preface

This book unites two prominent traditions of reference publishing that have thrived both separately and in combination. These are the encyclopedic and the lexicographical.

Encyclopedias. The encyclopedic tradition is the older, in the European context, being traceable to classical Greek times. Aristotle and the other early writers of encyclopedia-like works shared the impulse to gather a wide range of knowledge into one place, making it easier to expand and increase learning by giving a summary account of its present state.

The Christian Middle Ages, assuming the task of reclaiming classical learning and fitting it for the propagation of an invigorated faith, produced the immediate models of the modern encyclopedia. The pioneering work was the *Etymologiarum,* "the etymologies," of the 7th century Archbishop Isidore of Seville, later canonized. The so-called 12th Century Renaissance produced the most influential medieval encyclopedia, the *Speculum maius,* "the greater looking-glass," of the French Dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais. Vincent used the common medieval metaphor of "mirror" as an instrument for seeing things clearly and undistorted. His work consists of three parts: the *Speculum naturale,* dealing with natural history; the *Speculum doctrinale,* treating theology and the other subjects of the university curriculum; and the *Speculum historiale.* In printed editions of the 15th century, a *Speculum morale* was added by another writer.

The premier encyclopedic work that signaled the Renaissance and bridged medieval and modern times was Sir Francis Bacon's *Instauratio magna,* "the great renewal." It is fair to say that the medieval encyclopedists believed they were writing the whole and mostly permanent truth, whereas Bacon intended both to illustrate and encourage a revolutionary examination of the world in the scientific spirit.

During the full flow of the Enlightenment that succeeded the Renaissance period, leadership in encyclopedia making passed to France, with the publication between 1751 and 1772 of the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers* ("Encyclopedia, or systematic dictionary of arts, sciences, and manual and mechanical trades"), edited by Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. Based on a translation of Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopedia, or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* of 1728, the beautifully printed and illustrated 17-volume French work established the principles of the modern encyclopedia. It is noteworthy that the set was not written by one person but was an edited compilation of articles by numerous authorities. Moreover, it was not addressed from experts to experts, in what is called the "monographic method," but to the general literate public.

Before the French Encyclopedia was finished, the first edition of *The Encyclopedia Britannica* appeared in Edinburgh, published by "a society of gentlemen in Scotland," and initiated the longest tradition of encyclopedias in English. The first nine editions, through 1889, were edited in the monographic method, but since the great 11th edition of 1910–1911, the *EB,* as it is called, has been a modern and authoritative monument. With the 14th edition of 1929 the ownership and editorship became American, so that the name is something of a relic.

The Encyclopedia Americana, the first considerable American encyclopedia, appeared in 1829–1833. First edited by Francis Lieber, it was to some extent a translation of Friedrich Brockhaus's *Konversations-Lexikon* of 1796–1808. The *Americana,* published by Grolier Incorporated, has been kept admirably up to date and employs a permanent staff of editors for continuous renewal.

Dictionaries. Single-language dictionaries, as distinct from glossaries and lexicons that give the native equivalents of words in foreign languages, are a newer artifact than encyclopedias and are clearly a consequence of some profound social changes: the spread of literacy, the rise of the middle class, and the increased access of women to the controlling circles of the culture. To take up the last point, the book considered by many to be the pioneer general dictionary in English was Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall,* which defined "hard words" for the "benefit and helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other unskillful persons." "Hard words" lexicons like Cawdrey's were the rule for nearly a hundred years, until the appearance in 1702 of *A New English Dictionary,* probably the work of John Kersey. During the fifty-odd years before Samuel Johnson's dictionary, lexicographers such as Nathan Bailey, Thomas Dyche, and Benjamin Martin progressively perfected and modernized the English dictionary.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, known in his time and still reverentially regarded as "the Great Lexicographer,"

brought out his *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755, and it is fair to say that all subsequent British and American dictionaries have resulted from imitating, updating, or improving that formidable work.

For example, it was the increasingly poor fit between Johnson's dictionary and the burgeoning and distinct American culture that stimulated Noah Webster to produce the *American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828, a book in direct line of ancestry to the Merriam-Webster dictionaries of today. The absence of a healthy successor to Johnson caused Dean Richard Chenevix Trench and others, almost exactly a century after Johnson's dictionary appeared, to plan what they called *The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, which was published between 1884 and 1928, ultimately as the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The *OED,* as all who know it call it, was extensively updated by a four-volume supplement edited by Dr. Robert Burchfield.

Encyclopedic Dictionaries. The *OED* aimed to trace and define what it called the "common words" of English, and it set these apart from "the peculiar technicalities of trades and processes, of the scientific terminology common to all civilized nations," and from "an infinite number of *Proper* or merely *denotative* names, outside the province of lexicography." So doing it set a distinction between dictionaries and encyclopedias that has been prominent in the subsequent history of such reference books. Lexicographical purists have maintained that "a dictionary defines words, not things," while encyclopedists have pointed out that useful reference books might explain both word-words and thing-words without contamination. At best a rigorous distinction is difficult to maintain in the mind.

Debate between lexicographers and encyclopedists is still going on; this book confidently supports the encyclopedist side. In the history of lexicography it has forbears as respectable as the puristic faction. One need only mention Pierre Larousse's 15-volume *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle* of 1866–1876, the American William Dwight Whitney's *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* of 1889–1899, the Funk and Wagnalls *Standard Dictionary* and *New Standard* of 1913, as well as the Merriam-Webster series through the *New International, 2d Edition* of 1934.

The present book aims to combine the best features of the general dictionary and the short-entry encyclopedia, and hence to be of maximum usefulness to those who seek word-facts and fact-facts. In this effort, the editors have simplified the format by using a single alphabetical listing rather than separate ones for biographies, gazetteer, historical events, and so forth, and have not hesitated to give the encyclopedic entries the space they require.

DICTIONARY STAFF

EDITORIAL

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR   Bernard S. Cayne   MANAGING EDITOR   Doris E. Lechner

EDITORS

Donald O. Bolander	James E. Churchill, Jr.	Ronald B. Roth
Alyce Bolander	Manuela Izquierdo	Pauline M. Sholtys
Sara A. Boak	Elizabeth J. Jewell	Valerie Law Stodden
Grace F. Buonocore	Rebecca Lyon	Diane Bell Surprenant
Suzanne Stone Burke	Jean Munoz	Jean A. McCormick Vreeland
	Meghan O'Reilly	

PROOFREADERS

David Michael Buskus	Carol B. Dudley	Stephen Romanoff
Linda Buskus	Gretchen Korman Ferrante	Judi Sprague
Merla C. Davies	Jan Jamilkowski	Elise Washington-Davis
Nancy Domoff	Ruth Lofgren	Ronald Wertz
	Laurie M. Romanik	

ART DIRECTOR   Eric E. Akerman   ARTISTS   Nancy Hamlen   Tone Imset

PHOTO RESEARCH   Ann Eriksen   J.H. Carruth

DESIGN   Richard Glassman   ART ASSISTANT   Elizabeth Farrington

PRODUCTION EDITORS   Diane L. George   Carolyn F. Reil

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS   Jennifer Pickett Vogt   Monica J. Lechner   Susan Lorimer Reil

MANUFACTURING

DIRECTOR OF MANUFACTURING   Joseph J. Corlett

PRODUCTION MANAGERS   Alan Phelps   Teresa Kluk

PRODUCTION ASSISTANT   Barbara L. Persan

History of the English Language

English is one of the major languages of the world. At the beginning of the 19th century, English was the native speech of barely 15 million people. Today it is used regularly by more than 320 million and is second only to Chinese, whose world primacy in number of speakers is accounted for largely by the vast population of mainland China.

