THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

VOLUME III

1476–1776

EDITED BY
ROGER LASS

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GENERAL EDITOR Richard M. Hogg

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ROGER LASS

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

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

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

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

One crucial principle which guides The Cambridge History of the English Language is that synchrony and diachrony are intertwined, and that a satisfactory understanding of English (or any other language) cannot be achieved on the basis of one of these alone.

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

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

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

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

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

final goal must be to stimulate interest in a subject in which much work remains to be done, both theoretically and empirically.

The task of editing this History has been, and still remains, a long and complex one. One of the greatest difficulties has been to co-ordinate the contributions of the many different writers. Sometimes, even, this has caused delays in volumes other than that where the delay arose. We have attempted to minimise the effects of such delays by various methods, and in particular by trying to keep bibliographies as up-to-date as possible. This should allow the interested reader to pursue very recent important work, including that by the contributors themselves, whilst maintaining the integrity of each volume.

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

The preface to the earlier volumes acknowledged the considerable debt which I owed to my editors at Cambridge University Press, firstly, Penny Carter, and subsequently Marion Smith. Since then the History has seen two further editors, firstly Judith Ayling and now Kate Brett. Both have stepped into this demanding role with considerable aplomb, and the project has been extremely fortunate in obtaining their help and advice. I am very grateful to both.

Richard M. Hogg

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All of us, authors and editor, are indebted to the many colleagues who read and commented on chapters; to each other, to other series editors, and various people outside our little world who read chapters, or parts of chapters, and commented generously. And not least, our thanks to three generations of Cambridge University Press editors, Penny Carter, Judith Ayling and Kate Brett. It has been a privilege and a pleasure for all of us to work with the Press.

Roger Lass

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

acc.	accusative
AF	Anglo-French
CED	*Chronological English Dictionary*
CHEL	*The Cambridge History of the English Language*
cl.	class
dat.	dative
EETS es	Early English Text Society, extra series
EETS os	Early English Text Society, old series
EL	English Linguistics 1500–1800, Alston (1970. Menston: Scolar Press)
EModE	Early Modern English
F	French
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
Gk	Greek
GSR	Germanic Stress Rule
GVS	Great Vowel Shift
IE	Indo-European
imp.	imperative
ind.	indicative
Lat.	Latin
masc.	masculine
ME	Middle English
MEG	*Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*
N	northern; noun; number
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
num.	number
obl.	oblique
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OF	Old French

OFris.	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OS	Old Saxon
past pple	past participle
PDE	Present-Day English
pers.	person
pl.	plural
pres.	present
RP	(Standard English) Received Pronunciation
RSR	Romance Stress Rule
S	strong
sing.	singular
SOED	*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*
subj.	subjunctive
v	verb
W	weak

Symbols

>	becomes
<	is derived from
σ	syllable
//	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
{ }	morphemic representation
< >	graphemic representation

I INTRODUCTION

Roger Lass

1.1 The setting

This volume treats the history of English from the late fifteenth to the late eighteenth century; the dates are at least partly symbolic, framing the establishment of Caxton's first press in England and the American Declaration of Independence, the notional birth of the first (non-insular) extraterritorial English. The preceding volume covered a slightly longer time-span (four centuries as opposed to three), but in our period the changes in the cultural ambience in which English existed and which its speakers expressed were arguably more profound, perhaps greater even than those from the murky 'beginnings' of volume I to the Norman Conquest; even perhaps than those in the millennium from the fifth to the fifteenth century.

Taking conventional period names as a rough index of change, the three centuries covered here include 'the waning of the Middle Ages' (Huizinga 1927), the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the beginnings of the Romantic period. The transformation of the European world-picture in this time is enormous. Fifteenth-century Europe was still essentially medieval, living in a geocentric and finite cosmos, the fixed stars bounding the universe beyond the crystalline planetary spheres. No celestial objects invisible to the naked eye were known, nor, at the other extreme, any organisms or structures smaller than the naked eye could see. In the natural world, maggots generated spontaneously from rotten meat, the heart was the seat of the emotions, and the arteries carried air.

Less than two centuries on, much of this had become what C. S. Lewis (1964) aptly called 'the discarded image'. The new universe was infinite: Pascal in the seventeenth century felt himself lost 'entre les deux abîmes de l'infini et du néant', terrified of 'les espaces infinis'. It was also heliocentric;

earth (and man) had been displaced from the centre. The sensory horizons were broadened in both directions: Galileo had seen the moons of Jupiter, and Leeuwenhoek had seen spermatozoa. Concepts of nature were being altered in other ways: by the seventeenth century Francesco Redi had showed that maggots come from flies' eggs, and William Harvey had demonstrated the circulation of the blood.

Other cultural and political changes were as massive. The fifteenth century presents a monolithically Catholic Europe (if with stirrings of dissent among the Wycliffites and Hussites); vernacular bibles are a rarity, the liturgy is in Latin, and the Pope is head of a universal church. By 1600 Luther, Zwingli and Calvin are history, and Europe is (roughly) split between a Catholic South and a Protestant North. England is a Protestant nation with a vernacular bible and liturgy, with the sovereign as head of a national church.

In painting, our period encompasses Dürer, the van Eycks and Holbein at one end, Titian, Rubens and Rembrandt in the middle, and Watteau, Gainsborough and Reynolds at the other end. In music we range from the Burgundian polyphonists through Palestrina, Monteverdi, Purcell, the Bachs, Mozart and Haydn; at the end of our three centuries Beethoven is a child of six.

Becoming more parochial, English poets who flourished in these centuries include Skelton, Wyatt, Spenser, Donne, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Gray and Collins; prose-writers include Sir Thomas More, Sidney, Bacon, Browne, Burton, Bunyan, Swift, Addison and Johnson, dramatists Shakespeare, Kyd, Beaumont and Fletcher, Congreve and Sheridan. When Caxton's first printed books appeared in the late 1470s, Shakespeare's birth was nearly ninety years in the future; at the close of the period Blake was in his twenties, Wordsworth was six and Scott and Coleridge were respectively five and four.

In the final century, we truly enter the modern age, symbolically signalled in a way by the founding of the Royal Society in 1660, and the publication of Newton's *Principia* (1686). This is the age of the great rationalist philosophers like Descartes and Leibniz, and the empiricists like Bacon and Locke, whose work prompted the beginnings of the modern experimental science that paved the way for the Industrial Revolution. After the *Principia* the physical universe was (as indeed it has largely remained at the macrophysical level) a vast mathematical machine. Comets, once harbingers of disaster, became an elegant proof of the orderliness of the cosmos through Sir Edmund Halley's prediction in 1704 of cometary periodicity. Phlogiston ceded to oxygen, Jenner introduced vaccination for smallpox.

Politically, England in the 1470s was a late medieval Catholic monarchy, with a weak parliament and monarchs with theoretically absolute power (if in fact under strong political and financial constraints). By the eighteenth century the nation had been through a religious reformation, a regicide, a commonwealth, the flight of the hereditary monarch, and the accession of a foreign king who signed away much of his power. By the mid-seventeenth century the main structures of modern parliamentary democracy (if not in its later populist form) were established in principle; the monarchy, while not 'constitutional' in the modern sense, was still unlike anything known in earlier Europe except perhaps in Iceland.

In the fifteenth century England was an island nation, if with two independent kingdoms, Wales and Scotland, sharing its territory; or, counting imperfectly conquered Ireland, a two-island nation; English, far from being a world language, probably had fewer than seven million speakers, and was virtually unknown outside of its island confines. By the 1770s there was an empire, with Anglophone enclaves as far west as the Americas and as far east as India. A little over a decade later, English was spoken as far south as Australia and the Cape of Good Hope. The scene is set, by the 1770s, for the expansion of the 'New Englishes': extraterritorial mother-tongue varieties (American, Australasian, South African), second-language varieties and English-based pidgins and creoles.

England was never again seriously invaded, let alone colonised, after 1066. Indeed, a significant and linguistically important part of its later history involves the English invading and colonising other places: Ireland, the Americas, Asia, Oceania, Africa. Even if the primary effect, as suggested above, was the creation of a host of new Englishes, the influence went the other way as well: there was extensive lexical feedback into mainland English, in the shape of borrowings from the native languages of the colonised regions, and from other European languages with which English came into renewed contact. To give a tiny sample, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Dravidian languages gave us *calico*, *copra*, *curry*, Hindi *bandana*, *cheetah*, *jungle*, Arabic *magazine*, *hashish*, *henna*, Malay *rattan*, *amok*, *orang-outan*, Bantu languages *zebra*, and *baobab* (probably via Portuguese); these all reflect the 'exotic' experiences of foreign parts. On the other hand, renewed contact with Europe in this period of expansion brought in *rowan*, *troll*, *keg* from North Germanic, *yacht*, *landscape*, *easel* from Dutch, *frigate*, *cartoon*, *opera* from Italian, and so on.

But there was another kind of demographic movement that also had linguistic effects: an internal 'invasion' of London and the Southeast, especially from the North and East Anglia, which from late Middle English

times onward left in the emerging standard and related varieties a number of items which are clearly not native to these areas. One particularly important example is the diffusion into London of the present 3 sing. verb ending in *-s* (replacing earlier *-th*), which is a northern form of Old English date (see Lass this volume).

1.2 Social and linguistic change

One might expect such enormous social, political and cultural change to correlate with great linguistic change. And it does – though whether the two are related is another matter. I deliberately avoided detailed attention to language (except for lexis) in the last section, because the often heard claim that massive cultural change *per se* 'causes' linguistic change is, except at this level, dubious. It is a trivial fact that new objects and concepts require new names; and only slightly less trivial – with respect to major structural change – that contact with other languages leads to borrowing, the greater the contact the greater the borrowing. But *structural* change precipitated by contact occurs only where there is large-scale, persistent bilingualism, and the opportunity for massive code-switching or even 'creolisation'. This was probably never the case at any point in the history of English (though some have argued that it was: Bailey & Maroldt 1977, Poussa 1982). In any case, the last episode that could even remotely be construed this way is the immediate post-Conquest period. From the thirteenth century on England was for all practical purposes a monolingual nation: though there were of course significant contacts with other languages, which left impresses on the lexicon and provided some materials for new kinds of stylistic distinction in English writing: perhaps the most important of these contacts is the continuing one with Latin (Görlach this volume, Nevalainen this volume, Adamson this volume).

Now to say that social change itself does not (and indeed cannot) directly cause linguistic change is not to say that language is insulated from the rest of culture: only that we need to make certain important distinctions, in terms of the levels on which 'causal' factors operate, and the detailed relations between cultural facts and the properties of linguistic systems. Linguistic change for instance may be accelerated in periods of massive social change, through increased contact betweeen previously isolated sectors of society, weakening of old ties and development of new ones, etc.; but these are enabling or encouraging conditions, not direct causes.

Similarly, and more relevant to this volume's concerns, certain types of social change (e.g. development of a more 'centripetal' society, with prestige

focussed on particular areas) can lead to language standardisation (Görlach this volume; Salmon this volume; Lass this volume). In such situations the dialect chosen as the base for the incipient standard will be one with particular prestige, associated with centres of economic, political and cultural power. But there is no inherent structural property of the chosen dialect that fits it particularly to become the base for a standard; and there is nothing about either the process of standard-formation itself or the functional requirements of a standard that conduces to or favours particular structures. The choice of a standard is a selection of properties belonging to speakers and their social aggregates, not to linguistic systems. These conceptually distinct domains must be kept separate in linguistic historiography.

So we can say quite properly that the structural history of a language ('linguistic history' in the strict sense) is quite independent in principle of its social history. The story of a language 'itself' must be carefully distinguished from the story of its changing uses, users and social context – just as the changes themselves (as results) must be distinguished from the mechanisms by which they came about (e.g. lexical and social diffusion). The two are related in subtle and complex ways, but the relation is never 'causal' in any philosophically respectable sense. Perhaps an example of both independence and social implication will clarify this.

All languages appear to show patterns of variation that can be coopted as social markers. And variation within a given speech community will often fall into patterns that clearly reflect (and in use, help to sustain) social stratification or other kinds of differentiation. So for instance it is a social fact that certain 'advanced' (or more neutrally, innovative) sixteenth-century London speakers had /iː/ in words like *read*, *meat* (ME /ɛː/), while others, more conservative, still had the old value /ɛː/. It is also a historical linguistic fact, since the 'advanced' group shows merger with the reflexes of ME /eː/ (*reed*, *meet*), while the conservatives keep the two categories separate. And it is a synchronic linguistic fact, insofar as the distribution of particular phonemes in particular lexical items, and the number and nature of available phonemic contrasts, are simply structural properties of a dialect. There is of course no way a particular variant can be – of its own nature – especially 'appropriate' for a given social group. Linguistic facts as such are socially neutral; it is only their *evaluation* by a social group as having a particular significance that makes them socially relevant.

So it came about (for whatever reasons – mainly ones associated with the types of people who displayed it) that in the early seventeenth century various authorities tended to stigmatise dialects with *meat/meet* merger. At this point the linguistic fact becomes a social fact. But by the middle of the

eighteenth century this merger had become the norm in the standard varieties, and lack of it was perceived as an Irish stereotype. Here the same linguistic fact, by virtue of a different interpretation, becomes a different social fact. In this sense it is a vulgar error to talk about 'social causation' of changes in linguistic structure; the chapters in this volume, while sensitive to the fact and importance of variation, and to standardisation, social attitudes, and the like, will generally avoid this kind of simplistic equation.

1.3 The sociolinguistic and historiographic context

The choice of Caxton's establishment of a press in London as the opening date of a period is not just a matter of convenience or symbolism: printing plays a vital role in certain later developments. Until at least the later fifteenth century, there was no particular variety with so much more prestige than others that it could serve as a general exemplar of 'the language'. (Though during the fifteenth century Chancery English had begun to be adopted by writers outside London, if often in a form modified by local dialects: Görlach this volume.) That is, there was no standard in the modern sense; written English (which is of course all we have records of, though the same must have been true of spoken varieties) was in general the English of the particular locality the user came from. The great literary productions of Middle English times were written in clearly identifiable regional varieties, from the North (*Cursor Mundi*) and north Midlands (the *Gawain* poet) to the southwest Midlands (*Piers Plowman*), Kent (The *Ayenbite of Inwit*) and London (Chaucer).

Equally important, before printing, the particular dialect a text happened to be originally written in did not necessarily determine the precise shape in which it would appear to particular readers. Even if English had had a standard (as it did in a sense in the Winchester-based Old English *Schriftsprache*), it could not have been promulgated in the same way as later ones were: simply because the exigencies of manuscript transmission did not guarantee identical replicas of a given exemplar, or allow the mass distribution of identical copies that became possible after the advent of printing. Before printing, there was no way of ensuring that any linguistic form in a text would be replicated: the next scribe might just change things in accordance with his own usage. This means that even if there was an incipient feel for a 'standard' or 'best' English (see below), there was no way that such a perception could be reliably propagated; no 'mass media' as it were.

Certainly some sense of linguistic superiority was already apparent in

southern attitudes toward the North in ME times: in 1382 John of Trevisa (writing in the West Country) remarks, with not atypical xenophobia as well as acute social comment, that

> Al þe longage of þe Norþhumbres, and specialych at 3ork, ys so scharp, slytting and frotying, and unschape, þat we Souþeron men may þat longage unneþe undurstonde. Y trowe þat þat ys because þat a buþ ny3 to strange men and aliens þat spekeþ strangelych, and also bycause þat þe kynges of Engelond woneþ alwey fer fram þat contray: For a buþ more y-turnd to the souþ . . .
>
> [The language of the Northumbrians, especially at York, is so sharp, piercing, grinding and misshapen that we Southern men can scarcely understand it. I believe that is because they are near strange men and aliens that speak strangely, and also because the kings of England always live far from that country. For they are more turned to the south . . .]

Chaucer shows similar attitudes: his two (somewhat satirised) northern clerks come from a town 'fer in the noorth; I kan nat telle where' (Reeve's Tale, *Canterbury Tales* A4015); and the Parson, who doesn't seem to like poetry very much, nonetheless considers the (southern) rhyming tradition better than the northern alliterative one: 'I am a Southren man;/ I can nat geeste "rum, ram, ruf," by lettere' (Parson's Prologue, *Canterbury Tales* X.42–3). There were of course corresponding anti-southern attitudes in the North: for a Northerner to 'speak southern' was a form of putting on airs. When the sheep-thief Mak in the Towneley *Second Shepherd's Play* (Yorkshire, late fourteenth century) claims to be a yeoman of the King, and uses southern forms like *ich* for *I*, etc., his colleagues tell him to 'take outt that sothren tothe/And sett in a torde'.

This geopolitical chauvinism increases steadily, but the southern variety (due to the importance of London and the Southeast) becomes culturally dominant. John Hart (*Orthographie*, 1569) says that educated London is 'that speach which euery reasonable English man, will the nearest he can, frame his tongue therevnto', and twenty years later Puttenham in his *Arte of Poesie* remarks that the best English is 'the vsual speech of the court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx miles'; a century on, Christopher Cooper (*Grammatica linguae anglicanae*, 1685) notes that in the South 'purissima & emendata loquendi consuetudo est' [the purest and most cultivated speech is the custom]. Whether these perceived varieties are indeed 'unified' in any reasonable way is actually not at issue: the perception that they are is important, and has an effect in bringing into being a still greater unification and high valuation. Ideological positions can help to generate the very situations they claim actually exist.

As early as the 1490s the question of what variety should be the one propagated in print had begun to be an issue: Caxton in his prologue to the *Eneydos* (1490) notes that 'in these dayes euery man . . . wyll vtter his commynycacion . . . in suche maners & termes/that fewe shal vnderstonde theym', and defines his base variety in terms of audience and type of English:

> And for as moche as this present booke is not for a rude vplondysch man to laboure therein/ne rede it/but onely for a clerke & a noble gentylman . . . Therefor in a meane bytwene bothe I haue reduced & translated this sayd booke in to our englysshe not ouer rude ne curious but in such termes as shall be vnderstonden by goddys grace accordynge to my copye.

This growing perception of standardness as a virtue (in Europe generally, not just England) is connected with a general late Renaissance and Enlightenment desire for linguistic 'normalisation' and 'stabilisation'; this would give to the increasingly used local vernaculars an 'authority' and permanence like that of Latin (which being a dead language was no longer subject to the vagaries of usage: even if it was pronounced differently in different countries, and its vocabulary was increased, its grammatical structure remained relatively stable). In other countries academies were established to produce dictionaries and grammars (Italy in 1582, France in 1635); but the anarchic and independent English never got quite that far, despite the urging of writers like Dryden and Swift.

A normative grammatical tradition did however develop, and writers on language became increasingly restrictive in what they allowed as 'good' English. During the eighteenth century, orthoepists, grammarians and lexicographers began to see their role as doing something about the 'perplexity', 'confusion', 'boundless variety' and 'adulteration' that English seemed to exhibit (these terms are all from the preface to Johnson's *Dictionary*, 1755), and the later eighteenth century saw the birth of the prescriptive grammatical tradition that still haunts our educational systems.

By the end of the eighteenth century there existed something more than ever before like an institutionalised standard: from a rather inchoate cluster of quasi-standards with a London and Home-Counties base, we begin to see the emergence of a cluster of similar varieties close to a 'received' English. Though this (in the sense of RP as a phonological model, with its associated grammatical features) is a development of the nineteenth century (see Finegan CHEL IV).

From the mid-sixteenth century there is a new historiograpical dimension: we now have access to writers on (rather than merely in) the language.

Our evidential base for Early Modern English is different from anything available for earlier periods. (Indeed, not since classical times has there been such a wealth of writing on language.) For the first time in the history of English there is extensive metalinguistic discourse: grammarians and orthoepists comment not only on sociolinguistic matters, but on linguistic structure itself. There is a new tradition of phonetic description, explicit grammatical analysis, and a wealth of judgement on the status of particular pronunciations, forms and constructions (cf. Salmon this volume; Lass this volume; Görlach this volume). Running parallel to (and in some cases, interestingly, conflicting with) our textual data we now have both comment and description, and some of this is extremely important: e.g. the first reliable phonetic descriptions of English allow us to know things about the language from the 1550s in a way that is impossible for any earlier period.

1.4 The language itself

The distinguishing features of the 'named' periods in the history of English (Old, Middle, etc.) are not always clear; those qualified by 'early' and 'late' are usually even less so. There is consensus about what we might call 'prototypical' texts for some periods, even qualified ones. *Beowulf* is solidly 'Old English', *Ancrene Wisse* is 'early Middle English', Chaucer 'late(ish) Middle English', Spenser and Shakespeare 'Early Modern'. Texts from the interfaces between clear periods however are trickier: is the *Peterborough Chronicle* 'late Old English' or 'early Middle English'? Are the Pastons and Caxton 'late Middle' or 'early Early Modern'? Is Dryden 'late Early Modern' or 'early Modern'? The phrasing suggests that I don't take these distinctions very seriously; while cover-names for large and well-defined periods are useful, it is an essentialist mistake to attribute too much importance to them, and take the categories themselves as 'real'. The best terminological guideline is probably Juliet's question: 'What's in a name?'

Still, there is broad agreement, linked to certain large-scale linguistic features, and dates of a sort: by around 1500 we are out of Middle and into Early Modern; by around 1700 we are into Modern English, i.e. 'our own language' – if in a rather different form from any now written or spoken. To use a crude but telling criterion, Spenser and Shakespeare need a lot of lexical glossing and syntactic explication for the non-specialist modern reader, but considerably less than Chaucer or Langland; Addison and Swift do only marginally, and Dr Johnson perhaps not at all, or no more than Jane Austen or Dickens.

But the fine details of periodisation are not as important as the general matter of just what was happening in the period. The individual chapters will give the details, but a few major points are worth noting in this introduction.

Perhaps the most easily visible change (see Salmon this volume) is in the features of written English. From the later sixteenth century on texts come to look more 'familiar', partly because of the stabilisation of the kind of punctuation we now use (cf. the passage from Caxton quoted in the previous section), and partly through the regularisation of orthography. In particular, the emergence of the 'one word: one spelling' principle (a relatively recent phenomenon in any European vernacular). For a long time 'public' writing was much more bound by these developing conventions than private writing (see Osselton 1984), but they gradually penetrated the private sphere as well. We can really date the emergence of modern spelling (except for minor details) from the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century; a comparison of passages from prints of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590), Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1674) and Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (1714) will illustrate the changes, and some of the differences from later usage that still remained.

(1) And as she lay vpon the durtie ground,
Her huge long taile her den all ouerspred,
Yet was in knots and many boughtes vpwound,
Pointed with mortall sting. Of her there bred
A thousand yong ones, which she dayly fed,
Sucking vpon her poisonous dugs . . .

(2) There stood a Hill not far whose griesly top
Belch'd fire and rowling smoak; the rest entire
Shon with a glossie scurff, undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic Ore,
The work of Sulphur . . .

(3) And now, unveil'd, the *Toilet* stands display'd,
Each Silver Vase in mystic Order laid.
First, rob'd in White, the Nymph intent adores
With Head uncover'd, the *Cosmetic* Pow'rs.
A heav'nly Image in the Glass appears,
To that she bends, to that her Eyes she rears.

Aside from minor changes in some conventions (e.g. capitalisation of nouns, the apostrophe in weak past tense forms), there have been more basic ones: in particular, the use of <u> and <v> is normalised in the

modern way: rather than <v> initially and <u> medially regardless of whether a consonant or vowel is meant (Spenser's *vpon, ouerspred*), the modern usage is firm by the mid-seventeenth century. (Dictionaries however continue for a long time to alphabetise <u/v> together: Johnson 1755 has an entry only for <v>, and the lemma *vizier* is followed immediately by *ulcer*, *unzoned* is followed by *vocabulary*.)

By the eighteenth century, the previously rather capricious use of double consonant graphs (either to indicate short vowels or simply as typographical decorations) has been stabilised (Spenser has *mortall*, Milton still *scurff*), as has the use of final <-e> (cf. Spenser's *taile*, Milton's *smoak*). By Pope's time most of modern orthography is in place, and only minor matters like <-c> rather than <-ck> (*musick*, *publick*) remain to be sorted out.

In terms of the language proper, rather than its written representation, our period is marked by a series of major transformations that define the transition to 'modern' English. In phonology the most important perhaps is the Great Vowel Shift, in which the entire Middle English long-vowel system was altered (e.g. the old /eː, oː/ in *beet*, *boot* were raised to /iː, uː/, and the old /iː, uː/ in *bite, out* ended up as diphthongs approaching their modern values). In addition ME short /a/ (*cat*) raised to [æ] and then lengthened before certain consonants (e.g. in *pass*, *bath*), leading to a split in the category (short vowel in *cat*, long vowel, often of different quality, in *pass, bath*); and ME /u/ split, giving different vowels in *put* and *cut*. Postvocalic /r/ began to drop in syllable codas from the early eighteenth century, leading to the modern non-rhotic type of English (no /r/ in *part*, none in *far* unless the next word begins with a vowel).

In morphology, most of the remnants of the old inflectional system vanish: the *-(e)n* marker of verb plurals and infinitives goes, as does the singular/plural distinction in the second person pronoun (*thou* versus *ye/you*), along with its verb concords (*thou goest* versus *ye/you go*). The *you* versus *thou* distinction is first pragmaticised, the old singulars attracted toward more intimate and familiar uses, and the plurals polite or honorific; by the eighteenth century only invariable *you* remains except in special registers like verse or religious discourse (and in certain regional vernaculars, especially in the North, where they are still used, if vanishing). The 3 sing. present indicative marker is at first mainly *-(e)th*, though *-(e)s* begins to appear in the fifteenth century, and takes over by the seventeenth, except as in the *you/thou* case, in 'high' registers. (On the preceding matters see Lass this volume.)

In syntax we observe among other things the rise of *do*-support (use of 'dummy' *do* in questions and negations: 'what do you read?' instead of

'what read you?', 'I do not read' instead of 'I read not'); and the full development and spread to all environments of the progressive (*be* + V-*ing*) form (obligatory 'I am reading' for non-habitual uses: see Rissanen this volume).

The phonological changes in particular allow a kind of historical contextualisation for speakers of different current varieties of English. Thus American and Scottish readers who do not have distinct vowels in *cat* and *pass* and pronounce /r/ in *far*, northerners who distinguish neither the vowels of *cat*, *pass*, nor *put*, *cut*, Irish speakers with postvocalic /r/ and only a marginal *put/cut* contrast, can all see themselves as 'archaic' or 'conservative' with respect to major changes that were going on in the Southeast of England during this period.

The period covered here then sees the emergence of what would be generally recognised now as 'English', without the need for special period adjectives; and in particular, from the later seventeenth century on, the development of an early version of what was to become the southern British 'received' English of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The early versions of this proto-standard, before the *cat/pass* split and the loss of postvocalic /r/, as well as contemporary vernaculars, southern and non-southern, formed the basis of the older extraterritorial Englishes (Irish, North American); the later version, with these changes complete, was the basis of the first Southern Hemisphere Englishes (Australian, and later New Zealand), and the first layer of the complex input that later became South African English. We might say then that the varieties of English that arose in the last seventy-five years or so of our period became the basis of all (non-Scots) standard varieties now spoken, and all the standard and vernacular extraterritorial Englishes.

All these changes (and many others) unfold against the background of a complex, fluid, multi-dialectal society, with coexisting varieties vying for the status of 'standard', and individual speakers often switching from one variety to another under certain conditions. The story told in this volume will be a distillation from an immensely complicated picture of ongoing change and variation – more a treatment of 'landmarks' than a 'full history' (as if that could even be written). But it is still, as far as I can see, the fullest treatment of the language of the period available in one place to date.

2 ORTHOGRAPHY AND PUNCTUATION

Vivian Salmon

2.1 Introduction: speech and writing

The relationship between the spoken and the written word is of two basic kinds; the written symbol may represent a concept directly, or it may represent the word which names the mental concept in an individual language. In the former case the symbol is called an ideograph, familiar examples of which are Arabic numerals; the numeral represents the same concept to speakers of different languages, but not the same word. The other type of relationship, in which the written form represents the spoken, is also of two kinds; one is *phonemic*, where each element or *grapheme* in the written form is intended to represent a sound, or phoneme, in the spoken (and occasionally, in Old English, an allophone). Illustrations of this relationship are common in modern English, e.g. *sit*, *pan*, *lend*. The second type is wholly or partially *logographic* (representing the word as a whole) where there may be only a partial 'fit' between phoneme and grapheme; the reader is expected to recognise the word as a whole even though the set of graphemes does not unequivocally indicate a specific set of phonemes. Many examples of logographs occur in Modern English, e.g. *scene/seen*, *peal/peel*, *rain/reign*, *vale/veil*. These pairs are known as *homophones*, words which sound alike but have different meanings and spellings. *Homographs* are two or more words with identical spelling but different pronunciations and meanings, e.g. *wind* 'turn round' and *wind* 'movement of air'. *Homonyms* are sets of words with similar sounds and spellings, but different meanings, e.g. *tender* 'part of a train', *tender* 'gentle', *tender* 'sore', *tender* 'offer'. One of the most specific statements by a grammarian of our period is made by Tuite, who sets out the differences clearly: '1. Words the same in sound, but different in spelling and signification; 2. Words the same in spelling, but different in sound and

signification; 3. Words the same in spelling and sound, but different in signification' (1726: 79). He calls the third type 'Equivocal Words' (104), but does not name the others.

There is no record of written English ever being dependent, except incidentally, on ideographic script; from the earliest efforts of Christian missionaries to translate Latin religious texts into Old English, the written form has been largely phonemic. But the problems which the early missionaries encountered in trying to base Old English orthography on the Latin alphabet were never satisfactorily solved, and the results have been with us to the present day; phonemes which occurred in English but not in Latin were not provided, on a permanent basis, with specific and unambiguous graphemes, and efforts at reform made by medieval scribes trained in the French orthographic tradition failed to establish a satisfactory phonemic alphabet either. As a result, there was no consistent, one-to-one relationship between grapheme and phoneme at the beginning of this period; one grapheme could represent more than one phoneme, and vice versa. By 1476 there were further problems; sound changes meant that where there had previously been a perfect 'fit', sometimes it no longer existed. A third factor was the attempt made by scribes as closely acquainted with Latin as with English to incorporate Latin orthographic habits into the English system, by respelling English words from classical and Romance sources, long established in the language, to show their Latin origins. At the same time, there was no fully established system of punctuation; in general, medieval punctuation appeared to indicate pause, and possibly in liturgical texts, intonation patterns. With the growth of literacy which accompanied the development of printing, English linguistic scholars were forced, if only for practical reasons, to confront the orthographical problems which were a legacy of the Middle Ages (see Görlach 1991: 45–9) and to search for solutions for those characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in particular the problems posed by homophones, homographs and homonyms. Many homophone pairs had developed because of the loss in late Middle English of final unstressed /ən/ and /ə/; thus, for example, the distinction between the infinitive in /ən/ and its cognate noun in /ə/ disappeared, as in ME *meten* and *mete* 'meet', which both became monosyllabic /meːt/. The desirability of distinguishing between the members of the pair, and the means of doing so, became major topics of discussion in large numbers of grammars and spelling-books in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first detailed list, constantly plagiarised, being drawn up by Charles Butler (1633).

2.2 The introduction of standard orthography and punctuation: some theoretical considerations

2.2.1 Orthography

When William Caxton set up the first printing-press in England in 1476, there was no generally recognised standard form of English speech, and only the beginnings of a standard orthography. Until 1422 (reputed to be the year of his birth), the only orthographical standards were those of Latin and French, almost the sole means of written record for legal and official purposes. In 1422, however, an event of major importance took place: the Brewers' Guild began to keep their records in English. Less than a decade later, the scribes of the Royal Chancery in Westminster began to send out official documents in English nation-wide, thus providing a form of standard orthography which could, and to a large extent did, become a model for imitation throughout the kingdom. Such a model was particularly attractive to those who were engaged professionally in writing documents of various kinds – the scriveners, whose duties included, for example, keeping records of guild transactions (noted, for example, in 1455 with reference to the Carpenters' Company), acting as notaries (first recorded in 1477), and even writing private letters, an instance being recorded in 1602 of a would-be letter writer visiting a scrivener's shop 'to haue a letter written to his wiues mother' (*OED* s.v. *scrivener*). At the same time, the general growth of literacy among laymen meant that individuals like the Pastons were able to write letters for themselves, without necessarily being forced to adopt a consistent standard of orthography like the scriveners. When printing began in England, there were therefore two types of orthography: first, a fairly consistent national standard inaugurated by Chancery scribes and imitated by professional scriveners, and secondly, the orthography of private correspondence and similar documents, which, although their writers often appeared to aim at some kind of standard, could be affected by local dialect pronunciation or regional orthographic traditions, like northern <ch> for /x/ (cf. Lucas 1973 on an autograph manuscript by Capgrave, about 1462; and Samuels 1981). These two types in the fifteenth century were continued, in a different form, in the sixteenth. The duties of the professional copyists were largely taken over by printers; private letters, of course, were written by hand, and approximated to printers' orthography mainly in the case of educated men. Women, the majority of whom lacked the classical education which would have given guidance in the orthography of Latin loan words, continued to write in a largely idiosyncratic fashion, one which reflects the issues which occupied

printers in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries, i.e. whether spelling should be logographic (in distinguishing homophones, for example), or whether it should be phonetic, attempting to reproduce as exactly as possible the individual sounds of the spoken language. In tracing the development of English orthography it is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind the potential distinction between printed and manuscript conventions, as well as the sometimes idiosyncratic usages advocated by those who were professionally concerned with teaching English orthography to those who were likely to make use of it themselves.

Of three basic choices confronting printers – ideographic, logographic or phonetic spelling – the first is hardly ever discussed explicitly, the most specific reference being the comment by the spelling reformer John Hart (1569: fo. 1r) that writing is a 'marking' to signify the writer's mind to the beholder, though elsewhere he regards the written language as a means of representing sounds. Secondly, it is assumed without further discussion, in many references to distinctions between homophones, that a word may be logographic, signifying meaning without necessarily representing sound. Bullokar argues, for example, that there should be 'meanes for difference in equiuoces' (1580b: 22); since 'equiuoces' are homophones (a term not recorded until 1623), their differentiation obviously cannot be by means of phonemic representation. In the vast majority of cases, however, the grammarian accepts that writing should represent sounds, as in Sir Thomas Smith's statement that 'writing exists to express what is uttered' (1963 [1568]: trans. 165), and the main question to be answered is 'whose sounds?' The question was especially pertinent at a time when there was no accepted spoken standard. In his proposals for a new phonetic orthography, Smith, one of our earliest spelling reformers, directs attention to the differing pronunciations of southerners and of the English north of the Trent (159). He also derides 'country folk', whose pronunciation he describes as 'unpleasant and over coarse' (69), and he even comments on the 'polite' pronunciation of some, including 'dainty women' (73). Specifically opposing Smith's orthographic reforms, another grammarian argued that for them to be viable, one single form of speech must be adopted, otherwise there would be 'no end of ways of pronouncing and writing words' (Caius 1968 [1574]: trans. 19). Hart had also considered this problem, pointing out (1569: fo. 20v.) that he did not intend that anything should be printed in London 'in the maner of Northerne or Westerne speaches' although it would be acceptable for anyone writing in Newcastle or Bodmin, for example, to represent his own speech in his private orthography. 'Yea, though he wrate so to London', said Hart, he would give no

more offence in writing in his own dialect than he would in speaking it, but 'the English speach, which the learned sort . . . doe vse, is that speach which euery reasonable English man, will the nearest he can, frame his tongue therevnto' (1569: fo. 21r.).

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the problem of the orthographical representation of variant pronunciations became an even more important topic for discussion. Age, class and region were recognised as potential sources of variation; Clement, for example, noted that children's speech was non-standard in their replacement of *gla* and *gle* with *dla* and *dle*, *cla* and *cle* with *tla* and *tle* (1587: 13), and instruction was necessary to correct such forms. Kempe (1588: sig. E3v.) lamented the influence on children's speech of 'barbarous nursses' and 'rusticall persons'. Even more influential was Coote, whose short textbook for reading and spelling went into dozens of editions in the seventeenth century. He fears that writing will be corrupted by the influence of 'the barbarous speech of your countrie people' and he lists a set of variants which must be avoided, e.g. *mell* and *hell* (Kentish forms for *mill* and *hill*) (1596: 30), a prescription imitated by Thomas Hunt decades later in his dialogue 'Of Right-utterance' (1661: 115–18). He has to admit, however, that even 'the best' Englishmen were not agreed on all spellings, for example on *malitious* or *malicious*, and finally retreats into a recommendation to choose that form of spelling 'whose writing is determined' (1596: sig. A3 v.).

After Coote, many schoolmasters comment on the difficulty of teaching children to spell correctly if they are not themselves acquainted with the standard pronunciation. Following Coote, Gil admits that even the 'general' dialect is sometimes ambiguous and, he argues (in Alston's translation), some educated men say either *inuf* or *inuh* (1972 [1619]: 104), although by and large, '*persons of genteel character and cultured upbringing*' use one single form of speech. Certainly, he points out, orthography must not depend on the pronunciation of '*ploughmen, working girls, and river-men*' (87). A preference for a somewhat ambiguous model is expressed by Elisha Coles; he argues that the most natural and easy method of spelling English will follow the 'present proper pronuntiation [. . .] in OXFORD and LONDON' (1674: title page). Undoubtedly, the question of a standard caused a great deal of trouble for schoolmasters and grammarians who tried to regularise English spelling. As one of them remarks (Coles 1674: 'To the Reader') masters themselves are '*miserably confounded, and utterly unable to reconcile their way of spelling with an English pronunciation*'. Cooper is even more explicit: those, he says, who wish to write 'more exactly' must avoid a 'Barbarous Pronunciation', but unfortunately, through error, 'many words are not

sounded after the best dialect' (1687: 77), and he provides lists of mispronunciations which led to incorrect spelling (see Lass, this volume). Jones (1701: sig. A3r. Blr.) claims to teach the 'customary *and* fashionable Sounds' of London, the universities and the Court.

Rather less frequently mentioned by grammarians and orthoepists is the question of the representation in the written language of colloquialisms such as contracted verbs like *we'll*. Contractions of various kinds had occurred even in Old and Middle English, as in *bufan* for *be* + *ufan* and *þoþer* for *þe oþer* (Dobson 1968: 836), and Hart comments on certain forms of contraction (though not those still valid) in his discussion of the correct writing of 'certaine prepositions, articles and pronowns' (1955 [1551]: 161). He is particularly concerned with the use of *to* as a contraction for *unto*; pointing out the possibility of ambiguity when *to* is used instead of *unto*. In practice, he consistently uses hiatus contractions in the transcription chapters, and on the title page, of *An orthographie*. It seems, however, that the first contracted auxiliary verbs and prepositions to appear frequently on the printed page were in dramatic texts of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for example, those of Massinger and Shakespeare (Farnham 1916). They are noticed by Campion (1602 in Jonson 1952: 202) as useful for avoiding a 'gaping in our verse', but they are also regarded by him as for use 'at pleasure'; his examples of the former type include *t'inchaunt* and of the latter *wee'l* and *hee's*. Jonson takes up this point in his grammar in some detail (cf. Jonson 1925: 428–31), regarding it as a matter of some importance; 'though it bee not of any, that I know, either in Writing, or Printing, usually express'd: Yet considering that in our common speech, nothing is more familiar . . . who can justly blame me, if, as neere as I can, I follow Natures call' (1947 [1640]: 529). Such contractions, in both the spoken and the written word, were attacked by Swift and a number of his contemporaries in the early eighteenth century.

The 'correct' relationship between the spoken and the written word was an issue which occupied printers and grammarians alike; in general, printers demonstrated their views in practice, grammarians in theoretical recommendations, and until recently, when Brengelman (1980) offered compelling arguments in support of grammarians and orthoepists, it was a matter of controversy which of the two groups was more influential in determining the eventual form of a standard orthography. Not surprisingly, those who set themselves up as teachers or reformers of English spelling tended to take a dismissive view of the practice of contemporary printers. Typical attitudes were those expressed by orthoepists and spelling reformers like Hart (1551), Bullokar (1580a, b) and Gil (1619). A major

criticism was made by John Hart, who noted (1955 [1551]: 115) 'the lak of ordre emongest writers and printers' who 'run where euerry fantazi serveth', and altered spelling as they pleased merely to fill up 'the Compositors line in printing' (1569: fo. 15r). Alexander Hume complained that printers 'caring for noe more arte then may winne the pennis, wil not paen them-selfes to knau whither it be orthographie or skuiographie [*OED,* s.v. *sciagraphy*] that doeth the turne' (1925 [c. 1617]: 2). A similar complaint of their incapacity was made even as late as 1674, when Coles wrote of the impediment to spelling reform due to printers 'whereof some were ignorant, some were inable, and othersome, were obstinate' (1674: 101). Others blamed the fact that they were foreigners; as Bullokar noted (1580a: 18), Smith and Hart were forced to seek 'straungers' to cast their type who 'tooke no regarde (neither coulde they, not hauing the natural vse of Inglish spéech) to confer figures fit for Inglish' – there being a lack of skilful men in England at the time. A third problem was a combination of foreign workmen and the restricted availability of type. On the other hand some grammarians complained of the use of one letter in particular, the 'barbarous kind of printing' allowing the retention of <*þ*> in abbreviations (*þt*, *þe*) where it 'very absurdly doth represent th' (Kempe 1588: sig. F3 r.). The most detailed commentary on early printers (an expansion of Bullokar) was made by Gil, who argues (in Alston's translation) that '*corruption in writing originated with the printing of our books, I lay all the blame for our chaotic spelling on the last. For when that learned King and patron of literature*, Henry VII, *called the printer* Wynkyn de Worde *hither from Germany (he was the first to print books in English), the type-setter was forced to set our words with available type: thus, for the first time,* th *and* g *replaced* þ, *and* ð, ȝ'. Gil was, of course, wrong about <th>, which frequently replaced <þ> in medieval scripts, especially in the century before Caxton. An additional shortcoming was that the duty of proof-reading was not assigned to an educated person but to '*one of the crowd of merchants who could speak both German and English. Our spelling was consequently corrupted, and since no appropriate remedy was devised, such corruption passed into common usage. And, I believe, this was the sole cause of the corruption*' (1972 [1619]: 86).

It is not true to say, however, that printers were entirely uninterested in theoretical issues. Although English printers appear to have been far less concerned with spelling standardisation than their contemporaries in Italy, France and Germany, one of the earliest, John Rastell, drew up a set of recommendations which he published in 1530 and which, in the fragment which is all that survives, specifies rules for the representation of /eː/ and /ɛː/ in medial and final position (Salmon 1989). Since Rastell

frequently refers to 'the Italians' it is more than likely that he knew Trissino's proposal that /oː/ and /ɔː/ should be distinguished in writing as <o> and the Greek <ω>, and /eː/ and /ɛː/ as <e> and <ε> (Trissino 1529). Another sixteenth-century printer, while not establishing his own rules, at least expresses approval of spelling reforms devised by John Hart in 1569. This was William Seres, who in a prefatory poem from 'The compositor to *the Reader*' in Hart's *Orthographie* admits: 'Loth I was the workman to bée', but in the course of printing reveals that he came to realise the value of Hart's reforms to the extent that, when he had to return to traditional spelling, 'Mine often missing did bewray, That my senses were wholy bent, To vse and kéepe the new intent' (1569: fo. qi v.). No printer's rule-books or other explicit statements have been found before Moxon (1683–4), and the overt expression in print of views on English orthography was left to grammarians and orthoepists.

A milestone in the debate was the publication in 1582 of Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, because this was the first consistent attempt to codify and promulgate detailed rules for normalising and regularising traditional English spelling. But before Mulcaster, several scholars had discussed the lack of a standard orthography and the possibility of providing a more satisfactory one; the discussion had been stimulated first in Cambridge, where it followed a debate about the correct pronunciation of classical Greek. Sir John Cheke, Regius Professor of Greek, devised in about 1540 a more consistent and simplified spelling system which he applied to a translation of the Gospel of Saint Matthew, and which he is known to have used in at least one private letter (Cheke [1549] in Ellis 1843: 8) written in 1549; his proposals, though not published until the nineteenth century, were highly influential, and led to a further treatment of the topic by his colleague, Sir Thomas Smith, begun in the 1540s but not published until 1568. By this time, John Hart, a Londoner, and a member of the College of Heralds, had joined the debate, first with a discussion in 1551 (remaining in manuscript until 1955) and then with a revised version, *An Orthographie* (1569) which was printed partly in Hart's new, and rather attractive, character. Hart's proposals were followed by those of a schoolmaster, William Bullokar (1580a, b), whose graphs consist of the traditional alphabet with a great variety of diacritics. Both Hart and Bullokar had some success; a large-scale autobiography by the musician and courtier Thomas Whythorne (c. 1576) was based partly on Hart's system, and Bullokar's script appears in a few manuscript notes on a book by Goodman published in 1616 (British Library copy). But such reforms were strongly opposed by the Cambridge scholar John Caius (1574) and by the lexicographer John

Baret in the same year; and proposals for new alphabets were strongly and successfully opposed by Richard Mulcaster, whose work brings to an end a period of intense discussion about the reform of English spelling on phonetic lines, not to be revived for nearly forty years.

Although the reformers' proposals for new graphs had no effect on the development of English orthography, the arguments which they deployed in discussing the use of the normal alphabet helped to shape the views of later orthoepists, and may have had an important effect on the practice of printing-houses. In general, they proposed, in addition to a mainly phonetic orthography: first, the establishment of etymological spelling using an orthography which indicated the origin of English loans from French, Latin and Greek by spelling them in such a way as to make clear their supposed etymologies; secondly, orthographical distinctions between homophones; thirdly, morphological spelling (a consistent orthographical representation of the same morphemes); and fourthly, the clear indication of vowel length, either by doubling vowels or by adding a final <e> to the word to signify a preceding long vowel, or by doubling consonants to indicate a preceding short vowel.

These ideas are reflected to some extent in the writing of most orthographers and grammarians from the mid-sixteenth to the later seventeenth century, most particularly by Hart (cf. Salmon 1996), though in his case not with approval since his aim is to use 'the same nombre of letters, which we use of voices in the speaking' (1955 [1551]: 119). He advises (126) that the inclusion of 'superfluouse letters for derivations or Etymologie', is no more than 'the disordering and corruption of our writing, both against the law of the perfection thereof' (i.e. in not reflecting pronunciation) '*and* against all reason'. He expresses disapproval of 'the superfluite' of letters 'to put difference betwixt words of one sound' thus objecting to the differentiation of homophones. He argues that if such a distinction were necessary, it would be in speech rather than in writing, because (127) 'the spech passeth quikli away, wheras the writing remayneth'.

2.2.2 Punctuation and capitalisation

The related topics of punctuation and capitalisation seem to have aroused little theoretical interest in the earlier sixteenth century, in spite of the fact that the introduction of printing brought with it a gradually increasing variety of symbols such as square brackets and asterisks, which were designed to clarify the text for the reader. But from 1561 printers and grammarians would have been able to refer to a treatise *De ratione interpungendi*

(1561) written by the Italian printer, Aldus Manutius (the younger), which attempted to explain the use of the comma, semicolon, colon, period, question mark and parenthesis. He advises against the use of an exclamation mark, suggesting that a single point should be employed instead. By this time, however, John Hart had set out his views in his 1551 manuscript, '*The opening of the unreasonable writing of our Inglish toung*', where he remarked that the function of 'distinction or pointing' (1955 [1551]: 157) is to teach us 'how to rest and stay, how to understand what is added and is not neadful to the sentence, and what some translater or new writer of a worke, doth ad more then the authour at first wrate, also what sentence is asking and what is wondring'. There are seven marks listed by Hart in his chapter on pointing, including comma (or *incisum*), colon (a 'joint'), period ('point'), question mark ('the asker') and exclamation mark (the 'wonderer') but not the semicolon; he discusses the function of comma, colon and period in terms which are both rhetorical, marking pause, and syntactic, marking off word groups. He describes the use of pauses in musical terms; the comma is compared with a crotchet in length of pause, a colon with a minim (160). The period is defined semantically, as marking the end of a full sentence; the question mark or 'asker' is characterised by its intonation pattern: 'at the beginning [it] is sharp, and so falleth lower, according to the length of the sentence'. (It is noteworthy that his examples are of *wh*-questions such as 'what doo you now?', where the intonation pattern is still the norm.) The 'wonderer' or exclamation mark is also accompanied by a falling intonation pattern.

Hart describes the function of round brackets (the 'clozer') as 'to put souch a sentence in a writing as mough be left out, and the rest of the matter remaine a good sentence' (160) while 'notes', or square brackets, are used for marking 'translations, commentaries and expositions'. He then adds to the list of seven punctuation marks (in an unnumbered chapter 13) the apostrophe or 'tourner', with a somewhat laboured illustration of its use in marking omissions (161–2). He ends this chapter with a reminder that 'great' or capital letters should be used at the beginning of every sentence, whether after the 'full point', the 'wonderer' or the 'asker', and for 'proper names' and 'appellatives' (important common nouns). In chapter 10 on 'thaccents' he discusses the hyphen, which he calls the 'joiner', and the dieresis, or, as he calls it, the 'sondrer' (153, 155). He also comments more fully than in chapter 13 on the apostrophe or 'tourner', of which the function is said to be to mark the 'taking away of a voel at the end of a word, by the convenience of the folowing voel begining another word: as in this sentence, writ th'articles plaine t'understand'. Another illustration of

elision in connected speech is the linguistically interesting sentence 'Christians d'obey th'officers and rulers, that b'appointed of God in th' Earth' (153). In his first published treatise, *An Orthographie*, Hart repeats his comments on punctuation in more succinct form (1569: fo. 45 v.); but now he uses the terms 'interrogatiue' and 'admiratiue' rather than 'asker' and 'wonderer', proposing that these punctuation marks should be used before, rather than after, the sentence 'bicause their tunes do differ from our other maner of pronunciation at the beginning of the sentence'. Hart's detailed treatment of punctuation theory (as published in 1569) provided a firm foundation for later grammarians, and meant that relatively few problems remained to be resolved; they concerned chiefly the function of the apostrophe and its proper place in a grammar (whether it should be discussed under accents [Hart], under syntax [Greaves], or in a separate chapter [Jonson]); the function of the semicolon; and the means of marking direct quotation. Later grammarians were also concerned with the function of the growing number of devices like asterisks and paragraph marks, usually treated under punctuation.

2.3 Orthography and punctuation in practice before 1582

2.3.1 The printed word – orthography

When Caxton set up his press in 1476, he was not particularly well equipped to provide a standard form of orthography. As a child, he could hardly have been acquainted with the largely regularised orthography of the Chancery clerks, and his speech would have been that of Kent, the county of his birth – a markedly different form of English from that which was spoken in London and Westminster, the workplace and domicile of the Chancery scribes. As a young man, Caxton entered a different linguistic environment through his apprenticeship to Robert Large, a member of the London Mercers' Company; and it is likely that in the 1440s he spent much of his time travelling between London and the Low Countries. He later moved to Bruges, where he eventually became a rich and influential member of the cloth trade. He spent much of his life abroad, and when he returned to England in 1476 he found that his native language had changed greatly since his boyhood; as he remarked in a prologue to one of his translations, it 'varyeth ferre from that whiche was used and spoken whan I was borne' (Blake 1973: 79). Not only had spoken English changed; the influence of Chancery orthography had led to the perception of a greater need for consistency, and a gradual encroachment of Chancery forms in the written English of regional dialect speakers (Davis

1959). It is not surprising, therefore, that Caxton found difficulties in producing a form of printed English which could act as a standard; and his problems were compounded by the fact that his compositors had to set copy of two different kinds; one consisted of Caxton's own translations from French, Latin or Dutch, and his own original English prologues; the other comprised original manuscripts by other authors, some of which were written in English, possibly reflecting the phonology of regional dialects.

When setting English texts, it is likely that the foreign compositors whom he employed at first (not being native speakers) would have been obliged to follow copy as closely as possible, although they might perhaps have introduced some of their native spelling conventions, such as <gh> to represent /ɡ/ and /oe/ to represent /oː/ as in Dutch. One example of the former is *ghost*, modelled on Dutch *ghest*, with <gh> extended to *ghesse* and *ghest* 'guest'. Less well known is the occasional spelling, possibly Caxton's own, found in, for example, his 1481 translation from Dutch of *Reynard the Foxe*, e.g. *goed* 'good', where <oe> apparently represents /uː/. (Similar spellings are found in Hans van Ruremonde's edition of Tyndale's New Testament in 1535: cf. Salmon 1989).

It is likely that Caxton's own prologues and translations represent his spelling reasonably closely, but it must be admitted that it is very inconsistent. His *Prologue* to the *Eneydos*, for example, shows the following characteristics: the same or related words spelt in two or three different ways, often within a line or two of one another: *thai/theim*, *boke/booke*; the same final syllable spelt differently: *dayli/copye/dyuersitie*, *axyd/axed/usid*, *bookys/wordes*; inconsistency in the use of double consonants: *hadde*, *redde*, *ferre*, *generall*, *shippe*, but *wel*, *corecte*, *taryed*, *gentelness*; inconsistency in the use of double vowels, or *V + C + e*ː *booke/boke*; *tooke/toke*; *brood/one*; *leaf/speke*; final <e> used where there is no historical justification: *whiche*, *soche*; and <y> used randomly for <i>: *ynke*, *lytel*, *brynge*, *certayn*. (The prologue is reproduced in Blake 1973: 78–81. For compositors' treatment of their copy cf. Blake 1976.)

When Caxton died in 1492 his press was inherited by Wynkyn de Worde, who continued to print in an irregular orthography, though possibly with a greater care for following copy which represents Caxton's own spelling (Blake 1965). Two others were associated with Caxton, Robert Pynson and Robert Copland, who both set up their own presses; Pynson specialised in legal documents in French or Latin, and therefore was little concerned with English orthography; Copland produced a comparatively limited output. Shortly afterwards, John Rastell (Salmon 1989) moves towards a greater

consistency of spelling, preferring in some cases a more accurate phonetic representation, e.g. *syngull*, *doubull*, *beryth*, *soune* (an earlier form of <sound>), *furst*, *sownyd*, *walkyd*. He also uses some forms which have not yet been 'etymologised', e.g. *nombers*, *conceytes* 'concepts', *parseudy*.

In general, however, printers of the early sixteenth century demonstrate little obvious interest in working towards a standardised orthography. Their lack of concern has been well illustrated in a comparison (Blake 1965) of five editions of *Reynard the Fox* (1481, 1489, 1500, 1515 and 1550) in which it is difficult to discern any consistent progress towards a standard orthography; and in the absence of overall analyses of orthographic developments in various sixteenth-century printing-houses, perhaps the most useful commentary on the state of English spelling in the first half of the sixteenth century is to be found in the detailed condemnation of John Hart, who notes various specific defects in orthography, i.e. 'the divers vices and corruptions which use (or better abuse) mainteneth in our writing' (1955 [1551]: 121). Arguing that 'vicious' writing 'bringeth confusion and uncertainte in the reading' (120) he lists the major faults as 'diminution', 'superfluite', 'the usurpation of one letter for another, by their confusible double powers', and 'the mysplacing and disordering of them'. In discussing these defects more fully, he admits that the actual number of letters has not increased, but that the other 'vices' have certainly done so. 'Superfluite' refers to 'more letters than the pronunciation neadeth of voices' (122). This abuse is partly unnecessary, 'to fill up the paper'; also, partly, to 'satisfie our fantasies, as in derivations and difference' (etymology and homophones), and partly reasonable, to indicate a long vowel. He gives the following examples of words containing unnecessary letters, chiefly to indicate 'derivation'; *doubt*, *eight*, *authorite*, *souldiours*, *people*, *condempned* and *baptisme*, where the 'unnecessary' letters are, respectively, <b>, <g>, <h>, <l>, <o>, <p> and <s>. He exemplifies unnecessary orthographical variation for 'difference' of meaning in 'A hatt for my fayre sonne, to save him from the burnyng of the Sunne', i.e. 'planet' or 'buay' ('boy') (122); and final <e> distinguishing long vowels as in *spake*, *before*, 'and infinit others'. He also comments here on the writing of double consonants followed by <e> 'which in writing maketh a syllable more then is pronunced', as in 'stoppe the bulle that he passe not'. His third major 'vice' is variation in the 'power' of a single letter, as in 'yonder two gentle men came together uppon two genets to geve them my lord', and asks how one is to understand the different 'powers' when there is no diversity in the writing. His final 'vice' is the misplacing of letters, especially in final <l> or <r>, as in *numbre* (though he cites *number*), *fable* and *circle* (122). It is clear that there had been

much discussion of such points, because Hart sets up straw men who defend these defects, and gives the arguments they use. In his first published comments on these irregular spelling practices of his day (1569), he remarks on 'such confusion and disorder, as it may be accounted rather a kinde of ciphring' than English spelling (1569: fo. 2 r.), though he admits that the common people 'wil assoone receiue a new maner of speaking, as of writing' (1569: fo. 12 v.).

Hart's comments are just, and apply to most of his contemporaries, who illustrate orthographical inconsistency and, especially, the use of unnecessary graphs (including doubled consonants and final <e>). These are precisely the abuses for which Richard Mulcaster attempted to find a remedy, although using normal, and not 'reformed', English characters. Hart's proposals for reform failed to make any lasting contribution to the improvement of English orthography, either in printing or among the general public. So unsuccessful were his innovations that he felt obliged to publish an instruction manual (*A Methode*) in 1570, and in 1573 (Hart 1963: 58) to promise a revised alphabet which would include no new characters, except for three digraphs (i.e. ligatures). It is possible, however, that he helped to stimulate other and simpler attempts at reform by three printers, John Allde, Robert Allde and Richard Jugge (cf. Alston 1974; VI 110–11). All three printers produced works in a similar orthography: John Allde's was the first to appear, being a broadsheet ballad by John Cornet, 'An admonition to Dr Story' (1571). He also printed a piece by Leonard Stavely, in 1579, entitled 'A breef discovr[se]', and another ballad, *A moorning diti*, in 1580, whose author is stated to be G. (i.e. Gentleman) Guil. P. Robert Allde published a better-known work in Robert Laneham's 'Letter', in 1575, and Richard Jugge printed 'The calendar of scripture' in the same year. Finally, a 'charter' from Queen Elizabeth to Lord Burghley in a similar orthography, as late as 1591, was first printed by Strype in his *Annals* (1824 [1708–9]: IV 108–9). It shows forms like *oother*, *coourt*, *moorning*, *causez* and *yeerz*. The problem is to decide who was responsible for this reformed orthography, and the most likely answer is that it was the author of *A moorning diti*, i.e. 'Guil. P.', probably William Patten, 'Gentleman', who was closely associated with William Cecil (as Burghley then was) in 1547, and uncle of a spelling reformer, Sir William Waad, or Wade, whose work is referred to in Gil (1972) [1619]: II 87) and Wilkins (1668: 19), but is unfortunately lost. While Laneham has sometimes been accepted as the author of the letter named after him, it has been argued by Hill (1983), and denied by Kuin (1985), that Patten wrote it, though it is not clear whether Allde, improving on Hart, was first to provide a reformed spelling, which was then adopted by Patten

(cf. also Alston 1966). What is important is that the reformed spelling, in spite of being used in five printed texts, did not succeed; it was very simple, including doubled vowels <oo> and <ee>, sometimes with an accent (as in *yée* and *fréend*), a preference for the rejection of final <e>, as in *spectacl*, *castl*, *comparabl*, and for the spelling <au> in e.g. *pleasaunt*, *auncient*. Patten (or his printer) also showed a strong preference for <z> rather than <s>, not only where a voiced consonant is correct, e.g. *prezent*, *hiz*, *waz*, but also where it is inappropriate, e.g. *notez*, *sportez*. For the reflex of Middle English /ɛː/ he normally uses <ea> as in *seauen*, *whear*, *thear*. Some of the results are extremely clumsy, e.g. *poour*, *boowrz*, and it is not surprising that his reformed spelling failed to be universally adopted. At the same time, it is worth noting that some printers were willing to experiment with improvements, not, apparently, being totally opposed to spelling reform.

Even though these experiments of the 1570s failed to achieve any lasting success, it appears that, in general, printers of the later sixteenth century were making some attempts at both regularity and consistency. The following were among their intended 'improvements': First, they attempted to create a closer link between sound and graph in distinguishing, by the use of <ee> or <ea>, between the quality of two long vowels previously represented by <ee>, and deriving from ME /eː/ and /ɛː/. It has been suggested by, among others, Scragg (1974: 48–9) that <ea>, occasionally used as early as Caxton, was modelled on AF <ea>, in turn derived from OE orthography; <oa>, however, seems to have been a sixteenth-century introduction for /ɔː/, as opposed to <oo> to represent /oː/. The digraph <oa> was not used by Mulcaster (1582).

Secondly, they adopted a different approach to distinguishing the length of vowels: they were denoted either by doubling (as in *soon*, *seen*) of <o> and <e>, or by using final 'silent' <e> to denote /iː/ as in ME *side*, /eː/ as in EModE *made*, and /juː/ as in EModE *tune*. Short vowels were indicated by following doubled consonants, as in *sitting* and *hill*. Genuine double consonants (like the medial pair in *book-case*) existed in Old English but were lost during the Middle English period, except orthographically, when they began to indicate that the preceding vowel was short. The difficulty in sixteenth-century orthography was that printers often used both doubled consonants and final <e> as in *hadde*, and this usage occasioned much criticism from spelling reformers.

A third attempted improvement by sixteenth-century printers (and also by many of their fifteenth-century predecessors) was to regularise the orthography of words borrowed from medieval French by altering them so as to reflect their supposed Latin etyma (see also Lass this volume). Since

Latin itself had developed a regular and standardised spelling system, assimilation of English spelling to the Latin equivalent obviously made for a form of standardisation, at least for those who were educated in the classical languages. At all events, many etymological spellings appeared such as *adventure* (ME *aventur*), *advice* (ME *avis*), *debt* (ME *dette*) and *doubt* (ME *doute*). Many of these etymological spellings are listed by Hart, with disfavour (1955 [1951]: 122). The problem with this 'improvement' was that it sometimes led to a greater disparity between sound and script, cf. for example the conversation between Holofernes and Nathaniel (*Love's Labour's Lost* V. i) about Armado's failure to pronounce <b> as in *debt* and *doubt*.

During this period, the spelling of ME /ɛː/ as <ea>, and /eː/ as <ee> meant that many words which were near-homophones, like *sea* and *see*, were orthographically distinct. Possibly because such a distinction was thought to be useful, printers further developed the custom of orthographical distinction for other homophones, e.g. *maid* and *made* (for some speakers), *tail* and *tale*, *awl* and *all*. This custom was not always well received, Hart, for example, inveighing against it in *An Orthographie*, where he points out that context prevents ambiguity, as in 'this great Beare will beare ten dogges' and 'Hodge Bill, with his browne Bill, brought me a sealed Bill, and a Woodcocke by the Bill' (1569: fo. 26 r.).

Printers made no progress, however, in establishing the use of <j> and <v> to represent consonants, <u> and <i> vowels, although John Hart (1569: fo. 31r.) had commented on contemporary usage and proposed a new graph to denote /dʒ/ (1569: fo. 37r.). They did not distinguish the uses of <i> and <y> either, although there was a preference for <y> or <ie> in final position. The regular distinction between vowels and consonants in these cases was not to be introduced until the first decades of the seventeenth century.

2.3.2 The printed word – punctuation and capitalisation

Before printing made multiple copies of texts available, it was customary for certain types of writing, especially literary and liturgical, to be read aloud to an audience, and the function of punctuation was chiefly to mark appropriate places for a reader to pause and take breath: *punctuacio* was, in fact, glossed as 'pawsynge in redynge' in a school text of 1440 (Jonson 1952: 208). In some liturgical texts, it was also common to mark the intonation of the reader's or singer's voice by other punctuation marks, one of which has come down into modern usage as a question mark. Medieval manuscripts indicated quotations or *sententiæ* by the insertion of certain

marks in the margin, and there were also marks to denote the beginning of paragraphs. When printing made individual reading more widely practised, the three marks indicating pauses, *comma*, *colon* and *period*, were still apparently regarded as having the same function; this belief is clearly indicated by the name given to these pauses in another early grammar (Clement 1587: 25) who named them the *vnderpause*, the *middle pause* and the *perfect pause*. The forms taken by these three punctuation marks in Caxton's printing varied according to the type used (black letter or italic) but included </> or </> (known as virgules), <,> <:> and<.> ; the two last were also indicated by <+>, and breaks in words at the end of a line were marked by <//>. The 'short' virgule was rare after 1483. Caxton and his successors also used paragraph marks and capitals, although at first Caxton's were inserted by hand by a rubricator. The 'long' virgule was used until about 1550, but Pynson introduced the present form of the comma in 1521, using it in Roman type, and Copland in black letter type in 1534. To these were added the question mark, noted in a text published in 1521 (Patridge 1964: 124) and the semicolon, appearing in Richard Grafton's print of Coverdale's Bible (1537) (cf. Hume 1925 [c. 1617]: 37). This work was published abroad, and the semicolon did not otherwise appear in English printing until much later in the sixteenth century (Partridge 1964: 124; Parkes 1992: 52). Its origin is uncertain (cf. Thomas 1963), though it occurs in Italian printing in the late fifteenth century.

The equivalent of the medieval *sententia* mark was the preliminary colon, noted, for example, in Cranmer's first litany of 1544, while round brackets were also used to enclose quotations, as in Thomas Wilson's logical treatise of 1551. Another characteristic of medieval punctuation reflected in the sixteenth century, although now lost, was the distinction between otherwise identical points (*versus* and *circumflexus*) which consisted in following one, later known as a *semi-period*, by a lower-case letter, and the other by a capital. This usage is advocated by Thomas Wilson, and appears in his text. It was cited by Manutius (1561) but did not otherwise appear in English printing, although its existence was noted by Cooper (1687) and Ward (1724). The next addition to the printers' regular stock of punctuation marks was the semicolon, used with increasing frequency in English texts after about 1580, although its nomenclature remained doubtful for many decades. Jonson (1640) called the actual mark a *sub-distinction*, apparently meaning a pause shorter than that of a comma. Daines (1640) described it as a *comma-colon*, Brooksbank (1654) named it a *hemi-colon* and Lewis (1672) a *sub-colon*. The first citation in the *OED* of the term *semi-colon* is from Hodges (1644), but it was also used in Butler's grammar (1633: 58).

Apostrophes, hyphens and exclamation marks are used with increasing frequency after they had been noted by Hart (1569); but his square brackets, which he calls *notes*, do not seem to be in regular use until after about 1600. By mid-century they were used, as now, to enclose omitted material.

2.3.3 Orthography in manuscripts

In the sixteenth century, orthography in manuscript documents was no more consistent than in printed texts. There was, however, a greater possibility of interference by regional or class dialect, and a disparity between the spelling abilities of men and women. Machyn's diary, written by a London merchant in 1550–63, includes such apparently ill-educated spellings as *sawgyers*, *harodes*, *sogettes*, *pycter* and *reme* 'realm'; and although reasonably consistent in the spelling of common words, showed amazing variation in unusual ones, e.g. *condutt*, *condut*, *conduyd*, *condytt*, *condyt*, *conduyth* (Wilson 1963: 205). The orthography of a man of higher rank is illustrated in the memoirs of Edward Underhill (1554); it is no more regular in its deployment of final <e> and doubled consonants than Machyn's, but it does have some idiosyncrasies which are of regular, and unusual, nature, e.g. *thatt*, *whatt*, *nott*, *wentt*, *butt*, *lett*, *att*, *warantt* (Underhill 1953 [1554]: 33–6). Male orthographers had a better chance of consistency than female, since educated males would be familiar with Latin orthographical usage, which would provide a guide to the spelling of English words derived from classical sources. It is noticeable that the spelling of Queen Elizabeth I was reasonably consistent, as a result of her knowledge of Latin; the orthographical vagaries of women writers are best illustrated in seventeenth-century sources, since earlier correspondence (as in the case of the Paston letters) might well have been written for women by their stewards.

There is one important manuscript, however, which demonstrates the dissatisfaction with English spelling which was felt by private individuals as well as by those who, like Hart, published proposals for reform. The musician Thomas Whythorne, whose book of madrigals, published in 1571, is the first such collection extant, composed his autobiography in about 1576 in his own spelling system. Beginning with a discussion of the ideas of Smith and Hart, he states his preference for the latter in many respects, but proposes himself to use no invented characters (apart from reviving Old English <þ> and <ȝ>) in his own writings, even though he intended to 'wryte wurds as they be sownded in speech' (1961 [c. 1576]: 6). While the autobiography had no effect on the development of English orthography

– if only because the manuscript was not discovered until 1955 – it is worth noting because of the evidence it provides of a general realisation of the need for improvement.

2.3.4 Punctuation and capitalisation in manuscripts

It would be neither possible, nor particularly rewarding, to attempt a detailed analysis of the punctuation of individual writers in this period, since so much depended on education, on the writer's purpose and general predilections. But manuscripts written by two authors who were concerned with the reform of orthography, and in one case, in describing the function of punctuation, will be examined for evidence they provide of the extent to which punctuation was regarded as of importance by careful writers. First, there is John Hart's 1551 manuscript (as printed by Danielsson, who retains the original punctuation and capitalisation) and secondly, the undated manuscript autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, whose editor inserts additional punctuation since, without it, he remarks, some of Whythorne's pages would 'run on like Tennyson's brook' (1961: lxv). The editor prints a page in facsimile of the autobiography which provides a certain amount of evidence on Whythorne's own punctuation. Hart, in his 1551 manuscript, makes use of the punctuation marks whose function he discusses in the text; it is noteworthy that the colon appears very frequently, in places where a semicolon would now be expected, and that it is sometimes followed by capitalisation. Capitals, or 'great letters', are used more frequently than would be current practice, usually for 'the proper name of everi thing' as well as at the beginning of sentences; and in a chapter on 'thaccents' he also illustrates how one form of the <ioiner> (i.e. a horizontal bracket between two words) can be used to denote grammatical relationships, e.g. of preposition + noun, or article + adjective + noun (1955 [1551]: 155); here he is demonstrating the relationship between elements of a syntactic structure in speech, but he accepts that it would be a 'labor' and 'over tedious' actually to use such a <ioiner> in writing. Turning to Whythorne, we find that he makes extensive use of commas and periods – not always followed by capitals – but that this punctuation is very light, and depends largely on commas. Capitalisation is also more frequent than is the case now, for example, for technical terms like *Gittern* and *Sittern*. On the whole, little punctuation was employed in private manuscripts; Partridge, for example (1964: 124), draws attention to the minimal use of punctuation in Queen Elizabeth's translation of Boethius (1593).

2.4 Orthography and punctuation, 1582–1660

2.4.1 Grammarians, spelling reformers and lexicographers; some views on orthography

This period is distinguished, at the outset, by the publication of the first theoretical attempt at codifying and promulgating a system of rules for English orthography, using the traditional alphabet, and stating explicitly the principles on which they were based. The end of the period is marked by the establishment of an orthography which was, in most respects, that of the twentieth century; within these eight decades, English orthography had evolved from what was practically a late medieval situation to that of the present day, and it is a question only partly solved why so great a change should have taken place within such a comparatively short period of time. In all likelihood, it was because from the last decade of the sixteenth century a large number of spelling books had been produced, whose rules gradually affected printers and compositors. The forerunner of these elementary texts is Richard Mulcaster's major study of English orthography, designed for the use of teachers rather than students. It was published in 1582 when he had already been a schoolmaster for some two decades, having been appointed as first Head Master of Merchant Taylors' school in 1561. In spite of his long service in this post, the first occasion on which he played a public part in proposals for the standardisation of English spelling was in 1580, when he provided some Latin verses for the preface of the quadrilingual dictionary by John Baret, entitled *An Alvearie*. Baret, whose book appeared first in a trilingual edition in 1573–4, was concerned not only with a simple lexicon of English, Latin, French and (in the second edition) Greek, but also with the 'correct' spelling of English, discussed in detail in the section on 'E' – a commentary much appreciated by Alexander Hume, who describes it as reminding him of a 'star' and 'constellation' which will 'calm al the tydes of these seaes' ['settle controversies'] (1925 [c. 1617]: 2). As the writer of another verse in the preface, Arthur Golding, pointed out, Baret had tried to 'set downe a sownd Orthographie' (sig. Av. r.), Baret himself admitting, however, that it was impossible for a private person to achieve unless 'the learned uniuersities haue determined vpon the truth thereof' (fo. xv r.).

Mulcaster's interest in a standardised orthography was possibly stimulated by his involvement in Baret's work, but more generally, he was also motivated by his typically Renaissance esteem for the English language, and by his desire to bring it to the utmost perfection; he claims that it is 'as readie to yeild to anie rule of Art, as anie other is' (1582: 53) and asks, 'why

should I not take som pains, to find out the right writing of ours, as other cuntrimen haue don, to find the like in theirs?' Moreover, he claims that every language has a period 'fittest to be made a pattern for others to follow' and argues 'Such a period in the English tung I take this to be in our daies, for both the pen and the speche' (75).

Mulcaster is aware of earlier proposals for spelling reform by some 'of great place and good learning', but he believes they hindered, rather than helped, the cause (78). What makes his own contribution to the debate unusual, however, is that he points out that he is concerned with 'the facilitie [. . .] in writing' more than in printing, that is, he is concerned to some extent with the practical aspect of orthography, where it depends on the pen rather than on the choice of characters by the printer (107). One example which he gives is the use of <ss> rather than <zz>, as in *bussing*, *hussie* and *dissie*, where, he claims, <ss> goes more 'roundlie to the pen' than does <zz> (96–7). He is suspicious of the orthography of printers, which can be misleading and incorrect because 'the printers . . . setters, and correcters ouersight somtimes plaieth a part, and letteth manie errors abide in their work' (107).

Although he admits that his rules refer 'to the writing, more the[n] to the print', it is clear that they are relevant in almost every case to orthography in both media, since he seems to be speaking in general terms when he establishes seven principles, which, he claims, should provide the foundation for correct orthography. He is strongly opposed to orthography on a purely phonetic basis, arguing that although everyone speaks differently, the variety does not hinder the 'deliuerie of euerie mans minde, yet is it to vncertain to rule euerie mans pen in setting down of letters' (69). On the other hand, he was opposed to the use of 'superfluous' letters not representing any sound, for example, the double consonants in *putt*, *grubb* and *ledd*; although he objects when there are too few letters to indicate the relationship of a derivative to a 'primitive', as in *fech* and *scrach*, where he prefers the insertion of <t> so as to indicate links with *fet* and *scrat* (105).

The seven principles which he argues should form the basis of a correct orthography are the following: *General rule*, which examines the properties and functions of each letter; *Proportion*, which assigns all homophones the same spelling; *Composition*, which provides rules for the writing of compounds; *Deriuation*, which provides for the writing of derivatives; *Distinction*, his term for punctuation and accents; *Enfranchisement*, which prescribes the spelling of foreign loans; and *Prerogatiue*, which prescribes the use of traditional orthography, rather than the use of new graphs (106).

Mulcaster describes how writing, originally based on sound, was later affected by *reason*, 'to consider what wilbe most agréable vpon cause', and *custom*, 'to confirm that by experience and prouf, which reason should like best' (68); and one aim of his work was to show in some detail how an originally phonemic writing-system evolved into one where usage and convention played a major part.

Mulcaster's is a highly detailed and theoretical work which sets out rules which are still in use for, among other things, the doubling of consonants to indicate a preceding short vowel, and the doubling of vowels, or the use of final <e>, to indicate the long vowels |oː| and |eː|. Mulcaster also proved successful in his major aim of confirming the acceptability of a single graph as representing several phonemes, without the introduction of any new characters. He points out (92) that one word, such as *light*, has more than one meaning; so, therefore, may one letter represent more than one sound. Distinction should be made if necessary by the use of accents (93); 'I take it', he says with reference to the letters of the alphabet, 'we maie rest content both with their number and their vse.' Not only, therefore, did Mulcaster establish the traditional alphabet as the norm, used in accordance with orthographical rules, he also provided a word-list in the 'Generall table' (170–225), giving recommended spellings for nearly 9,000 of 'those words, which we commonlie vse in our hole speche' (163), exemplifying in this list the seven principles which he had already set forth as the basis for correct orthography.

While the *Elementarie* remains the most detailed and sustained critique of English orthography of any period, Mulcaster was not alone in considering the topic, on a theoretical basis, before a standardised orthography had been established in the later seventeenth century. He was, however, undoubtedly the most influential, not directly, but through the works of school teachers and grammarians. Another linguist who might have been influential, had his work been printed at the time, was aware of the special problems which faced speakers of Scottish English when attempting to formulate an appropriate orthography, noting several differences between the speech of North and South. This was Alexander Hume (1925 [c. 1617]: 10, 20), who points out in his *Of the orthographie and congruitie of the Britan tongue* that there is 'sik uncertentie in our men's wryting, as if a man wald indyte one letter to tuentie of our best wryteres, nae tuae of the tuentie, without conference, wald agree (editorial punctuation). Like Mulcaster, he seems to be directing his words at the private writer rather than the printer; but his work could have had only limited influence, perhaps among his friends and family, since it was not published until the nineteenth century.

It seems to have aimed, like Mulcaster's, at a consistent orthography, rather than a totally phonetic one; the other two spelling reformers who were his near contemporaries in England were concerned with improving English orthography by the introduction of new phonetic symbols, but they were of such a degree of complexity that they could have had no chance of success. These spelling reformers were Alexander Gil, who followed Richard Mulcaster as Head Master of St Paul's (where Mulcaster went after he had already spent some time at Merchant Taylors'), and a country vicar, Charles Butler. Like Hart and Bullokar before them, both Gil and Butler published, not only commentaries on English orthography, but specimen texts which have proved of greater interest and value to twentieth-century historical linguists than to their contemporaries.

During this period, Mulcaster's attempt at providing a consistent orthographical system on traditional lines was reinforced in three ways. The first of these was the provision of lists of homophones, which appeared in practically every grammar, reader and spelling-book after the publication of Charles Butler's grammar in 1633. It was recognised that students' pronunciation, however 'standard', provided no guide to determining the spelling of either one of a pair of homophones, and that to spell correctly *vale* or *veil*, for example, it was necessary to commit to memory the appropriate spelling. Growing awareness of the importance of homophones is suggested by the fact that the word is first recorded at this time in Cockeram's dictionary (1623) as '*Homophon*. Of one sound'; and not only genuine homophones, but near homophones were listed (1623: sig. F2. r.). Richard Hodges, for example, one of the most popular of spelling teachers, lists among the latter (1653: 24–39) pairs such as *all one/alone*, *ant/aunt*, *barrow/borrow*, *boasters/bolsters*, as well as providing numerous exemplificatory sentences such as 'Shee did *earn* her bread with spinning of *yarn*' (39). Many of these examples, like this one, also illustrate non-standard pronunciations, sometimes described as 'vicious' or 'barbarous'.

