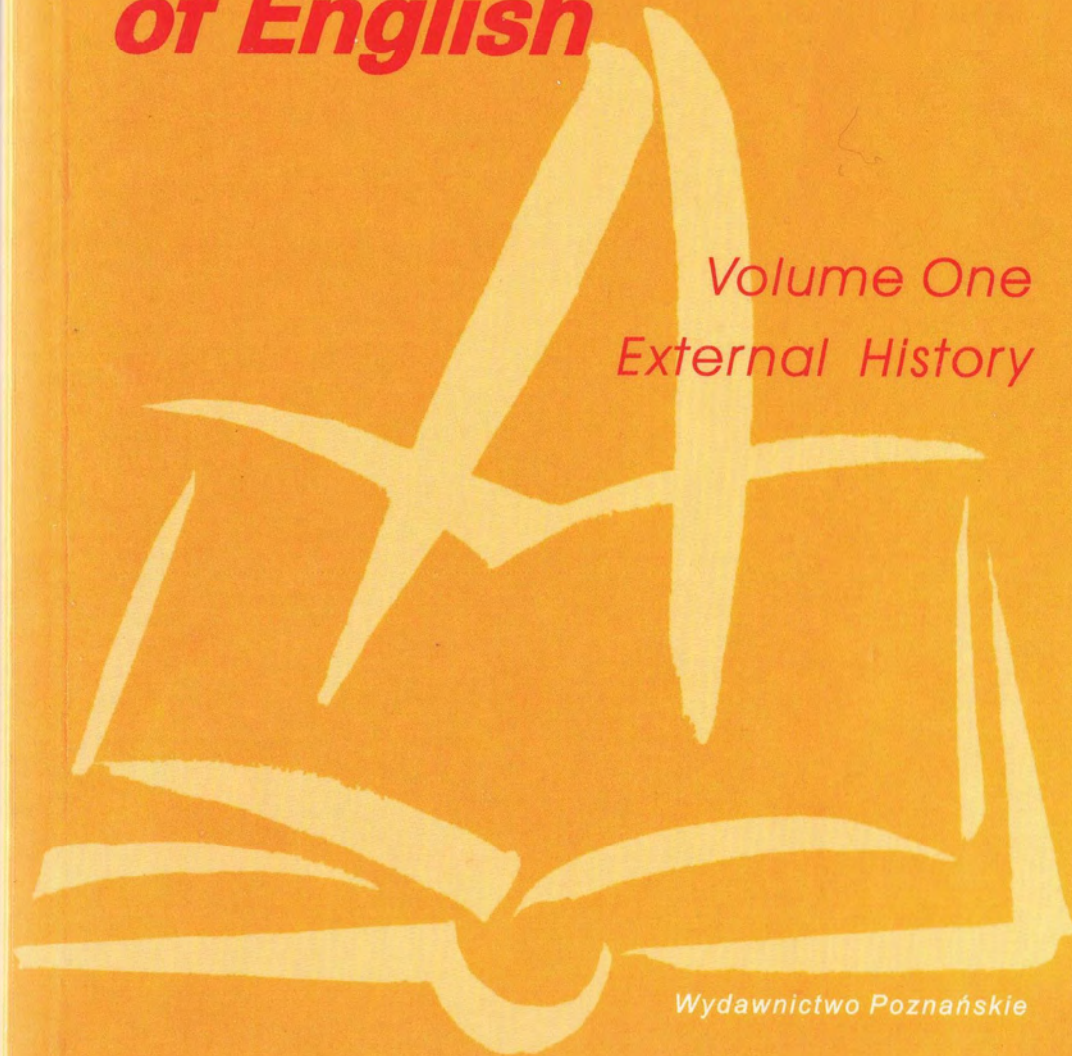


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Jacek Fisiak

***An Outline History
of English***

Volume One
External History



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Table of contents

Preface	7
Preface to the Second Edition	10
Preface to the Third Edition	11
Introduction	13
Chapter One	
<i>Britain before the Germanic Conquest</i>	27
1. Roman Britain	27
2. The Germanic Invasion and Conquest of Britain	31
Chapter Two	
<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>	42
1. The Establishment of Anglo-Saxon Rule in Britain	42
2. The Names 'England' and 'English'	44
3. Christianization	45
4. The Scandinavian Invasions of Britain	48
5. The Beginnings of English Literature	54
6. Standard Old English	57
7. The Fall of the English Kingdom	58
Chapter Three	
<i>From the Norman Conquest to the Ascension of the Tudors (1066 – 1485)</i>	61
1. After the Norman Conquest: The Political, Social and Linguistic Situation in England (1066 – 1204)	61
2. England from the Loss of Normandy to the Commencement of the Tudor Dynasty (1204 – 1485)	68
3. The Rise of Standard English	81

Chapter Four	
<i>Under the Tudors and Early Stuarts (1485 – 1649)</i>	89
1. Political, Social and Cultural Developments	89
2. The Growth of Prestige of the English Language	92
3. Lexical Enrichment of English	98
4. Orthoëpists and Early Grammarians	103
5. The Beginnings of English Lexicography	107
6. The Spread of English until the Middle of the Seventeenth Century	110
Chapter Five	
<i>From the Bourgeois Revolution to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1642 – 1800)</i>	116
1. The Age of Reason	116
2. The Ideal of Correctness, the Refining of the English Language and the Attempt to Fix It	117
3. English Lexicography 1650 – 1800	124
4. The Rise of Prescriptive Grammar	128
5. The Expansion of the British Empire and the Spread of the English Language	134
Chapter Six	
<i>The Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries</i>	137
1. The Further Spread of the English Language	137
2. Political, Social and Cultural Influences on the Development of English	139
3. The Oxford English Dictionary	143
Appendix	
<i>Chronological Summary of Important Events Pertaining to the History of English</i>	146
Bibliography	151
Abbreviations	168
Maps and Illustrations	169
Index of Names	170

Preface

The aim of this book is a modest one. It has primarily been written for Polish students of English, who in their work towards the master's degree have to take a one- or two-semester course on the history of the English language.

After teaching courses on the history of English in Poland, other European countries and in the United States for many years I have become convinced that a successful introductory handbook of the subject has to be directed at a specific audience. Polish students reading for a degree in English at Polish universities follow a more or less rigorously structured course of studies with a number of obligatory language and linguistic classes preceding the history of English. Therefore they need a different type of a handbook than their colleagues at British or American universities with the emphasis often shifted to different issues. Thus, the usefulness of the histories of English already available on the market (and there are many of them) is limited to quite an extent and the publishing of one aimed specifically at the Polish consumer seems justifiable.

Although aimed at the student of English the present book may also be of interest to the general reader (particularly Volume One) as a source of basic information on the evolution of English. It is hoped that it will guide him through the maze of problems and queries concerning the language history from the earliest stages to the present day.

The aim of this work unavoidably imposes numerous limitations both on the selection of the material as well as on the scope and depth of its presentation both with respect to the data as well as their interpretation. Hence it cannot and does not make any claim as to completeness or even exhaustiveness as regards the treatment of the issues selected for presen-

Chapter Two

Anglo-Saxon England

1. The Establishment of Anglo-Saxon Rule in Britain

In the south the advance towards the west was resumed in the middle of the seventh century. In the eighth century most of the country south of the Thames was in the Saxon hands. The final defeat of Britons, pushed to the area of Cornwall west of the River Hayle, took place in a battle in 838. In the Midlands, the western border separating Wales from Mercia (an Anglian kingdom) was established at the end of the eighth century. North of the Humber River the Anglians established a kingdom in 547, which in the seventh century included Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire.

Until the tenth century there was no English monarchy. The Germanic tribes which conquered Britain founded several small kingdoms. Seven of them are known as the *Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy*, i.e., Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, Sussex, Essex and Wessex (see Map 6). At times one or the other was more dominant and some of the kings gained fame for spreading the rule beyond his original borders, over another of the kingdoms, e.g., Northumbria had political and cultural supremacy over a number of kingdoms at the beginning of the seventh century, Kent under king Æthelberht (c. 560–616) dominated part of the political scene, Mercia held leadership in the eighth century and Wessex kings claimed to be kings of England throughout the ninth century. Under Alfred the Great (871–899) Wessex became politically and culturally the leading kingdom of England, paving the way for the future political unification of the country.



MAP 6. THE ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY

2. The Names 'England' and 'English'

Both Celtic and early Latin writers called the Germanic tribes in England indiscriminately *Saxones* and the country *Saxonia*. Procopius and Pope Gregory (601) use the term *Angli* in the same sense, which from the seventh century has replaced the previous one. Bede in 735 entitled his work *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Paulus Diaconus, a Langobardian historian, used the double form *Angli Saxones* or *Saxones Angli* in the eighth century. King Alfred was called *Rex Angulsaxonum* by his biographer Asser.

Writers using the vernacular never used any other term but *Englisc* (ModE English), derived from the name of the Angles (*Engle*), to refer to the language of all the Germanic tribes in Britain. (In the seventeenth century the language of the period before 1100 began to be referred to as Anglo-Saxon; the more popular term used in the twentieth century is Old English, although the former is still occasionally used). It is, however, obvious that the language of all the invaders was not the same if they came from different places of Europe, even if for quite some time they were close neighbours. Adding to this the political situation on the island after the invasion one is not surprised to see territorial variation in the earliest written records. Scholars assume that Old English had four basic dialects: *Kentish*, *West-Saxon*, *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* (the last two, on the strength of numerous similarities, are often lumped together under the name *Anglian*). The distribution of these can be roughly presented as in Map 1 (for more details concerning dialects see Volume Two).

The land and its people were referred to in the vernacular as *Angelcynn* "race of the Angles." From c. 1000 the country begins to be called *Englaland* "land of the Angles." The adjective *Englisc* to denote the people was regularly used from the end of the ninth century.

The reasons why the name of the Angles was ultimately given the language, country and the nation remain obscure (cf. Baugh and Cable 1978: 50).

3. Christianization

Christianity came to Britain during Roman rule. Although it became the religion of the Celtic inhabitants, with a well-developed hierarchical structure and all its problems, including schisms and loosening ties with the See of Rome, the Germanic invaders were not Christianized by the Celtic Britons. It is also interesting that in the seventh century when English bishoprics were being established, the Celtic ones would not recognize them. The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons was a slow process and came to Britain from two directions: straight from Rome and from the Irish-Scottish monastery of Iona to the north-west.

When Gregory became Pope in 597, he sent St. Augustine with forty monks to convert the heathen Germanic inhabitants of Britain. St. Augustine landed in Kent where he was well received by Queen Bertha, who was a Christian Frank. Three months after his arrival her husband King Ethelberht was baptized himself. In 601 the Archbishopric of Canterbury was established with St. Augustine as the Archbishop. Before his death in 604 the whole kingdom of Kent had been Christianized.

From Canterbury missionaries went to other kingdoms, achieving complete success everywhere in a relatively short time. The reason for this was that they started with courts after whose conversion the new religion became a state affair and the Christianization could be more or less ordered by the king. Thus, after completing their task in Kent the missionaries went to Essex and East Anglia and in 625–627 to York. Wessex became Christian in 635 and Sussex in 681.

The conversion of Northumbria was more complicated. King Eadwine was baptized by Roman missionaries but after his fall in 633 the mission was closed and the monks left York. A Bernician (former Northumbrian kingdom) prince, Oswy, when driven out of the country, settled in Iona. When he regained his land in 634, he brought monks from there, founded the Lindisfarne monastery as the base for missions to convert the country. The Irish monks, contrary to St. Augustine's missionaries, worked directly with the ordinary people. The conversion of Northumbria was completed c. 650 thereafter followed by the Christianization of Mercia in 655.

In 664 the Synod of Whitby put a stop to the differentiation between

the Roman and the independent Celtic Christianity and recognized Rome as the Holy See and the heir to St. Peter's authority.

It can be safely assumed that by 700 all of Anglo-Saxon England was Christian. Map 7 shows the approximate diocesan boundaries in c. 750 as well as places of importance for the history of the church and learning.

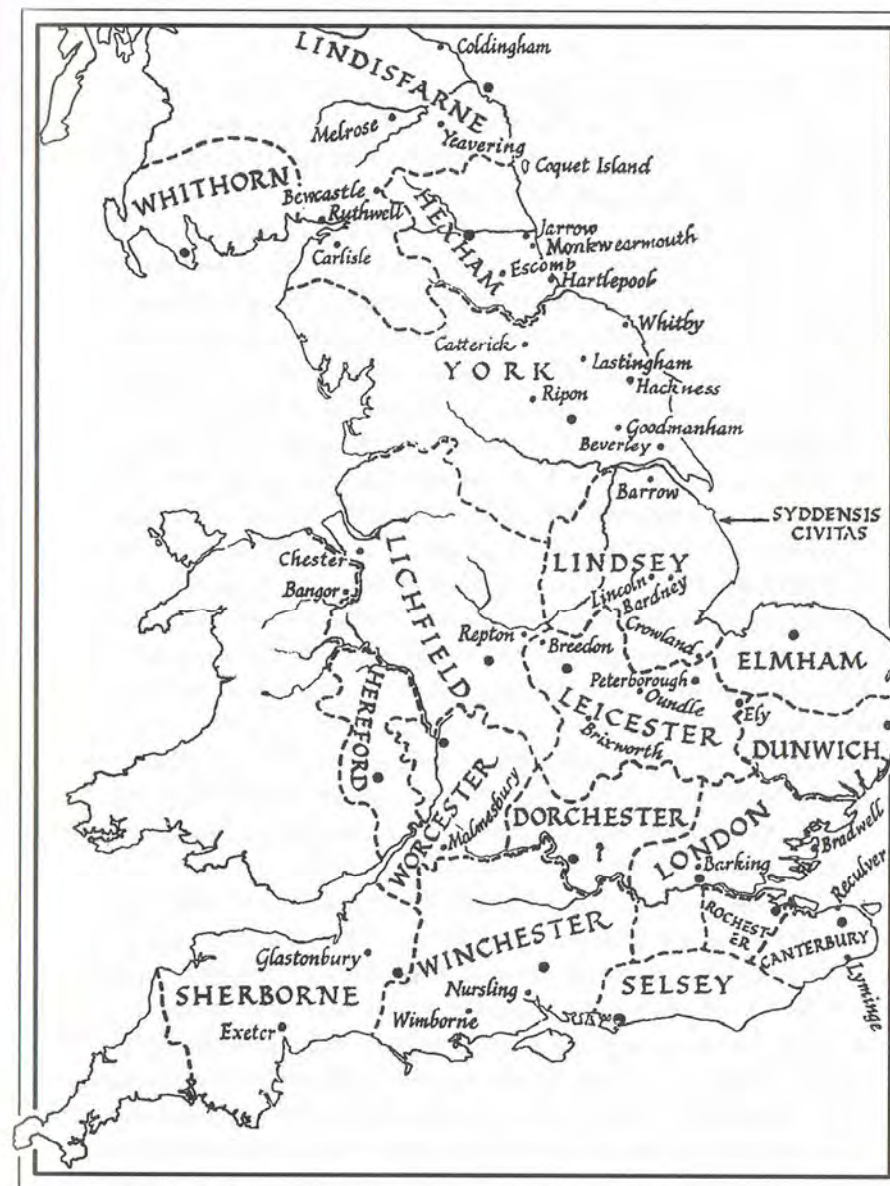
The Christianization of England had important consequences for the development of culture and scholarship in the country. The establishment of schools throughout England, and scholarly monasteries in Canterbury, Jarrow, York, Wearmouth and Malmesbury, brought knowledge of Greek and Latin and, with it, access to the wealth of the Roman civilization. The missionaries brought writing and parchment to leave priceless records of history and literature. The earliest written literature of the Anglo-Saxons, even the runic inscriptions, have come down to us after the process of Christianization was completed (c. 700). The schools trained people in classical languages, literature, science, chronology, the arts, etc. Numerous famous teachers of these Church schools and monasteries were known well beyond the boundaries of England in the eighth and ninth centuries and earlier, e.g., Theodore of Tarsus (archbishop from 668 to 690), Bede (c. 673 – 735) and Alcuin (735 – 804) to name a few.

The adoption of Christianity also influenced the English language. New ideas had to be expressed either by new words borrowed from Latin, which was the language of the church and scholarship, or by the addition of new meanings to already existing ones. Latin-English bilingualism also resulted in the transfer of some of syntactic patterns.

The new loanwords can be illustrated by such examples as *apostol* 'apostle', *pāpa* 'pope', *munuc* 'monk', *abbot*, *mæsse* 'mass', *fers* 'verse', *scōl* 'school', *mægester* 'teacher', etc.

The words whose meaning was rendered by the native lexical material or whose meaning was extended can be illustrated by *hēahfæder* 'patriarch', *gōdspell* 'Gospel' (Gr εὐαγγέλιον), *hælend* 'saviour' (L. *salvator*), *heofon* 'heaven', *gāst* 'spirit', *hālga* 'holy', etc.

More on the influence of Latin vocabulary on English and of Latin patterns in English syntax will be found in Volume Two.



MAP 7. APPROXIMATE DIOCESAN BOUNDARIES c. 750
(BASED ON BLAIR 1956: 145)

4. *The Scandinavian Invasions of Britain*

The Scandinavian invasions of England exerted a profound influence on almost all walks of life of its English inhabitants at the time, beginning with customs and manners and ending with administration, legislation, jurisdiction and the English language.

The Scandinavian invaders (or Vikings, as they are usually called¹⁾), could approach Britain from two directions. The northern route, followed by the Norwegians, led from Norway, Shetland, Orkney and the Western Isles to the Isle of Man and Ireland. The southern approach was taken mainly by Danes and led from southern Jutland along the Frisian coast to the Rhine mouths, the Channel and to the coast of Britain and France.

The earliest raids, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, took place in 787. In 793 and 794 the monasteries of Lindisfarne and Jarrow, the centers of learning and Christendom, were attacked and plundered. Such raids on towns and monasteries on the north-eastern coast of England by relatively small bands of invaders (mostly from Denmark) continued until c. 850. The invaders would come in spring and return with the loot to their homeland before autumn. The objective of their raids was to acquire valuables such as robes, gold and silver objects, jewelled shrines, etc., as well as to take slaves.

The first attack against southern England, in East Anglia, occurred in 835. It began a series of raids which took place almost every year for at least thirty years and affected the whole coast from East Anglia to Somerset and Cornwall.

This first stage of Danish invasions from 787 to c. 850 was characterized by shallow penetration of the coastal area, usually ten to fifteen miles inland, plundering of towns and monasteries and a relatively quick return to the bases on the English coast or back home. The size of the invading forces varied from a few ships to over a hundred. E.g., in 850 a sizable Danish fleet²⁾ arrived on the isle of Thanet, where the invaders spent the whole winter and in spring captured and ravaged London and Canterbury with the nearby surroundings. Finally defeated by a West Saxon army they left the area and returned home.

The second stage of Danish invasions was marked by the participation of large and well organized forces, whose aim was not only plunder but

also the occupation and settlement of the invaded land. The first such an army landed in East Anglia in 865. After a year there the army moved first to the west and then to the north to capture York in November 866. In 867 the Danish army left York for Mercia and spent the winter at Nottingham. Stopped by combined Mercian and Wessex forces, the Danes returned to York where they remained until 869. In 869 they went back to Thetford in East Anglia for the coming winter. Soon afterwards they defeated an East Anglian army led by king Edmund. Late in 870, one year before King Alfred (871 – 899) came to the throne, the first attacks on the West Saxon kingdom began. Fights continued until late in 871 when a truce was bought from the Danes. For the next three years their army moved up and down England conquering more and more land. In 876 part of the army settled in the area broadly corresponding with modern Yorkshire (see Map 8). Another part attacked Wessex in 875 – 876 but without success. In 877 another large part of the Danish army went east, took possession of eastern Mercia and settled there (see Map 8). The remaining part stayed at Gloucester until 878. In January 878 this part of the army under Guthurum made a third attempt to conquer Wessex. After some initial success the Danes were finally defeated by Alfred. In 879 Alfred and Guthurum signed a treaty at Wedmore. The Danes left Wessex. The treaty determined that the line running from London to the Lea near Luton and further to Bedford would be the boundary between Guthurum's and Alfred's kingdoms (see Map 8). Guthurum was baptized and in 879 moved to East Anglia where his army finally settled. The territory under his rule was to be subject to Danish law, hence became known as the Danelaw.

In 886 King Alfred occupied London. Thereafter his sovereignty was recognized by all the English who were not in the East Anglian kingdom of Guthurum. Alfred died in 899. His successors moved the border of his kingdom further to the east, reconquering quite an area of the country with a Danish population. After the Battle of Brunanburh (a place of unknown identity in Northumbria) in 937, described by a contemporary poet, where the English won a decisive victory against Scandinavian and Scottish forces, a single English kingdom replaced a system of several independent small states.

During the reign of Edgar (959 – 975), Wessex absorbed the original Danelaw. The only other independent kingdoms that remained were the Celtic Wales in the west and Scotland in the north.

The border between Scotland and England as the line from Solway Firth along the Lidell river, the Cheviot hills and the River Tweed was established at that time although it took a few centuries more before it was finally accepted. With his power stretching over such an area the king of Wessex, Edgar, could now afford coronation as the king of England. The ceremony took place at Bath in 973.

At the end of the tenth century when England, it seemed, managed to successfully solve the Danish question a new series of invasions began, thus opening the third period of Danish incursions. This period differs from the two preceding ones in that its main thrust was directed towards political conquest.

In 991 Olaf Tryggvason invaded England with a fleet of ninety-three Danish ships and defeated the English army under the East Saxon earl Byrhtnoth at the Battle of Maldon. The Battle was celebrated in a famous poem.

Three years later Tryggvason, who was soon to become the king of Norway, together with King Svein of Denmark, attacked London. The English bought a temporary truce which was soon broken and new demands were made by the invaders, who were murdering, plundering and devastating the country. King Aethelred the Unready was unable to repel the aggressor and was finally driven into exile. In 1014 Svein made himself King of England. However, that same year he suddenly died and was succeeded by his son Cnut (or Canute). After three years of fighting Cnut consolidated his claim to the throne and ruled until 1035. He was succeeded on the throne of England by his son Harold I (1035–40) and his half-brother Harthacnut (1040–42). In 1042 the third period of Danish invasions came to an end, together with twenty-eight years of Danish rule in England. Harthacnut was followed by Edward, the only surviving son of Aethelred the Unready, who had come to England in 1041 at the invitation of Harthacnut. Edward was acclaimed king in London in 1042 and was crowned at Winchester a year later.