Of the 3,000 or more tongues spoken today, about half a dozen predominate, having among their speakers two thirds of the world's population. English, as one of those influential and growing languages, is spoken in areas widely scattered over the globe. It is the native or official language of one fifth of the earth's land surface, being used throughout most of the North American continent and in the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, and the Republic of South Africa. Of the languages of colonization it has been the one most important in Africa, Asia, and the islands of the central and southern Pacific.

At present, English is the most widely studied language in areas where it is not native. It is the chief foreign language taught in the schools of Latin American and European countries. In Japan, children begin the study of English in the seventh grade, and in the Philippines all classes are conducted in English from the fourth grade on. In India, English is an official language alternative to Hindi, the chief official language.

In addition, the use of English is widespread in international trade, international scholarship, and scientific research. More than half of the world's scientific and technical journals, as well as newspapers, are printed in English. Three fourths of the world's mail is written in English, and English is the language of three fifths of the world's radio stations. The Soviet Union and China use English to a great extent in their propaganda broadcasts to the developing countries of Africa and Asia. The U.S. Information Agency, with its centers and libraries in various countries, and the British Council and its English-language schools aid greatly in spreading the knowledge of English. As a result a speaker of English can travel around the world and almost never find it necessary in major cities to employ a language other than his own in order to be understood.

INDO-EUROPEAN AND GERMANIC BEGINNINGS

English belongs to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Indo-European is the major linguistic family of the world, in that languages belonging to it have the widest geographic distribution and are spoken by the greatest number of people. Several thousand years ago the "ancestral" language from which the Indo-European languages are all descended was the language of a comparatively small group of primitive people, apparently cattle-raising nomads of a Stone Age culture. The breakup of this Proto-Indo-European into a number of dialects is thought to have occurred around 3000 B.C., or earlier, when the original speakers supposedly began to migrate from east central or southern Europe.

Indo-European Family. The various Indo-European languages usually are divided into two groups—eastern and western. The chief languages in the western group, to which English belongs, are (1) Celtic, including the ancient tongue of the Gauls, whom Caesar conquered; the modern non-English languages of Wales, Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, and the Isle of Man, and the language of Brittany in northwestern France; (2) Germanic, consisting of English as well as Gothic, German, Dutch, Flemish,

Frisian, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Icelandic, and local dialects spoken in Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; (3) Greek, including the ancient and modern Greek languages and dialects; and (4) Italic, consisting of Latin with its modern descendants, the Romance languages—the chief of which are French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Rumanian.

Germanic Branch. Our concern is with the Germanic branch, since it includes English and its nearest relatives. It is divided into three main groups: East Germanic, North Germanic, and West Germanic. The chief dialect of East Germanic was Gothic, now known chiefly from fragments of a 4th century translation of the Bible by Ulfilas, the Arian bishop of the West Goths.

Modern Germanic Languages. North Germanic, derived from Old Norse, now includes the Scandinavian languages—Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Icelandic. West Germanic consists of two groups: High German and Low German. High German is so called because it was spoken originally in the southern highlands of Germany. Low German was the dialect spoken in the lowlands along the northern coast. High German is the standard language of present-day Germany. The Low German languages include Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, and English.

The nearest relative of English is Frisian, spoken in the Frisian Islands off the coasts of the Netherlands, Germany, and Denmark. That English is a Germanic language can easily be perceived by comparing it to German, Dutch, and Frisian—all West Germanic languages. The word *water* is common to English and Dutch, and other words are not very different in the two languages. The relation between English *That is good* and German *Das ist gut* is evident.

Characteristics of Germanic Languages. The Germanic group has features in common with the other branches of the Indo-European family, which are all inflectional and have a common word stock. But the Germanic group has its own individual characteristics. These are (1) the development of a weak verb conjugation along with the strong conjugation, (2) the twofold declension of the adjective as strong and weak, (3) a fixed stress accent, and (4) a regular shifting of consonants.

In comparing the Modern English verb, as representative of the Germanic verb, with the Latin verb, as representative of another Indo-European group, one can see the distinguishing characteristics of the Germanic verb. English verbs are of two classes: (1) The weak class, or conjugation, comprises the majority of verbs and is therefore sometimes called "regular"; a verb of this class forms its past tense and past participle by adding *-ed, -d,* or *-t* to the present or infinitive stem, as *work, worked, worked.* (2) The strong class forms its tenses by an internal change of the radical vowel of the verb, as *drink, drank, drunk.* Latin, however, expresses an idea by changing the form of the root of the verb, as *audiō* ("I hear"), the present tense, and *audīvi* ("I have heard"), the perfect tense. Latin verbs fall into conjugations distinguished by the vowel of the present active infinitive. There is no principle of tense formation in Latin so simple as that characterizing the English (Germanic) verb.

Just as the Germanic verb developed a twofold classification, so the Germanic adjective developed a twofold declension. The simple principle of it is that when a demonstrative, a possessive pronoun, or the definite article preceded the adjective or when it was used substantively (as a noun), it was declined in one way, called "weak." Otherwise, it was declined in another way, called

"strong." For example, the forms corresponding to *wise* in the Modern English expressions *wise men* and *these wise men* are *wīse menn* and *ðās wīsan menn* in Old English, and *weise Männer* and *diese weisen Männer* in Modern High German. Modern English does not distinguish between the weak and the strong forms, having lost all declension of the adjective. But the earlier presence in English of the two forms shows that English belongs to the Germanic group—because of its history, not because of its present usages.

The third trait characterizing the Germanic languages is the fixed accent. In Germanic, the stress became fixed upon the root syllable, whereas the word stress in Indo-European was free or variable. In Modern English we can generally recognize native words, as distinguished from those that have been borrowed from some non-Germanic tongue, by observing the stressed syllable when affixes are added in forming new words. For example, compare Modern English *friend'*, *friend'ly*, *friend'ship*, *friend'liness*, *unfriend'ly* with *pure'*, *purify'*, *purifica'tion* and to *cin'ema*, *cinemat'ograph*, *cinematog'raphy*, *cinematograph'ic*. The native word *friend* keeps the accent on the root syllable, but *pure* and *cinema*, borrowed from the Latin and Greek, respectively, shift the accent as affixes are added.

The fourth distinctive feature of the Germanic languages is the almost regular shifting, according to a certain pattern, that particular Indo-European consonants underwent in these languages. For example, *p* became *f*, and *t* became *th*, as seen in the Latin *pater* and English *father*. Linguists became aware of this consonant shift as a result of studies in the early 19th century. This knowledge has helped them in grouping the Germanic languages, in discovering the derivation and history of their vocabularies, and in finding out which words are borrowed and which are native.

GENERAL LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

Historically, Modern English is the result of a number of tribal migrations and invasions. Before the first of these, the linguistic ancestors of English-speaking people were wandering along the northern coast of Europe, using Low West Germanic dialects so similar to one another that members of the various tribes could understand one another.

Invasions and Their Results. About the middle of the 5th century A.D., three Germanic tribes—the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes—began a successful invasion of what is now England, or a mass migration into it. The gradual fusion of their three dialects resulted in Old English. By the end of the 6th century the former inhabitants of England—the Celts—had been killed, driven into Wales, or enslaved, and the Anglo-Saxons were securely established. English held sway in England. Only some place-names and a few ordinary words of the Celts remained.

The second major invasion was that of the Vikings, which began as a series of raids about the 9th century and also developed into a mass migration. Their language gradually merged with the related Anglo-Saxon dialects, and a great deal of interchange and borrowing of words occurred. Raids by the Danes continued throughout the 10th century, and in the early years of the 11th century Danish kings actually reigned in England. The linguistic consequence of the Viking invasion was a considerable injection of Scandinavian words into English. Examples are the nouns *sky*, *skull*, *egg*, and *leg* and the pronouns *they*, *their*, and *them*.