A second means by which a 'traditional' spelling was reinforced was the inclusion in textbooks of lists of words whose pronunciation differed considerably from their accepted spelling, as well as lists of words where a stigmatised regional pronunciation was frequently heard. Coote pointed out as early as 1596 the numerous mistakes in spelling caused by a regional accent; among his successors (though occasionally an opponent, as in 1640: 24) was Simon Daines, a Suffolk schoolmaster, who objected to the Northern 'abuse' of <i> (6) and the omission by some speakers of <l> in *half* and *calf* (26). Comments on the disparity between regional or 'vulgar'

pronunciation and correct spelling became much more common, however, after the Restoration in 1660.

A third means of reinforcing Mulcaster's advocacy of traditional spelling originated in his own proposals for a dictionary which would guide the user not only to the meaning but also to the spelling of words, and it was in this period that monolingual dictionaries of English were first published. Mulcaster's own word-list of some 9,000 items was unglossed; it was followed by a much shorter, though glossed, list by Edmund Coote (1596), who although apparently inspired by Mulcaster , differed from him quite markedly in many of his choices in spelling – not always in the direction of more modern forms. The earliest specialist English-English dictionary was published by Cawdrey in 1604; the author claims (sig. A2 r.) to provide '*the true Orthography, that is, the true writing*' of many 'hard' words, and urges his readers to learn the order of the alphabet , so that they can use the book (sig. A4 v.). It was followed by the dictionaries of John Bullokar, who advises the reader to look for every word he seeks in the 'true Orthography' which appears in the book (1616: sig. A4 v.), Cockeram (1623), Blount (1656), and Phillips (1658), in the last two of which spelling approximates to that of the present day. The existence of such dictionaries accustomed their users, as Mulcaster phrased it (1582: 166), to 'the right writing , which is incident to the Alphabethe'. These dictionaries also accustomed their users to the spelling of homophone pairs (as Mulcaster's word-list had done through the inclusion of pairs with initial <gn> and <kn>) and to the vital importance of alphabetical order, as Coote (1596: 72–3) pointed out, not only in the initial letter, but throughout a word. Only with a consistent spelling for each entry would dictionaries become viable, although as late as Wharton (1654: 31) it was a cause for concern that 'there bee many words, wherein the best Dictionaries . . . differ' and it was desirable that 'they were all reduced to an uniformitie'.

This section does not take into account those parts of grammars which are concerned not with rules for correct spelling (except incidentally), but with setting out the phonetic values of each graph individually. Material of this kind is relevant to the discussion of historical phonology in chapter 3 below.

2.4.2 Grammarians, spelling reformers, and lexicographers; some views on punctuation and capitalisation

Parallel with the growth of concern with standardising English orthography, was that of interest in examining the functions and notation of

punctuation. Mulcaster devotes a chapter to what he calls 'Distinction', a term for what had earlier been called 'pointing' and which was first glossed by Huloet in 1552; he includes not only those marks generally regarded as denoting pause (*comma*, *colon* and *period*) but also *parenthesis*, *interrogation*, the *seuerer* (i.e. dieresis), the *vniter* (hyphen) and the *breaker* (parallel strokes joining words which begin at the end of one line and continue in the next); he has no exclamation mark or semicolon. He discusses the function of punctuation in marking not only pause but (in the case of parentheses) intonation, and includes among the marks of 'distinction' accents indicating tone and syllable length. Although Bullokar does not deal with punctuation in his English grammar of 1586, and Hume's remarks (including the odd comment that the comma is pronounced in reading 'with a short sob' (1925 [c. 1617]: 34) remained in manuscript, Charles Butler in his English grammar (1633) devotes a chapter to 'Of woords adjuncts'. He displays a keen insight into the function of punctuation, pointing out that it marks intonation and stress as well as pause, and notes – probably for the first time in an English text – the different intonation patterns associated with questions of two kinds, *wh-* or *yes/no*-questions (Salmon 1996 [1982]; Cram 1989). He does not assign a different form of question mark to each of these, however, although the printer Henry Denham (Parkes 1992: 53) had used two types in his Psalter of 1581, and Butler's German contemporary, Alsted, did so in his encyclopedia of 1630. He also names the square brackets (Hart's 'note') *parathesis*.

Published in 1640 (although the first version was written before Butler completed his grammar) was Ben Jonson's grammar of English, which is indebted to the French scholar, Peter Ramus, whose Latin grammar was translated into English in 1585. Like Ramus, Jonson includes the subdistinction or 'meane breathing', a mark which apparently denotes a pause less than that of a comma; Ramus marks the subdistinction by what the English translation calls 'a little rodde', although Jonson uses a semicolon (1947 [1640]: 551). Jonson also devotes some attention, in a chapter entitled 'Of apostrophs' (528–9), to the function of the apostrophe in marking elision at word-junctions of V + V/h (e.g. th'inward); he points out that such elisions are not usually expressed, either in printing or in writing, but he himself proposes to follow 'Natures call' and mark the occurrence of the phenomenon, as indeed he does in his dramatic works (cf. Jonson 1952: 202). The other English grammar of this period, Wharton's (1654), contains a chapter 'Of points', which is heavily indebted to Butler for distinguishing the

function of 'points' in denoting intonation patterns. Simon Daines, in discussing the correct pronunciation of English, also refers to 'the stops, or pauses' which, he says, are relevant to both a 'distinct and ready reading' as well as to 'right writing' (1640: 69). He relates the length of pause indicated by the various points to the pauses taught by his singing-master in reading music (71), and like Jonson describes in some detail the function of the apostrophe in marking what he calls the rhetorical figures of *aphæresis*, *syncope* and *apocope* (72). By 1660, therefore, nearly all the current punctuation marks had been noted by grammarians, spelling reformers or orthoepists; all of these writers seem uncertain about the exact function of the semicolon, and some of them refer to two marks which never gained a place in the canon of English punctuation, i.e. the *semi-comma* and the *semi-period*.

Not all grammarians of this time describe the function of capitals, but among those who do, one (Butler 1633: 4) distinguishes between capitals and 'vulgar' letters, and includes among the uses of the former the indication of 'appellatives', which he defines as terms of major importance in the discourse, such as 'Grammar', 'Word' and 'Letter'. Jonson, exceptionally, comments on the use of 'lesser' letters to 'make the fabricke of speech' (1947 [1640]: 467), while Wharton in his chapter 'Of letters' (1654: 22) remarks on the employment of capitals at the beginning of verses, and for the pronoun <I>.

2.4.3 Orthography in printed books

Comparison between the printed text of even a determined spelling reformer like Mulcaster, and one printed some seventy or eighty years later, shows far-reaching changes in the orthographic system in the direction of modernity. One of the most striking is the rejection of final <e> and doubled consonants where they no longer have a function; this practice may have been adopted by printers because of the emphatic advice of Hodges (1653: 42): 'Take heed that you never put a double consonant with an e, in the end of a word . . . you must not write such words as . . . *ladde*, *bedde*, *lidde* . . . but *lad*, *bed*, *lid*.' He notes, however, some words 'though there bee no reason for it' which retain double <s> and <e>, e.g. *glasse*, *blesse* (42–3). A second striking difference in the appearance of the later text is the firm establishment of <oa> where Mulcaster has only <o> + C + <e>. In general, the impression of modernity is created by, first, the replacement of final <ie> by <y> (except for monosyllables like *die*); Mulcaster advises the use of final <y> when the vowel is stressed as

in *deny*, *reply*, but <ie> when it is not, as in *prettie*, *orthographie*. This was one of the relatively few instances where Mulcaster's recommendations were finally rejected. Secondly, the orthography of printed books is modernised by the separation of the functions of <i> and <u> as vowels, from their use as consonants. This proposal had been made by the Italian printer Arrighi and the French grammarian Peter Ramus, and had been endorsed by English grammarians like Hart, Paul Greaves (1594), Thomas Hayward (Sloane 2609 British Library MS c. 1625) and the Scottish Hume (1925 [c. 1617]: 12–13); but it took many decades for it to be fully implemented by printers, possibly because of the strong influence of Latin orthography. In classical Latin, <u> and <v> were orthographic variants (the latter used for engraving on stone) of consonantal and vocalic /w/, /u/; in later Latin (c. 800 AD), consonantal /w/ was replaced by /v/ (as in church Latin), but a single graph was retained for what were now two independent phonemes. Also in classical Latin, <i> and <j> were orthographic variants for /i/ and /j/; the latter became /dʒ/ from about 800 AD. The single <j> occurred, instead of <i>, only as a means of marking clearly the end of a Roman numeral, e.g. <iij>. In Old English a separate graph for <v> was not included in the alphabet, since the consonant occurred only as an allophone of intervocalic /f/ (though it was occasionally indicated by <u>). It was a phoneme in French, however, and became established as a phoneme in English through the introduction of loan words from French such as *vine*, *valley*. It was introduced into English orthography by medieval scribes trained in the French tradition, but no attempt was made in Middle English to assign the graphs <u> and <v> consistently to separate phonemes. Instead, it became customary to use <v> initially and <u> medially, whichever of the two phonemes was denoted. This custom continued in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English printing, until the distinction was made in the 1630s; Thomas Dawks, a printer writing in 1685, remarks that he first noticed the distinction in England in a book printed in Cambridge in 1634. A slightly different situation obtained with <i> and <j> where, although /dʒ/ occurred as a phoneme in Old English, it was denoted by a combination of graphs, i.e. <cʒ>. This phoneme occurred in early French as a derivative of late Latin consonantal <i>; it has now changed to /ʒ/. English printers replaced OE <c> by <dg>, so that the two variant graphemes became available, <j> as in *jest*, *jump* but <dg> as in *bridge* and *hedge*. As in the case of <u> and <v>, the distinctive use of <j> and <i> appeared in the book noted above which was published in 1634 (Salmon 1986: xliv).

2.4.4 Punctuation and capitalisation in printed books

During this period a number of new punctuation marks were introduced, which were intended for the convenience of the reader rather than for that of the listener; punctuation ceases to be regarded primarily as a guide to the spoken language, and becomes an aid to clarity in the printed word. The period is one of experiment and uncertainty in the use of some of these punctuation marks, which, to some extent, depends on the preference of the individual compositor.

One of the most important of these new marks is the semicolon, in more and more frequent use after about 1580. Colon and semicolon are used almost interchangeably, although one compositor working on the Shakespeare folio of 1623 appears to have a definite preference for the newer mark.

Another punctuation mark, noted by Hart, but not found frequently until the 1590s, is the *note of admiration* or exclamation mark, which sometimes becomes confused with the *note of interrogation* (the question mark). Printers find it necessary, as Luckombe remarks (1771: 270), to take care about punctuating with an exclamation or a question mark when a sentence is ambiguous. As he notes 'Exclamations are sometimes mistaking for Interrogations.' This uncertainty in the use of the two punctuation marks is found quite frequently in the Shakespeare Folio of 1623, and in view of Luckombe's comment must clearly have remained as a source of confusion until the later eighteenth century.

A third punctuation mark, the apostrophe, was introduced (possibly from France) in the mid-sixteenth century. It is now regularly used by what both Hume (1925 [c. 1617]: 23) and Jonson describe as 'the learned' sort of printer, Hume regarding its use to mark certain forms of elision as typically Northern, e.g. *he's*, *I'l* and *ship'l* (= 'ship full'), and Jonson noting with regret its frequent omission through negligence (1947 [1640]: 528). It is used to mark elision of vowels, although one of the transcribers of copy for the 1623 Shakespeare Folio, Ralph Crane, seems to use it also to mark the singular genitive of possession, indicating what was believed to be the vowel of *his* (now identical in pronunciation with the genitive singular in words like *watches*). This incorrect belief was still held in the early eighteenth century (see Lass this volume), Addison, for example, claiming (1987 [1711]: 34) that <s> often 'does the Office of a whole Word, and represents the *His* and *Her* of our Forefathers'; and many printers – presumably those who were not of the 'learned' sort – used it in the most extraordinary places, for example, before any final <s>, <st> or <d> as in *expre'st* and

lou'd (Cairncross 1972: 378). Correctly or otherwise, the apostrophe appears very frequently in dramatic works, not only those of Shakespeare (cf. Sicherman 1982: 174) but also those of Beaumont, Fletcher and Jonson himself, as an indicator of the elisions of colloquial speech (cf. Farnham 1916).

Also said to be introduced by 'learned printers' is the hyphen, a term first recorded by Hume and described by him (1925 [c. 1617]: 23) as a 'band uniting whol wordes joined in composition' as in *hand-maed* and *tongue-tyed*. As is still the case, it is not always clear whether a word is a compound, and should be explicitly denoted as such by the use of a hyphen; but certainly, printers of the early seventeenth century found themselves in great difficulties in using this punctuation mark. There are many examples in the 1623 folio of fairly correct use, but many others where it is clearly wrong, for example, *a-part*, *with-draw*, *down-right*, *threw-off*, although there are many cases where a hyphen seems appropriate, e.g. *newes-cram'd*.

A fifth item of punctuation introduced in this period is a specific means of marking direct speech. Earlier in the sixteenth century it was indicated by a colon or parentheses at the beginning and (sometimes) end of the citation; possibly as a result of French practice, double commas were later introduced to mark the beginning of quotations. Luckombe (1771: 266) attributes the invention of 'inverted commas' to a Frenchman, Guillemet (which is, in fact, a hypocoristic form of <Guillaume>; this is still, of course, the current terminology in French); they appear in English in the 1590s, and are used only at the beginning of quotations. There are many examples in the Shakespeare Folio of 1623; the current usage was not established until the end of the period, although what is most frequently found is the use of double commas at the beginning of quotations, and repeated at the beginning of every line of the quotation. The term 'inverted commas' is first recorded in 1824 (*OED*), though it was used by Luckombe (1771: 266), and 'quotation mark' in 1897 (*OED*), although found much earlier in Jones (1701).

Finally, this period sees the incorporation into the text of various devices which direct the reader's attention to important points, or help to clarify the text. Such devices are braces, asterisks, crotchets (square brackets) as well as carets, obelisks and double vertical lines in the margin. Moreover, it sees the increasing use of capitalisation, not only for proper names as in the earlier sixteenth century, but also for terms of address (*Father*, *Cozen*, *Niece*, *Mistris*, *Vncle*), for titles (*Leige*, *Sir*, *Duke*, *Lady*), for personification (*Fortune*, *Nature*) and for emphasis ([You] *Traitors*!).

2.4.5 Orthography in manuscripts

As in the previous period, writers of private letters and other documents do not yet apparently feel obliged to standardise their orthography, even though grammarians were trying to stress the desirability of their doing so. For example Clement (1587) claims on his title page to teach both children and the 'vnperfect' to be able to write English 'aright', but laments (4) that '*right spelling is but the least parte*, *or rather no part counted of learning*'. There are many, he points out, who cannot '*readilie spell nor rightly write euen the common wordes of our Englishe*'. The address to the reader from which this comment is taken is dated 1576, before the publication of the *Elementarie*, but the words are retained in the edition published in 1587, and presumably are still relevant. One of the best-known instances of the contrast between manuscript spelling and the same passage in print is a manuscript of a translation of *Orlando Furioso* by Sir John Harington; this shows that Harington's orthography was modernised by the printer, Richard Field, who published the manuscript in 1591. Field removes some of Harington's final <e>s, for example, *am/ame*, *wroth/wrothe*, *toung/towngе*, and superfluous double consonants as in *sin/sinne*. Field also replaces some occurrences of <y> with <i> for example, *vile/vyle*, *time/tyme*, although Field's orthography was by no means more modern than Harington's in every case (Scragg 1974: 70).

In spite of Clement's criticisms, it seems that those who were literate, even those of a higher social status, do not concern themselves greatly with 'correct' spelling, a topic which seems to have created some mirth. In *Much Adoe*, for example, the lovesick Claudio is mocked because he has 'turnd ortography' and his words are a 'very fantasticall banquet, iust so many strange dishes' (Wells & Taylor 1986: 618). Something of this casual attitude to orthography may be seen in the remark made by Humphrey King in about 1613 (McKnight 1968 [1928]: 220) who calls himself 'a very bad writer of orthography' who can scarcely spell his *abc* 'if it were laid before me'. Nevertheless, educated men were in the process of rejecting unnecessary doubled consonants and final <e>s, as is shown in a letter written in 1609 by Lord Burghley, which is described as a 'hastily dashed-off note' (Whalley 1969: No. 9). It reflects Burghley's pronunciation, however, in spellings like *saruice*, *saruicable*; but even when the spelling is old-fashioned, it is usually consistent. For example, the following words appear with the same spelling in every case: *vpon*, *honnor*, *mutch*, *roome*. This letter may be compared with one written by Charles I in October 1644 (Whalley 1969: No. 14) which differs from that of Burghley only in the occasional loss of final <e>, but also retains an unusual spelling *perceaue* as well as the use of

<u> for medial <v>. It was precisely in this year that there was published a text which must have had the most profound influence on the regularisation of English spelling; this was a work by Richard Hodges called *The English Primrose*, one of four texts which Hodges used to introduce beginners to the English spelling system, in this one by the use of the normal alphabet with diacritics. After 1644, all those who had any pretensions to education at all could have made use of *The English Primrose* and Hodges' other works with great profit to the normalisation of their orthography. At this period, what becomes particularly noticeable is the disparity, even greater than in the previous period, between men and women. While men's spelling seems to make some movement in the direction of modernisation, if only through their greater acquaintance with the spelling in the original Latin of loan words, women's spelling now seems to be totally illiterate, and largely based on phonetic principles. This is the case, for example with the letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, written between 1625 and 1643 which may be compared with a manuscript written by the Duke of Newcastle (1592–1676) and described in detail by Sönmez (1993).

2.4.6 Punctuation and capitalisation in manuscripts

As before, punctuation appears to depend even more than orthography on individual preference, but it also depends on the type of manuscript being punctuated, its purpose, and consequently the degree of its formality. One type of manuscript of which, it has been argued, the punctuation is extremely important, is that written by the playwright, and in particular, by Shakespeare. The only dramatic manuscript extant which might possibly be in his hand is that of part of the play *Sir Thomas More* (McKnight 1968 [1928]: 192); this shows frequent use of commas, but very little else. But the punctuation of the printed texts is so erratic in places that some critics have seen it as a reflection of the dramatist's own system of marking pauses for dramatic purposes. This theory was set out in 1911 by Percy Simpson, whose views formerly found many supporters; but it is now generally agreed that the punctuation is that of the individual compositors, whose own preferences led to many different forms of punctuation within a single play-text – often very erratic indeed. A second type of punctuation is exhibited in scholarly writing, which, if not adequately punctuated, might be corrected by another scholar before printing. Evidence comes from a statement by a clergyman-author in 1603 that he had personally corrected a manuscript in which, he said, there are '*(as I thinke) not two lynes puncted right*' (Salmon 1988 [1962]: 49). In this case, it was obviously expected that the compositor would

follow copy, presumably because it was a scholarly text. The result is a printed text which uses semicolons and colons, the latter before items in a list, before 'that is' or 'to wit' (modern i.e.) and to introduce direct speech. Commas are very frequent indeed, being used especially to separate the subject from the verb, and terms of address from the sentence. Punctuation is quite clearly used with syntactic function. A similar use appears to be reflected in a manuscript written about 1630, recording a debate between two schoolmasters. This manuscript is noteworthy for the frequent use of colons where a semicolon would now be expected (Salmon 1988 [1964]: 82).

The third type of manuscript to note here is the informal letter; two examples provided by Whalley, from 1609 and 1644 (1969: Nos. 9 and 14), show, in the former, the extensive use of commas, but colons only to mark abbreviations (e.g. *Lo*: 'lord'). The other letter, written by Charles I (1644), exemplifies the use of both semicolons and colons for syntactic purposes, as well as the frequent use of commas to mark off phrases.

A fourth type of manuscript is that of the non-dramatic literary work intended for the printer; a detailed study has been made of Milton's verse manuscripts by Creaser (1984), who argues that Milton 'unlike many authors of the period' (45) was concerned about punctuation.

In all these types of manuscript, capitalisation is irregular; the letter of 1609 does not always follow a period with a capital, while the letter of 1644 places a capital after a colon. Capitalisation is used in all texts to indicate important items, such as the reference to *Marching and Foote* (soldiers) in the letter of 1644.

2.5 Orthography and punctuation, 1661–1776

2.5.1 Grammarians, spelling reformers and lexicographers: some views on orthography

The restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of English orthography. There now develops a major discrepancy between, on the one hand, the orthography of printers and their compositors, and on the other, that of private individuals. As one printer, Joseph Moxon, reports, the compositor is expected to be acquainted with the 'traditional' orthography which is still in current use, and to be able to '*discern and amend the bad* Spelling *and* Pointing *of his* Copy' (1962 [1958: 1683–4]: 192); the ability to spell and punctuate now becomes a matter of professional and technical expertise, while the scholar and gentleman is still free to use, within reason, his own spelling system. But influences were already at work which were eventually to drive the amateur

writer into conformity with the printers' standard; one of these must have been the impact by 1661 of Richard Hodges' immensely popular spelling-books, in which he had argued that it was desirable to have 'a greater uniformitie, both in our speaking and writing, not onely in words of this kinde, [*enquire/inquire*, *enform/inform*] but also in many other (1653: 61); and he sets out, with detailed examples, quite specific rules for spelling in a section entitled 'Many other most plain directions for true-writing in general' (42–65). From now on, there is an ever-increasing spate of textbooks designed to teach what is described as 'right' or 'true' spelling (cf. Fox & Hooke 1673; Anon. 1704b; Baker 1724). Such works were supplemented in the early eighteenth century by word-lists which aimed only at teaching spelling and accentuation, such as Thomas Dyche's *A Dictionary of all the Words commonly us'd in the English Tongue* (1723) which provides no definitions, and the second version of which (1725) proclaims itself to be simply *The spelling dictionary*. Such works were constantly reprinted, as were also, for example, John Newbery's *An easy spelling dictionary* (1745) and Daniel Fenning's *The universal spelling-book* (1756).

The continuing need for such textbooks, already noticed in the previous period, was due mainly to two causes; one, as Miège remarked (1688: 107), was that there were particular words 'the Pronunciation whereof Time has altered, without altering the Way of Spelling'; and the other was the continuing obligation (as it was seen) to distinguish between homophones in the written language. Some spelling-books amounted to little more than lists of homophone pairs; others were more systematic, setting out rules for 'the *better* Understanding of (*especially*) the *English* orthography' (Hunt 1661: title page). Such rules had gradually been refined since Mulcaster's original compilation, and most of them have survived to the present, for example, junction rules for <y> + <i>, <y> + <e> (cf. *dying*, but *dies*), doubling of consonants to indicate preceding short vowels (*bid*, but *bidding*) and the use of final <e> to mark a preceding long vowel or diphthong. Other rules advised a return to classical sources in words borrowed from French, where the final syllable was spelt <*-ique*>, and was remodelled and spelt *-ic* from Latin <*-icus*>. Such rules were set out in detail from Alexander Hume onwards.

Proposals for major reforms in orthography were not lacking in this period, one of the earliest being that put forward by John Wilkins, who intended his phonetic alphabet to be incorporated in his universal philosophical language (1668). Another unknown writer (Anon. 1711) adopted a semi-phonetic spelling based on roman characters; yet another grammarian taught 'correct' spelling by means of incorporating 'incorrect' spellings

in sets of verses, where the pupil is required to correct the mistakes (Baker 1724). But there is only one grammarian whose proposed spelling reforms stood any chance of success, and were in fact adopted in print for a time; this was James Howell, who, like Mulcaster eight decades previously, proposed the rationalisation of traditional spelling rather than the introduction of new characters. Before the beginning of this period, Howell had explained his orthographic system in an address on spelling-reform 'To the intelligent reader' (1645: § VI 93), but the most explicit expression of his rules came in his English grammar (1662: 83–6). His stated intention was to eliminate redundancy in English orthography, so that he advised, for example, the abandonment of <g> in the combination <gh>, as in *chouh*, *couh* and *trouh*, <c> in *pikle*, *tikle* and <t> in *wit(t)*, *hit(t)*, *bit(t)*. Few of his proposals had any lasting success, though it is worth noting that his remodelled spelling of *mee*, *hee*, *shee*, *yee* with doubled <e> (84–5) might have influenced Milton, who used such spellings in his own manuscripts (cf. Treip 1970; Creaser 1983–4) in conformity with Wallis's recommendation (1972 [1653]: 239); but in spite of much controversy, it has never been proved that the spelling had any special significance for him. Respellings, phonetic or otherwise, were assailed by Addison, Steele, Defoe and Swift, who all objected to making the written language represent exactly the spoken one, because of possible variations in pronunciation.

For most of this period, however, grammarians and spelling reformers were concerned more with setting out the rules of a standard spelling, than discussing theoretical considerations about the relationship between speech and writing; it came to be fully recognised, however, and explicitly noted, that there were 'two very different *Languages* . . . in common Use; one that is spoke . . . and another . . . which is writ and printed . . . spoken *Language* is always easily learnt sufficiently, and without Charge, yet many Years Schooling are not sufficient to learn to read, and write, and spell . . . the Word we speak (*faurin*) who knows how to spell it rightly? whether *foreign*, or *foraign*, or *forein*, or *forain*, or *forreign*, or *forrein*, or *forrain*' (Anon. 1711: 2). This author's unrealistic remedy is 'To spell as we speak', but his cause was already lost.

2.5.2 Grammarians, spelling reformers and lexicographers; some views on punctuation and capitalisation

Once the problem of orthography had been largely solved, grammarians turned to a detailed analysis of the forms and function of punctuation and capitalisation, and for the first time treatises appear in print which are

devoted solely to the topics. The first of these was composed by a schoolmaster, Mark Lewis (?1672), whose major contribution to punctuation theory was not to propose new rules, but to show the importance of punctuation in syntactic analysis; as his title shows, he aimed at 'reading Sentences grammatically', and it seems likely that his emphasis on phrase and clause marking by commas and semicolons was partly instrumental in leading to the eighteenth-century custom of using very heavy punctuation. It was accepted at the time (Miège 1687: 18) that it was essential to represent the pauses of speech in writing, but that punctuation was a topic 'which few People understand'. Miège comments, incidentally, on the use of brackets 'prodigalement' in English (1685: 117), and notes (1687: 20) that parentheses in French 'especially long-winded ones' are 'quite out of doors; and, of late Years, they begin to be out of date amongst the best English Writers'. From now on, authors of English grammars devoted much space to setting out explicit rules for the use of punctuation marks, although several continue the long-standing tradition of illustrating the importance of punctuation in disambiguating texts, especially religious ones. The anonymous grammarian (1704a: sig. A2 r.), for example, illustrates the wrong location, or absence, of commas in '*Christ saith, St. Peter died for us*' (cf. Salmon 1988: 288–90).

Especially full descriptions are given by Cooper (1687: 116), who retains the semicolon 'to take away doubtfulness when words are put out of their Grammatical Order', and John Jones, who distinguishes two kinds of punctuation marks – those marking pause and those 'directive for other *Uses*' (1701: 141, 142). Jones also gives unusually full directions for the use of 'turned double commas', the punctuation for which he uses the modern term *Quotation Mark* (1701: 143–4), explaining that <"> must be used at the beginning of every line, though not apparently at the end of the quotation. One of the major problems, however, took longer to solve; as Maittaire noted (1712: 192) 'The Colon or Semicolon are often put indifferently', and it is clear that few grammarians had any real idea how they were to be used. By this time two other treatises on punctuation had appeared (Anon. 1680 and Monteith 1704); a third, by Ward, appeared in 1724, and a general account of punctuation was published by the printer Luckombe in 1771. Luckombe made the interesting note that not all material is pointed alike, there being differences in punctuation for historical and narrative subjects, explanatory matter and English Statute Law (263). The last topic was of special interest to lawyers like Burrow (1768, 1771).

Another influence which led to the over-generous use of commas was the production of treatises demonstrating how to speak effectively in

public. Such treatises often included sections on punctuation; among the best-known of such works was Thomas Sheridan's *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (1762) in which Lecture V dealt with the topic 'Of Pauses or Stops' – a subject on which he finds that printers and writers are very inaccurate (79). By the second half of the eighteenth century, much emphasis is placed by self-styled grammarians, such as John Walker (1785), on the rhetorical function of punctuation; a large section of his so-called grammar (really a guide to public speaking) is entitled 'Rhetorical Punctuation' (38–67), but in fact the function of punctuation in marking pause and intonation is also dealt with elsewhere in the volume. These so-called 'rhetorical grammars' developed in the first half of the eighteenth century, possibly from Isaac Watts's 'Directions for Reading' (1721: 47–54) onwards (cf. Kemp 1985). Even before Watts, however, Maitaire's grammar of 1712 included a short section on *The Voice* (239–40) but does not relate his recommendations to the indication of pause and stress provided by punctuation marks. During this period grammarians were much concerned with the proper use of the apostrophe to mark the genitive form of the noun. In this case, printers were more progressive than grammarians, who were still inclined to regard it as marking only elision. By the early eighteenth century, they accepted it as a marker of the singular possessive, but Priestley's *Rudiments of Grammar* (1761) provided the first clear acknowledgement that it could also be used with plural nouns (Sklar 1976 gives a detailed account of the debate on the use of the apostrophe).

The rules for capitalisation prescribed by spelling-books of this period have been discussed in detail by Osselton (1985), who shows that the categories where it is recommended are gradually extended to include items such as branches of study and virtues and vices. One author whom he cites (57) was so anxious not to overlook any possible reason for capitalisation that, admitting that he could not think of any more, he proposed to leave further categories to the writer's 'fancy'. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, orthoepists and grammarians reduced the number of categories, in apparent opposition to the printers' growing custom of capitalising every noun.

2.5.3 Orthography in printed books

While printers in general had adopted a standardised orthography by the beginning of this period, some were apparently willing to accept their authors' preferences in making use of a modified form of spelling; soon after the publication of Howell's grammar, one such author, or editor, had

induced an unnamed printer (probably an Englishman resident in the Netherlands) to follow some of Howell's recommendations in printing *The Arrainment of Christendom*; the author was one John Philly, and the 'Corrector', who wrote a preface explaining the spelling system, signed himself 'N.Y.'; this, according to Alston (1974: 1644) was John Dury, the Protestant educational reformer. The orthography is not particularly revolutionary, but it is of some interest because it appears, in the light of later events, to have come closer than any other reformed spelling to becoming accepted as a seventeenth-century standard. It follows Howell's prescription of rejecting superfluous letters, in particular, unnecessary doubled consonants and final <e>; some examples of the spelling are *fulnes*, *dredful*, *shal*, *spel-ing*, *rys*, *fals*, *temp*, *tongu*, *mor*, *tym*, *hat*. Other modifications include the rejection of <g>, as in *throuh*, *plouh*, *tauht*, and /p/ as in *contemt*, *consumtion*, as well as the use of accents to indicate, for example, long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. *sâk*, *nâm*, *hôps*, *púr*, *spréd* (cf. Levin 1984).

As Alston points out, Dury had already used a modified spelling system in a text published in 1651; what is of greater interest is that a comparable system was used by the Oxford Press in the 1670s. Just as there had been an attempt at introducing a reformed spelling by publishers exactly a century previously, so now the Oxford Press printed a number of works, especially anonymous ones now attributed to Richard Allestree, and an edition of the Bible (1675); typical spellings were *abridg*, *al*, *meeknes* and *shal* (Madan 1926: 127). This simplified spelling was apparently due to John Fell, Dean of Christ Church and supervisor of the press; a letter from an Oxford scholar reports that he 'hath taken the liberty of inventeing a new way of spelleing . . . which I thinke will confound and alter the analogy of the English tongue' (Carter 1975: 72). Use of the system so outraged opponents that one of them published an anonymous attack entitled *Friendly advice to the correctour of the English Press at Oxford concerning the English orthographie* (Anon. 1682). In this text the writer, who argues cogently against all Fell's 'reforms', claims that, during the Commonwealth, an attempt to legitimise such spellings had been made in an '*Act in behalf of all Clerks and Notaries, whereby they have libertie, to Shorten, dash, or contract any words, for avoiding of false English, as heretofore in Latine*' (Anon. 1682: 3). But such orthography had become 'antiquated', to the extent that a bookseller in London had been unable to sell the Oxford Bible of 1675 because of its 'heterodox' spelling (Anon. 1682: 5). Addressing this attack to the 'corrector' may have been ironic, since, according to Carter (1975: 257), the press did not employ a 'corrector' at the time; Fell himself must have been the intended recipient. There appear to have been no further publications in this 'reformed'

orthography, in spite of the fact that a spelling-book listed in Alston (1974: 1673) of which only a fragment of printers' waste remains, was published in 1675 and uses the reformed system, as in *poseing*, *pitty*, *edg*, *giv*, *labl*; and spelling reform proved unpopular in the eighteenth century in spite of one or two attempts, including one by Benjamin Franklin just after the end of this period. Johnson's dictionary (1755) came to be regarded as the arbiter of English orthography; generally, his authority has reinforced a choice in doubtful spellings, but we do not always follow his prescriptions in spelling the general class of nouns in *or/our*, and we certainly now reject the spelling of *musick*, *Gothick*, and similar forms (cf. Osselton 1985). Johnson sets out the principles which will guide his spelling in the *Dictionary* in his *Plan* (1724: 9–12); while admitting the 'great orthographical contest' which has long existed between etymology and pronunciation, he claims that the dictionary will reflect 'the present usage' even though on occasion it is inaccurate.

2.5.4 Punctuation and capitalisation in printed books

In 1661, nearly all the punctuation marks in common use now were known, but there were some differences in form and function. Quotation marks are used by the end of the period to enclose short passages, with 'turned' or 'reversed' commas (Watts 1721: 43) at the beginning, and raised commas at the end. The difference from modern usage is that, for lengthy quotations, 'turned commas' appear at the beginning of every line, with double raised commas at the end of the quotation (cf. Parkes 1992: 59). Secondly, the function of the colon is still unclear; some grammarians (e.g. Watts 1721: 40) claim that it represents a pause longer than that of the semicolon (although Watts also admits that one is often used for the other); but its near redundancy was beginning to lead to its gradual adoption in the specific function of introducing lists or quotations. Thirdly, by the end of the first half of the eighteenth century printers used the apostrophe to mark the genitive plural as well as the singular (cf. Sklar 1976); and fourthly, the dash is introduced in its modern function (from about 1730). The function of punctuation was increasingly to separate phrases within the sentence, so that a noun phrase functioning as subject or object of the verb is often separated by a comma. Capitalisation underwent a major development during this period, as Osselton (1985) has shown; Moxon (1962 [1683–4]: 212–13, 216) instructs the compositor to use various devices, particularly initial capitals, to indicate proper names and 'Words of emphasis'; but more and more frequently, nouns were capitalised, whether they

were proper nouns or not. The custom probably grew up because printers themselves were uncertain about when capitals were appropriate, and so tended to capitalise all nouns without distinction, and purely for aesthetic reasons. As Jones remarks (1701: 19), 'the *Printers* do now use great *Letters* for all, or most *Nouns Substantives* [. . .] for Ornament's sake'. By mid-century, however, there was a sudden cessation of this trend; grammarians were already opposed because the failure of printers to distinguish particular words by capitals 'hinders that expressive beauty, and remarkable distinction intended by a capital' (Tuite 1726: 7). This change in the use of capitals has been fully charted by Osselton (1985).

2.5.5 The orthography of manuscripts

Just before the beginning of this period, there is evidence that like Howell, not all writers were content to use irregular orthography in their private correspondence, but looked for a more standardised form of spelling. Charles Longland, for example, resident in Leghorn in the 1650s, wrote many letters to colleagues in Cromwell's diplomatic service in what appears to be Howell's reformed orthography, including forms like *leav*, *fals*, *wil* (rejecting final <e> and doubled consonants) and more 'phonetic' spellings, like *siems*, *piple* (Longland 1742 [1655–6]: IV 674ff.). Nevertheless, the orthography of private documents continued to differ from that used by printers, but begins to attract contempt: Cooper (1687: 79) remarked on the 'unskilfulness' of these authors; Care (1687: Preface) comments on the '*Ridiculous Errors in* Spelling' – a defect which '*exposes them to the Raillery of Others*'; and he argues (1687: sig. A2 r.) that it is not necessary to know the classics, as some have claimed, in order to spell English correctly; he knows 'diverse' writers who have learnt to spell correctly, being ignorant of Latin, simply by observation. An anonymous schoolmaster (Anon. 1704a: sig. A3 r.) notes that many '*affect to* Speak fine', but is surprised that '*so* few *should endeavour* to Write English *tolerably* true'; they claim that they can write well enough to serve their turn.

Nearly two decades later, Watts (1721: xvii) restricts his criticism to the spelling of the 'unlearned'; partly because they are '*utter Strangers to the Derivation of Words from foreign Languages*', they produce such a '*hideous Jumble of Letters* . . . that neither the Vulgar nor the Learned can *guess what they mean*'. A paraphrase appears in what Alston describes as undoubtedly the most popular and most frequently reprinted of eighteenth-century English spelling-books (Dilworth 1751 [1740]), although he does not restrict his censure to the 'unlearned'. The raillery of grammarians seems to have had

little effect; even the social disadvantages of poor spelling, stressed by Addison, Steele and Defoe, seemed to be no more effective. Defoe points out, however (1890 [1729]: 16–17), that although English gentlemen cannot spell 'their mother tongue', it is commonly argued that correct orthography is of no importance to elder sons, who will inherit the family estate. Only younger sons need concern themselves with it. Steele (1987 [1709]: 145) even draws attention to the practical problems of incorrect spelling on signposts: 'Many a Man', he says, 'has lost his Way and his Dinner by this general Want of Skill in Orthography.' Swift was particularly irritated by the use of contracted forms such as *can't*, *shan't*, *didn't* (McKnight 1968 [1928]: 313–18); Haugland 1995). What is so extraordinary is that these critics, in their private correspondence, were guilty of similar errors (Neumann 1944), Defoe himself being a case in point. The manuscript of his *Compleat English Gentleman* (not published until 1890) was distinguished by many eccentric spellings, such as *hormony*, *ecclypst*, *peice* and *propogate*; the sixteen printed proof-pages which survive have been corrected in another hand to a more standard spelling. Even Johnson was content to use such unconventional forms as *enervaiting*, *peny* (Osselton 1963: 174). In spite of the grammarians' objections, it seems that, as Chesterfield remarked in 1754, there are 'two very different orthographies, the PEDANTIC, and the POLITE'. As far as women were concerned, their spelling continued to be neither pedantic nor polite but simply phonetic (McKnight 1968 [1928]: 311–12).

2.5.6 Punctuation and capitalisation in manuscripts

As in the previous period, punctuation and capitalisation continued to be largely idiosyncratic, although there was ample opportunity for writers to obtain guidance on 'correct' punctuation from the many grammarians who followed Lewis after his detailed discussion of the phenomenon in 1672. It is clear that, in manuscripts intended for publication, punctuation was largely left to the printer, since Moxon (1962 [1683–4]: 215), in advising the compositor how to punctuate, says that 'the Rules for these [marks] having been taught in many School-books' he need only refer his reader to them: this is further testimony to the influence of grammarians on the normalisation of English orthography (cf. Dobson 1968: 187). Defoe provides a further illustration of the discrepancy between private and compositorial practice; as his editor notes (1890 [1729]: xix), Defoe hardly ever uses commas, and rarely a full stop, while capitals appear to be used at random – and not always even after a period. In brief, one can only say that it was

customary for individual writers to use far too many capitals and commas, and sometimes to replace a period by a comma where it would be incorrect.

2.6 Conclusion

In the development of a standard form of orthography and punctuation, these three centuries were undoubtedly the most important. Whether the development was a successful one is still open to question; if it is to be judged on its reflection of the spoken language, it is certainly not. The major difficulty is that twentieth-century spelling reflects the pronunciation of English in the fifteenth century, so that, while most of the vowel graphs (except, notably, <u> for /ʌ/) represent the spoken equivalent in the case of short vowels, they are quite inadequate in the case of long vowels, owing to the operation of the GVS while spelling was being standardised. The consonant graphs represent more adequately their related phonemes, but they are defective in so far as they reflect nothing more than the attempt of medieval scribes to provide a notation for phonemes not found in the French tradition, or already inadequately reflected there also (e.g. <th>, <ch>, <sh>). This conservative orthography also retains graphs representing phonemes, such as /χ/, no longer in Southern English, and disappearing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as in combinations now lost, e.g. initial /wr/, /gn/, /kn/. Current English orthography does, however, benefit from the rules for marking long and short vowels by final <e> and doubled consonants, which were first clearly formulated by Mulcaster; and it also benefits from the rules for clarifying in handwriting morpheme junctions involving <v> and <i>. The rejection of comprehensive capitalisation in the eighteenth century has also been a boon in a language where the complexities of word order do not make it necessary to capitalise nouns in order to clarify the construction of a sentence, an advantage often claimed for such capitalisation in German.

NOTE

Orthography

Orthographia was the first of the four components of traditional grammars, and so named from at least the Middle Ages (Michael 1970: 35–6); it dealt with letters of the alphabet, syllables and spelling. It is first recorded in English in 1450 (*OED*) and first defined in 1616 as 'the art of writing words truely'. It is practically synon-

ymous with *spelling*, but refers more especially to the system as a whole rather than to the arrangement of letters of the alphabet in individual words. A more appropriate term for the study would be *graphology*, parallel with *phonology*, but the term has been pre-empted for the study of handwriting, rather than for the study of the use of graphic symbols (but cf. McIntosh 1961). It has been suggested that *orthography* should be the superordinate term, with *spelling* and *punctuation* as subordinates. For a discussion of these and similar points, see Mountford (1990). Daines (1640: 69) makes the perceptive remark that 'Orthographie and Orthoepie be necessarily so concomitant (as being impossible to be perfect in the one without the other)'.

FURTHER READING

2.1 A further discussion of possible relationships between spoken and written language appears in papers by Mountford (cited in the Bibliography), as well as in individual papers by Bolinger (1946) – still very valuable in spite of its date – and McIntosh (1961). Mountford (1976) deals especially with certain characteristic features of English orthography which developed in the sixteenth century, and are still operative, and general discussions over the whole area of present-day orthography appear in Venezky (1970) and Albrow (1972). Chomsky (1970) discusses some interesting theoretical questions relating to orthography and reading.

2.2 An interesting historical account of English orthography, as it developed in its social context, is in Scragg (1974), and is recommended to all students of the subject as a useful introduction to more detailed accounts or to individual texts (but see Kniezsa's 1992 critique of histories of orthography). Sixteenth-century ideas on English orthography are treated, as a concomitant to their analysis as phonological evidence, in Dobson (1968), and specific authors (Smith, Hart, Bullokar and Gil) should be consulted in the editions cited in the Bibliography. The work of other early linguistic scholars may most conveniently be studied in the facsimiles selected by Alston and published by him at the Scolar Press in the series English Linguistics (cited in the Bibliography as *EL* with the series number). For information about the location and availability of texts not in this series, readers should consult Alston's splendidly comprehensive and detailed bibliography (1974) of writings on the English language, 1500–1800. For theories of punctuation, part of Treip (1970) is relevant; for an account of the development of one specific feature see Salmon (1996 [1982]), and for a general account of punctuation theory 1500–1800 see Salmon (1988). See also Little (1984), Nunberg (1990), Parkes (1992) and Brutiaux (1995).

2.3 The state of English orthography when Caxton set up his press is exemplified in Davis (1959) and Lucas (1973), drawing on individual authors, while general accounts (which are essential reading) are provided in Fisher (1977, 1979). On Caxton himself see Blake (1965, 1973, 1976); and on the views of the printer

John Rastell, some forty years after Caxton's death, see Salmon (1989). Alston (1974) gives detailed bibliographical information about the works printed in 'reformed' spelling in the 1570s.

2.4 Mulcaster's *Elementarie* is essential reading for the specialist, supplemented by Coote (1596) and any other writers on orthography (e.g. Daines 1640), whose works may be available. Partridge (1964) offers a helpful account of Elizabethan orthography and punctuation, and Salmon (1988 [1962]) examines in detail the characteristics of two texts, one a scholarly work and the other the Shakespeare Folio of 1623. In this period the rules which should govern English orthography (e.g. at morpheme junctions) were taking shape; for their final form see especially Vallins rev. Scragg (1965).

2.5 The outstanding growth of literacy in this period depended on the continual publication of spelling-books, readers and spelling dictionaries, all listed in Alston (1974), with several discussed in Michael (1987). Attitudes to 'correct' spelling are described and exemplified by McKnight (1968). Most valuable are the papers by Osselton, cited in the Bibliography, since his conclusions are based on detailed statistical analysis of specific texts.

Much research needs to be done in this area; there is, for example, no detailed study of the development of English punctuation, in theory or practice, nor any detailed account of the gradual introduction of standard spelling in printed books. Blake (1965: 63) has drawn attention to the fact that few scholars have made any study of the language of early printers (other than that of Caxton) to determine how a trend to orthographical conformity developed. He points out, however, that such a study is 'fraught with difficulties', and that an 'enormous amount of work remains to be done' (77). What is lacking, perhaps most of all, is any account of spelling reformers like Hart as theoreticians; their work has been used as evidence in phonological studies, but little attention has been paid to their often brilliant insights as linguists (but see Salmon 1994). This criticism may be extended generally to current linguistic scholarship, and it is time to examine in detail theories of writing as applied to the history of English orthography.

3 PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

Roger Lass

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Overview and prospect

The period 1476–1776 covers the end of Middle English, what is generally known as Early Modern English, and the early stages of indisputably 'modern', if somewhat old-fashioned, English. At the beginning, the language looks more Middle than Modern, and sounds partly both; at the end it looks and sounds quite, if not fully, modern. I illustrate with two short texts and some comment:

A. Letter of Sir Thomas Wyatt to his son, 1532
I doubt not but long ere this tyme my lettres are come to you. I remember I wrate you in them that if you read them oftin it should be as tho I had written oftin to you: for al that I can not so content me but stil to cal apon you with my lettres. I wold not for al that that if any thing be wel warnid in the other, that you should leaue to remember it becaus of this new, for it is not like with aduertisements as it is with apparel that with long wering a man castith away when he hath new. Honest teching neuir were onles they were out of his remembrans that shold kepe and folow them to the shame and hurt of him self. (Muir 1960: 248ff)

B. Letter of Samuel Johnson to James Boswell, 1774
I am ashamed to think that since I received your letter I have passed so many days without answering it. I think there is no great difficulty in resolving your doubts. The reasons for which you are inclined to visit London, are, I think, not of sufficient strength to answer the objections. I need not tell you what regard you owe to Mrs. Boswell's entreaties; or how much you ought to study the happiness of her who studies yours with so much diligence, and of whose kindness you enjoy such good effects. Life cannot subsist in society but by reciprocal concessions. She

> permitted you to ramble last year, you must permit her now to keep you at home. (Boswell's *Life*, Saturday 5 March 1774)

The roughly similar orthographies conceal some major phonological changes. Using Chaucer to represent a late ME 'standard' of roughly the same geographical provenance as Wyatt and Johnson (though Wyatt was Kentish and Johnson from Warwickshire, their speech is still basically London standard), we can single out some exemplary changes:

(1)

CHAUCER	WYATT	e.g.	JOHNSON	e.g.
i	i	this	ɪ	this
e	ɛ	lettres	ɛ	letters
o	ɔ	not	ɒ	not
iː	ɛi	I, time	ʌɪ	I, kindness
aː	aː	shame	eː	shame
uː	ɔu	out	ʌu	now

(Some of these values are controversial; see 3.4.1 and 3.2.)

Two major splits have taken place by Johnson's time. ME /a/ gives isolative [æ] v. [aː] before /f, θ, s, r/; ME /u/ has lowered and unrounded in many contexts to [ʌ], but keeps its seventeenth-century value [ʊ] in others. So for ME /a/, where Wyatt has [a] in both *that*, *castith*, Johnson would have [æ] in *that*, [aː] in *last* (back /ɑː/ develops in the nineteenth century). For ME /u/, where Wyatt has [u] (*but*, *come*), Johnson has [ʌ]. Unshifted ME /u/ happens not to occur in the Johnson text (e.g. in words like *wool*, *full*); but both texts have 'secondary' ME /u/ from ME /oː/ that has shortened in certain words after raising to [uː] (see 3.4.1.6): e.g. *good* < ME /goːd/, later /guːd/, where Wyatt would have [u] and Johnson [ʊ]. To summarise:

(2)

		Wyatt	Johnson
ME /a/	*that*	a	æ
	last	a	aː
ME /u/	*but*	u	ʌ
	full	u	ʊ

Wyatt's /r/ <r> was pronounced in all positions: (***r**ead*, *we**r**ing*, *wa**r**nid*, *neui**r***). By Johnson's time the distribution of /r/ was approaching the modern: full consonantal realisation only before vowels, but (variably) weakened or lost elsewhere.

Morphologically, little of interest is directly apparent in this tiny sample, except for the present 3 sing.: Wyatt's *hath*, *castith* v. Johnson's *studies*. But Wyatt's *you* represents a choice of one term of a potential opposition: in certain registers *thou*, *thee* would have been available.

In at least two cases there has been little change since the sixteenth century: both Wyatt and Johnson would have [iː] for ME /eː/ (*be*) and [uː] for isolative ME /oː/ (*to*). Since the eighteenth century the long vowels from ME /aː/ (*shame*) and /ɔː/ (*so*) have diphthongised, the second more noticeably than the first: *shame* now has [eɪ] or something similar, *so* [əʊ] or [œʊ] < earlier [oʊ].

Altogether the English of the third quarter of the eighteenth century is structurally and phonetically quite modern; most of the changes since then have been relatively small-scale.

3.1.2 Sources and evidence

3.1.2.1 The orthoepists: direct phonetic description

The historian of post-sixteenth-century English has a resource lacking for earlier periods: the usual textual and comparative evidence, rhymes, spellings, etc. are for the first time supported by contemporary phonetic description. During the late Renaissance a vernacular Western European phonetic tradition was emerging, providing information of a kind quite new for the post-classical languages. Obviously any historian would (if with trepidation) give a couple of teeth for a recording of a dead language; phonetic descriptions of any kind, while less than optimal, are still very welcome.

Unfortunately phoneticians before the later nineteenth century did not use modern phonetic theory or metalanguage; they are a rich but problematical source, requiring detailed and sophisticated intepretation, supported by historical, theoretical and comparative argument. Though their testimony is of inestimable value, they can be ambiguous, mistaken, or plain incomprehensible. Still, the best are superb observers; and the scholarship devoted to them since the late 1860s first revolutionized and then became the implicit basis of much of the conventional wisdom about the history of English phonology.

These sources are not usually discussed in detail except in the technical literature. Historians may tell us that 'ME /aː/ had become [ɛː] by 1650', but rarely how they know (or, better, why they choose to believe it). This is pardonable: even in this chapter, based largely on a return to these early sources, there is room for detailed interpretation only in a few exemplary cases. But the material is important, and unfamiliar except to professional historians; and it is pivotal, since it serves not only for its own period, but as a base for projecting back into the past. I will briefly illustrate its varied

excellences and problems, and some of the interpretive techniques, subsidiary arguments and evidence we use.

The early phoneticians are conventionally and somewhat misleadingly lumped together as 'orthoepists' (practitioners of 'the science of (correct) pronunciation', as the *Concise Oxford* puts it). Indeed many use this term themselves (e.g. Simon Daines's *Orthoepia anglicana* 1640, Robert Nares's *Elements of Orthoepy* 1784). I stick to tradition; but we must note that not all of these writers were concerned merely (or even at all) with 'correctness'. Though – and this is both a strength and a weakness – all were concerned with describing or teaching the southern British prestige dialect of their times.

The true orthoepic impulse shows up for instance in some parts of John Wallis's *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* (1653); he claims to be describing 'puram et genuinam pronunciationem linguae anglicanae' [the pure and genuine pronunciation of the English language], not 'singulas . . . variorum locorum dialectos, aut affectatas muliercularum ineptias, aliosve barbarismos' [individual local dialects, or the absurdities affected by flighty women, or other such barbarisms]. Another work with a puristic impulse, Alexander Gil's *Logonomia anglica* (1619), devotes considerable energy to condemning not only provincial and vulgar pronunciations, but also the new-fangled and affected, and those of his colleagues who appear to promote the latter. But Wallis is also a serious phonetician, and prefaces his grammar with a general treatise on speech sounds; and other writers were concerned with general phonetics as much as English, like Robert Robinson (*The Art of Pronuntiation*, 1619), or William Holder (*The Elements of Speech*, 1669). Still others had (partly) different purposes: John Hart, in his *Orthographie* (1569), proposed a new phonetically based orthography designed to bring spelling into line with pronunciation (see below). Other sources include manuals of English for foreigners, like Jaques Bellot's *Le maistre d'escole anglois* (1580), or Mather Flint's *Prononciation de la langue angloise* (1740).

Our worst problems stem from the standard phonetic theory and terminology (indeed the anatomy and physiology of speech were not well understood until much later). And we also have to discriminate between intelligent writers and second-raters, those who understood the difference between sound and spelling and those who didn't, those whose normative biases led them to propose purely 'theoretical' and non-existent pronunciations and more objective observers, etc.

Vowels are a special problem. Since the modern high/low, back/front grid had not been developed, we may be faced with nearly uninterpretable

articulatory descriptions, or impressionistic terms like 'thin', 'clear', etc. Many writers in particular were unaware of the role of the back of the tongue in vowel formation, which led to much clearer descriptions of front than back vowels (I discuss an example below).

A case-study will illustrate the spectrum of orthoepic merits and demerits, and strategies of interpretation. My text is John Hart's *Orthographie* (1569), probably the most important of the sixteenth-century witnesses, and one of the monuments of English descriptive phonetics. Hart's purpose is not normative, but analytic and reformist; every word, he says, 'is to be vndone into those voices [sounds] only whereof it is made'. Since letters 'are the figures and colours wherewith the image of mans voice is painted . . . the writing should haue so many letters as the speach hath voyces, and no more nor lesse' (9a). Hart also insists that spelling should keep pace with language change (13a):

> Tongues haue often chaunged . . . then if occasion in the fancies of men, haue had power to chaunge tongues, much more Reason should correct the vicious writing of the speach, wherein (as in all thinges) vse should none otherwise take place, than experience proueth it to be reasonable and profitable . . .

The best of his actual descriptions are as good as anything modern: thus he says of the letters <t, d> that the sounds they represent are made 'bei leing ov iur tung full in ðe palet ov iur mouθ, and tučing hardest of iur fortiθ' [by laying of your tongue full in the palate of your mouth, and touching hardest of your fore-teeth]. (This part of the book is in his own phonetic transcription, which should be interpretable; I provide a translation for this first example just in case. Some symbols are adjusted to conform to available type.)

These are unambiguously dentals. This is important (and not usually noted in the standard histories): a century later Holder (1669: 3) says that his /t, d/ are made 'by the end of the Tongue to the Goums', and calls them 'gingival'. This suggests a (normally ignored) dental-to-alveolar shift somewhere between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.

Hart also gives the first unambiguous description of aspirated voiceless stops in English: he says (48b–49a) that in words like *pipe*, *apple*, *plum* 'ui brẹð ðe h, softli, and sẹ: p-heip, ap-hel, p-hlum'. That these are voiceless is clear from his distinction between 'dumbe or dul sounds . . . comming fro*m* the brest with a breath as it were groningly', and those (among them <p, t, k>) 'differing only by leauing of the inward sound, & vse but of the breath' (36a–36b). Only much later do we get more precise descriptions: Cooper

(1687: I i 2) talks of consonants with 'a *murmur* or *sonorous voice*, made by a tremulous concussion of the larynx', as opposed to those where 'there follows only a *whispering*, . . . as . . . in the aspirate'. Since Cooper's 'tremulous concussion' marks those segments that for Hart are made 'groningly'; and since both identifications coincide with what we would expect anyhow; we conclude that they refer to the same thing as the modern voiced/voiceless (aspirated) contrast. Note how, even in this simple example, the convergence of sources from different periods and our own expectations and assumptions lead to quite solid historical 'realities'.

I now turn to Hart's more problematic but crucial vowel descriptions. Vowels, unfortunately (and this difficulty was not really solved until well into the nineteenth century) lack primary contact between articulators, and are much trickier than consonants to localise, and hence to describe. Still, with care, imagination and historical perspective, we can get a good idea of what he must be talking about. He distinguishes five simple vowels, which are set out with illustrative words as follows:

The aunci-	a		Haue Adam.
ent and sole	e		Set the net.
souds of the	i	as in	Bring this in.
fiue vowels	o		No not so.
are of	u		Cum vp cut.

(*No* and *so* have long <o>, but this is irrelevant: see below.) The individual vowels are described (30a–30b) as follows:

> <a>: '. . . the first, with wyde opening the mouth, as when a man yauneth'
> <e>: 'The seconde, with somewhat more closing the mouth, thrusting softlye the inner part of the tongue to the inner and vpper great teeth' [molars]
> <i>: 'The thirde, by pressing the tongue in like maner, yet somewhat more foreward, and bringing the iawe somewhat more neare. . .'
> <o>: 'The fourth, by taking awaye of all the tongue, cleane from the teeth or gummes, as is sayde for the a, and turning the lippes rounde as a ring, and thrusting forth of a sounding breath, which roundnesse to signifie the shape of the letter, was made (of the first inuentor) in like sort . . .'
> <u>: 'For the fift and last, by holding in lyke maner the tongue from touching the teeth . . . (as is said of the a, and o) and bringing the lippes so neare togither, as there be left but space that the sound may passe forth with the breath . . .'

We begin with <a, e, i>. Hart describes three vowels differing in height (the jaw moves upward in the sequence), and – at first sight – in frontness

(<i> is 'more foreward' than <e>). The openest, <a>, could, from this description, be front, central or back. Here we need other evidence; as it happens, the testimony of French grammars of the time, and facts about the later history of the language and modern dialects, all converge on a front [a] (see Lass 1976: ch. 4).

So <e> must be [e] or [ɛ]. The description itself is not compelling, but Hart's own equation of long <e> with German <æ> and French <e> in *père* (which we have reason to believe were opener rather than closer) suggests [ɛː], and hence [ɛ] for the short vowel (Danielsson 1963: 115). And given the description itself, and the 'forward' movement, <i> must be around [i] (the notional 'vertical' from [a] to [i] is anatomically a forward slope as well).

But <u, o> are problematical. Literally, they too would appear to be front, since they differ from <a> only in lip attitude. This would give a basic system:

(3) i y
ɛ ø
a

(Since degree of lip rounding normally correlates with tongue-height, we assume that whatever <u> represents is close, and <o> opener.)

Under this interpretation, either Hart was wrong or we are misreading him. Given our currrent knowledge of vowel systems (see Maddieson 1984), (3) is impossible: no known languages have only front vowels. (In historical disciplines we are constrained by a 'uniformitarian' principle: nothing impossible in the present was ever the case in the past; see Lass 1997: ch. 1.)

In the end, Hart's own verification procedure gives us an indirect clue. If you are dubious, he says (30b), 'holding the top of your finger betwixt your teeth, you shall the more sensiblye feele that they are so made'. Now anyone who has ever taught (or studied) phonetics knows that the back of the tongue is much less accessible to self-monitoring than the more sensitive tip and blade; it is difficult to detect its movement without considerable training and practice. Hart's makeshift test does however work quite well for height, though it fails to localise the part of the tongue involved. But the test itself suggests something about his inventiveness and empirical responsibility with which he went about his task. So without devaluing the description we recognise a well-known limitation, and reject the (apparent) literal interpretation of <u, o>. Using other contemporary descriptions, historical and comparative evidence, overall likelihood of system types,

etc., both must have been back, and <u> is [u]; <o> may be either [o] or [ɔ], the latter more likely (3.2.1). We can fairly confidently replace (3) by (4):

(4) i u
ɛ ɔ
a

Now if (4) is an accurate picture of Hart's short vowel system, something is seriously wrong with a piece of received wisdom: that ME /i, u/ (largely what <i, u> represent) had already reached their modern values [ɪ, ʊ] by the sixteenth century. Later in his book, Hart introduces a diacritic for vowel length (43a: emphasis mine): 'when the vowell shall be longer *in the same sounde* . . . I vse a pricke vnder ech, as thus a̱, e̱, i̱, o̱, u̱'. Given his demonstrable acuteness of ear (if not feel for tongue position), we have no reason to disbelieve his claim that pairs like <i, i̱> (*did*, *teeth*), <u, u̱> (*but*, *do*) differ only in length, not quality. So his transcriptions for *did* and *teeth*, <did>, <ti̱θ>, ought to be intepreted respectively as [d̪id̪] , [t̪ʰi:θ].

But most authorities would have it that in the sixteenth century these forms had [ɪ] and [iː] as they now do, and that *book*, *do*, Hart's <buk>, <du>, would have had [ʊ] and [uː]. Actually evidence for the modern short vowel values before well into the next century is at best weak (3.4.1.3 below and Lass 1989, 1992a). Hart suggests that the modern values of short [i, u] must post-date the 1550s; a 'conservative' interpretation of his testimony advances considerably a change usually taken to have occurred in Middle or even Old English.

The moral: historical 'facts' are partly made by historians', and much of the fabric of history is the result of inference, and attempts to get not entirely clear sources to tell coherent stories. I chose Hart for this demonstration because coming when he does he is a particularly important witness; and because, equally, he clearly illustrates some major problems – as well as providing some descriptions so lucid and patently good that we have sound reasons for taking him seriously.

3.1.2.2 Other orthoepic evidence

Orthoepic texts provide more than articulatory description; they may inform us about allophonic rules (Hart on aspiration), connected-speech processes, stress, the lexical incidence of particular phonemes (often a clue for dating splits or mergers), and indicate change in progress, e.g. word-lists showing limited diffusion of changes that have now completed.

In the *Orthographie*, Hart gives about forty pages of text in phonetic transcription. Among other things he distinguishes /θ/ and /ð/ (which English spelling has never done), final /s/ in the noun *use* from /z/ in the verb, etc. More interestingly, he provides examples of connected speech processes; the transcribed portions of text seem to be based on material read aloud in a fairly natural way.

Thus he shows deletion of unstressed vowels in hiatus as in <t'ani> 'to any' (which also shows that *any* still had the ME /a/ vowel, now exclusively Irish), <ð'o̤n> 'the one' (and note /ɔ:/ in *one*); and he has voicing assimilation at word edges as in <ðiz buk> 'this book', <bo̤ð ðe> 'both the'. Except for hiatus deletion, often marked even in printed texts as in *tother*, etc., evidence for such processes is rare.

Some of Hart's 'odd' transcriptions may of course reflect printer's errors; but he tells us that he deliberately makes non-conventional distinctions to show the reader what the sounds really are (as in /θ/ v. /ð/). In the light of his general acuteness and attitude to spelling, we ought to take him seriously, especially since his claims have, as so often, independent historical support. So we can accept his <ur-> for ME /wr-/ in <ureit> 'write' (his <u> = /u, w/), his lack of palatalisation in <observasion>, <derivasion> (he had a special symbol for /ʃ/), and his retained vowel in weak pasts like <bestoëd>, <boroëd> (see below and 3.8.4.3).

Even when writers neither transcribe nor describe in detail, they may drop useful remarks in passing. Cooper (1687: I i 4) says of the vowel '*e* lingual' (= ME /a:/ as in *face*) that 'in *sale*, *tale* it is sounded as if it was writ *sa-ul*, *ta-ul*' – suggesting the familiar Present-Day English insertion of [ə] before a final dark /l/.

Some orthoepists also give word-lists, either of homophones or 'barbarisms' ('vulgar' pronunciations). The first may indicate the progress of splits and mergers; the second the social status of once stigmatised forms that later became standard; or the regional provenance of speakers contributing to the linguistic mix in London at the time.

First homophones. Cooper (1687) has a long alphabetical list of words with 'the same pronunciation, but different signification and manner of writing'. Most are unsurprising, e.g. *all/awl*, *bread/bred*, *hair/hare*. But some are unexpected: (a) *jester/gesture, order/ordure, pickt her/picture*; (b) *Ile* 'I will'/*isle/oil, mile/moil, line/loin*; (c) *coughing/coffin, jerking/jerkin*. Set (a) shows that *-ure* was pronounced /-ər/, and did not (because of the lost initial /j/) palatalise preceding dentals. Set (b) shows merger of ME /oi/ with /i:/ (3.4.2.6); and (c) shows *-ing* pronounced /-ɪn/ (3.5.2).

These developments were later undone, largely through school-induced

spelling-pronunciations. Something of the history of *-ure* can be seen in Robert Nares's comments a century later (1784). He says (130) that *ch* for *t* is 'almost universal' in *-ture*, *-tune* (though he deprecates /tʃ/ in *tune*, *tumult* as 'somewhat affected . . . or rather, perhaps, vulgar'). Yet he defends the pronunciation indicated in plays and novels by spellings like *nater* 'nature', *pickter*: 'perhaps the only common fault . . . is the neglecting to give to the *u* its full long sound. *Nature* . . . will scarcely offend any ear, though the *t* be pronounced hard.' Nares' 'long *u*' is [juː] (3.4.2.4), so the pronunciation he recommends is [neːtjuːr].

The 'barbarism' lists are similarly useful. Among Cooper's words 'not sounded after the best dialect' are: (a) *Bushop* 'bishop', *dud* 'did', *wull* 'will', *wuth* 'with'; (b) *shure* 'sure', *shugar* 'sugar'; (c) *leece* 'lice', *meece* 'mice'. Set (a) has /ʌ/ for what in native London speech would be the continuation of ME /i/, and hence ought to have /ɪ/ – but in two rather different contexts. *Bushop*, *dud*, are southwesternisms, with /ʌ/ < earlier ME /y/ < OE /y(ː)/ (Lass *CHEL* II 2.2.3.4); whereas *wull*, *wuth* just show retracted allophones of /i/ after /w/. (*Bushop* may be a somewhat different case, with secondary /y/ < /i/, rounded after a labial; but it is still western.)

Set (b) shows an emerging palatalisation of /sj/, which became standard in the next century; and (c) is a pair of southeasternisms, i.e. /iː/ < ME /eː/ < Old Kentish /eː/, where London would have the reflex of ME /yː/ < non-Kentish OE /yː/ (Kentish *mēs*, other OE *mȳs*). Only thirty years earlier John Wallis (1653) gives *meece*, *leece* without comment as alternatives to *mice*, *lice*; these two reports show a status change in these Kentish plurals over just three decades.

3.1.2.3 Spelling, rhyme and metrical evidence

Most linguistic information from the past is contained not in grammatical descriptions but in ordinary texts, which simply represent (as far as written language ever does) the normal use of language for other tasks. Morphological and syntactic information is more or less directly present; phonology comes only indirectly, through spellings, rhymes and metrical usage.

Markedly unconventional spelling is often a valuable indicator, especially when ongoing changes create uncertainty in grapheme/phoneme correspondences. One useful type arises when a phoneme starts to move toward the phonetic space occupied by another; the changing segment may get written with the graph appropriate to the one in whose direction it is moving. For instance, in Middle English <ou, ow> were used for /uː/, and <oo> for /oː/ (*house*, *cow* v. *food*). During the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries, in the early stages of the Great Vowel Shift (3.3.1–3.3.3), /oː/ began to raise toward /uː/ and /uː/ to diphthongize. These related changes produced two types of non-traditional spellings, which need somewhat different interpretations.

If /oː/ was raising, we might expect some words with etymological /oː/ to be written with the symbol appropriate for /uː/: the Paston letters for instance have *doun* 'done', *goud* 'good' < ME /doːn, goːd/. Since <ou> was normally used for /uː/, these spellings could represent either (a) full attainment of [uː] (complete by the sixteenth century), or (b) at least sufficient raising of /oː/ so that the 'intermediate' sound is [u]-like enough for the writer to use the /uː/ symbol. Other spellings suggest diphthongization of ME /uː/ as well: the Pastons have *caw* 'cow', *withawth* 'without' < ME /kuː, -uːt/. Now <aw> is the normal writing for ME /au/ (as in *law)*; but here it cannot mean [au], since all other evidence suggests a different value for the sixteenth century, and nothing like [au] until the late eighteenth. The <aw> spelling then suggests some diphthongisation, but misinforms us about the first element. So-called 'inverse spelling' or 'backspelling' is also useful. Here a graph which (historically) represents one of a pair of merged categories is extended to spell the other as well, since the two have become phonetically identical. Thus when /x/ (spelled <gh>) ceases to be pronounced in words like *night* (originally /nixt/), the sequence <igh> appears in words with no etymological /x/, like *delight*, which ended in ME /-iːt/ (3.5.1).

Rhymes, like homophone lists and inverse spellings, give us evidence mainly for likeness (or identity, if we're lucky and the rhyming is good). As with homophones, unsurprising ones tell us the situation then was much as it is now; surprising ones may point to quite different conclusions, often supported by contemporary orthoepists. Rhyming and metrical practice may also tell us about variation, where more than one version of some original is available.

Consider the following rhymes (Wyld 1923: 69ff.; the words do not necessarily appear in original rhyming order):

(5)

century	author	A	B
16th	Wyatt	arm	warme
16th	Sackville	regard	reward
16th	Sackville	can	wan
16th	Shakespeare	harm	warm
17th	Donne	are	war
17th	Dryden	scars	wars
18th	Pope	martyr	quarter
18th	Swift	hand	wand

All have stressed ME /a/, and the rhymes are normal for their periods, though not for any modern variety. Column B, in modern southern English, would have rounded vowels: either /ɔ:/ as in *warm*, *war*, *quarter*, or /ɒ/ as in *wan*, *wand*, *swan*. A would have an unrounded vowel: /ɑ:/ as in *arm*, *mar*, *are*, or /æ/ as in *can*, *hand*. These rhymes show that the rounding of ME /a/ after /w/ has not yet occurred; it must postdate the reign of Queen Anne. By the end of the eighteenth century most B items had a rounded vowel, though length was distributed differently: Nares (1784) has 'broad *A*' /ɒ:/ in *want*, *water*, *wash*, and 'short *o*' /ɒ/ in *wand*, *war*, *warm*.

Rhyming variation may indicate the state of mergers. Shakespeare for instance apparently has two values for ME /ɛ:/ (*sea*): an 'advanced' one, with the now standard merger with ME /e:/ (*see*), and an unraised one, merging with ME /ai/ (*day*). E.g. *seas* is rhymed both with *these* (ME /e:/) and *plays* (ME /ai/); see 3.4.2.3, where the relevant passages are quoted.

Metrical variation may also be informative, e.g. indicating stress-doublets, as in Shakespeare's:

> The *Réuennew* whereof shall furnish vs [*Richard II*, I.iv.46]
> My manors, Rents, *Reuénues*, I forgoe [*Richard II*, IV.i.212]
> For *éxile* hath more terror in his looke [*Romeo and Juliet*, III.iii.13]
> And turn'd it to *exíle*, there thou art happy [*Romeo and Juliet*, III.ii.140]

Metrical practice can also indicate optional syllable deletion: doublets with the same stress pattern but different syllable counts are common, as in

> And euery thing that seems *vnnáturall* [*Henry V*, V.ii.62]
> How shall we then behold their *náturall* termes [*Henry V*, IV.ii.13]

Doublets or variants can provide morphophonological information as well; we saw above that Hart has some weak verbs where the vowel of the *-ed* ending is retained in places where it would not have to be on phonotactic grounds. That is, it would have to be kept in *wounded*, to avoid ***woundd*, but could be lost in *borrowed*, where Hart keeps it. So we find Shakespearean rhymes showing both deletion (*crown'd*: *round*, *beguil'd*: *childe*), and retention (*murthered*: *dead*, *widowed*: *bed*; Cusack 1970: 10f. and 3.8.4.4 below).

After this long (but I think necessary) survey of evidence and interpretation, we can embark on the history proper.

3.2 Phonology: the Middle English inputs

3.2.1 The vowel system

The sixteenth to eighteenth centuries saw a burst of phonological activity; both the flowering and completion of tendencies rooted in the 'transitional'

period of the fifteenth century, and new developments. The most far-reaching of these affected the vowel system, and included:

(a) A major shift of the long vowels, with articulatory change in every ME category (3.3).

(b) Changes in the short vowels, resulting in the genesis (or re-genesis, since it occurred in Old English) of [æ] (*bat*); the rise of the /u/ː/ʌ/ (*put*:*cut*) contrast through a partial split of ME /u/; lowering and centralisation of /i, u/ (*bit*, *put*); lowering of ME /e, o/ (*set*, *pot*) to [ɛ, ɔ], and of [ɔ] later to [ɒ] (3.2.1).

(c) A new class of diphthongs in /-ə/, due to developments before /r/ (*here*, *fair*, *poor*: 3.4.3.2).

(d) New vowel lengthenings, conditioned by following consonants, which expanded the vowel inventory by restoring a long low /aː/ (*past*, *far*), and adding long [aː] (*war*, *torn*: 3.4.2.7).

(e) Monophthongisation of ME diphthongs except /oi/ (*boy*), /ui/ (*join*), /iu/ (*new*), /ɛu/ (*dew*: 3.4.2.1–3.4.2.2, 3.4.2.4, 3.4.2.6).

These changes require some historical context; it may be helpful to look back briefly at the Old and Middle English systems, and ahead to the modern one. First the vowel systems of pre-Alfredian Old English (c. 800), and a late London Middle English (c. 1400):

(6)

Old English						Middle English			
iː	yː	uː	i	y	u	iː	uː	i	u
eː	øː	oː	e	ø	o	eː	oː	e	o
aː		ɑː	æ			ɛː	ɔː		
						aː		a	
æɑ	eo		ăa	ĕo					
						iu	ɛu	au	ɔu
						ai	oi	ui	

Old English had symmetrical long and short systems, three contrastive heights, front and back low vowels, and front rounded vowels. Both elements of diphthongs were the same height, even if disagreeing in backness. There was also a diphthongal length contrast: the two 'short' ones /ăɑ, ĕo/ patterned like short vowels, and the two long (i.e. normal) ones /æɑ, eo/ like long vowels (see below on the diphthong/long vowel relation).

In the dialects ancestral to the London standard, front rounded /y(ː), ø(ː)/ had been lost in late Old English; the fully evolved Middle English system had also lost the diphthongal length contrast (but see 3.4.1.1). The height-harmonic diphthongs were replaced by new closing diphthongs in /-i, -u/. There were no low back vowels, and the long vowel system had four heights, as opposed to the earlier three.

If we compare this late ME system with that of a modern standard dialect, say of the RP type, we once more see extensive changes:

(7)

iː		uː		ɪ	ʊ
	ɜː	ɔː		ɛ	ʌ
		ɑː		æ	ɒ
	aɪ	eɪ	ɒɪ		
	au	əu			
	ɛə	ɪə	ʊə		

The long vowel system is reduced, though a new type is added (central /ɜː/); the short vowels are once more back/front symmetrical, with two low vowels (if now with a rounding contrast). Unusually, there are no high short vowels: the highest are the mid /ɪ, ʊ/. And in addition to the closing diphthongs we have the new centring types as well.

Leaving aside changes in particular lexical classes (e.g. ME /au/ in *law* is now /ɔː/, while ME /ɔː/ in *boat* is now /əʊ/, etc.), the modern system is at least as different from the Middle English one as that is from Old English (though not in the same ways). Our main concern will be the transition from a type (6) ME system to an early version of (7); except for phonetic details and a few matters of incidence, the outlines of the modern system were fixed by the end of the eighteenth century.

These displays of naked vowel systems with no hint of lexical identity may be confusing. As an aid, here are the ME categories I take as the starting point for Early Modern developments, with exemplary key-words:

(8)

Short Vowels		*Long Vowels*			
		Monophthongs		Diphthongs	
/i/	bit	/iː/	bite	/ui/	join
/e/	set	/eː/	meet	/oi/	boy
/a/	bat, pass	/ɛː/	meat, deaf	/iu/	new
/u/	cut, put	/aː/	mate	/ɛu/	dew
/o/	pot, for	/uː/	out	/au/	law
		/oː/	boot, good, blood	/ɔu/	grow
		/ɔː/	boat	/ai/	day

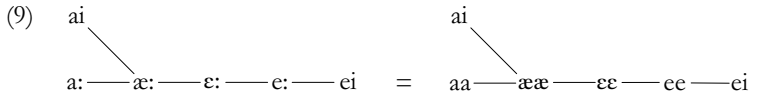
Multiple key-words show later splits: *pot/for* and *bat/pass* illustrate lengthening before fricatives and /r/, giving PDE /æ/ v. /ɑː/; *meat/deaf*, *boot/blood/good* show the effects of various shortenings. There was probably an unstressed /ə/, contrasting with /i/ in the weak syllables of *mother*, *wounded*; and there are dubious arguments for a long front rounded /yː/ in French loans like *duke*, *-ure* (3.4.2.6).

Even though the Middle English (and Modern) vowels fall into three

phonetic sets (short monophthongs, long monophthongs, and diphthongs), there are good phonological reasons for adopting only the dichotomy 'long' v. 'short'. Long vowels and diphthongs tend to behave both synchronically and historically as a set: e.g. only members of these groups can terminate the strong syllable of a foot (modern *bee* /biː/, *buy* /baɪ/, but no **/bæ/, **/bʊ/). And cross-dialectally, long vowels in one variety will often correspond to diphthongs in another and vice versa, whereas short will correspond to short, not to either of the long categories. So ME /a/ is [æ] in RP and most other southern standards, [a] in the North, and [ɛ] in many Southern Hemisphere varieties, whereas ME /ai, aː/ are [eɪ] in RP, and [eː] in much of the North, etc.

This is because long vowels and diphthongs are both vowel-clusters or complex nuclei, distinct only in that the latter have non-identical members, and the former are geminates or self-clusters (e.g. /aː/ = /aa/). Historically the two sets are also quite coherent. Many of the major changes in our period fall into one of two groups: those affecting short (simple) vowels only, and those affecting long (complex) ones only. Each set has its own (relatively) independent history. Within the long set there are many instances of movement from the configuration /V_1V_2/ ('diphthong') to /V_1V_1/ ('long vowel') and back again. Consider for instance the evolutionary trajectories of ME /aː/ and /ai/ from about 1400 to 1800 (somewhat simplified); I give the development both in the /Vː/ v. /VV/ and the /VV/ only notation:

(9)



(More on this in 3.4.1.1 below.)

3.2.2 The consonant system

Taking the same historical approach as with the vowels, here are the Old English, late Middle English and modern English systems:

(10)

OLD ENGLISH

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t		tʃ		k	
	b	d		dʒ		g	
Fricative	f	θ	s	ʃ		x	
Nasal	m	n					
Liquid	w		r l		j		

MIDDLE ENGLISH

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t		tʃ		k	
	b	d		dʒ		g	
Fricative	f	θ	s	ʃ		x	
	v	ð	z				
Nasal	m	n					
Liquid	w		r l		j		

MODERN ENGLISH

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p		t	tʃ		k	
	b		d	dʒ		g	
Fricative	f	θ	s	ʃ			h
	v	ð	z	ʒ			
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	
Liquid	w		r l		j		

(The affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ may be considered stops with a special release; /w/, a labial–velar double articulation, could perhaps as well go under velar. Many non-southern dialects now have a voiceless /ʍ/ as well < older /xw/, as in *which* (v. *witch*). These would still be analysed /xw/ in Middle English: see below. Old English also had a length contrast for most of its consonants, but this was lost by about 1400.)