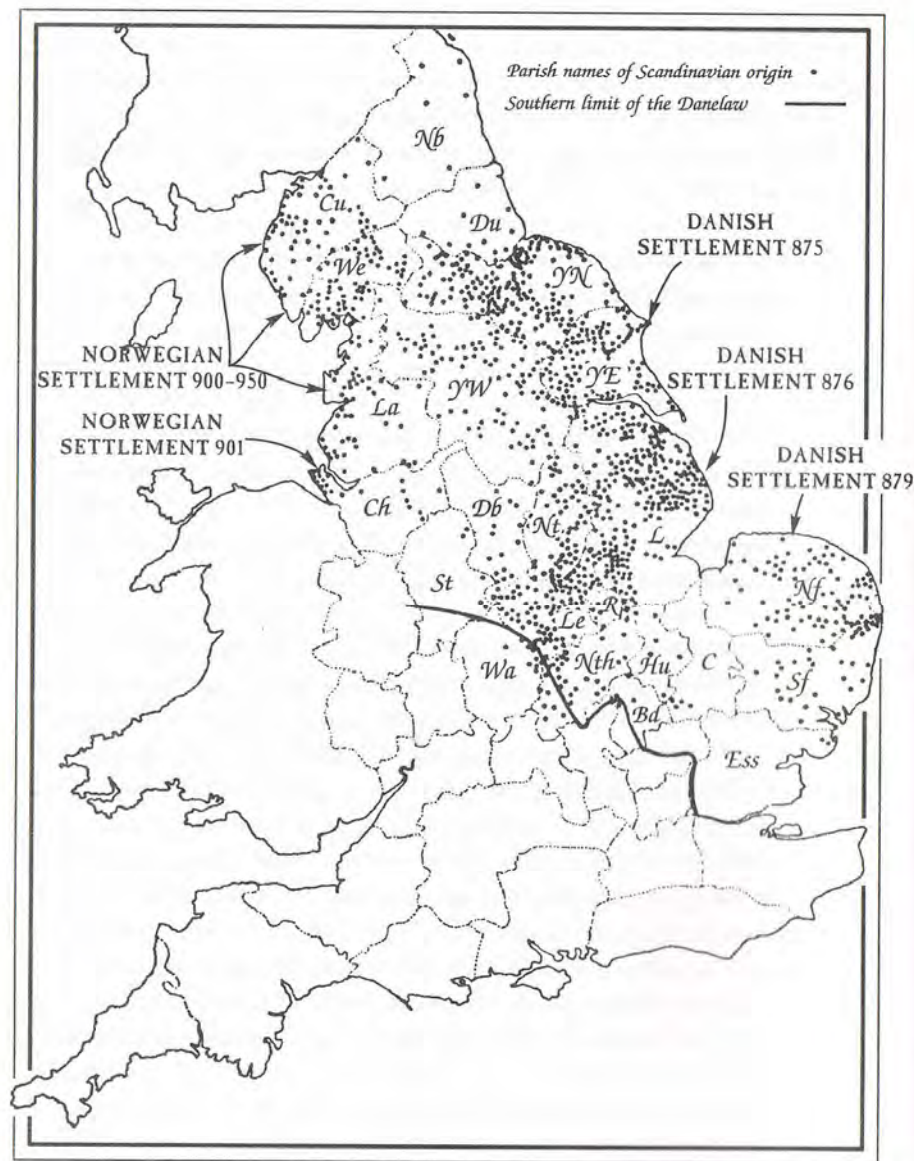
Danes, however, were not the only Scandinavian invaders of Britain. Between c. 900 and 950 Norwegian armies came from Ireland and attacked and occupied some parts of the north-west of Britain from the Scottish coast to Cheshire.³⁾ As was the case with the Danes, a large number of Norse (=Norwegian) soldiers settled in the area and remained on the island.

The toponomastic evidence indicates that the settlements were quite numerous in places and concentrated in today's Cumberland, Westmoreland, the coast of Lancashire and parts of Cheshire (see Map 7). The Norwegian forces never presented any problem comparable to Danish armies and did not cause any political problems of the magnitude of the Danish invasions. Nevertheless, their presence has made a visible impact on the English language (see Kolb 1965: 127–53) and therefore cannot be ignored here.

Scandinavian invaders settled in England not in totally isolated areas but either in places already inhabited by the English (and remnants of the Celts in the north-west) or in their neighbourhood. There is strong evidence that in the ninth century and at the beginning of the tenth century they came without women and married English females (Björkman 1900–2: 277). Intermarriages and close everyday contacts between the English and the Scandinavian settlers, whose number was by no means small by the standards of the day, as evidenced by over 1400 place names of Scandinavian origin in the Danelaw area alone (Baugh and Cable 1978: 93), ultimately led to the amalgamation of the two peoples. This amalgamation was facilitated by more cultural similarities than differences between them and by a relatively small difference between the two genetically related (Germanic) languages they spoke. The English kings, gradually reestablishing their power over the territories with mixed Scandinavian and English population, accepted the situation as it was without any attempt to discriminate against the non-English people. The Scandinavians, despite preserving some of their institutions and customs, assimilated themselves to the English population and their ways of life rather rapidly and without special problems.⁴⁾ Although new settlers were constantly coming even as late as in the eleventh century,⁵⁾ when Danish kings were on the English throne, no distinction was made in the laws between Scandinavians and Englishmen, and the newcomers soon identified themselves with their new homeland. Many of them accepted Christianity, joined the ranks of secular and monastic clergy and contributed to the building of new churches.

The extent of assimilation of the two races can be evidenced, among other things, by the acceptance of Scandinavian personal names by the English. E.g., Godwine, a powerful earl of Wessex, gave his children such names as *Harold*, *Swegen*, *Tostig* and *Gunhild* (Björkman 1900–2: 272).

The close relations between the two peoples must have led to a close



MAP 8. SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENTS IN ENGLAND
IN THE TENTH CENTURY (WAKELIN 1988: 24)

relation between their two languages. Observing similar situations nowadays one cannot escape the conclusion that bilingualism was one of the results of this type of language contact. It must have been particularly true about mixed marriages at the time of earlier settlement. The lack of precise information on the mutual intelligibility of Scandinavian and English does not allow one to establish to what extent it was possible to communicate using the two languages and therefore what degree of bilingualism would on the whole have had to emerge. Our present knowledge of the subject based more on inferences than on hard evidence would permit one to assume at least a fair degree of mutual understanding between speakers of Anglian dialects and the Scandinavians. The fact that the Scandinavian language did not survive in England much beyond 1100⁶⁾ may be indicative of the switch of Scandinavian speakers to some sort of English with a strong admixture of Scandinavian elements and a simplified grammar.⁷⁾ However, as has been pointed out by Baugh and Cable (1978: 95), contemporary statements concerning the subject are conflicting and remain in the sphere of conjecture. Yet, (whatever the truth about it is) there is no doubt that the contact of Scandinavian and English had a tremendous impact on the development of English as evidenced by a large number of Scandinavian elements in the English language. These elements include loanwords, place names and personal names and grammatical (both morphological and syntactic) modifications. Since a more detailed review of these will be presented in respective chapters of Volume Two of the present work, only a few examples will be given here to illustrate the Scandinavian influence on English.

Loanwords of Scandinavian origin are associated with the sea, law, and a variety of everyday objects, activities, qualities, etc. They include words like *band*, *bank*, *bull*, *egg*, *fellow*, *gap*, *keel*, *law*, *loan*, *root*, *scab*, *sister*, *skill*, *skirt*, *sky*, *steak*, *window*, *ill*, *low*, *meek*, *weak*, *wrong*, *call*, *cast*, *get*, *give*, *take*, *want*, etc.

Scandinavian influence on English place names may be illustrated by the names ending in Scandinavian elements like *-by* ('farm, town', cf. *by-law* 'town law'), *-thorp(e)* ('village'), *-thwaite* ('an isolated piece of land') and *-toft* ('house and grounds'), as in *Derby*, *Rugby*, *Whitby*, *Grimsby*, *Althorp*, *Bishopsthorpe*, *Linthorpe*, *Braithwaite*, *Cowperthwaite*, *Langthwaite*, *Brimtoft*, *Eastoft*, *Langtoft*, *Nortoft*, etc.

Among some personal names adopted from Scandinavian in Old and

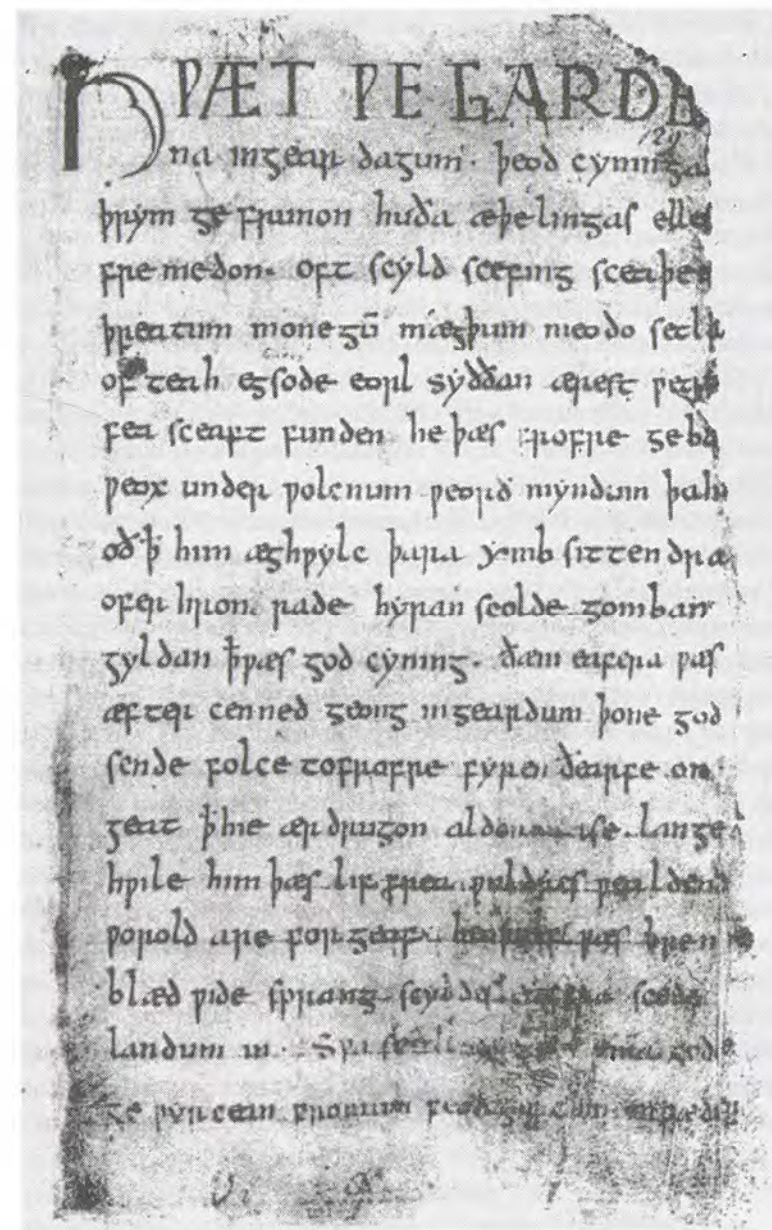
early Middle English are *Harald, Hacun (Hacon), Asa, Boduwar, Brunild, Eric, Guthrun, Guthfrith, Ingrede, Orm, Rainald, Sigwar, Steinulf, Swegen, Tostig, Thorkil* and *Ulf* (Björkman 1910:178), or hybrid formations with one element of Scandinavian origin, as e.g., *Goldcytel* (OS -*ketill*), *Leofstegen* (OS -*steinn*), *Swartric* (OS *Svart-*), etc. (Armstrong 1947 – 48: 78).

5. The Beginnings of English Literature

The language of the earliest periods in England's history comes down to later generations in the form of charters, wills, and other official records as well as literature. Old English literature is extremely rich and provides a historical linguist with indispensable language material which often could not be found in other types of documents. It is also considered as one of the most significant Germanic contributions to literary art in general, thus, testifying to the high standard of civilization of the people who created and enjoyed it over a millenium ago.

The earlier period of Old English literature is primarily characterized by poetry. As in so many other cultures, prose turned out to be a much later creation. Some of the earliest poetry must have been brought from the Continent and preserved in oral tradition for quite some time. This type of poetry contains pagan themes. It is generally preoccupied with heroic adventure, with war and its aftermath, the sea with all its hardships and with the life of a minstrel. The later influence of Christianity is so strong, however, that the pagan theme is often mingled with the Christian one and in many poems is virtually inseparable. Similarly, purely Christian poems also contain traces of the pagan tradition. The Christian poetry is preoccupied (among other things) with themes from the Old and New Testament, with lives of Saints and didactic problems. Thus, it joins all of the continental literatures of the Middle Ages in pursuing the same ideas as a result of the cultural contact with Rome.

The most important work of Old English poetry is undoubtedly *Beowulf*. The poem of 3182 lines was composed some time in the eighth or ninth century (Anderson 1962: 83) by an unknown poet who may have simply repeated the accumulated epic and lyric tradition current for a few centuries and may have given the poem only its final shape. *Beowulf* has



1. THE OPENING OF *BEOWULF*

been preserved in a tenth century (near the year 1000) manuscript, but its numerous archaic features point to an earlier composition date. The poem is a folk epic in the form of a narrative of the adventures of the young warrior Beowulf, fighting and destroying monsters, and finally dying as a hero. The poem contains references to past events and beliefs, many of which originated or took place on the Continent and were passed on as an oral tradition from generation to generation.

Apart from *Beowulf*, the Germanic tradition is represented in Old English poetry by a certain number of shorter poems of which *Widsith*, *Deor*, *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* deserve special mention.

The bulk of Old English poetry, more than half, represents the Christian tradition and is preoccupied with Christian themes. This poetry originated in Mercia and Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries. The first English poet, whose name is known to us, was Cædmon, a lay brother from the monastery at Whitby, who inspired a number of followers writing on the subject of Exodus, Genesis, etc. Another important poet, Cynewulf, lived in Anglia about 800 and wrote a few religious poems, four of which have survived (*Juliana*, *Elene*, *Christ* and *The Fates of Apostles*). He also inspired a number of anonymous followers who contributed a few well-known poems (e.g., *Andreas*, *Guthlac*, *Judith*, etc.).

English prose has its origin in the ninth century. This was primarily due to the efforts of king Alfred the Great (871 – 899), who inspired translations of Latin works into English (e.g., Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*). Whether he himself translated Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* among others is rather doubtful (Gneuss 1972). Numerous prose works were written in the following centuries notably by Ælfric, the author of many homilies as well as other works, and by Wulfstan, whose best known work is *The Sermon to the English*.

Old English literature is one of the richest among early Germanic literatures. One of the most significant things about it is the development of prose on a scale which was not matched by any other literature of the time on the Continent.

6. *Standard Old English*

Old English literature has survived in the main in manuscripts written in the late tenth century and in the eleventh century,⁸⁾ although the composition date of numerous works is much earlier than their written records. Most of the manuscripts, which have survived to date, have been written in the form of Old English which is referred to as the late West Saxon dialect. It should be pointed out here that the term *dialect* covers several scriptoria probably throughout the West-Saxon area and possibly elsewhere, where manuscripts were being copied by scribes who may have been local or from other parts of the country or even the Continent. This seems to be supported by various non-WS forms which can be found even in the "purest" West-Saxon MSS.⁹⁾

Since Anglo-Saxon England was divided politically and geographically and the English of the time was represented by four different dialects (see p. 19), what was the form of the language used by scribes? Was there a standard language or was all the literature composed and written in the local vernacular? The available evidence points to the fact that until the second half of the tenth century there was no standard literary language. Although the beginning of English literary prose goes back to the time of King Alfred (i.e. the second half of the ninth century), the early West-Saxon of his time did not set any standard because it did not have any normative character as can be seen in the preserved records, despite the earlier claims of Henry Sweet and his followers (cf. Wrenn 1933, Sprockel 1965: xxii-xxvi, Gneuss 1972 but cf. Kurban 1978). A close investigation of the written material contemporary with Alfred shows a diversity of forms and lack of uniformity in the orthography and morphology (Derolez 1958). As has been pointed out by Gneuss, Alfred neither had the time nor the capabilities to accomplish such a task of conscious fostering of a standard language. "The king had some of the books translated by helpers; Bishop Werferth of Worcester rendered the Dialogues of (Pope) Gregory the Great into the dialect of Mercia, and not into any standardized form of West Saxon, as is indicated by the vocabulary. The translation of Bede, which may have been ordered by Alfred too, was likewise in Mercian" (Gneuss 1972: 67).

Standard Old English has its roots elsewhere. The OE prose of a high literary value belongs to the tenth and the eleventh century. It was the

Benedictine reform in the tenth century which led to the restoration of monasteries, that brought the revival of learning. Foremost among the monasteries was Æthelwold's school at the Old Minster in Winchester with its scriptorium, which trained such outstanding literary figures as Ælfric and Wulfstan. Winchester gave rise to a written standard of English which was written and read from Canterbury to York.¹⁰ "In Winchester... an entire school is engaged in what one might term the study of language. Here they translate from Latin and try even to regulate the use of vocabulary" (Gneuss 1972: 82).

Among the factors which seem to support the idea that Winchester was the starting point for the spread of the standard language are the position of Winchester within the English church, the number of monasteries in the south of England and the popularity of Ælfric's writings (Gneuss 1972: 82–3).

When Anglo-Norman invaders came to England in 1066, they were to subjugate a nation with higher culture than theirs, with a rich literature having its own written standard. However, the post-conquest political developments were to lead to a decline of this literature and the rise of importance of local varieties of English. A new standard language was to arise in England in the fifteenth century (see below).

7. *The Fall of the English Kingdom*

The coronation of Edward marked the beginning of the end of the kingdom of England. Out of touch with reality, basically deprived of leadership qualities and not interested in efficient running of the state, Edward contributed grossly to the weakening of the kingdom of England in every respect. During his long years of exile in Normandy he developed religious sensibility and excessive piousness, but these qualities did not help him to develop any of the qualities of a future administrator. His monastic ideals of chastity resulted in an unconsummated marriage and future problems of succession to the throne. During his reign he did nothing to improve laws and administration, or to develop the defence abilities of his country. Instead, he promoted rivalry between various parts of his state and appointed Normans to important offices in his court, church and

state administration. After twenty-four years of reign, Edward the Confessor died in January 1066. A day after his death, Harold, his brother-in-law, was made king.

When the news reached Normandy, William, the Duke of Normandy and second cousin of Edward the Confessor, decided to conquer England and assume the royal reins of power. It is believed that Edward promised the kingdom to William in 1051 or 1052 (Blair 1956: 111). Furthermore being the closest living relative, he believed that legally he had full rights to the English throne. Consequently he invaded England later in the year and fought a decisive battle near Hastings. After initial success in repulsing several Norman charges, King Harold was fatally wounded by a Norman archer. At that moment, the resistance disintegrated and the English were defeated. As darkness fell the remnants of the English army fled the battlefield. The road to Winchester and London was open. Shortly after the battle of Hastings, Winchester capitulated to be followed by London a few weeks later.

On Christmas Day 1066, William, Duke of Normandy, was crowned King of England in Westminster.

For further reading:

Anderson (1962), Arngart (1947–48), Bacquet (1974), Baugh and Cable (1978), Björkman (1900–2), Blair (1956), Brunner (1960), Chadwick (1907), Davis (1991), Derolez (1958), Ekwall (1930, 1937), Freeborn (1992), Geipel (1971), Gneuss (1972), Godden and Lapidge (1991), Hill (1981), Hogg (1992), Holt (1995), Huchon (1923), Hodgkin (1952³), Janzén (1972), Jensen (1975, 1978), Jones (1968), Kolb (1965), Kurban (1978), Lapidge (1999), Lass (1987), Lipoński (1997²), Loyn (1991²), MacGillivray (1902), Malone and Baugh (1967²), Mitchell (1995), Page (1971), Partridge (1982), Platt (1978), Sisam (1953), Stafford (1989), Stenton (1962), Strang (1970), Szarmach et al. (1998), Trevelyan (1953), Williams (1991), Wrenn (1933), Yorke (1990), Zins (1979).

Notes

- 1) The period of Scandinavian invasions (c. the middle of the eighth century – eleventh century) is generally referred to as the Viking Age.
- 2) The figure of 350 ships must be an exaggeration according to contemporary historians (Blair 1956: 68).
- 3) Isle of Man was conquered by Norwegians in the ninth century and ruled until 1266 when it was ceded to Scotland.
- 4) This view was convincingly argued by Björkman (1900–2) and Arngart (1947–48) among others and has been generally accepted on the strength of linguistic and extralinguistic evidence. It was, however, opposed by Stenton (1962), who believes that the Scandinavian invasions in the ninth century were genuine migrations, and that as soon as the conquerors turned from war to agriculture they sent for their families. This family migration pattern was allegedly responsible for the resistance of the Scandinavian settlers to fast assimilation with the local English population.
- 5) According to the evidence adduced by Björkman (1900–2), a large number of Danes settled in London, which can be supported by the discovery of their own burial place.
- 6) On the issue of the Scandinavian language in England see Ekwall (1930) and Page (1971).
- 7) Cf. pidginization in various areas of the contemporary world for this tendency. In the case of English, it is feasible that the simplification of its morphology was caused by the contact with Scandinavian and its occurrence first in Northumbrian, later spreading gradually south due to other causes (cf. Fisiak 1977, and Poussa 1981).
- 8) According to Ker (1957: xv–xix), 160 out of 189 more important Old English manuscripts date from c. 1000 or later.
- 9) Other dialectal forms can also be explained as resulting from the translation from other dialects into West Saxon.
- 10) Contemporary Worcester charters give evidence that West Saxon was already the official language there, before the end of the tenth century (Sisam 1953: 121).

Chapter Three

From the Norman Conquest to the Ascension of the Tudors (1066 – 1485)

1. After the Norman Conquest: The Political, Social and Linguistic Situation in England (1066 – 1204)

The coronation of William in 1066 was only the beginning of the Norman conquest. His sovereignty was recognized at that time only in the southeast. It took him four more years to subdue the whole country. The task was carried out in several campaigns. The English did not want to accept the new overlords and rebelled against them in the southwest, the west, and the north of the country. The rebellions were handled with unusual ruthlessness to deter further attempts of opposition to the new king.

The fact that William came to the English throne through military conquest had several consequences for England and the English.

One of these consequences was the introduction of a new nobility. Many members of the English higher class lost their lives at Hastings. Those who survived were treated like traitors and were bound to be executed when found. Although many smaller landowners could keep their estates, there was only one remaining English earl among twelve earls in England in 1072, and he was executed in 1076. For more than a century after the conquest almost all large estates and important positions were in the hands of Normans or other foreigners.

Another consequence of the conquest of one people by another is the need to control the conquered by military force. William accomplished

this by dispatching his troops to various places in the country where a large number of castles were built to accommodate them. The troops were likewise Norman or of other foreign blood and their number was constantly rising during the reign of William and his immediate successors.

The conquest also had a strong impact on the English church. Norman clergymen were appointed to important positions. Hardly one English bishop remained in office during William's reign. English abbots were gradually replaced by Norman ones. In 1087 only three abbots were English. New monasteries were founded and filled by foreign monks.

In the wake of the military conquest a considerable number of merchants and craftsmen arrived in England and settled in several cities. Baugh and Cable (1978: 113) have pointed out that the size of this immigration may be attested to by the fact, among others, that a French town existed beside the English one at Norwich and Nottingham, and that French Street in Southampton was one of the main streets of the town and has preserved its name until today.