The third invasion to have a major influence on the language was the Norman Conquest, led by William the Conquerer in 1066. The Normans were descendants of Vikings who had earlier settled in Normandy and had adopted the French dialect of their new home as their own. After the Conquest, the business of the government, or the court, was conducted in Norman French. The French were in control, and French became the language of the nobility, the court, polite society, and literature. English as a written language almost disappeared. But despite the prestige and use of French among the rulers and landlords, French did not replace English as the speech of the common people.

Another, but peaceful, invasion was that of Latin, which began in 597 A.D., when the Roman missionary St. Augustine arrived in England and converted the kingdom of Kent to Christianity. Thus began an influence that has continued to enrich English through Latin borrowings.

Subsequent Trends. English developed and changed with the passing of time, as do all living entities. During the long period after the Norman Conquest when English was neglected in favor of French, English became practically a spoken dialect. At this time it was transformed into a new standard speech, casting off much that was superfluous and borrowing from its rival, Norman French. By the time it emerged again as a literary language, around 1200, it had assumed the form known as Middle English.

Middle English is Old English changed first by French influence and second by the transforming power of popular speech. The consequences were profound. From a rather highly inflected language, English changed to one of few inflections; and as inflectional endings were lost, so was "grammatical" gender, which gave way to "natural" gender. Along with the simplification of the grammatical structure went an increase in vocabulary and idiom, principally under the influence of the French language.

As a product of two merging strains, Germanic and Romance—French is a Romance language, descended from Latin—English became a language capable of expressing a wide range of thought and feeling, as exemplified in the works of Chaucer, the greatest literary figure of medieval England. Chaucer wrote in the East Midland dialect, which had risen to a commanding position among three competing forms—Northern, Midland, and Southern.

East Midland was the dialect of London, the capital and metropolitan center of England, politically, commercially, socially, and intellectually preeminent. It held a middle course between the more conservative Southern dialect and the more advanced Northern, and developed into the speech Chaucer used. It is also the dialect from which standard Modern English is derived.

In the Modern English period the people of England followed a generally peaceful line of development in their thought and language, as they were not subjected to foreign invasion or any extensive external ethnic influences. The language developed along with the political, industrial, and intellectual growth of the country and of the world as a whole.

THE THREE PERIODS OF ENGLISH

Considered in more detail, the periods of English are (1) the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) period, starting with the coming of the Germanic tribes into England—traditionally 449 A.D.—and ending around 1100; (2) the Middle English period, 1100–1500; and (3) the Modern English period—from 1500 to the present, with the Early Modern English period extending to about 1700.

Old English. In Old English there were four main dialects—Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish, and West Saxon. Two of these were Anglian: Northumbrian, spoken north of the river Humber, and Mercian, spoken in the Midlands between the rivers Humber and Thames. Northumbrian was the language of the first significant literature and the best of Old English literature, including the epic poem *Beowulf*. Kentish was the dialect of the Jutes, who lived in the southeast. West Saxon—the chief Saxon dialect, spoken south of the Thames—is the dialect in which the great bulk of Old English writing has come down to us.

The reason for the preeminence of West Saxon is that in the 9th century the center of culture and influence, formerly in Northumbria and then in Mercia, shifted to Wessex, the home of the West Saxons. Most of the prose was originally West Saxon, inspired by Alfred the Great, who succeeded to the West Saxon throne in 871. The poetry, chiefly Anglian, was copied by West Saxon scribes, whose transcriptions have been preserved. The early West Saxon period centered on King Alfred, who was not only a military leader, successful in opposing the Danish invasions and keeping peace, but also a champion of learning. Late West Saxon centered on the writer and churchman Ælfric, whose works, dated mainly in

the late 900's, have made him a major figure in the development of English prose.

Spelling and Sound. The following is the West Saxon version of the Lord's Prayer, from Matthew 6 of the King James Version of the Bible:

> . . . Fæder ūre þū þe eart on heofonum, sī þīn nama gehālgod. Tō becume þīn rīce. Gewurþe ðīn willa on eorðan swā swā on heofonum. Ūrne gedæghwāmlīcan hlāf syle ūs tō dæg. And forgyf ūs ūre gyltas, swā swā wē forgyfað ūrum gyltendum. And ne gelæd þū ūs on costnunge, ac ālȳs ūs of yfele . . . . Sōþlīce.

At first glance the passage may seem strange because of the differences between Old English and Modern English spelling. The character æ spells the sound of *a* in *hat*, and the characters þ and ð are used as *th* is used in Modern English. Many differences in sound exist. Modern *our* developed from *ūre*, the first vowel of which sounded like *oo* in *moon*. The word *hlāf* is the ancestor of modern *loaf*, although we have lost the *h* sound and changed the vowel, which sounded approximately like the first vowel in *father*. Old English had some sounds that do not occur in Modern English; for example, the sound represented by Old English *y*, which may be approached by pronouncing *i* in *sit* with the lips rounded. This was a rounded front vowel with approximately the value of German *ü* or French *u*. In later English this sound disappeared, and *y* was used interchangeably with *i*.

Other words that can be recognized in this passage are *eart* (archaic second person singular form of the verb *be;* present *are*), *heofonum* (*heofon,* with dative plural ending; Modern English *heaven*), *nama* (*name*—nominative singular, weak declension), *eorðan* (*earth,* with dative singular ending, weak declension), *forgyf* (*forgive,* imperative form), *gyltas* (*guilt,* with accusative plural ending), and *forgyfað* (*forgive,* with present indicative plural ending).

Some words in the passage have undergone changes in sound, which are reflected in altered spellings; for example, the combination æg in *dæg* became in Middle English a diphthong, æy, illustrated in Modern English *day*. Actually, more than 70% of the words in this passage are still current, though changed somewhat in spelling and pronunciation and occasionally in meaning. The word order is also different from that in Modern English. At the beginning we find "*Fæder ūre*" instead of "Our Father."

Grammar and Vocabulary. From the passage, it is clear that in grammar Old English is more highly inflected than Modern English. There are various case endings for nouns, numerous endings for adjectives, a more complicated system of pronouns, more person and number endings for verbs, and the like. Nouns had four cases—nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. Adjectives had all these plus an instrumental case. In Modern English, nouns have only two cases—the common case, for both subject and object, and the possessive—and adjectives have no case at all. However, to express relationships, Modern English employs a more rigid word order and more structure words, such as prepositions and auxiliaries, than did Old English.

The vocabulary of Old English is likewise different from that of Modern English. Most of the words were native words, though there were borrowings from other sources. Some words were coming in from Norse, and others had been taken over from Latin. Even while the Anglo-Saxons were still on the Continent, they had adopted from Roman merchants such Latin words as those from which *cheese, kitchen,* and *wine* are derived, and more Latin words came into English after the conversion to Christianity—for example, the original forms of *candle, cloister, creed, dirge,* and *font.* However, only about 400 to 500 words of Latin origin appear in Old English manuscripts.

Middle English. Sometime between the years 1000 and 1200, numerous significant changes took place in the structure of English, and Old English became Middle English. The transition was gradual and did not proceed at a uniform rate in all dialects. In the North, where changes were earlier and more rapid than in the South, the dialect had already definitely assumed the appearance of Middle English by the year 1100, whereas the Southern dialect remained essentially Old English until at least 1150.

The main difference between Old English and Middle English was the great reduction in inflectional endings. This development resulted chiefly from a change in the way words were accented. In the Old English period, a general or distributed stress existed, spread over the word as a whole, thus preserving the full inflectional endings. In the Middle English period the stress shifted to the first syllable, weakening and obscuring the later syllables.