Middle English is innovative in having phonemic voiced fricatives, but otherwise rather conservative:

(a) No phonemic /h/; [h] is the foot-initial allophone of /x/ (which remains in all positions), in complementary distribution with [x, ç], which in turn are in complementary distribution with each other.
(b) No voiced palatoalveolar fricative /ʒ/.
(c) No phoneme /ŋ/; [ŋ] is a pre-velar allophone of /n/, occurring only before /k, g/.

During the period 1500–1650 this all changes, giving rise to the modern system. Non-initial /x/ is lost, leaving only initial [h] as a relic, hence a new phoneme /h/ (3.5.1); a new /ʒ/ develops from palatalisation of /zj/ (*vision*), giving a symmetrical palatoalveolar series (3.5.3). And /g/ drops after [ŋ] in certain environments, allowing it to contrast with the other nasals (3.5.2). And /r/ weakens and eventually deletes word-finally and before consonants within the word (3.4.3.3).

3.3 The Great Vowel Shift

3.3.1 What, if anything, was the Great Vowel Shift?

By the late nineteenth century, historians had worked out the basic phonetic correspondences between earlier and Present-Day English. The picture that emerged relating the Middle English long vowels c. 1400 and the modern ones has not required extensive revision (though our understanding of it has changed):

(11)

	1400	Modern
bite	i:	aɪ
meet	e:	i:
meat	ɛ:	
mate	a:	eɪ
out	u:	aʊ
boot	o:	u:
boat	ɔ:	əʊ

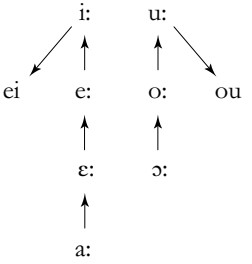
Every ME long vowel has become something else, and /**eː**/ and /**ɛː**/ have merged. The ME/PDE relations look unsystematic: the original high vowels have become diphthongs with low first elements, two mid front vowels have become one high vowel, the higher mid back one has raised, and the low /**aː**/ and mid /**ɔː**/ have become diphthongs with mid first elements. But if we divide this long time-span, and intercalate developments at about 1500 and 1600, we get a quite different (here simplified) picture:

(12)

1400	1500	1600	ModE
i:	ei	ɛi	aɪ
e:	i:	i:	i:
ɛ:	ɛ:	e:	
a:	a:	ɛ:	eɪ
u:	ou	ɔʊ	aʊ
o:	u:	u:	u:
ɔ:	ɔ:	o:	əʊ

It became apparent to many scholars (notably Karl Luick and later Otto Jespersen) that the Middle English/seventeenth-century relations could be seen as having a 'spatial' or geometric unity. If we arrange the values against an idealised vowel space of the usual kind, this pattern emerges:

(13)



Rather than the apparent chaos in (11), there is a neat generalisation (at least for the early stages): each non-high long vowel raises one height, and the high vowels diphthongise, dropping their first element by one height. (The later changes are irrelevant for the moment.)

Set out this way, the changes have a 'shape': each movement seems to be related to some other. This configuration in (13) is now traditionally called the 'Great Vowel Shift' (henceforth GVS); the events constituting it are taken as a kind of 'watershed' in the history of English.

Later developments have obscured this pretty shape; merger of ME /**eː**, **ɛː**/ in /**iː**/, lowering of the first elements of the diphthongs from ME /**iː**, **uː**/, etc. The name GVS is often applied (misleadingly) to the whole Middle English-to-Present-Day English pattern in (12) and (13).

Visualised as (13), the GVS is what we would now call a chain shift: every subchange implicates or is implicated by every other, and the system appears to change as a whole without any loss of distinctions. I will return below to the problems raised by this idea – in particular the patent fact that while the GVS is supposed to be a 'historical unit', it must have taken over two centuries to achieve its final shape.

The 'unity' or 'design' of the GVS is a crucial issue, since it has been challenged (see below). At this point I embark unapologetically on a small digression on method; this is relevant, since most of the really interesting questions in history are methodological or philosophical anyway (Lass 1997: ch. 1, and the argument unfolding below). At any rate, this break in the flow of narrative is necessary, since all positions on the GVS are controversial. (The complexity of the arguments is interesting in itself, as an indication of how history is made.)

The title of this section echoes an essay by Stephen Jay Gould (1983),

called 'What, if anything, is a zebra?' (for details see Lass 1992b). Gould discusses some research suggesting paradoxically that even though there are three striped African horses called 'zebras', there may, evolutionarily and hence biologically, not be any such animal. The three recognised species are not an evolutionary unit; individual 'zebras' show stronger affinities with horses outside their group than they do with each other, and there are at least two sets of such conflicting affinities within the 'zebra' group. So even though in appearance they are a unique cluster of striped horses, they have disparate origins. 'Zebras' then are a superficial convergence on a morphological trait, not a historical entity.

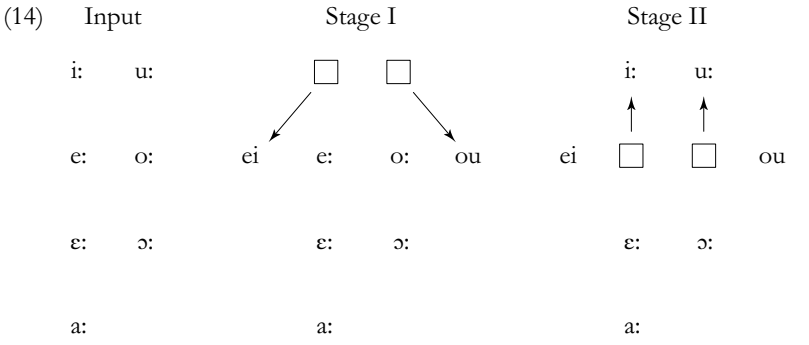
Simply giving a name to a set of similar or apparently related objects does not guarantee that the set corresponds to anything 'in nature'. This is relevant because the two types of changes making up the GVS – raisings and diphthongisations – have been common enough in the history of English, both before and after our period. How do we know that *these* particular ones belong together as a named unit; that we're not committing the 'Zebra Fallacy', attributing spurious unity to a collection of unrelated changes that happen to make a nice pattern? (Precisely this suggestion has been made in an important recent paper: Stockwell & Minkova 1988a: see notes to this section.) But I think the 'shape' in our case is at least partly self-justifying.

Most recent historians, whether through unaided intuition or brainwashing by teachers and tradition, have been convinced of the reality and unity of the GVS. This state of mind can be characterised as a conviction-by-hindsight that instead of the events A, B, C occurring and being conveniently labelled 'the X', it was rather that 'the X' occurred, and A, B, C were its stages. The distinction is not trivial (cf. Lass 1976: 53). Viewing (at least part of) the GVS this way is justified; it arises from a consideration of problems in chronology or the relations of particular changes that – under any interpretation – surely did occur.

The schematic (13) suggests a question: how did the GVS start? In the vast earlier literature (and still) there are two main positions, one associated with Jespersen and the other with Luick. Both were convinced of the unity; for Jespersen (*MEG* I 8.11) 'the changes of the single vowels . . . are all evidently parts of one great linguistic movement'. For Luick, the changes have an 'internal coherence' ('innere Zusammenhang': 1914/40: §479). Yet they are diametrically opposed on what the crucial first stage was. For Jespersen, ME /**iː**, **uː**/ diphthongised first, and the mid vowels /**eː**, **oː**/ moved up into their 'vacated' positions; for Luick, raising of /**eː**, **oː**/ was the 'primary impulse' ('erste Impuls'): they 'pushed' the high vowels out of place, and

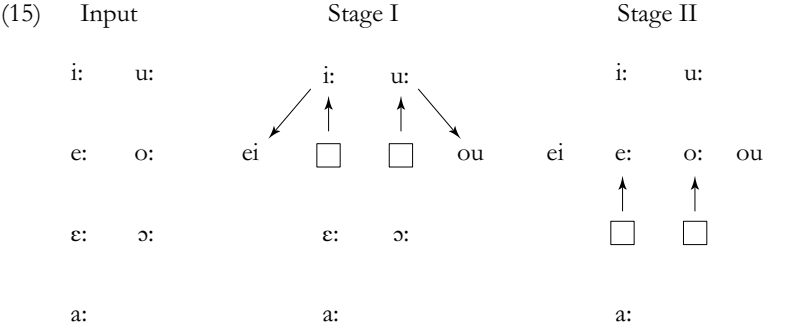
then the lower ones moved up into their slots. Jespersen saw the beginnings in what we could now call a 'drag chain', which can be represented as follows in (14) (boxes are 'empty slots'):

(14)



Luick on the other hand proposed a 'push chain': not a simple sequence of changes, but a mutual implication. That is, /**eː**, **oː**/ raised, and *in raising* pushed /**iː**, **uː**/ out of place. Then, with the /**eː**, **oː**/ slots empty, a drag chain of the Jespersen type supervened for the lower vowels:

(15)



If we ask one particular loaded question (which came first, diphthongisation or raising?), we must come up with Jespersen's answer: diphthongisation. If /**eː**, **oː**/ raised first to [**iː**, **uː**], they would have merged with original /**iː**, **uː**/. On the other hand, if we ignore sequence, but ask instead what set the *whole* GVS in motion, it could go either way. Gradually raising mid vowels could push high vowels out, or diphthongising high vowels could drag mid vowels up. There is no strong textual or orthoepic evidence for either solution: spellings indicating both appear as early as the fifteenth century, and both are complete by John Hart's time. The beginnings must be untangled on other grounds.

These as it happens (Luick saw this as early as 1896) are dialectological;

more precisely, modern dialect evidence plus historical projection. There is an interesting asymmetry in the modern regional developments of ME /uː, oː/ and /iː, eː/, which is neatly accounted for by only one of the two models, and lends credibility to the unity of the GVS (or part of it) as well.

The two vowel pairs develop differently in northern and non-northern dialects. Crucially, ME /uː/ fails to diphthongize in the North, and this connects with other developments. (This failure is reflected in the famous 'house/hoose' line running from the Lune to the Humber, which separates North and South.) Consider the reflexes of the four relevant categories in conservative rural northern English dialects, and in the South of England (the northern example is rural Northumberland, but other counties, as well as Scotland, show a similar pattern):

(16)		ME	North	South
	Bite	iː	ɛi	ai
	Feet	eː	iː	iː
	House	uː	uː	au
	Boot	oː	iː	uː

The North shows: (a) no diphthongisation of ME /uː/, and (b) a front reflex of ME /oː/. The implication is general: any dialect with (a) will also have (b). Why should this be so, and what does it tell us about the GVS?

The key is the front ME /oː/ reflexes. These arise from an early fourteenth-century change (Lass CHEL II 2.2.3.4) in which, in those dialects ancestral to the modern northern ones, ME /oː/ fronted to [øː], which later raised to [yː] in England, then unrounded. This fronting, which occurred before the earliest GVS changes, had an important systemic effect:

(17)	Before fronting		After fronting	
	iː	uː	iː	uː
	eː	oː	eː øː ← □	
	ɛː	ɔː	ɛː	ɔː
	aː		aː	

The GVS acts on System B in the North; elsewhere the input is the unchanged type A.

One more fact: no dialect has done anything to ME /eː/ like what the North did to ME /oː/, i.e. moved it 'out of position' before the GVS. And no dialect has consistent undiphthongised ME /iː/. This makes no sense except in the context of a chain shift beginning with the raising of the long mid vowels. A high vowel diphthongises only if the slot below it is filled by

a raisable vowel when the shift begins. If the slot below the high vowel is empty (nothing there to push it out of position), there will be no diphthongisation.

This model motivates preservation of /uː/ in the North; Jespersen provides no reason for the diphthongisations of ME /iː, uː/ to be asymmetrical anywhere, and the retained /uː/ is irrational. So at least two subshifts within the putative GVS are interconnected; the top two heights engage in a unitary and mutually implicating shift, whose 'inner coherence' is thrown into relief precisely by this one glaring failure. This 'unit' is the 'watershed' that for nearly a century has had such a strong imaginative appeal for historians of English. Geometrical beauty or neatness of course do not always correlate with 'truth' (though for physicists the aesthetics of a solution are often a strong argument for its genuineness). Here beauty and likelihood fall together nicely.

3.3.2 The beginnings: variation and change

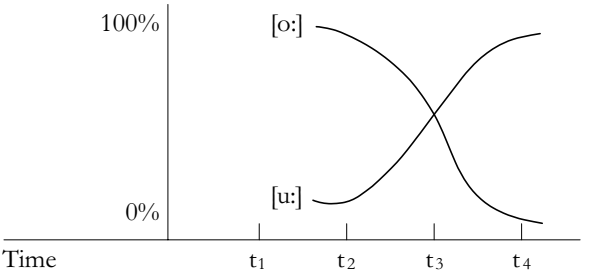
Even if the GVS is by hindsight an 'event', it is also a process, unfolding in real time. This 'time dimension' (Chen 1972) deserves some comment, since the usual handbook descriptions of changes tend to oversimplify. What exactly do we mean by a statement like 'ME /oː/ > [uː]'?

The simplest answer in the simplest case is that at some time t_1, all members of the category in question have [oː], and at some later t_2, they have [uː]. Sampling at the two times yields two (largely) uniform language-states, so we say the t_1 state 'has become' the t_2. While in one sense this doesn't tell the truth about what happened, it tells an important half-truth, maybe in the end more important than the whole truth (history is not a court of law). But juxtaposition of initial and final states is not the whole story; the mechanisms producing the $t_1 > t_2$ transition are complex and often indirect. The apparent simple state-change typically resolves itself into very small incremental subchanges, accompanied by considerable variation.

Proper histories (of anything) shift between complementary macro- and microperspectives. Ideally we want answers to both 'what?' and 'how?' questions, but for the sake of expository clarity and overall shapeliness the former tend to take priority. Nevertheless, in linguistic history an understanding of mechanisms can, among other things, throw light on why the data at certain sampling points looks the way it does. Even though from the macroperspective change might look like linear transition, it is multidimensional: the essential mechanisms are cumulatively weighted variation, and diffusion through the lexicon.

On the basis of well-studied contemporary or recent changes in progress, let's consider what the GVS /oː/ > [uː] might have been like. An change typically begins as a variable: an innovating speaker will produce, for any relevant item, some old-style tokens and some new. So the time-course of /oː/-raising would (schematically) be like this:

(18) % Given reflex



At t_1 we have 100 per cent old [oː], no new [uː]; as the change proceeds, the percentages of the new form increase, while those of the old drop. At t_2 there is still a preponderance of [oː], but [uː] is increasing; at t_3, a notional midpoint, old and new are roughly in balance; t_4 is the inverse of t_1. The closer our sampling point to the beginning, the scarcer examples of the new state; samples in the vicinity of t_3 then are likely to look messy, with both types coexisting.

This idealises the change of a whole category. But different susceptible items tend to be affected at different times in the course of a change: e.g. fourteenth-century evidence suggests that *do*, *good*, *blood* were among the first affected by raising, and that it moved gradually through the lexicon, eventually reaching all vulnerable words. So each (cluster of) word(s) may have its own temporal profile, roughly like the S-curves in (18), but starting at different points on the time axis. The 'change' is the summation of a set of successive and partially overlapping curves. Both the completed shift and the variation are equally 'true' or 'real'; the latter is simply how the former comes into being.

Finally, a change may start in a particular socioeconomic or other subgroup within a community, etc., and gradually spread (or not) to others. It might begin at t_1 in one group and at t_2 in another, and the pattern of cumulative variation and lexical diffusion will play itself out in each, but with the groups out of phase. Thus a completed change may be not only a summation of variation curves for particular lexical items and etymological classes, but for social (class, gender) groupings as well. Our focus here

will be largely on completed patterns; but variation and diffusion are the operational mechanisms, and will be mentioned where relevant.

In this light the occurrence of a spelling like <goud> for *good* in the fifteenth century can't be taken to mean even that ME /oː/ (as a whole) has raised to [uː], much less that raising complete by the time the spellings appear, as some scholars tend to suggest. Not all occurrences of this word (or any other) may have [uː] in a given writer's dialect (of which in any case we have only a tiny sample in our texts). Early spelling attestation, with low representation of new-style forms, rather indicates initial variation. Given the meagre fifteenth-century material, we can only say that we see the first tentative signs of change, and that a century or so later the orthoepists show it completed. Still, this does give us a provisional date for the beginning of the GVS.

The earliest spellings tell a story consistent with the results of studies of change in progress in modern speech communities; they also support the intuition of both Jespersen and Luick (3.3.1) that however the shift started, the crucial vowels were those at the top two heights, /iː, uː/ and /eː, oː/. Innovating spellings begin sporadically in the East Midlands in the early fourteenth century; the first vowel involved is apparently /oː/. So Robert of Brunne (Lincolnshire, 1303) has *þe touþer* 'the other', *doun* 'to do', and a few more. William of Shoreham (Kent, 1320) has *roude* 'rood', *bloude* 'blood', *touke* 'took' (all ME /oː/ < OE /oː/). Such spellings also occur in the Northwest Midlands at the same time (e.g. *goud* in the Gawain manuscript), and continue through the fifteenth century, appearing in Wiltshire (*St Editha*, c. 1420: *gowde*, *brouk* 'brook'), and East Anglia (the Pastons have *doun* 'done', *owdyr* 'other', *whous* 'whose' and some others). So a tendency to raise ME /oː/ seems widespread in non-northern England in late Middle English.

These early instances support Luick's view that raising is the key to the GVS, though the results for ME /eː/ are not parallel (in any case initial front/back symmetry is not crucial to the argument). The <i, y> spellings for ME /eː/ do not appear in quantity before around the 1420s (e.g. a few in *Siege of Rouen*, like *hyre* 'hear', past *hyrde*). Later these become common, especially in the East: the Paston Letters include *agryed*, *appyr*, *belyve*, *kype*, *shype*.

Apparently diphthongal spellings for the high vowels are common for /iː/, rare for /uː/. So for /iː/ the Pastons' *abeyd* 'abide', *creying*, the Cely Papers *whrayt* 'write'; for /uː/ the Pastons' *abawght*, *caw* 'cow' and a few others. The rarity of respelled /uː/ may be due (Wyld 1936: 237) to <ou, ow>, the normal spelling for /uː/, being a perfect writing for the early

GVS value [ou] (better than for /**uː**/); the combination of the short /**o**/ and short /**u**/ spellings serves well for [ou], whereas <i, y>, the norms for /**iː**/, do not fit new [**ei**].

But virtually no early spellings suggest raising of /**ɛː**/ and /**ɔː**/, and only marginal ones might indicate raising of /**aː**/. This may of course be purely orthographic: since Middle English did not generally distinguish the two mid vowel heights, but used <e(e)> for the front ones and <o(o)> for the back indifferently, raising from low to high mid would not likely trigger a respelling. On the other hand (compare the two models of the GVS in (15) and(16)), it is equally possible that raising of the lower vowels had not yet taken place, as the sixteenth-century evidence (3.4.2.3) suggests.

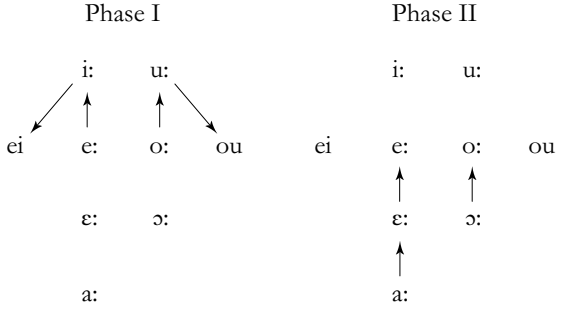
So early spellings tell us that at least the primary chain shift (raising of /**eː, oː**/ and diphthongisation of /**iː, uː**/) was well under way by around 1400, and raising may have been front/back asymmetrical at first.

The two top heights were well into the shift by around 1450, and stably shifted by not long after 1500. The rest of the long vowels raised considerably later, and reached their final values only around 1650. So despite sporadic intimations of some subshifts as early as the first decades of the fourteenth century, the central or active GVS belongs firmly to the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

3.3.3 The finer anatomy of the GVS

The GVS seems to have had at least two phases. Phase I is the early push chain initiated by the raising of ME /eː. oː/, and Phase II the later raising of the lower vowels:

(19)



A more radical (maybe better) strategy would be to reserve the term GVS for the developments in the top two heights, and call Phase II 'post-GVS raising' (see Lass 1989, 1992b). But I will stick to more traditional terminology here. Phase II is itself quite complex and variable from dialect

to dialect, with different degrees of completion (even within the London standard) coexisting during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Phase I is complete by shortly after 1500; all good sources have consistent [iː, uː] for ME /eː, oː/. The interpretive problems centre around how /iː, uː/ diphthongised. There is no dispute that they did, and no doubt that values with a centralised and/or lowered first element, e.g. [əi, əu] or [ʌi, ʌu] had been reached by about the 1650s (3.4.2.5). But there is considerable dispute about the first stages, and my account here is not the standard one in most recent histories of English.

The 'traditional' view (Jespersen and many other early authorities, Chomsky & Halle 1968, Wolfe 1973) is that diphthongisation of ME /iː, uː/ began with lowering of the first morae of the long vowels, with no change in lip-rounding or peripherality:

(20)

ii	uu
↓	↓
ei	ou

Others, however, argue for centralisation and lowering to [əi, əu] as the first phase (Dobson 1968, Kökeritz 1953, Cercignani 1981); still others assume centralisation first, then lowering (Stockwell 1961). The two centralisation models look like this:

(21)

Dobson

ii	uu
↓	↓
əi	əu

Stockwell

ii → ɨi ɨu ← uu

↓	↓
əi	əu

On any such account Hart and the other sixteenth-century witnesses, as well as most writers up to the 1640s, had [əi, əu] (despite their own descriptions: see below). This has become something of an orthodoxy; it is given in textbooks like Strang (1970) and Görlach (1978) without argument. It is also manifestly wrong. The technical arguments for the centralising position are extremely complex, and too specialised to go into here (for an admirable summary of the often obscure literature see Wolfe 1973: 9–15, 107–9). I will indicate only the most pertinent objections.

First, claims for early centralisation are not based on the orthoepic record; they are purely theoretical, based on assumptions about the nature of sound change, considerations of economy and simplicity, etc. It's proper (even necessary) to use theoretical argument when harder evidence is lacking, or as a guide to interpretation (cf. the earlier discussion of Hart's

vowel system); but not when it forces one to disregard harder and safer evidence.

Crucially, no orthoepist before Hodges (1644) reports anything interpretable as a central vowel in the relevant positions; most report something quite different. The early sources, like Hart and his French contemporaries, identify the first element of ME /iː/ with English and French short /e/; Hart consistently transcribes <ei>, and there is no doubt that his <e> was a front vowel. Similarly he uses <ou> for ME /uː/; it is perverse, considering his description of <o> as a rounded vowel ('turning the lippes rounde as a ring') to claim that he would have used this transcription for [ə].

If we disregard our good early sources on this issue, it's hard to justify our faith in them on others. And indeed, writers who have a problem with early [ei, ou], etc. generally have other axes to grind (e.g. Kökeritz wants a 'modern'-sounding Shakespeare). Without very good grounds indeed, it is dangerous to assume mass ineptitude on the part of virtually all primary sources in just those cases where their descriptions fail to harmonise with a preconceived view.

The classic centralisation arguments are neatly summarised by Wolfe (1973: 107–8) as follows: the reason for 'the discrepancy between the early transcriptions . . . and the desired interpretation is that the early orthoepists could not recognize a centralized vowel, and . . . were handicapped by the English alphabet's having no symbol for /ə/'. She presents a number of points in rebuttal:

(a) Robinson (1619) invented a new alphabet, deliberately unrelated to the English one, to avoid just this kind of limitation; yet he shows [ɛi, ɔu].

(b) All sources up to Hodges (1644) describe ME /iː, uː/ as something like [ei, ou] or [ɛi, ɔu], i.e. with an unrounded front first element in *bite* and a rounded back one in *out*. Only later ones (and not all: 3.4.2.5) have [əi,əu]. If the earlier writers 'really heard' [əi,əu], we must explain: (a) 'why all the pre-Hodges orthoepists were handicapped so badly by the English alphabet (including Robinson, who didn't even use it), while the post-Hodges orthoepists were not'; (b) 'why none . . . before Hodges could recognise /ə/, while those . . . later all could'; and (c) 'why the early orthoepists, at least some of whom seem well able to distinguish front from back vowels, all distinguished different first elements in ME /iː uː/, which they identify with short /e, o/ respectively, while later writers 'heard the same element in both . . . and equated it with the vowel in e.g. *nut*; here we have an early tendency to hear nonexistent differences . . . which ended abruptly with Hodges'.

So there's no reason to take ME /iː, uː/ as anything but [ɛi, ɔu] until around the 1640s. Both earlier and later orthoepists meant what they said and wrote what they heard. Wolfe convinces me that we should accept Hart's testimony (as did Jespersen, and Hart's most recent editor, Danielsson). The original diphthongisation was as in (20), and centralisation (when it occurred at all) was much later.

So much for Phase I. For Phase II we must ask: (a) what happened to ME /aː/ during the sixteenth century? and (b) what happened to ME /ɛː, ɔː/? These might seem not to be independent questions: the fates of /aː/ and /ɛː/ must be interconnected, since raising of /aː/ to [ɛː] would imply raising of /ɛː/ to [eː]. But in fact /aː/ could well go to [æː], allowing for a raised low vowel with no compensatory movement of the vowel above. This appears to be precisely what happened; the front series in Phase II went through at least two subphases:

(22)

		Input	IIa	IIb
ME /eː/	meet	iː	iː	iː
				eː ↑
ME /ɛː/	meat	ɛː	ɛː	ɛː ↑
			æː ↑	
ME /aː/	mate	aː		

Original /eː/ was lost by raising to [iː] in Phase I; the input to II has unshifted /aː/, which at IIa raises to [æː], giving a somewhat crowded but plausible system (/æ/ v. /ɛ/ in *bat* v. *bet* is common in PDE). At IIb, [æː] raises to [ɛː], which initiates a minor push chain, raising original /ɛː/ to [eː].

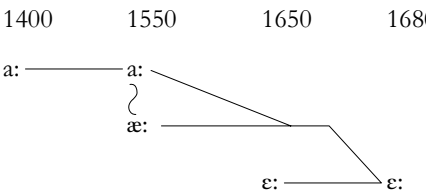
There are some interesting problems surrounding sixteenth-century testimony on ME /aː/, which illustrate a situation we will encounter repeatedly. If Hart's <a> was [a], then the long counterpart must be [aː], since his vowel-pairs differ only in length (3.1.2.1). But other contemporary sources, especially French, tend to equate short ME /a/ with French /a/ and long ME /aː/ with French long open /ɛː/. Does this mean that Hart, obsessed by the neatness of his matched pairs, ignored a qualitative difference?

This is not a problem if we allow both conservative and advanced varieties to coexist in a community, even a quasi-standard speaking one (cf. Wells 1982: 4.1 on variety in the modern 'received' standard). There seems

to have been a conservative type with [aː] (Hart), and a more innovating one with [æː] (most likely what the French sources intend by /ɛː/: Bellot 1580 says this vowel is 'almost' like the first one in 'the Uerbe Estre'). Some may even have had [ɛː], though surely a minority. Conflicting accounts can both be right.

The ME /aː/ story in outline, then: conservative sixteenth-century speakers still had [aː], though higher variants existed. In the first two decades of the seventeenth century the openest long vowel in the southern standard was distinctly [ɛː]-like, at least for some, and by around mid-century (e.g. Wallis 1653) it is [ɛː] or [æː] or something in between. By the end of the century (e.g. Cooper 1687) the norm is [ɛː]. A short history from say 1400–1680 would look like this (the symbol '≀' = 'arises as a variant'; horizontal lines denote unchanged development, obliques merger):

(23)



Later a new variant [eː] arises; this is part of another story (4.2.3).

We turn briefly to ME /ɛː/ and /ɔː/. There is little or no indication of change for most of the sixteenth century; Bellot's ME /ɛː/ has 'the mouth halfe open', which does not suggest anything closer than [ɛː], other French and German writers give similar descriptions. ME /ɔː/ is less clearly described, but the evidence suggests [ɔː]. Only after 1600 do we find unambiguous raising of either, and not consistently until rather late. The first clear suggestions of [eː, oː] come in Wallis (1653), where not only articulatory descriptions but impressionistic terms like 'acute', 'vivid' seem to imply higher vowels.

Summing up the structure and progress of the GVS from the beginnings to about the 1640s:

(i) ME /iː, uː/ were [ei, ou], later [ɛi, ɔu] and remained.
(ii) ME /eː, oː/ were [iː, uː] and remained.
(iii) ME /ɛː, ɔː/ were generally unraised until the mid-seventeenth century, though some advanced speakers had raising, even ME /ɛː/ as high as [iː], but not the majority (3.4.2.1–3.4.2.3).
(iv) ME /aː/ shows some raising in the sixteenth century, but is not stable at [ɛː] until well into the seventeenth.

A diagrammatic summary:

(24)

	1400	1550	1640
Bite	iː	ɛi	ɛi
Meet	eː	iː	iː
Meat	ɛː	ɛː	e
Mate	aː	aː/æː	ɛː
Out	uː	ɔu	ɔu
Boot	oː	uː	uː
Boat	ɔː	ɔː	oː

3.4 Further evolution of the vowel system

3.4.1 The short vowels

3.4.1.1 ME /a/: raising to [æ], retraction to [ɒ] (*bat*, *was*)

Typically English as the vowel [æ] seems to be, its 'native' distribution is limited. In Mainland vernaculars it occurs only south of a line from North Norfolk to Staffordshire, and is commoner in the East than the West. All of the Midlands is north of this line; the North, Scotland and Wales have nothing higher than [a] in *bat* except as importations from the southern standard. All the extraterritorial Englishes have [æ] (or something even higher), but they descend from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century southern dialects (Lass 1990). The only exception is Ireland, which has [æ] only in more Anglicised varieties. So [æ] is a geographically restricted Early Modern development (unlike the pan-British GVS), with secondary spread due to London prestige.

Some writers (Zachrisson 1913, Kökeritz 1953) suggest [æ] for ME /a/ as early as the fifteenth century, on the basis of 'approximative' spellings with <e> like *understende*, etc. These however are probably not 'attempts at [æ]', but spellings of ME /e/; raising of /a/ to /e/ is widespread, and was commoner in the standard in earlier times. Nares (1784) has /ɛ/ rather than /æ/ in *catch*, *gather*, *January*, *jasmine* (cf. the doublet *Jessamyn*), *many* (now standard). This could account for both sixteenth-century <e>-spellings and apparent ME /aː/eː/ rhymes.

Both foreign and native sources generally indicate [a] in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The earliest description of a raised vowel is that of the Scot Alexander Hume (c. 1617), who says of the southern English that 'their sound . . . is not far unlyke the sheepes bae, quhilk the greek symbolises be η not α, βη not βα' (8). Hume thinks the Scots 'pronounce it better'. A Scot with [a] would quite naturally take English [æ]

as somewhat [ɛ]-like (what this description amounts to). This is probably an advanced minority pronunciation and does not become the norm until mid-century.

Wallis (1653: 8) calls this vowel '*a* exile' [thin *a*], and describes it as 'palatal'. Unlike the Germans, whose *a* is 'fat' (*pinguis*) and pronounced 'in the throat' (*in gutture*), the English raise the middle of the tongue so that 'aerem in palato comprimant' [they compress the air in the palate]. Since this is clearly a non-low vowel, and [ɛ] was never a standard value, we assume [æ].

Wallis has the same quality long for ME /aː/ (*bate*, *pale*); the short and long low vowels are still qualitatively matched, but raised from [a, aː]. This is supported by Wallis's observation that ME /a/ causes insertion of /j/ after a velar, just as the higher front vowels do: *can*, *get*, *begin* are *cyan*, *gyet*, *begin* (40).

Thirty years later Cooper (1687: 4–5) calls this vowel '*a* lingual'; it is 'formed by the middle of the Tongue a little rais'd to the hollow of the Palate', and is distinct from '*e* lingual' (= ME /aː/ in *tale*), which has the tongue 'more rais'd . . . and extended'. The two are of different heights, and short *e* lingual is the value of ME /e/, i.e. [ɛ] (see next section). Wallis and Cooper must be describing something lower than [ɛ] and higher than [a], i.e. [æ]: We can date the stabilisation of [æ] to about the 1650s.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, a preceding /w/ tended to retract and round /æ/ to /ɒ/ (thus merging it with ME /o/): before this change *warm*, *wand* rhymed with *arm*, *hand* (cf. 3.1.2.3). The first good witness is Daines (1640), with rounding especially before /r/ (*ward*, *dwarf*). Informal spellings suggest some rounding as early as the fifteeenth century (Cely Papers *wosse*, *whos* 'was'), and it was general by the mid-eighteenth.

Some varieties, however, rounded less than others, and [æ(:)] occurs throughout the eighteenth century. In today's British standard this conservative lineage survives mainly in *waft*, *quaff* with /ɒː/ (presupposing earlier [æː] < /æ/: 3.4.2.7); though even these have variants with /ɒ/, or old-fashioned /ɔː/. (For the modern reflexes of ME /a/ in *all*, *pass* see 3.4.2.2, 3.4.2.7.)

3.4.1.2 ME /e/ and /o/ (*set*, *pot*)

Old and early Middle English /e, o/ ([e, o]) had probably lowered to [ɛ, ɔ] by the sixteenth century. Many scholars (e.g. Luick 1914/41, §§378ff.) however date the lowering to early Middle English, on the basis of the outputs of Open Syllable Lengthening (Lass *CHEL* II 2.2.5.2). That is,

when these vowels lengthened, they merged with the lower ME /ɛː, ɔː/ rather than with higher /eː, oː/: *meat* /mɛːt / < OE *mete*, *nose* /nɔːzə/ < *nosu*. These mergers would be expected if the inputs were lower rather than higher. On the other hand, the short vowels could still have been higher mid, with lower allophones in this context: neither argument is conclusive.

The frequent identification of the output of ME /ɛː/ with French /ɛː/, and of ME /e/ as its short congener, suggests lowering by the 1550s. The evidence for /o/ is less clear; some writers seem to show closer values into the seventeenth century, and [e, o] and [ɛ, ɔ] may have coexisted. By the 1650s ME /o/ had lowered further: for Wallis it is the openest 'guttural' (= back) vowel (3.4.2.2). Cooper (1687: 8) calls it '*o* guttural'; it is made 'by the root of the Tongue moved to the inner part of the Pallat, while the middle . . . is depressed, which causes the greatest space between the fore part of the Tongue and Pallat'. It 'hath the most open and full sound of all'. Such descriptions clearly suggest [ɒ]. So lowering began no later than the 1650s, and was established by the end of the century.

Given the story of ME /a/ (3.4.1.1) and the lowering of /e/ and two lowerings of /o/, the short vowel system has so far shown the following transformations from c. 1400–1650 (further developments in the next section):

(25)

	1400		1550		1650	
High	i	u	i	u	i	u
High-mid	e	o		↓		
Low-mid			ɛ		ɛ	
Low	a		a		æ	↓ ɒ

ME /o/ has an alternative development, producing frequent early doublets with /a/, later /æ/. Suggestive spellings occur from around the 1420s (*St Editha*: *starme* 'storm', *crass* 'cross'). From the sixteenth century such spellings and rhymes become frequent: Queen Elizabeth writes *stap* 'stop', Spenser (*The Faerie Queene* VI.8.47) rhymes *armes*, *harmes* with *stormes*, Shakespeare (*The Rape of Lucretia* 554–6) rhymes *dally* with *folly*. Gil (1619) condemns this pronunciation as affected; his Mopseys (see 3.4.2.1) say *skalerz* for *scholars*. Unrounded ME /o/ is also a well-known foppish stereotype in restoration and later drama (Wyld 1936: 240ff).

3.4.1.3 ME /i/ (*bit*), /u/ (*put*, *cut*), and shortened /oː/ (*blood*, *good*)

The handbook consensus is that ME /i, u/ had become [ɪ, ʊ] by early Middle English, if not even Old English times. When (rarely) this position

is argued rather than asserted, the standard argument, as with ME /e, o/ (3.4.1.2), comes from Middle English sound changes. On this view (e.g. Dobson 1968: II §§11, 77 n. 1), when for instance ME /eː/ shortened in certain words, it went directly to ME /i/ as in *sick* < /seːk/ < OE *sēoc*. This would be natural if ME /i/ were [ɪ], since it would be articulatorily close to [eː]. Otherwise, in addition to shortening, it would have to raise. A converse argument leading in the same direction is that when ME /i, u/ lengthen in open syllables, they merge with /eː, oː/: so *week* < ME /weːk/ < OE *wicu*, *wood* < ME /woːd/ < OE *wudu*. Again, this would be simpler if the vowels were already lowered, i.e. mid [ɪ, ʊ] rather than high [i, u]. This would avoid the unmotivated raisings and lowerings we'd get if the changes were really [eː] > [i] (*sick*), and [i] > [eː] (*week*).

There is however no evidence for a direct [eː] > [i] change in *sick*, etc.; but there is a lot for raising of ME /e/ (whether original or from shortened /eː/): familiar examples are *string*, *mingle*, *English*, *chimney*, *wing*, all with original /e/. So every supposed direct raising of [eː] > [i] falls into a well-established category of sporadic short-vowel raisings, persistent since Middle English, and once much better represented in the standard than now. In the late eighteenth century, for instance, /ɪ/, the normal reflex of ME /i/, appeared in ME /e/ words like *yes*, *engine*, *yesterday*, as well as *English* and the like (Nares 1784; and cf. the raised /a/ examples cited in the last section). Every raised reflex, whether of shortened or originally short vowels, could easily represent an already raised OE or ME doublet; they tell us no more about the quality of ME /i, u/ than they did about ME /a/ (3.4.1.1). One could as easily argue that ME /a/ must have been a very close vowel on the grounds of lowering to /a/ as in eighteenth-century *yellow*, *celery*; or that ME /e/ must have been very open.

These rather tenuous arguments pale before one simple fact: no orthoepist before Robinson (1619) reports a quality difference between ME /eː/ and /i/, or /oː/ and /u/: they all give e.g. *beet/bit*, *pool/pull* as length-pairs. And most later writers, through Wallis (1653), still show no difference. The first modern-sounding description is Cooper (1687), who matches the reflexes of ME /i, u/ with long mid rather than high vowels: *win/wean* are a short/long pair (*wean* had [eː] for Cooper), and *pull* has the short correspondent of the vowel in *hope*, which is [oː]. If Cooper doesn't clearly describe centralisation, he does indicate lowering. Even if some adventurous speakers in the early seventeenth century had lowered ME /i, u/, the modern values were not established until close to the end of the century.

There is more to the ME /u/ story. The modern short vowel system is

one phoneme larger than the Middle English one, because of a seventeenth-century split in ME /ʊ/:

(26)

Middle English				Modern			
i	bit	ʊ	put, cut	ɪ	bit	ʊ	put
e	set	o	pot	ɛ	set	ʌ	cut
a	bat			æ	bat	ɒ	pot

(In the North and Midlands, the *cut/put* split has not occurred, and both have /ʊ/; the 'North' here excludes Scotland, which has the split.)

The results in outline: (a) /ʊ/ tends to remain after labials: *put*, *bull*, *full*, *wool*; (b) lowered unrounded /ʌ/ tends to appear elsewhere: *cut*, *dull*, *tuck*, *thumb*. Though this looks like an allophonic rather than a phonemic distinction, the split is phonologised by two classes of exceptions. First, unrounding after labials as in *but*, *puff*, *fuck*. Second (and conversely), both /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ are joined in all environments by reflexes of shortened ME /oː/ (*flood*, *blood* v. *good*, *foot*: see below); and French and Latin loans tend to have /ʌ/ (*budge*, *bugger*, *pus*).

The early history of the split is unclear; while there are some marginal sixteenth-century reports, the first solid evidence is from the 1640s. Hodges (1644) for instance distinguishes the following vowels in the relevant area (his 'transcriptions' consist of the standard orthography with diacritics):

(27)

	Short	As in	Long	As in
A.	oo̱, u̱	woo̱l, pu̱ll	oo	pool
B.	u, o̱	us, so̱n	–	

He gives no articulatory descriptions; but later history shows that category B (modern /ʌ/) must be lower and/or unrounded, while A consists of short /ʊ/ and long /uː/. The fact that the new value B lacks a long partner tends to confirm this, as does its appearance mainly in words with non-labial initials. There is still variation at this stage: Hodges has both <u̱> and <u> in *pull*.

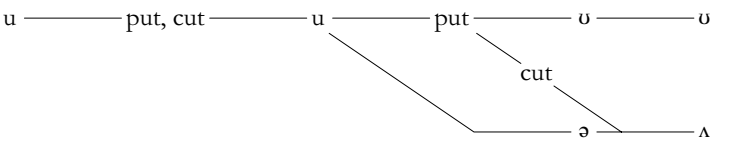
The first useful phonetic description of a new value is in Wallis (1653). In many ME /ʊ/ words that now have /ʌ/ he has '*u* obscurum' [obscure *u*]. This appears to be non-open, perhaps weakly rounded, and distinct from short '*u̍* pingue' [fat *u̍*], which is high, rounded and is the other ME /ʊ/ reflex. Long *u̍* pingue = ME /oː/, i.e. [uː], in *boot*.

The description of non-peripheral vowels is notoriously difficult even now; the early reports, while leaving no doubt about general character, do not allow very precise interpretation. But we can note one important fact;

Wallis's obscure vowels are described as fairly close, whereas later writers (e.g. Cooper) suggest they are quite open. It has now become conventional to use the symbol [ə] for the closer varieties, and [ʌ] for the opener. So in discussion of pre-modern English '[ʌ]' is not to be taken in its IPA sense (low mid back); it rather implies, as it still does when used as a label for the *cut* class in modern descriptions, a rather vague range of opener centralised-to-central vowel qualities. I continue this undesirable practice here.

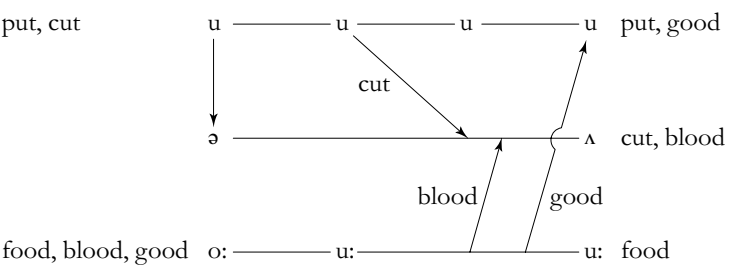
The evidence from Hodges and Wallis implies, contrary to what is usually believed, that ME /u/ began to shift while it was still [u], i.e. before centralisation and lowering to [ʊ]. Since Wallis still apparently has [u] in *pull*, *wool*, but an 'obscure' vowel in *cut*, *dull*, [u] must have started moving toward [ʌ] in the latter class first (at least in his type of dialect). The development seems to be: (a) ME /u/ lowered and unrounded (doubtless by a long series of stages) to [ʌ] in words like *cut*; (b) the remainder of ME /u/ centralised and lowered to [ʊ] after the unrounding; and (c) the *cut* class continued to lower and unround during the next two centuries. An oversimplified picture for the period 1500–1700 would be:

(28)



The trajectory of ME /u/ is complexly intersected by certain ME /oː/ words. In addition to the normal GVS /uː/ (*food*, *boot*), ME /oː/ has two other reflexes, shared with ME /u/: /ʊ/ in *foot*, *good*, *book*, and /ʌ/ in *blood*, *flood*, *glove*. These result from shortenings at different periods. Early (pre-seventeenth-century) ones generally join ME /u/ before the split, and develop with the *cut* class to /ʌ/; later shortenings apparently go directly to /ʊ/ (since there is no short [u], and the changes leading to [ʌ] are no longer active). Putting the two evolutions together:

(29)



Like all neat diagrams, this is oversimple, if correct in principle. Particular words did not enter a given developmental stream uniformly in different varieties; some shortened early in one and late in another, some ME /u/ unrounded in one and not in others. So while *blood*, *flood* are early shortenings in the modern standards, Cooper has /ʊ/, suggesting late shortening; he also has /ʌ/ in *wolf*, which must have entered the *cut* stream for him. A century later Nares (1784) has /ʌ/ in *bull*, *bullet*, both /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ in *put*.

To sum up the basic developments in the short vowel system from late Middle English to about 1700, when it takes on essentially its modern form:

(30)

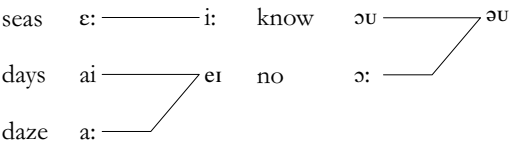
1400	1500	1650	1700
i u	i u	i u	
e o			ɪ ʊ
	ɛ ɔ	ɛ ɔ	ɛ ʌ
a	a	æ	æ ɒ

3.4.2 The long vowels and diphthongs

3.4.2.1 Of Mopseys and mergers: ME /aː, ai, ɛː/ (*daze*, *days*, *seas*) and /ɔː, ɔu/ (*no*, *know*)

The modern standard has a heterogeneous dialect base; this complicates the history of the Middle English lower long vowels and the diphthongs /ai/ and /ɔu/. Present-Day English reflexes show an apparently simple pattern:

(31)



But for some time at least three different dialect types coexisted, in which ME /aː, ai, ɛː/ had quite disparate relations; and there were two patterns for ME /ɔː, ɔu/.

Hart (1569) consistently writes <e> = [ɛː] for ME /ai/, i.e. merger with ME /ɛː/; ME /aː/ remains /aː/. This is common in sixteenth-century sources. But in a famous passage in his *Logonomia anglica* (1619) Alexander Gil (b. 1564) criticises these and other pronunciations reported by Hart. In particular he condemns monophthongal ME /ai/ (*pray*) and /ɔu/ (*known*) – only the first of which is typical of Hart (but see below). The offending forms in his notation are <prë> for <prai>, <knön> for <knoun>, etc. Gil says (1619: *B2b–3a) that 'Non nostras hic voces habes,

sed Mopsarum fictitias' [Here you have not our sounds, but the inventions of the Mopsae]. *Mopsae* (often now anglicised to *Mopseys*) was apparently Gil's disdainful term for a type of affected, over-delicate, hypercorrecting female speaker – what we would now call 'refayned'. The Mopseys affect a 'thin' pronunciation ('omnia attenuant'), rather than speaking they 'chirp' ('pippiunt').

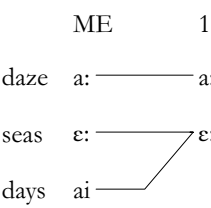
The Mopseys' /ɔ:/ – /ɔu/ merger could be ancestral to the modern one; but that of /ai/ and /ɛ:/ must belong to a different lineage. If these had merged in the sixteenth-century ancestor of the modern standard, they would eventually have fallen together in /i:/ (3.4.2.3); instead of /deɪz/ *days* we would say **/di:z/ to rhyme with *seas*, etc. So:

(32)

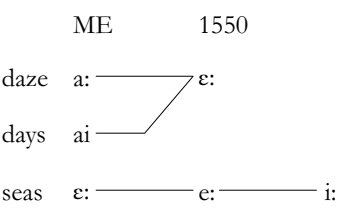
Mopseys	Modern standard
/ai/ days	/aɪ/ days
/ɛ:/ seas	/a:/ daze
/a:/ daze	/ɛ:/ seas

But two other dialect types are attested from the same period. Calling the Hart/Mopsey variety Lineage I, Lineage II merges ME /ai, a:/ early in a raised /ɛ:/ (apparently of northern origin, though represented in London from the sixteenth century); and Lineage III, the most conservative and perhaps most 'standard', keeps all three separate until well into the seventeenth century. This seems to be the ancestor of the modern standard. In outline:

(33) Lineage I: Hart Mopseys



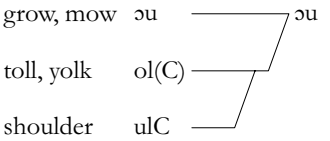
Lineage II: N, Popular London



(33) Lineage III: General London Standard

	ME	1550
daze	a:	a:/æ:
days	ai	ai
seas	ɛ:	ɛ:

ME /ɔ:/ and /ɔu/ show a similar picture; the Mopsey-types monophthongise /ɔu/ to /ɔ:/ quite early, merging it with unraised ME /ɔ:/; but there are no competing lineages with 'wrong' mergers. ME /ɔu/ has been considerably expanded by this time: in addition to original /ɔu/ < OE /o:w/ (*grow* < *grōwan*), /ɑ:w/ (*mow* < *mōwan*), there are late diphthongisations which merge with the original: ME /ol(C)/ (*toll*, *yolk*), and ME /ul/ before dentals (*shoulder*, *poultry*). Final ME /ul/ does not give secondary /ɔu/: *wool* retains /u/. The category is made up as follows:

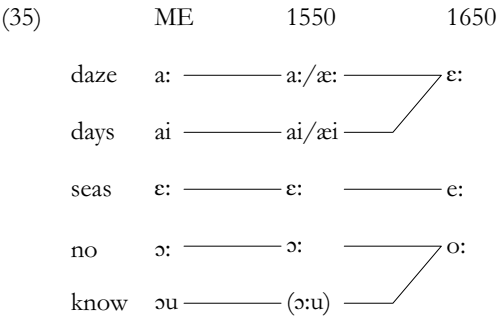


(/l/ often drops before a consonant: cf. *toll* v. *yolk*.)

ME /u:/ and /ɔu/ are distinct in most earlier sources, though how is not always clear. Hart for instance found it difficult: in 1569 he used (impossibly on historical grounds) <ou> for both ME /u:/ (*out*) and /ɔu/ In 1570 however he distinguished them by writing <o̤u> for ME /ɔu/ and <ou> for ME /u:/, claiming a length contrast [ɔ:u] v. [ɔu]. This is supported by Gil's transcriptions (<öu> in *blown* v. <ou> in *bound*), and by later testimony. It is not certain whether the distinction is really length alone, or syllabicity: a 'rising' diphthong (i.e. with a more prominent second mora, as occasionally reported in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) could be interpreted as 'long'. This is likelier than a short resurgence of distinctive length in diphthongs, which had not existed since OE times.

As Gil's Mopsey-forms show, some varieties had already monophthongised ME /ɔu/; indeed there are indications as early as the 1540s. Hart has monophthongs in *know*, *row*, *show*, suggesting the process was beginning even in dialects that generally kept the distinction. Some seventeenth-century sources (e.g. Robinson 1619) have monophthongisation and merger complete, but more conservative later writers like Wallis and Cooper still have a few diphthongal items.

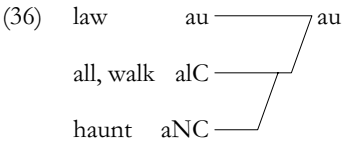
The Lineage III /aː/ to /ai/ merger finishes at about the same time; most seventeenth-century sources show it, but Wallis and Cooper again have some residues in [æi]. Putting the stories of the relevant vowels together from ME to about 1650:



(Later changes like raising of ME /aː/ to [eː] and merger of ME /ɛː, eː/ will be taken up in 3.4.2.3.)

3.4.2.2 ME /au/ (*law*, *all*) and /ɔux/ (*thought*)

ME /au/, like /ɔu/, was expanded towards the end of the period, particularly by diphthongisation before /l/ (3.4.2.1). Short /a/ > [au] as in *all*, *fall*, *walk*; this was never regularly indicated, but spellings like *aull*, *cawlyd* 'called' appear in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There were also /au/ from special developments before nasal clusters in French loans; some like *haunt* < *hanter* survive, while others have been replaced by ME /a/ or /aː/ doublets (*grant*, *dance*, *chamber*, *ancient*, commonly spelled with <au> through the sixteenth century). There is similar variation with ME /al/ before labials in *half*, *calf*, etc. (3.4.2.7). Late ME /au/ is made up as follows:



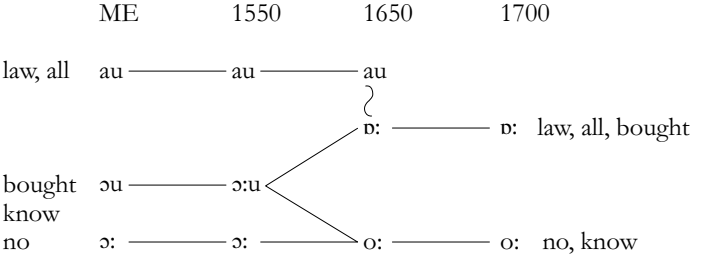
The diphthong [au] remains through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Hart, Gil); Robinson (1619) seems to be the first to show consistent monophthongisation, though he is rather advanced. By the 1650s monophthongisation is general.

Wallis has the openest of his 'guttural' vowels (*ô* apertum) in most ME

/au/ words; he identifies it as the long equivalent of ME /o/ in short/long pairs like *sod/saw'd*, *odd/aw'd*, *loss/laws*. This vowel is pronounced 'plene rictu' [with the mouth wide open], which suggests very weak rounding. (Later history argues against it being unrounded; higher back vowels with closer rounding are classified by Wallis as 'labial'.) For Wallis we can assume [ɒː] for ME /au/, and [ɒ] for ME /o/. The pathway was probably [au] > [ɒu] > [ɒː], the first mora assimilating to the second in backness and rounding, then the second assimilating to the first. There is ample evidence for [ɒu] earlier in the century, and Cooper still has it in a few ME /au/ words.

In the seventeenth century ME /au/ is joined by the reflex of /ɔu/ before /xt/, as in *thought*, *bought*, *daughter*; while early writers still have *thought* with [ɔːu], from the 1640s on there is increasing merger with /au/, continuing into the next century. As so often, individual lexical items have their own partly independent histories: <au> spellings for *daughter* appear before 1500, and Hart, who has [ɔːu] or [ɔuh] in most words of this class, has [au] in *daughter*. (Note that in this word the spelling has been changed, masking the etymology.) The overall story is:

(37)

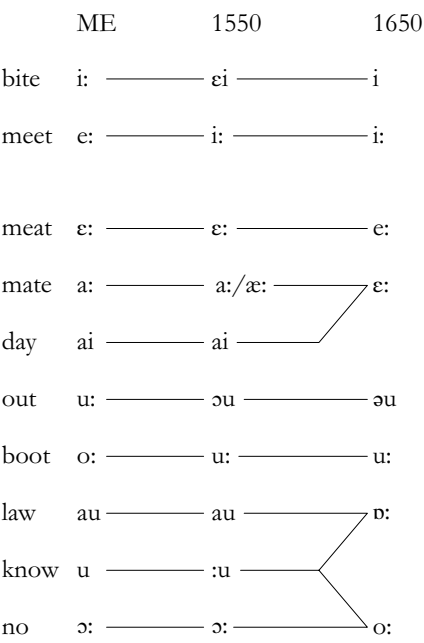


The [ɒː] from /au/ is later joined by lengthened ME /o/ (*off*, *cloth*: 3.4.2.7); in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there is gradual raising to [ɔː] and beyond.

3.4.2.3 Post-GVS raising (ME /aː/) and the *meet/meat* merger (ME /eː, ɛː/)

The end of the traditional GVS proper (3.2.3.1, 3.2.3.3) is the completion of the raisings of the Middle English mid and low long vowels by one height; by about 1650 ME /aː/ has reached [ɛː] and /ɛː, ɔː/ have reached [eː, oː]. To cut a path through the detail of the last few sections, we can summarise the state of play – both long vowels and diphthongs – up to this point (cf. displays (25) and (34)–(38)):

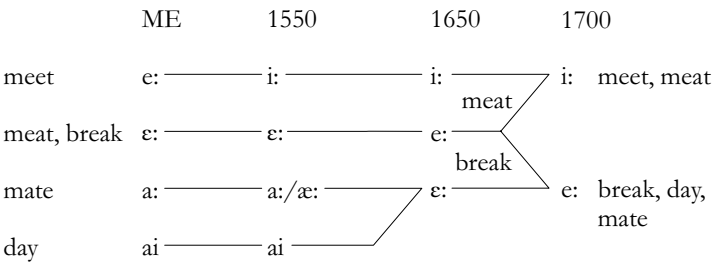
(38)



(I omit the diphthongs /ɛu, iu/ and /oi, ui/: see the next two sections. Variation is ignored for the sake of the basic pattern.)

Let us turn from the intricacies of phonetic change to the vowel systems themselves. Following the histories of the long front nuclei from Middle English to about 1650, and then on into the eighteenth century, we see a steady reduction in the number of contrasts: four to three to two. ME /aː/ and /ai/ have merged in /ɛː/ by around 1650; after this /ɛː/ raises to /eː/ (1680–1700), and then earlier /eː/ < ME /ɛː/ appears to break up and vanish as a distinct category. Most of its members end up joining /iː/ < ME /eː/, and a few (now only *break*, *great*, *drain*, *yea*, and perhaps *steak*) merge with the already conflated /eː/. In outline:

(39)

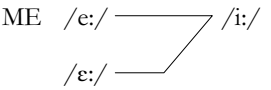


This looks like an 'anti-GVS' outcome; the point of the GVS chain was apparently the preservation of contrast under shift (3.3.1). Yet it seems also to produce a small independent chain: the transfer of most ME /ɛː/ items to /iː/ leaves the [eː] slot open, and the conflated /aː/ + /ai/ category moves into it.

But the *meet/meat* merger, as I will call it, is not simply a 'sound change' following on the unmerged state suggested at 1650. As we saw (3.2.4.1), in some varieties it was complete or nearly so a century earlier. In the London speech of Shakespeare's time there existed, among the conservative and prestigious types, two innovative varieties with differential mergers of ME /ɛː/. In one (the Mopsey merger) ME /ai/ had monophthongised in /ɛː/ or possibly even /eː/; in the other, the 'modern' /eː, ɛː/ merger had occurred. Thus Shakespeare can rhyme differently on the same ME /ɛː/ word; the more 'advanced' example, incidentally, is perhaps two decades earlier than the more conservative, c. 1591 v. 1613:

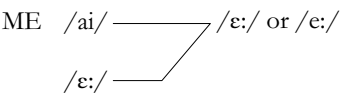
(i) Man more diuine, the Master of all *these,*
Lord of the wide world, and wilde watry *seas*

[*Comedy of Errors* II.i.20–1]



(ii) Euery thing that heard him *play,*
Euen the Billowes of the *sea*

[*Henry VIII* III.i.9–19]



So a century before the first good orthoepic record of the merger (see below), there were already familiar varieties that had it; even the rather conservative Hart has advanced versions of two words (*read*, *leave*), for which he is duly condemned by Gil. From the sixteeenth century on either some or all ME /ɛː/ words had alternative pronunciations; one with /eː/, later /iː/, and one with /ɛː/, later /eː/. The Great Mystery of the apparent 'reversed merger' of ME /ɛː/ (unmerging from its collapse with ME

/ai/ and remerging with ME /eː/) is a pseudo-problem, stemming from failure to recognise coexisting lineages and the possibility of inter-lineage borrowing. Rather than a 'reversed merger', we have a new choice among alternative variants.

Aside from some pre-/r/ raisings in the 1630s (3.4.3.2), which are part of a different story, the changeover begins in the late seventeenth century. Cooper still has pretty uniform /eː/; but the anonymous *Writing Scholar's Companion* (1695) shows the complete merger. The author, usefully for us, plagiarises Cooper (the 'barbarisms' cited in 3.1.2.2 are taken over unacknowledged in his list). But he gives most of the <ea> words to which Cooper assigned /eː/ with (ee) = /iː/: even *break* and *great*.

If we had only Cooper, this work and modern English, the merger would be straightforward; but all through the eighteenth century the two types were in competition. Pope for instance has both old-style and new-style rhymes: *weak/take*, *eat/gate*, *eat/state*, *obey/tea* v. *see/flea*, *ease/these*. A generation later Dr Johnson can still comment on the lack of agreement in these words – even in 'the best company'. He says Lord Chesterfield had told him that *great* should rhyme with *state* (ME /aː/), while another distinguished speaker, Sir William Yonge, said it should rhyme with *seat* (ME /ɛː/, but already stabilised with /iː/): 'none but an Irishman would pronounce it *grait*' (Boswell, 28 March 1772). Johnson is recalling an incident of 1747; Flint in 1740 had already characterised /eː/ in ME /ɛː/ words as a Hibernicism (as it still is).

ME /ɛː/ words increasingly joined ME /eː/ in /iː/ during the eighteenth century; by the 1760s this was probably the norm. The /eː/ pronunciations (except in *break*, *great*, etc.) survived mainly as poetic options or stylistic variants.

3.4.2.4 ME /iu/ and /ɛu/: the *due/dew* Merger

Early Middle English had three /ɛu/ diphthongs with non-low front first elements: /iu/ < OE /iːw/, OF /ieu/ (*spew*, *rule*); /eu/ < OE /eow/, OF /y, yi/ (*new*, *due*, *fruit*); /ɛu/ < OE /æːw, æaw/, OF /ieu/ (*lewd*, *dew*, *beauty*). Later /iu/ and /eu/ merged in /iu/, leaving a two-way contrast /ɛu/ v. /iu/. (The early raising of /e/ in /eu/ to /i/, and the later retention of /ɛ/ in /ɛu/ are parallel to the early raising of /eː/ and retention of /ɛː/ in the GVS: /eu/ changes with /ee/ = /eː/, etc.)

Up to about the mid-seventeenth century the two were generally kept apart: Hart writes <iu> for late ME /iu/ (*flute*, *blue*, *rude*) and <eu> (*dew*) or <ieu> (*few*, *beautify*) for ME /ɛu/. Some /ɛu/ words thus appear to have

triphthongs: Hart's <ieu> = /iɛu/. In the next century Hodges (1644) still distinguishes <û, êw> (*due*, *new*) from <eu, eau> (*dew*, *beauty*); large-scale merger is first attested in Wallis (1653), and it is complete in Cooper. What they merge to, however, is a bit of a problem. The merged nucleus is often described as similar or identical to 'long French *u*', i.e. apparently [yː]; so Wallis (67) says it is like 'Gallorum *ú* exile' [French thin *ú*], and Cooper that it is 'the same almost as the *French* whistling *u*'. But Wallis also says that it is 'quasi composito ex *i* et *w*' [as if compounded of *i* and *w*], and Cooper calls it '*u* long', but lists it among the diphthongs, and says it is made of the vowel of *win* or *wean*, plus [u] (16).

Some believe this was [yː], and that <iw> and similar transcriptions are an English misinterpretation. That is, [y] has the frontness of [i] and the rounding of [u], which do not otherwise cooccur in English vowels; therefore the early phoneticians segmentalised the two simultaneous features and produced a false diphthong. This would add a new long /yː/ to the system.

But the wavering between monophthongal and diphthongal descriptions, and the hedges ('the same almost', 'quasi') suggest a simpler interpretation, in keeping with the reflexes of this category in Modern English. Phonologically the merged nucleus is at first /iu/ (see below); phonetically, the second element is fronted under the influence of the first, giving [iü] or [iʉ], later [jʉː] or [jʉː]. (Many modern dialects with [uː] in *boot* often have [jüː] or [jʉː] in *beauty*.) Both the diphthongal descriptions and the likening to French /y/ are accommodated this way; Early Modern /yː/, like late ME /yː/ (cf. Lass *CHEL* II 2.2.3.4) is imaginary.

Now this nucleus is an unambiguous diphthong for Hart and other early writers; it is described as 'long *u*' by Cooper and authorities after him; and it has a long second element now (but see below). It must therefore have undergone a radical structural change by the late seventeenth century. The original /iu/ had reduced its first element and lengthened its second, probably by way of a transition from 'falling' [iu̯] to 'rising' [i̯u]. Then the nonsyllabic [i̯] was reanalysed as the consonant /j/, and assigned to the syllable onset rather than the nucleus; there is a structural shift from the type /Ciu/ to /Cjuː/. *New*, with original /iu/, can serve as an example; in (40) below, [$_{\sigma}$] delimits the syllable as a whole, [$_{o}$] = Onset, and [$_{N}$] = Nucleus:

(40) [$_{\sigma}$ [$_{o}$ n] [$_{N}$ iu]] > [$_{\sigma}$ [$_{o}$ n] [$_{N}$ iu]] > [$_{\sigma}$ [$_{o}$ nj] [$_{N}$ uu]]

The lengthening of [u] is probably 'compensatory': spreading of the vocalic quality to a slot left empty by the migration of [i] out of the nucleus.

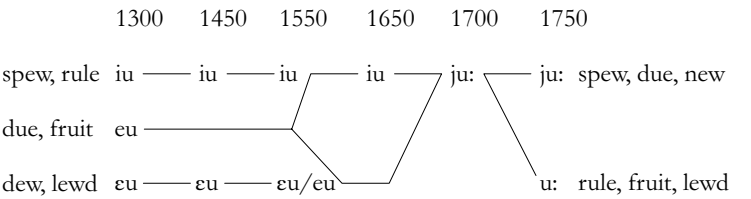
(Not all modern dialects have done this: some still have diphthongs of the type [iu].)

This resyllabification introduces a new onset-cluster type /Cj-/, and sets the stage for a later deletion of /j/, merging many /Cjuː-/ and /Cuː-/ words (e.g. *rude* and *rood*). This begins in earnest in the eighteenth century, though there are instances as early as Hart.

Simplification of /Cj-/ clusters belongs structurally with other onset-cluster changes (3.2.5.4); but it is an obvious pendant to the history of /iu/, and has generally been perceived by writers on the language in terms of which vowel a word has (e.g. '*oo*' v. 'long *u*'). Since the eighteenth century /j/-dropping has been common where the first consonant is coronal (/j/ always remains after labials and velars: *music*, *beauty*, *few*, *cute*). The earliest simplification is in /rj-/: *rue*, *true* etc. vary between /juː/ and /uː/ from the 1760s on (e.g. Johnston 1764); some later sources have only /uː/ (Sheridan 1781). Loss of /j/ becomes a sociolinguistic issue during this period; more conservative writers condemn it as 'vulgar' or 'indolent'. By the end of the century however it is fully established after /r/ except in some unstressed syllables (e.g. *erudite*, *querulous*).

After /l/, deletion is commonest when another consonant precedes: *blue*, *glue*, etc. lose /j/ during the eighteenth century, though *lute* and a few other items may retain it even now. The same is true for /sj/ (*sue*), though here retention is perhaps commoner. After /t, d, n/ deletion is stigmatised more than elsewhere; Walker (1791) calls *noo*, *doo* for *new*, *due* 'corrupt' Londonisms, and this deletion has never caught on in the British standards. Taking the history to about 1750:

(41)



3.4.2.5 ME /iː, uː/ (*bite*, *out*) after 1650

The conventional modern transcriptions /aɪ, aʊ/ obscure historically important detail. In today's standard dialects there are at least three major realisation patterns for these categories:

PATTERN I: BACKNESS AGREEMENT. The first element agrees with the second in backness, i.e. a fronter onset to front-gliding *bite*, a backer onset to back-gliding *out*: e.g. [aɪ] v. [ɑʊ].

PATTERN II: IDENTITY. The first elements of both are the same, normally central or centralised: e.g. [äɪ, äʊ].

PATTERN III: DISSIMILATED OR 'CROSSOVER'. A backer onset to front-gliding *bite* and a fronter onset to back-gliding *out*: e.g. [ɑi] v. [æʊ].

Pattern I is probably the commonest; Pattern II is typical of much of the North, as well as conservative RP; Pattern III, probably of London or SE vernacular origin, is widespread in England (though not in RP), and in South Africa, and is the majority US and Australasian type.

Pattern I of course is the most conservative, continuing the original state in principle. That is, the two morae of ME /iː, uː/ (= /ii, uu/) agree in all features. Later the first dissimilates in height, but during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continues to agree in backness and rounding, so [ɛi], [ɔu]. From the mid-seventeenth century on there are two lines of development: one with levelling of both first morae to [ə], later [ʌ]; this is the ancestor of Pattern II. The other continues the partial determination of the first element by the second; here Patterns I and II part company.

The first change toward the more modern types is shown by Wallis (1653), who has 'obscure' (= central[ised]) vowels as first elements of both. ME /iː/ has *e* foemininum + *y*, and /uː/ has *u* obscurum (the *cut* vowel) + *w*. The main distinction is that *u* has a smaller lip-aperture than *e*, i.e. is probably weakly rounded (it is also likened to French *-eur*). Wallis is usually said to have [əi, əu], the rounding ignored or taken to be predictable; but developments as little as thirty years later, and the continuation of rounded first elements in *out* into the nineteenth century argue against this. Wallis is in the conservative Pattern I line, with centralisation and lowering but no loss of rounding, i.e. he had something like [əi, ɔ̈u].

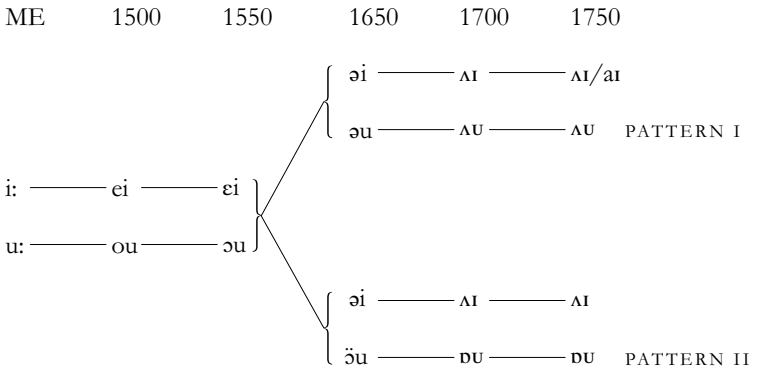
Pattern II first appears clearly in Cooper (1687); the first element of both diphthongs is *u* guttural (as in *cut*). This is 'formed onely in the throat . . . causing a naked murmur', which suggests a rather open unrounded back-to-central vowel. Using [ə] for higher and [ʌ] for lower unrounded central vowels, this indicates [ʌi, ʌʊ] for Cooper, deriving from earlier [əi, əu].

Both Patterns I and II are represented throughout the eighteenth century, though not equally. Sources with Pattern I often seem to have [a] as the first element, even rather early (e.g. Flint 1740), but these are less common than reports of Pattern II. Kirkby (1746) has his ME /a/ vowel as the onset of *bite*, and ME /o/ in *out*, i.e. [æɪ] v. [ɒʊ]; Walker (1791) has the vowels of *father* + *i* and *ball* + *u* respectively, i.e. [aɪ] v. [ɒʊ]; the same identification is made in the US by Noah Webster (1789). The best of the late sources for our period, Batchelor (1809), describes the *bite* nucleus as *but* + *y* and *pound* as *pond* + *w*: he transcribes (but, buyt) and (pond, pownd).

The identification of the first element in *out* as [ɒ] is fairly constant for Pattern I, while that of *bite* seems to show both [a] and [ʌ].

Pattern I, though it existed from at least the 1680s, only comes into its own in the nineteenth century. A. J. Ellis (b. 1814), writing in 1869, identifies the first mora of both diphthongs with the *but* vowel. He notes that for some speakers the first element of both is the *father* vowel (then [a] or [ä]); so we can date the modern Pattern I as a standard type from the later nineteenth century. From about 1700 to 1850 the competing standard variants are Pattern I with [ʌɪ, ʌʊ] or [aɪ, aʊ] and Pattern II with [ʌɪ] or [aɪ] v. [ɒʊ]. The I/II split and the eighteenth-century developments in summary:

(42)



3.4.2.6 ME /oi/ (*choice*), /ui/ (*join*) and the *line/loin* merger

Modern /ɒɪ/ conflates two ME diphthongs, /oi/ and /ui/ (Lass *CHEL* II 2.2.3.3). Though in late ME both tended increasingly to be spelled <oi, oy>, and there were some cross-category transfers, they remained potentially distinct until the seventeenth century.

Hart (1569) regularly transcribes ME /oi/ as <oi> = /ɔi/ (*joy*, *choice*), and ME /ui/ as <ui> = /ui/ (*join*, *poison*). A third possibility occurs in a few items like *buoy* < Dutch *boei* /bui/, which Hart gives as <buei> /bwɛi/; this extends later to other forms (see below). All three possibilities – not necessarily in line with the original etymologies – occur until the 1650s.

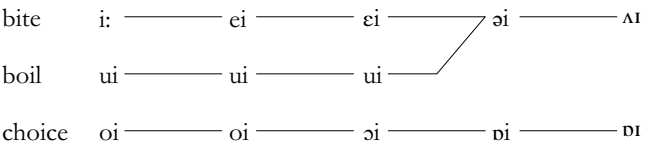
Hodges (1644) still retains two classes: one with /ɒi/ and the other with /wɛi/: <oi, oy> in *boy*, *choice*, *joy*, *noise* v. <ǫî, ǫŷ> in *boil*, *broil*, *coin*, *loin*, *point*, *toil*; <î, ŷ> are the signs for ME /iː/. This latter type does not survive in the standard, but is attested regionally in the nineteenth century.

Wallis recommends *ŏ* apertum + *y* /ɒi/ in *boys*, *toys*, *noise* v. *ò* obscurum + *y* /əi/ or /ɔ̈i/ in *boil*, *oil*, *toil*, but remarks that some pronounce the latter set

with /ɒi/. Note that *ò* obscurum = *ù* obscurum (3.4.1.3, 3.4.2.5), i.e. Wallis's lowered *cut* vowel < ME /u/. So the normal development of ME /u/ is carried out not only in isolation, but in the diphthong /ui/ (cf. the parallel /eu/ > /iu/ like /ee/ > /ii/: 3.4.2.4). The importance of this is seen in Cooper, for whom most <oi> words have /ʌɪ/: 'except in *annoint*, *broil*, *boil*, *Join-t-ure*, *oil*, *moil*, *toil*, *poison*, *point*, in which *o* is sounded labial [= [o]: RL] or *oi* as *i* diphthong [= [ʌɪ]]'. Cooper's ME /i:/ is also [ʌɪ], so for him a good number of these items merge with ME /i:/ as in *line*. There are also examples in his homophone lists: e.g. *bile / boil*, *I'le / isle / oil*.

Clearly the development of ME /u/ in /ui/ has caused this category to intersect the independent trajectory of ME /i:/ to /ʌɪ/. Somewhat oversimply:

(43)



Similar distributions occur throughout the eighteenth century. Flint (1740) has /ɒɪ/ in *destroy*, *boy*, *oil*, *noise*, *toy* but /aɪ/ = ME /i:/ in *joint*, *annoint*, *point*, *voice* = *vice*; and both in *employ*. Forty years later Nares (1784: 73) gives /ɒɪ/ in *noise*, *voice*, *rejoice*, but notes that 'commonly' long *I* = ME /i:/ appears in *boil*, *broil*, *join*, *poison*, *spoil*. 'The only objection', he says, 'to giving the true sound to *oi* in *join*, is that it is so constantly rhymed to *fine*, *line*, and the like, by our best poets'. His 'best poets' (cf. the summary in Wyld 1923: 73) would include Waller, Cowley, Dryden, Swift and Pope. By the end of the century then the merged pronunciation was in retreat, if still acceptable; by the nineteenth century spellings like *bile*, *jine* had become provincial stereotypes, and the standard varieties had restored /ʌɪ/. The old merger is still typical of rural Essex, and some southern US vernaculars.

3.4.2.7 Lengthening I: new /a:/ (*far*, *pass*, *chaff*, *plant*) and additional /ɒ:/ (*off*, *horn*)

The long nucleus system at c. 1650 was:

(44)

i:	meet	u:	boot	iu	due, dew
e:	meat	o:	boat	ʌu	out
ɛ:	mate, day			ʌi	bite
		ɒ:	bought	ɒi	boy

For the first time since about the thirteenth century, English lacks a long unrounded low vowel. This section is mainly concerned with the filling of this gap and its consequences.

The modern southern standard is poorer by one contrast than that in (44): *meat*, etc. have merged with *meet* or *mate*. It is also richer by at least five others: long monophthongs /ɑː/ (*far*, *pass*), /ɜː/ (*hurt*, *heard*), and centring diphthongs /ɪə/ (*fear*), /ɛə/ (*fair*), /ʊə/ (*poor*). The last four derive mainly from changes before /r/ and loss of /r/ (3.2.4.3); /ɑː/, while partly of this origin, has other and more widespread sources.

Modern /ɑː/ largely represents lengthened seventeenth-century /æ/ < ME /a/; this [æː] changed quality during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, lowering to [aː] and gradually retracting. The lengthening occurred before /r/ (*far*), voiceless fricatives except /ʃ/ (*chaff*, *path*, *grass*), and commonly before /ns, nt/ (*dance*, *plant*). Other minor sources include sporadic lengthenings as in *father*, *rather*, and certain doublets of ME /au/ forms (*half*, *palm*). Despite the obvious allophonic conditioning, the change was never completed (except before /r/); there are still enough minimal or near-minimal pairs to ensure phonemic distinctiveness (/æ/ in *ass*, *ant*, *cam* v. /ɑː/ in *arse*, *aunt*, *calm*).

Lengthening of seventeenth-century /æ/ and its sequelae define one of the great divides in English dialectology. Lengthening alone separates the South and South Midlands from the North and North Midlands; quality-shift of lengthened /æ/ (except before /r/) separates Southeast England and the Southern Hemisphere Englishes from the North American ones. The intricacy and importance of these distinctions can be seen in a simplified chart of major regional types:

(45)

	North	US	Norfolk	London
bat	a	æ	æ	æ
chaff		æː	aː	ɑː
far	aː	ɑː		

These contemporary forms give a kind of historical snapshot, capturing the main lines of development:

(i) Pre-/r/ lengthening is universal. Since ME /a/ never raised to [æ] in the North, [aː] here is a simple lengthening of the original.

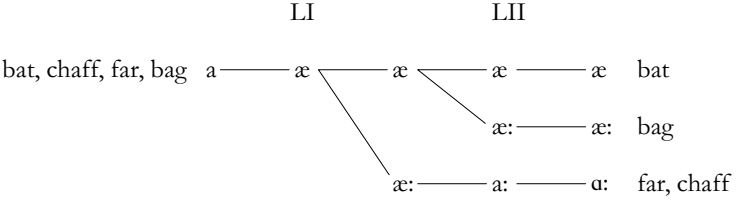
(ii) Of the regions with lengthening in *chaff*, the U.S. is most conservative, with quality-shift only before /r/. Quality-shift elsewhere postdates the late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century split between Mainland and US English.

(iii) Norfolk exemplifies a more innovating line, with some quality-shift in both lengthening environments, very like the standard of about 1750–1850, but still conservative with respect to retraction of [aː].

(iv) London, representing the newer standard type, is most advanced, with retraction to [ɑː] in both environments.