It is impossible to assess exactly the number of Normans and French people who settled in England after the Conquest. The estimates vary from 20,000 to 200,000 (Williams 1975: 84). It is highly unlikely, however, that the number was much above 20,000. "The highest estimate ... would mean that by about 1250, one in every eight to twelve on the island was a Frenchman or French-descended, a proportion that would have been considerably higher in the major cities. Since the total population in the major urban centers amounted to less than 75,000 or so, and since we might generously estimate that less than half the Normans who settled in England settled on the land, it would mean that perhaps 100,000 urban Normans would have outnumbered the English in the major cities" (Williams 1975: 84). There is definitely no evidence for such a large number of Normans and a more conservative estimate is fully justified particularly in view of future developments.

Regardless of the exact number of Norman settlers in England, one thing remains unquestionable: Since they were the people who ruled both the country and the church, their influence went far beyond their numerical strength.

From the coronation of William the Conqueror until 1204 the kings of England were simultaneously dukes of Normandy, with the exception of

a short period of time immediately after William's death. Henry II even enlarged English possessions in France by inheriting from his father the districts of Anjou and Maine, and later adding large areas of the south of the country as a result of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, thus keeping two-thirds of France under his control.

Similarly, the English nobility also had their possessions on the Continent. Consequently they spent much of their time in France, like their monarchs, attending to the business which required their physical presence there, often even in the form of a military involvement. From 1066 to 1204 English kings spent sometimes three to four years at a time in France. King Henry II (1154 – 1189) spent two-thirds of his reign across the English Channel (Baugh and Cable 1978: 115). William the Conqueror was more attached to his Norman dukedom than to his English kingdom and was buried in Normandy.

But it was not only business which attracted the court and aristocracy to France but also the way of life which brought the chivalry of Europe. Tournaments and luxury, learning and arts, attracted Anglo-Norman nobility no less than service to their king or the call of duty to their own estates (Powicke 1961: 302).

The crossing of the Channel was also frequent among merchants and the clergy, which additionally increased the traffic between England and France.

All this had a tremendous impact on the linguistic situation of England. It enhanced the use of French in England from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and contributed to the further use of the language even later.

When Normans settled in England after 1066, they continued to speak their own language which was a French dialect differing from the French of Paris.¹⁾ The attitude of the Norman aristocracy towards the English language was not hostile, however, but rather indifferent. Some noblemen picked up enough of the language to understand it. Since a number of them decided to spend more time in England, it is reasonable to assume that the generations born in the twelfth century would reach a certain degree of bilingualism. Despite this, French continued to be used as a means of everyday communication among members of the upper classes beyond the year 1200. The kings did not know English fluently until the thirteenth century. There is evidence (Baugh and Cable 1978: 116) that



MAP 9. ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY II (1154–1189)

William the Conqueror made a deliberate effort to learn English at the age of forty-three and that he probably mastered it to the point that he could understand some of it. Similarly, available evidence indicates that Henry II could understand English. Whether King John knew English, we do not know for complete lack of evidence.

French was used at the English court not only as the language of ordinary intercourse but also as the language of literature. A relatively rich body of Anglo-Norman literature was written there during the twelfth century. This literature is addressed also to literate English audience. Relatively little was written in English at the same time.

French was soon learnt by a number of Englishmen who saw certain advantages in speaking it. As the language of the upper classes and the court, French carried a mark of social and cultural prestige. A certain number of English people had to learn French in order to function in the society whose ruling class was monolingual for some time. All people serving Norman lords (e.g., stewards and bailiffs on manors or clerks in towns) had to know their language. It was also common for knights and merchants to be bilingual and both Normans and Englishmen were learning English and French respectively.

French was spoken in some monasteries and by a sizable portion of the clergy. Soon, however, it was realized that to reach an ordinary Englishman his language was the only means to achieve it, for English remained the language of the common people. Although many English learned French, the reverse is also true. Norman soldiers who settled among hundreds of English people would also learn the language of those whom they had contact with every day.

This situation was aptly described by Robert of Gloucester, a chronicler, around 1300:

þus com to engeland in to normandis hond.
 & þe normans ne coupe speke þo bote hor owe speche
 & speke french as hii dude atom, & hor children dude also teche
 So þat heiemen of þis loud þat of hor blod come
 Holdeþ alle þulke spreche þat hii of hom nome
 Vor bote a man conne frenss me telp of him lute.
 Ac lowe men holdeþ to engliss to hor owe speche zute.

Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world contreyes none
 þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche bote engelond one.
 Ac wel me wot uor to conne boþe wel it is,
 Vor þe more þat a mon can, þe more wurþe he is.

(ll. 7537 – 47; Dickins and Wilson 1951: 14)

[So that was how England got into the hands of Normandy. And the Normans could not speak anything then except their own speech, and they spoke French as they had done at home, and had their children taught it, too, so that important men in this country who come from their stock all keep to that same speech that they derived from them; because, unless a man knows French, he is thought little of. But humble men keep to English and their own speech still. I reckon there are no countries in the whole world that do not keep to their own speech, except England only. But it is a well-known fact that it is good to know both, because the more a man knows the more deserving he is.]

(Cottle 1969: 16)

The whole issue of the use of both English and French and the problem of English-French bilingualism in England from the Conquest to 1204 and further on is a complex one and its detailed account would require more space than one can afford here. Therefore, the present discussion of necessity has to be limited to a base outline.²⁾

However, before anything else is said about it, it is necessary to look at some aspects of the social and political situation of the period to understand the linguistic scene. First of all, some fifty years after the Norman conquest people had adjusted to the existing situation. The hostile attitude of the English population on the whole faded away. The two peoples were interacting socially and politically. The marriages of Normans to English women were quite frequent and the mixed marriages created natural settings for bilingualism. English families began to give French names to their children. More and more Englishmen joined the army (as a matter of fact the troops of William II and Henry I were almost entirely English).

Norman noblemen identified themselves with the new country. They founded monasteries and churches and more often chose their English estates as places of permanent residence. The fusion of the two peoples, thus, proceeded rapidly, and in 1177 an English jurist wrote in *Dialogus de Scaccario*: "Now that the English and Normans have been dwelling together, marrying and giving in marriage, the two nations have become so mixed that it is scarcely possible to-day, speaking of free men, to tell who is English, who of Norman race" (Baugh and Cable 1978: 119). The distinction still made by Henry I at 1100 when addressing a document "to all his faithful people, both French and English" turned out to be no longer valid already a century later. At this point, the nature of French-English bilingualism in England changed from a purely racial to a social one, a significant development for the evolution of the linguistic situation in England during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

Summarizing the issue of the use of French and English in England at the close of the twelfth century it should be pointed out that

(a) *French* was spoken by the Norman upper and middle classes in everyday use, in law courts, in the army; it was used by some Englishmen under the same circumstances whenever interacting with Normans.

(b) *English* was basically the language spoken by the English population on all occasions; it was also used by the Norman middle classes and sporadically by members of the upper classes in interactions with the ethnically English population.

To complete what has been said above one should indicate that, although French was the official language from the Conquest onwards, there is evidence that in 1116 a defendant in court testified in English and in 1198 a witness gave his testimony in English which was subsequently translated into French (Williams 1976: 77). Furthermore, both French and English were used in church sermons, and around 1180 one of the famous abbots encouraged monks to preach in English.

In writing English and not French was used in writs issued in 1070. After 1080 Latin replaced English in legal documents, although a few documents still appeared in English during the reign of Richard I (1189 – 99). The first laws in French dated from c. 1140 – 50. Two chronicles continued to be written in English well into the twelfth century: *Annales Anglo-Saxonici Breves* until 1109 (later in Latin) and the *Peterborough Chronicle* until 1154.

As has been pointed out already, England was a place where a large body of literature in French was written. It is necessary to add here that literature in English, though perhaps of a different nature and not so numerous, still continued to be written.

All in all, the English language was used side by side with French from 1066 to 1200 and, although less prestigious, it functioned continuously in social, cultural and other spheres. As a result of the growing bilingualism in a situation where French had a higher prestige, English began to undergo serious changes under the influence of French (the reverse is also true, although on a much smaller scale), as one could expect observing similar situations in contemporary bilingual communities. More on those changes will be said later in this and in other chapters.

2. *England from the Loss of Normandy to the Commencement of the Tudor Dynasty (1204 – 1485): The Political, Social, Economic and Linguistic Situation*

In 1204 an important event took place both for the linguistic and political history of England. King John lost Normandy to the French king Philip Augustus.³⁾ Although he still possessed large areas of the south of France, those had never been so closely connected in terms of language and blood ties as had Normandy. The loss of Normandy made it obvious that the interests of France and England were different and that the latter had to pursue her interests with the support of the whole of her population. England thus became the only country for the Norman aristocracy and the king. The double allegiance of the noblemen was over by 1250. It was the first step towards the formation of one English nation again. It is reasonable to assume that under the circumstances the nobility of England had to consider themselves English not long after the loss of their continental estates. At the same time, it seems, the context for the natural use of French also disappeared.

The loss of Normandy, however, did not stop the constant influx of foreigners from the Continent. During the reign of King John, many people came from Poitou. Some of them, to the dissatisfaction of the locals, were given high state and church positions. After John's death, the influx in-

creased and became a flood during the reign of his son Henry III in 1233, when over two thousand Poitevins came over to England. A contemporary chronicler gives the following picture of events: "The seventeenth year of King Henry's reign he held his court at Christmas at Worcester, where, by the advice of Peter bishop of Winchester, as was said, he dismissed all the native officers of his court from their offices, and appointed foreigners from Poitou in their places. ...All his former counsellors, bishops and earls, barons and other nobles, he dismissed abruptly, and put confidence in no one except the aforesaid bishop of Winchester and his son Peter de Rivaulx; after which he ejected all the castellans throughout all England, and placed the castles under the charge of the said Peter. ...The king also invited men from Pitou and Brittany, who were poor and covetous after wealth, and about two thousand knights and soldiers came to him equipped with horses and arms, whom he engaged in his service, placing them in charge of the castles in the various parts of the kingdom; these men used their utmost endeavours to oppress the natural English subjects and nobles, calling them traitors, and accusing them of treachery to the king; and he ... believed their lies and gave them the charge of all the counties and baronies" (Roger of Wendover, trans. J.A. Giles, ll. 565 – 66, Baugh and Cable 1978: 130).

A second flood of foreigners came in 1236 after Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence. A large number of Eleanor's relatives and their followers arrived in Britain to be given land and high offices. A third stream of aliens, this time mostly from Poitou, was brought by Henry after his mother's death in 1246, and again his mother's relatives were offered castles, church dignities, land and state offices.

Those excesses could not be tolerated for a long time by the natives. Opposition to foreigners aroused national feelings among English noblemen (i.e., Normans who chose allegiance to England), who, led by Simon de Montfort, forced the Provisions of Oxford (1258) upon the throne, which consequently caused the outbreak of the Barons' War (1258 – 65) and driving out the aliens from England. The appointment of natives to all the important state and church offices by King Edward I (1272 – 1307) further increased this sense of national consciousness in England and undoubtedly contributed to a wider use of the English language. By 1300 French had already become a foreign language even for the nobility,

despite the events preceding the Baron's War, which must have strengthened the position of the language for some time. From the beginning of the fourteenth century French was learned in the artificial context of a classroom or the private tuition.

The conflict of interests between France and England caused the rise of antagonism between the two countries which finally resulted in open military confrontation, the so-called Hundred Years' War, which lasted, with occasional long breaks, from 1337 to 1453. The victories of England at Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and later at Agincourt (1415) strengthened patriotism and nationalism in the British people, who were fighting an enemy whose language was French. The importance of these events leading to a growing animosity towards everything French, cannot be underestimated as regards the changing role of English in Britain.

The political events of the two and a half centuries after the loss of Normandy were paralleled by important socio-economic developments. The process of urbanization began. The number of towns constantly grew as did the size of all the existing ones. London and other cities attracted more and more people, not only from neighbouring areas but also from distant ones. The conditions of the working classes changed for the better. Villainage began to disappear. The economy became more money-based. People wanted to and could sell their labour at higher prices and therefore often escaped to large cities. Ekwall (1956) identified 6,000 migrants into London between 1270 and 1360, establishing such details as their names and localities from which they came. As a result a new strong middle class emerged in England, the middle class whose language had always been English.

This natural development of the socio-economic situation was boosted as a result of the Black Death (1348–50), which caused a 30 to 40 per cent drop in the population of England and consequently an increase in the value of labour, which automatically resulted in even greater mobility of the society.

Those who stayed behind, however, soon found that under the circumstances their situation was no longer tolerable. The discontent with the increased hardship they had to suffer finally led to the Peasants' Revolt (1381) which additionally accelerated the social and economic processes which had begun during the second half of the fourteenth century.

The social and economic changes in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries affected particularly the English-speaking segment of the population of England. The strengthening of their position in society also affected the prestige of their language and contributed in a large measure to the change in the position of the English language.

The continuing use of French in England during the first half of the thirteenth century was stimulated by two factors. One of them was the influx of upper class Frenchmen, lasting until the middle of the century. The second was the popularity of French in Europe due to the prestige of French civilization and the reputation of the University of Paris as one of the most important European centres of learning, which attracted people from many countries including Britain. It is evident, however, that after 1250 English becomes the native language of the upper classes. Although French is still used in those circles, it is now a matter of social custom and convention.⁴⁾ The monolingual French speaker disappears from the scene. The number of bilinguals at first rises (this accounts for a large influx of French words into English at the time) to decline steadily in the fourteenth century.

The rising prestige of English and its changing role in the course of the thirteenth century can also be evidenced by the increase of English literature for "polite circles" as opposed to a reverse tendency exhibited by French literature written in England at the same time.

One of the best proofs of the decline of French in England, and indirectly of the rising position of English, is the beginning of the writing of phrase books for learning French for business purposes as well as the appearance of the first treatise on teaching French as a foreign language to children. The treatise, which is in fact a manual, was written by Gautier (Walter) de Biblesworth (or Bibelsworth) around 1250 (Baugh and Cable 1978: 137, n. 1) and reproduced a number of times. French is introduced there through the description of parts of the human body, clothing, child's surrounding, names of plants and animals, weather, household, food, various phrases of everyday and polite use, etc. Interlinear glosses in English are provided for key words. Homonyms and synonyms are often brought to the attention of the learner. The popularity of the *Tretyz ... pur vos enfaunz ... apryse de fraunceys* unambiguously indicates that many children of the nobility already had English as their mother tongue.⁵⁾

In the thirteenth century English began to be used next to French in some important state documents. King Henry III issued the first proclamation since the Norman Conquest in English and French on October 18, 1258. In 1244 the dean of Lincoln asked the bishop of Lichfield to proclaim a Pope's directive both in English and French. In 1277 a bishop suggested that his letter to nuns should be explained in English and French. In 1295 a document was read and explained both in English and French before the court at Chelmsford. These and other facts indicate that English was widely used in the second half of the thirteenth century (Berndt 1976).

The continuous use of French even within more limited bounds began to worry some English people around 1300. A protest against this situation was voiced, if only mildly, by the anonymous author of a poem on biblical subjects entitled *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300), who wrote what follows:

Þis ilk bok es translate
 Into Inglis tong to rede
 For the love of Inglis lede,
 Inglis lede of Inland,
 For the comun at understand.
 Frankis rimes here I redd
 Comunlik in ilka sted;
 Mast es it wroght for Frankis man,
 Quat is for him na Frankis can?
 In Inland the nacion,
 Es Inglis man þar in comun;
 þe speche þat man wit mast may spede;
 Mast þarwit to speke war nede.
 Selden was for ani chance
 Praised Inglis tong in France;
 Give we ilkan þare langage
 Me think we do þam non outrage.
 To laud and Inglis man I spell...

(Emerson 1952: 133-4, *Prologue*, ll. 232 – 49)

[This same book is translated into the English tongue to be read, for love of the English people, the English people of England, for the common people to undersand. I have normally read French verses everywhere here; it is mostly done for the Frenchman – what is there for him who knows no French? As for the nation of England, it is and Englishman who is usually there. It ought to be necessary to speak mostly the speech that one can best get on with. Seldom has the English tongue by any chance been praised in France; if we give everyone their own language, it seems to me we are doing them no injury. I am speaking to the English layman...]

(Cottle 1969: 17)

The decline of French was noticed at the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century by those who wanted to maintain the language in England (Berndt 1972, 1976, 1992). Deliberate attempts were made to rescue its fall into disuse. One of these attempts has already been mentioned, i.e., the appearance of manuals for learning French as a foreign language. Other attempts included regulations issued by the church and the universities, e.g., the foundation statutes of Oriel College (1326) and Queen's (1340) stated that students should conduct conversations in Latin or French, and the Benedictine monasteries of Canterbury and Westminster issued regulations at the close of the thirteenth century that all conversations should be in French not in English.

The parliament also tried to rescue French through decrees, ordering in 1332 that "Lords, barons, knights and worthy men of great towns" should teach French to their children to make them prepared better to participate in wars.

All these efforts present clear evidence that the use of French must have been no more than artificial.

Perhaps one of the disadvantages for maintaining French was that the French of England was basically the Norman dialect with an admixture of other northern French features.⁶⁾ Separated from its homeland and in contact with English, this dialect developed into a form of French entirely different from anything that was used on the Continent. Furthermore, the

supremacy of Paris in the thirteenth century ended the period of prestige entertained by local dialects, elevating the French of Paris to the prestigious position. Anglo-Norman was treated humorously in literature and people who spoke it realized that it was not fashionable to use this kind of French. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century to know a respectable variety of French was to know the French of Paris. Chaucer's making fun of the Prioress in the *Canterbury Tales* is a piece of evidence for this situation in the fourteenth century:

And French she spak ful faire and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For French of Paris was to hir unknowe.

[She spoke French very nicely and elegantly,
according to the school of Stratford le Bow,
for the French of Paris was unknown to her.]

It is reasonable therefore to assume that the decline of French in England could also have been enhanced by the low cultural prestige that Anglo-Norman had in comparison with the French of Paris.

The fourteenth century brought further changes in favour of the ever widening use of English. English was the language understood and used by everyone then. The attempts to rescue French produced mediocre results.

As a contemporary poet says (1325):

Riȝt is, þat Inglische Inglische vnderstoud,
þat was born in Ingland;
Freynsche vse þis gentilman,
Ac euerich Inglische can.
Mani noble ich haue yseize
þat no Freynsche couþe seye

(*Arthur and Merlin*, Kölbing, E., ed. 1890; quoted after Baugh and Cable 1978: 145)

[It is right that English people, who were born in England, understand the English language. French is used by the noble but everybody knows English. I have seen many noblemen who could not say anything in French.]

English kings understood and spoke English and used it publicly. Richard II, for instance, addressed people in English during the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. He was, however, still bilingual. It was Henry IV (1399–1413) who was the first monolingual English king.

French was still the language of the courts up to 1362. It was the language of parliament and local administration, local records and the guilds up to 1380's, although isolated efforts to use English can be noted earlier.

In 1344 the earliest petition to the chancellor appeared in English. Other important events were soon to follow. In 1362 the parliament is opened for the first time in English. It is opened in English again in 1363, 1365 and 1381. In 1397 a confession by the Duke of Gloucester is conveyed to the parliament in English. In 1399 the proceeding at the deposition of Richard II were conducted in Latin and English. The speeches by Henry IV claiming and accepting the throne were delivered in English.

In 1345 the Pepperers Guild of London as the first guild used English in their records. In 1388 forty-nine guilds submitted reports to the parliament in English, outnumbering returns in French.

In 1362 the parliament enacted the *Statute of Pleading* whereby as of January 1363 all law court proceedings and trials should be conducted in English since "French is much unknown in the said realm."

French was also the language of schools from the beginning of the twelfth century until well into the 1380's. Ranulph Higden in his *Polychronicon* (c. 1327), a universal history translated by Trevisa (1385–87), complains about this and relates the corruption of English directly to this situation as follows:

Þis apeyryng of þe burþtonge ys because of twey þinges. On ys for chyldern in scole, a azenes þe vsage and manere of al oþer nacions, buþ compelleþ for to leue here oune longage, and for to construe here lessons and here þinges a Freynsch, and habbeþ

supthe þe Normans come furst into Engelond. Also gentil men children buþ ytauȝt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ yrokked in here cradel and conneþ speke and playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol lykne hamsylf to gentil men, and fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch, for to be more ytold of.

(Emerson 1915: 224)

[This impairing of the native tongue is because of two things. One is that children in school, contrary to the usage and custom of other nations are compelled to drop their own language and to construe their lessons and their other things in French, and have done so since the Normans first came to England. Also gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in their cradles and can talk and play with a child's trinket; and up-country men want to liken themselves to gentlemen, and try with great effort to speak French, so as to be thought more of.]

(Cottle 1969: 19 – 20)

This situation changed after the Black Death. The lack of teachers capable of teaching in French increased drastically as a result of numerous deaths and many schools had to switch to English. According to Trevisa two Oxford schoolmasters were primarily responsible for reintroducing English into the schools after 1349. The language became the medium of instruction in all English schools probably by the year 1385. Trevisa added the following words of his own after Higden's commentary on English schools to explain what happened after the Black Death:

Pys manere was moche yused tofore þe furste moreyn, and ys septhe somdel ychaunged. For Iohan Cornwal, a mayster of gramere, chayngede þe lore in gramerscole and construccion of Freynsch into Englysch; and Richard Pencrych lurnede þat manere techyng of hym and oþer men of Pencrych, so þat now, þe ȝer of oure Lord a þousond þre hondred foure score and fyue, of þe secunde Kyng Richard after þe Conquest nyne, in al þe gramerscoles of Engelond children leueþ Frensch and construeþ and lurneþ

an Englysch, and habbeþ perby avauntage in on syde, and desavauntage yn anoþer. Here avauntage ys þat a lurneþ here gramer yn lasse tyme þan childern wer ywoned to do. Disavauntage ys þat now childern of gramerscole conneþ no more Frensch þan can here lift heele, and þat ys harm for ham and a scholle passe þe se and trauayle in strange londes, and in meny caas also. Also gentil men habbeþ now moche yleft for to teche here children Frensch.

(Emerson 1915: 224 – 5)

[This custom was much in use before the first plague, and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwall, a grammar master, changed the instruction and construing in the grammar school from French into English; and Richard Pencrych learned that kind of teaching from him, and other men from Pencrych, so that now, in the year of Our Lord 1385, the ninth of the second King Richard after the Conquest, in all the grammar schools of England children are dropping French and construing and learning in English, and have as a result an advantage on the one hand and a disadvantage on the other. Their advantage is that they learn their grammar in less time than children were accustomed to do. The disadvantage is that now grammar school children know no more French than their left heel, and that is bad for them if they have to go overseas and travel in foreign countries, and in many other cases, too. Also gentlemen have now largely stopped teaching their children French.]