Another factor contributing to change was the complete overthrow of the English social and political system that accompanied the period of Danish rule and, somewhat later, the Norman Conquest. For several generations, confusion reigned and the language developed in an untrammeled and popular way, since the constraints of a rigid social system were removed. The usages of the uneducated were not held in check by conservative forces, and the old standards of correctness were more or less forgotten as the language followed the free impulses of the people. Consequently, when the language achieved a stable literary form in the time of Chaucer and his predecessors, it was very different from that of Alfred and Ælfric.

Changes in the Sound System and in Grammar. Owing to the shift in word accent, the final syllables of words, particularly inflectional syllables, tended to become weak and eventually disappeared. The development of a standard word order compensated for the loss of inflectional endings. In general, the *-um* of the dative plural of nouns and adjectives appeared as *-un, -on, -an,* or *-en,* the last form becoming the predominant one and finally weakening to *-e*. Likewise, all unstressed end vowels leveled under the vowel *-e,* which was later dropped. The present participle in early Middle English ended in *-inde* in the South, *-ende* in the Midlands, and *-ande* in the North. These presumably merged with certain nouns naming actions, which regularly ended in *-ung* (present *-ing*), as in *learnung* ("learning").

As the vowel endings leveled, the classification of nouns disappeared. So did grammatical gender in favor of the natural gender of Modern English. With the loss of grammatical gender in the noun went the loss of agreement in inflection between the noun and its adjective. The same leveling of inflectional endings, therefore, took place in the adjective as in the noun. Only one ending persisted after the loss of those indicative of gender—the vowel *-e,* which marked the plural number and the weak inflection of the adjective.

That Middle English is closer to Modern English than Old English can be seen from lines of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales:*

> A knyght ther was and that a worthy man,
> That fro the tyme that he first bigan
> To riden out, he loved chivalrie,
> Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie.

Changes in Vocabulary. In addition to the changes already mentioned, there were great changes in vocabulary. French words from all walks of life came into English. In some instances we have pairs of words, one from Norman French and one from Parisian French, as in *catch, chase; cattle, chattel;* and *warden, guardian.* The Latin *ca* was preserved in Norman French but was changed to *ch* in Central French. Likewise, many Norman words begin with *w,* whereas the Central form is *gu.*

Many of the borrowed words dealt with things in which the French influence was strong—government, law, religion, and military affairs. Illustrations are *reign, court, revenue, clergy, faith,* and *sergeant.* Architecture, literature, and science, as well as fashion, dress, and social life, added terms like *sculpture, palace, pillar, romance, tragedy, surgeon, anatomy, clock,* and *tournament.* Many words were introduced that had to do with the table and preparation of food, such as *appetite, beef, veal, pork, pastry, broil,* and *boil.* These and thousands of others were added to the English vocabulary between 1100 and 1500. Yet the very core of the vocabulary remained English. The pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliaries and many ordinary nouns, verbs, and adjectives were not supplanted by borrowings.

Latin words, along with French, continued to be added to Middle English. An important source of Latin borrowings was Wycliffe's translation of the Bible into English. The French and Latin borrowings made English a richer language, with many synonyms. For example, one finds *ask* (Old English), *inquire* (French), and *interrogate* (Latin). Flemish, Dutch, and Low German also contributed a number of words, such as *deck, dock,* and *freight,* as a result of the constant communication between England and the Low Countries, principally in connection with trade. The greatest contribution, however, came from French.

The use of French words in Middle English texts gradually increased, reaching its height between 1300 and 1400, the period in which English was reestablishing itself as a national language after some 200 years. English began to be used in the schools, and in 1362 a parliamentary statute required its use in the King's courts. Eventually, the laws of the land were in the language of the people, and a literary standard English, based on the normal spoken English of the London dialect, had been established to a considerable extent, through its use by such writers as Chaucer, Wycliffe, Malory, and Caxton.

Early Modern English. Between the years 1500 and 1700, the language developed many of the features that characterize it today. Some of these came as the result of basic linguistic changes, and some followed in the wake of the Renaissance and other movements—social, political, religious, and scientific.

Linguistic Changes. Between 1400 and 1600, English experienced changes in sound that made Shakespeare's language quite different from that of Chaucer. One modification was the loss of an unstressed vowel sound at the end of some words. For example, *space, grace,* and *large* were pronounced as two syllables by Chaucer but as one by Shakespeare. The *-e* represented a vowel sound for Chaucer. It was not "silent." Likewise, the modern words *looked* and *loved* would have had two syllables for Chaucer. These changes were significant in that they affected thousands of words.

Another alteration was the systematic shifting of some half a dozen tense vowels and diphthongs in stressed syllables. For instance, Middle English *mine* had the vowel of modern *we,* whereas *we* was pronounced like *way. Louse* in Middle English sounded like modern *loose,* and *noon* had the vowel of *known.* This shift, known as the Great Vowel Shift, affected most of the long vowels and all the words containing them.

Changes Brought About by the Printing Press. The invention of printing, which William Caxton introduced into England about 1476, released a force that was to have an almost immeasurable effect on both language and thought. In time, books were available for all, not merely for the favored few. More and more people learned to read and write, and education increased. On the English language itself, the chief effect of the invention of printing was to be in making the language more uniform and in standardizing it, particularly the spelling.

Effects of the Renaissance. The main influence on the development of Modern English was the great humanistic movement of the Renaissance, which exerted its greatest force in England during the period of 1500–1625, enabling Englishmen to partake of the cultural riches of the rest of contemporary Europe as well as of the ancient world. The study of the classics was stressed, and the enthusiastic classicists deliberately attempted to enrich the English language by borrowing from Latin and Greek.

Thousands of words poured in from the classical languages. Such words as *education, external, exist,* and *meditate* came directly from the Latin. Others, like *chaos, climax,* and *crisis,* came in from Greek through the Latin. Some like *catastrophe* and *lexicon,* came directly from the Greek. The English often adapted a Latin term by modifying an ending (*frivolous,* for example, from Latin *frivolus*) or by substituting one final cluster for another (*corporeal,* from Latin *corporeus*). The Latin endings of nouns *-antia* and *-entia* became in English *-ance, -ence,* or *-ancy, -ency,* as in *countenance, concurrence, constancy, frequency.* The borrowing

of Latin words was strengthened by the borrowing of French words, which continued from the Middle English period. In many cases it is difficult to determine whether a word came directly from Latin or came in through French, for many Latin words were entering French, and French was passing them on into English.

Along with the learned words from Greek and Latin in the Renaissance period came loanwords from more than 50 languages, the major sources being the three Romance languages, French, Spanish, and Italian. Words like *detail, genteel,* and *surpass* poured in from French. From Italy came *balcony, piazza,* and *portico.* Spain contributed *alligator* and *armada.* Many words also came from other parts of the world as a result of exploration, trade, and colonization.

The classicists were concerned not only about vocabulary but about style as well, their chief models being such writers as Vergil and Cicero. Many works, therefore, were translated in the great effort to improve the English language. Among the most famous were Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* (1579), an important source for Shakespeare's plays; and George Chapman's translations of Homer, which began to appear in 1598. One important classicist, Sir Thomas More, wrote his *Utopia* (1516) in Latin. But the man who no doubt had the greatest influence in spreading the use of Latin was William Lily (or Lilye), the first high master of St. Paul's School in London and the author of a famous Latin grammar that was used by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, as well as by later generations of students. Among the Greek scholars were Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn, and John Colet. The great Dutch humanist Erasmus taught Greek at the University of Cambridge at this time.