This lengthening does not have a conventional name; I call it Lengthening I, to distinguish it from the later lengthening of /æ/ before voiced stops and nasals (*bag*, *hand*), which I call Lengthening II (Lass 1990). This latter change produces yet another ME /a/ reflex, in addition to /æ/ and /ɑː/; it gives [æː]. Lengthening II has occurred in most southern English dialects, and all extraterritorial ones except Hiberno-English (though it has never completely diffused, and there are still massive exceptions). Its output is distinct from that of Lengthening I except in most parts of the US, where it falls in with lengthened but unshifted [æː] in *chaff*. In outline (see below for details):

(46)



We will be concerned only with developments up to the first quality-shift to [aː]; Lengthening II may well have begun in our period, but its early history is obscure, and more recent in any case.

Lengthening I of ME /a/, because of its incomplete diffusion, creates a new phoneme /æː/, later /aː/. The change also affects ME /o/ in the same environments (before /r/ in *horn*, before voiceless fricatives in *off*, *cloth*, *loss*); but these merge with ME /au/ (*all*, *law*) in /ɒː/. Nowadays pre-fricative lengthening of ME /o/ has largely receded in favour of /ɒ/ in most standard British varieties, though some conservative standards and vernaculars still have the old /ɔː/, as do eastern US and some South African dialects. Both long and short versions of *off*, *cloth*, etc. have coexisted since the late seventeenth century; the 'restoration of /ɒ/' is not a reversed merger, but a shift of prestige in a variant-set, as with *meet/meat* (3.4.2.3). The restriction of

Lengthening I to ME /a, o/ is not irrational: at the relevant time they form a natural class (low short vowels).

The first solid witness is Cooper (1687), who shows a somewhat irregular pattern, typical of the early stages of diffusion:

(47)

ME /a/		ME /o/	
[æ]	[æː]	[ɒ]	[ɒː]
path	path, passed	loss	lost, off, frost, horn
	cast, gasp		
bar, car	barge, dart		

He also notes general trends: *a* is long before /sC, rC/, and *o* 'commonly long' before /rn, st, st/. Lengthening at this stage is favoured by a following cluster (*pass*, *bar* v. *passed*, *barge*, *loss* v. *lost*), but this restriction vanishes quite rapidly. There is as yet no sign of quality-shift.

The history during the next century is complicated. By the 1740s there is already some shift of lengthened /æ/, notably lowering before /r/, which seems to precede lowering elsewhere (see 3.4.2.3 for the effects of /r/). Flint (1740) has [æ] in *chaff*, [æː] ~ [aː] in *bath*, *castle*, *calf*, *half*, and [aː] only in *art*, *dart*, *part*. His testimony is especially important because of his northern origins: coming from an area where /a/ had never shifted to [æ], he was particularly sensitive, as a teacher of (southern) standard English to foreigners, to the [æ]/[a] distinction (recall that the earliest reliable report of raised ME /a/ in the South is also from a northerner, the Scot Hume: 3.4.1.1).

It is hard to find two eighteenth-century sources in full agreement about which words have the new vowel, though there is consensus about its quality. By the 1760s it is commonly equated with long Italian <a> or the French vowel in *-age*, suggesting [aː]. By the 1780s its distribution for one type of speaker (but see below) is very close to modern, though there are still some lexical differences. Nares (1784) has 'open *A*' in *after*, *ask*, *ass* (now short), *bask*, *mask*, *glass*, *pass* ('and its compounds and derivatives': 5), and in *plant*, *grant*, *advance*, *alms*, *calm*, *palm* (on the last group see below). Data on ME /o/ is more sporadic, but Nares has 'broad *A*' /ɒː/ in *off*, *doff*, *offer*, *cross*, *toss*, *cloth*, as opposed to 'short *o*' in *moss*, *dross* (30f.).

This is not the only pattern. There is a curious see-saw development: from the 1680s to the 1780s the lengthened vowels expand; in the 1780s to the 1790s a reaction sets in. So Walker (1791), perhaps the most influential

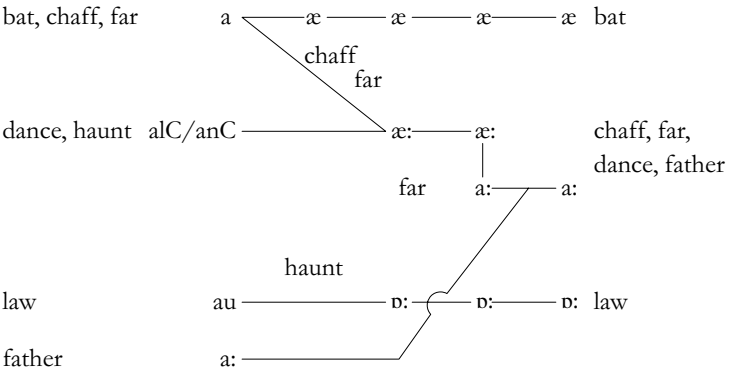
of the late eighteenth-century lexicographers, has the 'long sound of the middle or Italian *a*' always before /r/ in monosyllables (*car*), and before <l> + labial (*balm*, *calf*). It was, he says, formerly commoner in *dance, glass*, etc. 'but this pronunciation . . . seems to have been for some years advancing to the short sound'. To pronounce the <a> in *after*, *plant* 'as long as in *half*, *calf*, &c. borders on vulgarity' (10–11).

This backtracking may well be a function of a more extreme quality-shift in London and neighbouring provincial vernaculars. In reaction, anything but [æ] (or perhaps [æː]) was tarred with the nonstandard or 'vulgar' brush. It seems that there was a brief counter-fashion in the late eighteenth century, reserving lengthened and shifted /æ/ to two positions: before /r/, and where it was an alternative to ME /au/ (*dance*, *calm*, *half*). But both styles persisted, and the more general lengthening was finally adopted in the mid-nineteenth century.

Lengthened ME /o/ was also stigmatised; Walker says that just as it 'would be gross to a degree' to have the same vowel in *castle*, *plant* as in *palm*, so 'it would be equally exceptionable' to pronounce *moss*, *frost* as if they were spelled *mawse*, *frawst*. What Cooper a century earlier had simply noted as a fact about vowel length, and Flint half a century later had noted as a fact about length and quality, had developed a social significance. Presumably the change became salient enough to attract a social value only in the later eighteenth century, when the quality had changed, and when this change was identified by at least some writers with more advanced vernaculars.

A number of words that now have /ɑː/ once had doublets with ME /au/: especially before nasal clusters (*dance*, *grant*) and /l/ + labial (*half*, *palm*). We would expect these to come down with modern /ɔː/ < eighteenth-century /ɒː/ (3.4.2.2); and indeed some do (e.g. *haunt*, *flaunt*), but most have /ɑː/. Now if /ɑː/ presupposes earlier [æː], the modern forms must reflect a lineage that does not have ME /au/ here. We have evidence for this competing type as early as the 1590s. In *Love's Labour's Lost* V.i.24–5 the pedant Holofernes condemns affected fashionable pronunciations by saying of Don Adriano de Armado that 'He clepeth a calf, caufe: halfe, haufe'. So in these words both ME /a/ ('calf') and ME /au/ ('caufe') were available, conservative speakers preferring ME /a/. The /au/ forms were apparently rather Mopseyish; though as late as 1701 Dr John Jones teaches /ɒː/ in *dance*. As with the *meet/meat* merger (3.4.2.3) one lineage has been substituted for another coexisting one. The whole development can be summarised this way:

(48)



3.4.3 /r/ and its effects

3.4.3.1 Preliminaries

The liquid /r/ is at the centre of a constellation of fifteenth- to eighteenth-century changes that define important aspects of Present-Day English phonology. Some involve epenthesis and quality change of pre-/r/ vowels (3.4.3.2); later /r/ itself weakens and eventually deletes after vowels in the Southeast. This creates a major split: rhotic dialects which retain historical /r/ in all positions, v. non-rhotic ones where /r/ appears only before vowels – not before consonants or finally before pause (3.4.3.3).

So historically /r/ lies 'between' the vowel and consonant systems, affecting one and part of the evolution of the other. This is partly due to its phonetic properties. Judging from its early behaviour, and from certain modern reflexes, older English /r/ seems to have been extremely complex: basically an alveolar or post-alveolar approximant, but with at least two secondary articulations, one velar and the other pharyngeal (see Lass 1983 for arguments for this nonstandard view). The velar coarticulation is probably responsible for the tendency of /r/ to raise preceding vowels (velars have a high tongue-body); the pharyngeal for the often simultaneous countertendency to lower vowels (pharyngeals have a lowered and retracted tongue root). As for manner of articulation, there is no evidence for the traditional notion that early /r/ was a trill; but trilled (as well as other) allophones certainly existed in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (3.4.3.3).

3.4.3.2 Vowels before /r/

The straight-line evolution of the Middle English vowels outlined in 3.3.3 to 3.4.2 was often deflected by a following /r/, sometimes with extensive

shifting and confusion of etymological categories. Some major developments:

(i) [ə]-INSERTION. From the fifteenth century there are signs of an epenthetic vowel between stressed long vowels and /r/: e.g. spellings like *hyar*, *hyer* 'hire', *desyar* (Cely Papers). Modern spellings still show this sporadically (*flower*, *fiery*, *briar*: but cf. *flour*, *fire*). It is not clear what this vowel was (it may not always have been the same), but conventionally it is taken to be [ə]. Hart (1569) has <-er> transcriptions for *fire*, *mire*, *dear*, *here*, and the phenomenon is mentioned by later writers like Cooper (1687: *hire* = *higher*, *tire* = *ty her*). A century later Nares (1784) notes that *hour*, *power*, etc. are 'discretionally' disyllabic, and points to metrical indications as early as Shakespeare. In most cases [ə] remains after loss of /r/, giving centring diphthongs like /ɪə/ (*dear*), /ɛə/ (*bear*), /ʊə/ (*poor*), etc. Nowadays these seem to be regarded as metrically monosyllabic. Except for a few loans like *idea*, *theatre*, *Beatrice*, *-rrhea*, the modern phonemic /-ə/ diphthongs all stem from this epenthesis followed by /r/-loss.

(ii) LOWERING OF ME /e/ > /a/ (variable). Lowered <a> spellings for ME /e/ appear in the thirteenth century, but are not frequent until the fifteenth (Chaucer still has *derke*, *herte* < OE *deorc*, *heorte*). By the mid-sixteenth century /a/ is normal for many writers: Queen Elizabeth writes *clark*, *hart*, *starre*, *saruant*, *marcy* 'mercy'. Note that this list includes both items that retain EModE /a/ (now /ɑː/), and ones that have 'reverted' to ME /er/ (now /ɜː/: see (iv) below) – whether through spelling-pronunciation or borrowing from a coexisting lineage.

The general tendency is to keep reflexes of /a/ in Germanic words (*heart*, *star*) and to reintroduce /e/ in loans (*mercy*, *serve*). Early sources show variation: Hart has /a/ in *dark*, *far*, *harvest*, /a/ and /ɛ/ in *heart*, but only /ɛ/ in *certain*, *err*, *German*, *virtue*. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, /a/ (or more accurately, its reflexes /æ/, later /æː/, then /aː/) spread to most of these words. Cooper (1687) has /æː/ in *earl*, *early*, *learn*, *earn*, *search*, and /æ/ in *heart*, *hearth*. In 1701 Jones has /a/ in *mercy*, *heard*, *verdict*, and such forms continue through the century, particularly in private correspondence. They start to wane by the 1750s, and by the end of the century appear mainly as attributes of vulgar or rural literary characters. By about 1800 the distribution is more or less modern: /ɜː/ or something similar < ME /erC/ in most Romance words (except *parson*: cf. *person*, and *clerk*, *Clark(e)*), and /aː/ < ME /arC/ in Germanic words (*dark*, *heart*, etc.). Some old /a/ doublets survive in buried form, particularly in the US: *varmint* < *vermin*, *tarnation* < *(e)tern(al damn)ation*.

(iii) THE ME LONG MID VOWELS AND /uː/. These have extremely complex histories, which really deserve a monograph; I give only a sketch

here. The problem is lack of 'coherence' in certain etymological categories: some items fail to raise in the GVS, and end up one notch lower than historically they ought to be, others raise before the GVS and end up one notch higher, words shift from one etymological class to another.

(a) ME /eːr/. Generally as expected, i.e. sixteenth-century /iː/, modern /ɪə/ in *hear*, *dear*, *here* (OE *hēran*, *dēore*, *hēr*, etc.). Early sources however show both /ɛː/ and /iː/: Hart, Gil and Butler have /ɛː/ in *hear* and its derivatives, though Butler (1633) also notes a 'corrupt' /iː/. The /ɛː/ forms imply pre-GVS lowering to merge with ME /ɛː/; the /iː/ and PDE /ɪə/ derive from normal GVS raising, [ə]-insertion ((i) above) and later lowering and centralisation. Here the 'normal' developments have generally won out; but the former preponderance of lowered variants is suggested by the <ea> spellings in *dear*, *hear*, *appear* and others.

(b) ME /ɛːr/. The usual outcome in this class (*bear*, *pear*, *wear*, *swear*) is merger with ME /aːr/ (*hare*, *pare*, *share*): i.e. no raising, so sixteenth-century /ɛː/, modern /ɛə/. Some words however have modern /ɪə/, showing pre-GVS raising to merge with /eːr/: *shear*, *spear*, *fear*, *ear* (OE *sceran*, *speru*, *fær*, *ēare*, which would all have ME /ɛː/). There is extensive early variation: Hart has /ɛː/ in *wear*, *shear*, as well as *bear*, *there*; *fear* has /ɛː/ for Gil and Butler, but /iː/ for Hodges (1644) and Cooper. Other words behave similarly: *ear* has /ɛː/ for Gil and Butler (~ /iː/ 'corruptly'), /iː/ for Cooper; contrariwise Cooper has /ɛː/ in *shear*, Mason (1633) has /iː/. Some /ɛːrC/ words (*earth*, *earl*, *search*) shortened in Early Modern times, and developed along with ME /ɪrC, ʊrC/ (see (iv) below).

Some eighteenth-century sources have more extensive raising: Flint (1740) has <îe> = /ɪə/ not only in *ear*, *hear*, but also in *there*, *where*, *were*, *bear*, *pear*, and *early*, *earnest*, *learn*, *search*. This is a classic multiple-lineage situation (3.4.2.1, 3.4.2.3): e.g. *learn* (OE *leornian*, ME /lɛ(ː)rn-/) must have had at least three distinct versions at this time: one with /æː/ or /aː/ (cf. Cooper above), one with /ɪə/ < /iː/ (raising to merge with ME /eː/); and one with /ɛr/, the source of the modern form. In most ME /erC/ words it was the short(ened) /ɛr/ variant that eventually won out.

A very schematic history of the long front series before /r/:

(49)

	ME	1500	1650	Modern	
hear	eːr	iːr	iːr	ɪə	hear, shear
shear, pear	ɛːr	ɛːr	ɛːr	ɛə	pear, pare
pare	aːr	aːr	æːr		

(c) If the long back vowels had all developed 'normally' before /r/, we would expect a firm modern three-way contrast: ME /uːr/ > /aʊə/ (*flour*), ME /oːr/ > /ʊə/ (*poor*), and ME /ɔːr/ > /oə/ > **/əʊə/(*oar*). The last development (or something like it) is only marginal in PDE British standards (see below). ME /ɔːr/ generally merges with /au/ (*lore* = *law*) in /ɒː/. An extra source of long mid vowels complicates things: Lengthening I (3.4.2.7) in ME /orC/ (*born*, *force*, *sport*). This may be (partially) distinct from ME /ɔːr/, as in conservative RP with /oə/ in *oar*, *hoarse* < ME /ɔːr/ v. /ɔː/ in *for*, *horse* < ME /or/.

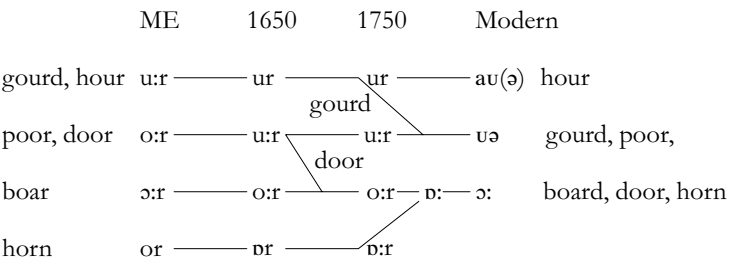
Unfortunately the ideal clear division does not hold for most of our period. ME /oːr/, for instance, in a word like *door*, may show up with expected GVS /uː/ (Hodges, Wallis, Cooper) or with /ɔː/ (merger with /ɔːr/: Bullokar, Robinson, Gil), or later with /oː/ (Sheridan, Nares). Here more modern-seeming /ɔː/ actually predates less modern /oː/. In short, ME back vowels before /r/ have messy histories; as a general rule the etymology of any ME /uːr, oːr, ɔːr/ or lengthened /or/ word is not a good predictor of its nuclear vowel between 1550 and about 1800.

We can however outline major tendencies. ME /uːr/ shows expected GVS in final position (*flour*, *hour*), but not before /rC/ (*mourn*, *source*, *gourd*). Most of this group eventually merges with /oːr, ɔːr/, i.e. /uː/ lowers.

ME /oːr/ should give post-GVS /uː/, modern /ʊə/ as in *poor*, *moor*. Many varieties have now lost this by merger with ME /ɔːr/, so that *poor* = *pour*. Where /ʊə/ remains, it is relatively marginal: *whore*, *door*, *floor*, have typically left to join /ɔːr/ along with *oar*, *lore*, *more*. So 'ME /ɔːr/' can be used as a general label for original /ɔːr/ as in *more* < OE *māra*, and later additions from lengthened /ɔr/ or /ɒr/ (*sport*, *sworn*). But there is evidence for early raising to merger with /oːr/: Hodges (1644) has /uː/ in *more*, *hoarse*, Cooper in *boar*, *sworn*, *born*. By the eighteenth century there has been a somewhat haphazard split: /uː/-forms are rare, and the others are distributed between /oː/ (= ME /ɔː/) and /ɒː/ (= ME /au/). So Sheridan (1780) has /oː/ in *torn*, *worn*, *sort*, *sport*, but /ɒː/ in *chord*, *lord*, *horn*, *short*. The old ME /oː/ class also has /oː/ for the most part (*door*, *ford*, *sworn*); but note /ɒː/ in *horn*, which ought to go with *ford*. Another late source, Nares (1784), has /oː/ in *door*, *court*, *mourn*, *course*, but /ɒː/ in *born*.

In summary, the Middle English back vowels before /r/ tend to merge under /oː/, less frequently /ɒː/ in the eighteenth century. Later there was a general lowering of /o/ before /r/, and raising of /ɒː/, which results in the Present-Day English conflation under /ɔː/. Taking a few maximally distinct items, we can plot characteristic trajectories as follows:

(50)



(iv) THE 'NURSE MERGER'. This is Wells's name (1982: 3.1.8) for the three-way coalescence of ME /ir/ (*stir*), ME /ur/ (*turn*) and ME /er/ (*earth*) in one vowel /ɜ:/, giving a single lexical set which he calls 'NURSE'. This characterises all Mainland English and descendant dialects, but is absent from Scots and only partial in Hiberno-English. So Scots may have /ɪr/ in *stir*, /ʌr/ in *turn*, and /ɛr/ in *earth*, while Hiberno-English generally merges /ir, ur/ in /ʌr/ or /ɔ̈r/, and keeps /er/ separate as /ɛr/ (Lass 1987: 5.7.1–5.7.2). The two-way Irish split is probably a relic of an earlier Mainland condition (see below). The NURSE merger is more complex than its results suggest; there are two main (but not entirely discrete) sub-mergers, a relatively early one of ME /ir, ur/ under /ur/, and a later one where /er/ joins. (*Bird* and *turn* as it were, fall together, later joined by *earth*.) The actual history however is complicated by coexisting advanced and conservative lineages, and 'decomposition' of etymological categories (see (iii) above), so that ME /er/ words get assigned to /ir/, /ir/ to /er/, etc., or the sub-mergers work differently.

The earliest signs are <ur> spellings for ME /ir/ words, from the sixteenth century; these are commonest in /ir/ < OE /yr/ (*first*, *thirst*), which suggests they may not be part of the merger proper but southwestern /u/ < early ME /y/ (Lass *CHEL* II 2.2.3.4). Also where /ir/ < /ri/ by metathesis (*bird* < OE *bridd*, *dirt* < OScand *drit*). Most early sources keep the categories separate; perhaps the earliest native source to comment interestingly is Wallis (1653), who shows near merger of /ur/ and /ir/: *turn*, *burn* have the vowel of *dull*, and *virtue* has the closely related '*e* foeminum', which may be slightly closer and/or unrounded.

From the late seventeenth century both merger and etymological confusion increase. Cooper (1687) does not mention ME /er/ as a special case, which suggests that it remains /ɛr/ for him; but he says that many words with the sound *ur* /ʌr/ are written <ir>: *bird*, *birth*, *chirp*, *firm*, *thirst*, *virgin* have the same vowel as *burning*, *adjourn*, *courage*, *scourge*, *courtesan*. So Cooper has a two-way contrast: ME /ir, ur/ generally merged in /ʌr/, and ME

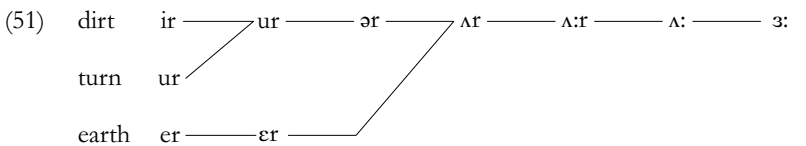
/er/ still separate. For Price (1665) on the other hand, the 'clear *e*' of *let* in *herd* also occurs spelled <i> in *fir*, *first*, and this is distinct from 'short *u*' (the vowel of *but*) in *burst*, *curst*. That is, ME /ir, er/ v. /ur/, instead of the commoner /ir, ur/ v. /er/. The usual merger-sequence is high v. non-high; Price's is front v. back.

Flint (1740) has a more complex distribution: /ɛr/ in *servant*, *defer*, *fierce* (shortened from ME /eːr/), *German*, *verse*, *serge* (~ /aːr/), *earl*, *earth*, *stir*, *firm*, i.e. some merger of /ir, er/. In addition there are two marginally distinct vowels, one weakly rounded in *shirt*, *first*, *thirst*, and one unrounded (= his ME /u/) in *bird*, *birch*, *dirt* (ME /ir/) and *urge*, *murmur*, *cur* (ME /ur/). The categories have partially decomposed: ME /ir/ is apportioned among three classes (*stir* v. *shirt* v. *dirt*), and can merge with either /ur/ or /er/. Since Flint identifies the *shirt* vowel with French '*heur* bref', it is probably something like [œ], as opposed to the [ʌ] in *dirt*, *cur*.

Approaching the end of the century we find either (etymologically inconsistent) two-way splits or total merger. Sheridan (1780) has /ɛ/ in *birth*, *girl*, *chirp* and /ʌ/ in *dirt*, *first*, *bird*, *work*, *fir*, *fur*. Walker (1791) has an '*e* which approaches to short *u*' in *earth*, *earl*, *chirp*, *virgin*, as opposed to ordinary short *u* (= ME /u/) in *birch*, *bird*, *first*, *fir*. The distinction is however subtle; it would be only a 'slight deviation from the true sound' (29) to say *url*, *urth*.

Nares (1784) shows the full merger: <i> = short *u* /ʌ/ in *bird*, *virgin*, as do <o> in *world*, *worm*, <ea> in *earl*, *search*, and <ou> in *adjourn*, *courtesy* (~/oː/) and *scourge*, *tournament* (~/uː/). Thus (27) '*Vergin*, *virgin*, and *vurgin* would be pronounced exactly alike'.

By around 1800, the merger is complete in England, usually to a value qualitatively identical with ME /u/ in *cut*. Many writers do not mention length, but we must assume that it did lengthen – before deletion of /r/ – otherwise *bird* and *bud*, say, would be homophones. The overall progress of the merger:



This is a projection of the total history by hindsight; we must assume coexistence of full and partial merger in the standard dialects up to the 1790s, and cross-category shifts for varieties with partial merger.

3.4.3.3 Loss of postvocalic /r/

In the southern British standard and related dialects, historical /r/ now appears only before vowels. So in isolation /r/ in *real*, *very*, but not in *car*, *cart*. In connected speech, when a form with historical (or perhaps synchronic 'underlying') final /r/ is in sandhi with a vowel-initial one, the /r/ may surface as a hiatus-breaker: this is obligatory within the word, as in *fair* /fɛə/ v. *fairer* /fɛərə/; and common but not obligatory between words as in *Fair Isle* /fɛər ail/ or /fɛə ail/. For many speakers, isolation homophones like *law* and *lore* will be distinct in sandhi: *law and* /lɔː ænd/ v. *lore and* /lɔːr ænd/ ('linking *r*'). For other (also standard) speakers, /r/ may appear after certain vowels in hiatus regardless of presence of historical /r/: as above plus /lɔːr ænd/ *law and*, /ænər iz/ *Anna is* ('intrusive *r*').

This is common to all the dialects of modern England (except the South West, South West Midlands and part of West Lancashire), the Southern Hemisphere Englishes, and much of the eastern and southern coastal US. Historical /r/ remains in Scotland, Ireland, most of the US and Canada. The split between /r/-pronouncing (rhotic) and /r/-deleting (non-rhotic) dialects stems from changes that began as early as Middle English times, but were not completed until centuries later.

The earliest /r/-loss occurs mainly before coronals, especially /s/, and results in modern forms like *ass* 'arse' < OE *ears*, ME *ars* ~ *ers*, *bass* (the fish) < OE *bærs*, ME *bars*. These early forms have short vowels: they must predate the lengthenings in most words with deleted /r/.

The second (main) phase begins with sporadic and lexically variable deletion about the fifteenth century: examples are *cadenall* 'cardinal' (Paston Letters), *monyng* 'morning' (Cely Papers). Both <r>-less spellings and inverse spellings like *Bavarior* 'Bavaria' etc. appear throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but these are relatively uncommon, and restricted to private documents, most commonly women's. There is a striking discrepancy between these earlier forms and what the orthoepists report: no authority before the mid-eighteenth century describes major /r/-loss as a feature of the standard, and many do not accept it fully even in the 1790s. Some scholars (e.g. Wyld, Horn and Lehnert) attribute this to the orthoepists' refusal to allow for a 'useless letter', or their being 'misled by the spelling' – which seems to excuse all varieties of orthoepist-bashing. This fails to consider the possible coexistence of variant dialect types (even gender dialects), or – more important – to distinguish between *weakened* postvocalic /r/, which is well reported from the 1640s, and *deleted* /r/,

which is not firmly established until the end of the eighteenth century, and is still variable as late as the 1870s (Lass 1997: ch. 6).

Another confusing factor may be [ə]-insertion (3.4.3.2, (i)); this could leave a distinction between forms with historical /r/ and those without, even if /r/ itself actually did not appear. If *law*, say, was [lɒː], and *lore* was [lɒːɛ], the [ə] could be interpreted as an 'allophone of /r/'; a writer who said [lɒːə] for *lore*, or [dɪə] for *dear* could very well claim that in his variety /r/ was not lost. And if his description did not distinguish between postvocalic [ə] and a 'real' [ɹ] or similar phone, the reader could very well misinterpret, and think he meant the latter.

Weakening is reported by Jonson (1640), who says that /r/ 'is sounded firme in the beginning of the words, and more liquid in the middle, and ends', probably initial trill or tap v. non-initial approximant. There is little good articulatory description in the next century or so (Wallis 1653 does describe a trill, but says nothing about different positional variants). By the 1740s there is evidence for (virtual) loss in some varieties; Flint (1740) says that 'dans plusieurs mots, l'*r* devant une consonne est fort adouci, presque muet & rend un peu longue la voyale qui le precede, barb, guard . . .' [in many words *r* before a consonant is greatly softened, almost mute, and slightly lengthens the preceding vowel]. This shows pre-consonantal weakening; it is not clear what happens finally. Later in the century Tucker (1773) says that /r/ is lost in *partial*, *servant*, *word*, and that 'wherever retained we speak it so gently that you scarce hear a single reverberation of the tongue'. Walker (1791: 50) says 'the *r* in *lard*, *bard*, . . . is pronounced so much in the throat as to be little more than the middle or Italian *a*, lengthened into *baa*, *baad*. . .'

We can conclude that in less formal speech /r/-loss began sporadically in the fifteenth century; that in the seventeenth it had weakened postvocalic allophones; and that in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it was generally still pronounced in all positions, but by the 1740s to 1770s was on the way to deletion, perhaps especially after low vowels. Weakening and loss became less variable and more codified as the century progressed; by the 1790s /r/-less pronunciations must have been very common, and increasing. It would not have been necessary for Walker to say firmly that 'this letter is never silent' unless it commonly was. He notes in fact that /r/ is 'sometimes entirely sunk' in London, but does not approve.

Postvocalic /r/ then was on its way out in the 1770s, and by the end of the century was commonly deleted except in sandhi with a following vowel. Where it was lost, the relic in stressed syllables was always either a

diphthong in /-ə/, or a long vowel. The establishment of the definitively non-rhotic character of the southern standard, perhaps more than any other single feature except lengthening of /æ/ in *pass*, etc., defines the transition to a fully 'modern' form.

3.5 The consonant system

3.5.1 The fate of /x/ and the origin of /h/

This is from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596: I.i.53):

> Loue of your selfe, she said, and dear constraint
> Lets me not sleepe, but wast the wearie *night*
> In secret anguish and vnpittied plaint,
> Whiles you in carelesse sleepe are drowned *quight*.
> Her doubtfull words made that redoubted *knight*
> Suspect her truth: yet since no'vntruthe he knew
> Her fawning loue with foule disdainefull *spight*
> He would not shend . . .

The first seven lines of a Spenserian stanza rhyme ababbcb; so all the italicised forms should rhyme. Etymologically however they shouldn't; and some have been respelled to 'justify' the rhymes. *Knight*, *night* go back to OE /-xt/ finals (*cniht*, *niht*); but *quight*, *spight* have French /-i:t/ (*quite*, (*de*)*spit*). Such rhymes are common throughout the poem (and elsewhere): *fight*, *sight* with *spright* 'spirit' < *esprit*, *delight* < *delite*. So by the 1590s this variety has lost /x/ in OE /-x-/ words, and can use inverse spellings. But there are other patterns as well attested in the sixteenth century, which taken together help to tie up the ends of a story that began in Early Germanic.

Germanic /x/ comes from IE */k/ by Grimm's Law (Gk *núkt-*, Lat. *noct-* 'night' v. OE *niht*, OFris *nacht*, etc.). Early foot-initial weakening left Old English with an allophonic split: weak initial [h] v. postvocalic [x] (perhaps [x ~ ç] depending on the preceding vowel). The [x ~ ç] alternation was certainly established by Middle English, and is maintained throughout the period. But around 1400 spellings without <gh> or an equivalent graph begin to appear (*nyte* for *nyght*, etc.), as well as the first inverse spellings indicating loss of /x/: the Pastons have *wright* 'write' < OE *wrîtan*, and so on. These precursors of the modern distribution first appear as late ME variables, particularly in East Anglia.

Spenser shows one of three patterns attested in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which together provide a neat historical synopsis. The most conservative lineage, represented by Gil (1619), retains the ME

distribution; there is no loss, and Gil uses different symbols for initial and postvocalic /x/: <h> v. <ħ>. Other writers equate English <gh> with Welsh or German <ch>, and describe it as phonetically different from <h>. Hart (1569) on the other hand writes <h> in all positions: <hih> 'high', <lauh> 'laugh'. He says that <h> signifies 'onely the breath without any meane of instrument or sound'; it 'hath no sounde but as you would blowe to warme your handes' (39a–39b), i.e. a glottal fricative [h].

So three lect-types coexist: one has initial [h] v. coda [x ~ ç]; one has initial and coda [h]; one retains no ME non-initial /x/. The variation is noted by some early writers; so Coote (1596: 21): 'some say *plough*, *slough*, *bough*; other *plou*, *slou*, *bou*'. The pronunciation with /x/ is 'truest', and *dauter* for *daughter* is 'the barbarous speech of your country people'. (Interesting as an index of attitude, but probably not accurate, unless Spenser is a provincial.) The more conservative types persist until about the 1630s, with some relics even thirty years later; Hodges (1644) specifically marks <gh> as silent, but [h] is noted as late as Price (1665).

The story from IE to the late sixteenth century:

(52)

		Onset	Coda
I	Indo-European	k-	-k
II	Early Germanic	x-	-x
III	OE, ME	h-	-x/-ç
IV	Gil 1619	h-	-x/-ç
V	Hart 1569	h-	-h
VI	Spenser 1596	h-	-ø

(Hart in fact already has some loss in both positions, but his general pattern is stable; initial loss, which began in Middle or even Old English and has completed in most Mainland vernaculars, is a separate issue: see below.)

Stages I–IV are structurally identical: there is one voiceless velar, /k/ in I and /x/ in II–IV. In II–IV this /x/ has a weak foot-initial allophone [h]. The voiceless fricative system for Middle English and the conservative Gil-type Early Modern is /f, θ, s, ʃ, x/, more or less paralleling the stop system /p, t, tʃ, k/: glottal articulation is nondistinctive. Hart however shows not only a phonetic change, but a systemic one: since his only phone in this category is [h], there is no reason to call the phoneme anything but /h/. Glottal is now for the first time a distinctive place of articulation for (voiceless) fricatives, and velar is unoccupied:

(53)

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
pre-Hart	f	θ	s	ʃ	x	–
post-Hart	f	θ	s	ʃ	–	h

The new /h/, with loss of all except foot-initial allophones, is not only distinctively glottal but also (in the more advanced lects) defectively distributed, as it still is.

There is a complication: while [ç] either remained or dropped, [x] either dropped or became [f]. This had begun in Middle English, but continued (variably) throughout our period. Hart has <lauh> 'laugh' < OE *hlæhhan*, while Smith (1568) has a variant in /f/, and Shakespeare only /laf/; Gil calls this northern. Similarly Butler (1633) and Daines (1640) have /f/ in *daughter*. In a few cases /f/ and zero doublets remain in the same lect: Cooper (1687: 65) distinguishes *enough* (modifying mass nouns) and *enow* (count nouns), both < OE *genōh*; and we still have *dough* and the opaque (*plum*) *duff*, both < OE *dāh*. As late as 1701 Jones mentions /f/ as a variant in *daughter*, *bought*, *naught*, *taught* (54–5); but by mid-century the lexical incidence of zero and /f/ is as it is now.

Like other glottals, /h/ is particularly prone to loss. Even in modern /h/-retaining dialects it deletes in weak position (as in 'give *h*im one', noted as normal by Jones 1701); this has been common from earliest times, and has never been a sociolinguistic issue. Loss in stressed syllables however is another matter.

From earliest Middle English /h/ was weak enough to count as metrically equivalent to zero; deletion of final *-e* in ME verse treated /h/-initial and vowel-initial words as producing hiatus (see Lass *CHEL* II 2.4.1.2); and there is ample evidence for widespread deletion (Milroy 1983). The same is true in our period: the sixteenth-century diarist Machyn, for instance, not only has *and* for *hand*, *elmet*, *Amton court*, but inverse spellings like *holyff* 'olive', *harme* 'arm'. Excrescent <h> is also common in private letters from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries: Cely Papers *howlde* 'old', *howt* 'out', Verney Letters *aard* 'hard' v. *hoblegashons* (citations from Wyld 1936).

Dropping of /h/ was not stigmatised until the eighteenth century; there is little comment before the 1750s. But by the time of Walker (1791), both omission where etymologically justified and insertion where not are considered vulgar; 'dropping aitches' becomes a nineteenth-century (and modern) vulgar/provincial stereotype (see Horn & Lehnert 1954: 415ff. for a richly illustrated discussion). Stigmatisation of /h/-dropping applies mainly to word-initial position: internal loss in compounds is common from the 1760s, as in *playhouse*, *coffee-house*, *hogshead* (now commonly restored), and *forehead*, *shepherd*, *Graham*, *Chatham* (usually not).

A typical renaissance antiquarian pedantry led to the insertion of 'false' <h> in Romance loans that had in fact lost /h/ in Old French, but whose Latin or Greek etyma had it. This <h> was then frequently pronounced,

increasingly so as /h/ became sociolinguistically salient. This accounts for the <h> (and /h/) in *hospital*, *hypocrite*, *history*, *Hebrew*, (British) *herb*, etc. (The original /h/-less pronunciation is still indicated by the use of *an* rather than *a* before *history*, *hotel*, etc. in some conservative varieties, whether /h/ is pronounced or not.)

Pronunciation of pseudo-classical <h> increases through the seventeenth century, but there is also loss or reversion. Hodges (1644) has silent <h> in *Hebrews*, *heir*, *herb*, *hour*, *humbly*, *host*, but not in *historiographer*, *humiliation*, *hymn*. By the end of the next century, Nares (1784) considers words where orthographic <h> is not pronounced exceptional: *heir*, *honest*, *hospital*, *hostler*, *hour* are /h/-less, with both /h/ and zero in *humble*, *herbage* but only zero in *herb* (thus conforming with modern American rather than British usage).

Comparison of the stories of /h/ and postvocalic /r/ shows that orthographic representation alone is no guarantee that a lost segment will be restored, even in the spelling-obsessed eighteenth century. /h/ was lost and then restored; /r/, equally prominent and much more widely distributed, never was.

3.5.2 The velar nasal

Though [ŋ] was an allophone of /n/ before velars, the earliest Germanic orthographies wrote it: the older *futhark* (runic alphabet) has a symbol for it, and Gothic has special graphs for /nk, ng/ clusters. Though its status remained the same, [ŋ] was not separately represented in any of the later Roman-based orthographies (Old English, Old High German, etc.).

In Old and Middle English [ŋ] occurred only before /k, g/; it has become an independent phoneme through loss of /g/ in certain environments. So ME [sin] 'sin' v. [siŋg] 'sing', phonemically /sin/, /sing/; but modern [sɪn] v. [sɪŋ], so /sɪn/, /sɪŋ/. (Some modern dialects, especially in the West Midlands, retain final /g/ in words like *sing* as in ME, and hence have no distinctive /ŋ/.)

This remained more or less unchanged into the sixteenth century; Hart (1551: 144) equates the sound represented by <g> in *angry* and *things* with that in *begged*, *together*. The modern arrangement developed during the next century; Hodges (1644) uses the sign <ñ> for [ŋ], and distinguishes clearly between pronounced /g/ <g> and deleted /g/ <ḡ>: hence <haňḡ>, <siňḡ> v. <huňger>, <fiňger>. Hodges drops /g/ in derived nouns like <siňḡer> (cf. monomorphemic <fiňger> with <g>), but not in comparatives (<loňḡ> v. <loňger>) or verb forms (<loňgeth>). Word-internally

[ŋg] in morphologically complex words remains (variably) for quite some time; there are reports of /g/ in *hanging*, *singing* and the like as late as Elphinston (1765). The stages by which /g/ was lost after [ŋ] and /ŋ/ became phonemic were more or less these:

(54)			*sing*	*sing-er*	*strong*	*strong-er*	*finger*
	I	OE-16th century	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg
	II	Late 16th century	ŋ	ŋg	ŋ	ŋg	ŋg
	III	17th century	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋg	ŋg

That is: first deletion in final position; then deletion at morpheme boundary except if the following suffix is an adjective inflection. Original /g/ now remains virtually only in adjectival forms and within words that are not obviously morphemically complex. So [ŋg] since a *finger* is not 'that which fings' (though etymologically it is, as the root is the same as in *fang*, and cf. G *fing* 'seized'), and in *longer*, *Hungary*, *Bangor* with v. *bang-er* without the [g].

The story of weak *-ing* (in gerunds, present participles or simplex words like *herring*, *shilling*) is rather different. Here, after early /g/-loss, there is a change [ŋ] > [n]; this shows up first in the fourteenth century (Wyld gives some Norfolk spellings of the type *holdyn*, *drynkyn*), and becomes commoner in the fifteenth: the Pastons have *hangyn*, *hayryn* 'herring'. In our period this is first attested by a single spelling in Hart (1570): <ruʃ-in> 'rushing'. But it was familiar: Clement (1587: 13) urges teachers not to let pupils 'pronounce *in*, leauing out the *g*, as: *speakin* for *speaking*' (cited in Danielsson 1963: §290). It becomes increasingly widespread: Queen Elizabeth writes *besichen* 'beseeching', and Henslowe has *makyn*, *ten shellens*. By the end of the seventeenth century it no longer needs comment: Cooper simply lists *coffin*: *coughing*, etc. as homophones. Inverse spellings also begin to appear in the seventeenth century, e.g. *chicking*, *fashing*, *Dubling* (Verney Letters).

Like /h/-loss (3.5.1), this begins to reverse in the later eighteenth century; the /-ɪŋ/ pronunciation is institutionalised, except in rapid colloquial speech. The modern usage was not fixed until well into the nineteenth century: Batchelor (1809) allows /ɪn/ after stressed /ɪŋ/ as in *singing*, but not elsewhere. Both upper-class and vernacular speakers however continued to use /-ɪn/. Wordsworth, Byron and Keats and Tennyson have sporadic *-in*/*-ing* rhymes (Byron *Don Juan* II.43 *children*: *bewildering*, etc.); and we are all familiar with the *huntin'*, *fishin'*, *shootin'* stereotype. By the end of the eighteenth century both types coexisted in educated speech, but the normative authorities recommended keeping [ŋ], and not 'dropping the *g*'; as usual, they seem to have won.

3.5.3 Palatalisation and the origin of /ʒ/

The palatoalveolar series /ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/ is not a Germanic inheritance. The affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ first arise in OE through palatalisation before front vowels: e.g. /tʃ/ < */k/ in *cinn* 'chin' (cf. OHG *kinni*), /dʒ/ < */gː j/ in *mycg* 'midge' (cf. OS *muggia*). Originally /dʒ/ occurs only after vowels, but later appears initially in French loans (*joy*, *jewel*), and new /tʃ/ also come from French (*chase*, *bachelor*). The original source of /ʃ/ is palatalisation of */sk/ as in *scōh* 'shoe', *fisc* 'fish', but there are later French sources (*chemise*, *machine*).

Beginning in the fifteenth century, but becoming established mainly in the seventeenth, new /ʃ, tʃ, dʒ/ arise from palatalisation of /s, t, d/ respectively in weak syllables before /i, j/ (*cautious*, *christian*, *soldier*); less frequently /ʃ/ comes from initial /sj/ in strong syllables (*sure*, *sugar*); and – variably – /tʃ, dʒ/ from initial /tj, dj/ (*tune*, *due*). Seventeenth-century palatalisation of /zj/ produces /ʒ/ (*vision*).

The first signs of /sj/ > [ʃ] are fifteenth-century spellings like *sesschyonys* 'sessions' (Paston), *oblygashons* (Cely). There is variation in the sixteenth century; Hart has <-si->, Mulcaster (1582) writes <-shon> for *-tion*, *-sion*. By the mid-seventeenth century the change is nearly complete; Hodges (1644) has /ʃ/ (noted <s̭i, ṱi, c̭i>) in *-ation-*, *-cian*, and *-tion* (the latter already /-si-/ a century earlier), and most *-sion* words (but see below). The only exceptions seem to be the sequences /sjuː/ (*assuredly*, *consume*), and /ksj-/ (*complexion*, *connection*).

Hodges also has a distinct sound he calls 'zhee', which is clearly [ʒ], and occurs where we would expect it, e.g. in derivatives in <-si-> from Latin stems in /-d/: thus *-sion* has /ʒ/ <s̭i> in *circumcision*, *derision*, *occasions* (< Lat. *circumcidere*, etc.); compare /ʃ/ <s̭i> where the Latin stem is in /-s/ (*passion*, *confession*, *transgression* < L *passio-n-*, etc.). Hodges is the first writer to show an unambiguous /ʒ/; we have little more information until the identification with French /ʒ/ by Miège (1685).

Palatalisation of /t, d/ lags behind that of /s, z/; Hodges still has /tj/ in *christian*, *creatures*, *mutual*, *righteous*, and /dj/ in *fraudulent*. This is not so for all speakers: in the sixteenth century Henry Machyn writes *sawgears* 'soldiers', and the Verneys in the seventeenth have *teges* 'tedious', *sogers* 'soldiers'. By the eighteenth /dʒ/ is established: Jones (1701) has *soger, Indjan*, and by the end of the century the pattern is similar to the modern one. Nares (1784) notes /dʒ/ in *grandeur*, *soldier*, but does not know if 'it is a pronunciation of which we ought to approve' (100). But he accepts /tʃ/ in *bestial*, *celestial*, *courtier*, *frontier* (the last two would not have it now), and

says it is 'heard frequently' before *-eous*, *-uous* (*beauteous*, *virtuous*). He also gives /ʃ/ in *nauseate*, *Persian*, *issue*, and /ʒ/ in *evasion*, *confusion*, *azure*, *roseate*. Modern varieties would have different palatalisations (e.g. /ʒ/ in *Persian*), or none: /zi/ is common in *nauseate*, *roseate*, /sj/ in *issue*, /zj/ in *azure*. As so often, both conservative and innovating lineages leave traces in the final disposition of a lexical class.

Palatalisation in strong syllables has a different history, distinct for /s/ and /t, d/. In some late sixteenth-century varieties a few /sj/ words already have /ʃ/: the spellings *shue*, *shooter* 'sue, suitor' appear in the First Folio text of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and the Verneys have *shur*, *shuite* (of clothes), *ashoure*. Such pronunciations are condemned as 'barbarous' as late as Cooper (1687). By the eighteenth century /ʃ/ was established at least in *sure*, *sugar*, and *sewer* < F *essuier* (lost, but cf. *Shoreditch*, where the first element is 'sewer'; *sewer*, *sure* are homophones as late as Walker 1791). Palatalisation of initial /tj/, now extremely common in British speech (so that *Tues(day)* = *choose*), is noted in the eighteenth century; Nares records it in *tune*, *tumult*, but not used by 'elegant speakers'. Curiously he does not mention the parallel case of /dj/, which is unlikely not to have had a variant /dʒ/ (*dew* = *Jew*), as now.

3.5.4 Onset-cluster reduction

Witch/which, *not/knot*, *Nash/gnash*, *rite/write* are homophones in most varieties of English (see below on the first pair); conservative spelling preserves an earlier state. During our period English underwent the most extensive simplification of onset clusters in any Germanic language. Old /wr, wl/ and /xn, xr, xl/ were lost in many other dialects, but /kn/ was generally retained (E *knee* /niː/ v. German, Swedish, Dutch /kniː/).

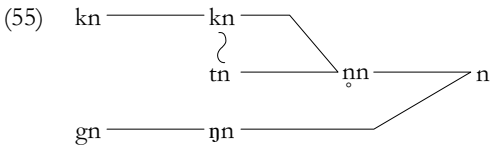
By late Middle English /wl/ had reduced to /l/ (*wlispian* > *lisp*), and /xr, xl, xn/ to /r, l, n/ (*hracu* > *rake*, *hlūd* > *loud*, *hnacod* > *naked*). The only (from a modern perspective) 'exotic' clusters remaining were /xw/ (*hwilc* 'which'), /wr/ (*wrītan* 'write'), and /kn, gn/ (*cnāwan* 'know', *gnagan* 'gnaw'). All except /xw/ (> /hw/: 3.5.1) simplified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; /hw/ remained for some standard southern speakers until well into this century, and is still stable in Scotland, Ireland and parts of North America.

The first post-Middle English simplification is of /wr/: while most sixteenth-century sources are uninformative, Coote (1596) gives *wrest/rest*, *wrung/rung* as homophones. There is sporadic retention in Hodges (1644), and Jones (1701) seems to be the last mention of possible /wr/. In general /wr/ > /r/ during the seventeenth century.

Reduction of /kn, gn/ began in the seventeenth century; the history is obscure, but two separate paths seem later to have converged. Some sources show a change to /tn, dn/ in the seventeenth century; this remains, at least for /kn/, in the eighteenth. The anonymous 'G.W.' (*Magazine*, 1703: see Abercrombie 1937) transcribes <tn> in *knave*, *know*, *knew*; foreign grammarians report it as well. (This may reflect a more general assimilation in /k, g/ + coronal clusters, rather than a stage in deletion: Daines (1640) has <dlory> for *glory*, and G.W. <tlox> for *cloaks*. /tl, dl/ for /kl, gl/ occur now in some Northwestern English rural vernaculars, and are reported for certain RP varieties in Jones 1909.)

By the 1640s loss begins in /kn, gn/; Hodges (1644) gives /kn/ as an alternative in *gnat*, *gnaw*. Forty years on Cooper says that <kn> is pronounced '*hn* or *n* aspirated', which probably means [hn] or [n̥n]; he does not mention <gn>, which suggests that it had already gone to /n/. On the other hand, Jones (1701) says that <g> in <gn> is silent, though Tuite (1726: 52ff.), while not commenting on <kn>, says that /n/ for <gn> is 'common', implying that some cluster pronunciations still survived. It seems that /kn/ in some form or other lasted longer than /gn/, perhaps because the voice difference between the two members allowed a distinction to be maintained even after the stop was lost or modified.

The simplest story is that both /kn/ and /gn/ developed into premodified nasals of some kind (there is evidence of [ŋn] for /gn/), and that eventually the first elements dropped, giving merger with /n/:



(For a more complex scenario see Kökeritz 1945.)

The history of /hw/ is initially complicated by a problem of interpretation: was the input a cluster /hw/ that ended up as /w/ by deletion of /h/, or a voiceless /w̥/ that later voiced? The early testimony supports the former (and it is more coherent with the story of the other clusters). The inimitable (and reliable) Abraham Tucker (1773: 42) tells us that 'We speak "wh" by the figure "hysteron proteron," anglice, preposterously, a cart before the horse, as in "when, huen, whim, huim".'

There is sporadic /x/-loss in ME, but spellings like *wich* for *which*, etc. are rare before the sixteenth century, and then common only in prosodically weak words. The first good evidence for general loss appears to be Jones

(1701: 18); *what*, *when*, etc. 'are sounded *wat*, *wen* by some'. Later Johnston (1764: 9) claims a distinction, but /h/ 'is very little heard'. Three decades on /h/-loss is prominent enough for Walker (1791: 64) to call /w/ in *what*, etc. a 'feeble, Cockney pronunciation'. Once again, a change acquires social value in the course of its diffusion. The merger of /hw/ and /w/ was afoot by around 1700, but took at least a century to get well established; Walker seems to have been fighting a (not uncharacteristic) rearguard action.

3.6 Stress, vowel reduction, vowel loss

3.6.1 Conceptual background

Vowel reduction and loss in English depend largely on position in relation to main word stress; stress in turn is intimately connected with syllable and word structure. Our vantage point and descriptive language now shift from the segmental to the suprasegmental.

Stress has no unique phonetic correlates: a stressed syllable is simply more 'prominent' (in loudness, length, pitch or any combination) than any other syllable(s) in the same rhythmic or prosodic unit. As an expository convenience (not a fully serious matter of theory), 'prominence' may be defined as a binary relation between adjacent elements such that one is (relatively) strong (S) and the other weak (W). E.g. in *bútter* the first syllable is more prominent than the second, in *rebút* the second more than the first. In a compound like *péanut-bùtter*, while both *peanut* and *butter* retain their original contours, *butter* as a whole is less prominent than *peanut*, i.e. it has 'secondary' or 'subordinated' stress. In this section our main concern will be with stress at (non-compound) word-level, since this has shown the most striking historical change.

The 'rhythm' of a language is its alternation-profile of strong and weak elements; the primary rhythmic unit is the foot. In this (phonological) sense, a foot consists of a strong syllable (its head), and one or more weak syllables. Unlike verse-feet, which may be either left-strong ('trochaic' or 'dactylic') or right-strong ('iambic' or 'anapaestic'), English (like other Germanic) prosodic feet are uniformly left-headed.

A purely relational definition of prominence has a major disadvantage: it makes the extremely common monosyllabic foot theoretically problematic (a stressed monosyllable has no phonetic weak syllable to contrast with the strong one). This is often escaped by calling such feet 'degenerate'. I will not address this issue here, but take the stressed monosyllable as a foot like any other.

English word-stress is not 'free', but is and always has been determined (largely but not exclusively) by phonological and/or morphological regularities. Prominence contours are assigned to words and other constituents on the basis of syllabic and morphological structure. The principles of assignment are normally called stress rules; we can visualise them as taking bounded strings of segments organised into syllables as inputs, and choosing one of these syllables as 'main stress' or (prosodic) word-head. Subsidiary rhythmic principles (e.g. those assigning secondary stress to the second element of a compound or to the first element of a complex word with a stress toward the end (*ànthropólogist*)) then flesh out the whole word contour. A stress rule then (computationally speaking) is both a procedure for locating the relevant prosodic word-head, and an instruction to build a foot. Our historical concern is the evolution of the procedures for locating this syllable.

Some languages assign stress solely on the basis of word-position: in Finnish the initial syllable gets primary stress, in Polish the penult. So stress systems show 'handedness': Finnish is 'left-handed', Polish 'right-handed' (defined by which end of the word you have to count from). Stress may also be sensitive to syllable weight or to morphosyntax; more than one (even all) of these parameters may be involved.

Syllable structure is a theoretically contentious matter; my approach here is somewhat old-fashioned, but at the worst historically useful. I take a syllable (σ) as a hierarchical branching structure, onset + rhyme, the rhyme branching into a nucleus and coda. Syllables have quantity or weight: one with a -VV (long vowel or diphthong) or -VCC rhyme is heavy (σ̄): e.g. *eye*, *out*, *hand*. One with a -V or -VC rhyme is light (σ̆): *a*, *the*, *at*. (In many languages, like Latin, a /-VC/ rhyme counts as heavy, only /-V/ counting as light; Germanic in general organises the contrasts as above, and always has.) This distinction (often given as 'long' v. 'short' in the handbooks) plays a major role in post-Old English stress-assignment.

3.6.2 Origins of the modern stress system

English has undergone major changes in its stress system (see Lass *CHEL* II 2.6.2). Since both older and newer stress types coexisted throughout our period (and could be argued to do so still), it will be useful to outline the major early developments. Oversimply (as usual), Old English stress was assigned by the Germanic Stress Rule (GSR), which worked (for non-compound words) roughly as follows:

(56) Germanic Stress Rule (GSR)

(i) Starting at the left-hand word-edge, ignore any prefixes (except those specified as stressable), and assign stress to the first syllable of the lexical root, regardless of weight.

(ii) Construct a (maximally trisyllabic) foot to the right:

S		S W	
rætt	'rat'	wrīt-an	'to write'
S W		S W W	
ge-writen	'written'	bæcere	'baker'

The GSR is left-handed, sensitive to morphology (prefix v. root) and insensitive to syllable weight (s on heavy *wrīt-*, *rætt*, light *writ-*, *bæc-*).

At the end of the OE period, the huge influx of Latin and French loans prompted the introduction of a new type of stress rule; this competed with and eventually (in highly modified form) largely replaced the GSR. The Romance Stress Rule (RSR), as this Latinate rule is usually called, can be characterised as follows (examples from a rhyming dictionary, Levins 1570):

(57) Romance Stress Rule (RSR)

Beginning at the right-hand edge of the word, select as word-head the syllable specified as follows:

A (i) If the final syllable is (a) heavy, or (b) the only syllable, assign S and construct a foot:

S	S	S	S
ŏ **ō**	**ō** **ŏ** **ō**	**ō**	**ŏ**
deface	vndertake	twelfth	twig

(ii) If the final syllable is light, go back to the penult.

B (i) If the penult is (a) heavy, or (b) the only other syllable, assign S and construct a foot:

S W	S W	S W	
ŏ **ō** **ŏ**	**ŏ** **ŏ** **ō** **ŏ**	**ŏ** **ŏ**	
vnable	occidental	shouel	

(ii) If the penult is light, go back to the antepenult.

C Assign S to the antepenult regardless of weight, and construct a foot:

S W W	S WW		
ō **ŏ** **ŏ** **ŏ** **ŏ**	**ŏ** **ō** **ŏ** **ŏ**		
histori ographer	industri ouse		

The RSR is right-handed, insensitive to morphology and sensitive to syllable weight – virtually the inverse of the GSR. Much of the subsequent history of English stress is (arguably) a story of mutual adjustment between two sets of contrary tendencies: initial stress versus attraction of stress to heavy syllables close to the end of the word, morphological versus phonological conditioning.

Modern English stress is based on a complex modification of the RSR, with some GSR or GSR-like elements, as well as some quite new departures. The core can be seen in (57): the examples chosen already show their modern contours. It is worth noting, though, that perhaps the bulk of original GSR stressings are in fact subsumed under the RSR as default cases. That is:

(a) Any disyllabic word of the type **σ̄ σ̆** (*wríter*) or **σ̆ σ̆** (*wrítten*) will get the contour S W by RSR subrule B(i)
(b) Prefixed **σ̆ σ̄** disyllables (*belíeve*) will get W S by the same subrule
(c) Any trisyllable **σ̄ σ̆ σ̆** (*cráftily*) or **σ̄ σ̆ σ̆** (*sórrier*) will get S W W by subrule C
(d) Monosyllables **σ̆** (*writ*) or **σ̄** (*write*) will of course get their contour assigned by A(i).

But there are cases where what looks like the GSR, or a simplified version, survives (though there may be other ways of interpreting these). The most important are (a) final stress on prefixed disyllables with light finals (*begín*); and (b) initial stress on di- or trisyllables with post-initial heavy syllables that ought to attract stress by RSR but fail to: *tórment* (N), *bástard*, *cónfiscate*. Group (a) are probably best taken as straight GSR survivals (even if their etymologies are Romance); group (b) may be something rather different, an internal evolution of the RSR in a new direction. *Tórment*, *bástard* and the like (*móllusc*, *mónarch*) show a tendency for nouns to be initial-stressed, regardless of their syllabic structure. There is in fact a quite general distinction between S W nouns and (cognate) W S verbs, e.g.:

(58)

Noun	Verb	Noun	Verb
óbject	objéct	tórment	tormént
próject	projéct	férment	fermént
súbject	subjéct	súspect	suspéct

Some differentiations of this kind also involve adjectives, which may behave like verbs (*Áugust* v. *augúst*), or occasionally like nouns (*cómpact* (A) v. *compáct* (V)); but the basic distinction is trochaic noun versus iambic verb. (Most of the examples above are in Cooper 1687, and instances occur in Levins 1570: e.g. *súrname* v. *to surnáme*; the pattern is fully established by the late seventeenth century, and noted by most writers on the subject.)

This tendency can be read in two ways. Either the GSR survives, but is largely restricted to nouns, and it and a (modified) RSR coexist; or there is a special provision that marks the final consonants (or syllables) of nouns 'extrametrical', outside the domain of stress assignment. From the historical point of view, GSR survival in a complex or 'mixed' system is probably the better option. The Present-Day English stress system, as ongoing controversy about how to treat it synchronically shows, is in fact the relic of an 'unresolved' history, each problematic area a scar left by its evolution.

Another kind of GSR-like stressing also needs to be accounted for: the exclusion of certain heavy derivational suffixes like *-ate*, *-ise*, *-ance* (as in *légate*, *récognise*, rather than ***legáte*, etc.: but see next section). Modern lexical phonology would assign these affixes to a stratum of the grammar 'after' stress assignment, which in effect makes them extrametrical as well. I will ignore the vexed issue of the internal organisation of synchronic grammars here, as this account is primarily a history of 'surface' phenomenology.

3.6.3 English stress to the late eighteenth century

The examples in (58) are from Peter Levins's *Manipulus vocabulorum* (1570), one of the earliest sources of marked stressings for English words. Levins notes that stress difference may signal meaning difference; he has therefore 'commonly set the accent, which is onely acute, in that place, and ouer that vowell, where the sillable must go vp & be long' (3). Aside from this interesting early comment on the phonetics of stress, the book itself (though somewhat inconsistent in actually marking accent) gives us several thousand words with their primary stresses indicated, a testimony of enormous value at this date.

Levins's material, as well as evidence from verse practice and grammarians through the 1780s, tells us that while the RSR was by and large well established, and showing signs of the modifications described above, there were still many words with GSR stressing, either as sole or alternative contours. Levins for instance has numerous words with initial stress regardless of post-initial heavy syllables. We might call these 'blind' or simplified GSR stressings, as they take the leftmost syllable as word-head, but do not observe the prefix/root distinction.

(59) *GSR stressings in Levins (1570)*

délectable, éxcusable, óbseruance, míschance, cónuenient, díuert, séquester, défectiue, pérspectiue, próclamation, súggestion, dístribute, cóntribute

This type persists up to the end of our period (and to some extent still), as we can see from these later examples:

(60) *Seventeenth- to eighteenth-century GSR stressings*

Price	(1665)	ádjacent, ácademy, cómplacency, cóntroversy
Cooper	(1687)	ácademy, áccessory, réfractory, témperament
Dyche	(1710)	ádjacent, quíntessence, únawares
Kirkby	(1746)	ácceptable, áccessory, córruptible
Johnston	(1764)	ábbreviation, áccommodate, állegorical
Nares	(1784)	phlégmatic, splénetic, víbrate, ábsolute

Many (most? all?) of these apparently had secondary stress on a later syllable. Cooper notes a 'fainter' accent on the penults of *academy*, *accessory*, etc.; Johnston has 'double' stress on *advertise*, *allegorical*, without distinguishing relative prominence (though historical evidence argues that the leftmost was primary). Kenrick (1784: 19) distinguishes 'two accents' per word in similar cases (*appertain*, *architect*, *manuscript*), where the 'principal' accent is on the first syllable, and the 'other' on the final. And Walker (1791: 67) talks explicitly of a 'secondary accent' in such cases.

These words have two feet, the first stronger than the second, as in a compound: *délectàble*, *ácadèmy*, etc. Since the initial syllables are mostly light, the GSR still determines the prosodic head of the whole word; the RSR would predict stressing for these two words by subrule C: the main stress must be no further back than the antepenult, regardless of weight, so *deléctable*, *acádemy*, as indeed is the case now, where the stress is purely 'Romance'.

This tendency toward initial stress, while strong through the eighteenth century, was beginning to recede in the 1780s. The accentuations in the list above are given by most writers without comment, though Kirkby (1746: 30) remarks that even though in noun/verb pairs like *ábstract/abstráct* verbs 'take the accent upon the latter syllable', it nonetheless 'appears to be the peculiar of modern English in general, to throw the Accent as near the first Syllable as possible'. Less than forty years later, while still retaining some of these left-strong patterns, Nares (1784: 185) has quite a different view:

> It has generally been said and believed that it is conformable to the genius of English pronunciation, to throw back the accent as far as possible from the end of a polysyllable. This . . . has, at times, corrupted our speech with many barbarous and unpleasing sounds, which are in reality repugnant to analogy . . . *ácademy, réfractory,* . . . &c., which no ear can hear without being offended.

Far from this (187), 'the analogy of . . . English . . . accents every word of more than two syllables on the antepenultima'. Regardless of the details (there are hordes of exceptions to both models), the shift in grammarians' typological intuitions from the 1740s to the 1780s is notable. English begins to feel more like a language with a Latinate accentual system than one with a Germanic type. (I take this kind of intuition seriously, because these are sensitive and sophisticated writers. Kirkby in particular is one of the gems of the English grammatical tradition, and ought to be more widely read.)

There are of course numerous exceptions to the penultimate-stress pattern, which Nares duly notes, most morphologically conditioned. E.g. (188) there are certain 'terminations which throw the Accent to the fourth Syllable from the End', as in *régulating*, *ínterested*, *tálkativeness*, *ábsolutely* (he doesn't mention secondary stress). The recognition that certain suffixes affect stress also grows during the century; Kirkby seems to be the first to discuss it in detail.

Note that the 'Germanic' pattern with main stress on the first syllable of a four-syllable non-compound word is not allowed by the RSR, which has a three-syllable limit (reflecting the old Graeco-Latin 'three-syllable law'); but it gives some stressings that now seem to distinguish American from (most types of) British English. Thus Nares has *cápillary, frítillary, ínventory, cóntroversy*, *láboratory*, *míscellany*, which are now the usual American contours. These words have (RSR) antepenult stress in most British dialects (*capíllary, fritíllary*, etc.). *Controversy* still vacillates, even in British varieties, but *épilepsy* has GSR stress everywhere, unlike RSR *epiléptic*.

The tendency to push the accent back toward the left in certain word classes seems to return during the nineteenth century. But we find throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries many 'orthodox' RSR accentuations, which choose to stress heavy syllables now generally excluded (whether as extrametrical or in some other way). These are of two main types: (a) stressing of heavy finals that are now not stressed in most dialects, and (b) stressing of heavy penults in words that now tend to have antepenult stress.

(61) *Type (a): rigid application of RSR A(i)*

Levins	(1570)	legáte, diláte, parént, precépt, stubbórne
Price	(1665)	temporíze, advertíze, paramóunt, yesterdáy
Cooper	(1687)	colléague, advertíse, complaisánce
Nares	(1784)	alcóve, bombást, caníne, profíle, reséarch

These may be conservative; Nares takes Dr Johnson to task for 'misaccenting' *bómbast*, *cárbine*, *cármine*, *fínance* in his 1755 dictionary. (All of these

of course are now the normal – or with *finance* one of the normal – accentuations.)

Stressings of the *diláte*, *reséarch* type have remained standard in Britain, though these words now have GSR contours in the US (This may be connected with a revival of the tendency toward initial stress noted by Kirkby: many US dialects have carried this further, with *ídea*, *ínsurance*, etc.) In some areas the older patterns are even better preserved: Hiberno-English keeps accented *-ate*, *-ise* in most forms (O Sé 1986), as do many South African varieties. Comparison of typical stressings for words of this kind illustrate the essential 'GSR-ness' of US English and the archaism of Hiberno-English:

(62)

US	Southern English	Hiberno-English
rótate	rotáte	rotáte
mígrate	migráte	migráte
éducate	éducate	educáte
órganize	órganise	organíse

Where the heavy suffixes are non-final, as in further derived forms, even US speakers with *dílate*, etc. have *dilátion*, as the RSR would predict.

The second group of 'odd' accentuations show a different non-modern pattern: they have unstressed heavy finals and stressed heavy penults:

(63) *Type (b): stressed heavy penult with heavy final*

Levins	(1570)	adúmbrate
Cooper	(1687)	obdúrate
Dyche	(1710)	demónstrate, illústrate, portráiture, agricúlture
Nares	(1784)	adúmbrate, illústrate, promúlgate, convérsant

If the final *-ate* in these forms has been reduced, as in modern *sénate*, then the S W W pattern is predictable by RSR. It is likely however that since no mention is made of reduction, the form intended is unreduced /-eːt/. (Reduction in the eighteenth century is apparently novel enough to be mentioned, as in Johnston 1764: 35–6 for *-able*, *-age*.)

Some non-modern stressings show a different facet of the older system: the existence of doublets with long and short (reduced?) vowels in a given position. Thus Johnston and Nares have *abdómen*, and Nares *anchóvy*; these are presumably based on /æbdoːmən/, /æntʃoːviː/, which must be the origin of American *abdómen* with stressed /əʊ/, as opposed to the British *ábdomen* with both post-stress vowels reduced.

These are all tendencies, not hard-and-fast regularities; even as late as the 1780s the stress system was still in flux, and authorities disagreed. One relatively short-lived tendency that surfaces in the eighteenth century, and

seems to be related to this variability, is the development of semantically differentiated stress-doublets for some words. Johnson (1755) has this entry for *sinister*:

> SI′NISTER. *adj.* [*sinister*, Latin.]
> 1. Being on the left hand; . . . not right; not dexter. It seems to be used with the accent on the second syllable, at least in the primitive, and on the first in the figurative sense.

The 'figurative' senses include the modern pejorative ones; Nares and Walker give the same judgement. Nares also has RSR *conjúre* 'entreat' v. *cónjure* 'perform magic', *champáign* 'wine' v. *chámpaign* 'open country'; Walker has (biblical) *cóncordance* v. *concórdance* 'agreement'. Given the eighteenth-century penchant for eliminating 'irrational' duplication, some of these judgements may be deliberate attempts to give semantic stability to coexisting variants; but at least for *sinister* and *conjure* the evidence is good.

One more aspect of the evolving stress system deserves mention: a tendency for some words to have main stress on non-initial light syllables, conforming neither to GSR nor RSR patterns: i.e. the types -ŏ́ŏ, -ŏŏ́. Examples in Levins (1570) are *embássage*, *flagón*, in Cooper (1687) *retínue, sonórous*, *parasól*, *florín*. Both types are still current, though not in all these particular items: -ŏ́ŏ continues in words with suffixal *-ish* (*admónish, dimínish*), and *-ic* (*quadrátic*, *telescópic*). The -ŏŏ́ type survives in *violín*, *caréss*, *clarinét*, and so on.

Some linguists (notably in the tradition stemming from Chomsky & Halle 1968) try to handle these contours synchronically in terms of 'abstract' underlying forms that fall into the ambit of an RSR-like Main Stress Rule, plus a considerable apparatus of other rules to adjust things. But the simpler explanation, as usual, is historical: these are mainly loans retaining the stress patterns of their originals. The same is true of loans in -ŏ́ŏ like *gorílla*, *vanílla*. Some morphologically complex cases like *procéssion*, *conféssion*, *divísion* are a different kind of historical relic, dating from the eighteenth century. The suffixes were originally disyllabic; the currently stressed light syllables were former antepenults, which were naturally accented by the RSR. Old /-iun/ or /-iɔn/ > /-ən/, but the stress, being institutionalised in these common derivatives, failed to readjust to the changed syllable structure. Such contours are best considered now as lexical properties of particular words or word classes, not rule-governed assignments according to 'living' principles.

The moral of this too-hasty exposition is that virtually every stress pattern that occurs in modern English occurred earlier; the main

differences are stabilisation of lexical incidence, loss of variation within given dialects, and the recession of certain once popular patterns (e.g. the *confiscate* type).

3.6.4 Vowel reduction and loss

The received wisdom (see Lass *CHEL* II 2.5.3) is that from the end of the Old English period vowels in weak position in the foot tended to reduce to 'schwa' [ə]. It's not always clear what is meant by 'schwa', but it generally seems to denote some kind of 'obscure' (i.e. central) short vowel, neither high nor low, and not identical to any nucleus appearing in strong position.

The only evidence specifically supporting an early development of [ə] appears to be graphic 'confusion' in weak syllables in early Middle English, and a tendency to write <e> (or in some dialects <i> or <u>) for what were once distinct /e, i, u/. But on the other hand, early writers like Hart (1569), and even later ones like Wallis (1653) make no mention of special qualities in weak syllables. This could of course be a defect in analysis; but given their general acuity one is disinclined to believe it – especially since phoneticians from Wallis's time at least were perfectly able to perceive 'obscure' vowels. What is interesting is that they generally note them only in *stressed* positions (see 3.4.1.3, 3.4.2.5).

It may also be that there was no single phonetic '[ə]' in earlier times, but rather a set of centralised vowels in weak positions whose qualities were reminiscent of certain stressed vowels, and could be identified as weak allophones without explicit comment. Price (1665) for instance notes an 'obscure *e*' in *her*, *brother*, which is distinct from 'short *e*' in *bet* and 'short *u*' in *but*. And nearly a century later Johnston (1764) describes a number of weak vowel qualities, which are clearly not spelling artifacts: short <i> [ɪ] in *-able*, *-age*, *-ain*, short <u> [ʌ] in *-ceous*, *-tion*, and short <e> [ɛ] in *-re* (*acre*, etc.).

Contrariwise, Jones (1701: 24) remarks obscurely that people say *favar, faver, favor* indifferently; which may mean either that they can use any one of three unstressed vowel qualities, or perhaps more likely, that he cannot tell in such cases which vowel is being used. The picture is not at all clear until a good deal later.

The problem is confounded – but in its own way illuminated – by a rather late, normative, spelling-based tradition that explicitly advocates keeping weak vowel qualities distinct. Like most strong advocacies this is a dead giveaway: it can only mean that by and large they were not so kept. Indeed, Walker (1791: 23) writes:

> When vowels are under the accent, the prince and the lowest of the people . . . pronounce them in the same manner; but the unaccented vowels in the mouth of the former have a distinct, open, and specific sound, while the latter often sink them, or change them, into some other sound. Those, therefore, who wish to pronounce elegantly must be particularly attentive to the unaccented vowels; as a neat pronunciation of these forms one of the greatest beauties of speaking.

What Walker appears to be recommending as 'elegant' is probably by that time already artificial, like what we still hear from school-teachers and clergymen who try to distinguish *counsel* and *council*, *allusion* and *illusion*.

There is good support for this position in a discussion some two decades earlier by the at least equally cultivated Abraham Tucker (a retired schoolmaster), who provides the best pre-modern discussion of weak vowels, both their phonology and social value. Tucker identifies the ME /u/ vowel (*but*) with the normal hesitation vowel, a quality he writes as *v*: as in 'Past ten *v-v-v* clock', or 'This account was sent by Mr *v-v-v* Schlotzikoff, a Russian' (1773: 14). His actual description of the vowel suggests something rather low and backish (26–7); I quote the passage *in extenso* to give the full flavour:

> While our lungs only are employed the breath passes silently . . . but if the passage be straitned by raising up the hinder part of the tongue . . . it makes a blowing noise . . . expressed by the character "h;" if the straitning be made at the throat by drawing back the root of the tongue as far as you can, it will form our "*v*;" for when, while pronouncing "h," you slide a finger under your chin, till it reaches the gullet, and then change from "h" to "*v*," you will feel the finger pushed downwards, the gullet seeming to swell, occasioned by the tongue crowding in upon it . . .

This is clearly something in the vicinity of [ʌ] or [ɐ̈]. Its phonology and use are described in a way that throws some light on Walker's later remarks:

> . . . there are none of the vowels but what are often changed into the '*v*' in common talk, tho preserving their genuine sound in a grave discourse.

He follows this with an extended example:

> . . . as in this sentence "'Tis frivolous to endeavour putting man or woman upon never stirring in London for fear of their cloaths being covered with soot," which at a tea-table we should probably deliver thus, "'Tis friv*v*l*v*s to endeav*v*r putting man *v*r wom*v*n *v*p*v*n nev*v*r st*v*rring in L*v*n*v*n f*v*r fear *v*v their cloaths being c*v*v*v*r'd with s*v*t" . . . The very small particles spoken hastily scarce ever retain their original sound . . .

Apparently massive neutralisation of unstressed vowels was the norm even in cultivated conversation (as of course it still is); and the main quality they neutralised to was in this variety (an educated, colloquial 'received' type) fairly back and open (not central), and identical with stressed /ʌ/ (note *v* in *soot*, which has /ʌ/ < shortened ME /oː/: OE *sōt*; this is now no longer a standard pronunciation but a 'vulgar' stereotype).

But both the eighteenth-century state of play and the history are more complicated. As early as the fourteenth century the incipient standard had at least two reduction vowels (still so in RP and many other varieties): a higher and fronter one identified with short /i/, and a lower one, perhaps [ə], perhaps something fronter and [e]- or [ɛ]-like. The higher one is especially common before coronals, which may account for the preponderance of <-is/iys>, <-id/-yd> spellings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for plurals and pasts.

Chaucer and other Middle-English poets frequently rhyme {-es} (plural) with *is* /is/ (e.g. *here is: speres*, *Parliament of Fowls*, 57, 59). And authorities through the eighteenth century describe /ɪ/ in *-less*, *-ness* and other weak endings. Even Walker, with his insistence on distinctness, notes certain reductions and mergers, but still shows (non-orthographic) distinctions as well, even in the same environments: thus his respellings *pallus*, *sollus* 'palace, solace' v. *furniss* 'furnace'. So throughout our period some standard varieties had at least two reduced vowels, i.e. /ɪ/ and (probably) /ʌ/ – not a generalised weak /ə/; and in some cases the choice of reduction-vowel was lexically rather than phonologically conditioned.

It's hard to sum up these developments coherently (not least because they aren't very coherent); but we can conclude that the tendency to reduction and merger of weak vowel qualities is of Middle English date, and still with us – as are the two counter-tendencies, (a) to avoid reduction, and (b) to maintain at least some phonetic distinctions in weak syllables, often partly conditioned by following consonants. Tendency (a) characterised (as to some extent it still does) formal or elevated, what eighteenth-century writers called 'grave' style. (For a thorough discussion see Jespersen *MEG* I ch. IX.)

Weak vowels not only reduce; they may also delete. The product of deletion depends partly on the nature of the surrounding consonants; loss of a vowel in a weak syllable closed by a nasal or liquid may lead to syllabification of the consonant, with no loss of the syllable, as in the familiar modern reduction-type [bʌtən] > [bʌtn̩] 'button', etc. It may also lead to syllable loss, as in [ɛvəri] > [ɛvr̩i] > [ɛvri] 'every'. This is already well described by Price (1665: 25): *double*, *noble*, *acre*, etc. are disyllables, even

though their final syllables lack an 'express vowel'; the vowel must be 'implyed' in the consonant. He adds that <e> is silent in *beaten*, *garden*, *open*, and <o> in *bacon*, *button*. Dyche (1710) similarly gives *garden* as *gard'n*.

In late Middle English final unstressed vowels (other than /-i(ː)/ as in the suffix *-y*) deleted in most words except proper names: *sweet* < /sweːtə/ but *Prussia*, etc. In later times there was again considerable (if variable) loss in other weak positions, notably medially in trisyllabic feet, but elsewhere as well. The earliest (pre-1500) instances seem to be *chapiter* > *chapter*, *lobbester* > *lobster*. This revives an old tendency (formerly often quantity-sensitive, but not in the Early Modern period). There are instances as early as the IE/Gmc transition (type: Skr *duhítar* v. OE *dohtor* 'daughter'), and a number of related processes in Old English.

Deletion was lexically restricted, and both input and output forms sometimes remained, but semantically differentiated: familiar examples are *courtesy/curtsey*, *fantasy/fancy*, *lightening/lightning*. Other words that at one time or another have shown signs of this are given below, in a selection of spellings (backed by metrical evidence) from Shakespearean drama and verse. Nearly all of these, even if trisyllabic pronunciation is now the norm, have fast-speech variants with deletion; in some cases (as in *medicine*, *mystery*) the old form is American and the new one British (extracts from the enormous list in Kökeritz 1953: 371ff.):

(64) gen'rall, sev'rall, batt'rie, brav'ry, mistrie, monast'ry, mistrie, robb'ry, desprat(e), watry, temp'rate, bach'ler, oftner, suffrers, whispring, listning, dang'rous, intrest, medcine

To this type we can add the related loss of secondary-stressed penults in *secretary*, *dictionary*, *customary*, etc.; again, the effect is prosodic lightening, here not through loss of a weak medial syllable, but through demotion of a former secondary stressed syllable to weak. As so often, the older, longer forms tend to remain in American English, the shorter in British, suggesting that both types were in circulation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the eighteenth, in particular, many items undergo this syncope that would now seem odd in their shortened forms in any dialect: Tuite (1726: 30) for instance has *charit*, *carrin*, *Marget*, *kattern* for *chariot*, *carrion*, *Margaret*, *Catherine* (the latter with metathesis in the final syllable – see below; the modern /kæθrɪn/ is of course another example.