(Cottle 1969: 20 – 1)

In the fifteenth century few people could speak French and if they did, it was considered quite an achievement.^{6a)} By the end of the period, Caxton writes "the mooste quantyte of the people vnderstonde not latyn ne frensche here in this noble royaume of englond." The cultivation of French in the fifteenth century and later, restricted as it was, was based on the assumption that French was the language of culture and therefore it was fashionable among the circles aspiring to a higher cultural standard of life. John Barton, who wrote a treatise for adult learners of French, *Donet*

François (beginning of the fifteenth century), gave three reasons for learning the language: to understand Frenchmen, to understand the laws which are basically in French and finally to be able to write letters.

Indeed, the last two reasons reflect correctly the situation as regards the use of English in writing at that time, for there were very few letters written in English before 1400. The popularity of French in private correspondence declined around the middle of the fifteenth century and English became the rule after 1450.

English wills are also rare before 1400. However, in 1413 the first English king, Henry IV, left his will in English and was followed by Henry V (d. 1422) and Henry VI (d. 1471).

The first Privy Seal document appears in English in 1422. Petitions to Parliament become frequent in the English language after 1423 and after 1444 none occurs in French. One of the last legal instruments in French appears c. 1450. By 1489 French disappears from the Statutes of Parliament.

Around 1430 towns and guilds translate their documents into English. By 1450 the process seems completed and English becomes general in transactions.

Thus, by the middle of the fifteenth century English emerged as the victorious language in both its spoken and written use. As has been pointed out above the reasons for this were numerous and of different nature. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, it seems, the process of the elimination of the use of French must have been also accelerated by a new rise of national feeling in England after a series of military victories over the French (e.g., Agincourt 1415 and other battles).

English literature written from the twelfth to the fifteenth century reflects exactly the situation of the English language. When French was the language of the court and the nobility, the literature in English was mostly religious or admonitory and appealing to the tastes of the middle and lower classes. With the general adoption of English by all social classes, English literature reached again one of the highest standards in Europe and produced works of outstanding calibre (e.g., Chaucer and his followers).

French-English bilingualism in Middle English influenced the structure and vocabulary of both the languages, as has already been mentioned above. The most easily noticeable area of influence is the field of vocabulary,⁷⁾ which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven of the present



2. THE OPENING OF THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

work. Here, as in the case of Scandinavian influence on the English lexicon (p. 53–4), the problem will be given a brief treatment.

At the time when bilingualism was limited (up to c. 1250), around 900 words entered English. The words were borrowed mostly from Norman French. Up to 1485 at least 10,000 French words were borrowed, and most of those came into English between 1350 and 1400 (cf. Baugh 1935, Jespersen 1955 and Mossé 1943). In the second half of the thirteenth century Parisian French became the dominant source of borrowings, and many earlier Anglo-Norman words were often replaced by those coming from the French of Paris, e.g., *callenge* vs. *challenge*, *campion* vs. *champion*, etc. (cf. Bush 1922 and Feist 1934). On the other hand, a certain number of words were borrowed again with a different meaning (e.g., such doublets as *convey* vs. *convoy*, *warden* vs. *guardian*, etc).

The basic differences between Norman French and Central (i.e., Parisian) French in terms of phonology can be presented as follows (Fisiak 1968: 43):

	Norman French		Central French	
1.	/ø:/	<i>people</i> 'people'	/we/	<i>pueple</i>
2.	/e:/	<i>chéf</i> 'chief'	/je/	<i>chief</i>
3.	/y:/	<i>fruit</i> /fry:t/	/yʝ/	<i>fruit</i> /fryʝt/
4.	/eɪ/	<i>reial</i> 'royal'	/oj/	<i>royal</i>
5.	/k/	<i>catel</i> 'cattle'	/č/ (>/š/ in 13th c.)	<i>chatel</i>
6.	/w-/	<i>waster</i> 'waste'	/g-/	<i>gwaster</i> , <i>gaster</i>
7.	/kw-/	<i>qualitee</i> 'quality'	/k-/	<i>qualitee</i> /kalite:/

Those differences account for the final form of loanwords and their source.

The words borrowed from French concern, among others, such areas as the church, government, law, army, fashion, learning, culture, social life, art, cuisine and medicine, e.g., *religion*, *homily*, *cardinal*, *pralate*, *abbey*, *government*, *crown*, *treason*, *baron*, *duke*, *army*, *navy*, *peace*, *battle*, *sergeant*, *justice*, *crime*, *bill*, *petition*, *bail*, *dress*, *robe*, *veil*, *button*, *fur*, *dinner*, *supper*, *feast*, *taste*, *plate*, *medicine*, *pain*, *stomach*, *pulse*, *remedy*, *plague*, *art*, *painting*, *music*, *tone*, *palace*, *mansion*, *poet*, *title*, *paper*, *pen*, *logic*, *study*, etc.

Borrowing from French was not limited to single words only. Whole expressions were translated into English, e.g., *plenty of*, *because of*, *to take leave*, *to hold one's peace*, *to do justice*, *to make believe*, *according to*, *subject to*, *in vain*, *by heart*, *at large*, etc.

The competition between English and French particularly in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries foreshadowed the role of Latin, which continued to be used in a spoken form among the clergy and scholars. However, the spoken usage was seriously limited and, after all, it was also artificial. Medieval Latin as a dead language could not exert an influence comparable to that of Scandinavian or French. Its influence on English was primarily due to written use and affected more seriously the written form of English. Numerous Latin words entered English through the translation of the Bible by Wycliffe as well as through professional writings on law, theology, medicine, literature and science. A large number of them were later accepted as more general learned terms and have continued to be used until today. Here are some examples: *allegory*, *conspiracy*, *contempt*, *custody*, *history*, *incarnate*, *infancy*, *magnify*, *nervous*, *promote*, *pulpit*, *prosody*, *script*, *solar*, *tract*, *ulcer*, *zephyr*, etc.⁸⁾ It must be pointed out that Latin continued to be used extensively by scholars.

Exports of English wool to Flanders, Holland and northern Germany and the immigration of a number of weavers from the Low Countries led to the development of close relations between speakers of English and those of Dutch and, on a smaller scale, Low German. This in turn was reflected in a constant flow of vocabulary from the languages of the Low Countries into English. Here are some examples of early loanwords: *nap*, *deck*, *bowsprit*, *dote*, *dock*, *dotard*, *freight*, *rover*, *luff*, *bounce*, *mast*, *groat*, *kit*, *booze*, *quilder*, *hobble*, *splint*, *huckster*, etc.

3. *The Rise of Standard English*

The Norman Conquest relegated the English language to a subordinate role for three centuries immediately following the invasion and replaced it with French, which assumed an official and more prestigious position. This undoubtedly contributed to the rise of the situation where there was no force pressing any more towards the formation of a standard

national language. On the contrary, the political situation favoured the strengthening of the local vernacular. Although local dialects were spoken then as they are spoken today, it was in Middle English when the local form of the language was recorded in writing on such a scale. It was only natural that in the absence of a standard language writers as well as clerks wrote in the dialect of the area where they belonged and tried to modify spelling bringing it closer to actual pronunciation. Thus, after a short period when English developed a written standard (see pp. 57–8) there came a period when no national standard existed for as long as almost three centuries. It is interesting to note here that the radical changes ascribed to the developments of English in the twelfth century represented on many occasions attempts to render local dialects rather than actual changes in the language (cf. Wyld 1927: 82ff). A new standard, based on entirely different grounds, emerged later. But to see its rise one has to wait until the fifteenth century.

The language of Middle English manuscripts varies from one locality to another. It is easy to notice that some of the common features spread across several counties. Some of the features are common for a larger area, some for a smaller one. It is therefore difficult to establish boundaries separating dialects with a high degree of precision. For the time being it will be assumed that the territory of England can be roughly divided into five principal dialects: Northern, East Midland, West Midland, South-Western and Kentish. Map 2 shows the approximate geographical distribution of the dialects. For more details concerning Middle English dialectology see Volume Two.

The rise of a nationally recognized standard language out of this variety of local dialects is a complicated matter.

Standard West-Saxon (10th–12th c.) as pointed out earlier was a written standard, different from the spoken OE dialects, which may be deduced among other things from the rapidity with which it disappeared when the central administration adopted French and Latin to conduct business.

A new national standard re-emerged in the second quarter of the fifteenth century as an administrative language independent of the spoken dialect of any region or class.

In the past various scholars credited outstanding writers with the decisive part in establishing a national standard language, e.g., Brink con-

sidered Chaucer as its architect, and Koch ascribed this role to Wycliff. There were also attempts to locate the cradle of the standard in different areas of England (e.g., Oxford). Recently, historians of the English language have been in agreement that the source of the standard, which ultimately established its form, should be looked for outside literary usage, and the writings of prestigious authors of the second half of the fourteenth century should be considered as only partially contributing to the rise of a national standard.

Most of the histories of English published over the last sixty years are in agreement that the London English of the fourteenth century was the immediate source of Standard English.⁹⁾ Baugh and Cable (1978: 194) say explicitly that “the history of Standard English is almost a history of London English.” Wyld, before them, likewise pointed out that “London speech... or one type of it, as it existed in the fourteenth century, is the ancestor of our present-day Received Standard” (1936: 5).

Statements like these, however, require some qualification. As has been pointed out by Fisher (1977), they contain formulations which are either imprecise or unclear. To give a proper account of the rise of Standard English one has to determine whether the Standard associated with the fourteenth century language of law, Parliament and the court, and represented by numerous documents, had a spoken counterpart as suggested by Wyld (1936: 5) and others. Also the identification of the location of the source of Standard English with London is too loose, for it was Westminster (not a part of London at that time) where the Standard finally came into being in the fifteenth century, although the role of London should not be underestimated in the period preceeding the years 1420–1440 (Samuels 1963: 87ff; Fisher 1977: 871; Strang 1970: 161–3). The term “the language of London” similarly requires a more precise definition. Is it one of the spoken varieties (all the available evidence indicates that there was no one single dialect of London), the written language of town and business transactions or the language of Chaucer, Gower and Hoccleve?

All the evidence now available indicates that the Standard English which emerged in the fifteenth century was a *written standard* and had no spoken correlate. According to the available evidence there is also a strong reason to believe that the standardization of the pronunciation of English began in the sixteenth century (Strang 1970: 161) but was not completed

until the eighteenth century (Dobson 1956). The separate development of written and oral standards was facilitated and indeed resulted directly from the different status each of them entertained in the fourteenth century. Spoken English was basically a colloquial language although its use in official functions was increasing towards the end of the fourteenth century. Yet until 1430 the official written language was not English but French and Latin. The number of administrative writings in English before that date is negligible. Consequently there was no special pressure towards a regularization of spoken usage if petitions and other official documents were written in languages other than English. Standardization of the spoken language therefore was to come later, after the emergence of the written standard, and it was to follow a different course.

The rise of Standard (written) English is the history of the rise of an official language. What emerged in the fifteenth century as a written standard was an artificial form of English which cannot be localized in any single place and which was independent of any spoken dialect. The evolution of written English to achieve this stage finally was, however, far from simple and was caused by a number of linguistic, social and other factors.

To begin with, fifteenth century Standard (written) English can be traced back to two sources (Samuels 1963: 84ff; Fisher 1977: 885). The first one is the language of the majority of Wycliffite manuscripts, non-Wycliffite religious works, anonymous devotional treatises, religious poems and a small number of secular works, which have survived in numerous manuscripts. This language was based on the dialects of the Central Midland counties (particularly the counties of Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire) and was obviously not the dialect of Wycliff or a religious standard because a number of secular works by other authors were also written in it. It was an important non-localized literary standard copied at such distant areas as Somerset and Leicester.¹⁰⁾ Its special position can be attested to by the fact that it survived unchanged late in the fifteenth century (Pecock wrote in it), despite strong competition from other standards. The second source was the writing of London at the end of the fourteenth century as represented mainly by Chaucer, Gower and Hoccleve (who were either civil servants or otherwise connected with the Chancery). This literary language was, however, more diversified both in terms of spelling and usage from the first type but still distinct from the

civic language of London guilds used at the same time (Fisher 1977: 885). It was basically a Central East Midland based language.

It is interesting to note at this point that the language of Chaucer and Gower differed considerably from the early fourteenth century written language of London preserved in seven manuscripts, the most typical of them being the main hand in the Auchinleck MS. It was not a strictly localized variety, containing a certain number of forms from the not distant counties, e.g. Essex and East Anglia. On linguistic grounds we can establish that the manuscripts come from the Greater London area (Samuels 1963: 87). They exhibit an unusual degree of uniformity. Some MSS as late as c. 1360 continue to some extent Essex London English. The striking thing about this variety of English was that it was quite different from the late fourteenth century language of Chaucer.

This difference is not surprising if one looks closer at socio-economic developments in London. The City of London became the most important urban center early in the history of England. It constantly attracted the attention of people who migrated to the city which was renowned for its wealth and political position. At first the migration was mainly from the counties in the immediate vicinity, the Home Counties (i.e., Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Surrey), and followed shortly thereafter by inhabitants of East Anglia. Later the pattern of migration changed, bringing people from Bedfordshire and other Central Midland counties and even from Yorkshire. The changing migration pattern accounts for the differences between the variety of London English of the early fourteenth century and that at the close of the century. The migration in the latter period from the Central Midland area is also responsible for a number of northern influences. The reason why East Anglian influences ended in the middle of the fourteenth century in the language of London is partly due to the influx of people from the Central Midlands and partly to the peripheral character of the dialects of Norfolk or Suffolk as compared with the Central Midlands variety which could be understood by a larger number of speakers of English and which therefore was more suitable for communication in various areas of the country.

Thus, the written Standard English of the fifteenth century drew on both the Wycliffite standard and the writing of London (Chaucer and others). It is known as *Chancery Standard*. It was in wide use by the

Chancery in Westminster, where almost all the government offices were located by 1430. The organization of the Chancery, where the form and structure of documents were controlled by a few people and where clerks were carefully prepared for the profession by a small number of masters, guaranteed a high degree of uniformity of written language. Since not all clerks remained in the Chancery after receiving their training in the Inns of Chancery, but found work in London and even other areas of England in various institutions, it is obvious that the spread of Chancery Standard was enhanced not only by the dissemination of government documents but also by an expanding use of the Standard in distant areas of England. The influence of Chancery even reached Oxford. Fisher (1977: 892) pointed out that an Oxford University Statute of 1432 provides tutors for students who wanted to pass on to the Inns of Court to teach them "the art of composing charters and other scripts, the art of holding law courts, and the art of pleading in the English manner. Since these were exactly the subjects taught in the Inns of Chancery, we may infer the influence of Chancery upon these extracurricular offerings at the university."

Chancery Standard was a variety of written English which did not represent any spoken dialect. It was based on the language of the Central Midlands. Apart from the orthographic devices of its own, it also contained forms taken from other dialects. It evolved from conventions established by clerks in the Chancery before 1430 and later spread throughout England.¹¹⁾ Caxton's successors were introducing further modifications, bringing the standard more to its modern shape. Modern English is not Chancery English. In its style, in its forms, spelling, punctuation, it has continued to evolve. But Chancery Standard of the early fifteenth century is the starting point for this evolution, and has left an indelible impression upon the spelling, grammar and idiom of Modern English. This written standard is the predecessor of Modern English Standard although not all of its conventions were accepted in the end into the Modern Standard. It was thus not the language of literature which gave rise to Modern English Standard, because a literary language could not achieve such an end. Books were scarce at the time, particularly *belles lettres* (Deansley 1920). Far more numerous were bureaucratic and business writings, and they laid foundations of the current standard. Literature and learning constituted but a small percentage of all writings before the seventeenth century.

The dominant position of scribes in determining the form of (written) Standard English lasted until the introduction of printing. In 1476 Caxton returned to England from the Continent and set up his press in Westminster (not London), printing subsequently in the language very close to Chancery Standard, which contributed to a still further dissemination of written Standard English and thus opened a new era when printers and educators were to determine the form of written English.

For further reading:

Bacquet (1974), Bailey, C.S. and Maroldt (1977), Bailey, R.W. (1985), Baugh (1935), Baugh and Cable (1978³), Berndt (1969, 1972, 1976), Blake (1992, 1996), Brand (2000), Brook (1958), Bush (1922), Clapham (1949), Cottle (1969), Darby (1936), Deansley (1920), Dellit (1906), Dibelius (1901), Diensberg (1996), Domingue (1977), Ekwall (1956), Emerson (1916), Feist (1934), Fisher (1977, 1984, 1996), Fisiak (1977), Flasdieck (1922), Freeborn (1992), Galbraith (1941), García (2000), Gasner (1891), Hughes (1978), Hulbert (1946), Jespersen (1955), Jones (1953), Koch (1934), Kretzschmar (1985), Lambley (1920), Legge (1950), Lucas (1994), Morsbach (1888), Moskowich-Spiegel (1995), Mossé (1943, 1947), Nist (1966), Otagaki (1984), Partridge (1982), Pope (1934), Poussa (1982), Powicke (1961²), Pyles and Algeo (1993⁴), Richter (1979), Rothwell (1975-6), Samuels (1963), Sandved (1981), Shaklee (1980), Shelley (1921), Šimko (1963), Smith (1992), Strang (1970), Suggett (1946), Tout (1929), Trevelyan (1953), Trnka (1930), Trotter (2000), Vising (1923), Williams (1975), Wright (1994, 1996, 2000), Wyld (1927, 1936³), Zins (1979²).

Notes

- 1) The French used by Normans in England is usually referred to as Anglo-Norman. For more information on the language, see Vising (1923) and Pope (1934).
- 2) A more detailed and systematic treatment of the issue can be found in Berndt (1969). Cf. also Baugh and Cable (1978: 125).

- 3) For details see Powicke (1961²).
- 4) E.g., it is used in official, legal and private correspondence, in public debates, in Parliament and in the law courts.
- 5) More on the importance of Bibbesworth's work can be found in Koch (1934).
- 6) A few basic features differentiating Anglo-Norman from Parisian French will be discussed later in the present chapter.
- 6a) For details see Berndt (1972).
- 7) For the results of influence in other areas of language structure see Volume Two.
- 8) For more details see Volume Two; cf. Dellit (1906).
- 9) See e.g., Flad dieck (1922: 17ff), Wyld (1927: 16ff; 1936:5), Brook (1958: 55), Nist (1966: 167), Pyles and Algeo (1993⁴: 142 – 3), Williams (1975:86) and others.
- 10) The spread of the literary standard was basically due to the Lollards' preaching and scholarship.
- 11) Chancery English cannot be considered simply a development of London English and should be distinguished from the language of the City of London documents and the language of local business. A close investigation of them has led Fisher (1977: 897 – 8) to the conclusion that there was no London "standard" before the rise of Chancery Standard because all the writing was done in the dialect of an individual scribe and differed from guild to guild, and that in the course of time City writing began to resemble more and more that of the Chancery. Therefore a statement to the effect that London English was the source of Modern Standard must be considered inaccurate. It was obviously not the civic language of London but the non-localized literary variety of Chaucer and others living in London at the time that contributed to the rise of Chancery Standard alongside another non-localized standard, i.e., that of Wycliffite MSS.

Chapter Four

Under the Tudors and Early Stuarts (1485 – 1649)

1. Political, Social and Cultural Developments

The year 1485 marked the opening of a new period in the history of England. The throne went to the Tudors, the dynasty which would reign until 1603 and would raise England to the position of one of the major powers both in Europe and the contemporary world. Their successors, the early Stuarts (1603 – 49), would continue the expansion of England's interests and the strengthening of her international position, despite serious internal problems finally leading to internal wars and a revolution.

This period in England's history roughly overlaps the stage in the evolution of English which is conventionally labelled as early Modern English. Some of the developments in the language of that time are visibly associated with various extralinguistic factors and forces operating then. The most important will be briefly reviewed below.

One of the most significant events was the Protestant Reformation which took place during the reign of Henry VIII (1509 – 47). The severing of relations with Rome, the closing of monasteries and the establishing of the king as the head of the church in England led to a reduction of the importance of Latin both in church and schools. It further enhanced the growth of patriotism among the ordinary people, thus raising the value of everything English, including the language itself. This paralleled developments in several countries in Europe and was not at all unique to England (e.g., Germany).

The victory of the English over the Spanish Armada during the reign of Elizabeth I in 1588 opened the seas and roads to the expansion and spread of the English language to overseas territories. Hardly twenty years had passed when Captain John Smith founded Jamestown and the colonization of North America began.

The sixteenth century witnessed the arrival of the Renaissance from the Continent. This cultural movement brought with it the revival of interest in human beings and their life. Together with this came new form in the arts and literature. Also, scientific investigation and scientific writing received new impetus. The Renaissance generated interest in the past achievements of humanity, i.e., in Ancient Greek and Roman literature, history and philosophy.

The literary scene of the period is rich in innovative writings which have found a permanent place both in English and world literature. The names of Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, Robert Greene, Ben Jonson, John Lyly, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Philip Sidney among others give best evidence of the weight of the vernacular literary achievements of the time and the development of English vocabulary.

The interest in ancient writings led to the translation of the works of Thucydides, Herodotus, Caesar, Tacitus, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace and many others.

The Reformation, by introducing English into the church, enhanced the translation of the Bible. Seven major versions of the Bible were produced from 1536 to the so-called Authorized Version: the Tyndale New Testament (1536), the Coverdale Bible (1537), the Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560), the Bishop's Bible (1568), the Donai (Catholic version) Bible (1610), and King James Bible, i.e. the Authorized Version (1611).¹⁾

Needless to say, both the translations and the original English literature contributed largely to the expansion of English vocabulary.

The impact of the Renaissance on England would not have been so great had it not been for the spread of popular education. Although its spread was not on as large a scale as is sometimes assumed,²⁾ it is interesting to note that under Henry VIII there was one grammar school per 5625 inhabitants of England³⁾ (McKnight 1968: 91), which can give some idea of the popularity of elementary education (always far more wide-

spread than secondary). This created a relatively large market for books which were printed on an ever increasing scale. According to Baugh and Cable (1978: 199), c. 35,000 books were printed before 1500 and 20,000 titles (not copies!) had appeared by 1640. The impact of the spread of the written word on such a scale contributed to the further spread of the written standard throughout the country.

The Protestant Reformation, which was part of the English Renaissance, gave rise at a certain point to a movement which stood in opposition to the ideals of the Renaissance and which halted it by reverting to mysticism and the persecution of religious opponents. Puritanism, which at first merely urged rejection of all papal beliefs and practices which still remained in Protestantism, changed into an intolerant and conservative movement which interfered with the cultural and educational life of England. One of the acts by a predominantly Puritan Parliament was the closing of theatres in 1642. By 1649 the Renaissance atmosphere of freedom and tolerance was gone. Gone also was the liberal attitude towards diversity in language: now the freedom of usage was to be more strictly limited and determined.

As regards the economy, the beginning of the Tudor reign witnessed the growing wealth of a new middle class. Exports of wool and later also of finished products as well as shipping created new fortunes. The standard of living of the urban population improved as a whole. The new merchant capitalists often bought the estates of the nobility. The standard of living in the country, however, was deteriorating. The enclosure of farm lands for sheep pastures and the dissolution of numerous feudal households deprived many people of their homes and caused the largest movement of England's population since the Black Death. A significant number of Englishmen left their homes and became vagabonds, moving around the country. The large size and seriousness of the phenomenon can be inferred from the laws prosecuting vagabondry and from the literature describing its language and ways of existence. This mobility of population had an influence on the development of English similar to that observed earlier in history.