Reaction Against Classicism. As strong as the humanistic movement was in Renaissance England, growing patriotism produced a healthy pride in the use of English. Some Englishmen thought that their language should depend upon its own resources. To them, importations from foreign sources meant corruption. Among the linguistic purists holding this theory and praising English were George Pettie, who expounded his position in his *Civile Conversation* (1581; 1586), a translation of a work by Stefano Guazzo; and Richard Mulcaster, the author of the principal treatise on English spelling in the 16th century and the teacher of Edmund Spenser. Spenser supported his master by praising the riches of the English language, by reviving old words, such as *astound, doom, ydrad* (for "dreaded"), and by coining new words, many of which were derivatives of old ones, such as *wrizzled* (probably from "wrinkled" and "frizzled").

Men like Sir John Cheke, first regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, opposed the introduction of inkhorn (pedantic) terms from Latin and Greek. Among the followers of Cheke were Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth I and the author of *Toxophilus* (1545), a dialogue on archery in English, and of the more famous educational treatise, *The Scholemaster* (1570), and Sir Thomas Elyot, author of what has been called the first book on education written and printed in English, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531). Others were Thomas Wilson, author of the popular *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), and Richard Carew, author of *The Excellencie of the English Tongue* (1614). Sir Philip Sidney praised English as a tongue equal to any other. Despite these advocates of English, the Latinists triumphed for a time. Children had to learn Latin at school, to the neglect of English.

Reemergence of English. But once more English emerged and established itself. Its position in the nation had not been questioned, for it had continued as the language of government and of trade. Then came three great English poets, all within a century: Spenser, "the poet's poet" of the English Renaissance and the great advocate of the English language; Shakespeare, the popular, unequaled dramatist and the outstanding literary artist of Early Modern English, credited with using 90% of native words in his working vocabulary of 20,000 to 25,000 words; and Milton, who wrote both in Latin and in English but chose English for *Paradise Lost,* his great blank verse epic. These three literary giants, along

with many other poets and prose writers, have proved the versatility and power of the language.

The prose writers of the Renaissance not only borrowed words from Latin but also imitated the Latin style as illustrated by John Lyly in his *Euphues* (1578). In striving for elegance, he employed an excessive use of antithesis, alliteration, and far-fetched similes, cultivating a highly self-conscious and artificial language. The Renaissance writers favored the ornate, although there is one notable exception—the King James Version of the Bible.

Effects of the Reformation. Biblical translation has had a great effect on literary style in Modern English, beginning with the translation by Wycliffe and his friend and collaborator John Purvey in the 14th century. As a result of the Reformation many translations appeared. The first of these was William Tyndale's, which established a standard on which the others were based, including the King James (1611). This literary monument is noted for its native vocabulary and its simplicity and beauty of phrase. The fact that native words make up 94% of its vocabulary has placed it in the forefront of English prose writing and accounts for its powerful and widespread influence on English style.

Summary. With the heritage of the European Renaissance and the Reformation, the influence of the printing press and of increased popular education, and the influx of new ideas from around the globe, Early Modern English, through its experimentations and innovations, gradually became the language of scholarship, replacing Latin. It likewise produced a body of literature unequaled at any other time. The authors of the Elizabethan Age were inspired, highly imaginative, versatile, and experimental, giving to the world writings of all types—long narrative poems, sonnet sequences, lyrics, songs, romances, histories, literary criticism, and, above all, dramas, the greatest since the Golden Age of Greece.

Development Since 1700. After 1700, many movements and countermovements characterized the history of English, one of which was the attempt to regulate and control the language. The freedom of the Renaissance disappeared, and in its place came order and restraint. Formulation of rules began; efforts were made to stabilize the language—to determine what was right and what was wrong. Many demanded an academy, similar to the Académie Française, to decide on correctness of language and, in effect, to legislate on the permanent form of English. Chief among these advocates were Dryden, Swift, and Defoe, who did not wish English to be corrupted. They wanted it to be pure and eloquent.

18th Century. This authoritarian attitude reached its height in the 18th century, the age of reason and logic. The idea of an academy failed, but the desire to stabilize the language resulted in the development of the dictionary and a great interest in grammar.

The first English dictionary, by Robert Cawdrey, had appeared in 1604, briefly explaining 2,500 "hard words." Many others followed, making gradual improvements, until Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* was published in 1755. It dominated the field for about a century and paved the way for the monumental *Oxford English Dictionary*, the standard authority for the history of English words, published during the period 1884–1933. It laid the foundation for the great advance in lexicography that has continued to the present.

The doctrine of "correctness," supported by the authoritarian sense of order and conformity to a standard, was responsible for a succession of English grammars based on Latin rules of grammar and written by grammarians who had no knowledge of the processes of linguistic change. The influence of the most popular of these grammars—one by Robert Lowth, published in 1762, and another by Lindley Murray, in 1795—is still felt.

There were, however, a few thinkers who realized that all linguistic problems could not be solved by logic and that standards must be based on usage. Chief among them were Joseph Priestley, author of *The Rudiments of English Grammar . . .* (1761), and George Campbell, who wrote his *Philosophy of Rhetoric* in 1776.

The principles established in such works as these were the forerunners of the modern doctrine of usage, which is basic in all sound investigations of linguistic questions—that is, that usage and social acceptance determine correctness.

While authoritarian English was being codified lexically and grammatically at home, the British Empire was expanding around the world and extending tremendous influence. Supremacy in trade on the high seas and political supremacy among far-flung colonies brought Britain into contact with strange lands, peoples, cultures, and climates. As a result, thousands of new terms poured into English from around the globe, resulting in a more cosmopolitan vocabulary. From the North American Indians came words like *hickory, persimmon, squash;* from Mexico, *chili, coyote;* from South America, *alpaca, llama, pampas;* from India, *bungalow, cashmere, chintz;* from Africa, *chimpanzee, voodoo, zebra;* and from Australia, *boomerang, kangaroo, wombat.*

19th and 20th Centuries. In both Britain and the English-speaking areas abroad, the romantic period, following the conservative 18th century, was a time of liberalism in literature and language. Obsolete words were revived, and new words were coined. In Britain, great changes were occurring in society, making it more democratic, and the upper and lower classes were brought closer together by industrial reforms. Greater economic and cultural advantages came to the common man, aided by the first cheap newspapers around 1820, by cheap postage about 1840, and by great advances in science.

The large circulation of the newspaper afforded a means of renewing the language, of approving its informal, colloquial usage, and of bringing the spoken standard closer to the written. Means of telecommunication and of travel were likewise increasingly improved and speeded up, thereby bringing the people of the world closer and closer together and enlarging the English vocabulary by word borrowings from many areas. Scientific progress also meant development of the vocabulary, since each new technological advance brought a new stock of words. Thus the vocabulary increased by leaps and bounds as one scientific development followed another in the 19th and 20th centuries.

LEXICAL GROWTH AND CHANGE

The ever-increasing size of the English vocabulary results from a variety of processes, mainly of two kinds: (1) processes of growth, through which words enter the language, and (2) processes of change, whereby words already in use undergo alterations in meaning.

Methods of Forming Words. Although there are many words of unknown origin, there are almost no "originals"—words created without a source of some kind. The following represent the chief sources of the English vocabulary:

Borrowing from Other Languages. The English language has vast debts. In any dictionary some 80% of the entries are borrowed. The majority are likely to come from Latin, and of those more than half will come through French. A considerable number will derive directly or indirectly from Greek. A substantial contribution will come from Scandinavian languages, and a small percentage from Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. Scattered words will be from various sources around the globe. The vocabulary has grown from the 50,000 to 60,000 words in Old English to the tremendous number of entries—650,000 to 750,000—in an unabridged dictionary of today. The bulk of the words spoken and written by English-speaking people, however, are native words, the nine most frequently used being *and, be, have, it, of, the, to, will,* and *you.* Borrowed words are nevertheless immensely useful in enriching the vocabulary and making the language flexible and resourceful.