Weak syllables also delete in pre-stress positions, especially initially. Jones (1701: 15) has *larum*, *prentice*, *sparagus* as the 'normal sounds' of *alarum* (now with dropped final weak vowel), *apprentice*, *asparagus*. Initial weak syllables beginning with a consonant and with their vowel in hiatus with the strong

vowel of the following foot may also lose their vowel: Nares (60) deletes the first vowel in *geometry*, *geography* (these pronunciations are still common in some varieties) – though the vowels are 'disunited' in longer derivatives like *geömetric*, *geögraphical* (his writings), probably through restressing (secondary stress on the first foot).

One other process connected with weak syllables (though just how is unclear) is metathesis of /r/. One of the earliest examples is *honderd* in Malory; others are *iorn*, *safforn* for *iron*, *saffron* (Dyche 1710), *Israel* 'as if written *Isarel*', *childern*, *hunderd* (Tuite 1726), *citron* = *cittern* (Kirkby 1746). Nares (1784: 120) remarks that *-ron* is 'often corruptly' pronounced as *-urn*, as in *apron*, *iron*, *citron*, *saffron*. At this time, then, the modern pronunciation of *iron* was regarded as non-standard (though not earlier); of this set of pronunciations that for Nares are 'observed rather that they may be avoided than imitated', only *iron* has survived as standard. The non-metathesised type /aɪrən/ survives in the North of England and Scotland.

3.7 Morphology 1: domain and perspectives

3.7.1 Definitions

'Morphology' in these volumes is restricted to inflection: the varying shapes taken by certain word-classes (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs) when coding particular grammatical categories. These may be primary (intuitively 'inherent' in a part of speech), like gender in nouns, tense in verbs; or secondary (derived), imposed on a word by various syntactic (and other) controllers. The latter include rules of concord or agreement (e.g. person/number marking on verbs determined by their subjects); government (e.g. pronominal objects taking oblique forms); or pure syntactic function (e.g. nominative and genitive forms of nouns and pronouns). In this sense the /s/ ~ /z/ alternation in the number-marking of *house* (*hou*/s/*e* v. *hou*/z/*es*) is inflectional, while the same alternation in *hou*/s/*e* (N) v. *to hou*/z/*e* (V) is derivational, since it changes grammatical class (see Nevalainen this volume).

'Inflection' normally suggests additions to base forms, like suffixes; and suffixation has always been the main inflectional device in English. But there are other shape-variations; both Early Modern and modern English have at least these basic types:

(i) *Suffixation* noun-plural {-s}, verb pres. 3 sing. {-s}, weak past {-t/-d}
(ii) *Word-internal change* noun-plural alternations like *mouse/mice*; strong verb tense and participle marking as in *sing/sang/sung*

(iii) *Suppletion* use of forms phonologically unrelated to an assumed base, e.g. *go/went*, *bad/worse*

(iv) Zero-inflection sg./pl. *fish*, *sheep*; present/past *fit*, *spit*.

Some complex inflections involve more than one of these: e.g. vowel-variation + suffix in the past participles of some strong verbs (*wrote* v. *writt-en*); consonant change + suffix in noun plurals (*knife* v. *knive-s)*; or, less transparently, vowel-change + suffixation in 'irregular' weak verbs (*buy*, *bough-t*), vowel-change + consonant-change + suffix in *leave*, *lef-t*, and suppletion + suffix in *good*, *bett-er*, perhaps also *go*, *wen-t*.

Other types are less easily segmented, though the general principles seem to apply, if obscurely. *He*, *his*, *him* might be analysed as {h-e}, {h-is}, and {h-im}, which is historically correct, but synchronically unlikely. English morphology has become steadily less transparent over time (see Kastovsky *CHEL* I).

The standard presentation of morphology in historical grammars is in terms of paradigms: inventories of forms taken by given lexemes or lexeme-classes. Such inventories are of course 'true', and often useful, and I will cite them where appropriate. But this is only part of the story. Morphology ultimately depends on syntax, and to a lesser but significant degree on extragrammatical factors as well, e.g. style. An inflected word-form normally surfaces in response to some trigger: while it is true that the regular verb 'has a present 3 sing. in {-s}', this ending occurs only in the presence of a suitably specified subject. A statement that 'Category X has the forms a, b, c . . .' is not only about the inventory as such, but about the selections from it that the syntax makes under specific conditions.

This is not a trivial distinction; as we will see from instances of variation during our period, every text occurrence of a variable category represents in principle a potential choice-point. For instance, both the old {-th} and the new {-s} verb presents coexist in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (3.8.4.2); but the conditions under which one or the other is chosen (often both in the same text, even in the same sentence), and the changes in those conditions, are central to both synchronic description and historical narrative. These may include not only syntactic environment, but pragmatic and social factors (register, addressee, even age, sex, class of the speaker/writer as well).

3.7.2 Historical perspective

In the larger historical perspective Early Modern inflectional changes are quite limited; the major transformations date from late Old English and Middle English (see Hogg *CHEL* I, Lass *CHEL* II). Our period inherits

an already degraded morphology, and most of the later developments involve further simplification and reduction.

Since Old English times the general morphological trend has been from a highly synthetic, somewhat archaic Indo-European type (Old English is more like Latin than like Modern English) to a largely analytic type, with minimal inflection. To set the Early Modern developments in perspective, a very schematic review of the state of play in Old, late Middle, and modern English may be useful; this will provide an advance view of what had to be done between about 1400 and the end of the eighteenth century, when for all practical purposes the modern systems were fully in place.

Below is a minihistory (omitting Early Modern English) of the maximal available morphologically coded contrasts for the noun and verb ('maximal' because some declension and conjugation classes had fewer). This illustrates the available inflectional parameters, and the number of contrasts distinguishable within each one.

NOUN

Old English Three genders (masc., fem., neut.); four cases (nom., gen., dat., acc.); two numbers (sing., pl.: but also a pronominal dual)

Late Middle English No grammatical gender; two distinct case forms ('common' v. gen.); two numbers, gen. pl. identical to gen. sing.

Modern English No grammatical gender; common v. gen. for all nouns; two numbers

VERB

Old English Two tenses (present v. past); two numbers (sing., pl.); three persons (1, 2, 3) distinct in present sing.; pl. distinct from all sg. persons, but with no internal person marking; three moods (ind., subj., imp.), but no person marking in subj., only sing. v. pl.

Late Middle English Two tenses, two numbers; pl. marking on verbs deteriorating, and 1 sing., all plurals increasingly zero-marked; pres. 2, 3 sing. distinct in pres. ind. from all other forms; subj. generally zero-marked, therefore distinct only for 2, 3 sing., imp. = bare verb stem

Modern English Two tenses, no number marking; person marked only for the conflate category pres. 3 sing.-ind.; 2 sing. no longer distinct; subj. increasingly marginal, largely replaced by ind. in those few cases where it could be distinct.

More has happened to the verb than to the noun (not surprising, since there are more markable categories). But the overall story in both cases is a continuing trend toward the analytic. Constructions that could be coded by case-endings alone in Old English already had alternants with prepositions

(*sweord-um* and *mid sweord-um* 'with swords'), and this increased into Middle English. By the late fourteenth century, except for some marginal dative singulars in {-e} (almost exclusively in verse, and in any case always with prepositions), only possession was coded by morphological case (genitive); and even this had an analytic alternant (*England's Queen* v. *the Queen of England*). In the verb the analytic trend is clear in the gradual replacement of the inflectional subjunctive by syntactic devices like word-order (*I had known* [ind.] v. *had I known* [subj.]) or subordination (*if I had known*).

There is a continuing decrease in morphological expressiveness or informativeness; the locus for grammatical information becomes syntax rather than word-form, and 'redundant' morphological devices like concords disappear. Indeed, the only relics of the once rich concordial systems in English now are the number distinctions in demonstratives (*this/these*, *that/those*), the case/number/gender system in the pronouns, and the pres. 3 sing. ending of the verb. But even this has been largely evacuated of specific meaning: in the OE paradigm, with its four endings (three singular persons and plural), any indicative verb form was marked positively for what it was; in the modern system, with two forms, only the 3 sing. is positively marked; all other forms are defaults, marked (by virtue of the zero ending) merely as 'not 3 sing.'.

3.8 Morphology 2: the major word-classes

3.8.1 The noun

In the corresponding chapter in the *Cambridge History of the English Language* II, I treated the noun phrase as a whole: noun, article, adjective and pronoun together. This was because earlier English noun phrases are concordial units (articles and adjectives agree with their head nouns, etc.). This unity was gradually destroyed by inflectional erosion: by the fifteenth century the adjective no longer agreed with its head, and the article was indeclinable. Nouns, adjectives and pronouns will therefore be treated not as fellow phrase-members, but independent classes.

By late Middle English, the rich system of Old English noun inflection had been radically reduced. Case-marking (except for genitive) had vanished, and most declension classes had been levelled, leaving only one kind of singular paradigm, and several plural types, only one frequent:

(65)

	Singular	Plural
common	**-Ø**	
genitive	-(e)s	-(e)s

That is – with phonological complications to be discussed below – the modern paradigm. The other plural types were: (a) old weak plurals in {-n}, occasionally added to nouns that did not belong to this group historically; (b) umlaut plurals; and (c) zero plurals. The old {-n} now survives only in *oxen* (< OE *oxa-n*) and a few later double plurals like *brethren* (umlaut + {-n}) and *children* ({-r} + {-n}). Weak {-n} was however better represented in our period: sixteenth-century writers retain *eyen/eyne* (< OE *ēag-an*), but mainly in verse, and there usually in rhyme; according to Jespersen (*MEG* VI 20.2_1), Spenser has *eyen* only in rhyme, and of thirteen occurrences in Shakespeare, eleven are in rhymes. Unhistorical *brethren* appears as the normal plural of *brother*, not in its modern specialised sense, as does the analogical *sistren* (e.g. in the early sixteenth-century Plumpton letters). Other nouns also show occasional weak plurals during the period: Wyld (1936: 320–1) lists among others *knee*, *tree*, *flea*, *claw*, *straw*, *soul*, *horse*, *ewe*, *ash*.

By the mid-seventeenth century {-n} for most nouns is in retreat, and 'provincial'. Wallis (1653: 77) says that *-(e)s* is the only regular plural, but lists a few (less common) weak ones as well, notably *oxen*, *housen*, *eyn*, *shoon*, *kine* (the latter a double: OE *cȳ* + {-n}). *Housen* is also mentioned by Butler (1633) and Johnson (1640), but as exceptional. There are some survivals into the next century: Greenwood (1711: 49) says that *kine*, *eyen*, *housen* are still used by some, but 'not to be imitated'. (*Kine* of course survives longer as a poetic term.)

The umlaut plurals have undergone no significant change since late Middle English; by the end of the period only *feet*, *teeth*, *geese*, *lice*, *mice*, *men* were common. This class was already in decline in early Middle English, and has had no serious additions since (only late jocularities like *meese* for plural of *moose*).

The zero plural was considerably commoner than now; aside from descendants of OE zero-plural neuters like *deer*, *sheep*, and new ones like *fish* (OE *fiscas*), a number of other nouns had alternative endingless plurals. Among these are measure nouns like *foot*, *year*, *pound*, *shilling*, which were endingless in partitives like *seuen fote* (Palladius); these (not from OE nom./acc. plurals but gen. plurals in {-a}) survive in many varieties today. Potential collectives or mass-like nouns could also take zero plurals: building materials (*board*, *brick*), military appurtenances (*ball*, *cannon*), the latter still used; this declined during the eighteenth century (see Wyld 1936: 321f., Ekwall 1965: §192).

But the dominant plural, then as now, is {-s}; the changes have been not in applicability but in structure. Nowadays this ending (like the genitive and verbal {-s}) shows a simple three-way allomorphy: /-iz/ after sibilants (*kiss-es*, *dish-es*, *houses*), /-s/ after other voiceless consonants (*cat-s*, *brick-s*, *cough-s*),

and /-z/ after voiced non-sibilants and vowels (*dog-s*, *nun-s*, *shoe-s*). This alternation derives from two Middle English changes (voicing of fricatives in the margins of weak syllables, and deletion of certain weak vowels), and one 'automatic' tactical adjustment: devoicing of /z/ to /s/ in contact with a preceding voiceless obstruent. An idealised history of the early stages of the plurals of *kiss*, *cat*, *dog* (the weak vowel represented as /V/) would be:

(66)

	kiss	*cat*	*dog*
Early ME input	kis-Vs	kat-Vs	dog-Vs
Weak σ voicing	kis-Vz	kat-Vz	dog-Vz
Weak V deletion	–	*kat-z	dog-z
Voicing assimilation	–	kat-s	–

Since voicing assimilation would follow automatically on V-deletion (hence the starred form: but see below), the assumption is that the modern pattern was established quite early, say by the fifteenth century.

There seems however to have been variation well into the sixteenth century, and some rather problematic testimony from John Hart, who being such a good witness in other ways must be taken seriously here. First, Hart was sensitive to the voiced/voiceless distinction, and to pronunciations that departed from the spelling: e.g. he transcribes *of* as <ov> nearly 400 times, <of> only forty-one times, many of these in sandhi with voiceless consonants. And he notes that 'we communeli abuse *es* and *se* final, for the same sound of . . . the ȝ: the *es* as in liues waies and bodies, which were written as we pronounce on this wise livz, waiz and bodiz' (1551: 160).

Yet in his actual transcriptions (1569, 1570) there are many <s> where, given the generalisation in the above description (/r/ after voiced consonants, vowels and in the syllabic plural) we would not expect them. A sample from the 1569 *Orthographie* is typical:

(67) *s*-plural transcriptions: Hart 1569

As expected <s, z>	Unexpected <s> for <z>	Unexpected <z> for <s>	Variable <z ~ s>
aksidents	birds	faultz	wẹz, -s
priks	tungs		nąmz, -s
prints	-selvs		ourz, -s
sinz	ąkorns		kontrariez, -s
pronounz	silabls		
riulz	leters		
spelerz	aʃes		
autoritiz	kauzes		
enemiz	prinses		

(A subscript dot = vowel length: cf. 3.1.2.1.)

This tiny but representative sample illustrates the problem. Even if (not unlikely) a certain number of 'unexpected' forms are author's or printer's mistakes, there are still too many to sweep under the rug this way. And all of them go against Hart's own description of what is 'communeli' the case. The <faultz> type can be safely discarded; a sequence /faultz/ could not be monosyllabic, since voicing would be turned off on /t/ and restarted on /z/, making another syllable. This type must be a simple error. But aside from such (rare) cases, there are a lot of unexpected /s/ for /z/ (assuming that the spellings are correctly interpreted this way). There are two possible explanations for this:

(i) We are catching an interesting stage in the development of the modern {-s} plural, which makes the history in (66) acceptable only as a gross outline. Voicing of /s/ in weak syllables (very sparsely represented in ME spelling) was not yet complete in the sixteenth century. In this light, the /s/-endings after /n, l, r/ are unproblematic: they violate no constraints. English allows a voice contrast in fricatives after sonorants (*else* v. *ells*, *ice* v. *eyes*), and also weak /-Vs/ v. /-Vz/ (*highness* v. *China's*). Hart could easily have had the kind of variation he transcribes: *names* was /na:mz/ or /na:ms/, etc. On this interpretation the problem cases are those with a voiced obstruent + /s/, like <tungs>, <selvs>, which on the face of it are [tuŋgs], [sɛlvs]. These are difficult because English never seems to have tolerated obstruent clusters disagreeing (phonologically) in voicing.

(ii) We should be reluctant to discard evidence from good sources just because it does not fit comfortably with our preconceptions; we ought to try (without stretching) to 'save the phenomena'. If we project back to Hart a rather subtle but phonetically natural feature of modern English syllable-final obstruents, we may have an answer. In most varieties of English, final 'voiced' obstruents are (phonetically) less voiced than initial or intervocalic ones; they may in fact devoice to such an extent that they are barely distinguishable from their 'true' voiceless congeners. Writing [z̥] for a partially devoiced [z], *ʒoos* would be phonemically /zu:z/, but phonetically [zu:z̥], etc.

So Hart's <s> transcriptions after voiced obstruents (and perhaps some or all of the other 'unexpected' ones) could be due to perceptual indeterminacy. Since he used only a two-way voiced/voiceless distinction (3.1.2.1), these partly devoiced finals may have been hard to assign to one category or another, and transcription would have vacillated. (This problem is not unfamiliar to trained modern phoneticians dealing with subtle contrasts.)

The partial devoicing story at first looks better, as it accounts for all the problematic <s> transcriptions; assuming that clusters like **[vs] never occurred phonetically within the syllable, a simple variation treatment

could not cope with the post-obstruent cases. But we must not be too confident that this is the sole answer; another change in the system, also of supposed Middle English date, is variable in this period: deletion of the weak vowel in plural and genitive endings. In sixteenth-century verse we find lines like the following, where the italicised genitive or plural forms must be read as trochaic disyllables:

To shew his teeth as white as *whales* bone (*Love's Labour's Lost* V.ii.232)
I see you haue a *monthes* mind to them (*Two Gentlemen of Verona* I.ii.137)
Then her embracing twixt her *armes* twaine (*The Faerie Queene* VI.xii.19)

These are uncommon, not mentioned by the orthoepists, and attested only in verse; they are probably an archaism. But the option certainly existed (see further Jespersen *MEG* I 6.16). So other evidence suggests that the {-s} suffix system was not entirely stable even in the late sixteenth century: if here, why not elsewhere?

Hart then may reflect the late stages of a system still variable, if on the way to stabilising; though some of the variation may be transcriptional, due to perceptual factors. This analysis postpones the emergence of the full modern pattern until much later than is usual, perhaps to the seventeenth century; but it suggests an insight (compatible with modern variation-theory) into how long even a phonetically 'natural' change can take to stabilise, and into the problems that arise in the historical investigation of apparently quite simple 'rule-governed' phenomena.

One other noun-alternation is of importance: that between voiceless and voiced fricatives in singulars and plurals, as in *wolf/wolves*, etc. This is of OE date: the voiceless fricatives /f, θ, s/ had voiced allophones only in foot-medial position (see Lass *CHEL* II 2.4.1.1 for the history of the voice contrast). So, oblique or plural vowel-initial suffixation of any noun stem ending in /f, θ, s/ would produce the voiced allophones. Thus for *wulf* 'wolf':

(68)

	Singular	Plural
nom./acc.	*wulf* [wulf]	*wulf-as* [wulv-as]
gen.	*wulf-es* [wulv-es]	*wulf-a* [wulv-a]
dat.	*wulf-e* [wulv-e]	*wulf-um* [wulv-um]

Now since the nom./acc. sing., nom./acc. pl. and gen. sing. were the only forms that survived into late Middle English, we would expect the modern paradigm to reflect (68): i.e. *wolf/**wolve's/wolves/wolves*'. But no such nouns (*wolf*, *life*, *elf*, *mouth*, etc.) have voicing in the genitive singular. It has apparently been remodelled on the singular common case, so the voice-alternation reflects only number: voiceless singular v. voiced plural. This is late: Chaucer and Caxton have regular gen sing. *wyues*, Shakespeare has

both: *my liues counsell* (*Richard III* IV.v.351) v. *lifes fitfull feuer* (*Macbeth* III.ii.23), etc. (More examples and discussion in Jespersen *MEG* IV 16.5.) The voiced gen. sg. persisted into the late eighteenth century: Walker (1791: 44) remarks on a 'strong tendency' in this direction, as in *a calves head, a houze rent* (on suffix-deletion see below).

The alternating class was once larger: /f ~ v/ in particular occurred in the sixteenth century and later in *cliff*, *belief*, *sheriff* and (more rarely) French loans like *grief*, *mastiff*, *mischief* (and note PDE *mischievous*, *grieving*). Since these post-date the loss of the Old English voicing rule, only a few (sporadically) are attracted to the native voicing class. Except for the specialised *beeves* (if this can really be taken as the plural of *beef*), no French noun now alternates. Native words in /f/ < /x/ (e.g. *cough*, *laugh*) also do not, except for *dwarf* < OE *dwearh*; it may be significant that this is the only one standardly respelled with <f>.

The alternation is recessive, and a fair number of words have also had non-alternating plurals since the sixteenth century at least. While *knife*, *wolf*, *house* seem stable now in all southern varieties (Scots may lack the alternation completely), a number of items never show it: *fife*, nouns in /-s/ except *house*, increasing numbers of /θ/-finals like *moth*, *cloth* (note the fossil alternant *clothes* with a different meaning). Others like *hoof*, *roof* are variable. Indeed, sixteenth-century sources already have both /f/ and /v/: *houes* and *hoofes* occur in Marlowe, but only *roofs*.

The plural and genitive suffixes sometimes deleted, especially the genitives of proper nouns in /-s/. This continues through the Early Modern period, and even today: so Shakespeare (*Venus and Adonis* 180, 1172) *by Venus side*, *Adonis breath* (certain on metrical grounds; see Jespersen *MEG* VI 16.8 for more examples). The plural drops less often, but there are instances, e.g. 'As the dead *carkasses* of vnburied men' (*Coriolanus* III.iii.122) where *carkasses* must scan as a trochee. (Unless this is a foot-medial deletion as in *fancy* < *fantasy*, cf. 3.6.4 above, which seems unlikely.)

The non-syllabic genitive also drops in sandhi with following /s/-initial words other than proper names: *for recreation sake* (*Hamlet* I.ii.174, *for sport sake* (*Hamlet* II.i.78); but this reflects a constraint on /ss/ clusters, still operative today (*for sport's sake* with /ss/ would be grotesque). The only difference is that we no longer write the deletion.

But there are also some genuine remnants of old zero-genitives, as well as nouns with historical /s/-genitives showing deletion even when not in sandhi with /s/. The early sixteenth-century Plumpton letters have among others *God blessing* (XII), *your childer bodies* (CLXII), and *St. Marke day* (CLIII).

One further development, belonging somewhere between noun inflection and noun-phrase syntax, can appropriately be treated here: the

curious '*his*-genitive' (*Jesus Christ his sake*, *the Kinge his fool*, etc.). This is widespread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but arises much earlier. According to Wyld (1936: 315–16) the source is /h/-deletion in weak syllables (common enough), which leads to weak forms of *his* becoming homophonous to the ME genitive singular *-es/-is*. Thus in casual speech *the kyngys son* and *the kyng hys son* would be indistinguishable. Indeed, there are forms as early as the twelfth century bearing this out: e.g. the hyphenated genitives like *adam-is sune* in the manuscript of *Genesis and Exodus* (c. 1270). This is, notably, a manuscript in which /h/-dropping is particularly common (Milroy 1983). Given a masculine possessor (as in all the early examples), the semantics are reasonable as well.

While Middle-English instances are sporadic, the construction increases from the sixteenth century, and eventually extends to feminines as well: first with *his* (*Margaret ys doghter*, Cely Papers: Wyld 316), later more semantically congruent, as in *Juno hir bed* (Lyly); there are also plurals, e.g. *Chillingworth and Canterbury their books* (Verney Memoirs, 1645: both cited from Wyld). This led to the common belief that the normal {-s} genitive was in fact a reduction of *his*; though Dr Johnson in the grammar prefaced to his *Dictionary* (1755) points out that 'this cannot be the true original, because *'s* is put to female nouns', where '*his* cannot be understood'. He was of course right in principle, though unaware of the *Margaret ys doghter* type. The *his*-genitive is obsolescent in the late seventeenth century, and pretty much dead by the eighteenth; any later survivals are essentially imitations of earlier uses in familiar texts like *The Book of Common Prayer*.

3.8.2 The pronoun

3.8.2.1 Introduction

By late Middle English the personal pronoun system had been reduced from its original four cases (nom., gen., dat., acc.) to three: nom., gen. and 'oblique' (e.g. *he*, *his*, *him*). The oblique merges the old dative and accusative functions, usually under the form of the historical dative (e.g. *him* < OE masc./neut. dat. sing. *him*, with loss of masc. acc. sg. *hine*). By the mid-fifteenth century the London system had these forms:

(69)

	SINGULAR				
	1	2	3 masc.	3 neut.	3 fem.
nom.	I	thou	he	(h)it	she
gen.	my/mine	thy/thine	his	his	her(s)
obl.	me	thee	him	(h)it/him	her

	PLURAL		
	1	2	3
nom.	we	ye/you	they
gen.	our(s)	your(s)	their(s)
obl.	us	you	them

(Of course with spelling variation; I normalise for ease of identification.)

The genitives are commonly and misleadingly listed as part of the pronoun paradigm for Middle English and later periods; but by early Middle English they had already ceased to function as independent pronouns (e.g. as objects of verbs), and were really a kind of 'personal adjective', occurring only as noun modifiers (*my house*, *the house is mine*, etc.). *Yours*, *ours*, *hers* were then, as now, used only 'disjunctively', not as direct nominal modifiers; *mine*, *thine*, while having this function as well, were also (variably) phonologically controlled, more in the sixteenth century than earlier. Rather like the *an* allomorph of the indefinite article, *mine*, *thine* were preferred before vowel-initial nouns (or in some cases before /h, j/).

Sir Thomas More's letters show this kind of pattern: *my minde*, *my wyfe*, but *mine owne self*, *myn ende* (also *my othe*). This recedes in the later seventeenth century. Wallis (1653: 99) says that *mine*, *thine*, *yours*, *hers* occur only 'sine substantivo' (without a noun), and does not mention phonological conditioning. The alternation does however remain as 'poetic' style into the nineteenth century, as in Julia Ward Howe's *Mine eyes have seen the glory*, etc.

From a modern perspective two changes seem to have occurred: replacement of neuter *his* by *its*, and loss of the sing./pl. distinction in the second person, with oblique *you* taking over all non-genitive functions, and *ye*, *thou/thee* vanishing except in special registers. Both look like simple formal reorganisations, but are actually quite different. The rise of *its* is more or less purely morphological; but the story of the second person is not at all straightforward, rather less 'structural' than pragmatic (3.8.2.3).

3.8.2.2 The third person neuter

But first the (relatively) simple story of *it(s)*. There have been two changes, one phonological and the other morphological. First, initial /h/ drops; this begins as early as the twelfth century, though /h/ is still common in the sixteenth, but has vanished by the end of the century in formal written English. (Though /hɪt/ remains in some dialects today, notably in Lowland Scotland and the southern US.)

Its seems to be based on a simple analogy: attachment of the regular genitival {-s} to the base {it}. Some early grammarians indeed have the intuition that {-s} is just the non-feminine pronominal genitive: Wallis (1653: 97) (correctly, at least from a historical point of view) analyses *his* as *hee's*. I suspect that (an unconscious version of) this kind of segmentation is what provoked the new form.

Its first occurs in the later sixteenth century (see *OED s.v.* for examples and dates); it is not common this early, and the first grammarian to mention it is Butler (1633). Until well into the seventeenth century it is not the usual form, but seems to have been thought of as 'colloquial', or at least not suitable for high style. Even the Authorised ('King James') Version of the Bible (1611) has only *his* (e.g. Mark 9.50 'if the salt haue lost *his* saltnesse'), and *his* is dominant in Queen Elizabeth and exclusive in Lyly. Shakespeare uses mainly *his*, but also has the archaic zero-genitive *it* (attested from the fourteenth century), as in 'it lifted vp *it* head' (*Hamlet* I.ii.216 Folio; corrected in Quarto to *his*) – but this was recessive. *His* persists well into the seventeenth century, if sporadically (e.g. Milton's 'Now the spell hath lost *his* hold', *Comus* 919 (1634)). Wallis gives only *its* in 1653, and Milton is probably appealing to earlier (Shakespearean, biblical) precedents for effect here.

3.8.2.3 The second person

The history of this system is intricate and not well understood (alternatively, not entirely coherent). There is however is an extensive and positive literature often making it seem clearer than it is. Originally the second person had a simple number contrast, like the others: OE nom. sing. *þū*, dat./acc. *þē*, nom. pl. *gē*, dat./acc. pl. *ēow*. But as early as the thirteenth century there is pragmatic interference: probably under the influence of French courtly practice (itself based on Latin models), the old obl. pl. *you* came to be used for singular address, often alternating seemingly at random with *þū*. Mossé (1950: 94) cites this couplet from *Havelok* (c. 1270):

> Al denemark I wile *you* yeve
> to þat forward *þu* lat me live
> [I will give *you* all Denmark if *thou* agree to let me live]

During Middle English, *you* begins to establish itself as the common or 'unmarked' form of address for both numbers in upper-class or courtly contexts. At the same time *thou* (apparently the usual lower-class term)

developed, partly as a result of the new kind of opposition the change in *you* allowed, senses like intimacy (if used reciprocally) or contempt (non-reciprocally: see below). Even in late Middle English *thou* was on the way to becoming 'marked' or non-neutral.

At around the mid-fifteenth century, the distinction in singular address seems to have been mainly connected with status (or at least was so perceived). Sociolinguistic judgements surface in an interesting passage from Bokenham's *Life of St Elizabeth* (quoted in Mustanoja 1960: 128). St Elizabeth was so 'groundyd . . . in loulynesse' (= humility) that she forbade her maidens to call her 'Lady' or 'Mistress', or to rise when she entered a room 'as among jentylys yt ys þe guise'; and, significantly,

> In þe plurere nounbyr speken her to,
> But oonly in þe syngulere, she heme dede devyse,
> As sovereyns to subjectys be won to do.

The old number contrast seems at first glance to have turned into what since the influential paper of Brown & Gilman (1960) we have come to think of as a 'T/V' system. In their model, a T pronoun (e.g. French *tu*, German *du*) encodes intimacy, solidarity, etc.; a V pronoun (*vous, Sie*) encodes 'power' or status. A rigid T/V system, like French, expresses intimacy and/or social equality by reciprocal use of T, and asymmetries of power or status by non-reciprocal use (e.g. parents use T to children, children V to parents).

Brown and Gilman claim that English developed a typical 'European' T/V system, with *thou* as T and *you* as V; but the history is more complex and less unified (see below and Wales 1983). Intuitions like Bokenham's do indeed suggest T/V; but English never developed a rigid, hierarchical opposition. What evolved was loose, unstable and pragmatically more subtle, with some T/V properties and other quite different ones. In particular, the upper-class reciprocal use of V seems to have found its way into the standard as the unmarked case, with T reserved for two other purposes: (i) marking asymmetrical (permanent or temporary) status relations (see e.g. Barber 1981 on *you* and *thou* in *Richard III*); and (ii), as a general indicator of heightened emotional tone, intimacy, etc., but strongly influenced by register, topic, relationship between interlocutors and a number of other factors unconnected with status or power. There is evidence for some grammatical conditioning as well, at least in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Mulholland 1967, Barber 1981), with *thou* favoured as subject of auxiliaries and *you* with lexical verbs.

The grammatical, and to some extent the social conditioning seem reasonably clear from Shakespeare's plays, perhaps the most closely studied Early Modern corpus in this regard. But we must be cautious about taking the speech of literary characters as evidence for that of real-world persons; characters are not independent of their authors' linguistic habits. As evidence, the speech of literary characters is only as good as authorial observation of the speech of others; and without an independent check we cannot know how good this is. While the internal worlds of highly crafted literary works may mirror the 'outside world', they also may not, and may not accurately reflect behaviour even in the real communities their authors inhabit. (Though they may be usefully similar, as we can tell from some cases where there is independent evidence: see Romaine 1982 on 'high' and 'low' characters in drama.)

Literary and non-literary evidence together give us the following picture: starting in the late fourteenth century, and increasing into the seventeenth, *you* gradually becomes the neutral term of singular address, with *thou* increasingly marked by affectivity. Grammarians' comments support this: Cooper (1685: 121) says that 'Pro *thou*, *thee* & *ye* dicimus *you* in communi sermone, nisi emphaticè, fastidiosè, vel blandè dicimus *thou*' [In ordinary speech we say *you* for *thou*, *thee* and *ye*, but emphatically, contemptuously or caressingly we say *thou*].

As *you* and *thou* become more pragmatically distinct, the number opposition is lost (except insofar as *thou* is not used for plural address). Since the choice is essentially determined by pragmatic factors by say the late sixteenth century, a detailed account of the distribution becomes problematical. Obviously we do not get 'pure' colloquial usage, with clear extralinguistic context, in written (especially literary) texts. But there is one kind of text, less well exploited than others, where the evidence comes rather closer to what we would like: the private letter, meant only for the recipient. Here (if we treat it with proper caution) we have something approaching direct face-to-face speech, if not dialogue. From the Pastons and Celys in the fifteenth century onwards we have an enormous body of letters, and some provide interesting evidence for pronoun usage in relatively uncrafted and unselfconscious language.

The earlier correspondence is rather uninformative, as it is pragmatically homogeneous: in the fifteenth-century letters (even between married couples and family members) the style tends to be formal, and the content largely utilitarian. Much of the Paston correspondence for instance is concerned with business, litigation, requests for so many yards of silk from London, etc. But later we get longish personal narratives, gossip,

love-letters and the like, which with their more intimate tone provide better opportunities for certain second-person pronoun distinctions to surface.

In earlier letters, the pronoun of choice is *you* (sometimes *ye*: on *you/ye* see below). Beginning in the sixteenth century, however, and increasing up to the late seventeenth, clear distinctions emerge, if with no unanimity of usage. A few examples will illustrate the kinds of factors that seem to condition the choice of one pronoun or the other.

The correspondence between Sir Thomas More and his daughter Margaret Roper (Rogers 1947) is instructive. These letters from a learned father to a learned daughter are stylistically elaborate and rather formal: even in quite emotional and personal contexts More uses *you* (Rogers, 545):

> *Your* doghterly louing letter, my derely beloued childe was and is, I faithfully assure *you*, much more inward confort vnto me than my penne can expresse *you* . . .

But in one particularly touching passage we find a rare occurrence of *thou*, and something else:

> Surely Megge a fainter hearte than *thy* fraile father hath, *canst you* not haue . . .

Note the odd *canst you*, suggesting a tension between the 'normal' *you* and the exceptional *thou*; the latter seems to have triggered (though not surfacing itself) the appropriate verbal concord, which does not match the pronoun actually used.

Later letters, especially in the seventeenth century, show considerable mixture of the two forms, more often responsive to topic or emotional tone than social factors (since the social relationships are of course stable within a given letter: but see the special cases in the examples below). So Lady Katherine Paston to her son William in 1624 (Hughey 1941: 65ff.; the numbering in [ ] is mine):

> [1] My good child the Lord bless *the* euer more in *they* goinges ovtt and *thy* Cominges in. [2] I was very glad to here by *your* first letter that *you* wer so saffly arriued at *your* wished portt. [3] but more glad to read *thy* louing promises . . . which I hope . . . shall always redound to *thy* chiefest good . . . [4] I could wish that *you* would settel *your* self to certin howers tasks euery day *you* rise . . . [5] this I thought good to put *the* in mind of . . . belieuing *thou* wilt do this for my sake but more cheefly for *thyn* owne . . . farwell my sweet will: for this time: by *thy* louing mother Katherine . . . [6] remember my good respect to *your* worth master . . .

The generally intimate tone is set by the initial *thou*; but the *you* episodes are revealing. The first shift at [2] seems to reflect a move to general concern with the journey, not Will's particular state; at [3] the return to *thou* coincides with mention of Will's own inner state and actions – particularly a promise to his mother and his personal good. [4] shifts to a less personal mode, perhaps of 'authoritative' maternal command; at [5] there is a return to the personal, with resumption of *you* at [6], where a social obligation to a person of (presumably) higher social status or at least non-intimate acquaintance is the topic.

Another example, forty years later, will serve as a final illustration, making especially clear the connections between pronoun choice, tone, and topic. This is a letter from Henry Oxinden to his wife in 1662, detailing his rather depressing adventures as a clergyman in search of a living (Gardiner 1937: 272ff.):

> [1] I did write to *thee* by the Friday post . . . and have not omitted writing to *thee* . . . since I came to London. My mind is with *thee* howsoever I am forced to be absent from *Thee*. I see *thy* care and vigilance and thank *Thee* . . . I have received *thy* letter of Saturday last and Tuesday morning with the half shift, band cuffes and handkerchieffe.
> [2] I have spoken with Sir Tho: Peyton twice and find him in such passions as I have no manner of hopes of his assistance; hee doth mee twice as much hurt as good; some bodie hath incensed Him very much against mee, *you* may guesse who hath done it, the partie being not far from *you*. Wherby *you* may the lesse wonder of the Indifferent Ladie's not giveing *you* a better answer . . . [3] . . . I am in some hopes that by the next Post I shall give *Thee* an account of somewhat done or likely to be done . . . Trulie my Deare, I must have monie sent me now . . . or I shall be in straits . . . [4] I am at more expence than *you* can imagine . . . [5] I read *thy* letters over and over and over, for in them I see *thee* as well as I can. I am *thine* as much as possible. I hope our children are well. [6] My service to all *you* think fitting to speake it to. [7] . . . The Lord blesse *you* and preserve *you* and wee and ours. [8] In extreme hast I rest *Thine* inexpressibly.

Each of the eight episodes represents a change of 'key': [1] is totally interpersonal, concerned only with the relationship between Henry and his wife, and the exchange of letters; in [2] the narrative becomes impersonal, or at least exclusively concerned with Henry, so that any mention of his wife is non-intimate, and further distanced from the exchange situation by concerning 'unreal' mental states like guessing. At [3] the direct personal tone returns, with the heightened emotion induced by Henry's

contemplation of his penniless state, and reference again to the exchange of letters. At [4], the 'unreal' mental state occurs again; in [5] we revert to the intimacy of [1]. In [6], though Henry is still addressing his wife, the topic shifts from personal and family matters to social obligation (cf. the similar shift in Lady Katherine Paston's letter above). At [7] *you* is probably triggered by the liturgical echo of the opening phrase, as well as the following plural references. At [8] we return once more to the intimate and personal tone of [1].

What seems to have happened in this late period (judging by the evidence of many letters) is that the *you* v. *thou* contrast finally became a deictic one: *you* is the distal (distant from speaker) pronoun, *thou* the proximal (speaker-oriented). The general tendency is to use *thou* when the topic is within the 'charmed circle' of a relationship, and restricted to an immediate, factual or real present. Among the factors that appear to trigger *you* for regular *thou* users are mothers-in-law (a paradigm case of an 'outside' figure!), business, social superiors and unreal conditions (verbs of guessing, conjecture, etc.).

Usage of this kind, though common, was not universal even among members of the same social class at the same time; the pronoun contrast, while 'part of the language', was an option. By the end of the seventeenth century non-users outnumber users, and *thou* is not really a living option in ordinary usage in the eighteenth century. Grammarians continue to mention it for a while as a special-purpose form, however: Greenwood (1711: 103f.) gives *you* as the normal 2 sing., but *thou* as 'a sign of contempt or familiarity'. By the middle of the eighteenth century *you* was the only normal spoken form; *thou* (and *ye*: see below) were restricted to high-register discourse, largely under the double-barrelled influence of the great Elizabethan and Jacobean poets and the Authorised Version. (Jespersen *MEG* II 2.83 mentions that Carlyle often uses *thou* to his wife in letters; such late occurrences are not survivals but eccentricities.)

I have not touched on one obvious problem: the T pronoun retains the old nom./obl. pattern (*thou* v. *thee*: in general, but see below); but in the V pronoun oblique *you* is generalised early to nominative function, and remains while the original nominative *ye* recedes.

The rather irregular story can be reconstructed roughly as follows. The normal *ye/you* system shows signs of innovation as early as the fourteenth century, with *you* for *ye* first appearing mainly in post-verb position, e.g. as subject of a preposed verb. This line from *Guy of Warwick* (4192, cited by Mustanoja 1960: 125) is typical: 'to morwe schal *yow* wedded be'. To make

matters worse, a form spelled <ye> is often used for *you* in weak opositions, here, judging from rhymes, probably meaning reduced /jə/ rather than full /jeː/. So Chaucer (*Troilus and Crisseyde* I, 4f):

> Fro wo to wele, and after out of joie,
> My purpose is, or that I parte fro *ye*

Thus (at least in written language) there is an early precedent for confusing the shapes of the two case forms. And the post-verbal use of *you*, even as subject, simply reflects the fact that oblique pronoun forms typically appear in this position as objects – a generalisation of linear position over syntactic function.

By the sixteenth century, though there was for some still a potential case contrast, the two forms were nearly interchangeable (but *you* was commoner). And, as in the fourteenth-century example above, *ye* could be used, if generally as a reduction form, for singulars as well. We get Elizabethan usages like:

> *You* will not sell it, will *ye* [Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* 687]
> I do beseech *yee*, if *you* beare me hard (*Julius Caeser* III.i.57)

(The Shakespearean *yee* suggests that this is not to be taken as reduced.)

From this point on, *you* begins to predominate for both nominative and oblique; by the eighteenth century normal usage is *you* for both cases (and numbers), with *ye* relegated along with *thou* to special registers. In these latter cases *ye* is only plural, and never oblique; it follows the older norm.

Thou shows some case-confusion as well, though rather less; *thee* as a nominative occurs in both Shakespeare and Marlowe: 'thinkst *thee*' (*Hamlet* V.ii.64), 'what hast *thee* done' (*The Jew of Malta* 1056). The generalisation of oblique *thee* to all positions of course became a feature of Quaker speech, and is still attested in the 1950s in rural West Country dialects (Lass 1987: 119–31).

Structurally, the loss of the *you/thou* distinction produced a notable asymmetry in the pronoun system: only the second person now does not mark number. There is an interesting if short-lived tendency in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries toward a somewhat indirect 'remedy' for this: marking number in the second person by verb concord, as in *you was* v. *you were*. This is attested as early as Queen Elizabeth, and occurs also in Bunyan, Pope, Swift, Fielding, Sheridan and Goldsmith, persisting as late as Byron (see Jespersen *MEG* II 2.89). When this became obsolete, the standard remained asymmetrical. Some

modern dialects however have recreated the old number contrast, using available material: e.g. *yous* /ju(ː)z/ in Scots and many US and South African vernaculars, Hiberno-English vernacular *yez/yiz* (obviously these are *you* plus the {-s} plural).

Yous, yiz etc. have not made it into any standard variety; but another type, *you-all*, has become regionally standard in the southern US, and in some varieties is well enough integrated to have developed its own genitive, *you-all's* (noted as early as 1913 by Jespersen *MEG* II 2.88, but undoubtedly older). The evolutionary pattern leading to *yous, you-all, you-all's,* etc. shows a kind of cyclicity familiar elsewhere in morphosyntax as well (cf. Lass 1997: ch. 6 on cycling).

3.8.3 The adjective

The Middle English reduction hit the adjective particularly hard; by the fourteenth century the rich system of concords had dwindled in the London standard to the opposition bare stem versus stem-{e} (see Lass CHEL II 2.9.1.2). The triggers for this inflection were mainly presence versus absence of a determiner, and the number of the head noun. Aside from this, a few fossil forms remained in occasional use, such as a genitive plural in {-er}. By the fifteenth century inflectional {-e} had gone except for occasional archaising use in verse. The genitive plural inflection also remains (rarely) in certain registers: Wyld (1936: 329) cites the very late 'our *aller* Creatour' (*aller*='of all' < OE *ealra*) from a letter of Richard III.

During Middle English some adjectives developed a (non-original) plural {-s}, especially French ones in post-nominal position; this survives well into the sixteenth century in legal phrases like *heires males*. There are also occasional pre-nominal examples, like Queen Elizabeth's *clirristz*= {clearest-pl} *days* (Wyld, 325). But as a general rule adjective inflection was gone by the later fifteenth century.

The only topic of morphological interest for our period is comparison (the same in principle for adjectives and adverbs, which are conflated here). The following synthetic or morphological strategies were inherited from Middle English:

(i)	*Suffixation*	*fair, fair-er, fair-est*, etc.
(ii)	*Umlaut* + *Suffix*	*old, eld-er, eld-est*, similarly for *long, strong.*
(iii)	*Length-alteration* + *Suffix*	*great, grett-er*, i.e. /gre:t, gret-/, etc.
(iv)	*Suppletive stem* + *Suffix*	*good, bett-er, be-st, bad, wor-st* (*worse* < OE *wyrsa* is unsegmentable).

Types (ii–iv) were lexically restricted; (i) was the commonest (and only productive) one. But later Middle English also had a syntactic (analytic) comparison, usually *more* adj./*most* adj.; this gradually more productive, and eventually ended up nearly in complementary distribution with suffixation (see below). There was also some cliticisation of *most* onto adjective or adverb bases, especially in items with a locative or sequential sense: *fore-most, hind-most*, etc.

We can see what happened by looking briefly at the modern system. The umlaut forms are gone (*elder*, *-est* remain in a specialised sense, usually distinct from regular *older*, *-est*). While umlauted *strenger*, *lenger* remained into the sixteenth century, only *elder* survived later; it is still an alternative to *older* in certain styles into the late eighteenth century (and constructions like *my elder brother* are still possible, if rare). The shortened forms have generally split from their bases and become independent adjectives; thus *utter* (cf. OE *ūt* 'out') is no longer a comparative. Similarly the old paradigm *late*, *latt-er*, *la-st* (< *la(t)-st*) has disintegrated, *latter* and *last* having become independent, replaced by analogical *later*, *latest* with the long vowel of the base. The suppletives are more or less as they were, and the only productive formations now are {-er/-est} and the *more/most* periphrasis. The latter is (strictly) 'syntax' rather than 'morphology', but the systemic connections make it absurd to treat them separately.

Modern standard comparison (if with some irregularities in detail) is based on the following principles:

(i) Monosyllabic bases take suffixes : *bigg-er*, *bigg-est*, etc. Periphrasis is usually not available (****more big***), though there are exceptions, e.g. when two adjectives are predicated of a single head (*more dead than alive*). Suffixed participles must take periphrasis (****smashed-er***).

(ii) Disyllables preferentially take suffixes, though periphrasis is available for many (*hairy*, *hairi-er/more hairy*). Some suffix(oid)s however require periphrasis: e.g. *-ish* (****greenish-er***), *-est* (****honest-er***), *-ous* (****grievous-er***), *-id* (****rigid-er***), as well as *-less*, *-ful*, and some others. Participles cannot be suffixed (****hidden-er***). This may be a function of the somewhat ambiguous status of the comparative and superlative endings, somewhere between inflections proper and derivational affixes. (The former are normally terminal in the word: *care-less-ness-es*.)

(iii) Trisyllabic and longer forms take periphrasis (****beautiful-er***, ****religiously-er***); hence the comic effect of Alice's 'curiouser and curiouser'. But suffixation of longer forms is available for special stylistic purposes (see Jespersen *MEG* VII 10.2–10.4 for detailed discussion).

Until the later eighteenth century, however, usage was nowhere near this uniform. Textual evidence and grammarians' comments suggest that analytic and synthetic comparison were simple alternatives, with little if any conditioning. The earliest explicit vernacular description (Bullokar 1586: 13f.) simply gives the two suffixes, but adds that comparison can 'som tym' be effected with *more*, *most* (all his examples however are monosyllabic). Sixteenth-century usage (prose and verse) supports Bullokar: in the Epistle to his *Orthographie* (1569) John Hart writes *easilier*, *more brief*, beside *more substantiallye*, *greater*. A Shakespearean sample in Abbott (1870: §§6–11) shows *horrider*, *curster*, *perfecter*, *certainer*, *cursedst*, *lyingest*, *perfectest*; see Wyld (1936: 327) for more examples.

This persists through the seventeenth century; the grammarians note no particular restrictions. Wallis (1653: 95) just says that the comparative is formed by adding *-er* to the base, the superlative with *-est*, though both degrees may also be formed by periphrasis ('per circumlocutionem formantur'). His examples are *fairer*, *more fair*, and he does not mention polysyllables. Cooper (1685: 133) says essentially the same.

A quarter century on, Greenwood (1711: 98–9) shows relics of the earlier usage by giving both modes for monosyllables; but periphrasis is obligatory for disyllabic and longer forms, conditioned by suffixes: adjectives in *-al*, *-able*, *-est,* and some others, e.g. *-some* (except *handsome*) require *more*, *most*.

Dr Johnson has an interesting discussion in the grammar prefacing his *Dictionary* (1755). The alternation of suffixation and periphrasis with monosyllables still holds: 'all adjectives may be compared by *more* and *most*, even if they have comparatives and superlatives regularly formed'. But suffixation is 'commonly' used for monosyllables, whereas polysyllables 'are seldom compared otherwise than by *more* and *most*'. He also gives an extensive list, with some curious exceptions: *-some*, *-ful*, *-ing*, *-ous*, *-less*, *-ed*, *-id*, *-al*, *-ent*, *-ain*, *-ive* prohibit suffixal comparison; so do certain words in *-y*, which Johnson lists according to the preceding consonant. Suffixation is not allowed (at least in his idiolect) in words in *-dy* (*woody*), *-fy* (*puffy*), *-ky* (*rocky*; *lucky* is an exception), *-my* (*roomy*), and a few others. All of these now suffix, and if Johnson's usage is reasonably typical of his period, it suggests that suffixation has been spreading through the lexicon since then. The most obvious change since the previous century has clearly been in the freedom with which polysyllabic forms can take *-er*, *-est*: Johnson notes a number of now impossible forms that were acceptable in Milton's time, such as *virtuousest*, *famousest*, *pow'rfullest*. Aside from minor details, then, the outlines of the modern system are clear by the 1750s.

One other change that has taken place since the seventeenth century is the outlawing of 'double comparison', i.e. periphrasis and suffixation in the same construction. This was common in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries, as we can see in Shakespeare's *more larger*, *more better*, *most worst*, *most unkindest* (Abbott 1870: §11). By the end of the century it was obsolete and stigmatised.

3.8.4 The verb

3.8.4.1 Background and prospect

Inflectional erosion established number as the criterial category in the noun, and case and gender were lost. In the verb the winner was tense, at the expense of person, number and mood.

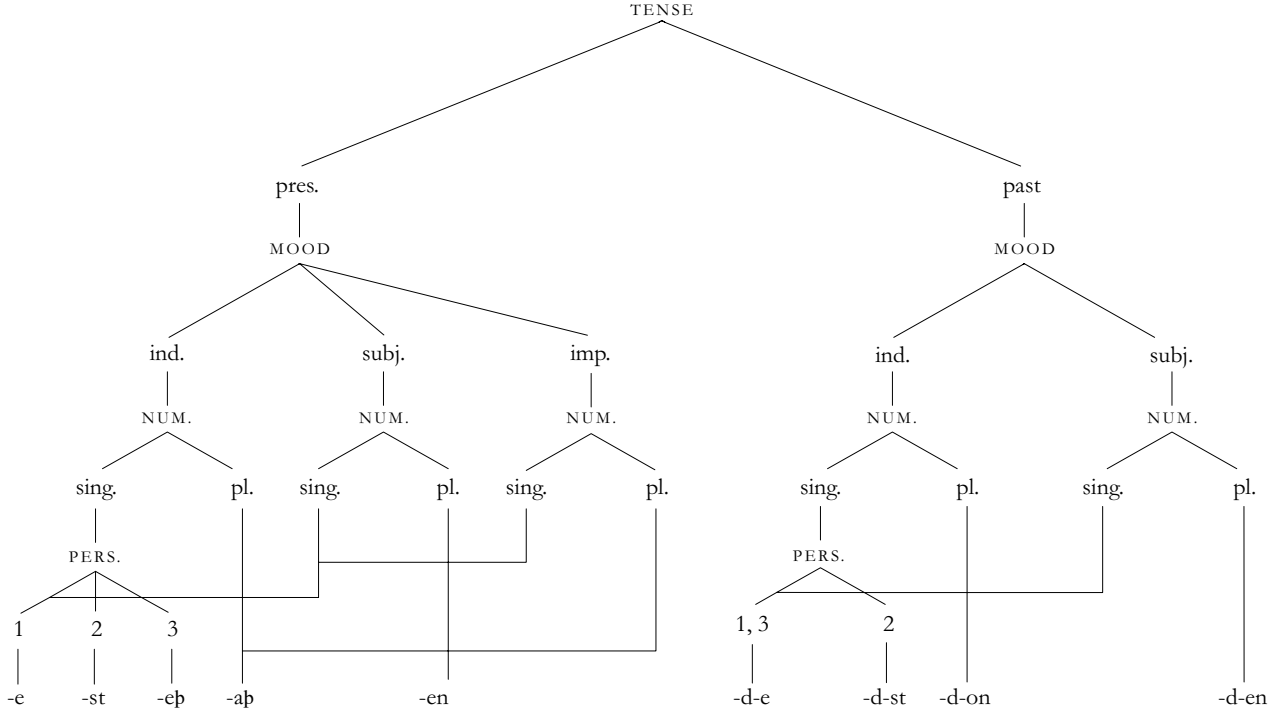
This section gives a brief preview of the developments discussed in more detail below. The model is a somewhat idealised version of the weak conjugation, caught at three pivotal points in its evolution: Old English, late Middle English around 1400, and Early Modern around 1500. I choose the weak conjugation because it is relatively simple and dominant (on the strong verb see 3.8.4.3 below). In the displays below, <-d(-e)> represents all weak past tense allomorphs. The aim is to show the categories coded at any given point, the morphological material available and how it is deployed, what is potentially distinct from what and which categories eventually merge under what endings. The overall trend is clear: the increasing role of tense as the major inflectional category, and the gradual depletion of the others, with a concomitant loading of the zero ending (takeover of more and more functions by the bare verb stem). We begin with Old English (see opposite).

By late Middle English there has been considerable simplification, though we still have (Germanically speaking) a somewhat archaic system, with number inflection at least variably maintained (see overleaf).

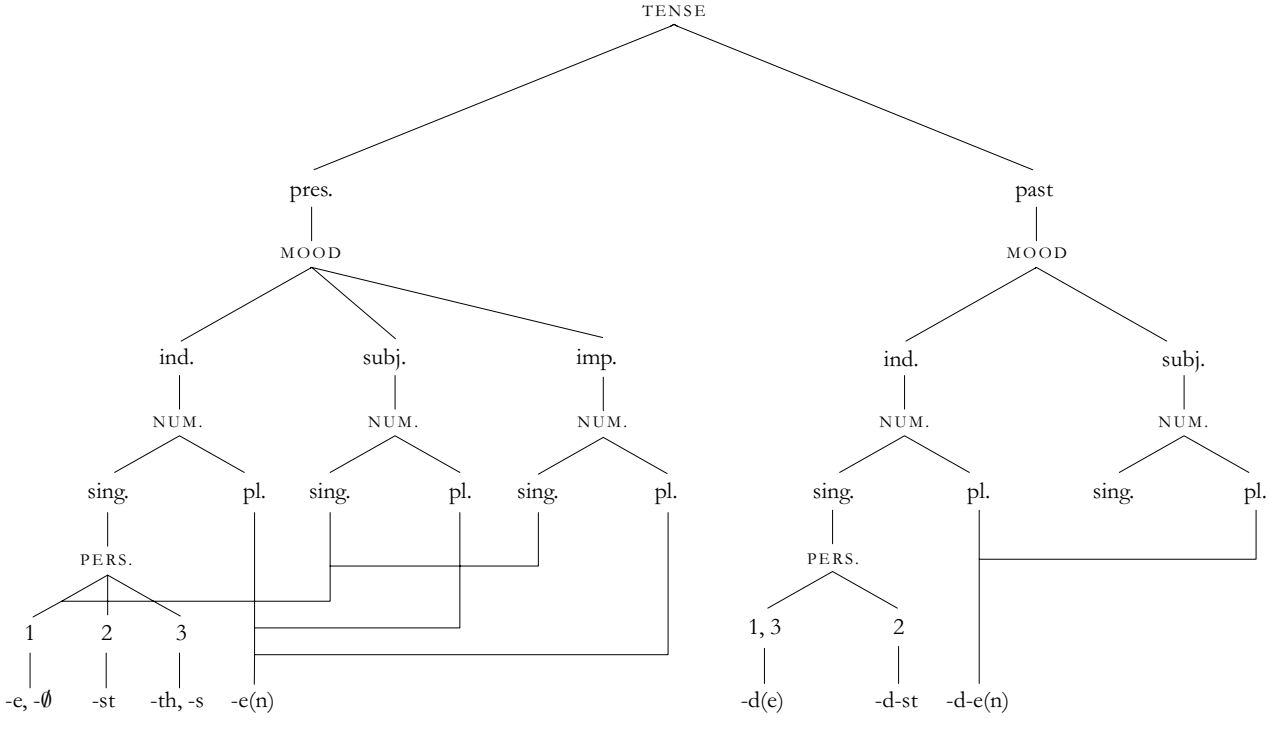
There is considerably more variation, and the number of distinct endings (aside from the past-marker) has gone down from six to four, with zero now an option for person/number in present indicative and subjunctive 1, 3 singular. This is rather more oversimplified and idealised than (71); the present plural in London had an alternative (southern) {-th} ending, which could produce variable merger with 3 sing (3.8.4.2). In addition, frequent loss of /-n/ in the plural left a form in {-e} (or with schwa-loss, zero) identical to one variant of the present 1 sing.

A century or so later the reduction has increased:

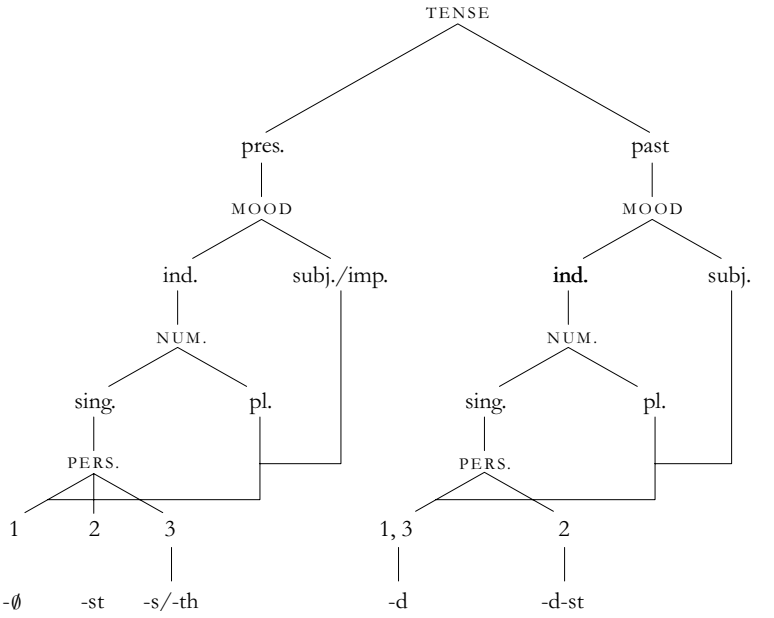
(70) OLD ENGLISH



(71) LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH, c.1400

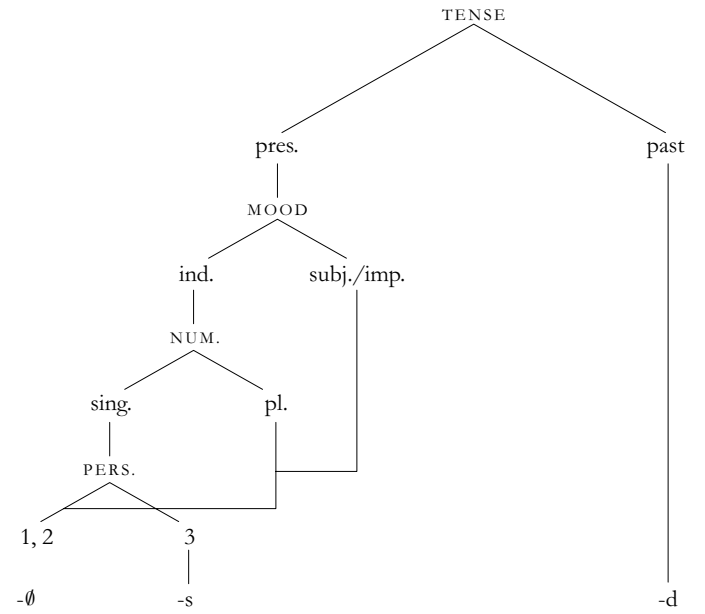


(72) EARLY MODERN ENGLISH, c.1500



There is a steady increase in zero-marked categories; it is not too far from here to the modern system:

(73) MODERN STANDARD ENGLISH



Number (now conflated with person) is relevant only for pres ind. 3 sing.; the subjunctive (where it survives) is merged with the indicative 1, 2 present and all persons/numbers in the past. Indeed, the only distinct subjunctive is the zero-marked 3 sing. present (except for the verb *be*, with its present *be* and 'past' *were* in some varieties).

Superficially the move from (72) to (73) looks simple; it needs only the loss of the present subjunctive and the stabilisation of the zero plural (which in the early part of our period was variable – see below) and present 3 sing. {-s}. (The fate of the 2 sing. inflection is really part of the pronoun story: it falls away with the *you/thou* opposition.) As usual, the implementation is less straightforward than the outline, and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century state of affairs is messy indeed. Even tense-marking has its complications; while the evolution of the weak verb is relatively uncomplicated, that of the strong verb is convoluted in the extreme (3.8.4.3).

3.8.4.2 Person and number

The major systemic development, largely common to both strong and weak verbs, is that of the person/number endings. By the fifteenth century, texts in the incipient standard from London and thereabouts show two basic present indicative paradigms: one essentially East Midland in type, the other Southern (though given texts may to one degree or another be 'mixed'):

(74)

East Midland type		Southern type	
1	**-Ø**	1	**-Ø**
2	-st	2	-st
3	-th/-s	3	-th
pl.	-n/s	pl.	

({-s, -st, -th, -n} include allomorphs with a preceding vowel, and all spelling variants, e.g. <-es/-is/-ys>, etc.) Note that the Southern type has {-th} for both 3 sg and plural, while the East Midland varies between older {-th} and new (northern) {-s} for 3 sg, and Midland {-n} and newer (northern) {-s} for plural. There were thus quite a number of combinations available, the basis for a complex variation pattern, which can only be hinted at here.

The modern paradigm suggests a simple evolution: insofar as a distinct 2 sing. remains it keeps its original {-st} concords; otherwise the older 3 sing. in {-th} 'was replaced by' {-s}, and plural marking vanished, giving a two-member paradigm, zero v. {-s}. This however took a long time to happen,

and the route was indirect. Even worse (see below), it is not clear that after a certain point (say the 1630s), the actual *-th* forms still occurring in texts can be taken at face value; *-th* seems to have been written long after it stopped being said. The story of the plural is equally complex. We will consider first the growth of singular {-s}, and then the sorting-out of the plural.

Forms in {-s} first occur in fourteenth-century London texts, but are rare (Lass *CHEL* II 2.9.2.4); they increase gradually during the fifteenth century, and explosively in the next two. By about 1600 {-s} is probably the norm. But during the sixteenth century there is considerable variation: since *-e-* in the old *-eth* ending was still syllabic, the two variants could be used for metrical purposes, as in these Shakespearean examples:

> With her, that hat*eth* thee and hate*s* vs all (*2 Henry VI* II.iv.52)
> He rows*eth* vp himself, and make*s* a pause (*The Rape of Lucretia* 541)

In Shakespeare, {-th} occurs mainly in verse, and {-s} nearly invariably in prose – except for *doth*, *hath* which are common to both (Cusack 1970, and see below). But within a given text there can be great variation, even without metrical conditioning. This extract from Queen Elizabeth's *Boethius* is not atypical (Book 0, Prose IX: Pemberton 1899):

> He that seek*ith* riches by shunning penury, nothing car*ith* for powre, he chos*ith* rather to be meane & base, and withdrawe*s* him from many naturall delytes. . . But that waye, he ha*th* not ynogh, who leue*s* to haue, & greue*s* in woe, whom neerenes ouerthrowe*s* & obscurenes hyde*s*. He that only desyre*s* to be able, he throwe*s* away riches, despis*ith* pleasures, nought esteem*s* honour nor glory that powre want*ith*.

A sample of Proses IV, VI, IX–XII yields a total of 200 3-sing. verb forms, with 144 (68.8%) in {-s}, the rest in {-th}. Looking more closely, we find that while this ratio holds overall, the figures for *have* and *do* are quite different: of the eleven occurrences of 3 sing. *have*, ten are *hath* and only one *has*; for *do* all sixteen are *doth*:

(75)

	ALL VERBS		*have*		*do*		OTHERS	
	-th	*-s*	*-th*	*-s*	*-th*	*-s*	*-th*	*-s*
N	66	144	10	1	16	0	55	118
%	31.4	68.6	90.9	9.1	100	0	31.8	68.2

So the newer {-s} is commoner than the old {-th}, but has by no means replaced it; and the verbs *have* and *do* lag behind.

Queen Elizabeth's translation dates from the 1590s; similar patterns can be seen in the comparative figures for *have* and *do* v. other verbs in a chronological survey of Shakespeare's usage (Taylor 1972, 1976), and in all but the

most elevated and archaising prose until quite late in the period. Taking a more advanced stage of the generalisation of *-s*, Donne's sermon given at Lincoln's Inn in 1618 (Gill 1958) has:

(76)

	ALL VERBS		*have*		*do*		OTHERS	
	-th	*-s*	*-th*	*-s*	*-th*	*-s*	*-th*	*-s*
N	22	169	17	0	7	2	2	167
%	11.5	88.5	100	0	77.8	22.2	1.2	98.8

The two {-th} forms for verbs other than *have* and *do* are in fact identical; they occur in quotations from an archaising bible translation (Psalm 38.2: 'thy hand press*eth* him sore').

In the earlier sixteenth century {-s} was probably informal, and {-th} neutral and/or elevated; by the 1580s {-s} was most likely the spoken norm, with {-eth} a metrical variant.

But we cannot always be sure that *-th* forms in seventeenth-century texts mean what they seem to. In an important passage from Richard Hodges's *Special help to orthography* (1643: 26–7) we read that

> most of our English words (as they are commonly pronounc't) are monosyllables: for howsoever wee use to write thus, *leadeth* it, *maketh* it, . . . &c Yet in our ordinary speech . . . wee say, *leads* it, *makes* it . . . Yea, custom hath so far prevailed in this kinde, not onely with the Learned in their Writings, but also, with the Pres: as it may plainly appear by many wel-Printed Books . . . Therefore, whensoever *eth*, cometh in the end of any word, wee may pronounce it sometimes as *s* & sometimes like *z*, as in these words, namely in *bolteth* it and *boldeth* it, which are commonly pronounc't, as if they were written thus, *bolts* it, *bolds* it . . .

Hodges gives other examples in his homophone lists, e.g.

> cox, cocks, cocketh; clause, claweth, claws; courses, courseth, corpses; fleas, fleaeth, flayeth; Mr *Knox*, he knocketh, many knocks; reasons, reasoneth, raisins . . .

Wallis (1653: 104) gives the 3 sing. as *eth* or *s* indifferently, suggesting that both are live options in his rather conservative speech; for Cooper (1685) they are alternatives for all verbs including *have* and *do*, and the *-th* ending is mentioned by grammarians well into the eighteenth century.

But if Hodges is right, it is not clear that any written occurrence of *hath* or *doth* or any other *-th* form in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century should count (linguistically) as 'an occurrence of {-th}', or indeed be regarded (except in verse or other elevated discourse) as anything but a fossil graphic convention. After the 1650s or so *hath* and *doth*, the

commonest *-th* forms in ordinary prose, are probably conventional writings for /hæz/ and /dʌz/, no more indicative of pronunciation than the spelling <one> for /wʌn/. (As late as 1746, Kirkby gives *-th* and *-s* as general alternatives, but only uses *-s* in his own prose; he also gives only *hath* as 3 sing. of *have*, but *doth*, *does* (85). He does not say whether he means written or spoken forms.)

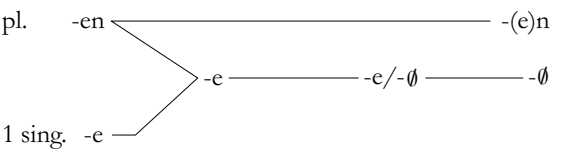
While the past is generally uninflected for number by around 1500, present plural can still be marked. Given the multiple fifteenth-century inputs (see (78)), there were two options – zero or some suffix – and a choice of three suffixes:

(77)

-Ø	versus	-s -th -n

The zero-plural is not historically independent, but a development of the Midland {-en} type. As early as the fourteenth century verb plurals in *-e* are common (mainly in verse, but obviously reflecting a colloquial variant), alongside *-en*. This gives rise, via /n/-deletion in weak syllables, to a potential merger with pres. 1 sing. {-e}. But since all final *-e* at this point were becoming increasingly deletable, and probably dropped more often than not, the zero-option was available for both 1 sing. {-e} continuing older {-e}, and plural {-e} continuing {-en}. The Midland plural, then, has two developments: the variant in *-e(n)* continues, while that in *-e* < *-en* develops in tandem with the pres. 1 sing.:

(78)



(On the quite different history of {-en} in strong past participles, see 3.8.4.3.)

The modern form then continues the reduced {-en}. So, unless there is interference from other sources, we expect zero or {-n} plurals by around 1500. But both the Southern {-th} and (Northern) East Midlands {-s} were available, and persist into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Midland {-n} survives until the 1550s, but increasingly becomes an archaism; its occasional occurrence in Surrey, Wyatt, Spenser and even Shakespeare is a poetical 'Chaucerism', reflecting the current state of the language no more accurately than Milton's prefixed participle *yclept*.

But {-th} and {-s} plurals are plentiful early in our period. The Plumpton correspondence, for instance, has three present plurals: zero, {-s}, and {-th}, in the following proportions (based on a sample of twelve letters covering the period 1502–36):

(79)

	-s	*-th*	**-Ø**
N	9	6	14
%	31	20.7	48.3

This is fairly typical for eastern texts; the southern {-th} plural is always a minority form, though it persists (if decreasingly) in the standard well into the seventeenth century (Wyld 1936: 339).

The {-s} plural appears considerably later than the {-s} singular, and if it too is northern (as seems likely), it represents a later diffusion. The earliest example cited by Wyld (346) is from the State Papers of Henry VIII (1515): 'the noble folk of the land shote*s* at hym'. It is common throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a minority alternant of zero, and persists sporadically into the eighteenth century.

The situation is, as we might expect, slightly different with *be* and *have*; plural *is*, *hath*, *doth* are commoner than inflected plurals of other verbs, and persist longer. In the Plumpton letters *is* (which may be taken as an '{-s} form') accounts for 64.3% of plural *be*, and *are* for 35.7%. *Is* is particularly common with conjoined singular NP subjects, and after *there*: the first of these (Lady Stafford's 'Lord Marsam and Lord Bathurst *is* named': Wyld, 356) still occurs in marginally standard speech – perhaps as 'agreement to the nearest subject'. The second, Sir Thomas Smith's 'there *is* three ways' (*ibid.*) is common in spoken standards even today, especially in contracted forms ('there'*s* three ways' would be my own colloquial usage). For more on *be* see 3.8.4.5 below.

3.8.4.3 Tense-marking: the strong verb

For most Modern English speakers the question 'What is the past tense/past participle of verb X?' usually has one answer: the past of *ride* is *rode*, the past participle *ridden*. A few verbs may have variants, even for one speaker: e.g. *spit*, *spat* (often with a register difference) for *spit*, or *throve*, *thrived* for *thrive*. But I doubt if anyone would recognise six non-present forms even for as messy a verb as *thrive*; yet three centuries ago John Wallis (1653) gave the pasts *throve*, *thriv*, *thrived*, and the past participles *throve*, *thriv*, *thrived*. This was not unusual for him: *shear* had pasts *shore*, *sheared*, and participles *shore*, *shorn*, *sheared*, i.e. it could, like *thrive*, be either strong or weak, and if strong could have a participle either in zero or {-n}.

The major developments in the strong verb are implicit in these examples: (a) stabilisation of unique or near-unique vowel-grade patterns for individual verbs, and (b) the final decision as to whether a verb will be strong or weak (or a mixture, like modern *shear*, *swell* with weak pasts and strong participles (*sheared/shorn*, *swelled/swollen*).

To illustrate the state of the strong conjugation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, here are some examples from three grammarians who have left extensive lists: Wallis (1653), Greenwood (1711), and Kirkby (1746); these introduce some developmental themes I take up below:

(80)

		Past			Past participle
BEAR	W	1653	bore/bare/beared	bore/born/beared
	G	1711	bore/bare	born
	K	1746	bore/bare	bore/born
CLEAVE	W	1653	clove/clave	clove/cloven
	G	1711	clave/clove/cleft	cloven/cleft
	K	1746	clave/clove/cleft	clove/cloven/cleft
SING	W	1653	sung/sang	sung
	G	1711	sung/sang	sung
	K	1746	sung/sang	sung
SWIM	W	1653	swum/swimmed	swum/swimmed
	G	1711	swum/swam	swum
	K	1746	swum/swam/swimmed	swum/swimmed
WRITE	W	1653	wrote/writ	wrote/written/writ
	G	1711	wrote/writ	written
	K	1746	wrote/writ	wrote/written/writ

W = Wallis; G = Greenwood; K = Kirby

By late Middle English, the old pattern of distinctive vowel grades for the past sing. and pl. of strong verbs had been lost (Lass *CHEL* II 2.9.2.3), and the maximal paradigm had three grades: present, past and past participle (as in PDE *sing*, *sang*, *sung*). The past grade derived most often from the old past singular (*sang* < OE *sang*), but often the plural or participle vocalism took over (as in *swing*, *swung*, expected ***swang*). Given the historical origins, there are three main evolutionary pathways for strong verbs by Early Modern times (aside from the option of becoming weak):

PATTERN 1: Historically expected vowel grades: *sing*, *sang*, *have sung*, *write*, *wrote*, *have written*.

PATTERN 2: Historical participle or past plural vowel generalised to both past and past participle: *sing*, *sung*, *have sung*, *write*, *writ*, *have writ(ten)*.

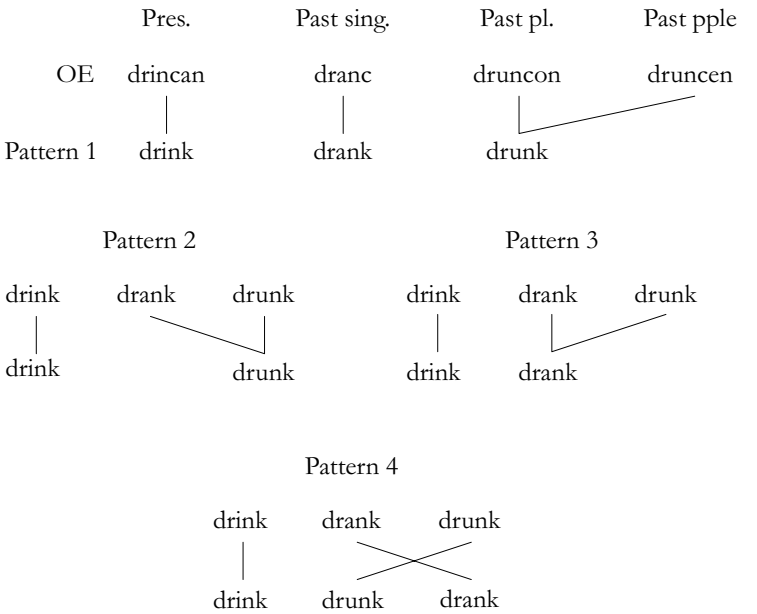
PATTERN 3: Historical past singular vowel generalised to past and participle: *sing*, *sang*, *have sang*, *write*, *wrote*, *have wrote*.

If both Patterns 2 and 3 are available for a verb in a given variety, yet another paradigm type is possible:

PATTERN 4: 'Crossover': historical past as participle and vice versa: *sing*, *sung*, *have sang*, *write*, *writ*, *have wrote*.

To illustrate diagrammatically with one verb that has shown all these patterns at some point, *drink*:

(81)



Considering the modern paradigms of most strong verbs, Patterns 2, 3 and 4 represent a curious developmental hiccup; today's forms tend to be closer to what we would predict on the basis of the Old and early Middle English vocalisms, not those of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Much of the Early Modern innovation seems to have been undone in later times. Of course Pattern 2 does survive in some verbs (*shine*, *shone*, *shone* < OE *scīnan*, *scān*, *scinen*), and Pattern 3 in others (*bite*, *bit*, *bitten* < OE *bītan*, *bāt*, *biten*); but for this class (OE class I) for instance the Pattern 1 type (*ride*, *rode*, *ridden*) seems to dominate.

So one cannot tell a neat story for any Old English strong verb class as a whole; it seems almost as if each verb has its own history. There are

however definite patterns, even if prediction for individual cases is impossible. An exhaustive discussion would need a monograph; here I can only look at the repeating patterns (and the idiosyncracies) in a small sample of surviving verbs. To illustrate the main lines I consider some verbs from two of the Old English classes, I and III. I also include a few historical weak verbs that became strong, to show another (if rare) development. The zero/{-n} alternations in past participles will be discussed below.

Class I Type OE *wrītan*, *wrāt*, *writen*, expected *write*, *wrote*, *writ(ten)*

DRIVE. Expected past *drove* and N *drave* /draːv/ > /dreːv/ from the fifteenth century; also weak *drived* (past and past pple). Pattern 3 past pple *drove(n)* from fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Wallis and Kirkby give *drove*, *driven* for past pple.

SLIDE. The historical past *slood*, *slode* remains until the seventeenth century, competing with weak *slydde* and Pattern 2 *slid* from the fifteenth. The original past pple *slidden* is an option through the eighteenth century, though *slid* occurs in the seventeenth.

STRIKE. The original pattern, past *stroke* or N *strake*, past pple *strick(en)* remains as a minority type into the nineteenth century, but the old *stricken* becomes an independent adjective quite early, and a new past/past pple type, *struck*, *struck(en)* appears in the sixteenth century, and takes over. In the seventeenth both *stricken* and *strucken* occur, but do not survive; the majority paradigm is the hybrid *struck*, *stricken*. The past forms in <u> are curious; they do not reflect any regular OE strong verb pattern, but one that does occur with some weak verbs in nuclear /i/, e.g. *stick*, *stuck* < OE *stician*, *sticode*, *dig*, *dug* < OF *diguer* (see Hogg 1988).

WRITE. Pattern 2 past *writ* begins in the fifteenth century and continues to the 1850s; Pattern 3 past pple *wrote* from the sixteenth to eighteenth. Weak forms like *wrytted* are rare, but known from the fifteenth century.

STRIVE. Borrowed from French as a weak verb in the thirteenth century. Strong past *strof* /strɔːf/ as if < OE **strāf* appears from the thirteenth century as well, and *stroov(e)*, along with past pple *striven* in the fourteenth, thus remodelling the verb as class I strong. On this basis, a Pattern 3 past pple *strove* appears in the seventeenth century, but is quickly replaced by *striven*; weak forms continue to the present.