2. *The Growth of Prestige of the English Language*

Although quite a body of literature had been written in English by the end of the fifteenth century and the language was also used in the Chancery and on numerous formal and official occasions, as in many other European countries the vernacular did not yet have enough prestige to be used in all fields of knowledge. Latin traditionally occupied the position of the perfect language which was exclusively capable of handling all the shades of thought and all scholarly concepts. To achieve full recognition by the late sixteenth century and final victory in the early seventeenth century, the English language would have to struggle against the criticism of its various inadequacies by numerous authorities. These authorities were confronted by increasing defences of the vernacular only as time went on.

It is interesting to note that, despite the growing patriotism and successes of the Protestant Reformation, Latin could continue to be used on such a large scale and its use could find such staunch supporters. Three reasons seem to have been behind all this: (1) the position of Latin in education, (2) its role in scholarship, and (3) the vested interest of people brought up in the Latin tradition to guard the continuous use of Latin.

Elementary education in England had been in English for quite some time, but at the grammar school level English was of small importance. Latin, grammar, composition, geography, philosophy, history and other subjects were taught in Latin. In the foundation deed of Burton School (1519), the founders expressed their desire "to have the grammer of latyn tongue so sufficiently taught that the scolers – shall in tymes to come for ever be after their capacities perfight Latyn-men" (McKnight 1968: 92 – 3). If this attitude was normal for grammar schools and the position of Latin was well established there, the language was even more dominant in university education, where not only learned texts were read in Latin but also disputations were carried on in Latin.⁴⁾

Latin was unquestionably the language of scholarship in western Europe and remained in this position until 1650 and even later. Not only were traditional subjects such as theology, logic and grammar still taught in Latin but also philosophy and the sciences. Works by Copernicus in Poland, Galileo in Italy, and Cartesius in France were published in Latin.

Likewise, in England, Gilbert, Harvey, Newton and Bacon wrote their works in the same language. Latin guaranteed communication among scholars across national and linguistic boundaries and its prestige and usefulness at least from this point of view was beyond any dispute.

The third reason for the persistent use of Latin, although of a totally different quality, cannot be easily dismissed: the resistance of many people educated in the tradition of Latin scholarship to turn to English and popularize knowledge. Those people, whose professional status was based on learning, e.g., physicians, were hostile towards any attempt at spreading what the few knew to the many. This obscurantism and professional jealousy was criticised by Elyot in the preface to the 1541 edition of a popular book on medicine called *The Castel of Helth*. It offers an illuminating example of how strong that force was that had to be reckoned with, and it offers apologies and explanations for a situation which nowadays seems strange. Elyot thus wrote: "But if physicians be angry, that I haue written physicke in englishe, let them remember that the grekes wrate in greke, the Romans in latin, Auicenna, and the other in Arabike, which were their own proper and maternall tongues" (Barber 1976: 68).

English was criticized by adherents to the Latin tradition for being 'vulgar' and 'barbarous', short of words, not eloquent, inelegant, immature, unstable and changing (unlike classical Greek and Latin, which were 'fixed' as dead languages), etc. Even people who supported English were often apologetic about its weaknesses in view of this common criticism. This critical attitude was strong until 1575 – 1580 when it suddenly disappeared and nearly everybody began to praise English as eloquent⁵⁾ (Jones 1953).

When Sir Thomas Elyot wrote about Latin poets in *The Booke Named the Gouvernour* (1531), he pointed to their ability to express "good sentences" (i.e., good ideas) "with more grace and delection to the reder than our englishe tonge may yet comprehend," which stressed the inability of English at that stage to accomplish something that Latin could. But although Elyot did not stop writing in the vernacular in spite of this, whenever he did it as, e.g., in the preface to his *Doctrinal of Princes* (1534) he felt obliged to justify his using English. Thus he says: "This little booke ... I haue translated out of greeke, not presumyng to contende with theim, whiche haue doone the same in Latin: but to thintent onely, that I wolde assaie, if our Englishe tunge mought receiue the quicke and

propre sentences pronounced by the greekes" (McKnight 1968: 100). As it turned out, the experiment was successful and English could handle the Greek idiom without difficulty.

The apologetic tone concerning the use of the vernacular can also be found in Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545): "And as for the *Latine* and *Greeke* tongue, everye thinge is so excellentlye done in them, that none can do better: In the *Englishe* tongue, contrary, everye thinge in a mener so meanlye both for the matter and the handeling, that no man can do worse" (McKnight 1968: 98–9).

Another interesting example of the justification of the use of English comes from the preface to the translation of Peter Ramus's *Dialectice Partitiones*, published under the title of *The Logike of the moste excellent Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr* in 1574. The translator defends his using English as follows: "Whether wrote Moyses (the Hebrew and deuyne) and after hym Esdras in the Hebrew and vulgar tongue or in some other straunge tongue? Did Aristotle and Plato Greke Philosophers, Hipocrates and Galen Greke Phisitions, leaue the Greke tongue, because it was their natie language, to seke some Hebrew or Latin? Did Cicero who was a Latinist borne write his Philosophie and Rhetoricke in the Greke tongue, or was he content with his mother tongue? and surely as he testifieth hym self he had the perfecte knowledge of the Greke tongue, yet he wrothe nothing therein which we haue extant at this daye. Shall we then thinke the Scottyshe⁶ or Englishe tongue, is not fitt to wrote any arte into? no in dede" (Barber 1976: 73–4). He also addressed himself to the alleged *barbarousness* of English, aptly exposing the illogical nature of the issue in the following way: "But thou wilt saye, our tongue is barbarous, and theirs is eloquent? I aunswere thee as Anacharsis did to the Athenienses, who called his Scythian tongue barbarous, yea sayeth he, Anacharsis is barbarous amongst the Athenienses, and so are the Athenienses amongst the Scythians, by the which aunswere he signified that every mans tongue is eloquent ynoughe for hym self, and that others in respecte of it is had as barbarous" (Barber 1976: 75).

Not all writers, however, felt the necessity to apologize for or explain why they were using their mother tongue. English had numerous strong advocates in the struggle against Latin from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

John Rastel, the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, said in his play *The Nature of the Four Elements* (c. 1520):

Than yf connyng late bokys were translate
In to Englysshe wel correct and approbate,
All subtel sciens in englyshe myght be lernyd.

(McKnight 1968: 99)

To those who thought that English was unsuitable for the Bible as an inferior language, William Tyndale had this to announce in *The Obedience of a Christen Man* (1528): "St. Jerome translated the Bible into his mother-tonge, why maye not we also! They will saye it can not be translated into our tonge, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false lyers" (Moore 1970: 19).

The same year Thomas More wrote in *Dialogue concerning Heresies*: "For as for that our tong is called barbarous, is but a fantasye. For so is, as every lerned man knoweth, every straunge language to other. And if they would call it barayn of wordes, there is no doubte but it is plenteous enough to expresses our myndes in anye thing wherof one man hath vsed to speke with another" (Moore 1970: 19).

Sir John Cheke praised the powers of English in a letter to Thomas Hoby (1557) opposing borrowing words from other languages. In 1565/9 Ascham changed his mind (see p. 94) and adopted an apologetic tone in pronouncing English to be "a language very capable of all the Ornaments both of Words and Sentences" (Moore 1970: 19).

In the 1580's the criticism of English virtually disappeared, as has been pointed out above. The vernacular won its struggle against Latin proving to be as good as the latter. Although Latin did not disappear entirely, there is no doubt that it was used later not because English was inferior in any sense but for other reasons. At the end of the sixteenth century the attitude of people writing about English was that of being exasperated with the opinion that the vernacular was barbarous and crude. Those people were convinced and said so in strong words, that their language had the capability of handling all topics no worse than Latin or any other tongue could do.

George Pettie forcefully makes his point in *Civile Conversation* (1581) saying: "How hardlie so euer you deale with your tongue, how barbarous so euer you count it, ... I durste my selfe vndertake (if I were furnished with learning otherwise) to write in it ... as eloquentlie, as anie writer should do in anie vulgar tongue whatsoever" (Moore 1970: 19).

In 1582 Richard Mulcaster states in the Peroration to *The First Part of the Elementarie*: "I take this present period of our English tung to be the verie height thereof, because I find it so excellentlie well fined, both for the bodie of the tung it self, and for the customarie writing thereof, ... the English tung cannot prove fairer, then it is at this daie, if it maie please our learned sort to esteeme so of it, and to bestow their travell upon such a subject, so capable of ornament, so proper to themselves, and the more to be honored, bycause it is their own" (Baugh and Cable 1978: 206–7).

In 1595 Richard Carew published a treatise on *The Excellency of the English Tongue* in which he praised the vernacular as a perfect language due to its running on "fower wheels" on which every tongue must run in the "race of perfection," i.e., "Significancye, Easynes, Copiousnes, Sweetnes" (Moore 1970: 21).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the opinions concerning English go even as far as to glorify the vernacular as superior to other languages. William Lisle can be quoted as an example of this boastful attitude. In the preface to his *Saxon Treatise* (1623), he claims that "our language is improued aboue all others now spoken by any nation, and became the fairest, the humblest, the fullest; most apt to vary the phrase, most ready to receiue good composition, most adorned with sweet words and sentences, with witty quips and ouer-ruling Prouerbes: yea able to expresse any hard conceit whatsoever with great dexterity; weighty in weighty matters, merry in merry, braue in braue" (Barber 1976: 76).

The rise in prestige of English and its final recognition was due to several factors mentioned previously in the present chapter.

First of all, patriotism and nationalism were aroused in the fifteenth century and were still a strong force a century later. These feelings were instrumental in evoking a pride in the national language and encouraging its use to prove that English was no worse than any other tongue, Latin included.

The second factor was the spread of education which created quite a market for books. Not all educated people mastered Latin to the extent

that they could read works on philosophy, sciences or *belles lettres*. Many of those who could still preferred English. The achievements and experiences of the classics were of interest to a wide audience. This created a great demand for translations, i.e., an extensive use of the vernacular.

The third factor was the Protestant Reformation which encouraged controversies on matters of faith and dogma. Since the disputants wanted to appeal to a wide audience, English had to be used. Furthermore, the Protestants had introduced the Bible in English, and for that reason as well the prestige of the vernacular went up.

All those factors contributing to the rise of prestige of the vernacular and its recognition created a new situation for a further development of the English language.

The freedom of choice in orthographic, lexical and often even grammatical forms as well as the freedom of selection of one of several existing phonetic variants in pronunciation in the standard language began to be criticized at the end of the sixteenth century. The vernacular, which took over several functions of Latin, was expected to follow certain well-defined rules. This was particularly important in the context of formal school instruction,⁷⁾ where the concept of correctness had been earlier enforced in teaching Latin. The need for the regulation of usage, advocated especially by those who taught, ultimately led to the rise of grammars and dictionaries of the English language. However, it was not only the teachers and schoolmasters alone who were responsible for the introduction of more rigour and regulation. Those who wrote in English and considered the language as powerful as Latin were also of the opinion that not everything one hears and says but only the best of the language should be in use.

The tolerance of use of a variety of forms in the Standard English of the seventeenth century was to be gradually eliminated although never brought to the point where only one form would be accepted. Even today contemporary grammars, dictionaries of usage or pronouncing dictionaries contain large numbers of equally "correct" variant forms.

Apart from schoolmasters, who by necessity became involved in the process of regulation of language, another force contributed to the curtailment of the freedom of choice and use of language forms, mostly in the area of lexicon. This force was the Puritans. An Act of Parliament in 1606

prohibited the profane or jocular reference to *God, Christ, the Trinity*, etc. in any play. Even such terms as *faith* and *death* and many other were also prohibited.

The reason for the existence of numerous variant forms and their subsequent tolerance was not only due to the spirit of the Renaissance but also to the origin of the Standard Language which, both in its written and oral forms, contained elements from different local and social dialects (for more details concerning the early Modern English Standard, see Dobson 1956). Sixteenth and seventeenth century Standard English, like the earlier standard was a non-localizable variety, which was taught, learned, and used over a large territory of England (although not yet in the North and the West).

3. Lexical Enrichment of English

The exclusive use of Latin in many areas throughout the Middle Ages deprived the vernaculars of the opportunity to develop their lexicons in order to adequately express ideas and thoughts along many lines. This became clear when the vernaculars assumed the functions of Latin in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century and many works had to be translated from Latin and Greek. The translators faced numerous situations when Latin or Greek works could not be rendered in English or any other vernacular. The natural remedy was obviously borrowing, the adaptation of already existing word stock and the intensification of native word-formation processes. This way English was presented once again with foreign words in a rather large quantity. It should be pointed out, however, that lexical borrowing was not only limited to Latin and Greek resulting from the revival of learning. Early Modern English borrowed words from over fifty languages. This was a result of cultural contacts, travel, discoveries, colonization, trade, etc., affecting not only the close European scene but also the far off lands of America and Asia.

If borrowing new terms with new designates is understandable, the borrowing of new labels doubling already existing ones is not always justifiable. It is true that the line between needed and unnecessary words is hard to draw, but some of the criticism of excessive adaptation of

loanwords, particularly from Latin, seems to be valid. There were, however, people, who can be found in every age, who opposed not only "the wholesale borrowing of words" from other languages but objected to any "mixing" of alien elements with the native tongue in principle. It is surprising that a number of outstanding classical scholars, such as Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham, Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Thomas Wilson, were among them. Purists, as they are called, carried on a vigorous campaign against any borrowing for over half a century.

Sir John Cheke in a letter to Sir Thomas Hoby (prefaced to Hoby's translation of *The Courtier* in 1561) wrote:

"I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borrowing of other tungs, wherein if we take not heed bi tijm, euer borowing and neuer payeming, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt. For then doth our tung naturallie and praisablie vtter her meaning, when she bouroweth no conterfeitnes of other tungen to attire herself withall, but vseth plainlie her own with such shift, as nature craft, experiens, and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want at ani tijm (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borow with suche bashfulness, that it mai appear, that if either the mould of our own tung could serue us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede we wold not boldly venture of vnknownen wordes."

(McKnight 1968: 118 – 19)

Ascham adopted a similar attitude and together with other purists ridiculed borrowings, calling them *inkhorn* terms, in the hope of removing them from the language. In *Toxophilus* he complained that "Many English writers ... vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian do make thinges darke and harde" (Schlauch 1964: 81).

The strongest attack against *inkhorn* borrowings was launched by Thomas Wilson, who wrote in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553):

"Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that we never affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly received: neither seeking to be over fine, nor yet living over-carelesse, using our speeche as most men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest have done. Some seeke so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were alive, thei were not able to tell what they say: and yet these fine English clerks will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeiting the Kings English."

(Baugh and Cable 1978: 217 – 18)

The process of borrowing also had a good number of defenders who pointed out that every language, Latin and Greek notwithstanding, had enriched itself through borrowing and therefore there was no reason for English to avoid foreign words. The strangeness and apparent obscurity of the new words, they pointed out, would wear off after some time and they would become accepted and used just as much as the words already established in the English language. For example, Mulcaster wrote that "for all strange things seme great novelties, and hard of entertainment at their first arrivall, till theie be acquainted: but after acquaintance theie be verie familiar, and easie to entreat. ... Familiaritie and acquaintance will cause facilitie, both in matter and in words" (Baugh and Cable 1978: 219 – 20).

The position defending the right of English to enrichment through borrowing was best summed up by George Pettie and William Bullokar.

In the preface to the translation of Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* Pettie wrote:

"For the barbarousnesse of our tongue, I must lykewyse say that it is much the worse for them (the objectors), and some such curious fellowes as they are: who if one chaunce to derive any woord from the Latine, which is insolent to their eares (as perchaunce they wyll take that

phrase to be) they foorthwith make a jest at it, and terme it an Inkehorne terme. And though for my part I use those woords as little as any, yet I know no reason why I should not use them: for it is in deed the ready way to inrich our tongue, and make it copious, and it is the way which all tongues have taken to inrich them selves."

(Baugh and Cable 1978: 220)

Bullokar pointed out some time later (1616) that "it is familiar among best writers to usurpe strange words" and therefore objections to borrowing are groundless.

Despite purist attacks, the process of borrowing went on and the opposition to importing foreign words into English was directed only against excessive borrowing.

English acquired over 10,000 words in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries from over fifty languages, as has already been mentioned. Not all of them were accepted by a wide number of users of English and became established in the lexicon. Some words, although accepted for a time, enjoyed a limited currency and were phased out after some time. Most of them stayed, however, and have survived until now.

The Renaissance contributed to the influx of words from Latin and Greek.⁸⁾ Among numerous Latin borrowings which entered English during the period under discussion are the following: *allusion, accent, commensurable, capsule, denunciation, dexterity, disability, drama, excursion, expectation, transept, elegy, fiction, invisibility, jurisprudence, phrase, transalpine, abject, agile, appropriate, expensive, external, frequentative, habitual, hereditary, insane, jocular, malignant, alienate, assassinate, benefit, consolidate, disregard, eradicate, exist, extinguish, harass, mediate*, etc. A number of words borrowed from Latin were actually Greek words which found their way earlier into that language and via Latin came finally into English, as e.g., *anachronism, atmosphere, antithesis, autograph, chaos, chronology, climax, crisis, dogma, enthusiasm, parasite, pathetic, scheme, skeleton, system*, etc. Greek words borrowed directly into English include *acme, anonymous, catastrophe, criterion, ephemeral, heterodox, lexicon, ostracize, polemic, thermometre, tonic*, etc.

A significant number of words was borrowed into English from European vernaculars as well.

One of those languages was French. Travel in France by Englishmen, as well as the prestige of French literature, contributed to the importation of such words as *alloy*, *anatomy*, *baluster*, *bigot*, *bizarre*, *bombast*, *bayonet*, *counterpoint*, *comrade*, *docility*, *defail*, *duel*, *entrance*, *entrap*, *equip*, *essay*, *explore*, *genteel*, *judge*, *invoice*, *mustache*, *naturalize*, *probability*, *progress*, *shock*, *surpass*, *vogue*, *volunteer*, etc.

The cultural prominence of Italy and frequent travel to that country resulted not only in the importation of fashions but also in the adoption of numerous Italian words. Here are some examples: *algebra*, *argosy*, *artisan*, *balcony*, *cameo*, *caprice*, *cupola*, *citadel*, *design*, *granite*, *grotto*, *carnival*, *gondola*, *fresco*, *bandit*, *contraband*, *piazza*, *portico*, *stanza*, *stucco*, *trill*, *violin*, *volcano*, *squadron*, *parapet*, etc. A number of Italian words entered English through French, e.g., *battalion*, *bankrupt*, *bastion*, *brusque*, *brigade*, *carat*, *cavalcade*, *charlatan*, *frigate*, *gala*, *gazette*, *grotesque*, *infantry*, *parakeet*, *rebuff*, etc.

Spanish and Portuguese words found their way into English as a result of trade, colonialism and wars. The following are some of the loanwords: *anchovy*, *alligator*, *apricot*, *armada*, *banana*, *bastiment*, *bastinado*, *bilbo*, *bravado*, *brocade*, *barricade*, *casque*, *cedilla*, *cocoa*, *corral*, *desperado*, *embargo*, *galleon*, *maize*, *mestizo*, *mosquito*, *mulatto*, *negro*, *pecadillo*, *renegade*, *rusk*, *peon*, *sombrero*, *yam*, etc.

The Low Countries continued to supply English with terms of a nautical, military, artistic, social and other nature, e.g., *dock*, *rove*, *yacht*, *smugler*, *freebooter* (Du vrijbouter 'pirate'), *uproar*, *smack*, *sloop*, *brandwine* or *brandy-wine* (later shortened to *brandy*), *knapsack*, *furlough*, *tap-too* (later *tattoo*), *manikin*, *landscape*, *easel*, *sketch* (itself borrowed from Italian *schizzo*), *foist*, *revel*, *drill*, *burgomaster*, *burgher*, *onslaught*, etc.

The exploration and colonization of North and South America resulted in the importation of new words from indigenous languages (frequently via Spanish), e.g., *potato* (from Haitian *batata* via Sp *patata*), *tobacco* and *cacique* (same source and route of borrowing), *ananas* (from a Peruvian language, later replaced in English by *pineapple*), *hammock*, *hurricane*, *papaw*, *cannibal* (all from the Carib language via Spanish), *chocolate* and *tomato* (from Aztec), *wigwam*, *tomahawk*, *squaw*, *wampum* (from North American Indian languages), etc.

Although the enrichment of English was achieved in large measure with loanwords, the vocabulary expansion was also enhanced by various word-formation processes (e.g., affixation and compounding) using the native word stock or combining both the native and foreign elements. Many new derivatives and compounds were introduced into English in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, notably by leading poets and writers, who also added another source of enrichment, i.e., reviving words no longer in use (the process often criticised as creating "Chaucerisms"). The revived words can be illustrated by the following examples: *astound*, *blameful*, *displeasance*, *enroot*, *doom*, *forby* 'past', *empight* 'implanted', *nathless* 'nonetheless', *nathemore*, *mickle*, etc.

The new derivatives include such examples as *uncloy* 'unnail' (1611), *spooler* (1554), *delicateness* (1530), *immenseness* (1610), *messengership* (1611), *prelatic* (1642), *laughable* (1596), *heatless* (1596), *brinish* (1580), *delightful* (1530), *sheep-like* (1582), *murmurous* (1582), *scraper* (1552), *unclasp* (1530), *uncivil* (1553), *uncomfortable* (1592), *imbranch* 'graft' (1577), *entrust* (1602), *relay* (1590), *disacknowledge* (1598), *forename* (1533), *forearm* (1592), *undergrowth* (1600).

The compounding also enjoyed an unprecedented degree of freedom and contributed further along with other processes not mentioned to the enrichment of English vocabulary. For lack of space, these processes will not be discussed here.⁹⁾

4. Orthoëpists and Early Grammarians

The importance of the regularization of orthography and grammar began to be stressed around the middle of the sixteenth century. English was the subject of instruction yet it had no book of rules which could be followed by students and could be relied on by teachers. At around 1550, there was no English grammar, nor was there a dictionary of the English language. This situation is best described by Richard Mulcaster (1582), a schoolmaster himself, who believed that the grammar was necessary because it would serve to "reduce our English tung to som certain rule, for writing and reading, for words and speaking, for sentence and ornament, that men maie know, when theie write or speak right" (McKnight 1968: 225).

Soon afterwards the first grammar of English was published. It was written by William Bullokar in the late sixteenth century, but unfortunately has not survived until today. In 1586, however, Bullokar published *Pamphlet for Grammar* which was an abbreviation (c. 80 pages) of his earlier grammar. It gives us a good idea of the nature of the original work, which relied heavily on Latin grammars of the period as models and therefore devoted most of the space to morphological paradigms and word-forms.

Another grammar of English published before the turn of the century was probably written by Paul Greaves under the title *Grammatica Anglicana* (1594). It is a short work (36 pages) in Latin and, as could be expected, was also heavily influenced by Latin.