Compounding. The most evident method of forming new words is joining two or more words to make a new entry. It has been common in all periods of English. Some of the shortest and simplest-appearing words were formed originally in this way—for example, *hussy,* from Old English *hūs* and *wīf* ("housewife").

Almost all parts of speech lend themselves to compounding, though some combinations are far more useful than others.

Examples of nouns formed by compounding are *houseboat* or *motorway* (from two nouns), *blackberry* or *greenhouse* (from adjective and noun), *popcorn* (from verb and noun), *touchdown* (from verb and adverb), and *downpour* or *output* (from adverb and verb). Adjectives so formed include *footsore* (from noun and adjective) and *overdue* (from adverb and adjective). There are also connective and particle compounds, such as *notwithstanding* and *insofar*, and phrase oddities, such as *up-and-coming*.

Formation by Affixes. Another common process of word making is that of adding a prefix or suffix to a single word. Some affixes have existed from the Old English period, such as *un-*, *-ness*, *-less*, and *-ish*, in words like *undo, frankness, useless,* and *childish*. Examples of living prefixes—those that can be applied freely to new words—are *anti-, ex-, pro-, super-, hyper-, post-,* and many more. A similar morphological wealth is seen in the suffixes. Consider, for example, Latin *-ation* and *-ative;* French *-al, -able, -ous,* and *-ary* (all ultimately Latin); and Greek *-ist, -ize,* and *-itis*. The number of words formed by affixes is constantly growing.

Functional Shift. The free interchange of functions, whereby one part of speech is changed to another, is a significant feature of Modern English. Functional shift between noun and verb is common; for example, one may sew a *button* on a coat and then *button* the coat. But many other changes are possible. A noun may become an adjective, as in "*home* run," or an adverb, in "go *home*." An adjective may become a noun, as in "none but the *brave*," or a verb, in "*brave* the storm." A preposition may become an adjective, as in "a *through* train"; and an adverb may become an adjective, as in "the *then* minister."

Figures of Speech. In the creation of words, imagery plays a great role, as in the original combination *the day's eye,* which finally became *daisy,* now a fossilized image. Metaphors of this type are common in the English vocabulary, as can be seen from names of other flowers, such as *bleeding heart* and *lady's slipper* (or *lady slipper*). Likewise, imagery is evident in *numskull* (also spelled *numbskull*) or *pip-squeak* and in the various uses of the word *head,* originally naming a part of the body. Now, because of the resemblance in shape, we speak of a "*head* of cabbage," or in considering function, of the "*head* of a government." Metaphor also is used in the "*head* of a pin," but in "fifty *head* (of cattle)," synecdoche—the naming of a part to indicate the whole—is employed.

Poetic imagery is evident in slang, where one finds a definite contrast between the literal and the figurative meanings of the word. Slang is generally a bold and metaphoric presentation of an idea, originating from the attempt to be novel and fresh. For example, the literal meaning of *pull* is transformed into the metaphorical meaning "influence." In slang there is no lack of creative and vivid expression. The difficulty is that it is overused, and as a result it often drops out of use after a feverish circulation. Nevertheless, it is an important method of rejuvenating the language, for many slang creations remain.

Clipping and Back-Formation. Two methods of word creation, which result in shortening, may be considered together—clipping and back-formation. Clippings occur frequently in informal situations, especially in spoken language. Student speech is filled with examples like *exam, lab, math,* and *gym*. Such abbreviations may become so well established that they supersede the original. An example is the word *mob,* the use of which was opposed by Jonathan Swift in the 18th century. He preferred the Latin *mobile vulgus* ("vacillating crowd"). Today no one thinks of using the long form. Other common clipped words are *cab* (from *cabriolet*) and *phone* (from *telephone*).

Many back-formations in English come from words ending in *-s* that were singular but were mistaken for plurals or from words having what appear to be (but are not) suffixes, especially the *-er,* *-ar,* or *-or* of agent. Examples of the former are *sherry* (from the earlier *sherris,* taken as a plural) and *pea* (from *pease*). Instances of the latter include *rove* (from *rover*), *beg* (from *beggar*), and *edit* (from *editor*).

"Initial" Words, or Acronyms. Combining the initial letters of a series of words to form a new word is another method of shortening. *NATO,* for example, is an acronym for "North Atlantic Treaty Organization." Not only may initial letters be used, but initial syllables or parts of words may be combined, as in *EUROMART* ("European Common Market") and *radar* for "radio detecting and ranging." Acronyms have become increasingly popular. In many cases one uses words like *laser* and *UNESCO* without knowing the words from which they were formed.

Imitation of Sounds. Some words are formed as imitations of natural sounds. These words are onomatopoeic, or echoic. Examples are *bang, crash, fizz, hiss, pop,* and *sizzle*. Some are iterative in form, as *tweet-tweet* and *pitter-patter*. Such imitative words are expressive and vivid.

"Name" Words. A limited but interesting group of words comes from the names of persons or places. The names of scientists, for example, have come to be employed as common nouns—*faraday, joule, ohm,* and *watt*. Words such as *epicurean, platonic, stoic,* and *jeremiad* remind us of classical and biblical times. Other "name" words include *cardigan, macintosh,* and *guillotine.* Words coming from place-names include *meander, canter, mackinaw, canary,* and *tweed*.

Blending. Telescoping two words into one, called "blending," is another process of word creation, as in *slide* (from *slip* and *glide*), *twirl* (*twist* and *whirl*), and *brunch* (*breakfast* and *lunch*). Other examples are *nucleonics, radiotrician, sportscast, astronaut,* and *smog*. Many humorous blends appear, such as *alcoholiday, slanguage,* and *insinuendo*.

Changes in Words. After entering the language, words continue to have a history. They change, even as people do, and many have varied "careers." The changes that occur may be considered under the following headings:

Degeneration and Elevation. Words may rise or fall in status. The word *villain,* which originally meant "farm laborer," is one example of degeneration in meaning. Others are *knave, imp,* and *varlet,* which at one time merely meant "boy"; *lust,* which meant simply "pleasure"; and *wench,* "young girl." Names for lowly positions for rural inhabitants (as opposed to presumably sophisticated city-dwellers), for foreigners, and for death are subject to degeneration and at times to euphemistic substitutions. For example, *cemetery* took the place of *graveyard,* but today in the United States, *memorial park, cloister,* and *burial abbey* are being substituted for *cemetery,* as are *casket* for *coffin* and *funeral car* for *hearse.*

Along with the many pejorative changes, one may observe the opposite tendency in a number of words. Some terms for position or rank have risen in prestige from lowly origins. Originally a *minister* was a servant, and a *marshal* was a stableboy who looked after the horses. In like manner, throughout the centuries a number of organized groups have accepted derisive names and have made them respected. Instances are *Quaker, Shaker,* and *Hoosier.* The word *fond* has risen from its etymological meaning of "foolish" to "affectionate," and *smart* has been elevated from an earlier meaning pertaining to pain to a meaning pertaining to mental alertness and elegance in dress or appearance.

Generalization and Specialization. In the process of change, words also expand or contract. At times a word acquires an extended meaning instead of the narrower one it once had. For example, the words *throw*—from Old English *ðrāwan,* originally meaning "to turn, to twist"—has become so generalized that we are no longer aware of its having any connection with twisting. For centuries the word *free* meant "noble" or "of high birth." Gradually it has gained a wider sense until it now means "unrestricted."

Far more frequent than the foregoing are words that have narrowed their significance. In Old English, the meaning of *wedd*

was "pledge." It appeared in the compound *wedlāc*, the second element meaning "an offering." The modern word *wedlock* has narrowed itself to one particular kind of pledge. To Chaucer, *rent* meant "revenue," and *rape* signified any kind of forcible deprival. Many Modern English terms in science, all minutely specialized, represent more generalized predecessors.