THRIVE. A Scandinavian borrowing (OScand. cl. I *þrífask*, past sing. *þreifsk*), not attested before the fourteenth century, when it appears both weak (past *thrived*) and as class I (past *þroffe*). It is later remodelled, with past *throve* or Pattern 2 *thriv*, past pple *thriven* or Pattern 3 *throve* by the late seventeenth century. Both past *thriv* and past pple *throve* survive to the mid eighteenth century, and the weak forms to the present.

Class III Type OE *singan*, *sang*, *sungen*, expected *sing*, *sang*, *sung*

DRINK. The original *drink*, *drank*, *drunk* is usual in the late fifteenth century; toward the end of the sixteenth Pattern 2 past *drunk* appears, and remains through the nineteenth. Pattern 3 past pple *drank* from the seventeenth century well into the nineteenth. This has been ascribed to 'taboo avoidance', i.e. removing from the neutral verb *drink* the form *drunk* with its 'inebriate associations' (*OED*). But since nearly every other class III verb with a velar nasal stem shows Pattern 3 developments, this is hard to take seriously.

SING. Pattern 2 past *sung* first appears in the sixteenth century; Pattern 3 past pple *sang* is rare but attested well into the nineteenth.

SINK. Pattern 2 past *sunk* from the fourteenth century, but not common until the sixteenth; Pattern 3 past pple *sank* is not noted by *OED* until the nineteenth century, but surely must have occurred earlier, and weak *synked*, etc. are known from the fifteenth to seventeenth. This verb is still unstable, and some speakers have both *sank*, *sunk* for past.

STINK. Pattern 2 past *stunk* first in the sixteenth century, alternating with *stank* to the present. (For many *stank* is now rather archaic, like *spat* for *spit*, and *stunk* seems to be gaining ground.) Weak forms first in the fifteenth century, but do not seem to survive very long.

SWIM. Pattern 2 past *swum* first in the sixteenth century, and Pattern 3 past pple *swam* in the seventeenth. Weak *swymde* etc. from the thirteenth, continuing to the eighteenth (see forms in (80)).

SWING. Historical past *swang* persists as standard into the eighteenth century (though Wallis does not recognise it); as late as the 1930s it was still possible, but rare. Pattern 2 *swung* began to compete in the seventeenth century, and weak forms are attested for the past in the fourteenth to seventeenth, but not apparently for the past pple (though this may be a data artefact).

RING. Originally weak (OE *hringan*, *hringde*), but strong forms as early as the thirteenth century, by which point it is effectively class III, with expected *ring*, *rang*, *rung*. Pattern 2 past *rung* begins in the sixteenth century, and Pattern 3 past pple *rang* in the seventeenth, though they are less common than with other verbs of this class.

This sample, though tiny, is representative; most strong verbs have such histories. In general, Pattern 2 pasts appear early, often in Middle English, and Pattern 3 participles late, with their heyday in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. The complexity and variability of these verbs was a matter of some concern to eighteenth-century grammarians, with their desire to 'ascertain' and 'fix' the language. Dr Johnson (1755) makes the following comment, which highlights the tension between usage and theory:

> he shall seldom err who remembers, that when a verb has a participle distinct from its preterite, as *write*, *wrote*, *written*, that distinct participle is more proper and elegant, as *The book is* written is better than *The book is* wrote.

But of class III *sing*, *spring*, *drink*, etc., he observes that while the normal pasts are (Pattern 2) *sung*, *sprung*, *drunk*, alternants in <a> also occur, 'as . . . *sang, sprang, drank* . . . but most of these are now obsolete'. The now standard type, with the 'elegant' past/past pple distinction and /æ/ vocalism in the past was perceived as on the way out in the 1750s, but was later restabilised in a pattern which by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century standards is archaic.

In summary: after a fairly 'normal' descent into Middle English, the Old English paradigms were simplified by loss of the distinct past plural, leading to at most three vowel grades per verb. In later periods, either the old system remained, one grade was generalised to the whole non-present system, or the verb became weak (*creep*, *crept*, expected past ***creap*, past pple ***crope(n)*), or partly weak (*swell*, weak past *swelled*, strong participle *swollen*). The era of greatest flux and proliferation of new forms seems to have been the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The original {-n} of the strong past participle sometimes survives (*written*, *swollen*), sometimes doesn't (*sung, slid*). The story is not entirely clear, but seems to involve both differing regional inputs ({-n} favoured in the Midlands, -**Ø** in the South: so Wyld 1936: 344), and phonological and morphosyntactic conditioning. The most important points seem to be (following Jespersen *MEG* VI 5.7):

(i) {-n} remains after vowel-final stems (*see-n*, *draw-n*), Though zero-forms occur as early as the fourteenth century (*know(e)*, *grow(e)*, *see*), and some arise in the seventeenth (*flew*, *lay*: most often Pattern 3). These are generally lost by the eighteenth century.

(ii) {-n} varies with -**Ø** in stems ending in historical /r/ (*bore* ~ *bor-n, shore* ~ *shor-n*). After loss of postvocalic /r/ (3.4.3.3) most of these were reinterpreted as vowel-final, and now have {-n}.

(iii) {-n} is variably retained in obstruent-final stems: Wallis has *spoke(n)*, Wallis and Kirkby *chose(n)*, *got(ten)*, *smit(ten), writ(ten)*. Pattern 3 participles are normally endingless, since they derive from an endingless preterite sg.: Wallis and Kirkby have *drove*, *rode*, *shook*, *smote*; though {-n} occurs, if rarely, in the early periods, e.g. *droven*. In general {-n} has been stabilised (*chosen*, *smitten*, *written*), but note *got* for most British speakers, US *gotten* in the sense 'obtained' v. *got* 'has', and general *ill-gotten* (on participial adjectives see (v) below).

(iv) {-n} is normally retained after /l/: *swollen*, *stolen*, *fallen*.

(v) {-n} is usually lost after /ŋk/; the {-n} forms survive only as independent adjectives (*the ship has sunk* v. *the sunken ship*, likewise *shrunken*, *drunken*). This pattern is firm by 1600.

(vi) {-n} is always deleted in nasal-final stems: *come*, *shone*, *spun*, *swum*, by about 1600.

3.8.4.4 Tense marking: the weak verb

In regular weak verbs (excluding *fit*, *sent*, *led*, etc.), the modern rule for the allomorphs of the suffix is similar to that for the plural/genitive in {-s}: the controller is the final segment of the stem:

(82) (i) /-t/ after voiceless consonants except /t/: *walk-ed, pass-ed.*
(ii) /-d/ after voiced consonants except /d/, and vowels: *love-d, cribb-ed, crown-ed, crie-d.*
(iii) /-Vd/ (V = whatever weak vowel a dialect prefers) after /t, d/: *pant-ed, wound-ed.*

The original suffix was /-Vd/ in all environments; /-d/ results from deletion of the vowel, and /-t/ is an automatic assimilation to the stem-final consonant; the vowel in /-Vd/ is retained to prevent illegal coda clusters like **/tt, dd/. Below are the post-Middle English histories of three representative verbs:

(83)

	kiss	*love*	*wound*
ME input	kis-Vd	luv-Vd	wu:nd-Vd
V-deletion	*kis-d	luv-d	–
Voicing assimilation	kis-t	–	–
ModE output	kɪs-t	lʌv-d	wu:nd-Vd

(The starred form is a theoretical 'intermediate'; presumably the non-assimilated form never surfaced.) The roots of this development can already be seen in conditions governing schwa-deletion in late Middle English; but the final system was not stabilised until the seventeenth century, and there was considerable variation into the eighteenth. The /-Vd/ ending was always stable after /t, d/ for phonotactic reasons; but deletion (and hence assimilation in environment (i)) remained optional for a considerable time.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century verse practice shows that forms with and without deletion were available as metrical variants, as in Shakespeare's

> Hence banish*ed*, is banish*t* from the world (*Romeo and Juliet* III.iii.19)

(see also Abbott 1870: §474, Cusack 1970: 9). But given the often licentious behaviour of poets, this is not evidential for ordinary usage; were the older /-Vd/ variants for environments (i, ii) available outside of verse? Since the spelling <-ed> can mean any of the three allomorphs, a prose form like *satisfied* or *missed* tells us nothing (unlike *satisfi'd* or *mist*, *mis't*); the best we have in most prose texts of the period is positive evidence only for those

forms where <e> is omitted or there is an apostrophe; and these practices are not consistent (see Salmon this volume).

But for the later sixteenth century we have a good source for at least one speaker's pattern. John Hart provides evidence for the weak past similar to that for the {-s} plural (cf. 3.8.1 above). In the *Orthographie* (1569) and elsewhere, he transcribes the pasts of ninety-eight weak verbs. Some have only non-syllabic <-t, -d>, others only syllablic <-ed>, and a few have both: e.g. the past of *abuse* is only <abiuzd>, that of *rule* only <riuled>, while *bless* has <blesed, blist>. The total figures:

(84)

	N	%
-d/-t only	41	41.8
-ed only	51	52.0
variable	6	6.2

This includes verbs with stem-final /-t, -d/ which could not have a non-syllabic ending; excluding these (22 in all), we get:

(85)

	N	%
-d/-t only	41	53.9
-ed only	29	38.1
variable	6	9.0

Just over half of those verbs that now categorically delete, do so for Hart. So deletion in the later sixteenth century is possible, but the system is only about halfway along toward the modern distribution. A closer look shows more intricate structure: deletion is sensitive to the phonetic properties of the verb stem:

(86)

	N	%
i. Nasal-Final Verbs		
-d/-t only	11	78.6
-ed only	2	19.3
variable	1	7.1
ii. Obstruent-Final Verbs		
-d/-t only	20	55.6
-ed only	12	33.3
variable	4	11.1
iii. Liquid-Final Verbs		
-d/-t only	6	50.0
-ed only	5	41.7
variable	1	8.3

iv. Vowel-Final Verbs		
-d/-t only	5	41.7
-ed only	7	58.3
variable	0	0

The numbers of course are very small, but the data is suggestive; a pattern like this typically results from differential timing of subchanges, and this is what we would expect to find. For example, it looks as if deletion began first in the nasal-finals, and is least advanced in vowel-finals.

I have not discussed the past participle separately, since in post-Middle English weak verbs the past finite forms and participle are normally identical. But in one case – relevant to the discussion of deletion – the patterns may diverge: where the past participle becomes an independent adjective. Here the suffix-vowel may remain, as in the adjectives *learned*, *aged* (compare the monosyllabic participle *he aged gracefully* with the disyllabic adjective in *an aged man*).

The quantitative picture for the seventeenth century is not clear, though the trend appears to be fairly consistently in the modern direction. Wallis (1653: 104) says that the vowel in *-ed* may be syncopated at will, unless prevented by 'harshness of pronunciation' ('nisi forsan asperitas pronunciandi aliquando impediat'). Cooper (1685: 155–6) notes that *-e-* is frequently elided, and that in voiceless stem-finals this gives /t/ (*expressed/exprest*, *marked/mark't*).

In the early eighteenth century deletion was widespread; aside from the direct testimony of forms with apostrophes, we find objections to the practice, e.g. in the *Tatler* (28 September 1710): a sure sign that it is well established (if we had no earlier evidence). By mid-century the position is more or less modern; Kirkby (1746: 83) indicates that <-e-> is not pronounced after voiced consonants or vowels; by the end of the century Walker (1791: 412) tells us that except after /t, d/ the <-e-> is pronounced only when reading scripture.

The only other changes of note in our period involved the stabilisation of certain 'irregular' weak pasts like *caught*, *taught*, *fit*, *rid*, and the spread of unexpected /-t/ endings on sonorant-final verbs (*smelt*, *spilt*, *spoilt*, *learnt*, *burnt*, etc.), where of course /-d/ is expected.

Many verbs of the *caught* type had regular {-ed} alternatives until well into the eighteenth century; Wallis (1653) gives *catched* as well as *caught*, *teached/taught*, *beseeched/besought*, and Dr Johnson still has *catched*. The {-ed} forms for this group first appear in the fifteenth century, and generally recede; except for *reach* (past *raught* was common to about 1650) and *work*, whose original past *wrought* has now become an independent adjective.

The /-t, -d/ finals with unchanged pasts begin quite early, but are not

stable until the eighteenth century; Kirkby has *ridded*, *wetted* (also *wet*), as well as *cast*, *set*, *cut*, *put* as now. By the late eighteenth century most of these had unchanged pasts, but in some the {-ed} forms survived as 'poetical', e.g. old *builded* v. *built* (see further below). At least one verb, *fit*, still has two pasts for many speakers, as in 'the tailor *fitted* the suit' v. 'the suit *fit* well'. Some verbs in /-t/ had zero-pasts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were later replaced by {-ed}: Authorised Version 'hee *lift* vp himselfe' (John 8.7), 'when Iesus had *lift* vp himselfe' (John 8.10).

The /-t/ on *built* is one example of a complex and unsolved problem hinted at above: why do verbs like *send, build*, as well as liquid- or nasal-stems like *spell, burn, dream* have pasts in /-t/? For verbs in /-nd/ the /-t/ pasts are early; some appear in the eleventh century, and throughout Middle English *send* has both *sende* and the new *sente*. For the others, the new forms appear in very late Middle English and spread during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; these now generally keep the old /-d/ forms in the US (*smelled*, *spilled*, *burned*, *dreamed*), while in British English and the Southern Hemisphere Extraterritorial Englishes they have the newer /-t/. In some cases both remain with a semantic difference: US *burnt* in *burnt offering*, otherwise *burned*.

There is still no satisfactory explanation for the spread of /-t/ in verbs which according to the allomorph rule (82) ought to have /-d/; there may be a transfer from syncopated OE presents like *sent* < *sentþ* < *sendeþ*, but why this should happen is unclear. Another difficult group are those with a voiced fricative in the present and a voiceless one (and hence /-t/) in the past: *leave/left*, *lose/lost*. These have also never been convincingly explained, but one assumes they tie in with both the *lead/led* type (for the length alternation) and the *send/sent* type.

3.8.4.5 Minor repairs: *be*, *do*, *go* and the modals

A number of the more strikingly 'irregular' verbs had their paradigms partly reorganised in our period. These developments are mostly less systematic and far-reaching than those discussed above, so I will treat them individually.

BE. The 'verb BE' is historically a collection of distinct paradigms, three of which are still represented in Modern English: (i) *am*, *are*, *is*; (ii) *be*, *being*, *been*; and (iii) *was*, *were*. A fourth stem, OE pres. pl. *sindon*, etc. (actually an old ablaut variant of the *am/is* set) was lost in early Middle English. The later evolution involves the loss of finite *be*-forms (except in subjunctives and

one special fossil mentioned below), and some phonological changes giving rise to the modern vocalism of *are*.

By the fifteenth century finite *be* had more or less dropped in the indicative singular, though pres. 2 sing. *beest* occurs occasionally as late as Shakespeare. This and 3 sing. *bith* must have survived in various vernaculars, since they are still attested in this century in the West of England (Lass 1987: 232–3). The major standard development involves the plural.

In late ME, both *be(n)* and *are(n)* are common as pres 3 pl.; *are* is not fully stabilised until the seventeenth century. An archaic *ben* survives to the 1530s; otherwise the candidates are *be* and *are*. Many sixteenth-century writers use both, with a slight earlier preference for *be*. The Epistle and glosses to Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1597), for instance, have *be*, *are* in a ratio of about 2:1, in examples like 'many things which in him *be* strange' v. 'such older . . . wordes *are* most vsed'. There seems to be a slight preponderance in this text of *be* after *there* and in negations and subordinate clauses. In negation *be* survives well into the next century, long after *are* had become usual elsewhere. There is in fact still one relic (in subordination) of this earlier usage: 'the Powers that *be*'.

Modern *are* /ɑː(r)/ is at first glance phonologically problematical; since the word has ME /aː/, we would expect the same development as in *pare*, *hare*, etc., i.e. /ɛə/, so that *are*, *air* would be homophones. Indeed, Donne rhymes *are* and *faire*, the spelling <air> occurs in the 1650s, and Cooper (1685) gives *are*, *air*, *heir*, *ere* as homophones. So where does the modern form, which presupposes earlier /ær/, come from?

Wyld (1936: 357) suggests, probably rightly, a weak (low-stress) ME doublet /ar/: unsurprising for an auxiliary (see below on shortenings in *could*, *would*, *should*). This would develop normally to seventeenth-century /ær/, and by Lengthening I would become /æːr/, which would lower in the eighteenth century to /aːr/, and with /r/-loss and later retraction would turn out as /ɑː(r)/. So:

(87)

	Strong	Weak
ME input	aːr	ar
/a/-Raising	–	ær
GVS	ɛːr	–
-insertion	ɛər	–
Lengthening I	–	æːr
18th-century lowering	–	aːr
r-deletion	ɛə(r)	aː(r)
Retraction	–	ɑː(r)

Note that by the eighteenth century a string of sound changes has turned the original weak form into the same segmental sequence as characterised the Middle English strong form. The /ɛə/ variant disappears in the eighteenth century, and only the reflex of the ME weak form remains.

In the past 2 sing., East Midlands *wast* (instead of expected *were*) remained through the seventeenth century, and a new form, *wert*, developed; both are analogical: segmentation of *art* as {ar-t}, with {-t} reinterpreted as a 2 sing. marker.

DO. DO retains its original long vowel only in the present non -3sing. (*do* /duː/) and present participle (*doing*); otherwise the present stem vowel has been shortened in *does*, *done*, and the past in *did* < OE *dȳde*, which ought to be homophonous with *died*. The shortened forms were well-established variants by the sixteenth century: Hart (1569) has both /uː/ and /u/ in *doth*, *done*, but only short /i/ in *did*. The long forms died out during the eighteenth century.

One non-auxiliary verb has a similar development: *say*. The now standard short vowel in *says*, *said* is attested as a variant in Hart, and is the norm by the late seventeenth century. (In Scotland shortened forms do not occur; but whether this is original or due to later lengthening before /z/ and past /-d/ is unclear.)

GO. The Old English past was suppletive *ēode*; this was gradually replaced by another suppletion, *wente*, originally the past of *wendan* 'turn'. The usual past participle *gone* (a shortening of ME /gɔːn/ < OE *-gān*) remains all through the Early Modern period, but there is a Pattern 2 replacement by *went* as well, which occurs sporadically into the nineteenth century in the standard (Jespersen *MEG* VI 5.6 cites Jane Austen's 'the trouble we had *went* through'), and is still common in many vernaculars.

The modals and WILL. The modal verbs belong to an ancient class of 'preterite presents'; their presents are formally the pasts of strong verbs. This explains, among other things, their lack of pres 3 sing. marking (*can* is equivalent to *ran*, *sang*). Because their presents are old pasts, they developed new weak pasts in pre-Old English times; these were already becoming opaque in Middle English, when *can/could*, *may/might*, etc. began to be seen not as present and past of the same verb, but as quasi-independent, if related verbs. For historical convenience however I will discuss etymologically related presents and pasts together, as well as the historically rather different *will*, which is not a preterite-present but shares some common developments.

OE *sceal* 'shall' had a plural *sculon*; the distinction sing. *shal* v. pl. *shullen* survives until about the 1470s, but is then levelled in favour of the singular vowel in the present. In the fifteenth century the usual past is *s(c)huld(e)*, the expected development of OE *sceolde*, though *scholde* occurs as well. There is evidence of loss of /l/ as early as the sixteenth century, mainly in spellings like <shud> and the like, though this is not firmly established until much later (see below under *can/could*).

Given the etymology, a long vowel is expected in the past: OE *sc(e)olde* > ME /ʃoːld/ (lengthening before /ld/), followed by raising of /oː/ > /uː/ in the GVS. Modern /ʃʊd/ however shows the reflex of a shortened vowel (as in *good*: 3.4.1.3 above), probably from a weak form. This is attested in the sixteenth century; Hart has only /ʃuld/.

OE *willan* 'will' had the past *wolde*, which would have developed like *sceolde*. In ME there were alternative present vocalisms (e.g. *wulle*, *wolle*, the former probably through influence of the /w/, the latter a transfer from the past: the *wol-* form survives in the contracted *won't*). Here again there was shortening, as shown by modern /wʊd/; Hart has both /wuːld/ and /wuld/.

OE *cann* 'can', like *sceal*, had a plural in /u/ (*cunnon*); this survives into the fifteenth century, but as with *shall* the singular was generalised. The past *could* however is not a straightforward development like *would*, *should*. The OE past was *cūþe*, which survives in the adjective *(un)couth* (a northern form, as shown by the unshifted /uː/). This cannot be the source of modern *could*. The history is complex: first, ME strengthening of /ð/ > /d/ (Chaucer's form is *coude*); then, oddly, insertion of /l/, probably on analogy to *should*, *would*. The <l> in *could* is not, as often thought, purely graphic: by the sixteenth century it is firmly in place as a phonological segment. Hart has /kuːld/ and /kuld/, and pronunciations with /l/ remain at least through the seventeenth century: Cooper (1685) has *could* = *cool'd*. The /l/ in *should*, *would* is lost by the mid-eighteenth century; Elphinstone (1765) gives *would* = *wood*. Shortening is also general by this time.

The ancestor of *may*, OE *mæg*, had like *can* and *shall* a distinction between present sg. and pl. vocalism: *mæg* v. *māgon*. The expected pl. *mow(en)* survives until the late fifteenth century. From then on the usual past is *might* < OE *miht*; but a new past *mought*, based on the plural, arises in our period, and is common until the sixteenth century, yielding gradually to *might*. (*Mought* survives in some vernaculars, particularly in the southern US.)

3.8.4.6 Auxiliary, pronominal and negative cliticisation

In modern spoken English, expressions like *I will*, *he is*, *should not* are less common (except under emphasis) than the 'contracted' *I'll*, *he's*, *shouldn't*, etc. There are two distinct processes of cliticisation here:

(i) *Auxiliary verb onto subject* The initial consonant (if any) and the vowel of the auxiliary delete, and only the coda of the auxiliary remains: *I will* > *I'll*, *I would* > *I'd*, *I am* > *I'm*, *John will* > *John'll*, *Mary would* > *Mary'd*, *we have* > *we've*, *he has* > *he's*, etc. In general, the clitic is syllabic if the phonotactics do not allow a cluster: syllabic in *John'll* [dʒɒn̩l] but not in *John's* [dʒɒnz]. For this reason *are* is normally realised as [ə] in non-rhotic varieties, i.e. *you're* is [juːə].

(ii) *Negator* not *onto auxiliary* The vowel of *not* deletes, and either /n/ becomes syllabic (*wouldn't*, *mayn't*, *hadn't*), or not (*can't*, *won't shan't)* – again, largely on phonotactic grounds. Those cases where the clitic does not involve an extra syllable usually involve some change in the expected vowel: *won't* v. *will not*, *can't* /kɑːnt/ v. *can not* /kæn nɒt/ in most southern English varieties.

A third cliticisation was once common but is now archaic: this is the inverse of the above processes, where the clitic follows its host. Here either a negator or pronominal subject loses its vowel, but the (following) auxiliary remains unchanged. A familiar example of the second type is *'tis* for *it is*; the first can be illustrated by the Old English contracted negative verbs like *nyllan* 'want not to' < *ne* + *willan*. (About the only relic of this type of structure is *willy-nilly* < *will hē*, *nill hē*.) Both die out in the Early Modern period, the negative much earlier. I will concentrate on (i) and (ii), since they are still productive.

The origins of negative and auxiliary cliticisation are unclear; while the processes are of a type we might expect to be quite general at an early period, there is no clear sign of them before the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. Auxiliary cliticisation is well attested by around 1600; the evidence is both metrical (written sequences like *I am*, *he is* scanning as monosyllables), and orthographic. The following spelling-types, among others, appear in early Shakespeare prints (after Kökeritz 1953: 276–80):

BE: I'me, Ime; hee's, shee's, it's, thers, ther's, Madam's; they'r, your, you'r
HAVE: I've
WILL: Ile, he'le, heele, sheel(e), she'll, wee'l(e), youle, you'll, they'le, thei'le, they'll
WOULD: I'de, I'ld; thoudst; hee'd, shee'd, she'l'd

The proclitic type is also common at this period: not only the familiar *'tis*, but *yar*, *y'ar*, *th'are*, *th'have*, etc.

Negative cliticisation seems to be later; there are a few certain examples in Shakespeare, but these are metrical, with full-form spellings, as in

> But neuer taynt my loue. I *cannot* say whore (*Othello* IV.ii.161)

where *cannot* must be read *can't*. Clitic spellings are uncommon until the 1660s; they are frequent in Restoration comedy, and by the early eighteenth century seem to be the norm in speech. Addison (*Spectator* 135, 4 August 1711) says that the English, because of their 'Natural Taciturnity', tend to express themselves as briefly as possible; they have 'drawn two Words into one, which has . . . very much untun'd our language, and clogged it with consonants, as *mayn't*, *can't*, *sha'n't*, *wo'n't*, and the like'.

The vocalism in *won't*, *don't*, *shan't*, *can't* requires some comment. *Won't* (according to the consensus anyway) is based on the original past vocalism, transferred to the negated present, i.e. the *wol-* allomorph < ME *wol-de*. *Don't* then may be analogical, with *won't* as the model. The vowels in *can't* and *shan't* are a different matter; they are from Lengthening I (as in *plant*, *grant*), where the cliticised group is interpreted as a single word, so that the final /nt/ behaves like any other. Since *can* ends in a single nasal, and *shall* does not have a Lengthening I environment, the negative clitic forms dissociate, phonologically, from their bases:

(89)

	can	*can not*	*shall*	*shall not*
16th century	kan	kan nɔt	ʃal	ʃal nɔt
Cliticisation	–	kant	–	ʃalnt
/l/-deletion	–	–	–	ʃant
/æ/-raising	kæn	kænt	ʃæl	ʃænt
Lengthening I	–	kæːnt	–	ʃæːnt
Lowering	–	kaːnt	–	ʃaːnt
Retraction	–	kɑːnt	–	ʃɑːnt

The standard set of cliticised negatives is smaller now than it was; in the eighteenth century *ha'n't* < *have not* was common, as was 1 sing. *an't* < *am not*. The modern stigmatised *ain't* seems to have arisen in the eighteenth century as well; there are frequent occurrences of non-1st person *an't* suggesting this as early as Swift, and persisting in the speech of educated characters in Jane Austen. Another now nonstandard form (though persisting in some upper-class English speech, and in the standard of the southern coastal US) is 3 sing. *don't* (as in *he don't*). This occurs as early as the 1660s, and is common in Defoe, Goldsmith and Sheridan. Jespersen (*MEG* V 23.2) derives this from /z/-deletion, not grammatical shift; but this is uncertain.

NOTES

Transcription: all phonetic/phonemic transcriptions follow IPA conventions; symbols for modern phonological categories are as in Lass (1987), based on a standard southern British English variety of the RP type.

3.1.1–3.1.2 The works of the major orthoepists and grammarians are reprinted in facsimile in R. C. Alston's series *English Linguistics 1500–1700* (Scolar Press: now alas out of print). Many are also available in good editions with commentary (see references under individual authors). Volume II of Danielsson's edition of Hart (1963) is virtually an independent monograph, and vital for serious work on the orthoepists and phonology of the period. Jespersen's short book on Hart (1907) is a classic, and deserves close reading along with the texts. Dobson (1968: I) has useful biographical information and discussion of the main sources up to 1700. Some writers not otherwise easily available are excerpted in Ellis (1869, 1874), the first work to make clear the importance of these sources; there is some reprinting of foreign sources and interesting commentary in Zachrisson (1913).

3.1.2.3 The comment that morphology is 'directly present' in texts is not entirely true; see 8.4.2 on *-th*. Some scholars consider puns and word-play to be major phonological evidence (e.g. Kökeritz 1953), but this is debatable; early writers may have punned less than we think (Hill 1988). The most a pun can show is (perceived) likeness between forms; no word-play is evidential for identity or a particular kind of likeness. Just as Kökeritz overvalues puns (and rhymes), Wyld (1936) overvalues occasional and other spellings; his intemperate attack on the orthoepists (115ff.), while entertaining, is rather over the top. For detailed studies in rhymes, see in addition to Wyld Söderholm (1970). Spellings: some early <y> for ME /eː/ have non-GVS origins: *pryste*, *sykeness* and some others are probably ME raisings of shortened /eː/, and *byth* 'be' (3 pl.), *betwyn* may reflect OE /io/ doublets of /eo/ forms. The early spellings are cited from Wyld.

3.2 For the Middle English developments see Lass (*CHEL* II). On the analysis of long vowels and diphthongs, see Lass (1976: ch. 1).

3.3 The literature on the GVS is enormous, and it would be hard to find two writers who agree on everything. My overall view is most like that of Luick (1896, 1914/41): see the discussion in Lass (1976: ch. 2). As a general point for the uninitiated reader, many of my datings are considerably later than what most other historians would accept (not only for the GVS, but other changes as well). The material here and in the rest of the phonology section is based largely on my own fresh re-reading of the orthoepists, and a somewhat unfashionable enthusiasm for their value. For more technical discussion, see Lass (1989) and Minkova & Stockwell (1990).

3.3.1 In Lass (1976: ch. 2) I discuss the Luick/Jespersen disagreement and arguments for the priority of mid-vowel raising in detail. For the claim that the GVS might be a 'zebra' see the major paper of Stockwell & Minkova (1988a), my rejoinder in the same volume and theirs to me (Lass 1988, Stockwell & Minkova

1988a, b). The discussion continues in Lass (1992b). On the GVS overall, Jespersen (*MEG* I ch. VIII), Luick (1914/41: §§549–91), Wolfe (1973). The idea of a 'general' GVS different in the North only in minor details has been challenged; see the important discussion in Smith (1996: ch. 3).

3.3.2 On this model of variation, see the textbook treatment in Lass (1984: ch. 12) and references. There is some useful discussion of the GVS and the role of variation in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968), Smith (1996).

3.3.3 Quite different accounts of the initial stages are given in Dobson (1968), Kökeritz (1953), Stockwell (1961), Cercignani (1981); the best summary and critique is still Wolfe (1973), even if some of the issues discussed are now dated. For non-Anglicists interest in the GVS was revived in the late 1960s by Chomsky & Halle (1968), now readable mainly as a contribution to the early stages of orthodox-generative historical linguistics.

3.4. Most of the material here is based directly on orthoepic testimony, checked against historians' interpretations (Luick, Wyld, Jespersen, Kökeritz, Horn & Lehnert), and modern dialect developments. Much (especially some very late datings, and the account of ME /i, u/) is controversial.

3.4.1.1 On ME /a/ and its developments Lass (1976: ch. 4); for modern distribution and more recent history Wells (1982: *passim*, s.v. TRAP).

3.4.1.2 On ME /o/ in the US, Lass (1976: ch. 5), Wells s.v. LOT. On unrounding Wyld (1936: 240–2).

3.4.1.3 The arguments are discussed in Lass (1989). For counterargument see Minkova & Stockwell (1990), and my reply in Lass (1992a).

3.4.2.1 The merger pattern (32) is southern; local vernaculars in other regions (Wales, West Yorkshire, East Anglia) show partial or no merger. The discussion here, limited to the southern standard and its relatives, excludes these types, as well as developments before /r/, for which see 3.4.3.1–3.4.3.2. The Mopseys: monophthongal /ai/, /ɔu/ are not their only transgressions. They have /iː/ in some ME /ɛː/ words (*leave*, *read*: 3.4.2.3), unround ME /o/ (3.4.1.1), reduce vowels that ought not to be reduced. For more on the Mopseys see Danielsson (1963: §§43–5), Wolfe (1973: 52–5). Wells (1982: 3.1.5) treats the changes discussed here as the 'long mid mergers'.

The coexisting lineage phenomenon has been frequently misinterpreted, and generated a lot of literature devoted to explaining how mergers could be 'reversed' (essentially in terms of stable 'underlying forms' but changes in rule-order). This episode is discussed in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968), Labov (1974).

3.4.2.3 See Jespersen (*MEG* I 11.71ff.) under the 'lesser vowel raising', Wells (1982: 3.1.6) under 'FLEECE merger', and the superb treatment in a Northern Irish context in Harris (1985).

3.4.2.4 Early Modern /yː/ is admirably sorted out in Danielsson (1963: §§119–23); see also Jespersen (*MEG* I 13.77). On /j/-deletion Jespersen (*MEG* I 13.77–8), Wells (3.1.10). This process is not a matter of binary choice: some modern

varieties (my own, for instance) that are supposed to have /j/-dropping after /t, d, n/, still show a trace of the /j/ in palatalisation of the consonant and fronting of the vowel in *due*, *dew*, *lute* but not in *do*, *loot*, etc.

3.4.2.5 On the 'crossover' here see Wells (1982: 4.2.4).

3.4.2.6 *Line/loin* has been claimed to be a 'false merger': that is, paradoxically, the two classes remained (marginally) separate in production, but were perceived as merged (so Labov 1974). Labov produces some suggestive evidence for this in modern Essex, but the reality of false mergers is still controversial, and projection back to our period doubly uncertain.

3.4.2.7 For the overall regional picture of Lengthening I of ME /a/ see Lass (1976: ch. 4), where the results for all Mainland areas are presented; for both /a/ and /o/ see the maps and discussion in Lass (1990). The accounts of Wyld (1936: 203–5) and Jespersen (*MEG* I 10.5) are rather different from mine.

3.4.3.1–3.4.3.2 On earlier English /r/ Lass (1983), which deals with the segment itself and its effects, conveniently grouped for the whole history by articulatory type (raisings, lowerings, etc.). The NURSE merger (3.4.3.2 (iv)) is rarely described as such in the handbooks; one must look under the individual vowels. For more useful material on pre-/r/ vowels see Cercignani (1981), Wells (1982: 3.2.1, also 3.2.2 on deletion). Many writers (especially Wyld) put /r/-loss much earlier than I do; such accounts confuse early adumbration, the period of variable diffusion, and stabilisation of the change. For further discussion of the timing of this change see Lass (1997: ch. 6).

3.5.1 Retention of /x/. Danielsson (1963: 223) says that Hart's writing of <h> both initially and medially is due to 'a common sixteenth-century apprehension of [ç], [χ], and the glottal fricative [h] as contextual variants of the same phoneme'. Such 'structuralist' thinking is alien to Hart; if he had heard qualities as different as [x] and [h] he would have invented symbols for them (as the less talented Gil did). Hart's [h] for earlier [x, ç] is in fact virtually a necessary step in their loss, as the exposition and history should make clear. In any case there is no lack of evidence for postvocalic [h]: Price (1665: 18–19) notes for instance that '*Gh* sounds but the breathing *h*' in *sigh*, *taught*, *weight*, and that this pronunciation (especially in words that normally have /f/, like *rough*, *draught*, *daughter* [!]) is particularly common 'in the West'.

3.5.2 The long variation between final /-ɪn/ and /-ɪŋ/ has left some relics. A few /n/-forms remain, like *midden* < *midding* (cf. Danish *mødding* 'dungheap'), and *tarpaulin* < *tar*+*pall*+*-ing*. *Ticking* (fabric) may be part of this story too, a hypercorrection from **ticken* (*-en* as in *wooden*): *tick* originally meant 'bed-cover'.

3.5.3 On palatalisation see Jespersen (*MEG* I ch. XII) and Horn (1940).

3.5.4 For onset-cluster reduction in general see Lutz (1988). Reduction in these clusters is quite systematic; deletion in codas is much less so, though widespread. Many of these deletions, which are listed as 'sound changes' in the grammars, merely reflect casual speech processes still in operation: e.g. loss of /d/ as in *pounse* 'pounds' (*St Editha*, 1420), Cely Papers *hosbanry*, Shakespeare's rhyme

hounds: downs (*Rape of Lucretia* 667–8), Jones's note (1701) that /d/ is not pronounced in *friendly*, *candle*, *handle*, *children*. Some of these deletions have indeed been lexicalised, as in *Wednesday* (except in Scotland); this one is as early as the Pastons (1440).

Similarly, loss of coda /l/ in *swone* 'swollen', *Northfoke* (Machyn), Surrey's rhyme *bemoan*: *swolne*, Jones (1701) in *Leopold*, *soldier*. The /l/ is restored in some of these, but not others (e.g. *yolk*, *folk*, *Holborn*: see Wyld 1936: 301–3).

An alternative scenario for the reduction of /kn/ at least is suggested by developments in Northern Scotland (Catford 1974: 23). Here we find a progression in words like *knee*, *knife* from [k^{h}n] (Aberdeenshire) to a weak [k] released into the nasal (North Angus) to a nasally released [tn] (Angus: [t] is 'barely audible'). None of these show a voiceless nasal or [h] as in Cooper; such a stage may not be necessary, and may be idiosyncratic. See also Fisiak (1980).

3.6.1 My approach to stress here is, for expository reasons, theoretically rather lightweight and superficial; the issues and controversies are so complex that even introducing them would take up space I don't have. For accounts of contemporary theory see Kenstowicz (1994: ch. 10), Goldsmith (1995: chs. 10–11).

3.6.2–3.6.3 The history of English stress: see Hogg (*CHEL* I) for Old English, Lass (*CHEL* II) for Middle English. My view of Germanic stress is now controversial; Dresher & Lahiri (1991) claim that the 'Germanic foot' was quantity-sensitive. Most scholars now take -VC rhymes as heavy in English (if not universally), and use a rather different model for syllable structure which defines weight entirely in terms of branching of the rhyme (e.g. Harris 1994). To avoid excessive theoretical discussion I stick to the traditional view, which does not require the same complexity of notation. Accentuation in our period is treated in Jespersen (*MEG* I ch. 5), and there is useful discussion in Kökeritz (1953). For stress in Greek and Latin loans, the classic work is Danielsson (1948). The trochaic/iambic alternation in nouns and verbs is discussed in the light of lexical diffusion in Sherman (1975); see also Jespersen (*MEG* VI: 11.9). For an overall history based on quite different assumptions, Halle & Keyser (1971). Since this chapter went to press, a very important article by Donka Minkova has appeared (Minkova 1997), which among other things challenges the GSR/RSR distinction and the persistence of the RSR, as well as the role of syllable weight.

3.7.1–2 For overviews of English morphology in our period, Wyld (1936: ch. IX), Jespersen (*MEG* VI ch. VII). See also Franz (1909), Stein (1974) on Shakespeare, Partridge (1953) on Jonson.

3.8.1 On noun inflection, Jespersen (*MEG* VI: 16), which treats both plural and genitive {-s}; also 11.1$_2$, 20.2 on umlaut, {-n} plurals. The difficult problem of voiceless stem-finals before the genitive (*wolf's* not ***wolve's*) is given an excellent theoretical and historical discussion in Planck (1985).

3.8.2.2 On the rise of *its* see Lehnert (1959), Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (1993).

3.8.2.3 There is an extensive literature on the 'social causes' of the *thou* > *you* shift, invoking the transition from feudal to more egalitarian social structure, 'status' to 'class' society, the Rise of the Middle Class, the Quakers, and various other quasi-ideological influences. Much of this is as crude as it sounds. Wales (1983) gives a subtle critique of the extreme 'power/solidarity' scenario, and a more balanced (though still not convincing) account. I remain sceptical of any social explanation for a structural change (rather than its propagation). Besides Wales, see Mulholland (1967) and Barber (1981) on Shakespeare, also Johnson (1966), Mazzon (1995).

3.8.4.1 On the earlier developments in the verb system, leading up to what is discussed here, see Lass (*CHEL* II 2.9.2).

3.8.4.2 On the rise and spread of 3 sing. {-s}, Bambas (1947). The discussions in Wyld (1936: 332–40) and Jespersen (*MEG* VII: 4.5) are useful and well exemplified. Wyld disputes the northern origin of {-s}, opting rather for a connection with *is*; but his arguments seem feeble to me, and both linguistic and demographic evidence supports the traditional view. For the earlier stages see Lass (*CHEL* II: 2.9.2.4). The plural {-s} is actually more complex than my brief discussion suggests: in many texts it seems to appear not in 'free' variation with zero, but with a distribution controlled by what is called the 'Personal Pronoun Rule' (McIntosh 1983) or the 'Northern Present Tense Rule' (Montgomery 1994). Oversimply (for detailed discussion see also Schendl 1994), pres. pl. verbs take zero concord if immediately preceded by a pronoun, otherwise {-s}. A good example is *Hamlet* IV.v.74 (Folio), 'when sorrows *comes*, they *come* not single spies'. This pattern never stabilised in the emerging standard, but is still known in modern northern dialects.

3.8.4.3 There are useful class-by-class surveys of developments in Wyld (1936: 342ff.) and Ekwall (1965: §§209–60); Jespersen (*MEG* VI: ch. IV) has an enormously useful survey of just about all aspects of tense morphology in both strong and weak verbs. The data here is drawn largely from the excellent form-surveys for these verbs in the *OED*, updated where necessary on the basis of texts and grammarians' comments (e.g. the participle *throve* is dated by *OED* as eighteenth century, but occurs in Wallis 1653).

The terms 'Pattern 1', etc. for the developmental types are my own invention, but useful and probably worth adopting. Many of the earlier strong-verb variants still survive in traditional rural vernaculars: e.g. weak *drinked* in the South, and Pattern 2 and 3 replacements, like past *drunk* in Yorkshire and Middlesex among other places, participle *drank* widespread except in the North (Wakelin 1972: 122–5). The relation between text citations and the forms given by grammarians, and more details of the actual developments of particular verbs are discussed in Lass (1994).

3.8.4.4 On the weak verb, Jespersen (*MEG* VI: chs. IV–V).

3.8.4.5 The literature on auxiliary clitics is rather thin; but see Jespersen (*MEG* V: ch. XXIII) for some interesting material on *-n't*.

FURTHER READING

There is no dedicated recent full-length handbook for the Early Modern period. The closest thing for phonology and morphology is Ekwall (1965), which though brief and dated is useful. The period as a whole is surveyed in Barber (1976) and Görlach (1978; English version 1993). The best overviews of these topics are probably Wyld (1936), rich in source citation, and the historical portions of Jespersen's seven-volume *Modern English Grammar* (1909–49; cited here as *MEG*). I have used both extensively.

For detailed technical phonology at monograph length, Luick (1914–41) is indispensable; Horn & Lehnert (1954) is also useful, especially in its copious citation of primary sources, but its theory of change is peculiar, and it needs very critical reading. E. J. Dobson's huge two-volume work (1968), while necessary for serious work, is phonetically eccentric and linguistically naive, and should also be read with great care. The most interesting and reliable of the earlier scholars is Jespersen; his wide knowledge of primary texts and orthoepic sources, excellent phonetic sense and coherent feel for history make him virtually unrivalled.

For the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, the essays in Salmon & Burness (1987) cover a wide range, and include some genuine classics and useful bibliography. On morphology, Abbott (1870), though old-fashioned, is useful for data. For general histories, the best (if eccentric in places: no problem, really, since this chapter is too) is Strang (1970); there is useful coverage as well in Schlauch (1959).

4 SYNTAX

Matti Rissanen

4.1 Introduction

In the course of the Middle English period, a number of major changes took place in the structure of English. The most important of these were the reduction of the system of inflectional endings, the reorganisation of the patterns of word order and the trend toward the use of analytic constructions instead of synthetic ones. These developments were related, and their roots can be found in Old English.

The effects of these changes on English syntax can be clearly seen in the first two centuries of the Modern period, from about 1500 to about 1700. At that time, the structure of the language was gradually established so that eighteenth-century standard written English closely resembles the present-day language. The language of most sixteenth-century authors still reflects the heritage of Middle English, whilst it is possible to read long passages from eighteenth-century novels or essays and find only minor deviations from present-day constructions.

It is thus obvious that a description of English syntax from the late fifteenth to the late eighteenth century should pay constant attention to change. It is equally obvious that the description will mainly focus on the first two Early Modern centuries. Sixteenth-century texts are characterised by a richness of variant forms and constructions, inherited from Middle English and, to a lesser extent, influenced by Latin. In seventeenth-century writing, the abundance of variants was gradually reduced.

Thus it is no wonder that an account of Early Modern syntactic developments easily creates an impression of a movement from greater variability and lack of organisation towards a more regulated and orderly state. This is mainly due to the fact that the establishment of the written standard which had been developing mainly in the London area since late

Middle English (see Lass, Görlach, Adamson this volume) necessarily forms the backbone of the discussion. The description of the shaping of the standard is bound to be closely concerned with systematic structural aspects and with acceptable and less acceptable variants. References to the early grammarians' normative statements may enhance this impression. It must be emphasised, however, that the regularising trend is typical of written language only; informal spoken English has retained a richness of variants throughout the centuries.

It is a constant source of frustration for the language historian that all observations and analyses of the early periods have to be based on written evidence only, while the importance of speech in the development of the language is self-evident. In Early Modern English, the situation is somewhat less problematic than in Old or Middle English as there is no shortage of texts representing a wide variety of styles and registers. It is, of course, a truism that no written text, be it dialogue in a comedy or novel, a sermon or a record of a debate or discussion, will ever give a faithful reproduction of spoken language. But by a careful comparison of texts which stand at different distances from spoken language (judging by the discourse situation, the purpose of the text, the educational level of the author and other extralinguistic criteria), it is possible to present hypotheses about whether a certain construction is favoured or avoided in the spoken language of the period. Hypotheses of this kind may help us in our attempt to trace the typical domain of certain syntactic features either to the oral level of language, as 'changes from below', or to the literate end of the scale, as 'changes from above'.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are marked by an enormous change in the cultural and social life in England. We need only mention the art of printing, the revived focus on classical literature and learning, advances in science and the expanding world view which brought forth an interest in the languages of the world and the character of human language in general. On the social side, the weakening of family ties, urbanisation and the general mobility of the population and movements along the social scale are to be noted.

These external aspects are no doubt of greater importance to developments in vocabulary than in syntax. It is also important to keep in mind Lass's warning in chapter 1, that language 'itself' and its change should not be confused with language users' choices between the resources of language and with the mechanics which lie behind the emergence and spread of changes. But it is equally obvious that change in language cannot be adequately analysed or discussed without an awareness of the speakers' or

writers' (conscious or unconscious) choices, or of the factors, linguistic or extralinguistic, affecting these choices. Unfortunately, in the present chapter, it has not been possible to pay systematic attention to these aspects, which form the basis for the variationist approach to change. All too little variationist research has been done in Early Modern syntax so far; furthermore, a reliable quantificational discussion of syntactic variation would have lengthened this chapter beyond reasonable limits.

One external influence, frequently referred to with respect to Early Modern English syntax, is foreign, particularly Latin models. The constructions mentioned in this context include, for example, absolute clauses and *wh*-relativisers. In general, however, foreign models only support the spread and establishment of syntactic elements ultimately derived from native resources. Classical ideals no doubt exercised an important influence on stylistic developments in renaissance English writing, and this increased the popularity of certain constructions, particularly those related to the formation of complex sentences with various types of subordination, non-finite clauses, etc.

In the present chapter, I have attempted to discuss the most important syntactic constructions in Early Modern English, with particular attention to the features which underwent major changes. As mentioned above, the roots of these can be found in Middle or even Old English; in the Modern period, transitional stages were followed by the establishment of the system. The most dramatic developments are connected with verb syntax: the auxiliaries indicating future or (plu)perfect, the progressive (*be* + *-ing*) and *do*-periphrasis. In the formation of noun phrases, the use of the articles becomes more systematic than in Middle English, and the possibility of using adjectives or the adjectival forms of indefinite pronouns as heads more restricted. Subject–verb order is established in statements, and impersonal constructions with no 'nominative' subject disappear. At the level of the composite sentence, the distinction between coordination and subordination becomes more clearcut than in Middle English and that between the personal relative link *who* and the impersonal *which* becomes fixed. There are, in fact, very few major syntactic changes after the end of the eighteenth century, although change in language is of course an ongoing and never-ending process. The passive of the progressive (the type 'The house is being built' instead of the older 'The house is building') is probably the most conspicuous of these.

Unfortunately, many Early Modern English syntactic features and their developments are still unsatisfactorily explored; this concerns particularly the domain of text linguistics. The present chapter does not discuss, for

instance, new ways of topicalisation necessitated by the greater rigidity of word order; in many other cases, too, my suggestions based on available evidence remain inconclusive or inaccurate.

The majority of the examples illustrating the syntactic constructions and their development are taken from the Early Modern English section of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (see Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1989, Rissanen *et al.* 1993, Kytö 1996). This consists of samples from some eighty texts (counting letter collections, etc. as one text only), all in all more than half a million words of English, mainly prose, dating from about 1500 to about 1700. In addition, I have collected examples from primary texts, from standard treatises of Early Modern English and the history of English and from monographs and articles dealing with particular syntactic problems. My examples come mainly from prose, the most notable exception being the early dramatic texts. Most sixteenth-century plays were written in verse, and the prestigious position of such authors as Shakespeare, Jonson and Marlowe in earlier studies of Modern English has led me to quote passages from their verse plays. I have, however, tried to avoid quoting verse instances in contexts where poetical form would clearly have influenced the syntax.

Using the structured Helsinki Corpus [HC] material has made it possible to draw conclusions concerning the frequencies of the variant constructions. Quantitative considerations are important in diachronic syntax, because developments are more often describable in terms of increasing or decreasing frequency than in the emergence of new constructions or the complete disappearance of old ones. It is also useful to be able to comment, in quantitative terms, on the effect of the internal or external factors on the popularity of a construction. I have, however, in most cases avoided giving absolute frequencies, mainly because estimating their value as evidence would require more knowledge of the character and limitations of the Helsinki Corpus than can be given in this chapter. Instead, notoriously vague expressions such as 'rare', 'common', or 'occurs occasionally' have been preferred; these statements are, however, in most cases based on the figures yielded by the Helsinki Corpus.

Needless to say, this chapter owes a great debt of gratitude to Elizabeth Closs Traugott's chapter on Old English syntax in vol. I of the *Cambridge History of the English Language*, and particularly to Olga Fischer's discussion of Middle English syntax in vol. II. Dr Fischer's chapter provides an excellent background and model of treatment for most topics discussed here. At many points I have applied a less theoretical level of discussion and analysis than hers. This is mainly because I have found it unnecessary to

repeat the general theoretical considerations in her chapter. Furthermore, in view of the very extensive general interest in the literature and culture of the period covered by the present volume, I have wished to make my chapter easy to approach even for those readers who are not necessarily well versed, or even particularly interested, in the more theoretical aspects of historical linguistics.[1]

4.2 The noun phrase

The central element of a noun phrase is the head, which can be noun, pronoun, adjective or quantifier. The head can be preceded by nouns (e.g. genitives), adjectives, quantifiers and pronouns, and followed by adjectives, appositive nouns, prepositional phrases and clauses. Noun phrases can be definite or indefinite; the most common way of marking this is with articles.

The basic principles of noun-phrase formation are the same in Early Modern English as in Middle English. Certain changes can, however, be traced. The use of adjective heads becomes more restricted than earlier; there is also less freedom in combining various premodifying elements such as demonstrative and possessive pronouns.

The most important development in the use of the pronouns in Early Modern English, the substitution of the second person plural forms *ye*, *you* for the singular form *thou*, is discussed by Lass in chapter 3 in this volume.

4.2.1 Articles

As in the other Germanic languages, the articles develop late in English. In Old English the numeral *an* (>*one*, *a*, *an*) and the demonstrative *se*, *seo*, *þæt* 'that' are used in a way which approaches the usage of articles, but these words can hardly be called true articles. In Middle English the use of the articles becomes more systematic (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.2.2), and by the end of the period an article came to be used regularly even with singular nouns with generic reference, the type 'A/The cat loves comfort', as against the older type 'Cat loves comfort'.

In Early Modern English the articles are used roughly in the same way as in Present-Day English. The long and slow process of development means, however, that there is still considerable variation at the beginning of this period. The following discussion concentrates on the contexts in which the non-expression of the article (zero) is more common than in Present-Day English. Attention is also called to some special uses of the articles.

Zero is common particularly when the marking of (in)definiteness or reference is of minor importance. This is the case, for instance, with many abstract nouns:

(1) Nay sweete Hodge say *truth*, and do not me begile.
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

(2) and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatly materiall in *Lawe*.
([HC] Throckmorton 71 Cii)

Cf.:

(3) Thou dost *the truth* tell ([HC] Udall III.iv)

(4) adjudged by *the Lawe* a principal Traytoure ([HC] Throckmorton 75 Ci)

Zero is common when the noun is a subject complement, as in the expression *'Tis pity/marvel/shame*:

(5) *It is pitie* that anie man should open his mouth anie way to defend them
([HC] Gifford B2v)

As in Middle English and Present-Day English, the indefinite article can be used with abstract nouns when a particular event or state is in focus:

(6) I would never have any one eat but what he likes and when he has *an appetite* ([HC] Locke 46)

(7) some of ye Justices was in *a rage* & said whoe has donne this
([HC] Fox 80)

Cf.

(8) I did heare that it had done much good, . . . as to prouoke *appetite*
([HC] John Taylor 131 Ci)

(9) although present and privat Execution was *in rage* done upon Edric
([HC] Milton *History* 279)

Zero is often used in less concrete prepositional phrases like *in presence of*, *at mercy of*, and *in name of*, as well as in locative expressions such as *at gate*, *at door*, *at town's end*. Notice the variation in the use of the article with *sanctuary* in the following example:

(10) Then may no man, I suppose take my warde fro me oute of *sanctuarye*, wythout the breche of *the sanctuary*. ([HC] More *Richard III* 39)

Zero can be found with adjectives used as nouns as late as the eighteenth century:

(11) the Infection keept chiefly in the out-Parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of *poor*, the Distemper found more to play upon
(Defoe *Plague Year* 17)

As in Present-Day English, zero occurs with coordinated nouns:

(12) what it is that, being borne without *life, head, lippe, or eye*, yet doth runne roaring through the world till it dye ([HC] Armin 45)

Cf.:

(13) there are five organs or instruments of speech . . . viz. *the lips, the teeth, the tongue, the roof of the mouth, and the throat* ([HC] Hoole 3)

With geographical names, the most conspicuous difference from present-day usage is the frequent occurrence of river names with zero. In Shakespeare's time this usage is still more common than the definite article:[2]

(14) This yeare, all the Weares [= weirs] in *Thamis* [= the Thames] from the Towne of Stanes in the Weast, vnto the water of *Medway* in the East, . . . were destroyd ([HC] Stow 566)

Cf.:

(15) and afterward went into *the tems* [= the Thames] ([HC] Edward 273)

The definite article can be used in some contexts in which zero prevails today, e.g. with the names of languages and fields of science. Zero is, however, more common.

(16) Let not your studying *the French* make you neglect *the English*
(1760 *Portia, Polite Lady* [*OED* s.v. *the* 7])

(17) He understood *the mechanics* and physic ([HC] Burnet *History* I 167)

Cf.:

(18) an inscription about it yn *French* ([HC] Leland I 77)

(19) He had the dotage of *astrology* in him ([HC] Burnet *History* I 172).

(20) he hath neither *Latine*, *French*, nor *Italian*, & you will come into the Court and sweare that I haue a poore pennieworth in *the English*.
(Shakespeare *Merchant of Venice* I.ii)

In (20), zero is used with coordinated nouns.

Before nouns indicating parts of the body, Present-Day English normally uses the possessive pronoun in non-prepositional noun phrases. In Early Modern English, the definite article is possible in these contexts.[3]

(21) Thou canst not frowne, thou canst not looke a sconce, Nor bite *the* lip, as angry wenches will (Shakespeare *Taming of the Shrew* II.i)

In Early Modern English as in Present-Day English the definite article is occasionally used with complement nouns (Jespersen's 'typical *the*'):[4]

(22) I mervaile that you, that have bine alwaies hitherto taken for so wise a man, will nowe so *play the foole* to lye heare ([HC] Roper 82)

(23) Olivia, on her side, *acted the coquet* to perfection
(Goldsmith *Vicar of Wakefield*: 283–4 [Jespersen *MEG* VII 14 2 1])

(24) whether you are perfectly *the man* of sense, and *the gentleman*, is a question
(Cowper *Letters* I 176 [Jespersen *MEG* VII 14 2 2])

4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Early Modern English, as in present Scots, there are three demonstrative pronouns, *this*, *that* and *yon* (*yond*, *yonder*). The same tripartition of deictic expressions can be traced in the corresponding set of local adverbs, *here*, *there*, *yond(er)*.

This implies 'near the speaker', *yon* 'remote from both speaker and hearer', and *that* 'remote from the speaker', with no implications about the position relative to the hearer (Barber 1976: 227). Thus *that* can be used with referents both close to (25) and remote from (26) the addressee:

(25) Thou look'st like Antichrist, in *that* leud hat. (Jonson *Alchemist* IV.vii)

(26) 'Tis so: and *that* selfe chaine about his necke, Which he forswore most monstrously to haue. (Shakespeare *Comedy of Errors* V.i)

Yon 'that (visible) over there' combines the perspectives of both the speaker and the hearer. The originally adverbial forms *yond*, *yonder* came to be used both as determiners and as pronouns (i.e. with or without a following head) in Middle English.

In Early Modern English *yon(der)* is more common in determiner position (27)–(28) than as the head of a noun phrase (29). The shorter forms become archaic in the course of the seventeenth century. *Yonder* can be frequently found in Restoration comedy; the rare occurrences of *yon* are put into the mouths of non-standard speakers. In later centuries, these forms occur in dialects and in poetic or otherwise marked contexts (30):

(27) Belike then master Doctor, *yon* stripe there ye got not?
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

(28) and I doubt not but at *yonder* tree I shall catch a Chub,
([HC] Walton 215)

(29) What strange beast is *yon*, that thrusts his head out at window
(1616 Marlowe *Faustus* [*OED* s.v. *yon* B])

(30) Save that from *yonder* ivy-mantled tower The mopeing owl does to the moon complain (Gray 'Elegy written in a Country Churchyard' 10)

In Present-Day English, the pronominal (i.e. non-determiner) *this* referring to a person sounds natural only in introductory contexts, as in 'This is my brother John'. In Middle and Early Modern English *this*, like many other pronouns, can more freely be used in pronominal positions.[5]

(31) Thys Symon leprosus . . . was aftyr warde made Bushoppe, And he was namyd Julian. And *thys* ys he that men call vpon for good harborowe.
([HC] Torkington 54)

(32) I woulde wytte whether *this* be she that yow wrote of.
([HC] More *Letters* 564)

In Early Modern English the singular *this* occurs in expressions of time of the type *this two and twenty years*, *this six weeks*, *this fourteen days*. According to Franz (1939: §316), *this* here goes back to the Middle English plural form. In the sixteenth century, *this even* can mean 'last evening', and *this other day* occurs in contexts where Present-Day English would use *the other day*.

The examples quoted above imply that in Early Modern English *this* is less clearly demonstrative than today and can be used as a fairly neutral referential counterpart of *that*, with emphasis on proximity, as in

(33) Sir Walter Blunt, new lighted from his horse, Staind with the variation of each soil Betwixt *that* Holmedon and *this* seat of ours:
(Shakespeare *1Henry IV* I.i)

It is perhaps the loss of *yon(der)* that later gives *this* a more marked demonstrative force.

The Early Modern English period is characterised by a great variety of means of intensification. It is of interest that the expression of emphasis is extended even to closed-system elements, such as the demonstrative pronouns. The model of Latin and French may have favoured this trend, but parallels in the other Germanic languages suggest a native development.

In Middle English, the combination of *this* or *that* and *ilk(e)*, *self* or *same* was used for intensified anaphoric reference. *Ilk* becomes obsolete in the South in the sixteenth century.

(34) I neuer saw any of that *selfe* Nation, to begge bread.
(1632 Lithgow *Travayles* [*OED* s.v. *self* B I 1a])

(35) Why did Cobham retract all *that same*? ([HC] Raleigh 208.C2)

(36) I shall wait upon thee too *that* same day, ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 118)

The same is fairly often used with a demonstrative force in sixteenth-century texts, mainly with non-human reference. It is probably more emphatic than *this* or *that*, owing to its original meaning. It readily accepts a preposition (37) and can be placed at the end of the sentence (37)–(38).

(37) They ought to preyse and love the chirche and the commaundements of *the same* (Caxton *Æsop* iii 7 [quoted in Mustanoja 1960: 176])

(38) 'I meane,' quod I, 'to hide *the same*, and neuer to discouer it to any.'
([HC] Harman 68)

(39) what in the wife is obedience, *the same* in the man is duty.
([HC] Jeremy Taylor 19)

4.2.3 Indefinite pronouns

4.2.3.1 Pronouns in *-one* and *-body*

In Old and Middle English, the simplex forms of the indefinite pronouns *some*, *any*, *every*, *no*, *many*, *such*, could be used as both heads and determiners. With the loss of the inflectional endings, some distinctions, such as that between the singular and the plural, were no longer obvious in these pronominal forms; to indicate these, nouns with a weak semantic content, such as *man*, *thing*, or *body*, or the pronominal *one*, became common with these indefinites. With adjectives the same tendency results in the rise of the so-called propword *one*.[6]

In Early Modern English, simplex forms of these indefinite pronouns can still be found as heads, but they are rare and mainly restricted to constructions in which an *of*-phrase follows the pronoun:

(40) but *some* [sing.] that ouer-heard their talk, hindered his journey and laughed at the jest ([HC] Armin 42)

(41) who diuided the Diameter into 300. partes . . . and *euery of those parts* into 6´0. ([HC] Blundevile 48r)

According to Lowth (1775 [1979]: 25), '*every* was formerly much used as a pronominal adjective, standing by itself', but 'we now commonly say *every one*'. He gives the following example:

(42) The corruptions and depredations to which *every* of these was subject.
(Swift *Contests and Dissentions*)

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century *one* is more common than *body* as the second element of indefinite pronouns with a human referent (with the exception of *no*), but by the end of the seventeenth century *body* has become the more common of the two. It seems to be popularised first with *any* and *no*, and latest with *every* (Raumolin-Brunberg & Kahlas-Tarkka 1997).

The combination of indefinite pronoun + *one* can be used with a following noun in emphatic contexts (43)–(44). Instances of this usage are attested as early as Old English.

(43) yf we wyll afferme that *any one epistle* of saynt Paule. or *any one place* of his epistoles. perteyneth not vnto the vnyuersall chirche of chryst. we take away all saynt Paules authoryte. ([HC] Fisher 314)

(44) And for *euery one thorne*, that he suffred in his head, thou hast deserued a thousande. ([HC] Fisher 399)

The question of when the combination of indefinite pronoun + *body* or *one* can be regarded as a compound pronoun is difficult to answer. It seems that lexicalisation is completed in the course of the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth, these forms still compete with the simple pronoun or the combination of pronoun + *man* (= 'human being'); cf. Raumolin-Brunberg 1994a:

(45) so were it good reason that *euery man* shoulde leaue me to myne.
([HC] More *Letters* 507)

4.2.3.2 Indefinite *one*

In Middle English, the numeral *one* develops various indefinite pronominal uses.[7] In the earliest instances, it refers to persons. These uses are well attested in Early Modern English. The reference may be specific, 'a certain', as in (46) and (47), or non-specific, 'someone/anyone' (48):

(46) And therfore the great kynge Alexander,. . . beinge demaunded of *one* if he wold se the harpe of Paris Alexander, . . . he thereat gentilly smilyng, answered ([HC] Elyot 26)

(47) there was amongst them *one* who bare greate Sway, the Buyshop of Winchester . . . ([HC] Perrott 41)

(48) if a gouernour of a publike weale, iuge, or any other ministre of iustice, do gyue sentence agayne *one* that hath transgressed the lawes . . .
([HC] Elyot 150)

In the fifteenth century *one* develops the generalising or generic pronominal use that gives us the indefinite subject *one* (cf. *OED*, s.v. *one* pron. 21):

(49) . . . Staid it long?
Horatio. While *one* with moderate hast might tell a hundred.
(Shakespeare *Hamlet* I.ii)

This use is common from the sixteenth century on; its rapid popularisation is perhaps accelerated by the loss of the indefinite subject *man* in late Middle English.

In the course of the seventeenth century, *one* with specific reference, and with non-generic/non-specific reference (as in 48), is gradually replaced by the combinations with *some* or *any*. Elphinston (1765: II 17) still accepts the specific pronominal *one* but only gives a quotation from the Bible ('We saw one casting out devils').

The anaphoric pronominal *one* (substitute *one*), as in 'He rents a house, but I own one', develops in Middle English and is common in Early Modern English:

(50) let oure kynge, what tyme hys grace shalbe so mynded to take a *wyfe* to chose hym *one* whych is of god. ([HC] Latimer 34)

In late Middle English, the pronominal *one* came to be used with adjectives. Its development is in accordance with the tendency to avoid simple adjectives as heads of noun phrases (see 4.2.4 below). Its origin can be found in the pronominal uses described above; like the indefinite pronoun *one*, it mainly refers to human antecedents in its early uses. From the sixteenth century on it is common in both anaphoric (51) and non-anaphoric (52) contexts, not only with adjectives but also with demonstrative pronouns (53):

(51) my hood is *a fayre one*. ([HC] Deloney 71)

(52) *Ka*. . . . What shall we do with our Ale.
Jo. Sell it *my sweet one*. ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 117)

(53) amonst diuers good and notable Reasons . . . I noted *this one*, why the said Maxime ought to be inuiolable: ([HC] Throckmorton 73 Cii)

Through its frequent use as the head of a noun phrase with premodifying elements, the propword is given characteristics more typical of nouns than pronouns. It can be used in the plural[8] and be preceded by the numerical *one*:

(54) for I perceiue the Net was not cast only for little Fishes, but for *the great ones*. ([HC] Throckmorton 70 C1)

(55) That's thousand to *one good one* (Shakespeare *Coriolanus* II.ii)

From the sixteenth century on, we find instances of the propword preceded by *such*, *many* and *what* + the indefinite article:

(56) She layeth the fault in *such a one*, as I know was not there.
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

(57) I doubt not but it had long before this beene comparable to *many a one* of our greatest Townes. ([HC] John Taylor 130 Cii)

(58) *what an one* is this, for the windes and the sea obey him.
(Rheims Bible Matthew 8.27; cf. King James Bible *what manner of man*)

The combination *so* + adj. + *a one* appears in the seventeenth century:

(59) *Miss*. . . . I shall give you a Civil Answer.
Y. Fash. You give me *so obliging a one*, it encourages me to tell you . . .
([HC] Vanbrugh IV.i)

When one of two coordinated adjectives follows the head, the propword is normally not used in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century texts (60); in the eighteenth century it gains ground even in these contexts (61); cf. Jespersen *MEG* II 10.961–2:

(60) And said it was a goodly cry and *a ioyfull* to here.
([HC] More *Richard III* 76)

(61) 'Tis an old observation and a *very true one*.
(Sheridan, quoted in Jespersen *MEG* II 10.961)

4.2.3.3 *Every* versus *each*

The distinction between *every* and *each* is established in Early Modern English, though *every* is still occasionally used with reference to two:

(62) Hath the Cat do you thinke in *euery* eye a sparke
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* I.v).

4.2.4 Adjectives

Throughout the history of English, adjectives have been used as heads in noun phrases.[9] In Old and Middle English, the adjective head had a more extensive sphere of reference than today; it could refer, for instance, to a single person or to a specific group of persons or things (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.2.3.1). It could not, however, express the distinction between human and non-human referents, or, after the loss of inflectional endings, between the singular and the plural. It was probably for this reason that

(pro)nominal heads came to be preferred with adjectives, except in certain well-defined cases (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.2.3.1). This development resulted, among other things, in the establishment of the propword *one*; the rise of the compound forms of indefinite pronouns is closely related (see 4.2.3.1 above). In Present-Day English adjective heads mainly refer to abstract concepts (*the mystical*) or generic groups or classes of people (*the rich*).

In Early Modern English adjective heads can still be used with reference to a single individual (63)–(64), or non-generically, (65), although these uses are becoming infrequent:

(63) 'Tis not enough to help *the Feeble* [sing.] vp, But to support him after
(Shakespeare *Timon of Athens* I.i)

(64) *The younger* [sing.] rises when *the old* [sing.] doth fall
(Shakespeare *King Lear* III.iii)

(65) I cannot but be serious in a cause . . . wherein my fame and the reputations of diverse *honest, and learned* are the question;
(Jonson *Volpone* Epistle)

Comparative adjectives referring to persons can be used as heads with the indefinite article or (in the plural) without an article:

(66) Whiles they behold *a greater* then themselues. (Shakespeare *Julius Caesar* I.ii)

(67) *meaner then my selfe* haue had like fortune. (Shakespeare *3Henry VI* IV.i)

Even the use of an adjective to indicate an abstract concept is more varied than today. It can be modified by a restrictive relative clause or an *of*-genitive:

(68) Proud Saturnine, interrupter of *the good* That noble minded Titus means to thee! (Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus* I.i)

(69) it is past *the infinite* of thought. (Shakespeare *Much Ado about Nothing* II.iii)

Special mention may be made of the use of the premodifying *only*, in genitival expressions. Despite its position, *only* may focus on the genitive modifier, *whose* in (70) and *inhabitants* in (71).

(70) Vppon *whose onlye reporte* was Sir Thomas Moore indicted of treason
([HC] Roper 86)

(71) for *the only Use of the Inhabitants* of those Islands ([HC] *Statutes* VII 455)

The meaning of (70) is 'by the report of whom (= that person) alone', and that of (71) 'for the use of the inhabitants only'. The focus of *only* is narrow (cf. e.g. Nevalainen 1991: 201–2).

4.2.5 Genitive

Old English nouns had four cases and adjectives and pronouns as many as five. In the course of the Middle English period, with the loss of the inflexional endings, most case distinctions disappeared. But even today, many pronouns distinguish between the subjective, objective and possessive forms, and the nouns have a specific singular form indicating possession and various other relations between two nouns.[10] Although the justification for calling this form 'a case' in Present-Day English has been questioned (cf. Lass 1987: 148), the traditional term 'genitive' is certainly useful.

4.2.5.1 Synthetic and analytic genitive

In Old and Early Middle English the synthetic genitive (henceforth, *s*-genitive)[11] could link NPs not only to nominal heads but also to verbs and adjectives. It could indicate a variety of relations between the head and the modifier: possessive, objective, subjective, partitive, etc. In Middle English, the analytic *of* construction (henceforth, *of*-genitive) replaced the *s*-genitive as a link with verbs and adjectives as well as in many functions when linked with a noun.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the distribution of the *s*-genitive and the *of*-genitive developed roughly to what it is today. The former is favoured with human nouns and in functions in which the modifier stands in a subjective relation to the head, as in *the boy's arrival* 'the boy arrives' (72). Furthermore, it is regularly used in certain quantifying expressions (73)–(74). The *of*-genitive is favoured with inanimate nouns and when the modifier stands in an objective relation to the head: *the release of the boy* 'somebody releases the boy' (75). The use of the objective *s*-genitive, as in (76), is exceptional.

(72) *A Prince's love* is like the lightnings fume. (Chapman *Bussy D'Ambois* III.i)

(73) we haue *an houres talke* with you. (Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.i)

(74) somewhat more then *foure miles distance* from Carlile
([HC] John Taylor 128 Cii)

(75) You were also (Iupiter) a Swan, for *the loue of Leda*
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* V.v)

(76) would no more worke upon him, Then *Syracusa's Sack*, on Archimede:
(Jonson, *Magnetic Lady* I.vi)

Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.2.4) points out that the survival of the *s*-genitive to indicate a subjective relation and the preference for the *of*-genitive to indicate an objective relation can be explained by the natural order of the elements in the sentence: the subject normally precedes and the object follows the verb (cf. the paraphrases given above and Altenberg 1982: 210ff.; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 17.41–43).

As Altenberg convincingly shows, the factors affecting the choice of the two genitive types are far from straightforward. Stylistic and communicative aspects are of importance: in the seventeenth century, the *s*-genitive seems to be favoured in informal and personal modes of communication and it is more persistent in poetry than in prose, probably for metrical reasons. The overall structure of the noun phrase must also be taken into consideration: if the head has other post-modifying elements, the *s*-genitive is favoured.

One of the interesting findings in Altenberg's study is that there is no remarkable alteration in the overall distributional pattern of the two constructions in the seventeenth century, although changes in the influence of individual factors can be noted. This clearly implies that the present-day distribution was reached early, although no doubt eighteenth-century normative tendencies contributed to the final establishment of the system.

4.2.5.2 Group genitive

In the early periods of English there was a greater range of combinations of a nominal head with a genitive modifier consisting of a prepositional phrase than in Present-Day English. The two heads – that of the prepositional phrase and that of the entire noun phrase – can either be brought close to each other as in (77) or separated by the prepositional phrase (78).

(77) but Thornbury he deceyved Besse, as *the mayor's daughter of Bracly*, of which Ephues writes, deceyved him. ([HC] Forman 12)

(78) they met two of *the king of Spaines armadas or Gallions.* (Chamberlain 94)

In (77) the head (*daughter*) 'splits' the prepositional phrase (*the Mayor of Bracly*), while in (78) the prepositional group (*the king of Spain*) is felt to be so closely knit that the genitive ending is attached to its last element. This type is often called the group genitive.

The split construction is typical of Old and Middle English; it gradually gives way to the group genitive in the sixteenth century. Wallis (1653 [1972]) does not give any examples of the older construction; the latest examples

quoted by Altenberg (1982: 62) date from the second half of the seventeenth century.[12]

The group genitive can occur in the so-called double genitive, which combines the *of*-genitive and the *s*-genitive (the type *a friend of my sister's* see 4.2.5.4):

(79) sum thinke it is a riffled (= plundered) *ship of the kinge of denmarks*
([HC] Katherine Paston 61)

When the genitival group consists of an appositive construction, the same alternatives are available from Middle English on: the older 'split' type (80) and the group genitive pattern (81):

(80) he . . . Is now in durance, at *Maluolio's suite, A Gentleman, and follower* of my Ladies. (Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* V.i)

(81) Jug Altham longes much for *hir cosin Johane Mewexe's company*
([HC] *Barrington Family Letters* 92)

In the split group, which is the less common of the two in Early Modern English, the appositives following the head (*gentleman* and *follower* in (80)) do not normally have the genitive ending. The split construction is preferred when the apposition is non-restrictive, particularly if it is long or encumbered with additional modifiers as in (80) and the following instance (Altenberg 1982: 63):

(82) I . . . passed by *Mr St Johns house son to Oliver Lord St John.*
([HC] Fiennes 161)

4.2.5.3 Absolute genitive

In the so-called absolute genitive, which is recorded from Middle English on, there is no expressed head to the genitive modifier. In the majority of the instances, the absolute genitive expresses locality; the genitive regularly refers to a person related to the place in one way or another:

(83) Where did he lodge then? . . . At *Mr. Jyfford's, or Mrs. Harwell's.*
([HC] Oates 82 Ci)

In most instances, the genitive is preceded by a preposition indicating locality, but there are also instances of non-prepositional contexts:[13]

(84) 'tis she Sir, Heire to some nineteene Mountaines. . . . And all as high as *Pauls*. ([HC] Middleton 5)

Closely related to the preceding type is the one in which the genitive is used independently without a clearly definable noun to be understood after it

(Altenberg 1982: 68–9). The meaning of the genitive seems to be vaguely, 'belonging to the household, property, sphere or influence of'. The implication of locality is present in most instances:

(85) I can construe the action of her familier stile, & the hardest voice of her behauior (to be english'd rightly) is, I am *Sir Iohn Falstafs*.
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* I.iii)

4.2.5.4 Double genitive

The double genitive, the type *a friend of mine/John's* arose in Middle English (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.2.4). This construction seems to be called forth by the incompatibility of the indefinite article and the *s*-genitive (**a John's friend*), in NPs in which there is a need to express the indefiniteness of the head.[14]

In Early Modern English the double genitive is common; it occurs mostly with indefinite heads (86) but also with heads preceded by a demonstrative pronoun (87) or the definite article (88):

(86) bottle-ale is *a drinke of Sathan's, a diet-drinke of Sathan's*.
(Jonson *Bartholomew Fayre* III.vi)

(87) . . . *This speede of Caesars* Carries beyond beleefe
(Shakespeare *Antony and Cleopatra* II.vii)

(88) he keeps her the prettiest pacing Nag with *the finest Side-saddle of any Womans* in the Ward. (Shadwell 128)

4.2.6 Structure of the noun phrase

In Early Modern English, the basic structure of the NP is the same as in Present-Day English. The possible constructions are, however, more varied, in regard both to the ways of combining determiners and quantifiers and to the order of the elements. This freedom was inherited from Middle English, and many patterns go back to Old English. The structure of the noun phrase seems to be less compact than in Present-Day English. Constructions with only post-head elements are more common and so are relative clauses in comparison to prepositional phrases (Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 275, 278).

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the structure of the NP becomes more fixed: the use of adjectives as heads of NPs is restricted to certain semantic types (4.2.4 above), pre- and post-modifying elements are not often connected with pronominal heads, and two

determiners (e.g. a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun) can less freely be combined.

In the seventeenth century, personal pronouns can be modified by adjectives, often in the superlative, or by prepositional phrases:

(89) Lady, you are *the cruell'st shee* aliue (Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* I.v)

(90) M. Wyat and *wee of Kent* do much mislike the Mariage with Spaine ([HC] Throckmorton 67 Ci)

4.2.6.1 Compatibility and order of the determiners

Instances of the sequence of the quantifiers *some* or *any*, or a numeral, and the definite article, common in Middle English, can be found even in Early Modern English, although mainly with superlatives or (with *any*) in the language of law:

(91) if any Prisoner . . . shall in pursuance of the same take the Oaths for *any the* Purposes hereby or by *any the* before mentioned Actes appointed shall . . . himselfe. ([HC] *Statutes* VII 76)

(92) *some the greatest States-men* o'the kingdom. (Jonson *Magnetick Lady* I.i)

(93) my father . . . was reckon'd *one The wisest prince* that there had reign'd by many A year before. (Shakespeare *Henry VIII* II.iv)

(94) therfore there lacketh Eloquution and Pronunciation, *two the principall partes* of rhetorike. (Elyot [Scolar Press] 57r)

One preceding a superlative phrase (93) is no doubt intensifying (Mustanoja 1958). This combination is rare and was soon replaced by the partitive *one of the* + superlative.

Indefinite or relative pronouns can precede possessive pronouns:

(95) Wherunto Sir Thomas Moore, *among many other his hvmble and wise sayengs* not nowe in my memory, awneswered ([HC] Roper 39)

(96) . . . do sighe At *each his needlesse heauings* (Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* II.iii)

(97) wch curtesie yor honor would alwaies kindlie acknoweledge towardes himselfe & *anie his frendes* as they should haue anie neede to use yor honors fauor. ([HC] Edmondes 393)

(98) That I haue said to *some my standers by* (Shakespeare *Troilus and Cressida* IV.v Quarto; Folio: *vnto my standers by*)

(99) And what thei intended further, was as yet not well knowen. *Of whiche their treson* he neuer had knowledge before x. of the clock ([HC] More *Richard III* 53)

They can also be used with the *of*-genitive:

(100) I shall be so ashamed that I shall not looke vpon *any of my neighbors* for blushing ([HC] Deloney 70)

(101) I answer thee, I shall send it to *some of our Friends* at Clapham ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 151)

An *of*-phrase, (100), (101), was more common in these contexts and it seems that partitivity is often implied even in the construction without *of*. But the determiner position gives the indefinite pronoun less prominence than the *of*-phrase: from the discourse point of view the Early Modern English structure may express a nuance lost in Present-Day English.