In the first half of the seventeenth century five English grammars appeared, including Alexander Gil's *Logonomia Anglica* (1619), Charles Butler's *The English Grammar* (1633) and Ben Jonson's *The English Grammar* (1640).¹⁰ They are limited to the analysis of letters, syllables and words. Only some of them, Ben Jonson's included, have a section devoted to syntax. Most of the grammars are preoccupied with morphology. An idea about the content of such a grammar can be given by the full title of Butler's work, i.e., *The English Grammar, or The Institution of Letters, Syllables and Woords in the English tung. Whereunto is annexed An Index of woords Like and Unlike*. It is hardly necessary to mention that the seventeenth century grammars likewise heavily relied upon the Graeco-Roman tradition.

The grammarians contributed also towards the standardization of English spelling. It should be mentioned, however, that they were not alone in this endeavour. They were even preceded by the people (i.e., the orthoëpists) who were mainly preoccupied with regularization of orthography and who in the years 1540–1640, advocated changes in spelling practices which finally led to the regularization of the existing orthography, at least in printed works late in the seventeenth century. Most of the radical changes proposed by orthoëpists have never been implemented but the idea of standardization has definitely proved to be successful.

The earliest spelling reformers were Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith. Their idea was to make the spelling phonetic. Cheke proposed among other things to dispense with silent letters, to double vowel symbols

in order to indicate length (as in modern Dutch or Flemish, e.g., *taak* for *take*, *maad* for *made*, etc.), and to use *y* for /θ/ and /ð/. Although Cheke's spelling system was not consistently phonetic, it was undoubtedly a fairly successful attempt towards regularization of English orthography. As can be seen from later developments, none of Cheke's proposals has been accepted or found its way into standard English orthography.

Among the most important sixteenth century pioneers who analysed orthography with reference to pronunciation was undoubtedly John Hart. He wrote three works propagating spelling reform: *The opening of the unreasonable writing our inglish tounge* (1551; not published), *An Orthografie Conteyning the due order and reason howe to write or painte thimage of mannes voise most like to the life or nature* (1569), and *A Methode or comfortable beginning for all vnlearned, whereby they may bee taught to read English, in a very short time, with pleasure* (1570). According to him the spoken language is primary and the writing system should be viewed as the rendering of a certain number of 'voices' (i.e., speech-sounds) by graphic symbols. The only proper way to do it is "to use as many letters in our writing, as we doe voices or breathes in speaking, and no more: and never to abuse one letter for another, and to write as we speake: which we must needes doe if we will ever have our writing perfite: and for such voices, soundes or breaths, as we have no fit Carrects,¹¹ markes or letters, we may without offence to God or reasonable man, chuse and use, fit new markers or letters for everye of them, and so we may be duely served at our neede: and not be driven to abuse any one in two or three soundes, as we nowe doe diverse" (Hart, *Orthographie*, f. 6; quoted after Dobson 1968: 68). English unfortunately does not possess the writing system which would follow those principles. According to Hart its orthography is corrupt and suffers from four defects: *diminution* (too few symbols to represent the existing sounds), *superfluity* (the use of more letters than there are sounds in a given word, e.g., *b* in *doubt*), *usurpation* (the use of a wrong symbol, e.g., *g* in *gentle* and *give*), and *misplacing* (putting the written symbol in the wrong order, e.g., *fable* should be spelled *fabel* because this is the way the word is pronounced). To remedy the corruptions of English orthography, Hart accordingly proposed a number of changes. Among other things he introduced a writing system in which one letter stands for one sound, diphthongs are rendered by digraphs (e.g., *seid* for

side), *j* represents /dʒ/, *i* represents /i/, *q* is abolished, *th* is replaced by two new symbols, and *when* is re-spelled as *huen*, according to the principle of correct order.

Hart's proposals were based on a detailed investigation of the relations between sounds and graphic symbols, which makes him an important first-hand source for the reconstruction of the phonology of his period.¹²⁾ They did not win him general favour, however, and failed to influence the development of English spelling in any significant manner.

Among the early grammarians who were also advocating spelling reform, an outstanding place is occupied by William Bullokar who presented his recommendations for the change of English orthography in *Book at Large for the Amendment of Orthographie for English Speech* (1581). His system of spelling was complicated and far from being consistently phonetic. Despite his introducing a large number of diacritics he was unable to render some of the vowel values. Apart from adding diacritics Bullokar also dispensed with superfluous letters and rearranged "misplaced" ones, as did his predecessor, Hart. Like Cheke's, Smith's and Hart's systems, his proposed spelling system was not adopted either.

A more conservative approach towards spelling reform was represented by Richard Mulcaster, a schoolmaster, in *The First Part of the Elementarie which Entreateth Chefelie of the right writing of our English tung* (1582). Mulcaster was against any radical reform. He wanted only to correct details in English orthography. Consistent usage based on tradition was his credo. According to him, English spelling was on the whole sufficient and required only minor emendations. He dispensed with letters which had no functions (e.g., *t* in *putt* 'put'), regularized the use of final *-e* to indicate length in preceding vowels (e.g., *hope* vs. *hop*), etc. Mulcaster's work was very popular and contributed to the regularization of spelling. It is interesting to note that his spelling is close to that of Present-day English. Several reasons may have been responsible for this. It is quite likely that, being a pedagogue with quite a reputation, he must have influenced both teachers and printers. It is also possible that, believing in the compelling values of tradition, "he was only giving expression to theories which were of common currency already, and followed himself the ideal of his contemporaries, whether schoolmasters or printers" (Dobson 1968: 122). Unlike Hart, Mulcaster had no grasp of phonetics. This may account for his

lack of understanding of the motives behind the extensive spelling reforms proposed by Hart or Bullokar.

The most interesting of sixteenth and seventeenth century spelling reforms was proposed by Alexander Gil in his *Logonomia Anglica* (2nd ed., 1621). Phonetically it was also inconsistent, but it was simple and practical. One wonders why it was not adopted. Among proposed modifications were the use of diaeresis over the vowel to mark length (e.g., â), the use of ð for /ð/ and h for *gh*, the use of *hw* for *wh* and ʒ for /dʒ/, etc. The departures from traditional conventions are relatively small.

Towards the end of the first half of the seventeenth century the interest in the reform of English spelling began to decline. The spelling systems used by Charles Butler in *The English Grammar* (1634), Simon Daines in *Orthoepia Anglicana* (1640) or Richard Hodges in *A Special Helo to Orthographie: or, The True Writing of English* (1643) are less interesting and original than the previous ones and do not advance any revolution or new ideas, but such is the story of the decline of any movement.

5. The Beginnings of English Lexicography

As has already been pointed out the English language did not have a dictionary¹³⁾ until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In the Middle Ages, words were explained in the vernacular in marginal or interlinear notes in individual manuscripts. Sometimes separate lists, not always arranged alphabetically, were appended at the end of texts.

The first step in the direction of a dictionary was a bilingual word-list not connected with any particular text and prepared as an aid for the student. The earliest word-list of the kind, *Medulla gramatica* (Latin-English), comes from before 1400 (Stein 1985: 76). It was copied a number of times in the fifteenth century. From c. 1430 comes another Latin-English list, *Hortus vocabulorum*. The first known English-Latin word-list, an aid for schoolboys entitled *Promptorium Parvulorum*, was written around 1440 and published by Pynson (Caxton's successor) in 1499. The next step in the development of the dictionary was the production of bilingual vocabularies closely resembling modern alphabetical dictionaries. To this category belong John Palsgrave's English-French dictionary in Part Three of his *Esclarcissement*

de la langue francoyse (1530), Sir Thomas Elyot's Latin-English dictionary (*The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot knyght*, 1538), William Salesbury's *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe...* (1547), John Vernon's Latin-English-French *Dictionarium* (1552), John Withal's Latin-English *Short Dictionari for Yonge Beginners* (1553), Richard Huloet's English-Latin *Abecedarium* (1552, revised by John Higgins in 1572), Florio's English-Italian *Firste Fruites* (1578), Thomas Thomas's *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (c. 1588), and Stepney's Spanish-English *Spanish Schoolemaster* (1591).

Until the end of the sixteenth century no need was felt for a monolingual dictionary of the English language. Such a need began to be felt with the process of vast enrichment of the English lexicon proceeding quickly in the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1582 Mulcaster wrote: "It were a thing verie praiseworthy in my opinion, and no lesse profitable than praise worthie, if someone well learned and as laborious a man, wold gather all the words which we use in our English tung, whether naturall or incorporate, out of all professions as well learned as not, into one dictionarie, and besides the right writing, which is incident to the alphabete, wold open unto us therein both their natural force and their proper use" (Baugh and Cable 1978: 231).

The response to this new need came from Robert Cawdrey, who published his *Table Alphabeticall*, the first monolingual dictionary of English, in 1604. The existing bilingual dictionaries provided a pattern for Cawdrey. In fact, he took half of the words from Thomas's *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*. Cawdrey's dictionary is a small work of c. 2,500 entries limited to rare, difficult, learned and borrowed words. The aim and scope of *Table Alphabeticall* is best explained by its title page, which ran as follows: *A Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true writing, and vnderstanding of hard vsuall English wordes, borrowed from Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. With the interpretation thereof by plaine English words, gathered for the benefit and helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen or any other vnskilfull persons. Whereby they may the more easilie and better vnderstand many hard English wordes, which they shall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elsewhere, and also be made able to vse the same aptly themselues.*

Definitions in Cawdrey's dictionary are very short. Here are some entries listed under the letter A:

<i>abject</i>	base, cast away in disdain
<i>absonant</i>	vntuneable, absurd
<i>accommodate</i>	to make fit to, or conuenient to the purpose
<i>accumulate</i>	to heape together
<i>accurate</i>	curious, cunning, diligent
<i>acertaine</i>	make sure, certiffe
<i>admire</i>	maruell at, or be in love with
<i>aduertise</i>	give knowledge, aduice, counsell
<i>anatomie</i>	cutting vp of the body

(McKnight 1968: 177)

The next English dictionary was John Bullokar's,¹⁴ *An English Expositor* (1616), which contained more than 4,000 entries. The entries were, on the whole, longer, gave more information, marked archaic words and indicated the field of discourse of a given lexical unit. Here are some examples of entries taken from Bullokar's dictionary (Barber 1976: 108–9):

<i>Homonymie</i>	A term in Logicke, when one word signifieth diuers things: as Hart: signifying a beast, and a principall member of the body.
<i>Hierarchie</i>	The holy order of Angles, which intaining nine degrees (as some affirme) is a mystical resemblance of the B. Trinitie, there being in nine, thrice three, and in euery three thrice one. So that there are three superiour, three inferiour, and three middle degrees. The superior are Seraphines, Cherubines, and Thrones; the middle, Dominations, principalities, Powers; The inferior, vertues, Archangels, and Angels.
<i>Hip</i>	The red berry on the bryer.
<i>Historian</i>	A writer or teller of a History.

Bullokar's dictionary was soon followed by Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie* (1623). It was divided into three sections which in turn listed 'the choicest words' (i.e., *inkhorn* terms), 'vulgar words' together with 'more refined and elegant' equivalents and finally mythological terms. Cockeram drew heavily on his two predecessors. His work is almost as long as the other two together and aims at "Ladies, and Gentlewomen, Schollers, Clarkes, Merchants, as also Strangers of any Nation."

Cockeram's dictionary as well as Bullokar's were reprinted several times. They were, however, still too small and other authors had to undertake the task of expanding them in the years to come.

6. *The Spread of English until the Middle of the Seventeenth Century*

English was already spoken in Southern Scotland in Old English times. Until c. 975, part of this country was under Anglo-Saxon rule. The border between Scotland and England which was established in the tenth century has not changed until today. North of it, up to the Moray Firth, English gained ground, and by the middle of the seventeenth century it was the normal language in the lowlands. The population of the highlands still spoke Scottish Gaelic, a Celtic language.

Scottish English was based on Northern English with Celtic, Scandinavian and French influences. It developed into a national language which functioned as such until the early seventeenth century. (It should be remembered that Scotland was independent until 1603.) Important literature was written in the language from the fourteenth century on, e.g., Barbour's *Bruce* (1375), continuators of the Chaucerian tradition, King James I (1395 – 1437), Robert Henryson (1425 – 1500?), William Dunbar (1460 – 1520?), Gavin Douglas (1475 – 1522), Sir David Lindsay (1490 – 1555) and others. In the seventeenth century Scottish English began to be strongly influenced by Southern English. When in 1707 Scotland was formally united with England, English was believed to be the standard and Scots was reduced to the role of a local dialect, although it still continued

to be a literary language in the eighteenth century due to the works of Burns, Ramsey and Ferguson.

The Middle Ages also witnessed the spread of English beyond Britain. Ireland became an English colony due to the conquest by Henry II (1154 – 89) and the English administration, army and clergy began to arrive, bringing their language with them. At first English was spoken by only a handful of people but gradually its use began to spread as a result of administrative pressure. The political and economic oppression of the indigenous Celtic population was paralleled by discrimination against the native Irish (Gaelic) language. Only English was used in schools and children who spoke Gaelic were subject to severe punishment.

The English which was brought to Ireland was an amalgam of south-western and western dialects (McIntosh and Samuels 1968: 8). According to Hogan (1978: 15), English was used over a great part of the country in the thirteenth century. The highest density of English speakers existed in the area between Dublin and Wexford, inland of the Wicklow Hills. The bastions of the English language were towns and manors.

Anglo-Irish literature from Medieval times, which has survived until today, includes among other things *The Kildare Poems* (c. 1310), *Pride of Life* (end of 14th c.), *Virtues of Herbs* (14th c.) and *On Blood-Letting* (14th c.).¹⁵⁾

English usage declined considerably in the fifteenth century due to the Irish migration back into the country colonized originally by Anglo-Normans (the towns, however, were still strongly English) and the fact that the great Norman families, which were never English, became Irish. Also, according to some contemporary evidence, the English yeomen and small freeholders began to leave the area, either returning to England or moving to the Pale.¹⁶⁾ John Swayne, Archbishop of Arnagh, wrote in a letter from c. 1430: "The housbonde pepill for the mescheffe and governances afore-saide be gone out of the londe, with in a few yeris, into englonde ... there is more gone oute of the londe of the kyngis lege pepyll then be in it" (quoted by Hogan 1970: 23 – 4). [The small freeholders because of misery and the administration mentioned before will leave this country and go to England within a few years ... more people have already left the country because of the king's rule than there are in it.]"

In the sixteenth century English was spoken only in the Pale and in the towns but even there Irish (Gaelic) was steadily and rather rapidly replacing it.

In the second half of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century the process was successfully arrested by England. The plantation policy of Queen Mary and her followers (which led to the settlement of large numbers of Scots in Ulster and thus laid foundations of Protestant Ulster) and the Cromwellian *Act of Settlement*, which ordered the Irish population to leave three provinces, brought a new wave of English speakers from all over England. The language that those people imported with them was both Standard English and certainly local dialects which must have, however, gradually disappeared. The only traces of local speech left in Ireland were from the west of England which among other things points to a larger contingent of settlers from this area.

This seventeenth century migration produced the second wave of Anglo-Irish civilization which has continued in the main until today. The new English language blended with the older Anglo-Irish. Constantly acquiring elements of Gaelic with which it was in contact, it finally assumed the form which has developed ultimately into the Anglo-Irish language used nowadays.

Anglo-Irish did not begin to spread among the Irish on a large scale until the end of the eighteenth century. It finally won the struggle against Gaelic and became the language of the majority of the population of Ireland in the middle of the nineteenth century. According to Hogan (1970: 55), the circumstances which led to this situation were "the end of the Penal Laws,¹⁷⁾ the national endeavours of the Dublin Parliament, the encouragement of English by the Catholic Church and by various patriotic movements, the founding of schools in which the medium of instruction was English, and finally the necessity of English to the emigrant."

In 1607 the English language was brought to America by English colonists who came with Christopher Newport aboard three ships (approximately 120 people) and established the settlement of Jamestown in today's Virginia.¹⁸⁾ The further spread of English in the New World was due to the expansion of colonies and new arrivals of colonists in the following years. In 1620 *The Mayflower* brought a group of pilgrims who set up the

Plymouth Colony in the north in Cape Cod Bay. In 1628 Puritans started the Massachusetts Bay Colony further to the north. A large Puritan migration began in 1630. The influx of colonists between 1620 and 1640 was on an unprecedented scale. The extent of migration can be judged as extraordinary, with 15,000 new arrivals at that time. The number of settlers reached 25,000 in 1640. Most of them established settlements around Massachusetts Bay.

In a few years the territory inhabited by the colonists began to expand along the Atlantic coast both to the north and the south. Connecticut was founded in 1633, and Rhode Island in 1636. Maine and New Hampshire followed soon after, although the progress of colonization in the latter was slowed down considerably due to strong opposition by the Indians. This area (from Maine to Connecticut) is referred to as New England. The majority of settlers there were from the eastern counties of England.

The settlement in the Middle Atlantic part of today's United States (from New York to Maryland) had a different pattern. New York was settled by the Dutch in 1614 and was seized by the English in 1664. However, from the beginning part of the population of New York was English.

Maryland was settled originally in 1634 by English Catholics who were later outnumbered by new settlers.

The South Atlantic colonization began with Jamestown in Virginia. The inhabitants were of mixed social and geographical background. From here the colonists moved south to North Carolina and further on to South Carolina and Georgia.

The language the settlers used was the English they spoke and wrote at home. As a result of contact with other languages, other dialects and the new political and geographical situation, as will be seen later in history, the English in America was to undergo changes not always parallel to what was happening to the language of the metropolis (for details see Volume Two).

The first European language in Canada was French. It reached the country with French colonists in the sixteenth century. English settlers began to move to Canada in the seventeenth century, but the real spread of English in Canada was to begin a century later.

For further reading:

Algeo (1985), Avila (1992), Bacquet (1974), Bailey (1992), Barber (1997²), Baugh and Cable (1978³), Blake (1996), Dobson (1956, 1968²), Freeborn (1992), Funke (1938, 1940, 1941), Görlach (1985), Graddol (1996), Hogan (1927), Jones (1953), Kökeritz (1949), Lass (1980, 1999), McIntosh and Samuels (1968), McKnight (1968), Moore (1910), Nist (1966), Partridge (1969), Rydén (1998), Samuels (1963), Schäfer (1989), Schlauch (1964²), Söderlind (1964), Starnes (1954), Starnes and Noyes (1946), Stein (1983, 1985), Strang (1970), Trevelyan (1953), Wyld (1936³), Zins (1979²).

Notes

- 1) More than 90 per cent of the Tyndale-Coverdale language went into the Authorized Version (Nist 1966:215).
- 2) In the fourth chapter of *Apology* (1533) Sir Thomas More states the opinion that over 40 per cent of the population of England was illiterate (Partridge 1969: 17).
- 3) Cf. one grammar school per 23,750 inhabitants in 1864.
- 4) For a parody of the situation see T. Middleton's comedy *A Chase Maid in Cheapside* (1630) "in which a foolish Cambridge student and his equally foolish tutor dispute endlessly in Latin about utterly trivial matters" (Barber 1976:67).
- 5) According to Jones (1953: 3 – 31; 168-213) the eloquence of a language was based on four criteria:
/a/ important works had to be written in it;
/b/ it had to have a large and adequate vocabulary;
/c/ it had to be adorned with the devices of classical rhetoric;
/d/ it had to be 'ruled'.
- 6) According to Barber (1976: 73) the translator was a Scot.
- 7) Before 1660 this referred primarily to elementary education.
- 8) The discussion of loanwords here and elsewhere in the present chapter is limited to a handful of remarks and examples, because a more detailed analysis of the issue will be presented in Chapter Seven.
- 9) For information concerning compounding and the remaining word-formation processes the reader should consult Chapter Six of the present work.
- 10) Ben Jonson wrote his grammar c. 1620.
- 11) car(r)ect = 'a sign, mark, character'.
- 12) For a recent interpretation of Hart's phonological evidence see Lass (1980).
- 13) The word *dictionary* in the sense of 'a book dealing with the individual words of a language' (*OED* s.v.) was not used in English before 1500. *OED* records its first occurrence in 1526.

- 14) John was William Bullokar's son.
- 15) For a list of Anglo-Irish MSS (the most complete to date) and the linguistic characterization of this variety of English, see McIntosh and Samuels (1968: 1 – 10).
- 16) The Pale was the area of Ireland including today's counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare.
- 17) The Penal Laws were discriminatory and oppressive against the Catholic population of England and Ireland and date back to the reign of Henry VIII and Elisabeth I. They were kept in force until the second half of the eighteenth century.
- 18) The first attempt at the colonization was made in Maine three years earlier but did not succeed. Among the first colonists in Jamestown were two Polish artisans.

Chapter Five

From the Bourgeois Revolution to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1642 – 1800)

1. The Age of Reason

The bourgeois revolution in England (1642 – 60) initiated a new period in the history of England. New social forces gained importance and introduced a new political order. In a brief characterization of the situation like the present one there is no need to discuss details. Suffice it to say that the temporary alliance of wealthy bourgeoisie and the lower classes led to the removal of the remaining burdens of feudalism. The attempts of the Stuarts to revive absolutism after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 failed, and in 1688 the middle class achieved its final victory. James II lost all the support of his former allies and was forced to flee the country. In 1689 William of Orange became the king of England. Those events began a period of stability which lasted throughout the eighteenth century, a period so much desired after the upheavals of the revolution.

The new political structure resulted in deep-rooted changes in the cultural life of England. "They may be traced in the plastic arts, fashions in clothes and literary styles; less obvious but still with some clarity in language and attitudes to language. The general tendency, for a multitude of reasons, was towards esteem for rules and regularity; towards a desire to discipline the media of expression, whether these were artistic, literary or linguistic. It is no accident that the vogue for strict form and classical models became dominant during the period when grammarians set them-

selves the task of regularising the structure of the English language on the basis of logical standards" (Schlauch 1964: 123).

The end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of experimental sciences and the rationalist trend in philosophy. There is no doubt that the rigour professed by both contributed also to the reinforcement of the tendency calling for the standardization, fixing and refinement of English.

The constant spread of education increased the number of people who were influenced by the cultural and educational trends of the period. Classical scholarship became thus more popular than ever before. Latin grammar reached the stage where it could become a model for the English language and its more regularized usage. As opposed to the sixteenth century it was no longer the elaborate Ciceronian style with complex sentences that was to be imitated. Now the emphasis was shifted to simplicity and fluency with a restrained imitation of the Latin mode.

The most important features characterizing the period in almost all walks of life were the importance of reason as the factor in explanation and a strong sense of order and value of regulation. "In its effort to set up a standard of correctness in language the rationalistic spirit of the eighteenth century showed itself in the attempt to settle disputed points logically, that is, by simply reasoning about them, often arriving at entirely false conclusions. The respect for authoritative example, especially for classical example, takes the form of appeals to the analogy of Latin, while a different manifestation of the respect for authority is at the bottom of the belief in the power of individuals to legislate in matters of language" (Baugh and Cable 1978: 254 – 5).