Exaggeration and Understatement. Meanings of words are also changed by the use of hyperbole, or exaggeration, and by understatement. Hyperbole—deliberate exaggeration—causes expressions of strength to diminish in effect and grow toward feebleness, as may be seen in the use of intensives. Adverbs like *awfully, enormously, frightfully,* and *tremendously* are now employed for quite trivial matters. Adjectives indicating approval and disapproval, such as *grand, gorgeous, superb, dreadful, horrible,* and *outrageous,* are employed similarly, thereby weakening the distinctive qualitites of each word.

As there is "too much" in exaggeration, so there is "too little" in understatement, the tradition of which reaches back to the Old English period. Understatement is heard in such negative statements as "not bad," when giving approval. Another instance may be found in *rather,* which has been in English from the earliest period, although Old English *hraðe* had the meaning of "quick" and "early," rather than "preferred." The modern *rather* is the comparative of *rathe.* From the meaning "earlier," *rather* changed to include the idea of "prefer," as shown in Shakespeare's line from *Hamlet,* "And makes us rather bear those ills we have . . . ." In addition to signifying preference, *rather* has come to mean "moderately," as in "rather good."

Abbreviation and Extension. Abbreviating may affect the end, the beginning, or the middle, or a combination of these, of the words it shortens. Generally, clipped words lose sounds at the end as *gas* for *gasoline.* Occasionally a word will lose a sound or syllable at the beginning, as *mend* from *amend, tend* from *attend.* In each case here, the vocabulary has been enriched, for there is a useful differentiation in meaning between the original word and the abbreviated form. Phrase shortenings may be observed in *good-bye* from "God be with you" and *farewell* from "fare you (thee) well." The extension of words is not so prevalent as abbreviation. Occasionally a word adds an extra letter and perhaps an extra sound, as *thunder* (from *þunor*) and *sound* (from *soun*).

Metathesis and Folk Etymology. The kinds of changes discussed thus far result mainly in alteration of meaning. The changes caused by metathesis and folk etymology primarily affect the sounds. Metathesis refers to the interchanging of certain phonemes (speech sounds) by the human tongue, principally *l, r,* and *s,* as may be observed in the pronunciation *aks* for *ask.* The modern word *grass* was *gærs* in Old English; *bird* was *brid,* and *fresh* was *fersc.* Other words that show metathesis are *third, thresh,* and *through.*

In folk (popular) etymology, the form of a word is altered to make it reflect a fancied likeness to another word with which it has no connection but which it resembles in sound, as in *belfry* from French *berfrei* ("tower"). *Ber* sounded somewhat like *bell,* and everyone knows that bells belong in towers; therefore, *ber* became *bell* and gave us *belfry.* Similarly, *hangnail* came from *angnail.* The first syllable is from Old English *ang* ("pain"), but it has become *hang,* because *hang* seemed more plausible. Other instances are *mushroom* from Old French *mouscheron* and *cockroach* from Spanish *cucaracha.*

Shifts in Association. Each word is an idea-complex made up of a primary meaning with a number of associated meanings. For example, the basic meaning of *begin* is "to set in motion, to start." But associated with this are other meanings, such as "creation," "youth," and "birth."

The shift of association may be observed in the word *ambition,* from the Latin *ambitio,* signifying "going around." This meaning was applied to the going about of a politician to get votes, and the resulting secondary meaning grew to be the chief one attached to the word. Since politicians eagerly pursue a particular aim, the idea

of going about became generalized, so that it denoted desire for anything that involved a struggle. To Shakespeare and Milton, ambition was not a good quality. But a later shift of emphasis was ameliorative, and today ambition is considered desirable and is even urged on youth. Thus we see four shifts in the development of the meaning of *ambition:* (1) "a going around," (2) "electioneering," (3) "evil pursuit of place or power," and (4) "initiative."

Similarly, *nice* has shifted from its etymological meaning "ignorant," through its early English sense "foolish" and later ones such as "particular" and "discriminating," to its broad meaning of "pleasant" and "desirable," although "discriminating" is still a living meaning.

Radiation of Meaning. It is the nature of a word to have one principal meaning with a periphery of associated meanings. One can see, therefore, why words multiply, either by splitting into two or more separate words or by gaining many key meanings so that they are employed in different contexts to indicate distinct things or ideas. This feature accounts for the doublets in the language—a pair of words from the same origin, differently derived. For example, in English we find *ward* (Norman French) and *guard* (Parisian French), both from the same Germanic source. Pairs from the Greek, the first being the earlier borrowing and the second the later, are *balm, balsam; blame, blaspheme;* and *priest, presbyter.* Other doublets in Modern English from the same root, one from Old English and one from Scandinavian, are *no* and *nay* and *shirt* and *skirt,* the first of each pair being from Old English.

That a word itself need not multiply in order to have radiation in meaning is evident from looking into any large dictionary. A simple word may have dozens of separate meanings, all developed by association from the same source. Each meaning develops a new referent and undergoes a semantic shift, as in the case of the "eye" of a potato or of a needle. A physical similarity causes a transfer of meaning. By this process, meanings of words are always broadening and shifting. We speak of the "legs" of a table, "hands" of a clock, "foot" of a mountain, and "root" of a tooth or even "root" of the matter," the last involving a higher level of abstraction. Many ordinary words such as *brand, break, color, deep,* and *draft* illustrate the radiation of meanings in English words.

PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

The English language has some 40 simple sounds plus 8 diphthongs, consonantal and vocalic. For expressing these sounds in writing, there is an alphabet of only 26 letters. It is therefore necessary for some letters to represent more than one sound. In fact, the letters and letter combinations express an average of five sounds apiece.

If the sounds of English are considered and an attempt is made to count the letters and combinations of letters that may represent certain sounds, the situation is indeed complex. For example, one may give a number of possible sounds with the spelling *ai*—as in *ai*sle, m*ai*l, s*ai*d, p*ai*r, and porcel*ai*n. Even more striking is the number of sounds connected with an unphonetic group of letters *ough*—in b*ough,* c*ough,* r*ough,* thr*ough,* d*ough,* and thor*ough.* The numerous spellings of the sound represented by the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol [ʃ] provide yet another instance: *chi*valry, o*ce*an, mousta*ch*e, fu*chs*ia, politi*ci*an, *sch*wa, con*sci*ous, nau*se*a, *sh*ell, fa*sh*ion, man*si*on, pre*ss*ure, pa*ss*ion, ini*ti*ate, posi*ti*on, comple*xi*on, an*xi*ous. From these examples it is evident that the present alphabet is inadequate to express the sounds of Modern English. Old English and Middle English were much more phonetic in representing sounds.

Some changes have been made in the alphabet since the Old English period. During the Middle English period the Old English symbols *æ, þ,* and *ð* were lost, and the symbols *j, z, q,* and *v* were added, owing to French influence. Finally, in the 17th century *u* and *v* were separated—*u* for vowel use and *v* for consonant use.

Certain changes in spellings of symbols took place in the Middle English period. The symbols *þ* and *ð* came to be spelled *th,* and the

digraph *æ* became *a*. Also Old English *ū*, reflecting the French orthographical conventions, came to be spelled *ou* or *ow*. As a result, Old English *þū* became Middle English *thou,* and Old English *fæder* became Middle English *fader.*

With the introduction of printing many Middle English spellings became well established as visual representations of words. Thus there gradually emerged a generally accepted system of spelling, which has continued to the present with a few slight modifications. Since a revolution in English pronunciation was taking place at the time the spelling was being standardized, the present orthography does not indicate the phonology very well. Nevertheless, the written word has had a strong unifying effect on the language. Today the principal forms of Modern English (British, American, and Commonwealth) are practically the same on the printed page, thereby providing linguistic and cultural unity despite the almost endless variations in spoken English.