A common construction, related to the previous one, is the combination of *this* (or, rarely, *that*) and the possessive pronoun:[15]

(102) *This his goodnes* stood not still in one or two ([HC] Ascham, 280)

(103) your Highness will be as good a Lord to *that your Monastery*, as your noble Progenitors have been ([HC] Wolsey 19)

(104) So far from complying from *this their inclination* (Fielding *Tom Jones* I.ix 73)

This combination of two pronouns was superseded by the type 'this X of mine (yours, etc.)' by the end of the seventeenth century, although Fielding uses it (104) and Elphinston (1765) accepts it, with a quotation from the Bible (*these thy servants*). Gil mentions the two constructions side by side in the 1621 edition of his *Logonomia anglica* (1619 [1972]: II 142).

When *all* or *both* precede a possessive pronoun and a noun, they may focus on the possessive instead of the noun (cf. the use of *only* discussed in 4.2.4 above). Thus (105) means 'the consciences of all of us' and (106) 'the blessings of both of us'. As can be seen in (106), this construction can be found even in eighteenth century writing:

(105) wee haue founde him not guiltie, agreeable to *all our Consciences*. ([HC] Throckmorton 77 Cii)

(106) I charge you, my dear child, on *both our blessings*, poor as we are, to be on your guard (Richardson *Pamela* I.ix)

In sixteenth-century texts *all* sometimes precedes a personal pronoun subject:

(107) he dyd quyte all the resydue of the apostles. for *all they* were conteyned in hym. bycause he was theyr mayster. And as *al they* were conteyned in our sauyour. So after our sauyour *all they* were conteyned in Peter. For christ made hym the heed *of them all*. Here note of saynt Austyn that saynt Peter

bycause he was heed of theym all. & *all they* were conteyned in hym. therfore this trybute . . . ([HC] Fisher 318)

(108) And *al we* that be heare present, wil loue you much the better ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

The sequence personal pronoun + *all* (or *both*) is well-attested (cf. the use of *of them all* in 107 above). It would be tempting to assume that the present-day American English (Southern) *you all*, to distinguish the plural *you* from the singular, ultimately goes back to this Early Modern English construction:

(109) your grandmother hath sent you a token, and your mother hath sent you another, and *wee all* do ioyne in prayer to God that it will please . . . ([HC] R. Oxinden 30)

(110) but to remember [= remind] you of that I trust *you all* be well instructed in ([HC] Throckmorton 64 Ci)

(111) we come to the botome of the Vale of Josophat and begynnyth the Vale of Siloe, And *they both* be but on [= one] vale. ([HC] Torkington 27)

Other can precede the quantifying *some* or a numeral (*other some*, *other two*). According to Strang (1970: 137), there is a semantic distinction between this order and the reverse one (*some other*): the initial *other* marks the meaning as indefinite. The available evidence does not unexceptionally support a clear-cut semantic distinction; the reference in (113) does not seem less specific than in (112):

(112) But Edwi afterwards receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or *some other* of his false freinds, Canute contriving it, the same year slain. ([HC] Milton *History* 10 275)

(113) . . . the scurby, the bubo and such lyke beastly stuffe, which he browght to me to correct as he sayd, but when I had altered some and stryken owt *other some* he cold not endure to have yt soe. ([HC] Madox 139)

The placement of the article between *such* or *many* and a noun is well attested since Middle English:

(114) *Many a truer man* than he, hase hanged vp by the halse. ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

(115) The Maryorners seyng to vs they never see nor hard of *such a wynde* in all their lyffs. ([HC] Torkington 62)

With *what*, in exclamations, the inserted article seems to be established in Early Modern English; the *OED* quotes instances from the second half of the fifteenth century. But instances of exclamations without an article (117)

can be found as late as the eighteenth century, e.g. in Richardson's novels, and the article can be used after *what* in questions (118):

(116) Fye, *what a trouble* haue I rid my Hands on. ([HC] Middleton 19)

(117) *Prospero* to sigh To th' windes, whose pitty sighing backe againe Did vs but louing wrong.
Miranda Alack, *what trouble* Was I then to you?
Prospero O, a Cherubin Thou was't that did preserue me.
(Shakespeare *Tempest* I.ii)

(118) Martin Luther . . . finding *what a Prouince* he had vndertaken against the Bishop of Rome . . . was enforced to . . . ([HC] Bacon 1 17 v)

4.2.6.2 Position of the adjective

The order of the elements of the noun phrase is freer in the sixteenth century than in late Modern English. The adjective is placed after the nominal head more readily than today (see Raumolin-Brunberg 1991, Raumolin-Brunberg and Kahlas-Tarkka 1997; for Middle English usage, Fischer *CHEL* II 4.2.1). This is probably largely due to French or Latin influence: most noun + adjective combinations contain a borrowed adjective and the whole expression is often a term going back to French or Latin:

(119) Whiche they call *a tonge vulgare and barbarous* (More *Complete Works*: VI 333)

(120) This Neville lakkid *heires males*, wherapon a great concertation rose bytwixt the next *heire male* and one of the Gascoynes. ([HC] Leland 72)

(121) And he that repeth receaveth rewarde, and gaddereth frute vnto *life eternall*. ([HC] Tyndale John 4.36)[16]

As in Present-Day English, factors pertaining to style, symmetry and cohesion may cause postposition of the adjective phrase. In the following passage, the order seems to be determined by rhetorical emphasis:

(122) Truly no *impedyment erthly* dooth more styfly & strongly withstande very contrycyon [= 'contrition'], than dooth ouer many worldly pleasures whiche be shrewed & noysome to the soule. ([HC] Fisher 34)

Note also 'a thinge vncertain and doubtfull' in (123).

When two adjectives modify a noun head, the ambilateral placement, adj. + noun + *and* + adj. is common in Old English and Middle English. It can also be found in Early Modern English texts:

(123) I did not take it for *a very sure thinge and a certaine* . . . but rather as *a thinge vncertain and doubtfull*. ([HC] More *Letters* 505)

(124) and will make of the [= thee] *a greatter nacion and a mightier* then they. ([HC] Tyndale Numbers 14.12)

In general terms, there seems to be a trend from postmodification to premodification in the course of the Early Modern English period (cf. Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 267–8, 275). Further research on usage in various text types and individual authors will no doubt clarify the details of this development.

There is also more freedom in the position of the adjective with determiners. The adjective can precede a possessive pronoun:

(125) *good my Lord* (sayd he) I hope you know . . . ([HC] Perrott 37)

(126) he hard the E. of Essex cry for all your *good my maisters*, that . . . ([HC] Trial of Essex 21)

Cf. also, *vnto diuers other his Freinds* (Roper 104). This construction is rapidly disappearing in Early Modern English and mostly restricted to formulas of address.

The indefinite article fairly regularly follows an adjective preceded by *so/as* or *too*:

(127) of *so clere a lyght* of the holy gospels. ([HC] Fisher 321)

(128) *Too low a Mistres* for *so high a seruant*. (Shakespeare *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.iv)

The absence of the article is exceptional:

(129) I mocke at death With *as bigge heart* as thou (Shakespeare *Coriolanus* III.ii)

The placement of the indefinite article after an adjective not preceded by *so/as* and *too* is so rare that it can hardly be regarded as a regular syntactic pattern in Early Modern English, although it is not uncommon in Middle English.[17]

4.3 The verb phrase

At the end of the Middle English period, the structure of the verbal group (i.e. the main verb with auxiliaries) is, on the whole, somewhat simpler than in Present-Day English. Groups of two or more auxiliaries are less common than today; subjunctive forms, adverbials, etc. are still possible in

contexts in which we normally use auxiliaries. Consequently, in Early Modern English, many verb forms have a potential for a wider range of meaning than they have today (Blake 1983: 81).

The Early Modern English period, particularly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, witnesses developments that result in the establishment of the Present-Day English verbal system. The most noticeable of these affect the subjunctive and the modal auxiliaries, tense auxiliaries (future and [plu]perfect), passive, and the progressive (*be* + *-ing*). At the end of the eighteenth century, a fairly high degree of paradigmatic symmetry exists in the verbal group: various combinations of tense, mood, voice and (to a certain extent) aspect can be systematically expressed by sets of auxiliaries and endings.

The basic tense forms in English are traditionally labelled 'present' (or 'non-past') and 'preterite' (or 'past'). Many recent grammarians do not accept 'future' as a tense because it is expressed periphrastically with auxiliaries and because its meaning is partly modal. In the present discussion, however, 'future' is used as a shorthand term instead of the clumsier '*shall/will* + inf.'.

The form most obviously marking aspect is the 'progressive' (or 'continuous'), i.e. the *be* + *-ing* form. 'Perfect' and 'pluperfect' (or 'present perfective' and 'past perfective') are alternatively defined as tense or aspect forms in grammars of English. The distinction is vague, and, according to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 4.17), 'little more than a terminological convenience which helps us to separate in our minds two different kinds of realization'; see also Brinton (1988). In this section, the use of *be* + *-ing* and the (plu)perfect forms are discussed in connection with the basic tense distinctions.

The roots of the periphrastic forms for the future, perfect and pluperfect can be found as early as Old English. These were established in Middle English, although the simple present and preterite forms were still possible in contexts in which Present-Day English would use periphrastic constructions.

Passive voice is expressed with an auxiliary + past participle periphrasis from Old English on.

4.3.1 Periphrastic forms indicating tense, voice or aspect

4.3.1.1 Future: *shall/will* + verb

The periphrastic expression of future with *shall* and *will* goes back to Old English, although these verbs develop into 'real' auxiliaries only in Early

Modern English. In the earlier periods they retained much of their modal meaning of obligation or volition. This inherent modal colouring can be seen in the choice of the two auxiliaries even in Modern English.

It has been suggested (e.g. Jespersen *MEG* IV 18.1; Strang 1970: 206) that the divided use of the two auxiliaries to indicate future time might go back to the model set by the Wycliffite Bible translation, which used *shall* for unmarked and *will* for volitionally marked future. This practice would have been copied by the schools in their translation exercises. This theory certainly gives a much simplified picture of the development; yet it seems that *will* developed its pure (predictive) future use later than *shall*, in colloquial speech, as a 'change from below'.

The peculiar pattern of distribution in which *shall* is the future auxiliary used with the first-person subject while *will* is used in the second and third persons can be first traced in Early Modern English. The grammarian Mason states this rule in 1622, and Wallis in 1653 (Visser §1483), but the tendency can be traced in texts as early as the sixteenth century. This distributional pattern has been called 'linguistically abnormal', but, in fact, it reflects a development typical of a transitional period, particularly if we accept the existence of two simultaneous trends: *shall* as the auxiliary of written language and the literate mode of expression and *will* as the auxiliary favoured in colloquial language and the oral mode of expression. In the second and third persons, the modal use of *will* was obviously less frequent than that of *shall* – volition was less easily projected to other persons than obligation or necessity. For this reason, the purely predictive *will* was easily established in the second and third person. When the referent of the subject was the speaker himself, the opposite situation was characteristic: obligation was probably a less natural and less frequently expressed motivation for the speaker's own action or state than volition or intention; therefore *shall* resisted the tendency to be superseded by *will* longer in non-modal contexts. In questions, the situation is reversed: it is less common to inquire about the volition or intention of the speaker than of the addressee. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the normative tendencies of the grammarians no doubt contributed to the establishment of this distinction in the Southern standard. Their opinion is succinctly summarised by Lowth in the second half of the eighteenth century:

> *Will*, in the first person singular and plural, promises or threatens; in the second and third persons, only foretells; *shall* on the contrary, in the first person, simply foretells; in the second and third persons, promises, commands, or threatens. But this must be understood of explicative

> sentences; for when the sentence is interrogative, just the reverse for the most part takes place (1775 [1979]: 41–2)

In the early sixteenth century, both *shall* and *will* are freely used to indicate pure future (epistemic or predictive use; Lowth's 'foretelling'), although there is a slight bias in favour of *shall* in the overall figures. Evidence drawn from the texts dating from 1500–70 in the Helsinki Corpus shows no obvious tendency to use *shall* in the first person and *will* in the second and third (Kytö 1991: 323, table 22). These results differ from earlier studies (cf. Fridén 1948: 137); this may be due to the fact that Kytö's corpus has extensive coverage and consists of both formal and informal, speech-based and non-speech-based texts. At the formal/literate end of the text scale (official letters, histories, etc.), the distribution is more clear-cut.

In late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts, the distribution in the first and second persons is still fairly even, but in the third person *will* predominates, and in the second half of the seventeenth century, even second-person subjects clearly favour *will*, while *shall* is more common in the first person (Kytö 1991). The role played by colloquial language is particularly obvious in tracing the history of the supremacy of *will* over *shall* in the third person: this development is seen in, for instance, private correspondence (Kytö 1991: 324).

As the use of *will* is common even in the first person from the early sixteenth century on, it is easy to understand why the *shall/will* distinction was never established, in the form of a 'rule', in colloquial or regional varieties. One reason for this may well have been the early development of the contracted form *ll* in speech.

The following late seventeenth-century instances show that the *shall/will* 'rule' was not too strictly followed – at least not on all levels of the formality and orality/literacy scales. In these instances, underlying modality would not seem to influence the choice of the auxiliary:

(130) For aught I know *I will* continue with her in the winter and in the meantime I can see her often. ([HC] Elizabeth Oxinden 333)

(131) *Mrs. Sull.* What are you, Sir, a Man or a Devil?
Arch. A Man, a Man, Madam.
Mrs. Sull. How *shall I* be sure of it?
([HC] Farquhar V.ii)

(132) *Ven.* Yet I begin to be weary; . . .
Pisc. Well Sir, and *you shall* quickly be at rest.
([HC] Walton 216)

(133) to make your children . . . secretly to say dayly within themselves, when *will you* die, father. ([HC] Locke 54)

(134) *He* that *shall* diligently examine the Phaenomena of this Experiment, *will*, I doubt not, find cause to believe, that . . . ([HC] Hooke 45)

(135) *Bo*. What *will* follow then? ([HC] Boethius Preston 180)

Note the variation between *shall* and *will* in (134).

The choice between *should* and *would* in the so-called modal preterite use (see section 4.3.4.2) follows, in principle, the same pattern as *shall* and *will*. Yet it is easy to find Early Modern English instances of *should* even in the 2nd and 3rd person:

(136) I would be loth, for my sake *you should* receaue harme at his hande. ([HC] Harman 71)

(137) If he should nowe take any thinge of them, he knewe, *he should* do them greate wronge. ([HC] Roper 41)

4.3.1.2 (Plu)perfect: *be* versus *have*

From Old English on, both *be* and *have* can be used as (plu)perfect auxiliaries. In Old English, as in present-day German and Dutch, *have* was mainly linked with transitive verbs and *be* with intransitives, although *have* could also be found with intransitives. In Middle English, *have* gradually extends its domain, and in the sixteenth century it is the sole auxiliary with transitive verbs and the predominant one with non-mutative intransitives. It varies with *be* with mutatives.

There are a variety of factors which affect the choice of the auxiliary with intransitive verbs in the transitional Early Modern English period. Individual authors may favour one or the other, depending on the conservativeness or progressiveness of their language.[18] As to the linguistic factors, the general tendency is to prefer *have* when attention is focussed on the action indicated by the verb (138); with *be*, the emphasis is on the state following or the result achieved by the action (139). In many instances with *be*, the verbal group merely functions as a copula-like link between the subject and the post-verbal elements.

(138) fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide *had come*, and espyinge a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. ([HC] Harman 68)

(139) after diner I went abroad, and when I *was come* home I dresed some sores: after, I hard Mr Rhodes read. ([HC] Hoby 171)

Of the more detailed analyses reported in the literature, the following observations are worth mentioning:

1 *Have* is used with mutatives when duration of the action is expressed or clearly implied, e.g. with an adverbial expressing time:

(140) Since when, my watch hath told me, toward my graue I *haue trauail'd but two houres* (Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* V.i)

(141) I *haue gone all night*: 'Faith, Ile lye downe, and sleepe.
(Shakespeare *Cymbeline* IV.ii)

2 *Have* is the preferred auxiliary when a non-prepositional adverbial indicating distance, route, goal, etc. follows the mutative:

(142) that day the good old man *had come three and twenty miles* on foot.
([HC] Armin 42)

(143) we tooke the way to Biany, because Iohn Midnall *had gone the way* to Lahor before. ([HC] Coverte 42)

But cf.:

(144) after I *was entr'd the little Cove*, it [= the raft] overset.
(Defoe *Robinson Crusoe* 65)

3 In conditional clauses and other hypothetical contexts (145), the result or state is probably more seldom focussed on than action; for this reason *have* is preferred. Conversely, *be* seems to be retained longer with the perfect (146) than with the pluperfect (147): to indicate present state as the result of past action is one of the typical uses of the perfect:

(145) if the king himself . . . *had come* ashore, there cou'd not have been greater expectation by all the whole plantation. ([HC] Behn 186)

(146) it was scarce possible to know certainly whether our Hearts *are changed*, unless it appeared in our lives. ([HC] Burnet *Life of Rochester* 147)

Cf.

(147) God and his holy angels knew that he *had* never *changed*, but that he had gone among them on purpose to betray them.
([HC] Burnet *History* II 162)

The following instances taken from late seventeenth-century texts may further illustrate the variation between *be* and *have*:

(148) My respects . . . to my brother and sister Johnson, whom I understand *are now returned*, and I hope in good health. ([HC] Strype 182)

(149) I was glad to find . . . that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of Swearing; Only that word of calling any 'damned', which *had returned* upon him, was not decent. ([HC] Burnet *Life of Rochester* 153)

(150) it had quite lost its colour being burnt quite black, and though it *were grown* strangely brittle in comparison of Amber, . . . Yet this Caput mortuum was . . . ([HC] Boyle 25)

(151) that shrub, many millions of times less in bulk then several trees (that *have* heretofore *grown* in England . . .). ([HC] Hooke 114)

(152) I *am faln* into this Discourse by accident. ([HC] Walton 294)

(153) shaking together all the filings that *had fallen* upon the sheet of Paper underneath. ([HC] Hooke 46)

In the eighteenth century *have* gains ground steadily at the expense of *be*, although even at the end of the century *be* is the more common auxiliary with intransitives. The final establishment of *have* as the auxiliary of the (plu)perfect takes place in the early nineteenth century.

The reasons for the loss of *be* are fairly easy to find. The functional load of *be* was heavy as this verb was not only used as the copula but also in the *be* + *-ing* structure and in the passive. It was particularly the last-mentioned function that easily caused ambiguity in expressions such as *was grown*, *was developed*, etc. (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II 4.3.3.2). It is worth noting that German, which does not form actional passives with *sein*, retains the *sein/haben* dichotomy in the (plu)perfect while standard Swedish, with passives formed with *vara* 'be', has *ha* 'have' as the sole (plu)perfect auxiliary. Many eighteenth-century grammarians regard *be* + past participle, which they, indeed, call the passive form, as less appropriate for indicating (plu)perfect.

One problem with the use of *be* as the auxiliary of the (plu)perfect is that it is temporally ambiguous – the verb form can refer to either past action or present state resulting from the action. To avoid this ambiguity, the form *have been* + past participle occurs in Middle and Modern English, probably to stress the resultative aspect (Rydén & Brorström 1987: 25):

(154) he *has been come* over about ten days (Swift *Journal to Stella* II 625)

4.3.1.3 Passive: *be* versus *have* and *get*

From Old English on, the unmarked passive auxiliary has been *be*.[19] In Early Modern English *have* and *get* came to be used to form a kind of passive in certain contexts (Moessner 1994):[20]

(155) If they *had* any parte of their liberties withdrawne
(1568 Grafton *Chron.* II 141 [*OED* s.v. *have* 18])

(156) Another had one of his hands . . . burnt.
(Defoe *Robinson Crusoe* II 10 [*OED* s.v. *have* 18])

(157) Insteade of mentioninge his name: Jo: fox the presbyterians *gott* his name changhed: & putt in George ffox ye quaker. ([HC] Fox 155)

The role of the subject is here more active than in *be*-passives and it is normally not the direct or indirect object of the corresponding active sentence. The expression is often causative. Moessner (1994) suggests that the *have*-passive was triggered by the subjectivisation of the indirect object (see 4.4.1.2 below). These two constructions have in common the topicalisation of the person-denoting noun phrase: the types *He was given a book* and *He had a book given to him*. Moessner points out that in the latter type there is no risk of even momentary ambiguity as to the semantic role of the subject; theoretically speaking, *he* in the former construction could be analysed either as the direct or the indirect object of the corresponding active clause until the post-verbal elements are heard or seen. (For the subject of the passive, see 4.4.1.2 below.)

4.3.1.4 Progressive: *be* + *-ing*

The combination of *be* and the present participle goes back to Old English, but its meaning then was not necessarily aspectual. The progressive proper develops in Middle English (for details of its development and various theories concerning its rise, see Fischer, *CHEL* II 4.3.3.1). It can be regarded as a grammaticalised aspectual indicator in the verbal system by 1700 (Strang 1982: 429). The set of progressive forms in all tenses, active and passive, is fully developed around the end of the eighteenth century.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the use of the progressive is still unsettled. In Shakespeare's plays, for instance, it is easy to find simple verb forms in contexts in which Present-Day English would use the progressive. Polonius asks, *What do you read, my Lord?* (*Hamlet* II.ii), while Achilles uses *What are you reading?* in *Troilus and Cressida* (III.iii).

As with so many syntactic developments, the seventeenth century is the crucial period in the development of the progressive. According to Elsness (1994), the number of instances found in the Helsinki Corpus texts dating from 1640–1710 is three times the number found in the texts from 1570–1640 (100 as against 33). Strang (1982: 430) has found few instances of the simple form in eighteenth-century texts in contexts where Present-

Day English would use the progressive, but Elsness points out that the frequency of the progressive is significantly lower in texts dating from 1750–1800 than in PDE. The first grammarian to call attention to this construction is Cooper (1685: 146–7).

Some earlier scholars (e.g. Jespersen *MEG* IV: 168–9) espouse the theory that *be* + *-ing* goes back to the combination of the preposition *on* > *a* + the verbal noun ending in *-ing* (*I am on reading* > *I am a-reading* > *I am reading*). The available evidence makes it more likely, however, that the verbal type without a preposition and the nominal type with one represent two separate constructions which lived side by side from Old English on. In the course of the Modern English period, the verbal type superseded the nominal one. In the seventeenth century the nominal type can be found even in formal and educated writing, but it becomes non-standard in the course of the eighteenth (Nehls 1974: 169–70). There are only half a dozen Helsinki Corpus instances of the nominal type dating from 1640–1710, all of them in fiction, private correspondence or comedies. Lowth (1775 [1979]: 65) gives the following comment on the participles preceded by *a*: 'The phrases with *a* . . . are out of use in the solemn style; but still prevail in familiar discourse . . . there seems to be no reason, why they should be utterly rejected.'

The full form of the preposition *on* is much less common than the weakened *a* in Early Modern English. Also other prepositions are possible; instances with *upon* can be found as late as the eighteenth century (159):

(158) the Milke-mayd whilst she *is in milking* shal do nothing rashly.
([HC] Markham 108)

(159) I was just *upon sinking* into the ground. I was just *upon resolving* to defy all the censures of the world. (Richardson [Cited in Åkerlund 1936/37: 5])

In Early Modern English the most common progressive tense forms are the present and the past, but this construction can also be found in other tenses, with modal auxiliaries and in non-finite constructions (160)–(164). The (plu)perfect progressive was 'a well-established and not infrequently used idiom' as early as the fifteenth century (Visser §2148); non-finite forms, too, are attested in Middle English.

(160) For often hee *hath bene tempering* [= interfering improperly] with me.
([HC] Harman 70)

(161) This is a Creature . . . so impudent, that it *will be intruding itself* in every ones company. ([HC] Hooke 21)

(162) boeth the ploughes *muste* styll *be doynge*, as mooste necessarye for man.
([HC] Latimer 26)

(163) . . . which shoulde bee on the Inquest to trie the Partie arreygned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing *to be bewraying* of the Offence by another Man's act. ([HC] Throckmorton 73 Ci)

(164) *Let's be going* with all my heart. ([HC] Walton 212)

In Middle and Early Modern English the active progressive was used to express the passive (*The house is building* 'being built'). There is, in fact, little risk of confusion between the active and passive meaning (the transitive or the intransitive use), as the subject is normally animate in the former case and inanimate in the latter:

(165) nothing understanding of the bancquet that *was preparing* for him after sopper. ([HC] Harman 72)

(166) Your gowne and things *are a making*, but will not be done against whitt-sunday. ([HC] Knyvett 57)

The simple passive, *the house is built*, is also common in these contexts. The passive form of the progressive (*The house is being built*) only emerges at the end of the period; the earliest unambiguous instances date from around 1800.

Visser's (§2158) suggestion that this new construction first appears in the spoken idiom of educated people ('in familiar or unceremonious conversation with their intimate friends and the members of their family') is not in accordance with the observation that passives in general are more common in neutral or formal written styles than in speech. It is, however, supported by early nineteenth century textual evidence (Denison 1993b; cf. also Åkerlund 1913/14: 335–6).

The use of the active progressive for the passive is commented on either neutrally or condemningly by eighteenth-century grammarians. They are, however, favourably disposed towards the construction which is disambiguated by *on/a* from the structure with active meaning. Dr Johnson writes (1755[1997]:8), 'The grammar is now printing, brass is forging . . . This is, in my opinion, a vitious expression, probably corrupted from a phrase more pure, but now somewhat obsolete: The book is a printing, The brass is a forging.'

The construction *being* + *-ing* occurs from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century (Denison 1985c):

(167) any Land . . . lyeng and *being adjoining* to the forsaide Streates. ([HC] Statutes III 910)

(168) I know not whether stale Newes may offend his eares *being so long a drawing* towardes him. ([HC] Gawdy 26)

4.3.2 *Time sphere and tense forms*

One possible way to discuss tense forms is in relation to the concept of deixis. In a speech situation, the speaker is the 'centre'; the other persons or objects, as well as space and time relations, are defined from his point of view (see e.g. Lass 1987: 156–8). The most important deictics are personal pronouns, temporal and local adverbs (*here/there*, *now/then*) and the tense forms indicating present (proximal 'now'), or past or future (distal 'then'). To illustrate the types and extent of variation in the use of the tense forms, the present discussion is not organised in terms of the various forms but by the concepts of present, past and future time.

Each time sphere and relation is typically indicated by a certain tense form, but other forms can be used in special contexts. The 'typical' form will be called 'unmarked' in the following discussion; the less typical are referred to as 'marked'. Table 1 gives a rough outline of the distribution of the tense forms in Early Modern English. In this table, the 'modal preterite' or 'modal pluperfect' (4.3.3.2) have not been taken into account.

Table 1. *Main uses of tense forms in Early Modern English*

	Tense	
Time	Unmarked	Marked
Unspecified	present	preterite perfect future
Present	present	
Past	preterite	present perfect
Past linked with present	perfect	present preterite
Past preceding past ('prepast')	pluperfect	preterite
Future	future	present
Future preceding future	future perfect	perfect

4.3.2.1 Unspecified or present time

As indicated in Table 1, the unmarked tense to indicate action[21] taking place at the moment of speaking, or including the moment of speaking, is the present. This form is also normally used to denote action unspecified in time, as in general truths, or habitual or repeated action:

(169) Aetius *writeth* that the causes of the stone *are* continuall crudities or rawnesse, or vndigested humors wherof *is gathered* togither great plenty of vndigested and raw matter, when a burning *riseth* about the kidneys and bladder, which *burneth* them and *maketh* them go togither in one, and *maketh* therof an hard stone. ([HC] Turner B7r–B7v)

Preterite tense is less natural in generalising statements:

(170) somwhat it was *alway* that the cat *wynked* whan her eye *was* out. (More *Complete Works* 331)

It seems that instances of the type that Visser (§2009) calls the 'perfect of experience' and describes as a 'stylistic peculiarity' are closely related to expressions of general truth. In the following instances *some* and *many* in the subject NP suggest generalisation; the perfect implies that the cause and effect relationship observed in the past still pertains at the present moment:

(171) Some man *hath shined* in eloquence, but ignorance of naturall thinges *hath dishonested* him. Some man *hath flowred* in the knowlage of diuers straunge languages, but he *hath wanted* all the cognicion of philosophie. Some man . . . (More *Picus* [1557] 5 E4)

(172) Many an Infant *has been plac'd* in a Cottage with obscure Parents, 'till by chance some ancient Servant of the Family *has known* it by its Marks. (Steele *Tender Husband* II.i)

The perfect *have got*, which is almost a rule, instead of the present tense *have*, in colloquial present-day British English, is attested from the end of the sixteenth century. The periphrastic form here is possibly due to a tendency to increase the weight of the verbal group, particularly in sentence-final position. The association of *have* with the auxiliaries may have supported the development of the two-verb structure.

(173) Some *have got* twenty four pieces of ivory cut in the shape of dice, . . . and with these they have played at vacant hours with a childe ([HC] Hoole 7)

(174) *Bon*. What will your Worship please to have for Supper?
Aim. What *have* you *got*?
Bon. Sir, we *have* a delicate piece of Beef in the Pot . . .
Aim. *Have* you *got* any fish or Wildfowl? ([HC] Farquhar I.i)

As in Present-Day English, the *shall/will* + inf. construction is occasionally used in contexts with unspecified time (cf. Traugott 1972: 52):[22]

(175) He that is inclining to a burning feuer *shall dreame* of frayes, lightning and thunder . . . He that is spiced wyth the gowte or the dropsie, frequently *dreameth* of fetters and manacles (Nashe *Terrors of the Night* 369)

(176) In deed it is a most true saying: That fish which is bred in the durt *will alwaies taste* of the Mud. ([HC] Clowes 16)

Notice the variation between *shall dreame* and *dreameth* in (175) above. The establishment of the grammatical category 'auxiliary', which dramatically increases the frequency of two-verb combinations in Early Modern English, probably favoured the auxiliary + infinitive group even when this combination had no obvious temporal or modal function.

The simple present is fairly often used in contexts in which the progressive would normally be used today:

(177) *Pol.* What doe you reade my Lord.
Haml. Words, words, words. (Shakespeare *Hamlet* II.ii)

(178) Am I a Lord, . . . Or *do I dream*? or haue I dream'd till now? I *do not sleep*: I see, I heare, I speake (Shakespeare *Taming of the Shrew* I.ii)

(179) *Jul.* You *jest*, Lydia! (Sheridan *Rivals* I.ii)

See also the discussion of the use of the progressive in 4.3.1.4.

The present progressive is often used when the action forms a frame around another, shorter action (180), but this kind of 'framing action' is not a necessary prerequisite for the use of the progressive. On the contrary, instances without an expressed frame (181) are in the majority:

(180) as you *are fishing*, chaw a little white or brown bread in your mouth, and cast it into the pond ([HC] Walton 298)

(181) Here's the Ring ready, I *am beholding* vnto your Fathers hast, h'as kept his howre ([HC] Middleton 28)

The progressive can also indicate habitual or iterative action, with the adverbs *always*, *ever*, *continually*, etc. The subjective/emotive force of the progressive has to be taken into account as a possible factor causing its use in contexts exemplified by (182)–(185).

(182) The very little ones . . . would require a whole man, of themselves, *to bee alwaies hearing, poasing & following* them. ([HC] Brinsley 13)

(183) For better fall once then *be* ever *falling*. (Webster *Duchess of Malfi* V.i)

(184) She *is* always *seeing* Apparitions, and hearing Death-Watches (Addison *Spectator* no. 7: I 34)

The present progressive is uncommon with verbs indicating state; it may emphasise the temporary character of the state, or call the attention to the more actional features of the verb:

(185) whiche at the time of Araignement of the Parties so accused (if they *be then liuing*) shall be brought in Person before the said Partie accused.
([HC] Throckmorton 68 Cii)

With *be* and *have*, the progressive seems to be established only at the end of the eighteenth century, although Visser (§§1834, 1841) quotes isolated instances from the late fifteenth.

4.3.2.2 Future time

In Early Modern English the unmarked construction for referring to future action is the periphrasis formed with the auxiliaries *shall/will*. Its development has been discussed in 4.3.1.1. above. For examples, see (130)–(135) above.

As in Middle English and Present-Day English, the simple present may be used to indicate future time, e.g., in conditional clauses (186) and (187), in threats or in expressions implying certainty (186), in schedules or timetables, or when the meaning of the verb or the presence of an adverb or some other element in the sentence clearly implies futurity (187):

(186) If you *go* out in your owne semblance, *you die* Sir Iohn, vnlesse you go out disguis'd. (Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* IV.ii)

(187) if you *please* to be at my House on Thursday next. I *make* a Ball for my Daughter, and you *shall see* her Dance (Steele *Spectator* no. 466. IV 148)

Notice the variation in tense form between *make* and *shall see* in (187). Bullokar (1586 [1980]: 26) gives the following example of the use of the present in these contexts:

(188) as I *ride* ten days hence, and my man *cometh* after me.

As in Present-Day English, the present is also used in adverbial clauses and in nominal clauses where the context implies futurity:

(189) We shall find the Charms of our Retirement doubled, when we *return* to it. ([HC] Vanbrugh II.i)

(190) I left them in health and hope they *do so continue*. ([HC] Deloney 83)

This variation implies that the grammaticalisation of the periphrastic future was not quite completed in Early Modern English. Even in Present-Day English the simple form of the verb can be used in certain contexts with future reference.

Both the present progressive (191), (192), and the construction

shall/will + be + -ing (193) can refer to future time in Early Modern English. The last-mentioned type is relatively uncommon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The present progressive mainly occurs with verbs of motion, when the action is 'planned' or 'arranged' in advance (Visser §1830).

(191) To-morrow . . . Don Alphonso With other Gentlemen of good esteeme, *Are iournying* to salute the Emperor
(Shakespeare *Two Gentlemen of Verona* I.iii)

(192) Tell my Brother Bradenham I have given them to Mr. Sam. Hawkes, who *is comeing* with them. ([HC] R. Haddock Sr. 15)

(193) But if we will in good earnest apply our selves to the practice of Religion, . . . his Grace *will never be wanting* to us. ([HC] Tillotson 452)

In this period, other means of expressing futurity develop, such as the constructions *I am to* and *I'm going to*; it seems that the implications of obligation or intention are present even in early instances. The roots of these phrases can be traced back to Middle English and they become fairly common by the end of the seventeenth century:

(194) . . . hir Hyghnesse hath not onely Power ouer hys Bodye, Lands, and Goodes, but ouer his Lyfe also.
Stanford. Yea, the Exceptions *are to be taken* agaynste the Jury in that case.
([HC] Throckmorton 69 Ci)

(195) he plays about his room, and to morrow *is to take* phisick.
([HC] Anne Hatton 211)

(196) *Walt*. How now, I aske?
All. I *am going to bid* Gossips for your Worships child Sir.
([HC] Middleton 19)

(197) Sir John Walter *is going to be marryed* to my Lady Stoel.
([HC] Anne Hatton 214)

Simple *go to* is also attested:

(198) nay, he *goes to prove* the truth of Sanchoniathons History by the agreement of it with that of Moses. (Stillingfleet *Origines sacrae* 1 2 §2 27)

Be about to seems to have a particular aspectual implication even in its earliest occurrences. The instances quoted below refer to planned action:

(199) For lyke as a workeman conceyuing in his mynde the forme or fashyon of the thyng that *he is about to make*, moueth . . . euen so certainelye god . . . disposeth ([HC] Boethius Colville 106)

(200) But in the meane tyme, whill I *am about to come*, another steppeth doune before me. ([HC] Tyndale John 5 7; King James Bible: *am coming*)

Action which precedes a certain moment in the future is expressed either by the perfect (201) or by the future perfect:

(201) I will track you out before I *have done*. ([HC] Raleigh 208 Ci)

(202) But it will be starke nyght before I *shall haue done*. ([HC] Udall I.iii)

(203) he *will have been* 5 weekes there next Wedensday or Thursday noone. ([HC] H. Oxinden 281)

Cooper (1685: 142) gives both constructions side by side, pointing out that *shall* is sometimes omitted (*aliquando omittitur*).

4.3.2.3 Past time

The unmarked tense referring to past events, states or action is the preterite. Its uses are roughly the same as in Present-Day English, although it can be found in contexts in which either the perfect or pluperfect is preferred today. The main function of simple preterite tense forms is to express an action completed in the past, often in narrative contexts (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II: 4.3.2.1).

Preterite and perfect tense forms vary when the clause contains an adverbial connecting the time of the action with the time of speaking:

(204) Sirs, quod she, I *sawe* no man entre into this house *this nyght*. ([HC] Berners *Froissart* III 320)

(205) I *saw* the man *today*: his names Parrolles. (Shakespeare *All's Well that Ends Well* V.iii)

(206) *Oates*. Were you at the five Jesuits Trial?
Mr. *Stanley*. No, I *was not* in London since, till the last Term. ([HC] Oates 82 Cii)

Examples with perfect follow:

(207) instead of one half-penny Loaf, you *have eaten* two; and instead of one pint of Ale, you *have had* a quart, and all this you *have had* today already. ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 267)

(208) Worthy Menenius Agrippa, one that *hath* always *loved* the people. (Shakespeare *Coriolanus* I.i)

Rainer's (1989) study, based on late Middle and Early Modern English letters, suggests that the distribution between the present, preterite and perfect tense had developed by the fifteenth century, although the system

of tense forms was probably not established until the end of the seventeenth.

Some scholars (e.g. Curme 1931: 360) suggest that the use of the preterite in these contexts is a marker of a lively tone; if this is true, the effect must be due to the focussing on the quality of the action instead of its duration. It has also been pointed out (Vanneck 1955; see also Visser §806) that this 'colloquial preterite' is common in American English. More semantic and (con)textual study is, however, necessary on this topic.

When the sentence is negative or, in more general terms, non-assertive, there is probably less need to indicate the connection of the action with the time of speaking. This, together with increased emphasis, may explain the use, common even today, of the preterite with *never* and *ever* (cf. Jespersen *MEG*: IV 5.1.6):

(209) the fayerst grounde that *ever I saw* in my lyff. ([HC] Torkington 63)

(210) London *was neuer* so yll as it is now. ([HC] Latimer 23)

The perfect is less common than the preterite in these contexts:

(211) Gogs woundes, Tyb, my gammer *has neuer lost* her Neele? ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* 9)

(212) Other baits there be, but these . . . will do it better than any that I *have ever practised*. ([HC] Walton 298)

Unlike in present-day British English, the perfect can be used with an adverbial of time linking the action with the past:

(213) which I *have forgot* to set down in my journal *yesterday* ([HC] Pepys 11 April 1669)

The preterite can also be used with reference to action which takes place in the 'prepast' or 'before past', i.e. before the time in which another past action happened. In Middle English, the preterite predominates in these contexts, while in Present-Day English the pluperfect is used. In Early Modern English both are common. The choice between the two may be determined by subtle aspectual and stylistic factors:

(214) Also, Ser, on the Frydday after ze [= ye] *departyd* come John Sayville. ([HC] E. Beaumont 3)

(215) After the Prince *got* to the keepers lodge / And *had been* iocand in the house a while: / . . . straight he fell into his passions. (Greene *Frier Bacon* 1)

Note the variation of preterite and pluperfect in (215).

As the use of the progressive forms in all tenses only developed in Early Modern English, the simple preterite varies with the preterite progressive:

(216) So happid it on a tyme, that his wife and he together *dynid* or *souppid* with that neybour of theirs, And than she made a mery quarell to hym, for makyng her husband . . . (More *Dialogue against Tribulation* 81)

(217) they herd the voyce of the Lorde God as he *walked* in the garden ([HC] Tyndale Genesis 3.8; King James Bible: *God, walking* . . .)

The progressive:

(218) it happenyd onis that as my wyfe *was making* a chese vppon a fryday I . . . toke a lytyll of the whey ([HC] *Merry Tales* 28)

In Early Modern English, as in Present-Day English, present tense forms are occasionally used instead of perfect forms with reference to an action or state which has its beginning in the past but continues up to the present moment.

(219) He that *cometh* lately out of France, wil talke Frenche English, & neuer blushe at the matter. (1553 Wilson *The Arte of Rhetorique* Fo. 86 [quoted in Görlach 1991: 220])

(220) I *evade* of late all violent exercises. (Sterne 211)

The historical present, i.e. the use of present-tense forms in the narration of past events, is first evidenced in Middle English (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.3.2.1 for a discussion of the theories of the rise of this use). Fischer criticises Visser's view that the historical (Visser's 'substitutive')[23] present was merely a metrical device in poetry with no other function attached to it. She points out that many of the verbs found in the historical present are inherently imperfective and suggests that this use of the present may have had an aspectual function which was later taken over by the progressive form. It might be related to the use of the present denoting an action which began in the past but still continues at the moment of speaking, see (219) and (220).

In Early Modern English, it is difficult to find evidence of the aspectual use of the historical present, but there is no shortage of instances of what Visser (§779) calls the vividly reporting present, used 'as a means to represent in a vivid way the suddenness, unexpectedness, importance or oddness of an incident witnessed in the past':

(221) *Len*. Sent he to Macduffe?
Lord. He did: and with an absolute Sir, not I,
The clowdy Messenger *turnes* me his backe,
And *hums*; (Shakespeare *Macbeth* III.vi)

(222) He did leere so on me . . . When suddainly He *cuts* me a backe caper with his heeles, And *takes* me iust o' the croupper. Downe *come* I . . .
(Jonson *New Inn* III.i)

(223) Mark me, Sir Lucius, I *fall* as deep as need be in love with a young lady – her friends *take* my part – I *follow* her to Bath – *send* word of my arrival; and *receive* answer, that the lady *is* to be otherwise disposed of.
(Sheridan *The Rivals* III.iv)

Note the use of other markers of vivid narration, such as the ethical dative *me* in (221) and (222); cf. Section 4.4.2.2 below.

In indirect speech, in narrative text, the subordinate clause containing the reported utterance has its verb in the preterite if the corresponding direct utterance would have the present; the pluperfect in indirect speech corresponds to the preterite in direct speech (sequence of tenses). This arrangement is fairly consistently followed in Early Modern English although there is variation:

(224) so they said that these matters *bee* Kynges games.
([HC] More *Richard III* 81)

(225) whan the bushope came home, one of hys spyallyes [= spies] tolde hyme, that he *sawe* me stand yn Chepsyede whan the quene ryd [= rode] throwe the sytye [= city].
([HC] Mowntayne 210)

4.3.3 The subjunctive

The English verb can formally distinguish three 'moods': indicative, subjunctive and imperative. There are, however, only a few forms which effect the distinction between the indicative and the non-indicative. This section deals with the subjunctive; the imperative will be discussed under directives, section 4.5.4 below.

In the following discussion, 'subjunctive forms' refer to verb forms distinguishable from the indicative in the grammatical context in which they occur, e.g. the 3rd pers. sing. pres. without the endings *s/th*.[24] The choice of these forms is regulated by certain modal characteristics of verbal action, such as unreality, wish, etc. In the earliest periods of English, the subjunctive was used even in factual statements in some contexts, particularly in certain types of subordinate clauses.

From Old English on, there have been alternative ways to express modality (for a useful summary, see Görlach 1991: 112). Besides the subjunctive, various (pre)modal auxiliaries are the most important. In this section, examples will be given of the variation between subjunctive forms

and auxiliary periphrasis. The discussion concentrates mainly on the use of the subjunctive in main clauses; for the use in various types of subordinate clauses, see the sections of 4.6.2 below.

Owing to the loss of inflexional endings, in Early Modern English distinctive subjunctive forms are restricted to the verb *be* and to the second and third person singular of non-auxiliary verbs (*thou lovest/love*; *he loves (loveth)/love*; *thou lovedst/loved*). Also, preterite forms referring to present or future time or to action neutral with respect to time can be regarded as markers of mood (the modal preterite of the type 'If he sold his apartment, he would get a nice sum of money'; cf. 'When he sells his apartment, he will get a nice sum of money'). The same is true of the use of the pluperfect in contexts in which preterite would be used in modally unmarked contexts ('If he had sold his apartment last year, he would have got a nice sum of money'; cf. 'When he sold his apartment last year, he got a nice sum of money'). In these instances, the first alternative indicates uncertain or unfulfilled hypothesis.

The loss of distinctive endings was probably the main reason for the replacement of the subjunctive forms by auxiliary periphrasis. This development was supported by the general trend towards analytic constructions in Middle English. As is well known, the subjunctive forms are still current, for instance, in wishes, hypothetical conditional clauses and even in other contexts, both in main and in subordinate clauses, particularly in formal language.

Judging by textual evidence, it would seem that the use of subjunctive forms might even have increased in the course of the eighteenth century. Strang (1970: 209) attributes this tendency to hypercorrection; it may be more accurate to say that the eighteenth-century grammarians' favourable attitude to the morphological distinction between subjunctive and indicative forms enhances the use of the subjunctive particularly in formal style. It is possible, too, that this increase is only apparent, an impression given by a larger number and greater variety of texts available.

4.3.3.1 Present subjunctive

As in Present-Day English, the present subjunctive expresses a realisable wish (optative subjunctive) or exhortation (hortative or mandative).[25] In Early Modern English the optative subjunctive is largely restricted to formulaic contexts, such as *God forgive him*, *Lord help our understandings*, *Heaven grant*, *God save*, *long live*, etc. But also in less formulaic wishes:

(226) For (sayeth he) curssed *be* he that kepeth backe hys sworde frome sheddynge of bloud. ([HC] Latimer 21)

(227) Come on, (poore Babe): Some powerful Spirit *instruct* the Kites and Rauens To be thy Nurses! (Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* II.iii)

The hortative or mandative subjunctive is less stereotyped:

(228) Who hateth him and honors not his Father . . . *Shake* he his weapon at vs, and *pass* by. (Shakespeare *2Henry VI* IV.vii)

The optative subjunctive is often replaced by a periphrasis with *may* and the hortative subjunctive with *let*:

(229) 'A god *rewarde* you,' quoth this roge; 'and in heauen *may* you *finde* it.' ([HC] Harman 39)

(230) *Let* him *love* his wife even as himself: That's his Duty. ([HC] Jeremy Taylor 24)

Note the variation between the subjunctive *rewarde* and the periphrastic *may . . . finde* in (229).

Of these two periphrases, the one replacing hortative subjunctive seems to develop more rapidly: in Marlowe, at the end of the sixteenth century, the hortative periphrasis clearly outnumbers the subjunctive, particularly in the 1st pers. pl. (Ando 1976: 8.2.8; 6.3.13.2), while the optative periphrasis is less common than the subjunctive.

4.3.3.2 Preterite and pluperfect subjunctive

The term 'preterite subjunctive' here refers to preterite forms of the verb used in non-past contexts and thus calling attention to the modality of the action. The term 'modal preterite' is often used for these. 'Pluperfect subjunctive' refers to the pluperfect in contexts of past time sphere in which the preterite would be used in modally unmarked cases (see above).

The form *were* (and *had* in some phrases) seems to resist best the replacement by auxiliary periphrasis; in Dryden's writings, for instance, no other non-auxiliary verb occurs in preterite subjunctive in the main clauses of conditional sentences (Söderlind 1951: 180).

In clauses indicating wish, preterite or pluperfect subjunctive can mainly be found in exclamations which are actually subordinated, with *I wish . . .*, etc. understood:

(231) Ah *had* some bloudlesse furie *rose* (= risen) from hell . . . When I was forst to leavue my Gaveston (Marlowe *Edward II* I.iv)

(232) O that I *knew* where I might find him (Addison *Spectator* no. 565: IV 532)

Were and *had* with a personal subject occur with *as good/lief* or *better/best*:

(233) let her be what she will . . . but if shee come any more in my house, shee *were as good* no. ([HC] Deloney 73)

(234) I *were* better to bee married of him then of another.
(Shakespeare *As You Like It* III.iii)

(235) Doutfull in her mynde what she *were best* to do. ([HC] Fisher 292)

With *have*:

(236) I *had as lieue* Helens golden tongue had commended Troylus for a copper nose. (Shakespeare *Troilus and Cressida* I.ii)

(237) Indeed the witch at last *had better* haue wrought hard. ([HC] Gifford EI V)

(238) If you follow this advice, you *had best* wrap some broad leaves . . . about the stock. ([HC] Langford 38)

The preterite or pluperfect subjunctive is fairly common in the apodosis, i.e. the main clause in a conditional sentence. As late as the eighteenth century, Elphinston (1765: II 87) accepts this use.

(239) I *were* a verie vnworthye man to hold that place . . . if I were to be touched in that sorte. ([HC] Essex 16)

(240) If diccon had not playd the knaue, this *had ben* sone amend
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

Also in other contexts:

(241) *Leonato* . . . she mocks all her wooers out of sute.
Don Pedro She *were* an excellent wife for Benedick.
(Shakespeare *Much Ado about Nothing* II.i)

(242) Faire Abigall the rich Jewes daughter Become a Nun? . . .
Tut, she *were* fitter for a tale of loue Then to be tired out with Orizons.
(Marlowe *The Jew of Malta* 611)

The periphrasis with *should/would* is, however, more common than the preterite or pluperfect subjunctive (see 4.3.4.2 below). Note the variation in the following sentence:

(243) Gladly *she wolde haue sene* the duke . . . to haue attaygned to the crowne of Fraunce / she *had nat cared* howe (Berners *Froissart* II 270)

The pluperfect subjunctive seems to resist replacement by *should/would* periphrasis in the apodosis longer than the preterite subjunctive (cf. Söderlind

1951: 109 for the figures in Dryden's writings). This is natural as the pluperfect as such contains an auxiliary, and the development of a three-element verbal group was slower than that of the two-verb *should/would* + infinitive construction. Also, the pluperfect subjunctive (*had* + past participle) offers a rhythmic parallel to the modal preterite constructions of auxiliaries (*should/would/could/might* + infinitive).

The use of the pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis is particularly common when the protasis (the subordinate conditional clause) has inverted word order instead of the *if*-link; this can be explained by the symmetry of the two verbal groups:

(244) *Had not* such a peece of Flesh *been* ordayned, what *had* vs Wiues *been* good for? ([HC] Middleton 1)

(245) *Had I been* in your place, my Tongue, I fancy, *had been* curious too; ([HC] Vanbrugh II.i)

4.3.4 Modal auxiliaries

As early as Old English, a group of verbs signalling modal characteristics of action share morphosyntactic and semantic features which later result in the formation of the category of modal auxiliaries. The modal meaning of these verbs can be roughly divided into two types: they indicate either 'some kind of human control over events' ('permission', 'obligation', 'volition'), or 'human judgement of what is or is not likely to happen' ('possibility', 'necessity', 'prediction'). The former 'root' meaning is often called intrinsic or deontic, the latter extrinsic or epistemic (there is some variation in the terminology). For introductory discussion of the character and classification of the modals see e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 4.49–4.51); Lass (1987: 165–9).

The 'central' modal auxiliaries are *can/could*, *may/might*, *(mot)/must*, *shall/should* and *will/would*. The most important syntactic developments which distinguish them from other verbs are the following: (1) they lost their non-finite forms and their ability to take non-verbal objects; (2) the preterite forms came to be used in present, future or timeless contexts; (3) they did not develop the *to*-link with an infinitive (in the Southern standard); (4) they became more and more uncommon in contexts where they were not followed by an infinitive.

Lightfoot's (1979) theory that the category of modal auxiliaries emerged suddenly in the Early Modern English period has been questioned by later scholars, most thoroughly by Plank (1984; see also Fischer & van der Leek

1981, Warner 1983, 1990, Goossens 1984). The development was gradual and the modal auxiliaries differed, to a certain extent, from other types of verbs as early as Old English. Furthermore, the development is due to semantic factors as well: the (pre)modals lost their notional meanings and gradually developed modal meanings. The syntactic and semantic changes resulting in the auxiliary category did not necessarily coincide chronologically, but the development culminated and came to a conclusion in Early Modern English.

In addition to the central ones, some verbs have been defined as 'marginal' modal auxiliaries: *dare/durst*, *need*, *ought (to)*, and *used (to)*. In Old and Middle English the syntactic use of *dare* was similar to that of the central modals, but semantically it differs from them. Perhaps because of this, it came to be used with *to* + inf. in the sixteenth century. The new preterite *dared* (246) appears roughly at the same time, but the construction without *to* and the preterite *durst* (247) are by far the more common types in Early Modern English.

(246) She *darde to brooke* Neptunus haughty pride.
(Greene *Frier Bacon* [*OED* s.v. *dare* v1, A4])

(247) Turn this way, Villains; I *durst engage* an Army in such a Cause.
([HC] Farquhar V.iii)

Need and the preterite form *ought* develop characteristics of modal auxiliaries in late Middle and Early Modern English. After *need* the infinitive without *to* becomes common in the seventeenth century; with *ought*, the infinitive with *to* remains more popular, although there is variation. *Need* is mostly used without the 3rd pers. pres. sing. ending (most often impersonally or in negative contexts, 248), and *ought* loses its reference to past time sphere (249):

(248) she is a Papist, she *need not trouble* her head to answer it.
([HC] Oates 83 Ci)

(249) And other dispisethe more then they *oughte*, the thyng that they cannot suffer. ([HC] Boethius Colville 110)

4.3.4.1 Non-auxiliary features of the modals

That the modal auxiliaries were originally full verbs can be seen in certain 'non-auxiliary' features in their use as late as Early Modern English. (Constructions of this type occur in non-standard varieties of English even today.) The modals can be used in non-finite forms and without a

following infinitive, although these uses are restricted both syntactically and collocationally. The use without an infinitive, excluding post-auxiliary ellipsis, is common only in (concrete or metaphorical) expressions of motion:

(250) Sister farewell, I *must* to Couentry (Shakespeare *Richard II* I.ii)

(251) *I will* againe to my sewyng now. ([HC] Udall I.iii)

(252) This good mans goodnes . . . *shall* neuer out of my remembrance ([HC] Ascham 280)

This use wanes in the seventeenth century but can occasionally be found even today, in archaising contexts.

The establishment of the auxiliary uses of *can* and *will* also means a differentiation between these auxiliaries and the corresponding full verbs *con/cun* and *will* (*willed*). The full verb uses were probably supported by the existence of the weak verbs which go back to OE *cunnian* 'learn to know, inquire into, explore', and *willian*, *wilnan* 'wish, desire, direct by one's will':

(253) Tunes, Measures . . . als' hee *kons*. (Sylvester *Du Bartas* [*OED* s.v. *con* v1])

(254) The lord Straung confessid how the duke *willed* him to sturre me to mary his third daughter the lady Jane, and *willed* him to be his spie in al mattiere. ([HC] Edward 361)

Examples of *can* and *will* with a (pro)nominal object can be found even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the latest instances of *may* are recorded from the end of the sixteenth. It seems, however, that only *will* is common in this use: amongst the approximately fourteen hundred instances of *can/could* in the Helsinki Corpus there are only a handful with a (pro)nominal object, all in sixteenth-century texts. Although Visser (§551) quotes a number of later instances, this use of *can* is probably archaic even in Early Modern English.

(255) as he was an honest man & one that *could* his good. ([HC] More *Richard III* 55)

(256) *M. Mumbl.* Nay I can not tel sir, but what thing *would* you. ([HC] Udall I.iii)

(257) If it had beene the pleasure of him who *may* all things. (1597 Morley *Introduction to Musicke* 2 [*OED* s.v. *may* v1 9c])

Will is often used in negations (258) and it has a clausal object in the majority of the later instances (259). This kind of restriction in syntactic environment is typical of constructions which are becoming obsolete:

(258) *I'll* none of that. (Dryden *All for Love* V.i)

(259) whether ye *wold*, that your owne son, should cum to wisdom and happines. ([HC] Ascham 214)

As the category of modal auxiliaries was not yet fully established, the ellipsis of the main verb (gapping) is more flexible than today (Plank 1984: 334). The verb can be left out even when a non-verbal object follows, as in

(260) She has deceiu'd her father, and *may thee*. (Shakespeare *Othello* I.iii)

(261) You shall ha' some will swallow A melting heire, as glibly, as your Dutch *Will pills* of butter. (Jonson *Volpone* I.1)

Also, the ellipsis of *be* after a modal is freer than now:

(262) He is not yet executed, nor I hear not when he *shall*
(1615 J. Chamberlain in *Crt. & Times Jas. I* 1 362 [*OED* s.v. *shall* 24])

The use of an auxiliary as the second in a group of three verbs becomes obsolete in Early Modern English, except in Scottish English and some American varieties.[26] The latest instances quoted in the *OED* come from the sixteenth century:

(263) before my letters *shall may come* unto your grace's hands
(1532 Cranmer *Misc. Writings* 2 233 [*OED* s.v. *may* A1)

(264) Thenne he *had nat mow say* one only word
(1500 *Melusine* 27 [*OED* s.v. *may* A6])

Note also the use of the auxiliary in the position of a past participle:

(265) You *haue mought* oftentimes, & yet maie desceyue me
(More *Picus* [1557] 7 G3)

(266) He might wel escaped [sic!], if he *had wolde* (Berners *Froissart* II 402)

Furthermore, the occasional use of the *-ing* form shows that the modal auxiliary category is not yet quite established at the beginning of the Modern period:

(267) *Maeyinge* suffer no more the loue & deathe of Aurelio.
(1556 *Aurelio & Isab.* [*OED* s.v. *may* A5])

The development of the modal auxiliaries as a category with special syntactic features increased the use of periphrastic modal expressions such as *have to* and *be able to* in contexts in which non-finite forms of modal verbs were needed. These constructions did not, however, emerge only to fill the

systemic gaps which were left by modal auxiliaries; they can be traced back to Old or Middle English.

(268) werke every webbe of wollen yerne whiche he *shall have to walke* fulle thikke ([HC] *Statutes* III 28)

(269) I would have neither of you *to have to doe* with her at all. ([HC] J. Pinney 58)

(270) That Schollers be taught to do all things with understanding; and *to be able to give* a reason of every matter which they learne. ([HC] Brinsley 41)

4.3.4.2 Modal preterite

One of the characteristics of the modal auxiliaries is the development of the purely modal, non-past use of the preterite forms *would*, *should*, *might*, *could* and *must*. The weakening of the notional meanings of these verbs (volition, obligation, ability, etc.), and the consequent focussing on their non-factual implication probably enhanced this development, which began in Old English and is of course related to the modal non-past use of the preterite forms of all verbs.

In Early Modern English, there are instances of the use of the preterite forms of the modals in past time sphere in factual contexts, although they are giving way to periphrastic expressions such as *had to*, *wanted/wished to*, *was/were going to*, etc.:

(271) he follow'd Horace so very close, that of necessity he *must* fall with him (Dryden *Poems: Essay on Satire* 2.661)

(272) when hee sported in the fragrant lawnes, Gote-footed Satyrs and vpstaring Fawnes *Would steale* him thence (Marlowe *Hero and Leander* 2.201)

The use of the modal preterite *should/would* with reference to present or future time or in timeless contexts develops in Old English, as a variant of subjunctive forms. This use is grammaticalised in Early Modern English, although as late as the seventeenth century, Wallis (1653 [1972]: 340–1) suggests that *would* implies intention or inclination, while *should* simply indicates futurity.

Should, in all persons, occurs in contexts indicating possibility based on outward circumstances (epistemic possibility):

(273) So *should* a murtherer *looke*, so dead, so grimme. (Shakespeare *A Midsummer Night's Dream* III.ii)

According to Visser (§1533), the polite or diffident use of *should*, mostly with a first-person subject, is recorded from the mid-seventeenth century

on; *would* in similar contexts occurs as early as Middle English (Visser §1605):

(274) I *should be* glad to see you at my house
(1675 Wycherley *Country Wife* I.i 253 [Visser §1533])

(275) I *woulde* wene . . . he may lawfullye . . . take her out of S. Peters churche by the arme. ([HC] More *Richard III* 33)

The auxiliary originally indicates volition in *will/would rather*, recorded from Old English on and common in Early Modern English. Its variation with the later *should/had/'d rather* from the fifteenth century onwards shows that it rapidly loses its volitional implication and only indicates non-factuality:

(276) Oh fie no, I will not ask him, he will take it for an affront, *I will rather ask* old father Bandol. ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 119)

(277) he feared that should he continew at Court, . . . the Lord-Protector, and the Privey-Counsell, might gaynsay it, and soe he *should rather* runne into farther Arrearages, than recover his decayed Fortunes. ([HC] Perrott 33)

(278) he . . . answered that it was nat the thyng that he moche desired, but that he *had rather* se the harpe of Achilles. ([HC] Elyot 26)

Would referring to the past can be used in contexts indicating habitual action:

(279) One time I was an Hostler in an Inne, And in the night time secretly *would I steale* To travellers Chambers, and there cut their throats
(Marlowe *The Jew of Malta* 971)

The use of modal auxiliaries with the tense auxiliary + past participle to indicate modal (plu)perfect (*he should have gone*) goes back to Old and Middle English; the use seems to be established in Modern English. It varies with the type in which the modal is directly linked with the past participle:

(280) I *would haue sworne* the puling [= whining] girle, *would* willingly *accepted* Hammon's loue. (Dekker *Shoemaker's Holiday* III.i 60)

(281) the wynde was so strayght a yens [= against] vs that we *myght not Kepte* the Ryght wey in no wyse. ([HC] Torkington 59)

Note the varying use in (280).

This construction becomes obsolete in the seventeenth century in the Southern standard, but survives in regional varieties, notably in Scots. It has been suggested (Plank 1984: 332–3) that the apparent past participle in these constructions would be 'a tensed infinitive', i.e., the type 'would went' rather than 'would gone'. This non-systemic usage seems to result from the

simultaneous development and fluctuating state of the modal and tense auxiliary system. This suggestion is supported by Bullokar's sixteenth century comment (1586 [1980]: 33) that the auxiliaries 'may be used in all moods, and both numbers, taking their tense and time of their Infinitive-signification.' He gives as examples *thou mihtst loued*, *we would had loued*, etc.

4.3.4.3 *Can*, *may* and *must*

In Early Modern English *may* can be found in contexts in which it replaces the earlier subjunctive. This is the case mainly in exhortations and wishes, and in clauses indicating purpose (see 4.3.3.1 and 4.6.2.3.2). But in most instances *may* expresses possibility, with various shades of meaning relating to the circumstances which make the action possible.

The distinction between *may* and *can* indicating possibility is, generally speaking, the same as in Present-Day English. *Can* predominates in contexts related to ability; *may* occurs in these contexts in Middle English and in the sixteenth century (282), but this use becomes obsolete in the course of the seventeenth century.

(282) he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he *might*, ([HC] Harman 68)

May is the sole auxiliary in contexts related to permission (in negative contexts prohibition (283)); the use of *can* in expressions of the type *You can go now* is a nineteenth-century development. In addition, both verbs indicate 'root' or 'neutral' possibility.

(283) though I *may not* take more than I borrowed, yet I *may giue* more than I borrowed. ([HC] Smith E6r–v)

The epistemic use of *may* develops in Middle English; in Early Modern English it is still less common than the use indicating neutral possibility:

(284) As that thing *may be* true, so rich folks *may be* fooles. ([HC] Udall III.iv)

Can, on the other hand, is only used epistemically in negations and interrogations (epistemic necessity):

(285) This *cannot be* but a great folly. ([HC] Brinsley 45)

(286) And Nicodemus answered and sayde vnto him: how *can* these thinges *be*? ([HC] Tyndale John 3.9)

Can is used, along with *may*, in contexts indicating 'neutral possibility' in Middle English. In the early sixteenth century it is favoured, in particular, in texts close to spoken language, such as diaries, private correspondence,

trials and, to some extent, sermons. It gains ground, at the expense of *may*, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The preterite *could* seems to become popular earlier than the present *can*; this may be due to the more emphatic tentativeness expressed by *might*. (For a discussion of the developments of *can* and *may* in Early Modern English, see Kytö 1991.) *Can* also predominates in negative sentences, probably because the auxiliary in these contexts often has the additional implication of ability.

May and *might* are used, almost to the exclusion of *can/could*, in clauses indicating purpose, wish, etc. The choice between the present and preterite in non-past contexts seems to depend on the emphasis given to the tentativeness of the proposition (Kakietek 1970: 33):

(287) Pees and beanes wolde be set on the rydge of the lande, thre sheues together, . . . that they *maye* the better *wyddre*. ([HC] Fitzherbert 38)

(288) but I speake yt of good wyll, to thys end that yow *myghte be callyd* yn to a beter rememberance and knowlege of your duetye. ([HC] Mowntayne 201)

In the sixteenth century, *mot*, the present of *must*, disappears. It is possible that this loss is caused by the overlapping meaning of permission or possibility of *mot* and *may*. The latest instances (except for archaising or poetic ones) date from the sixteenth century:

(289) The father of heauen *mote strenght* thy frailtie, my good daughter ([HC] More *Letters* 545)

Must not, indicating 'denied permission', varies with *may not* in Early Modern English and gains in popularity in the course of the period:

(290) the Denial of a Defendant *must not* move the Jury. ([HC] Raleigh 216 Ci)

(291) But before I leave this Description, I *must not* forget to take notice of . . . ([HC] Hooke 46)

Wallis (1653 [1972]: 340–1) mentions the preterite use of *must* 'on some rare occasions . . . as if contracted from must'd or must't' (Kemp's translation). He gives the example '*he must* (or *must't*) *be burnt* (it was necessary for him to be burnt)'.

The earliest instances of epistemic *must* indicating the speaker's inference or logical conclusion are recorded in Middle English, and this becomes common in Early Modern English.

(292) these small Cells placed end-ways in the eighteenth part of an Inch in length, whence I concluded there *must* be neer eleven hundred of them. ([HC] Hooke 114)

4.3.5 Do-*periphrasis*

One of the most intriguing questions in the history of English syntax is the emergence and development of the auxiliary *do*. This took place in Middle and Early Modern English; by the end of the eighteenth century, *do* had become an obligatory element in the grammatical structure of English. (Cf. the so-called NICE properties: the use of *do* in negative sentences, in sentences with subject/verb inversion, as a substitute verb ('code') and for the sake of emphasis.) Traces of similar periphrastic uses can be found at the early stages of other Germanic languages as well, but in those languages the periphrasis has not grammaticalised in the same way as in English. Corresponding constructions are, however, still current in some German, Dutch and Frisian dialects (Tieken 1990).

The roots of *do*-periphrasis may go back to Old English, although the earliest instances in writing date from Early Middle English. At the earliest stages of development, up to the fifteenth century, it was mainly used in affirmative statements (the type illustrated, for example, by (293) below); in questions and negations, it becomes common as late as the sixteenth century.

The theories of the origin of *do*-periphrasis have been discussed by Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.3.3.5). The main theories are the following: (1) *do*-periphrasis develops from the causative use of the verb (*He did write a letter* = 'He caused a letter to be written'), or (2) it developed from the 'substitute' or 'vicarious' use of *do*, through the weakening of its basic meaning. French and Celtic influences have also been referred to, but these contacts may, at best, have supported native developments. A synthesis of the two principal theories is presented by Denison (1985b), who suggests that the meaning of the earliest Middle English *do* + infinitive construction might have been either causative or factitive or a combination of both; the feature distinguishing the two is whether the subject of *do* and the underlying subject of the infinitive are coreferential or not. Denison points out (53–4) that the great majority of the early instances are compatible with a perfective meaning of *do*.

The suggestion (e.g. Langenfelt 1933) that the periphrasis has its roots in colloquial expression has been rejected by scholars supporting the causative origin of *do*, mainly because the causative use probably goes back to translations from Latin or other literary/formal environments.

Tieken (1990) links the development of *do* with spoken language and the oral mode of expression suggesting that the language of children and second-language learners may have played an important role in the development of the periphrasis.

Wright (1989a, b, and cf. Stein 1985b: 295–9) calls attention to text linguistic aspects in the development of *do*-periphrasis. In the course of the Middle English period, *do* in auxiliary position loses its lexical meaning and begins to function mainly textually, i.e. to contribute to the cohesion of the text. It also conveys the speaker's attitude towards the speech situation, topic, the addressee and even the text itself.

Although it may be impossible to find a decisive answer to the question of the origin of *do*-periphrasis, the role of spoken language seems important in accounting for its later development. Textual evidence implies that the periphrasis has always been favoured in discourse situations more typical of speech than of writing (Rissanen 1991a). These situations do not, however, necessarily coincide with a colloquial or relaxed way of expression.

4.3.5.1 Affirmative statements

In the sixteenth century, *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements is favoured in the records of court trials, which consist mainly of dialogue, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in sermons. Both text types are based on argumentative spoken discourse in highly formal situations. The following extract shows the typical use of *do* in a trial text; the periphrasis is a marker of argumentative expression which aims at influencing the audience's views and opinions. *Do* in itself is not necessarily emphatic, but it adds to the intensity and emphasis of the utterance.

(293) *Throckmorton*. I confess I *did* mislike the Queenes Mariage with Spain, and also the comming of the Spanyards hither: and then me thought I had reason to doe so, for I *did* learne the Reasons of my misliking of you M. Hare, M. Southwell, and others in the Parliament House; there I *did* see the whole Consent of the Realm against it; and I a Hearer, but no Speaker, *did* learne my misliking of those Matters, confirmed by many sundry Reasons amongst you: but as concerning any sturre or vprore against the Spanyards, I neuer made any, neyther procured any to be made. ([HC] Throckmorton 66 Cii)

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the use of *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements reaches a peak. In some texts, the frequency of the periphrasis, in contexts in which it can vary with the simple verb form, can be over ten per cent (Ellegård 1953: 161–2; Rissanen 1985, on early American English material). The periphrasis is common in most text types.

It is worth asking whether the general tendency to develop a system of auxiliaries in Middle and Early Modern English contributed to the increased popularity of *do*. This development meant a radical decrease in the frequency of one-verb groups (cf. Frank 1985: 11–12) and may have

created a tendency to use an aux. + verb structure even in contexts where no modal or tense auxiliary was needed.

The factors influencing the choice of the *do*-construction in Early Modern English texts have been a topic of lively scholarly discussion in recent decades. If the importance of discoursal aspects and spoken (not necessarily colloquial) expression in the history of *do*-periphrasis is accepted, it may be easier to understand the role played by some of these factors. It seems, indeed, that some are typical of spoken language, some of written and highly literate expression.

In earlier scholarship, sometimes one, sometimes another set of factors has been given preference. Among these are the tendency to avoid ambiguity with certain verb forms (*do set*, *did set* versus *set* [pres.], *set* [pret.]); phonotactics (*Thou didst imagine* versus *Thou imaginedst*); ordering and linking the elements of the sentence (placement of adverbials, linking subject and verb); pragmatic and stylistic considerations (emphasis, intensity of feeling, demands of balance and rhythm), etc.

The surface effect of *do*-periphrasis, in comparison with the simple verb form is, of course, that it lengthens the verbal group and thus makes it weightier. The most important factor deriving from the lengthening effect of the periphrasis is no doubt its discourse function: it may mark particularly important points in the treatment of the topic of discourse and it may also signal the end of a topic or the beginning of a new one (cf. Nevalainen & Rissanen 1986, Stein 1985b, 1990). As this function of *do* is probably more common in speech than in writing, its importance in the history of *do*-periphrasis is difficult to estimate.

The usefulness of the lengthening effect can also be seen in the tendency to use *do*-periphrasis when a simple form of a short verb would otherwise be placed alone at the end of the clause, particularly if it is preceded by a long and heavy subject NP (294). The periphrasis is also favoured when the verb, even in other positions, is short and weightless in comparison with the other elements of the sentence (295). Factors of this type are typical of writing and planned speech in the rhetorical vein, produced by writers or speakers conscious of stylistic demands. In all probability, this group of factors connects the sudden increase in the popularity of the periphrasis with the new stylistic ideals of the Renaissance.

(294) thou must take hede howe thy hennes, duckes, and geese *do ley*, and to gather vp theyr egges. ([HC] Fitzherbert 96)

(295) Kynge Philip, whan he harde that his sonne Alexander *dyd singe* swetely and properly, he rebuked him gentilly, saynge . . . ([HC] Elyot 27)

Do-periphrasis makes it possible to split the verbal group into two parts. The grammatical information carried by the finite auxiliary can be given early in the sentence while the semantic information contained in the main verb is given closer to the end. This structuring effect probably accounts for the frequent use of *do* with adverbials:

(296) Helias the holy prophete of god *dyd his owne handes put* to deth the prestes of the Idol Baal. ([HC] Elyot 150)

(297) the self same noble Citie of Athenes, iustlie commended of me before, *did wiselie and vpon great consideration, appoint*, the Muses, Apollo, and Pallas, to be patrones of learninge to their yougthe. ([HC] Ascham 216)

It seems, indeed, that the general Early Modern English tendency to place adverbials before the verb (see 4.5.1.3 below) favoured the increase of *do*-periphrasis. Even at the time when the decline of *do* is obvious in other contexts in affirmative statements, it is still frequent in this syntactic environment.

The capacity of finite *do* to convey grammatical information also made it a handy tool for avoiding consonant clusters, (298), (299), and in disambiguating between the present and preterite forms of such verbs as *put*, *set*, *cast*, etc. The first tendency would seem to take us back to the level of spoken language; it is also worth noting that *didst* + inf. was particularly common with long borrowed verbs. In this way, the periphrasis may help integrate loan words in the native English grammatical pattern. The role played by disambiguation is only subsidiary – avoiding homonymy is probably not one of the foremost factors for syntactic or morphological change.

(298) thou shewedst it to me before, when thou *didst endeavour* to open to me the Causes of its Counterfeit ([HC] Boethius Preston 127)

(299) evil Men, who as thou *didst complain* went unpunished ([HC] Boethius Preston 181)

The decrease in the popularity of *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements was as rapid as its rise. The decline took place in the seventeenth century; Bunyan's frequent use of the periphrasis (Widholm 1877: 49) is probably due to the influence of the Bible. We may assume that in the eighteenth century *do*-periphrasis was used more or less in the same way as today. (In spoken language the periphrasis retained its status as a useful syntactic alternative to the simple verb form, for expressing emphasis, intensity or discourse focus.) It is worth noting, however, that many seventeenth- and even some eighteenth-century grammarians give the simple form and *do*-periphrasis as equal alternatives, without any comment on differences in

meaning or usage. The first grammarians to point out that this periphrasis would be emphatic or otherwise marked are Gill (1619 [1972]: 48–9) and Wallis (1653 [1972]: 338); in eighteenth-century grammars comments on the emphatic quality of the periphrasis are frequent. There are some critical statements, the most eminent perhaps by Dr Johnson (1755 [1979]: 8), who calls the 'superfluous' use of *do* 'a vitious mode of speech'.

While the rise of periphrastic *do* was perhaps supported by the general increase of the aux.+verb constructions in Early Modern English, its decline may have been due to the regularisation of the auxiliary system which gave each auxiliary a functional slot or slots in the overall syntactic-semantic pattern of the verb phrase. In this system, the sequence *do*+inf. was redundant. It is also worth pointing out that by the eighteenth century, the progressive *be*+*-ing* was established, and the need for the use of *do*-periphrasis to avoid one-verb constructions was diminished.

By the sixteenth century causative *do* had largely given way to *let*, *make* and *cause*; only sporadic instances are recorded:

(300) often tymes he vysited a churche. . . and *dyd make* therin many costly warkes (Berners *Froissart* II 507)

In late Middle English and in the early sixteenth century, the causative *do* occurs as the second element in three-verb groups:

(301) my lorde abbot of westmynster *ded do shewe* to me certayn euydences (Caxton *Eneydos* Prologue 2)

Note the following instance in which *do* is used with *let* in a causative context:

(302) he *dyd let swere* al his people, that they shulde chaunge no part of his lawes. ([HC] Elyot 152)

In Present-Day English, *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements is mostly connected with emphasis (cf., however, Nevalainen & Rissanen 1986). Some scholars, notably Engblom (1938), have even claimed a different origin for emphatic and unemphatic periphrastic *do*. As appears from the preceding discussion, many of the early uses of *do* may have had some emphatic or intensifying force. Furthermore, the intensifying effect of the periphrasis does not necessarily presuppose emphasis on the word *do* itself, as this effect often seems to be based on the repetition of *do*-constructions in rapid succession in a passage of text, (293) above. Particularly in view of the multiplicity of factors that may have affected the choice of the periphrastic construction, it is unnecessary to regard the emphatic and unemphatic uses of *do* as two separate constructions.

4.3.5.2 Questions

The earliest recorded instance of *do*-periphrasis in interrogative clauses occurs in Chaucer's verse (Mustanoja 1960: 607), but it remains uncommon throughout the fifteenth century. The rapid increase in the occurrence of *do*-questions in the sixteenth century is parallel to the development of *do* in affirmative statements. Note the use of both non-periphrastic inversion and *do*-periphrasis in the following instance:

(303) what became of the kynge of Castell . . . *made he* ony recovery, or *dyd he close* hymselfe in ony of his townes. (Berners *Froissart* IV 282)

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the majority of *yes–no*-questions are formed with *do*. Non-periphrastic inversion continues longer in *wh*-questions; the periphrasis is first used to avoid awkward consonant clusters, (304), or when an unstressed object pronoun follows the verb, (305), (see Salmon 1966; Stein 1985a, 1990: 179–94). By the eighteenth century the use of *do* in questions is very close to Present-Day English. Yet it is easy to find non-periphrastic questions, particularly with such high-frequency verbs as *know*, *think*, *say*, *write*, *speak*, *come*, *go*, (306)–(308).

(304) What *didst thou loose* Iacke? (Shakespeare *1Henry IV* III.iii)

(305) What *doe you call* him? (Shakespeare *Henry V* III.vi)

Cf.:

(306) *Think'st thou* so Nurse, What *sayest* to Wat and Nicke? ([HC] Middleton 20)

(307) What *say'st thou*? ([HC] Lisle 122 Ci)

(308) In the Name of Wonder, Whence *came ye*? ([HC] Farquhar V.ii)

The use of the non-periphrastic structure is also a marker of archaic style: it is particularly common in the King James Bible. As late as the eighteenth century many grammarians point out that *do* can be omitted in questions; see, for example, Tieken (1987: 207–8), point out that *do* can be omitted in questions.

Most scholars have regarded the tendency to avoid inversion of the subject and the main verb as the primary reason for the use of *do* in questions. It has been shown (e.g. Salmon 1966: 122) that periphrasis is more frequent with transitive verbs with a following object: non-periphrastic inversion would mean placing both the subject and the object after the verb and, consequently, separating the verb from its object.[27] The slower development of *do*-periphrasis in *wh*-questions may be due to the fact that the object is often the initial interrogative pronoun ('What sayest thou, Jack?'),

and the problem of post-verbal subject + object sequence does not occur.