2. The Ideal of Correctness, the Refining of the English Language and the Attempt to Fix It

In the opinion of several outstanding writers, educators and philosophers of the time, English was in dire need of a few operations which would shape it into the proper form which it deserved if it was to handle successfully all the tasks that it had to perform. Those operations may be described in brief as the establishing of a standard of correctness, the

refining (i.e., removal of corruptions and defects) of the language and the "fixing" of it in a permanent form to avoid the potential modifications which can ultimately lead to corruption.

Correctness was one of the ideals of the time. It was also supposed to be of paramount importance for language. To be able to refine language and to fix a proper version thereof one needed rules which would help to eliminate defects. As has been rightly pointed out by Nist what was taken for "correctness," however, was "a mixture of Latin grammar, poorly applied logic, and prejudice" (Nist 1966: 274). Such rules then did not have any sensible basis to warrant a standard of proper usage, and as will be seen later in this and the following sections of the present chapter, they could enforce usage alien to the nature of the English language.

The standardization and regularization of the language was summed up in the eighteenth century in the term *ascertainment* which was often used by those who advocated "correcting the language" (among them was J. Swift who wrote his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* in 1712). The term meant nothing more than suggesting rules to establish a standard, which in practice amounted to a dictionary recording the correct use of lexical items and a grammar listing rules concerning the use of constructions.

The lack of a standard, it was believed, caused the rise of many corruptions which multiplied for quite some time. According to Dryden, English had been undergoing constant decay since Chaucer. Swift assumed that the language attained its highest standard during the Elizabethan period. In *Proposal for Correcting... the English Tongue* he says: "The period wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two.¹⁾ From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equalled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded the licentiousness which entered with the restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals fell to corrupt our language" (quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 256). Samuel Johnson agrees with Swift's opinion in his *Dictionary*

(1755): "I have studiously endeavoured to collect examples and authorities from the writers before the restoration, whose works I regard as the wells of English undefiled, as the pure sources of genuine diction."

All these writers opposed the idea of innovation in language as a sign of corruption and evil. Indeed, it was almost universally held by eminent scholars in various intellectual spheres at the end of the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth century that changes in English should be arrested if the language was to avoid its further decay and, accordingly, attempts should be made to stabilize and purify it from unnecessary modifications. It was widely believed that an authority should be established to oversee the purity of the English language and to decide about correct usage. This type of thinking, aided by additional factors, enhanced the desire to "fix" the language, which was one of the main objectives and ambitions set by numerous scholars and writers of the early eighteenth century. It is curious from the standpoint of our present experience that the minds of the time could not grasp the essence of language from a historical perspective, i.e., its constant growth and decay, and its constant change.

It cannot truly be said that nobody at the time recognized the evolution of living languages as a natural and inevitable phenomenon. In 1630 James Howell noted "that as all other sublunary things are subject to corruptions and decay, ... so the learnedest and more eloquent languages are not free from this common fatality, but are liable to those alternations and revolutions, to those fits of inconstancy, and other destructive contingencies which are unavoidably incident to all earthly things" (quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 260). Unfortunately, people like Howell were in the minority. The majority was under the false assumption that classical languages were unchanged for centuries and English could likewise be made stable when refined to the degree of perfection that Greek and Latin had achieved and preserved throughout centuries. Swift, among others, in his *Proposal* quoted earlier, maintained that "if it (English) were once refined to a certain standard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at least till we are invaded and made a conquest by some other state." Later in the same work he added: "But what I have most at heart, is, that some method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language for ever, after such alternations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, it is better a language should not be wholly

perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing. ... I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary."²⁾

Under the circumstances it was only natural to expect further and more concrete steps in the direction of the formation of an authoritarian body to decide about the correctness of English. The example already existed. In Italy the Academia della Crusca had existed since 1582 and worked with the objective of purifying the Italian language, publishing a dictionary in 1612. In France l'Académie Française was established in 1635 and set to work to purify the French language and to compile a dictionary and grammar. The dictionary, establishing the use of words, appeared in 1649. There is no doubt that the existing academies were the main incentive to set up an academy in England.

England had had learned societies since 1572 and the idea of an academy can be traced back to the late sixteenth century. It received more attention and currency in the seventeenth century. In 1605 Richard Carew in a letter to Sir Robert Cotton wrote that "it imports no little disgrace to our nation that others have so many Academies, and wee none at all, especially seeing wee want not choice of wyttes every way matcheable with their, both for number and sufficiency. Such a work is worthy of your solicitation and indeavour, and you owe yt to your owne fame, and the good of your Countrey" (quoted by Freeman 1924: 292).³⁾ Among the staunchest supporters of the English Academy were John Dryden, John Evelyn, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift and Thomas Cooke.

Dryden said this in the dedication to the *Rival Ladies* (1664): "I am Sorry, that (Speaking so noble a Language as we do) we have not a more certain Measure of it, as they have in France, where they have an Academy erected for the purpose, and Indow'd with large Privileges by the present King" (quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 263).

In December 1664, a few months after the publication of Dryden's work, and perhaps under the influence of Dryden's words, the Royal Society (a scientific society established in 1662) adopted a resolution stating that "there were persons of the Society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, Particularly for philosophic purposes, it was voted that there should be a committe for improving the English language; and that they meet at Sir Peter Wyche's lodgings in

Gray's-Inn once or twice a month, and give an account of their proceedings, when called upon." Thus, the first step towards founding an academy had been made. Among others Dryden and Evelyn became members of the twenty-two member body. The latter, after visiting Academia della Crusca, wrote to Sir Peter Wyche in 1665 advocating the writing of an authoritative grammar of English, the reform of the orthography and the compiling of a set of dictionaries as the urgent tasks to be carried out by an English Academy.

Daniel Defoe presented his idea of an academy for England in an article published in his *Essay upon Projects* (1697). He wrote: "I would therefore have this society wholly composed of gentlemen, whereof twelve to be of the nobility, if possible, and twelve private gentlemen, and a class of twelve to be left open for mere merit, let it be found in who and what sort it would, which should lie as the crown of their study, who have done something eminent to deserve it. ... The voice of this society should be sufficient authority for the usage of words, and sufficient also to expose the innovations of other men's fancies; they should preside with a sort of judicature over the learning of the age, and have liberty to correct and censure the exorbitance of writers, especially of translators. The reputation of this society would be enough to make them the allowed judges of style and language; and no author would have the impudence to coin without their authority. Custom, which is now our best authority for words, would always have its original here, and not be allowed without it. There should be no more occasion to search for derivations and constructions, and it would be as criminal then to coin words as money" (quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 264 – 5).

With the popularity of the idea of an English Academy growing, Jonathan Swift addressed a letter in 1712 to the Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer of England, presenting an extensive proposal concerning the necessity of founding such an academy. The letter was published under the title *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* and has already been mentioned earlier in the present chapter. Among other things Swift says this, urging for the establishment of the academy (although he never uses the term itself): "In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice should be made of such persons as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a

work, without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they design to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to prescribe. ... The persons who are to undertake this work will have the example of the French before them to imitate, where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Besides the grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound" (Quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 266).

In spite of the good climate that the idea encountered and the number of weighty voices of important advocates of an academy, the idea was not realized. An English Academy was not established. The appearance of Swift's *Proposal* marks the culmination of the movement and the point of descent. Although it did not die automatically and lingered on for quite some time (cf. Read 1938: 145–56), several voices questioning Swift's linguistic premises were heard. The idea of an academy was unacceptable on political grounds as well. The Whigs objected in principle to the setting up of any authoritarian body and from their ranks came two pamphlets rebutting Swift's *Proposal*. In 1712, the year when the *Proposal* was published, John Oldmixon printed *Reflections on Dr. Swift's Letter to Harley* and Arthur Mainwaring and an unknown collaborator published *The British Academy: Being a New-Erected Society for the Advancement of Wit and Learning: with Some few Observations upon It*.

The linguistic premises of Swift's proposal were questioned among others by Dr. Samuel Johnson who in the preface to his *Dictionary* (1755) wrote: "Swift, in his petty treatise on the English language, allows that new words must sometimes be introduced, but proposes that none should be suffered to become obsolete. But what makes a word obsolete, more than general agreement to forbear it? and how shall it be continued, when it conveys an offensive idea, or recalled again into the mouths of mankind, when it has once by disuse become unfamiliar, and by unfamiliarity unpleasant?"

Johnson found the idea of an academy objectionable not only on linguistic but also on other grounds. In the *Lives of the Poets* (1779–81) he wrote:

"The certainty and stability which, contrary to all experience, (Swift) thinks attainable, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every man would have been willing, and many would have been proud to disobey, and which, being renewed by successive elections, would, in a short time, have differed from itself...

Such a society might, perhaps, without much difficulty, be collected; but that it would produce what is expected from it, may be doubted...

In this country an academy could be expected to do but little. If the academicians place were profitable, it would be given by interest; if attendance were gratuitous, it would be rarely paid; and no man would endure the least disgust. Unanimity is impossible, and debate would separate the assembly.

But suppose the philological decree made and promulgated, what would be its authority? In absolute governments, there is, sometimes a general reverence paid to all that has the sanction of power, and the countenance of greatness. How little this is the state of our country needs not be told. We live in an age in which it is a kind of public sport to refuse all respect that cannot be enforced. The edicts of an English academy would, probably, be read by many, only that they might be sure to disobey them.

The present manners of our nation would deride authority." (Quoted by Wells 1973: 37.)

The opinions of Dr. Samuel Johnson carried so much weight that no significant attempt to establish an academy was made later in the eighteenth century. Many distinguished scholars echoed the words of Johnson and repeated his objections. One of the typical opinions, anticipating later attitudes, was expressed in the following words by Joseph Priestley in his *Grammar* (1761): "As to a public Academy, invested with authority to ascertain the use of words, which is a project that some persons are very

sanguine in their expectations from, I think it not only unsuitable to the genius of a free nation, but in itself ill calculated to reform and fix a language. We need make no doubt that the best forms of speech will, in time, establish by their own superior excellence: and, in all controversies, it is better to wait the decisions of time, which are slow and sure, than to take those of synods, which are often hasty and injudicious" (Quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 269).

Those who hoped to have an academy and saw the failure of Swift's proposal did not see any other way to attempt the improvement and "fixing" of the language but to impress their ideas directly on the public. The attitude of reformers changed from the support of an academy to the adoption of fixing regulation through reason and public acceptance. This changing attitude was expressed by Sheridan in his *British Education* (1756) in the following words: "The result of the researchers of rational enquirers, must be rules founded upon rational principles; and a general agreement amongst the most judicious, must occasion those rules to be as generally known, and established, and give them the force of laws. Nor would these laws meet with opposition, or be obeyed with reluctance, inasmuch as they would not be established by the hand of power, but by common suffrage, in which every one has a right to give his vote: nor would they fail, in time, of obtaining general authority, and permanence from the sanction of custom, founded on good sense" (Quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 269 – 70).

It was obvious at that moment that what was necessary to provide outlines and guidance as regards some standards was an authoritative dictionary and grammar, and both would eventually come into being in the second half of the eighteenth century.

3. *English Lexicography 1650 – 1800*

In the second half of the seventeenth century several more dictionaries were produced. Like their predecessors they were, however, limited only to more difficult words. Among the more important ones were Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656), the first dictionary providing etymologies, Edward Phillips's *New World of Words* (1658) containing 11,000 entries and expanded in comparison to the previous dictionaries by

the addition of geographical, historical, mythological and other terms, and Elisha Coles's *English Dictionary* (1670) which was an abbreviation of Phillips's work but at the same time an expansion of it with the inclusion of dialect and cant words.

Further progress in English lexicography was made in the early eighteenth century. A certain "J.K." published *A New English Dictionary* in 1701 (revised in 1713) which, apart from difficult words, also included everyday terms. "J.K." was probably John Kersey who also published a *Dictionary Anglo-Britannicum* (1708) containing 35,000 entries. A more ambitious work was Nathaniel Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721), containing 40,000 words (among them cant, dialectal and obsolete terms) with their etymologies. Its 1731 edition was the first dictionary in which the position of the stress was marked. This dictionary was reprinted twenty-four times before the end of the eighteenth century and laid the foundations for Dr. Johnson's work. It is necessary to point out that dictionary definitions were constantly improving from one work to the next. More and more importance was attached to the proper handling of different senses of lexical entries. Other dictionaries of the period worthy of note are Thomas Dyche's *A Dictionary of all the Words Commonly us'd in the English Tongue* (1723 and reprinted several times thereafter), containing guidance to pronunciation, and Benjamin Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1749) with still further improved definitions and subtler sense distinctions than in any previous lexicon.

In 1755 the famous and long awaited two-volume *Dictionary of the English Language* by Samuel Johnson was finally published. In *The Plan of an English Dictionary*, which preceded the event by eight years as well as in the preface to the dictionary, the author declared that the aim of his work was to fix the English orthography, to preserve the purity and ascertain the meaning of English idiom and to lengthen its duration. It was obviously a task that whole academies were undertaking and not a single man. Therefore it should not be surprising that Dr. Johnson's work achieved a considerable amount of success but at the same time recorded a number of failures.

There is no doubt that the dictionary was a great achievement for one man, who alone completed this monumental work in eight years. Johnson revised and improved etymologies provided by Bailey, based his definitions on the usage of English authors and fixed the spelling of many words.

published his *New English Dictionary* followed four years later by William Kenrick's *A New Dictionary of the English Language*. In 1780 Thomas Sheridan published *A General Dictionary of the English Language* in which he hoped to establish "a plain and permanent Standard of Pronunciation" to prevent further changes. "The regard formerly paid to pronunciation," he said, "has been gradually declining; so that now the greatest improprieties in that point are to be found among people of fashion; many pronunciation which thirty or forty years ago were confined to the vulgar, are now gaining ground; and if something be not done to stop this growing evil, and fix a general standard at present, the English is likely to become a mere jargon, which every one may pronounce as he pleases" (Quoted by Wells 1973: 46). The most influential pronouncing dictionary was written by John Walker. His *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* appeared in 1791. In it Walker presented an attempt at regulating pronunciation instead of recording it. He advocated one type of pronunciation against another, often proposing spelling pronunciation against accepted usage. Walker was widely followed in the United States, e.g., when insisting on full vowel and secondary stresses on usually unaccented syllables (this is the source of some differences between British and American pronunciation of polysyllabic words like *secretary*, *laboratory*, etc.). Walker's dictionary also enjoyed high prestige in England where it was reprinted several times.⁸⁾

4. *The Rise of Prescriptive Grammar*

Although treatises on English grammar had begun to appear in the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the real rise of interest in English grammar, resulting in the publication of longer works (sometimes of five hundred pages) began in the 1760's.

The most outstanding achievement in the field in the time preceding that period was John Wallis' *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*,⁹⁾ first published in 1653 and reprinted ten times (the last one in 1765). The aim of his grammar was thus characterized by Wallis in a letter to T. Smith: "In the year 1653 I was persuaded to publish a *Grammar of the English Tongue*; chiefly to gratify strangers, who were willing to learn it ... but

complained of it's difficulty for want of a Grammar, suited to the propriety and tru Genius of the Language" (Quoted by Lehnert 1936: 48). The motivation underlying Wallis' endeavour was shared by most grammarians of his times. The grammars then written were aimed at foreign learners. Wallis' originality, however, consisted in the rejection of a slavish following of Latin grammar in the description of English.¹⁰⁾ Wallis exerted a strong influence on grammarians of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century whose grammars relied heavily on his *Grammatica*, sometimes including large portions translated directly without an attempt at updating or other modifications.¹¹⁾ Among the most important of Wallis' followers were John Wilkins (*Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, 1668), C. Cooper (*Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, 1685), James Greenwood (*Essay towards a Practical English Grammar*, 1711), Isaac Watts (*The Art of Reading and Writing English*, 1721), Thomas Lediard (*Grammatica Anglicana Critica*, 1725), and Theodor Arnold (*Grammatica Anglicana Concentrata*, 1736).

Wallis was not concerned with "improvement and ascertaining" of the English language. His rules were to guide a foreign learner. Among other things he introduced the distinction between defective auxiliaries (*will, shall, can, may*), complete auxiliaries (*have, be*), and full verbs, and pointed to the existence of two paradigms with *shall* and *will*, i.e., *shall/will/will* for plain predictions and *will/shall/shall* for promise (Taglicht 1970: 200).

The more original works in English grammar following Wallis' began to appear in the 1760's and continued on an unprecedented scale until the end of the eighteenth century. One of the grammars appeared in 120 editions and was in use throughout the following century.

In 1761 Joseph Priestley published *The Rudiments of English Grammar*. A scientist, philosopher, theologian and politician, he also turned out to be an original linguist. He was tolerant as regards the standards of correctness and advocated usage as its criterion. We shall return to Priestley's views concerning usage below.

Another significant contribution to English grammar which appeared the same year was James White's *The English Verb; a grammatical essay, in the didactive form*. Although much narrower in its range than Priestley's *Rudiments*, nonetheless the work is important because of the formulation of rules concerning the use of auxiliaries and modal verbs.

In 1762 Robert Lowth published his *Short Introduction to English Grammar*. Following the principles of its age, it was a typical prescriptive and normative school grammar which exerted unusual influence on Lowth's contemporaries. Twenty-two editions had been published by the end of the eighteenth century as well as numerous similarly authoritarian imitations.

Among the remaining most important eighteenth-century grammars were the following: *The British Grammar* (1762) by James Buchanan, *Grammatical Institutes* (1763) by John Ash (a simplified version of Lowth's work), *An Essay on Grammar, as it may be applied to the English Language* (1765) and *A Grammar of the English Tongue, In Two Treatises* (1767) by William Ward (master of a grammar school), *The English Accidence* (1771) by Anselm Bayly, *Philological Inquiries* (1781) by James Harris, *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1784) by Noah Webster (enjoying prestige both in England and America), and *English Grammar* (1795) by Lindley Murray (the most widely used textbook whose numerous rules have survived in contemporary school grammars), which went through fifty editions and was revised in 1816. An abridged version of the revised edition subsequently had 120 impressions.

Not all authors of English grammars were competent to achieve what they were doing. The most extreme example of incompetence was Robert Baker, the author of *Reflections on the English Language* (1770) whose qualifications apart from no knowledge of Greek and very little of Latin amounted to the ignorance of S. Johnson's work as he himself admits it in the following statement: "It will undoubtedly be thought strange when I declare that I have never yet seen the folio edition of Mr. Johnson's dictionary: but, knowing nobody that has it, I have never been able to borrow it; and I have myself no books; at least, not many more than what a church-going old woman may be supposed to have of devotional ones upon her mantelpiece ... Nor did I ever see even the Abridgement of this Dictionary till a few days ago..." (Quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 275).

Grammatical problems were also of interest to *rhetoricians* who voiced their opinions as regards standards of correctness and usage. Among the most outstanding were Thomas Sheridan (father of the dramatist), George Campbell and Hugh Blair.

Although there was still some interest in various philosophical aspects of language and in universal grammar, it is undeniable, however, that after

the publication of Robert Lowth's grammar in 1762, the English grammatical scene was dominated by prescriptive tradition until well into the nineteenth century. Within this tradition, eighteenth-century grammarians intended to accomplish three things: (1) to codify the language by reducing it to rules; (2) to eliminate cases of divided usage; (3) to indicate errors, real and supposed, and remove them from the language.

This is what Lowth wrote in the preface to his *Short Introduction to English Grammar*: "It doth not then proceed from any peculiar irregularity or difficulty of our Language, but the Practice that is in fault. The Truth is, Grammar is very much neglected among us: and it is not the difficulty of the Language, but on the contrary the simplicity and facility of it, that occasions this neglect. Were the Language less easy and simple, we should find ourselves under a necessity of studying it with more care and attention. But as it is, we take it for granted, that we have a competent knowledge and skill, and are able to acquit ourselves properly, in our own native tongue: a faculty, solely acquired by use, conducted by habit, and tried by the ear, carries us on without reflexion; we meet with no rubs or difficulties in our way, or we do not perceive them; we find ourselves able to go on without rules, and we do not so much as suspect, that we stand in need of them" (Quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 276).

This need had to be met and indeed was met by people like Lowth. Grammarians provided rules and *ex cathedra* gave verdicts about correctness. Only one of them, Priestley, doubted that the judgement of a grammarian is sufficient and proper. Lowth had no doubt that "the principal design of a Grammar of any Language is to teach us to express ourselves with propriety in that Language; and to enable us to judge of every phrase and form of construction, whether it be right or not. The plain way of doing this is to lay down rules, and to illustrate them by examples. But, beside shewing what is right, the matter may be further explained by pointing out what is wrong." After reading eighteenth century grammarians one becomes convinced that pointing out what is wrong was indeed their major preoccupation and finding faults (or alleged faults) with the grammar of outstanding writers was their utmost delight. As has been previously noticed by several historians of the English language, to prescribe and proscribe became the aims of the grammarians of the second half of the eighteenth century. The prescriptions for correct usage were often arbi-

trary. Decisions were made on the basis of *reason* (which usually meant consistency and was called analogy), *etymology* and *classical examples*. Consistency, which, e.g., justified the use of *he dares* as against *he dare* on the basis of the regularity of *-s* or *thereabout* vs. *thereabouts* because there was no such word as *abouts*, could produce nothing but arbitrariness. Etymology was still poorly developed since little work had been done in Old and Middle English by that time and its use was rather limited and often incorrect. As to Latin and Greek examples, references to them were fortunately not numerous and a definite feeling finally grew that to base English usage on classical languages may indeed be disadvantageous.

Amidst the strongly biased prescriptive tradition the eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of the doctrine that usage is the most important criterion by which to judge the appropriateness of a linguistic form. Although single voices supporting this principle were heard earlier, it was Joseph Priestley, mentioned earlier as the author of *Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761), who was the first to advocate it strongly. In his *Course of Lectures on the English Language* (1762) he wrote: "In modern and living languages, it is absurd to pretend to set up the compositions of any person or persons whatsoever as the standard of writing, or their conversation as the invariable rule of speaking. With respect to custom, laws, and every thing that is changeable, the body of a people, who, in this respect, cannot but be free, will certainly assert their liberty, in making what innovations they judge to be expedient and useful. The general prevailing custom, whatever it happen to be, can be the only standard for the time that it prevails" (Quoted by Baugh and Cable 1978: 282). Priestley was supported by a few grammarians and rhetoricians. John Fell, in his *Essay towards an English Grammar* (1784) said: "It is certainly the business of a grammarian to find out, and not to make, the laws of a language. In this work the Author does not assume the character of a legislator, but appears as a faithful compiler of the scattered laws. ... It matters not what causes these customs and fashions owe their birth to; the moment they become general, they are laws of the language; and a grammarian can only remonstrate, how much so ever he disapprove" (Quoted by McKnight 1968: 390).

The attitudes of George Campbell (although inconsistent in places) and Hugh Blair were similar. The latter, in *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles*

Lettres (1783), wrote: "I admit that no grammatical rules have sufficient authority to control the firm and established usage of Language. Established custom, in speaking and writing, is the standard to which we must at least resort for determining every controverted point in Language and Style."