It is therefore not likely that a significant change will occur in the present written English alphabet for the sake of making it phonemic. If a phonemic alphabet were adopted, all literary masterpieces and other writings would have to be translated into the new system, or readers would have to learn the old spellings as well as the new. Then would come the problem of what pronunciation system to use. In addition, the present spelling often indicates the etymology of the word. Thus the quandary of English spelling remains unsolved. There seems to be a tendency toward greater tolerance of misspellings than formerly, but the standardizing effect of the printed page seems certain to prevent absolute individuality in orthography.

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH

If World Wars I and II and the vigorous participation of English-speaking nations in international commerce carried English to every inhabited quarter of the globe—as they did—the nature of the language itself helped make it virtually a second tongue to millions of users of other languages. Among features of English favoring its widespread use are its sentence structure, based on a simple word order instead of complicated inflections, and its "natural" gender, instead of the "grammatical" gender system of some other leading languages.

English is almost overwhelming in the richness of its vocabulary, estimated to contain more than a million words and to be the world's largest. From this vast storehouse, users of the language can coin words to suit their needs or give new meanings to existing words in ways that seem natural and effortless. Many other features lend force and flexibility to the language. Among them is the fact that an action verb can be linked with a variety of prepositions to convey both literal and figurative meanings, as in combining *put* with *across, away, down, on, over,* and *through.* Another is the ease with which a word can be made to function as more than one part of speech. For example, many nouns may be used as verbs in popular speech, and vice versa, as *table, chair, seat, curtain,* and *shop.* No other Indo-European language can approach English in this freedom of conversion.

Examples of the flexibility of English are not nullified by its unphonetic and often irrational spelling. And even here a defense of sorts can be made. Users of other languages sometimes get a clue to the meaning of a word written in English because in that form it is similar to a word in their own languages, even though the English pronunciation may fall strangely on their ears.

Whatever the future may hold for English, it has proved to be eminently suitable for almost all forms of written expression as well as for everyday use. It is sure to develop and change, for such is the nature of a living language. Probably it will become increasingly informal and utilitarian, under the impact of mass education and the mass media. Thus the written and the spoken forms of the language will be drawn closer together, making for greater flexibility. In the view of some, English might in time become the one generally accepted international language, although national political rivalries and the reluctance of speakers of other major tongues to yield primacy to English are formidable barriers.

MARGARET M. BRYANT
Author of "Modern English and Its Heritage"

Languages of the World

The number of languages spoken in the world may be estimated at about 5,000. No definite figure can be given for two reasons: the incompleteness of our knowledge of human speech varieties and the definitional vagueness of the term "language" itself, as distinguished from dialect. In popular usage a language is superior in dignity to a dialect in that a language has a written orthographic, grammatical, and lexical norm; characteristically serves as a medium of literary expression and educational instruction; and often has official status as a national language or at least embodies the aspirations of its speakers for political recognition. Other forms in nontechnical usage are labeled "dialects" and are often popularly believed to be mere corrupted forms of standard languages.

In technical usage, however, both written standard languages and dialects, which are infrequently or never written, are equally dialects of the same overall language, providing mutual intelligibility exists. Thus standard French and the local patois of, say, Gascony are equally variants of a single French language, assuming mutual intelligibility. Indeed, standard languages arise from the modification of some particular local dialect variant that has acquired priority for a variety of nonlinguistic reasons, usually some combination of cultural, economic, and political factors. Unfortunately, rigorous application of the criterion of mutual intelligibility has not proven to be possible because of variable factors that enter into its determination—relative intelligence, breadth of linguistic experience, and even emotional attitudes.

The great existing variety of languages has arisen through the local differentiation of previously uniform means of communication. As local dialect variants diverge in the course of time, what were formerly dialect variations of the same language develop their differences to the point of mutual unintelligibility and become separate languages. Thus the local variants of Latin spoken in different sections of the Roman Empire moved farther and farther apart, to the point where they became a number of distinct standard languages, including Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, and Romanian, and many more distinct local dialects. Such languages are said to be genetically related. Along with this diversification, however, is a countermovement toward language unification, as some forms become extinct and, in particular, as standard forms, with their greater prestige, replace local unwritten dialects.

In a few instances new varieties arise, not from the local differentiation of a previously uniform language but from an auxiliary form of speech known as *pidgin.* A pidgin is based always on some existing language from which its vocabulary is predominantly drawn but usually with a highly simplified grammatical structure. Pidgins are, by definition, auxiliary modes of communication employed among peoples of diverse linguistic backgrounds. They are not native languages of anyone and tend to be restricted in their powers of expression because of their limited use. However, in a few cases, a pidgin has acquired the role of first language of a population and thereafter has been transmitted in the normal fashion. Such languages are called *creoles.* An example is Haitian creole, originally a pidginized form of French used among themselves by African slaves of differing first languages and with their masters. This is now the regular speech of the population of Haiti and has developed along normal linguistic lines.

In modern times a number of artificial languages have been devised as international auxiliary languages. Even the most successful of these, such as Esperanto, have had only limited use. There is no reason to believe that any existing language has originated from such an artificial language.

MODES OF LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

Languages may be classified from a number of viewpoints and for various purposes. One basic kind of classification is typological, and another is genetic.

Typological Classification. Unlike genetic classifications, which reflect the historical fact of the differentiation in the course of time of an original homogeneous speech community, a typological classification has no necessary historical implications. To take one instance of a typological classification, all languages may be divided between those that are tonal and those that are nontonal. In tonal languages, a difference in pitch in an otherwise identical syllable may provide a drastic change of meaning. Such differences, therefore, function as do distinctions among the ordinary phonemes in a nontonal language. Thus in Yoruba, a tonal language of West Africa, *ko* on a high pitch means "to learn"; on a middle pitch, "to write"; and on a low pitch, "to refuse."

Membership in the group of tonal languages has no necessary historical implications. There are tonal languages in Africa, Southeast Asia, aboriginal Mexico, and elsewhere, and all the indications point to the fact that tonalism arose independently in the different areas. Indeed, languages that originally had a tonal system may lose it; those lacking one may develop it.

Typologies are generally either phonological, as the division into tonal and nontonal languages, or grammatical. An example of grammatical typology is a classification of language according to the presence of absence of noun gender. Similar gender systems—for example, the sex gender systems of Latin (masculine, feminine)—recur independently in other areas, as with certain native American languages, such as Chinook (masculine, feminine, neuter).

A popular grammatical typology has been one that divides the languages of the world into isolating, agglutinative, and inflective types. Its basic criteria pertain to internal word structures. At one end are languages in which each word is an unchangeable and unanalyzable unit—that is, not divisible into such characterizing features as root or inflection. Having no internal means of indicating grammatical connections with other words in the sentence, word order becomes the method of indicating relationships. Languages using this method, called *isolating,* form an ideal type to which no known language actually conforms, although some approximate it—for example, Vietnamese in Southeast Asia. The opposite to isolating languages in this typological scheme are languages in which the word is analyzable into a number of highly fused individual elements expressing a variety of syntactic functions. Such languages are called *inflective.* The classical languages (ancient Greek and Latin and Sanskrit) are considered models of this type. Between these extremes is the *agglutinative* type, in which, while the words have internal structures, the individual parts are clearly distinguishable, so that they may be considered agglutinated (literally, glued together) in mechanical fashion.

In the 19th century this typological classification was widely interpreted as a developmental scheme. The isolating type was regarded as the most primitive, the agglutinative as more advanced, and the inflective as the most highly developed. This scheme was clearly ethnocentric in that the most advanced inflectional stage was believed to have been attained only in the Indo-European and Semitic families. A discrepancy in the scheme was immediately obvious because the most frequently cited example of the isolating, supposedly the most primitive type, was