But the eighteenth century was the age of order and regularity. It was not Priestley or Blair but people like Lowth, Ward and Murray who dominated the scene and laid down rules, many of which had to be followed. Here are some examples:

1. The distinction between *lie* and *lay*.
2. The condemnation of the expressions *had rather* and *had better*.
3. Rejection of *whose* as a possessive for *which*.
4. The condemnation of *between you and I*, *it is me*, and *who is it for*.
5. Discouragement of the use of prepositions at the end of a sentence.
6. The use of *between* for two and *among* for several people or things.
7. The use of *you were* for singular (until then *you was* was current and defended even by some grammarians, e.g., Noah Webster).
8. The use of comparative where two things are involved, e.g., *the taller of the two* not *the tallest*.
9. The condemnation of the double negative (Lowth wrote: "Two Negatives in English destroy one another, or are equivalent to an Affirmative").
10. The condemnation of the split infinitive, e.g., *to completely follow*, etc.
11. The proscription of contractions like *'em* for *them*.
12. Obligatory agreement between pronouns and their antecedents.

These are but a few rules promoted by prescriptive grammarians of the eighteenth century. Their influence on following generations can be best judged by the fact that a large number of them (most of the ones quoted above) can still be found in school and college grammars of English nowadays.

4. *The Expansion of the British Empire and the Spread of the English Language*

The eighteenth century witnessed a further vast expansion of the British Empire which was to continue in some areas of the world until the end of World War I. A detailed historical account of those events from the second half of the seventeenth century until the twentieth century, interesting though it may be in its own right, is far beyond the scope of the present work which has to give only a short account of the expansion of the English language in conjunction with the political and economic events which enhanced the process. The spread of English into the eastern part of today's United States of America until the 1660's was already referred to above. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the colonization of the country proceeded southwards and westwards. By the time of the adoption of the Constitution by the thirteen states, which formed the Union and broke away from England becoming an independent country, i.e., by 1790, the extent of the English language can be roughly estimated as extending to the border of Florida in the south and to the Mississippi River in the West, although the area to the north of the Ohio river was colonized much more slowly (in fact the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 stimulated the process greatly for the trail leading from New England and Upper New York). The purchase of Louisiana¹²⁾ from Napoleon in 1803 opened new territories beyond the Mississippi. Although Louisiana was inhabited mostly by a French-speaking population, English-speaking settlers were quite numerous in several areas of the country and soon outnumbered the French.

Although the penetration of Canada by English-speaking settlers began in the seventeenth century, the significant influx of English speakers started in the eighteenth century. In 1713 Nova Scotia was ceded by the French to the English and in subsequent years a large number of emigrants from Scotland settled there. After the decisive victory of General Wolfe over the French at the battle of Quebec (1759), a number of Scottish colonies were established in Manitoba and Ontario. Before 1815, however, the greater part of the English-speaking population of Canada was of American origin. The loyalists to the British Crown were leaving the rebellious American colonies and moving into Ontario and New Brunswick to estab-

lish new settlements and to find a new homeland. The influx of settlers from the United States into Ontario lasted until 1812.

The colonies in America gave England the first strongholds of British power outside of Europe. The westward direction of colonization was part of the competition against other colonial empires but it was not the only direction. In 1600 the East India Company was founded to promote trade and settlement in India. English settlements were established in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay between 1639 and 1686. By the middle of the eighteenth century England and France were the two great rivals in the struggle for control of India. A series of military engagements ended with victories for the British and in 1761 India became an English colony and the English language began to spread as a result of the new political and military situation. The spread of English was enhanced also by English language education.¹³⁾ By the end of the nineteenth century English was well established both as the official and academic language of India.

For further reading:

Barber (1976), Bately (1965), Baugh and Cable (1978³), Blake (1996), Brede (1937), Brunner (1960²), Bryan (1923), Clapham (1949), Darby (1936), Emsley (1933), Freeborn (1992), Freeman (1924), Flasdieck (1928), Graddol (1996), Hulbert (1947), Jones (1997), Lass (1999), Lehnert (1936, 1938, 1956), Leonard (1929), McKnight (1968), Michael (1970), Monroe (1910), Moody (1977), Mossé (1947), Müller (1909), Partridge (1969), Poldauf (1948), Quirk (1974), Read (1938), Schlauch (1964²), Sheldon (1947), Sledd and Kolb (1955), Söderlind (1964), Stalker (1985), Starnes and Noyes (1946), Stein and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (1994), Strang (1970), Sugg (1964), Taglicht (1970), Trevelyan (1953), Vorlat (1975, 1979), Wells (1973), Wyld (1936³), Zins (1979²).

Notes

- 1) I.e., 1642.
- 2) What Swift has in mind is obviously classical languages.

- 3) For more details concerning that period, see Monroe (1910), Freeman (1924) and Wells (1973).
- 4) Spasmodically convulsed.
- 5) Watery substance.
- 6) Made with the figure X (the sign for Latin *decem*).
- 7) A bill was not enacted in Parliament in 1880 because a word used in it had not been recorded in the dictionary.
- 8) For more details concerning the issue, see Sheldon (1947).
- 9) Written in Latin.
- 10) He wrote this on the subject of the suitability of the Latin grammar framework for the description of English: "Et propterea nova prorsus methodo incedendum esse mihi visum est, quam non tam usitata Latinae linguae, quam peculiaris linguae nostrae ratio suadet" (Lehnert 1936: 48). [And therefore I have assumed that a completely new method should be followed which is prompted not by the generally recognized theory of Latin but by the specific character of our language].
- 11) For more details concerning Wallis' influence on his followers, see Lehnert (1936: 53 – 6, and 1938).
- 12) Louisiana extended roughly from the Gulf of Mexico in the south along the Mississippi basin to the present Canadian border. The French place names like *St. Louis* and *New Orleans* and the French spelling for Indian names like *Chicago* and *Michigan* (*ch* = /ʃ/), *Illinois*, *Arkansas* (final *s* not pronounced) or *Sioux City* (*x* not pronounced) testify to an extensive earlier French settlement in the area.
- 13) In 1857 universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By the end of the nineteenth century two more universities were opened together with a large number of colleges affiliated to all five of the universities.

Chapter Six

The Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries

1. The Further Spread of the English Language

The purchase of Florida (1819) opened a new area of expansion of English into the south of the United States. The war with Mexico (1846 – 48) gave large areas of territory to the United States which had been formerly settled by Indians and Spanish-speaking peoples such as California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas,¹⁾ Nevada, Utah and parts of Colorado. The gold rush in California accelerated the migration of Americans from the east, thus contributing not only to the increase of English speakers on the West Coast but also on the way there. The treaty with England concluded in 1846 established the northern border between the United States and Canada along the forty-ninth parallel from the Rockies to the Pacific and increased the movement of settlers to the Pacific Northwest. By the middle of the nineteenth century English was firmly entrenched throughout the United States territory.

Meanwhile the English speaking population of Canada increased significantly. Between 1815 and 1875, immigrants came in large numbers from Great Britain. From 1880 on the wild territories west of Winnipeg became the scene of massive migration of the Canadian population, moving the English language to the Pacific Coast.

At the end of the eighteenth century English found its way to the Antipodes. The first country was Australia, discovered by Dutch navigators in 1606 – 7 and claimed for the British crown by Captain Cook during his 1769

– 77 voyage to the South Pacific. At the beginning Australia was a penal colony with a population of convicts and guards brought on several ships to New South Wales in 1788. Later, when it was discovered that the climate was particularly good for sheep raising, another wave of settlers came, finally to be followed by a large number of immigrants when gold was discovered in 1851.

New Zealand was discovered by Tasman in 1642 and declared British property also by Cook on his 1769 – 77 voyage. The settlement of New Zealand began in 1840 with the founding of several settlements including Wellington. The English-speaking population of the island grew rapidly and in 1901 reached 773,000.

In Australia and New Zealand the newcomers found a relatively large aborigine population which was soon to be reduced in number due to diseases, alcoholism and other “benefits” of colonialism.²⁾ The process of arresting the decline in the numbers of the original population was successfully accomplished only in New Zealand where Maoris count today more than four times as many as at the turn of this century.

The expansion of English into Africa began at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1795 the British seized the Dutch settlement at Cape Town³⁾ as part of the campaign against Napoleon (Holland was under the control of France at that time) and from there began to control South Africa moving further north. The Boers (the descendents of the early Dutch settlers) moved to Transvaal and other places and finally confronted the British at a series of wars known as the Boer War (1899 – 1902) which ended with their defeat. English never became a majority language but was spoken mainly in larger towns by the important minority of the white population which was and still is itself a minority in South Africa as a whole. In 1901 English as the first language was spoken by 783,000, and Afrikaans, the language of the original Dutch inhabitants, by 1,121,000 (Partridge and Clark 1968: 71). Yet the segment of the white population which spoke English was the powerful class of civil servants, educators, financiers, military, etc., and they exerted decisive influence on the life of the country. At the turn of the century instruction at the Victoria College at Stellenbosch was conducted mostly in English (Partridge and Clark 1968: 80), and trade and industry were run almost exclusively by the English.

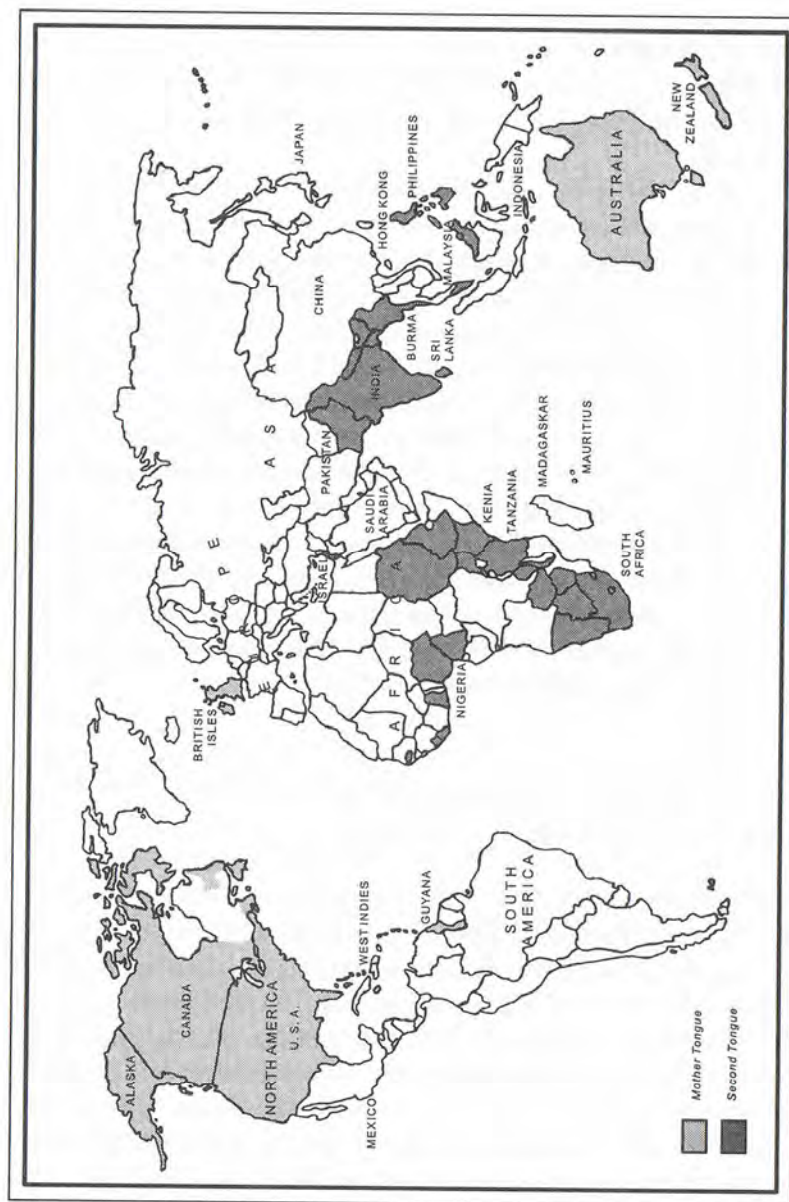
The expeditions to West and East Africa subsequently followed by colonization and the establishment of protectorates further expanded the distribution of English on the continent in the nineteenth century.

The expansion of the British Empire in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries thus paved the way for the global role that English plays nowadays.

The planting of English in various places in the world brought the language in contact with other languages which obviously resulted not only in multifarious modifications of local varieties of English but also in a further lexical enrichment of the language. The American Indian languages contributed words such as *caribou*, *hickory*, *moccasin*, *moose*, *opossum*, *pecan*, *raccoon*, *sequoia*, *skunk*, *squash*, *squaw*, *terrapin*, *toboggan*, *tepee*, *tomahawk*, *totem*, *wampun*, *wigwam*, etc. From India came *bandana*, *bangle*, *bungalow*, *calico*, *cashmere*, *cheroot*, *china*, *chintz*, *coolie*, *cot*, *currie*, *dinghy*, *jugger-naut*, *jungle*, *jute*, *loot*, *mandarin*, *nirvana*, *pariah*, *polo*, *punch* (drink), *pundit*, *rajah*, *sepo*y and *verandah*. Africa contributed directly from native languages or through Dutch and Portuguese, such words as *banana*, *Boer*, *boorish*, *chimpanzee*, *gorilla*, *guinea*, *gumbo*, *voodoo*, and *zebra*. From Australia came *boomerang* and *kangaroo*. The contact with some European language also added a number of words originating in South America, but more on loanwords in English will be said in Volume Two.

2. *Political, Social and Cultural Influences on the Development of English*

The events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which influenced English were undoubtedly of great political, social, cultural and scientific importance both for the English-speaking countries and often for the whole world, but they did not bring about changes in the language comparable to events of the medieval or Elizabethan periods. Among the events affecting the English language, one way or another, it is necessary to single out the social and educational reforms which gave larger masses of population access to the economic and cultural achievements of the period. Standard authoritarian English was gradually to lose its role as the only form of expression in numerous walks of life. Such a situation nat-



MAP 10. ENGLISH IN THE WORLD TODAY

urally also accelerated and promoted the influx of formerly substandard forms into the standard language. The establishment of the first inexpensive newspaper (1816) and the developments in travel (railways, steamboats) and communications (cheap postal service, telegraph and telephone) brought close together distant parts of England and enhanced the spread of standard speech throughout the country.⁴⁾

The advent of film and radio as well as journalism contributed to the formation of new words and phrases and the change of meaning of those already in use. The two World Wars, political revolutions, international developments and the prominent role of science with the emergence of new discoveries and inventions exerted a similar influence. Language is the mirror of the evolution of human civilization. "Words, being but symbols by which a man expresses his ideas, are an accurate measure of the range of his thought at any given time. They obviously designate the things he knows, and just as obviously the vocabulary of a language must keep pace with the advance of his knowledge. The date when a new word enters the language is in general the date when the object, experience, observation, or whatever it is that calls it forth has entered his consciousness" (Baugh and Cable 1978: 300).

Thousands of new terms had to be coined to meet the demands of science and technology after 1800. Many of them have changed their meaning over and over again. Numerous scientific terms became familiar to the layman and went into general use. Here are a few examples from several fields ranging from chemistry to psychology: *benzine*, *cyanide*, *nitroglycerine*, *radium*; *dynamo*, *commutator*, *alternating current*, *arc light*, *calorie*, *electron*, *ionization*, *ultraviolet rays*, *the quantum theory*, *relativity*, *radioactive*, *atom*, *chain reaction*, *fallout*; *launch pad*, *count-down*, *moon shot*, *command module*, *sputnik*, *spacecraft*, *space shuttle*, *astronaut*, *cosmonaut*; *anemia*, *arteriosclerosis*, *bronchitis*, *bacteriology*, *immunology*, *orthodontia*, *clinic*, *aspirin*, *morphine*, *penicillin*, *hormone*, *metabolism*, *enzym*, *protein*; *apperception*, *egocentric*, *extravert*, *introvert*, *behaviourism*, *inhibition*, *psychoanalysis*, etc.

Political and ideological developments contributed such terms as *abolitionist*, *emancipation*, *communism*, *imperialism*, *capitalism*, *socialism*, *proletariat*, *suffragette*, *civil service*, *rotten borough*, *iron curtain*, *cold war*, *fellow traveller*, *front organization*, etc.

Transportation added to the vocabulary of English items such as *railway*, (*motor*)-*car*, *horsepower*, *dreadnaught*, *lorry*, *van*, *aeroplane*, etc. Each vehicle required many new terms for new elements, and thus came into existence, together with the development of the *motor-car*, words like *carburetter*, *choke*, *clutch*, *gear shift*, *piston rings*, *throttle*, *differential*, *steering wheel*, *starter*, *radiator*, *bonnet* (Am. *hood*), *wind-screen* (Am. *windshield*), *bumper*, *chassis*, *tyre*, *crankshaft*, etc.

The film has brought with it *cinema*, *screen*, *reel*, *newsreel*, *film*, *scenario*, *projector*, *close-up*, *fade out*, *Cinerama*, *Technicolour*, etc.

World War I and II have produced *air raid*, *antiaircraft gun*, *tank*, *gas mask*, *camouflage*, *blackout*, *blitz* (German *Blitzkrieg*), *dive-bombing*, *evacuate*, *beachhead*, *jeep*, *task force*, *fox hole*, *radar*, etc.

Journalism is another factor influencing the development of a language. Newspapers and popular journals spread and coin new words and locutions. Moreover, they use colloquial language in writing, often resorting to slang for special effects. Such words as *pacifist*, *socialize*, *egghead*, or locutions like *to boost our community*, *hop the Atlantic* or *to oust a politician* owe their origin to the journalist's pen.

Slang is a term used for "language of a highly colloquial type below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words, or of current words employed in some special sense" (OED, s.v.). It is in a state of constant change. Many of the slang expressions enter the standard language and acquire the status of standard formations. Slang has a long history. Some of its expression can be traced back to the fifteenth century, e.g. *to blow* 'to boast'. Here are some examples of British slang: *fag* 'cigarette', *fall out* 'quarrel', *gig lamps* 'spectacles', *Irish apricot* 'potato', *irrigate the canal* 'have a drink', *lift one's elbow* 'drink', *lingo* 'any language or dialect except one's own', *not cricket* 'not fair', *old Mr. Grim* 'death', *on the peg* 'arrested', etc. (Freeman 1955: s.v., Partridge 1974: s.v.).

Equally picturesque is American slang. Schlauch (1964: 204) gives the following list of words to denote the state of drunkenness: *blotto*, *canned*, *cock-eyed*, *corned*, *floory*, *fried*, *pickled*, *plastered*, *stewed*. Among the words for a woman or a girl are: *baby*, *dame*, *doll*, *femme*, *fluff*, *frail*, *frill*, *jane*, *mouse*, *skirt*, *tomato*, etc. Some of the slang phrases enjoy a longer life and a more permanent status even if they do not become part of the standard language, but on the whole the very nature of slang is its con-

tinuous inventiveness and constant change (compare the school slang from your own days with that of today).

The enrichment of the English lexicon as a result of external influences has been outlined here with no attempt at even a small degree of exhaustiveness. The aim of this section of the chapter was to point out general directions of the process. More on the subject will be said in Volume Two.

3. *The Oxford English Dictionary*

In the 1850's, it was generally accepted that the existing dictionaries of English were inadequate on all possible counts. As a result of widespread complaints the Philological Society in London appointed a committee at a meeting in 1857. The task of the committee was to collect the words which did not appear in any dictionary in order to publish a supplement to them. The committee consisted of Herbert Coleridge, Dean Trench and F.J. Furnivall. It soon turned out that a supplement would not be satisfactory and the Society passed a resolution calling for a new dictionary in 1858. A year later, *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society* was issued, presenting the principles on which the project was to rest. Accordingly, the dictionary was to include every word used in English since c. 1000 and to give the history of each word in terms of its forms, spellings, uses and meanings. Each meaning and use was to be illustrated by quotations from a wide range of original English texts. To accomplish this aim a large number of readers was necessary to go through thousands of writings. A call for volunteers was answered by many people from England and overseas.

The first editor was Herbert Coleridge who unfortunately died prematurely at the age of thirty-one in 1861 and was replaced by F.J. Furnivall. In 1879 the Oxford University Press took over the dictionary and appointed James A.H. Murray to be its editor. In 1884 the first fascicle was published, covering part of the letter A. In 1928 the final one appeared, seventy years after the Philological Society passed its resolution concerning the new dictionary.

In 1888 Henry Bradley became a co-editor. In 1901 William A. Craigie became a third editor and, finally, in 1914 C.T. Onions was appointed the

fourth editor. Murray (1908) and Craigie (1928) were knighted for their formidable accomplishment.

In 1895 the title *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) was added to the original *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (NED). The dictionary contains 240,165 main words. In 1933 a supplement was published with additions and corrections. A new four-volume *Supplement*, including the 1933 material, appeared in 1972–86. In 1971 the OED was published in a two-volume micrographic form. In 1989 a new edition of the dictionary appeared integrating the first edition and the *Supplement*.

The Oxford English Dictionary is a great achievement of English lexicography unsurpassed by any work of its kind for English or any other language. Its authority is unquestionable and has been recognized since the appearance of the first fascicle in 1884.

For further reading:

Aarsleff (1962), Angogo and Hancock (1980), Bacquet (1974), Bailey (1992, 1994), Bähr (1974, 1981), Baker (1977), Barfield (1954), Baugh and Cable (1978³), Bell and Kuiper (2000), Blake (1996), Brunner (1960²), Burchfield (1986, 1994), Collins and Blair (1989), Crystal (1997), Dillard (1980, 1992), Edwards (1998), Galinsky (1951–3, 1979), Gordon and Deverson (1985), Görlach (1991, 1995, 1998), Graddol (1996), Groom (1934), Hulbert (1955), Jones (1997), Kachru (1969, 1982), Kallen (1997), de Klerk (1996), Krapp (1925), Lanham and MacDonald (1979), Lehnert (1956), McKnight (1923), Marckwardt (1958), Mehrotra (1998), Mencken (1963), Mossé (1947), Partridge and Clark (1968), Platt and Weber (1980), Pyles (1952), Romaine (1998), Scargill (1977), Scheler (1977), Schlauch (1964²), Schmied (1991), Schneider (1996, 1997), Serjeantson (1935), Spencer (1971), Spitzbardt (1976), Švejcar (1978), Tay Wan Joo (1993), Trevelyan (1953), Tristram (1997), Turner (1966), Wächtler (1977), Wells (1982) Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998).

Notes

- 1) Texas was annexed before the outbreak of the war but the fact was formally recognized after the war.
- 2) The number of the Aranta speakers of central Australia diminished from c. two million in 1900 to 300 in 1930. The number of Maoris in New Zealand was only approximately 43,000 in 1901 as against 56,049 in 1857 (Whatmough 1956: 47). Cf. the situation of Indians in the United States.
- 3) The area of the Cape of Good Hope was settled by the Dutch in 1652.
- 4) In the last thirty years this trend has resulted in almost complete dying out of the local dialects in certain areas of England (similarly as in other countries).