Stein (1985a, 1990) argues that phonotactics might provide an important factor for the use of *do* in questions. His statistics show that periphrasis was most common in questions with the second person singular pronoun as subject; in these the inversion might easily result in an awkward consonant cluster. From this environment, periphrasis first spread to contexts with the second-person plural pronoun subject and then to other interrogative structures.

It is probable that both word order and phonotactic factors contributed to the establishment of *do* in questions; it is difficult, however, to determine which of the two was more important. The combined effect of many factors seems, all in all, to be characteristic of the development of *do*-periphrasis.

4.3.5.3 Negative sentences

The earliest unambiguous instances of *do*-periphrasis in negative sentences appear in the late fourteenth century. The rapid increase in *do*-negation in the sixteenth century is parallel to the development of *do* in questions, although it is probably somewhat later. From the seventeenth century on, its proportionate share increases steadily in comparison with the combination of the simple verb + negative, and the usage is established in the following century. Non-periphrastic negation is, however, not uncommon even in the eighteenth century, particularly with certain high-frequency verbs (cf. the formation of questions without *do*, above). It seems that combinations of these verbs with *not* were idiomatic and resisted the introduction of the periphrasis.

(309) I *speake not* nowe to simple men. ([HC] Essex 14)

(310) The way I have mentiond, if I *mistake not*, is the only one to obteine this. ([HC] Locke 54)

But also with less common verbs, probably for stylistic reasons:

(311) As fair Grimalkin, who, though the youngest of the feline family, *degenerates not* in ferocity, from the elder branches of her house, (Fielding *Tom Jones* II.iv 97)

According to Lowth (1775 [1979]: 41), *do* is 'of frequent and almost necessary use in interrogative and negative sentences'.

It is natural to assume that the use of *do* in negative sentences is connected with the tendency to locate the negative particle *not* before the verb; the combination (subj. +) *not* + verb was probably never common (see 4.5.2 below):

(312) Dolores mortis *not touched* him or pynched hym. ([HC] Fisher 277)

The construction *do* + *not* + verb is parallel to the use of *do* in affirmative statements with pre-verbal adverbials (see above). It is possible that the need for emphasis in negative expressions played a role in the establishment of *do*-periphrasis in this context;[28] the high frequency of *not*-negations also has to be taken into account. The early cliticisation of *not*, as in *isn't*, *cannot*, may have contributed to the regularisation of *do* with *not*: enclitic forms are mostly appended to auxiliaries or *be/have* (see Rissanen 1994).

The most favourable environment for the Early Modern English occurrence of *do*-periphrasis is in negative questions (Ellegård 1953: 162, Salmon 1966: 283–4).

(313) Whye *do you not reade* Wiat's Accusation to him ([HC] Throckmorton 71 Ci)

(314) *Do not our eies behold*, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their iourneies . . . ([HC] Hooker 38)

The order of the subject and the negative particle is discussed in 4.5.2 below.

4.3.5.4 Imperative

In affirmative imperatives, periphrasis occurs as early as Old English. In its oldest use, *do* precedes the finite form of the verb instead of the infinitive, although in some instances the construction is ambiguous because of the loss of the infinitive ending *-n*. Even in Early Modern English, a comma may be placed between *do* and the following verb, as if to imply that the two forms are in coordination:[29]

(315) come, come, let's retire –
Do, make a disturbance and ruin yourself and me, *do*!
(Otway *Friendship in Fashion* IV.i)

Punctuation does not of course offer reliable evidence of the character of the construction, but the fact that *do* can intensify the imperative in postposition (as it can even in Present-Day English) supports the suggestion of its independent status. The postpositive *do* can be seen in (315) and in

(316) Giue me the Lye: *doe*: and try whether I am not now a gentleman borne.
(Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* V.ii)

It is not unlikely that in Early Modern English there were two types of imperatives formed with *do*, one going back to *do* preceding the imperative

of another verb and the other with *do* preceding an infinitive. The latter structure may have developed through the influence of *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements and in negative imperatives (*Do not go!*).

With affirmative imperatives *do*-periphrasis remains fairly infrequent even at the time when the periphrasis was common in affirmative statements. In most instances, the main verb is preceded by the subject pronoun, an adverb or some other element:

(317) *Man* Haue? I haue nothing.
1 Prom. No, *doe you tell* vs that, what makes this lumpe sticke out then, we must see Sir. ([HC] Middleton 23)

(318) heere good sister *doe deepely consider* in your soule, howe . . . ([HC] Fisher 372)

The high frequency of *do*-periphrasis in these combinations can be attributed to its tendency to be used as a variant of the verb + subject sequence in questions, and its frequent use with pre-verbal adverbs in statements.

The imperative *do be* is attested from the mid-eighteenth century onwards:

(319) Come, *do be* a good girl, Sophy. (Fielding *Tom Jones* XVI.ii 744)

Even this use shows that the *do*-construction with imperatives is basically different from the other uses. It is obvious that *do* with affirmative imperatives has remained an emphasising structure throughout its history; it is therefore understandable that it did not share the rapid increase of frequency of the other *do*-structures in the early part of the Modern period.

In negative imperatives, *do* was proportionately less common than in negative statements in the sixteenth century, but in the seventeenth it gains ground rapidly (Ellegård 1953: 178) and is established by the end of the century, both with and without the subject pronoun:

(320) *Fid.* *Doubt it not*, sir -
Man. And *do not discover* it. (Wycherley *Plain Dealer* III.i)

(321) hold thy tongue, and *do not thou scold* at me too. ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 271)

Note the use of both the simple form and *do* in (320).White (1761) gives both types as alternative expressions of command

The first-person exhortation seems to be later than the second-person one to take the periphrasis, possibly because of the idiomatic quality of the phrase 'Let's not'. Visser (§1448) gives the earliest example of 'Don't let us' from 1696:

(322) Good, good, hang him, *don't let's talk* of him. (Congreve *Way of the World* I.i)

The reason for this order seems to be the wish to emphasise the prohibition by an early placement of the negative particle. This tendency is related to negative raising discussed in 4.5.2 below.

4.4 Elements of the clause

In this section some characteristics and developments of (syntactic) subject, object, complements and adverbials are discussed. In Early Modern English an expressed subject became obligatory in most contexts and there was a movement from impersonal to personal subjects. There were also changes in the transitivity of verbs, i.e. in the capacity of the verb to take a direct object. The expression of reflexivity, with a pronoun appended to a verb (the types 'He dressed himself'; 'He went him home'), became less common. Finally, there was a tendency to replace the subject form of the post-verbal complement pronoun by the oblique (objective) form (the type 'It's me' replacing 'It's I' in colloquial expression).

4.4.1 Subject

At a theoretical level, the question of the expression of the (syntactic) subject in English, particularly at the earliest stages of the language, is a complicated problem closely connected with the semantics of the verb. Simplifying, we can say that certain predicate verbs did not earlier need any noun phrases linked with them (predicates with zero arguments, e.g. 'weather verbs', in Modern English construed with the dummy subject *it*). The majority of predicates, however, require the presence of either the subject (which can be the dummy *it*) or, in the case of impersonal verbs, at least one non-subject noun phrase. At a more pragmatic level, this question, like all matters of non-expression, ultimately pertains to maintaining the balance between economy of expression and the avoidance of ambiguity. The more easily the subject can be understood from the form and position of the other elements of the sentence, the more readily it can be left unexpressed.

From its very beginnings, English has been a subject-expressing language, and in the course of its history the development has been towards a more and more regular expression of the subject. The most obvious exceptions are the imperative ('Come here!' 'Look at me!' see 4.5.3 below) and the ellipsis of the coreferential subject in the second of two coordinated clauses ('The man took his umbrella and went home').

In Old and Middle English, it was possible to leave the personal subject unexpressed. There are instances of this kind of non-expression even in Early Modern English, mainly in set phrases:

(323) *Pray* let me see it. ([HC] Middleton 3)

(324) *Woulde* I might . . . spende a thousande pound land. ([HC] Udall III.iv)

(325) *Beseech* you, Father. (Shakespeare *Tempest* I.ii)

Also in less stereotyped expressions when the subject is obvious from the context, often in the second of two coordinated clauses:

(326) that done they ledde hym faste bounde in chaynes of yren in to Babylone, and *there was* set in pryson ([HC] Fisher 134)

In questions with a second person singular subject, the contraction of the subject pronoun is common, as evidenced by dramatic texts or other quotations of direct speech:

(327) hast thou neuer an eie in thy heade? *canst not heare*? . . . *hast no faith in thee*? (Shakespeare *1Henry IV* II.i)

(328) as he spide [= saw] a knaue [the playing card] – Ah, knaue, *art there*? quoth he. . . . If he spied a queene – Queene Richard *art come*? quoth he; ([HC] Armin 8)

4.4.1.1 Impersonal verbs

The most interesting aspect of the development of the English subject is the gradual decline of the so-called impersonal verbs. Particularly in later periods, the term 'impersonal' is inaccurate as 'person' is in many cases involved in the action, and many of these verbs can vary between 'personal' and 'impersonal' uses.

It has been argued (Fischer & van der Leek 1983, 1987, cf. Allen 1986, Denison 1990) that from Old English on verbs with an impersonal use have one basic meaning which is modified according to three different types of subject assignment: (1) without an expressed subject, with the participants of the action (agent, patient, means, source) expressed in other ways in the sentence (e.g. (330)–(333) below); (2) with a non-experiencer (often inanimate) subject, which can be either the 'dummy' pronoun *(h)it*, or a noun or pronoun referring, for example, to the cause or source of the action (e.g. (334), (335), (337), (338), (340), (341) below); or (3) with an animate experiencer subject (e.g. (336), (339), (342) below).[30]

The development throughout the history of English has been from type (1) to (3). An exception is provided only by the cases in which the semantics of the verb does not allow its use in all the three constructions (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.3.1.2; see also, e.g. Ogura 1990, Palander-Collin 1997).

The purest type of impersonal verbs are the weather verbs (predicates with zero-arguments). In Early Modern English they are always used with the dummy subject *it*; non-expression of the subject is rare even in Old and Middle English.

(329) *it rayned* pel mel and blew hilter skilter ([HC] Madox 139)

In Old and early Middle English, impersonal constructions without a syntactic subject were common. In Middle English even new verbs construed in this way were borrowed from Old French (*me remembreth* by the side of *it remembreth me*), and some native personal verbs developed impersonal uses (*must*, *ought*). Towards the end of the Middle English period, however, the subjectless use is on the wane, and the use of the dummy subject *it* increases, particularly in contexts of the type 'It happened that . . .'.

In Early Modern English, there is still a good deal of variation in the subject arrangement of the verb. Most of the verbs used without a subject or with the dummy *it* belong to one of the following semantic groups:

(a) Events or happenings (*chance*, *happen*, *befall*, etc.)
(b) Seeming or appearance (*seem*, *think*, *become*, etc.)
(c) Sufficiency or lack (*lack*, *need*, *suffice*, etc.)
(d) Mental processes or states (*like*, *list*, *grieve*, *please*, *repent*, *rue*, etc.)

Of the three subject arrangements mentioned above, the structure with no subject is the least common and rapidly disappearing in the sixteenth century: the type *me repenteth* is being replaced by either *it repenteth me* or *I repent*. Instances can be found mainly in set phrases, (330), (331), in poetry or in texts with an archaic quality:

(330) *howe chance* they did not Imprison ye booke ([HC] Fox 82)

(331) this *me semeth* shuld be sufficient instruction for the husbande ([HC] Fitzherbert 101)

To this group belong also *may be*, *may hap(pen)*, and *methinks*, *methought*, which acquire a more or less adverbial status in Early Modern English:

(332) *May-be*, some fairy's child . . . Has pissed upon that side (Massinger *Old Law* [*OED* s.v. *maybe* A])

(333) *Bon*. Going to London, *may hap*? ([HC] Farquhar *The beaux Stratagem* I.i)

Methinks, *methought* obviously become stereotyped by the sixteenth century; the types **him thinks* or **them thought* do not occur in Early Modern English. That this adverbial was probably no longer clearly understood as a combination of the objective form *me* and the verb is indicated by the appearance of such forms as *my think(s)*, *my thought(s)* and *methoughts*, formed on analogy of *methinks* (examples are given in *OED*, s.v. *methinks*).

The phrase *how chance* (330) also seems to approach the status of an adverb, but it becomes obsolete by the end of the seventeenth century. Other subjectless phrases with a longer lease of life are *meseems* and combinations with *please*, such as *so please you*, *please God*, etc.

Structures with the dummy subject *it* and other types of personal or impersonal subject occur side by side in Early Modern English, as can be seen from the following:

(334) *It chanced* one of the Justices . . . said to another
([HC] Throckmorton 64 Cii)

(335) But as *the matter chaunsed*, with greater hast then speede
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* V.ii)

(336) And being a boy, . . . *I chanced* amonges my companions to speake against the Pope ([HC] Ascham 279)

(337) sythe *it hathe lyked* hym to sende vs suche a chaunce, we muste . . . be glade of his visitacion. ([HC] More *Letters* 422)

(338) *the lykor liked them* so well, that they had pot vpon pot ([HC] Harman 37)

(339) *I liked* well his naturall fashion. ([HC] More *Letters* 564)

(340) I doubt not but you of the Jurie will credit as *it becommeth you*.
([HC] Throckmorton 73 Ci)

(341) some Messages *which* very well *became* a dying Penitent.
([HC] Burnet *Life of Rochester* 146)

(342) *Blanch* O well did *he become* that Lyons robe, That did disrobe the Lion of that robe. (Shakespeare *King John* II.i)

Please shows a bias towards *it*; Weijl (1937: 159) reports that this verb never has a personal subject in Fisher's sermons. Some, e.g. *need*, *seem*, *like* and *repent*, are more likely to take the personal subject; cf. Palander-Collin (1997: 388–97), Ando (1976: 41) on Marlowe's usage. Mair (1988: 215–18) shows that *like* favours the personal subject with a nominal object (339), while with a clausal object (337) *it* is preferred.

The loss of the subjectless construction can also be seen in the replacement of the type *me were* and *me had as good/better/best* by phrases with a personal subject (see (233)–(238), above). Also with *have rather*, which is first recorded in the second half of the fifteenth century, the personal construction prevails (343), only isolated instances can be found of the impersonal one (344):

(343) he . . . answered that . . . he *had rather* se the harpe of Achilles . . .
([HC] Elyot 26)

(344) *Me rather had* my hart might feele your loue Then my vnpleased eie your curtesie (Shakespeare *Richard II* III.iii)

The reasons for the loss of the subjectless impersonal constructions have been adequately summarised in earlier discussions, (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.3.1.2). The loss of the system of inflectional endings of nouns and personal pronouns blurred the distinction between oblique and subjective forms. At the same time, the loss of verbal endings supported the presence of a syntactic subject. The semantics of the impersonal verbs and analogy with the majority of the verbs – the personal ones – must also be taken into account. In Middle and Early Modern English word order was fixed in a way which made it natural to regard the preverbal noun phrase as the subject of the sentence. On the basis of these developments, expressions of the type 'The plants need water', originally analysable as 'Water is necessary to the plants' was reanalysed with 'plants' as the syntactic subject. It is worth noting that in German the subjectless type (*mir scheint*, etc.) is still common.

4.4.1.2 Subject of the passive

In Old and Early Middle English, the direct object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the corresponding passive sentence ('A story was told to him'). In Middle English, the subject position could also be allotted to the indirect or prepositional object of the active sentence ('He was told a story'; 'He was laughed at'). The latter type is first recorded in thirteenth-century texts; the former is rare even in Late Middle English. According to Mustanoja (1960: 440; cf. van der Wurff 1990: 35–42; Moessner 1994; Denison 1985a) the subjectivisation of the indirect or prepositional object was made possible by the disappearance of the formal difference between the accusative and the dative, but it must be pointed out that similar structures have not developed in, for example, Swedish, which also underwent a loss of case distinctions.

In Early Modern English, in the majority of the instances with two objects, the direct (pro)nominal object is preferred as the subject of the passive clause. But if the direct object is a finite or non-finite clause, either the indirect object (345) or *it*, *this*, *there* (346), (347), is made the subject of the clause. The subjectless construction is also possible (348); it is common in expressions of the type *as shall be declared*, *as had been said*, etc. (see Moessner 1994).

(345) *they are taught* to doe certain things, ([HC] Gifford E4 r)

(346) *It was told the knight* where the foole was eating it. ([HC] Armin 14)

(347) but *this* is to be noted, that though it rained not all the day, yet it was my fortune to be well wet twise, ([HC] John Taylor 128 Cii)

(348) to assigne unto hym a tutor, whiche shulde be an auncient and worshipfull man, *in whom is aproued to be* moche gentilnes, mixte with grauitie, ([HC] Elyot 23)

The subjectivisation of a prepositional object, with a stranded preposition, was probably supported by the development of phrasal verbs of the type *to give up*. In these constructions the link between the particle/preposition and the following noun is loose, and their separation is more natural than in the case of prepositional phrases proper.

(349) the passage for the sap in the stock and Scion . . . will not meet together . . . which should be *aimed at*. ([HC] Langford 41)

(350) A consultation was now *entered into*, how to proceed (Fielding *Tom Jones* I.iv 60)

(351) my life was *despaired of* (Smollett *Roderick Random* XXXIV 192)

4.4.2 Object

4.4.2.1 Transitive and intransitive verbs

One of the central concepts in the discussion of the object is transitivity, i.e. whether or not the verb can be construed with a direct object. In the course of the history of English, there has been constant fluctuation between the transitive and intransitive use of verbs. As this variation belongs primarily to the domain of semantics (see Nevalainen this volume 5.6.3.2), it will be only briefly discussed here.

Different types of development may result in the emergence of transitive uses with inherently intransitive verbs. One is the loss of the 'original'

preposition after a verb, particularly with verbs indicating motion (cf. PDE *enter*, *cross*, etc.):

(352) Snailes there *had crawl'd the Hay* (Suckling *Poems* [*OED* s.v. *crawl* 1b])

(353) And every creeping thing that *creeps the ground* (Milton *Paradise Lost* VII 523)

Other verbs, too, show variation between uses with and without a preposition:

(354) many a man *wonderinge the bewtye* of a straunge woman haue bene cast out. (Coverdale *Ecclus.* 9 8)

(355) it is better they should *wonder at* your good fortune ([HC] Deloney 71)

(356) *Smoile you my speeches*, as I were a Foole? (Shakespeare *King Lear* II.ii)

(357) she came into W-hall as to a Wedding . . . *smiled upon* & talked to every body; ([HC] Evelyn 902)

The variation between the prepositional and non-prepositional construction does not entail any basic change in the meaning of the verb. There are, however, instances of such changes as well; mostly from non-causative to causative meanings:

(358) Meet me to morrow . . . Ile *flie my Hawke* with yours ([HC] Heywood *Woman Killed with Kindness* 1)

(359) The old man . . . demands if there were not a gentleman in the court dwelling . . . The courtier answered, . . . Ile help you to him straight; . . . Hee [the old man] *was walkt* into the parke, ([HC] Armin 43)

(360) After *swim him* and apply bathes (T. de Grey *Compl. Horsem.* [*OED* s.v. *swim* v. 13])

(361) They likewise *grow some Rice* and Tobacco (J. Campbell *Pol. Surv. Brit.* [*OED* s.v. *grow* v. 14])

In general, the transitive uses of the verbs of the type quoted above are less common than the intransitive ones, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[31]

Many factors, most of them effective in Old English and Middle English, contributed to the easy shift from intransitive to transitive use (see e.g. Mustanoja 1960: 429; Visser §134ff.). In Early Modern English, it is possible that the declining use of *be* + past participle to indicate (plu)perfect with intransitives contributed to the development of transitive uses: instances such as *the potatoes are grown* can be interpreted either as 'the potatoes have grown (well)' or as passives with the transitive use of *grow*

'the potatoes are grown (by X)', cf. also (358), in which *was walked*, out of context, could be interpreted as 'had walked'.

But the development was not only from intransitive to transitive. There are also a number of older transitive verbs which came to be used intransitively. This phenomenon, too, can be found as early as Middle English. According to Visser and the *OED*, *cure*, *shape*, and *sell*, for example, first occur in intransitive use in Early Modern English:

(362) One desperate greefe *cures* with an others languish:
(Shakespeare *Romeo and Juliet* I.ii)

(363) Let vs like Marchants shew our fowlest wares, And thinke perchance, theile [= they'll] *sell*; (Shakespeare *Troilus and Cressida* I.iii)

(364) After your mares have beene covered, . . . you shall let them rest three weeks, or a moneth, that the substance may *knit*.
(1614 Markham *Cheap Husb.* 45 [*OED* s.v. *knit* 5b])

In many instances the verb has a reflexive implication; it is possible that the decreasing frequency of reflexive pronouns (see below) supports the development of intransitive uses of originally transitive verbs.

4.4.2.2 Reflexive and reciprocal use of verbs

By reflexive verbs – or the reflexive use of verbs – we mean constructions in which the subject and the personal pronoun object, or, with intransitive verbs, the subject and the objective form of a following personal pronoun, are coreferential, as in *We driue our self in sickness*, or in *the good manne goeth him home* (both examples from Thomas More).

With transitive verbs, reflexive use is current even today, although its popularity has decreased from Early Modern English. In Middle English, many transitive verbs could be used either reflexively or intransitively (*make we us merie*, *William of Palerne*; *þay maden as mery as any men moȝten*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Mustanoja 1960: 431)). The same variation can be seen in Early Modern English:

(365) I would I were worthie to bee with you when you *dresse your selfe* . . .
([HC] Deloney 71)

(366) They . . . *Dress'd* at Her, danc'd and fought, and . . . did all that Men could do to have her. (1703 Rowe *Ulyss.* Prol. 15 [*OED* s.v. *dress* v. 7c])

(367) I *prepared* my self to be redye. ([HC] Madox 84)

(368) so the Frenchmen *prepared* to interrupt his Arrival
([HC] Throckmorton 66 Cii)

In Old English, the simple accusative or dative form of the personal pronoun was used reflexively. The word *self* could be added after the pronoun for emphasis. In Middle English the combination of personal pronoun and *self* gains ground; the simple form is in the minority in most texts in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the two forms are still in variation; the choice of the form seems to be determined, among other things, by matters of euphony and rhythm. Ben Jonson (1640 [1954]: 538) gives the shorter forms as alternatives to *-self* without further comment. In the course of the seventeenth century, they fall into disuse. They seem to be retained longest in imperatives; the fairly common occurrence of the subject pronoun after the verb in imperatives no doubt supported the reflexive construction (see 4.5.4 below).

(369) you, Madam, says he to me, go up and dress *you*, and come down
(Defoe *Roxana* 27)

Cf. (365), (366) above.

With intransitive verbs, the simple form of the pronoun is used to indicate reflexivity. Semantically, there is little or no difference between the intransitive and the reflexive use, and as early as Old English, instances with the reflexive pronoun are in a clear minority. In Middle English, the reflexive use of intransitive verbs further decreases (Mustanoja 1960: 431).

Instances of the reflexive use of intransitives can be found in sixteenth-century texts, mainly with verbs of motion. It seems to be particularly favoured in imperatives with no expressed subject (371). It is possible that borrowings from French supported this construction.

In the course of the seventeenth century, the use decreases. In Visser's list of examples (§331) the only eighteenth-century instances are with *hie* 'hasten' (372). As its frequency declines, this use is probably more and more clearly associated with involvement and emphasis. Elphinston (1765: 47) points out that the reflexive use occurs 'in the poetic, and in the very familiar stile'.

(370) wyth such good hope the good manne *goeth hym* home.
(More *Apology* 159)

(371) Good Margaret *runne thee* to the parlour
(Shakespeare *Much Ado about Nothing* III.i)

(372) The Bees *high* [= hasten] *them* home as fast as they can.
(1713 Warder, *True Amazons* 124 [*OED* s.v. *hie* v. 3])

Related to the reflexive use of the verb is the occurrence of the so-called ethic dative of a personal pronoun with verbs. In this use, the pronominal

element and the subject are generally not coreferential (note, however, (375)). In typical instances, the subject is in the third person and the objective pronoun in the first or second. The ethic dative first appears in Middle English and becomes common in Early Modern English. It can be found even in the eighteenth century, in the writings of Addison, Steele, Swift, Fielding, etc. (Visser §695):

(373) he cannot . . . *bring you* forth a bederoll [= catalogue] of theyr namys
([HC] More *Supplication of Souls* 120)

(374) He did; and with an absolute Sir, not I! The clowdy messenger *turnes me* his backe
(Shakespeare *Macbeth* III.vi [the speaker did not participate in the event he describes])

(375) I seeing that, tooke him by the leg, and neuer rested pulling, till I had *pul'd me* his leg quite off (Marlowe *Faustus* [1616 edn] 1248)

(376) as wholesome as the best champagne in the kingdom, . . . and they *drank me* two bottles (Fielding *Tom Jones* X.iii 475)

This use adds to the vividness and intensity of the expression and brings the narration or description to an intimate or personal level. It is very common in early Modern English drama and can be regarded as one of the conventional ways for authors to give their dialogue a colloquial flavour. Shakespeare uses this construction for punning:

(377) *Petruchio* . . . Heere sirra Grumio, knocke I say.
Grumio Knocke sir? whom should I knocke? . . .
Petruchio Villaine I say, *knocke me* heere soundly.
Grumio Knocke you heere sir? . . .
Petruchio Villaine I say, *knocke me* at this gate,
And *rap me* well, or Ile knocke your knaues pate.
Grumio My master is grown quarrelsome: I should knocke you first,
And then I know after who comes by the worst.
Petruchio Will it not be?
'Faith sirrah, and [= if] you'l not knocke,
Ile ring it, Ile trie how you can *Sol-Fa*, and sing it.
He rings him by the eares. (Shakespeare *Taming of the Shrew* I.ii)

Note also the expressions *ring it*, *sing it*, and cf. (397), (398) below.

In reciprocal use the action indicated by a transitive verb has at least two actors which are also the patients of the action, as in *Jack and Jill love each other* 'Jack loves Jill and Jill loves Jack.' In Middle English, reciprocity is normally expressed with the pronominal combinations *each/every/either/one*

(. . .) *(an)other*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the elements of the *each* (. . .) *other* types of structure were still often separated (378); the second element could also be preceded by a preposition (379):

(378) we may reioyce and enioy *ech others* company, with our other kynsefolke, . . . and . . . with good counsaile and prayer *eche* help *other* thitherwarde. ([HC] More *Letters* 545)

(379) . . . to write *one to another*, or speak *one to another* during the time of their Imprisonment. ([HC] Raleigh 213 Ci)

From Old English on, it is possible to use *self* or *together* to indicate reciprocity. In Early Modern English these means of indicating reciprocity exist, although they are rarer than the pronominal expressions quoted above.

(380) Get thee gone, tomorrow Wee'l heare *our selues* againe. (Shakespeare *Macbeth* III.iv)

(381) God knoweth when we shal *kis togither* agayne. ([HC] More *Richard III* 42)

Non-expression of reciprocity is possible when it is implied by the meaning of the verb and thus obvious from the context. Such verbs are e.g. *see* 'meet', *embrace*, *greet*, *hug*, *kiss*, *love* and *marry:*

(382) How haue ye done Since last we *saw* in France? (Shakespeare *Henry VIII* I.i)

(383) They *loved* after, as two brethren, during their naturall lyves. (1568 Grafton, *Chronicle* 1 173 [*OED* s.v. *love* v1, 3b])

4.4.2.3 Prepositional objects

Some of the most common verbs in Present-Day English are followed by a prepositional object (*think of, listen to, look at/for*, etc.). With some, the prepositional object varies with the non-prepositional one, often with a fine semantic distinction: *meet (with)*, *hit (at)*, etc. On the other hand, some inherently intransitive verbs indicating motion, most notably *enter*, can be followed by a noun expressing locality without a prepositional link just as if this noun were a direct object (see (352), (353) above).

In Old English, the case of the direct object was normally the accusative and that of the indirect object the dative, although (pro)nouns in the dative, genitive or even instrumental could be linked with the verb in a relation which, from the present-day point of view, resembles that of the direct object.

With the loss of the inflexional endings in Middle English, there were

two possibilities for linking old dative, genitive or instrumental objects with the verb. The 'common case' of the noun or the objective form of the personal pronoun could be used, or the link could be indicated by a preposition.

Old English verbs construed with the dative include, for instance, *helpan*, *losian* and *þancian*. While these verbs tend to become 'ordinary' transitive verbs as a result of semantic developments and the loss of the formal distinction between the dative and the accusative, in Middle English there emerges a new set of verbs, mainly French loans, which are followed by the preposition *to* instead of the direct object. Many of these verbs take the dative object or the preposition *à* in Old French ('we obey to the king'/*nous obéissons au roi*). Other such verbs are, for instance, *avail*, *command*, *escape*, *favour*, *pardon*, *please*, *profit*, *serve*, *suffice* (Visser §312.325).

In Early Modern English many of these verbs show variation between the prepositional and non-prepositional link.

(384) I graunted hym that I would *obeye to* his wyll: ([HC] Harman 69)

(385) the devil doth bewitch men . . . *to obey* his wil ([HC] Gifford B3r)

(386) Wherfor, *pray to God*, and desire Jesus Christ to pray for you ([HC] R. Plumpton 232)

(387) Therefore I *pray god* both the king and also we his people maye . . . walke in his wayes . . . ([HC] Latimer 33)

(388) Agayne they went aboute to take him: but he *escaped out* of their hondes, and went awaye agayne beyonde Iordan, ([HC] Tyndale John 10.39)

(389) his enimies . . . understanding that the King was *escaped* theyr hands, . . . they withdrewe from Windesore ([HC] Stow 545)

(390) Howe moche *profited hit to* kynge Philip, father to the great Alexander, that he was deliuered in hostage to the Thebanes? ([HC] Elyot 24)

(391) the dyligence of the orators should either holye cesse, or els if they would *profyte* offenders, their diligence shoulde be turned into the habyte of accusation. ([HC] Boethius Colville 102)

With most verbs the prepositionless type prevails in later English. This is in accordance with the simplification of the verb phrase discussed in connection with the personification of the impersonal verbs.

Many Old English verbs were construed with an object in the genitive. Visser (§§370–93) calls this construction the causative object, because the object here often indicates the cause or reason for the action or state indicated by the verb, as in *Bona weorces* (gen.) *gefeah* 'The destroyer rejoiced at

the work.' The genitive can also be used with verbs in non-causative contexts and in expressions in which the link between the action and its goal is less direct.

As early as Middle English, the old genitive objects have either developed into direct objects (as with *forget*) or prepositional objects (as in the case of *think of*). In Early Modern English a prepositional object can be linked even with *fear*, *like*, etc.:

(392) Alas, why, *fearing of* times tirannie,
Might I not then say Now I loue you best, (Shakespeare *Sonnet* 52)

(393) if you and your freinde do *like of them*. ([HC] Pettit 14)

Prepositional objects with *of* can also be found with a number of French loan verbs, such as *complain* or *conceive*. Many (but not all) of these verbs had the preposition *de* in Old French.

4.4.2.4 Instrumental objects and adverbials

Instances of the so-called instrumental object, the type 'he beat his fist on the table', can be found in Middle and Modern English:

(394) I shall stay here the forehorse to a smock, *Creaking my shoes* on the plain masonry, (Shakespeare *All's Well that Ends Well* I.i)

(395) Dick . . . *slapp'd his Hand* upon the Board
(1717, Prior *Alma* 1 346 [*OED* s.v. *slap* v1 3])

Related to this construction is the prepositionless instrumental adverbial, which can be found in Middle English and as late as the sixteenth century:

(396) Thoughe god wold *his owne mouth* commaund them the contrary
([HC] More *Heresies* 123)

See also (296).

The sixteenth-century instances quoted by Visser or found in the Helsinki Corpus contain only the phrase possessive pronoun + *own hand(s)/mouth*; this implies that the construction was no longer productive.

4.4.2.5 Empty and anticipatory *it*

The use of *it* as object deserves a special mention. This pronoun has been used as a highly indefinite 'empty' object since Old English. In Middle English, the instances are few, but in Early Modern English the construction is common, particularly with phrasal verbs (397), (398). One possible

factor supporting this increase in popularity is the wish to avoid the use of transitive verbs without an expressed object – a tendency connected with the overall change of English from synthetic to analytic.

(397) *Ford*. Well said Brazon-face, *hold it out*:
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* IV.ii)

(398) You haue cozend me . . . of a good Dinner, we must *make it vp* now With Herrings. ([HC] Middleton 23)

From the use with transitive verbs, *it* extends its sphere to intransitive verbs:

(399) So we fairly *walked it* to White Hall (Pepys 23 August 1662)

It can often be found with verbs recently converted from adjectives or nouns. The dummy object probably made it easier to analyse the new derivative as a verb:

(400) Ile goe *braue it* at the Court (Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus* IV.i)

(401) the Turks could not *French it* [= 'speak French'] so handsomely
(1639 Fuller *Hist. Holy Warre* [*OED* s.v. *French* v. 1]

(402) Shewing how base and womanlike he was, in *tonguing it*, as he did.
(1624 *Good News from New England* 571 [*OED* s.v. *tongue* v. 2])

(403) See how they *cocquet it*! Oh! there's a look!
(1701 Farquhar *Sir H. Wildair* 3 1 [*OED* s.v. *coquet* v. 1])

The use of *it* as an anticipatory object, followed by an object clause can be found from Old English on. It is common in Early Modern English:

(404) I holde *it* expedient that he be taken from the company of women:
([HC] Elyot 23)

Also with a non-finite clause:

(405) there is a combination of rogues in the town that do make *it* their business to set houses on fire (Pepys 3 July 1667)

4.4.3 Predicate nominal

The 'grammatically correct' form of the predicate nominal (i.e. subject complement) is the subjective. In Early Modern English, however, objective forms emerge in this position (the variant types 'It's I' and 'It's me').

The construction with the objective case, with the subject *it*, first appears in Early Modern English. In Middle English the structures indicating this

meaning were of the type 'I it am' or, later, 'It am I' and 'It is I'. In the last-mentioned type, the form of the copula (*is*) reveals that the impersonal *it* has become the subject, with *I* as its complement.

By the beginning of the Modern period the type 'It is I' had superseded the others:

(406) *It was I* and none other: ([HC] Udall I.iii)

(407) *it is we* our selves that shut ourselves out. ([HC] Tillotson 452)

This development is related to that of the impersonal constructions discussed above: the preverbal NP is reanalysed as the subject of the sentence.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the objective form appears in the complement position by the side of the subjective, although it is still uncommon in Shakespeare (Franz §282):

(408) Oh, the dogge is *me*, and I am my selfe
(Shakespeare *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.iii)

(409) But sure *it can't be him*; he's a profess'd woman hater.
(Vanbrugh *Provoked Wife* II.i)

Eighteenth-century grammarians are concerned about this use – a proof of its popularity. The following statement by Priestley (1762: 47) is revealing: 'All our grammarians say, that the nominative cases of pronouns ought to follow the verb substantive as well as precede it, and the example of some of our best writers would lead us to make a contrary rule; or at least, would leave us at liberty to adopt which we liked best.'

As to the origin of this construction, it is unlikely that French influence (the type *c'est moi*) was its main source, as it emerges at a time in which the contact with French was not intimate enough to affect the syntactic structure of English (Mustanoja 1960: 133; Visser §268). This development was probably a change 'from below', i.e. initiated by a natural colloquial trend at the level of speech. The tendency to give, in statements, all preverbal pronouns the subjective form and the postverbal ones the objective form was no doubt one factor contributing to the increasing popularity of this construction. Furthermore, particularly in the case of the first person singular, the need to use an emphatic form in the postverbal position may in part account for the choice of *me*. The grammarian Cooper (1685: 121) gives a simple rule according to which the forms *I*, *thou*, *he*, *she*, *we*, *ye*, *they* precede the verb while *me*, *thee*, *him*, *her*, *us*, *you*, *them* follow verbs and prepositions.

An interesting development connected with the predicate complement is the emergence of the construction 'subject + *be* + *right/wrong*' which

supersedes the older construction with *have* + noun, (410), in Early Modern English. The other Germanic and Romance languages favour the structure with 'have' even today (German *Recht haben*; Swedish *ha rätt*; French *avoir raison*, etc.).

(410) the Divill should *haue right* ([HC] Roper 42)

(411) You *are right*, Iustice; and you weigh this well (Shakespeare, *2Henry IV* V.ii)

(412) there you *are wrong*, Amanda ([HC] Vanbrugh II.i)

4.4.4 Agent

The simplest definition of 'agent' is to describe it as the constituent in a passive clause which realises the subject function in a corresponding active construction, as in 'The house was built *by John/John* built the house' (cf. e.g. Moessner 1994). In Middle and Early Modern English, there is considerable variation in the preposition of the agent; some of this variation can still be seen in Present-Day English. According to the *OED*, *by* is popularised in Early Modern English, but Peitsara (1993) shows that it is clearly favoured as early as the fifteenth century with animate agent nouns. Of the other agentive prepositions occurring in Early Modern English, *of* is the most common, (413); *with* is mainly used with concomitative verbs or with verbs inflicting pain (414) and *from* with reference to a distant source of action, (415):

(413) god is therby chiefly knowen and honoured both *of aungell and man*. ([HC] Elyot 149)

(414) I was enforced to rise, I was so stung *with Irish musketaes* [= 'mosquitoes'], a creature that hath sixe legs, ([HC] John Taylor 134.Cii)

(415) The duke of Norffolke, in Audiens of all the people there assembled, shewed that he was *from the kinge himself* straightly charged ([HC] Roper 39)

4.5 The simple sentence

The most important Early Modern developments in the structure of the clause are the establishment of the subject–verb order in most statement types and the regularization of *do* in questions and negations (see 4.3.5 above). In negations, the particle *ne* disappears and double negation becomes unacceptable in formal contexts. In imperatives the subject is less often expressed than earlier.

4.5.1 Word order in statements

In the course of the Middle English period, the structure of the simple sentence underwent a thorough change. This affects the order of the subject, finite verb and object; the placement of adverbials and subject complements also becomes more fixed than in Old English.

Old English word order has often been described as 'free'. This is not quite true; there was a fairly high degree of regularity in the placement of sentence elements. Yet there was more freedom than in Middle or Modern English; constituent order was probably determined by textual and discourse factors to a larger extent than in later English. In this respect, Old English word order may well have resembled that of present-day Slavonic languages or other languages with no article system. It seems, indeed, that the development of the articles, which was fairly late in English, is related to the development of syntactic rules of word order.

Most scholars agree that the basic principle in the change of English word order is from an essentially verb-final to a clearly verb non-final language (see e.g. Fischer *CHEL* II 4.8). The major developments are the shift of the finite verb of subordinate clauses from final to non-final position and the establishment of subject–verb–object order in declarative sentences. In Old English and Early Middle English, the object often preceded the verb. Inversion was also common, particularly with sentence-initial adverbials. The word order change in subordinate clauses began in Old English and was established in Middle English. By the end of the Middle English period, the postverbal position of the object seems to be the rule, although it is occasionally placed between the auxiliary and the main verb (*I may no rest haue*, Margery Kempe [Fischer CHEL II 4.8.1]). The inversion is still as common as subject–verb when the sentence begins with an adverbial.

4.5.1.1 Inversion of the verb and the subject

In the texts studied by Jacobsson (1951), there is inversion after sentence-initial *then*, *now*, *there*, *here*, *so*, *yet* and *therefore* in almost half of the instances in 1370–1500 and even in the following century in one-third. There is a sudden drop in the frequency to about seven per cent in Jacobsson's seventeenth century material (96).[32]

The relative 'weight' of the finite verb and the subject had an influence on their mutual order: the heavier element tends to follow the lighter. This means that, on average, nominal subjects can be found in a postverbal

position (416) in later texts than light-weight pronominal subjects. For the same reason, the subject is more easily placed after an auxiliary or the copula (417), than after weightier verbs. There are also certain verbs (*have*, *say*, *come* and *stand*) which favour inversion even in seventeenth century texts.

(416) *Then came in a Scotch Archbishop* ([HC] Evelyn 896)

(417) *There did I* finde the truely Noble and Right Honourable Lords ([HC] John Taylor 135 C1)

A late example comes from Elphinston (1765):

(418) *Hence is our language*, far from being defective, more rational than those which . . . (II 73–4)

Examples can also be found in Richardson's novels (Uhrström 1907: 77).

In this transition period, the frequency of inversion after non-negative adverbs is probably influenced by both the type of text and the author's idiolect. In Jacobsson's sixteenth-century samples, More and Roper favour inversion (eighty-five and seventy per cent, respectively). The lowest percentages occur in Berners' translation of Froissart (three per cent), Boorde's *Dietary of Health* (nine per cent) and Harvey's letters (thirteen per cent), i.e. in matter-of-fact texts with little stylistic flourish (in the case of Berners, the French original may have influenced the order). In Jacobsson's seventeenth-century samples, the proportion of the inversion is high only in Browne's *Religio Medici* (forty-six per cent) and in Raleigh's writings (forty per cent).

In Present-Day English inversion occurs after sentence-initial adverbs with a negative force. In Early Modern English, the order varies in the same way as with non-negative adverbials. With negative particles and adverbs, such as *never*, *neither*, *nor*, (419)–(421), the inverted order seems to become a rule in the seventeenth century, with other adverbials with a negative force, such as *seldom*, *hardly*, etc., (422) and (423), somewhat later. According to Jacobsson this development takes place in a relatively short time.

(419) *Never was there* anye man that layed anye thynge to my charge. ([HC] Mowntayne 207)

(420) I am not noble, yet I am a gent: *neither am I* a sword man. ([HC] Essex 15)

(421) I do repeat it, my Lord, . . . I never did know Nelthorp, nor never did see him before in my Life, *nor did I know* of any body's coming, but Mr. Hicks . . . ([HC] Lisle 122 Cii)

(422) *Seldom is shooting* named, and yet it dyd the moste good in warre
(Ascham *Toxophilus* 76)

(423) *hardly can we* discerne the things that are on earth . . . ([HC] Hooker 5)

Also in clauses introduced by *not only*:

(424) *Nott only was this couple* unfortunate in the chilldren, butt in one another . . .
(Halkett 19)

Jacobsson (1951: 16) suggests that the close connection between the sentence-initial negative element and the predicate verb might account for the retention of the inversion in these contexts, after a period of vacillation in Early Modern English. It seems, however, that the development is due to a number of factors. Expressions with a sentence-initial negative adverb may have been felt to be more emphatic than those with a non-negative adverbial (cf. e.g. (423) above), and that may have favoured the retention of marked word-order.

Inversion is also possible after a sentence-initial object (425)–(427) particularly when negation is involved, (426), and after sentence-initial subject complements (428)–(429). The factors influencing the order seem to be the same as with sentence-initial adverbs: the weight of the subject, auxiliary predicate, stylistic and rhythmic factors, etc.:

(425) *Thys dyd I* here hym saye ([HC] Mowntayne 210)

(426) But *none did I* so much admire as an Hospitall for their lame . . . soldiers
([HC] Evelyn 24)

(427) And *one Cock onelie haue I* knowne, which . . . doth passe all other
([HC] Ascham 274)

(428) A Wilde Roge *is he* that is borne a Roge ([HC] Harman 41)

(429) For *loth am I* any thynge to medle agaynst any other mannys wrytynge
(More *Apology* 130)

Cf.

(430) *Loth I am* to compare these thinges togyther (Ascham *Toxophilus* 51)

When the sentence-initial *so* is a complement or precedes an adjectival complement, a noun subject follows the copula (431)–(432), unless special syntactic or rhythmic circumstances support the SV order. With a pronoun subject, the usage is divided (433)–(436); the post-copula pronoun is often the focussed element in the clause, as in (433):

(431) euen *so is the mouable order of destinye* ([HC] Boethius Colville 108)

(432) *so great is His Mercy*, that He will receive him
([HC] Burnet, *Life of Rochester* 148)

(433) you are merry, *so am I*: ha, ha, then there's more simpathie: you loue sacke, and *so do I*: (Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.i)

(434) the new Wines . . . heat nothing at all, *so farre are they* from helping of men to digest their meates ([HC] Turner B3 v)

(435) one of them asked me, whether the Duke of Monmouth was beheaded; and I told them, yes, for *so he was* before I came out of Town
([HC] Lisle 123 Cii)

(436) and *so sensible I am* of the kindnes that I desir you to help me to thank him for it. ([HC] E. Hatton 2 50)

In existential clauses, the logical subject is in complement position. When the verbal group consists of an auxiliary, as for example in passives and the progressive, the normal position of the subject is between the auxiliary and the non-finite verb form (436). The postverbal position (437) is less common (Moessner 1994).

(437) *There were other divers bisshops buried* ther. ([HC] Leland 144)

(438) whiche answere receiued, *there was throwen in riche ieuels of golde and precious stone*. ([HC] Elyot 153)

Note the position of the subject after the first of two auxiliaries in the following passage:

(439) there will *a reason* be look'd for in this subject. (Jonson *Volpone*, Epistle)

Inversion in conditional clauses ('Were he here' = 'If he were here') is discussed in 4.6.2.3.4.

4.5.1.2 Placement of the objects

In Early Modern English, as in Present-Day English, the object is regularly placed after the verb, except when it begins the sentence, as in relative clauses or topicalisation. Instances of its placement between the subject and the verb are exceptional and probably due to the demands of rhythm and emphasis:

(440) 'Conuay', *the wise it call*! (Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* I.iii)

The pronominal object is occasionally found between the auxiliary and the non-finite form of a verb:

(441) *I can thee thanke* that *thou canst suche answeres deuise*: But I perceyue *thou doste me throughly knowe* ([HC] Udall I.ii)

(442) This drab she kepes away my good, the deuil *he might her snare* ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* 59)

In both instances, the author's choice of the order is probably influenced by the demands of the metre.

The order of the direct and the indirect object (*He gave a book* [direct object] *to my sister* [indirect object] as against *He gave my sister a book*) underwent some development in the early history of English. In Old English the two objects were distinguished by case, the accusative normally being the case of the direct object and the dative that of the indirect object. As the formal distinction supported the semantic interpretation of the two objects, their order was relatively free. In Middle English, a new analytic type of indirect object emerged, in which the (pro)noun was preceded by the preposition *to* or *for* (see e.g. Fischer *CHEL* II 4.8.4.1). The analytic type seems to develop first with noun objects.

The sequence direct object + synthetic (= non-prepositional) indirect object (443) is possible in Early Modern English[33] and so is the sequence of analytic indirect object + direct object (444):

(443) in case you do not pay *it them* againe in good time, they to have the benfit of it. ([HC] H. Oxinden 275)

(444) Bycause ye haue not gyuen *to me your tythes, and your fyrste-fruytes*, therefore ye be cursed. ([HC] Fitzherbert 37)

4.5.1.3 Placement of adverbials

Throughout the history of English, the placement of adverbials has been highly variable. To a large extent, the position of the adverbial depends on its semantics and its relationship to the other elements of the sentence. From Old English on, a typical position for so-called sentence adverbials has been the beginning of the sentence, while most other adverbs are typically placed in mid- or end-position, either before or after the predicate verb.

In the present context it is possible to make only some general comments on adverbial positioning. In Early Modern English there develops a tendency to avoid placing an adverbial between a transitive verb and its object. This is no doubt largely due to the regularisation of word order: the loss of morphological marking of the object fixes its position close to the

verb. The elements most easily tolerated between the verb and its direct object are the indirect object (see 4.5.1.2 above) and restrictive adverbs (the type 'He wrote only three letters'). As a result of this development, lightweight adverbs tend to be placed before the verb (or after the first auxiliary) while heavier ones move towards the end of the clause.

When the verbal group contains an auxiliary, many so-called preverbs (*always*, *often*, *probably*, *quickly*, *also*, etc., cf. Jacobson 1981: 8) can be placed either before or after the first auxiliary. In Early Modern English, the position of these adverbs is established after the first auxiliary. In Jacobson's material, this position occurs in about ninety per cent of the instances as early as the sixteenth century (85). There is, however, positional variation in Early Modern English, just as in Present-Day English:

(445) conteyning that the lord Hastinges with diuers other of his traytorous purpose, had *before* conspired the same day, to haue slaine the lord protector ([HC] More, *Richard III* 53)

(446) of which she *before* had most misse ([HC] More *Richard III* 55)

The adverb is occasionally placed after the second auxiliary:

(447) These calumnies might have *probably* produced ill consequences (Fielding *Tom Jones* I. ix 73)

The position of the object in relation to prepositional adverbs linked with phrasal verbs ('They turned the light on'/'They turned on the light', Quirk *et al.* 1985: 16.4) follows the same rules as in Present-Day English: the pronominal object normally precedes the particle (448) while with noun objects the order is influenced by the length of the object, discourse factors, etc. (449), (450). In most cases, however, the noun object follows the preposition.

(448) and she . . . ran to *get it in* again ([HC] Behn 189)

(449) we must not take care only for sleeping places, but a place to *get mony in.* ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 117)

(450) shee will make it up 50 l when shee can *get in the mony* . . . ([HC] J. Pinney 18)

4.5.2 Negation

In Old English, the unmarked negative particle was *ne*. As a sentence-negator, its position varied; in most instances it was placed before the predicate verb and not infrequently at the beginning of the sentence. In the

course of the Middle English period the emphasising negative particle *nawiht* (*nowiht*, *nau(g)ht/nou(g)ht*) > *not* became more and more common and the preverbal weakly stressed *ne* gradually disappeared.

In Early Modern English, *ne* is obsolete, although instances can be found as late as the seventeenth century, mainly in conjunctive use, introducing both phrases and clauses. According to Jonson (1640 [1954]: 549) '. . . for *nor* in the latter member, *ne* is sometime used':

(451) Twenty thousand infants that *ne* wot The right hand from the left.
(1592 Greene *Looking-glass*, Works 144/2 [*OED* s.v. *ne* adv. & conj. 1])

(452) to take good hede that he contende nat agayne equitie, *ne* that he upholde none iniurie. ([HC] Elyot 148)

Nother, *nor* and *ne(i)ther*, *ner* occur as conjunctive links in late Middle English and replace *ne* in Early Modern English. Both can be used in multiple negations; with *nor* this is more common than with *neither*, probably because of the greater length and emphasis of the latter:

(453) thou nedest not to begge *nor* borowe of *noo* man ([HC] Fitzherbert 100)

(454) For every one that doth evil hateth the light, *neither* cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved ([HC] Tillotson 420)

(455) Youre besecher never receyved of hym *ner* of none other to this use the value of xij. d.
(a1500 C. Trice-Martin *Chanc. Proc. fifteenth C.* 2 [*OED* s.v. *ner* conj.])

In Early Modern English, the conjunctive *neither* can occur in clauses with an ellipted subject:

(456) pleadid for hir honestie as well as she could; *nether would give* anie signification of graunting his request. ([HC] Harvey 145)

In correlative clauses, the introductory and linking negative element was *ne* . . . *ne* in Old and Early Middle English. Instances can be found even in Early Modern English (457), but this simple pair was probably felt to be an archaism and it was soon replaced by more emphatic expressions, mostly formed with the particles *neither* and *(n)or*:

(457) They *ne* could *ne* would help the afflicted.
(1581 Marbeck *Book of Notes* 666 [*OED* s.v. *ne* adv. & conj. B1])

(458) they evidently perceived, that *neither* the Marshall of England, *ne* the Steward of your most honourable household, *ne* also the office of Clerk of the Markets, shall be exercised with the said liberties . . .
([HC] Wolsey 19)

(459) They dare not trye hyt by the sworde, *nother* with us, *nor* with the saide Emparours Subiectes.
(1523 Cromwell in Merriman *Life and Letters* 1 34 [*OED* s.v. *nother* adv. & conj. 1])

(460) meaning thereby wine of middle age that is *neither* verie new, *neither* verye olde . . . ([HC] Turner B4v)

The position of *not* was originally postverbal. This was natural as *not* strengthened the preverbal *ne* (cf. French *ne* + verb + *pas*). In Early Modern English, after the loss of *ne*, there is a tendency to place *not* before the verb, possibly associated with a wish to express negation early in the sentence (cf. the preverbal position of *ne*, and see Blake 1983: 90). Furthermore, the general movement of adverbs to a preverbal position mentioned in 4.5.1.3 probably affected the position of *not*. This development was no doubt accelerated by the simultaneous development of *do*-periphrasis, which made it easy to place *not* between the operator (*do*) and the first non-finite form of the verb. (Conversely, it can be said that new developments in adverbial placement may have had an effect on the increasing popularity of *do*-periphrasis, not only with *not* but also with other preverbal adverbs; see 4.3.5.3).

The construction subject + *not* + verb (461), (462) is first attested in late Middle English. In the early sixteenth century it is rare, but it becomes somewhat more common by the end of the century, and can be found a number of times, for example in Shakespeare. In the seventeenth century it gives way to *do*-periphrasis, although instances can be found in eighteenth-century texts (462). In non-standard English it survives even later. This construction may well have been a usage typical of spoken language; Puttenham (1589 [1970]: 262) regards it 'a pardonable fault', and Lowth (1775 [1979]: 85) notes that it can have 'antiently been much in use, though now grown altogether obsolete' (see Jespersen 1917: 13, Tieken 1987: 45–7, 118, Ukaji 1992).

(461) I *not doubt* He came aliue to Land (Shakespeare *Tempest* I.i)

(462) They . . . possessed the island, but *not enjoyed* it.
(1740 Johnson *Life Drake*; Works 4 419 [*OED* s.v. *not* adv. & subst. 1b])

Emphatic negation can be expressed by *never* (463) or, occasionally, by *nothing*, used adverbially (464). Both uses go back to Middle English. *Never so* is common as an intensifier, (465):

(463) wherfore these freres for anger wold ete *neuer* a mossel . . .
([HC] *Merry Tales* 26)

(464) Sweete mistresse where as I loue you *nothing* at all, ([HC] Udall III.iv)

(465) the forgetting of god is . . . the fontayne of folishnes . . . althoughe it be *neuer so* politike . . . ([HC] Latimer 35)

Double or multiple negation was common in the sixteenth century. The second of two conjoined negative clauses particularly often has the so-called global negation, i.e. the negative element is repeated in every possible constituent in the sentence.

(466) They cowd *not fynd no* londe at iiij score fadom ([HC] Torkington 62)

(467) that the Capper *nor none other persone shalnot* take by hym self or any other persone to his use . . . ([HC] *Statutes* III 34)

(468) I am not asham'd of my Name – *nor* my Face *neither*.
([HC] Vanbrugh II.iii)

(469) that no woman has; *nor neuer none* Shall mistris be of it,
(Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* III.i)

Double negation seems to decline in writing in the second half of the seventeenth century. Richardson and other eighteenth-century authors use it, however, in the dialogue of even upper class characters. Not surprisingly, early grammarians condemn this use as illogical: two negations are claimed to make an affirmative statement.

The pronoun *any* is uncommon in explicit negative clauses in Middle English (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.5). In Early Modern English, *no(ne)* and *not any* stand in variation as in Present-Day English, but *no*-negation is still the favoured expression (cf. Tottie 1994).

(470) be it furthermore ordeyned . . . that the Kyng . . . or eny other persones take *not any* advantage or profuyt of any penalties ([HC] *Statutes* III 29)

(471) I tell you, *not any* in the court durst but haue sought him . . .
([HC] Armin 43)

(472) I trust there is *no* true crysten man but that he wyll be moued . . .
([HC] Fisher 321)

(473) I was so well acquainted with them, that I can name *none* of them
([HC] Throckmorton 66 Cii)

Not any no doubt gives more emphasis to the negation. Its development may be connected with the obsolescence of the double negative type *not none* in written English.

The movement of the negative element from the subordinate to the main clause (negative raising: the type 'I don't think he's here' versus 'I think

he's not here') goes back to Old English. In Early Modern English it is less common than in Present-Day English. In (474) both raising and the non-raised construction occur:

(474) He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and *did not think* there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He *thought* that *nobody* served him out of love ([HC] Burnet *History* II 167–8)

Complement clauses (finite or non-finite) which are subordinated to verbs with a negative implication, such as *doubt* and *deny*, are normally non-negative in Present-Day English. Early Modern English usage varies, although negative clauses are in a clear minority:

(475) it is like (for me) to stand where it doth, for I *doubt* such another profer of remouall *will not bee* presented to them. ([HC] John Taylor 130 C2)

(476) Wilt thou *denye* that all wycked folk *be not* worthy ponishment. ([HC] Boethius Colville 102)

4.5.3 Interrogatives

Questions and answers are typically features of spoken discourse; consequently, observations on these sentence types must be based essentially on texts which, in one way or another, reflect spoken dialogue: drama, trial records, etc.

Interrogative clauses are traditionally divided into *yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions. The first type expects affirmation or negation; the second, an open-range reply (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 11.4). *Wh*-questions begin with an interrogative pronoun or adverb (*who*, *what*, *which*, *when*, *where*, *how*, *why*, etc.).

4.5.3.1 Structure of the interrogative clauses

Although the present section mainly deals with characteristics of the simple sentence, both main and subordinate interrogative clauses will be discussed here.

In main clauses, questions normally have inverted word order unless the interrogative pronoun is the subject of the clause. In subordinate clauses, no inversion takes place. (The use of *do*-periphrasis instead of the simple verb–subject inversion is discussed in 4.3.5.2.)

In negative questions, the position of the particle *not* is determined by the properties of the subject. In sixteenth-century texts *not* normally follows a personal pronoun subject or the existential *there* (477), (478) and

precedes a noun subject or the demonstrative pronoun *this*, *that*, (479), (480); cf. Salmon (1966: 128–9), Rissanen (1994). This distribution pattern is based on the weight of the subject: when the subject is an emphatic pronoun or consists of two coordinated pronouns, the order is the same as with a nominal subject (481), (482):

(477) Why was *it not* as lawful for me to confer with Wyat, as with you[?]
([HC] Throckmorton 66 Ci)

(478) why is *there not* a schole for the wardes as well as there is a courte for their landes? ([HC] Latimer 28)

(479) contrary wyse was *not Peter* the mouthe of christ. ([HC] Fisher 317)

(480) do *not this* truely appere to be a thynge moste ioyfull.
([HC] Boethius Colville 69)

(481) Shall *not thou and I* . . . compound a Boy . . . (Shakespeare *Henry V* V.ii)

(482) *Sir John* . . . I haue suffer'd more for their sakes; . . .
Mistris Quickly O Lord sir, . . . and haue *not they* suffer'd?
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* IV.v)

There are, however, late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples of *not* preceding an apparently unemphatic pronominal subject:

(483) knowe *not ye* how ye mysdeled on the plays / whiche he threwe doun fro the carre ([HC] *Reynard* 9)

(484) Nay canst *not thou* tel which way, that nedle may be found
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* 66)

The placement of *not* between the verb and the pronominal subject may reflect the gradual development of the enclitic [*nt*] in spoken language: the type 'isn't he?' may support the presubject position of the negative particle even in writing. This order increases in popularity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (compare also (485), from 1539, and (486), from 1685).

Tag questions are common throughout the Modern period (cf. Salmon 1966, 1967, Wikberg 1975). The most common tag type is affirmative statement + negative tag.

(485) The Cat would lie, *would she not*? ([HC] Gifford EI v)

(486) They and you were taken there together, *were not you*? ([HC] Lisle 114 Ci)

The expected reply is affirmative. According to Wikberg (1975: 128), there is only one instance in Shakespeare's plays of a negative response:

(487) *5. Sold.* It signes well, *do's it not?*
4. Sold. No. (Shakespeare *Antony and Cleopatra* IV.iii)

It is obvious that this form of response has great stylistic–pragmatic significance.

The least common type is the negative statement + negative tag, which does not occur in Salmon's Shakespeare corpus. The combination affirmative statement + affirmative tag is stylistically marked: it indicates irony, annoyance or impatience (Salmon 1966: 133; 1967: 55):

(488) You vse me well, M. Ford? *Do you*?
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* III.iii)

(489) Thou wot [= wilt], *wot thou?* Thou wot, *wot ta?*
(Shakespeare *2 Henry IV* II.i)

In Early Modern English as in all periods of English, questions are frequently expressed by sentences with no inversion. In spoken language these so-called assertive questions must have been much more common than is evidenced by written texts. Questions of this type normally expect an affirmative answer. There are, in fact, utterances which can be interpreted as questions although they can only be expressed by an assertion (Wikberg 1975: 131). This is the case, for example, when the question contains a parenthetical remark:

(490) *Wid. You came I thinke from France?*
Hel. I did so. (Shakespeare *All's Well that Ends Well* III.v)

Assertive questions are also common with certain epistemic qualifiers, such as *belike* and *perchance*:

(491) *Siluia* *Perchance you think too much of so much pains?*
Valentine No (Madam) (Shakespeare *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.i)

The use of *whe(the)r* to introduce main clause questions, normally rhetorical and expressing doubt, and with the verb often in the subjunctive mood, is common in Old English (Traugott *CHEL* I 4.5.9) but rare in Middle English (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.4). This use disappears in Early Modern English – understandably as the subordinating use of the word is established and the lexical distribution between coordinators and subordinators becomes stricter:

(492) If God wyl not alowe a king to much. *Whither wyl he* alowe a subiect to much? no, Yat he wil not *Whether haue any man* here in England to much?
([HC] Latimer 38)

The latest (Scottish) example in the *OED* dates from 1588.

Whether introducing a disjunctive direct question is more common in Middle English (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.4), and is well attested in Early Modern English as well:

(493) Heere Galen demaundeth a question, which is this, *Whether* that feeling and mouing bee brought to Nerues by one or by diuers? *or whether* the aforesayde thing be brought substancially or radically. ([HC] Vicary 33)

As in Middle English, both *whether* and *if* are used as subordinators in EModE questions. The combination of two coordinated subordinate questions can be introduced either by the same subordinator (*if . . . or if*; *whether . . . or whether*), or the subordinator may be changed as in (495):

(494) it remain'd somewhat doubtful to me, *whether* the ignited Corpuscles . . . were attracted; *or whether* the immediate objects of the Attraction were not the new form'd ashes. ([HC] Boyle 15)

(495) iudge, (great lords) *if* I haue done amisse: *Or whether* that such Cowards ought to weare This Ornament of Knighthood. (Shakespeare *1Henry VI* IV.i)

4.5.3.2 Interrogative pronouns

In the discussion of the development of the pronominal paradigms, particularly relative and interrogative, attention should be called, among other things, to the role of the pronoun in the NP (head or determiner), the type of referent (human or non-human), and the possible limitation on the number of the referents.

In Early Modern English, the pronouns and adverbs introducing *wh*-questions are roughly the same as in Present-Day English. The only exception is *whether* 'which of the two':

(496) *Laf.* *Whether* doest thou professe thy selfe, a knaue or a foole?
Clo. A fool, sir, (Shakespeare *All's Well that Ends Well* IV.v)

In Shakespeare, *which* is the favoured pronoun even with two referents (Brook 1976: 81). Jespersen (*MEG* II 7.741) believes that *whether* in this use was obsolescent by about 1600 and that the Shakespearean examples are closer to interrogative particles than pronouns. There are, however, instances in the King James Bible, and in Bacon.[34]

In Middle English, *what* was the interrogative pronoun normally used as a complement with personal referents, even when the identity of the referent is the topic of the question. This use of *what* can still be found in

sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts (note the use of both *what* and *who* in the following example:

(497) 'Tell me, I prey the,' quoth I, '*who* was the father of thy childe?' She stodyd a whyle, and sayde that it hadde a father. 'But *what* was hee?' quoth I. 'Nowe, by my trouth, I knowe not,' quoth shee. ([HC] Harman 69)

Instances of *who* in these contexts appear from the fourteenth century on. The total replacement of *what* by *who* in referential use may reflect the growing attention paid to the personal/non-personal distinction in pronominal usage in the polite upper-class expression of the Renaissance period. (A similar development can be seen in the relative use of *which* and *who*, though the set of factors to be taken into account is more complicated; see 4.6.2.2.1)

The emphasis given to the distinction between personal and impersonal referents can also be seen in the choice of the subject pronoun in

(498) *Who* of my Servants wait there . . .
(1703 Rowe, *Fair Penit.* 4 1 [*OED* s.v. *who* 1])

The distinction between *which* (reference to definite number) and *what* (reference to indefinite number) seems to be established in Early Modern English (Jespersen *MEG* III 6.8.2). The *OED* gives the latest example of *which* as a 'general interrogative' from the mid-eighteenth century but the use was no doubt uncommon much earlier:

(499) In some congratulatory poem prefixed to some work, I have forgot *which*.
(1752 *Chesterfield Letters* 296 4 6 [*OED* s.v. *which* 2a])

4.5.4 Directives

Commands and exhortations are typical of spoken discourse in the same way as questions, and therefore written texts only give inadequate evidence. In addition to dramatic dialogue, the only writings in which directives (imperatives) are likely to occur in abundance are works containing instructions and directions, such as medical-recipe collections, cookery books, rules, etc.

The most interesting questions in the syntax of the imperatives are the use of *do*-periphrasis (see 4.3.5 above), the presence or absence of the subject pronoun, and the position of the expressed pronoun. In Early Modern English the second-person subject of the imperative is more often expressed than in Present-Day English. All early grammarians give the imperative with the subject. Wallis (1653 [1972]: 348) points out, however,

that the subject is very often left out (*saepissime omittitur*). Its normal position is after the verb:[35]

(500) But *hear you* Gossip, I pray you tell mee . . . ([HC] Deloney 69)

Also with *do*:

(501) We must see what you haue vnder your Cloake there.
Man Haue? I haue nothing.
1 Prom. No, *do you tell* vs that, what makes this lumpe sticke out then, we must see Sir.
Man. What will you see Sir, a paire of Sheets . . . ([HC] Middleton 23)

The expression of the postverbal subject pronoun is, to a considerable extent, regulated by the other elements following the verb. The postverbal unstressed object pronoun prevents the expression of the subject pronoun, as is shown by the variant usage in the following instance:

(502) *Beate hym* not Hodge but help the boy and *come you* two together.
([HC] *Gammer Gurton* I.iv)

The following passage implies that the expression of the subject pronoun is particularly common with some verbs. As early as the seventeenth century, *look you*, sometimes spelt *look'ye*, is probably idiomatic (note the absence of the pronoun with *come*):

(503) *Come*, Gentlemen, *come* all, let's go to the place where we put down the Otter. *Look you*, hereabout it was that she kennel'd; *look you*, here it was indeed, for here's her young ones, no less than five; *come* let's kill them all.
([HC] Walton 212)

In negative imperatives the focussed subject pronoun is placed after the negative particle:

(504) hold thy tongue, and *do not thou* scold at me too, for I must expect a Lesson from her . . . ([HC] *Penny Merriments* 271)

Not only the subjective but also the objective form of the second-person pronoun can appear after the verb (cf. the reflexive use discussed in 4.4.2.2 above). The frequent use of the objective forms *thee*, *you* as subjects in Early Modern English no doubt supported the emergence of these imperative constructions. The imperatives followed by *thee* can be divided into three groups: (1) verbs of attention (*hark*, *hear*, *look*, *mark*), (2) verbs of motion (*come*, *fare*, *get*, *haste*, *hie*, *return*, *run*, *speed*), and (3) verbs taking a reflexive direct or indirect object (Millward 1966: 11; based on Shakespeare):

(505) But *hearke thee* Charmian (Shakespeare *Antony and Cleopatra* V.ii)

(506) Go *hie thee* tib, and run thou hoore ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* I.iv)

(507) *take thee* that too. (Shakespeare *Macbeth* II.i)

According to Millward, in group (1), the objective form only occurs with the imperatives and is almost obligatory. The choice is regulated by a number of factors: the subject form is favoured, for instance, if the verb is followed by another object or a heavy adverbial:

(508) *marke thou* my words. (Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* IV.iv)

(509) Go with me to my house, And *heare thou* there how many fruitlesse prankes This Ruffian hath botch'd vp. (Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* IV.i)

Observations of this kind emphasise the importance of rhythm, balance and discourse factors in the author's choices between variant constructions.

First person exhortations are most commonly expressed by *let me/us* + verb:

(510) Set me a candle, *let me* seeke and grope where euer it bee. ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* I.iv)

(511) When . . . we are well setled and establish'd in our Religion, *let us* hold fast the profession of our Faith. ([HC] Tillotson 451)

The type with the verb in the base form also occurs (cf. the discussion of the hortative subjunctive in 4.3.3.1 and particularly note 25):

(512) *retyre we* to our Chamber. (Shakespeare *Macbeth* II.ii)

The distinction between the two constructions may once again depend on the elements following the verb, and, consequently, on the discourse focus. If the action or state indicated by the verb is in focus, *let* + pronoun is probably preferred; if the focus is on the elements following, the inverted structure is more likely.

The same variant structures exist in the third person:

(513) Nowe that all these cornes before specyfyed be shorne, . . . *lette the housbande* take hede of goddes commaundemente, and *let hym* goo to the ende of his lande, . . . and *let hym* caste out the .x. shefe in the name of god. ([HC] Fitzherbert 37)

(514) *Our lorde encrease* your honour and estate (More *Lament* [1557] St. 10)

(515) A curse vpon him, *die he* like a theefe (Shakespeare *Pericles* IV.vi)

As can be seen from (514) the word order need not be inverted, particularly if the subject is a noun. The construction without *let*, both in the first and in

the third person, can be found throughout the Early Modern period, although it is no doubt stylistically marked. Coote says as late as 1788: 'In the third person of either number, as well as in the first person plural, of this mode, we generally make use of the auxiliary *let*, rather than adopt the simple form . . . In poetry, the uncompounded form is sometimes used; as, "*Improve we* these. Three cat-calls *be* the bribe of him" . . .' (108–9 [Visser §846]).

4.6 Composite sentences

Composite sentences consist of two or more clauses. Compound sentences contain only main clauses; a sentence with one or more subordinate clauses is called 'complex'.

In compound sentences the clauses stand in coordination. In most cases, the link between the clauses is a conjunction, such as *and*, *or* or *but* ('syndetic co-ordination'). 'Asyndetic coordination', with no overt linking word, is less common. It is possible, however, that asyndetic co-ordination was an important linking method at the earliest stages of English, and the so-called zero-link of relative clauses (*The man I saw*) and complement clauses (*I could see he was happy*) may ultimately reflect asyndetic co-ordination.

The role played by subordination has increased in the course of the history of English. In Early Modern English one important factor influencing the structure of composite sentences is classical rhetoric, whose ideals made themselves clearly felt in this period. Subordination is typical of the sentences imitating the Ciceronian period, coordination of sentences written in 'the Senecan style' (cf. Gordon 1966: 77–83, 105–11). On the whole, classical models brought coherence and organisation to the written styles of English.

In the late seventeenth century, the development of stylistic ideals, combined with normative trends setting greater demands on clarity and logic in writing, results in sentence patterns which do not essentially differ from Present-Day English.

With the exception of relative clauses, the structure of Modern English composite sentences has not been extensively studied. Thus many interesting aspects of the structure and linking of the subordinate clauses can be discussed only sketchily in the present context.

4.6.1 Co-ordinate clauses

In Early Modern English writings, with the increase of the degree of standardisation, both asyndetic and polysyndetic (conjunctive link appearing

between each of three or more coordinate clauses) coordination appear less often than in Old or Middle English texts; asyndeton may be used in marked contexts, for stylistic reasons, and polysyndeton in documentary texts, for example, to ensure that the items listed are kept distinct.

The main semantic types of co-ordination are copulative, adversative and causal. In affirmative sentences, copulative coordination is mostly expressed with *and*, adversative with *or*, or *but* and causal with *for*.[36] In correlative contexts, the most common copulative link is *both . . . and*, and the adversative *either . . . or*.

In sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts the use of *and* was freer than in Present Day English. Among other things, it can link a statement with an imperative, indicating, roughly, 'so', 'and therefore':

(516) Thou art inclinde to sleepe: 'tis a good dulnesse, *And* giue it way
(Shakespeare *Tempest* I.ii)

At the earliest stages of English, the difference between coordination and subordination was not as clearcut as today. *And* could introduce conditional or concessive clauses which in Present-Day English would be regarded as subordinate. This conditional/concessive use of *an(d)* may have arisen from a simplified correlative use in which *and* loosely expresses various relations between two clauses. The earliest instances go back to early Middle English homilies, which are often copies of Old English originals.[37] In Early Modern English this *and* is less common than in Middle English. It is particularly favoured by dramatists, and often combined with *it* (*an't*); this implies that it was regarded as a colloquial feature.

The accepted spelling *an* (while regarded as vulgar with the copulative conjunction *and*) is probably due to an attempt to mark the conditional/concessive use as separate from the simple copulative one.

(517) *An't* be any way, it must be with valour
(Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* III.ii; the Folio edition reads *and't*)

(518) He shall go without his *and* [= even if] he were my brother.
([HC] Udall I.ii)

In non-finite clauses indicating temporal simultaneity, concessiveness, etc. (cf. Klemola & Filppula 1992):

(519) they nere car'd for vs yet: suffer vs to famish, *and* their Store-houses [= 'although their store-houses are . . .'] cramm'd with Graine
(Shakespeare *Coriolanus* I.i)

Although this usage is never common in written texts, it is recorded throughout the Modern English period and occurs even in colloquial

Present-Day English. Klemola & Filppula (1992: 315–17) refer to Celtic influence in their discussion of this construction.

In intensive expressions *and* and *if* can be combined (cf. the PDE non-standard *nif*):

(520) a Sheepe doth very often stray, *And if* the Shephard be awhile away.
(Shakespeare *Two Gentlemen of Verona* I.i)

(521) *If an* she be a rebel, I suppose you intende to betray her . . .
(Fielding *Tom Jones* XI.ii, 514)

4.6.2 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are traditionally divided into three main categories. Terminology varies greatly; I use the names 'nominal clause', 'relative clause' and 'adverbial clause' in the following discussion (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 15.2).

It is fairly easy to make a distinction between coordination and subordination in Early Modern English, unlike Old and Middle English. Borderline cases can, however, be found in relative clauses beginning with *who* or *which*; furthermore, clauses introduced by causative *for* lose some of their subordinator characteristics. The use of *an(d)* in subordinating contexts (see above, 4.6.1) can be regarded as a relic of older, less specific ways of linking.

In Early Modern English writings the number of anacoluthic expressions, which are typical of spoken language and were still common in Middle English texts, becomes rarer. This is no doubt due to the gradual development of the written standard and to the normative tendencies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

4.6.2.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses can function as subjects, objects, complements or appositives. By far the most common type is the object clause, which occurs typically with *verba dicendi et sentiendi*, i.e. verbs indicating saying, thinking, knowing or other mental activities.

The use of a nominal clause in subject position is rare in Middle English. In addition, many clauses which are traditionally labelled as subject clauses appear postverbally, in the position of a subject complement (*bet is that a wyghtes tonge reste*, literally 'better is that a person's tongue should remain quiet', Chaucer quoted by Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.2.1). In the following

sixteenth-century instance, however, there is a series of unquestionable subject clauses in a pre-verbal subject position:

(522) the brayne is a member colde and moyst of complexion, . . . and a principal member, and an official member, and spermatike. And fyrst, *why he is a principal member, is*, because he is the gouernour or the treasurie of the fyue wittes: And *why he is an official member, is,* because he hath the effect of feeling and stering: And *why he is colde and moyst, is,* that he shoulde, by his coldnes and moystnes, abate and temper the exceeding heate and drought that commeth from the harte: Also, *why he is moyst, is,* that it should be . . . ([HC] Vicary 32–3)

This text is, however, heavily influenced by Latin.

Constructions in which the subject of the main clause is *it* and the finite or non-finite nominal clause follows the verb are much more common:

(523) And *necessary it is that a kyng haue a treasure* all wayeys in a redines ([HC] Latimer 37)

(524) *It* may be objected, *That very wise men have been notoriously avaricious* (Fielding *Tom Jones* VI.iii 262)

There are also instances where the resumptive subject *it* follows the sentence-initial (finite or non-finite) subject clause:

(525) *To lothe and dyspyse them, it* is no holynes, but pryde. (1548 Udall etc. *Erasmus upon the New Testament* 58a [*OED* s.v. *it* 4a])

(526) *That I remaine in fielde it* is to me greate fame (1567 Painter [*OED* s.v. *that* conj. 1]

In these instances the nominal clause is topicalised. It is possible, on the whole, that the use of the nominal clause in the subject position, which has always been a marked construction, originates in topicalised contexts.

In Middle English, nominal clauses are not very common with adjectival predicates except in expressions of the type *(it) is bet that* . . . (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.2.1). The Early Modern usage is more varied, cf. also (523):

(527) yff ye thyncke *yt good that we kepe* the grounde ([HC] More *Letters* 423)

(528) I should thinke my selfe most *happy, to obtaine this knowledge* . . . ([HC] Brinsley 45)

As in Middle English, the nouns governing appositive complements are abstract and 'convey an experience or the content of a statement, fact, etc.' (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.2.1):

(529) After that Raleigh had *Intelligence that Cobham had accused him*, he endeavour'd . . . ([HC] Raleigh 208 Cii)

(530) after all his impertinent talk; after all his *Motives of Credibility to perswade me* to believe him, ([HC] Tillotson 449)

4.6.2.1.1 Links introducing nominal clauses

The most common links introducing nominal clauses are *that*, in negative contexts *lest*, and in interrogative clauses the *wh*-pronouns. *Lest* also occurs with verbs of fearing or clauses indicating apprehension or danger:

(531) *yt was feared lest* he had doen much hurt in our provision for he had bowght green billet, ([HC] Madox 138)

The zero link, i.e. combining the matrix and the nominal clause without an expressed conjunction, occurs as early as Old English and becomes common in late Middle English. It is first attested with verbs indicating saying or mental activity (*say*, *tell*, *think*, *know*, *hope*, etc.) and is most frequent in object clauses. In the sixteenth century, zero gains ground rapidly; it is common in speech-based text types (trials, sermons) or in texts representing the oral mode of expression (fiction, comedies). The use of zero seems to be related to the cohesion and clarity of the sentence: it is favoured when the subject of the subordinate clause is a personal pronoun (532), which, by its subject form, clearly marks the clause boundary; it is avoided when the matrix clause verb and the object clause are separated or when the matrix clause verb is in a non-finite form.

(532) Thys good kyng . . . would not assent there vnto, *but sayde, he had rather be sycke* euen vnto death then he wold breake his espousals ([HC] Latimer 36)

In the seventeenth century the use of zero in object clauses increases steadily and reaches a peak at the end of the century (Rissanen 1991). It is possible that the change in the basic structure of English which tends to restrict the variety in the order of sentence elements diminishes the risk of ambiguity with zero.

In present-day written English, zero is less common than at the end of the seventeenth century. This may be due to the normative tendencies in the eighteenth century which probably favoured the expressed link. But as late as mid-eighteenth century, Fielding uses zero linking in two subsequent object clauses:

(533) He *said, he knew many held* the same principles with the captain
(Fielding *Tom Jones* II.ii 90)

It is worth pointing out that Lowth (1775 [1979]: 102–3, 109) is more emphatic in condemning the zero relative than the zero conjunction, and Elphinston (1765: II 27) comments favourably on zero: 'Nothing indeed is more common and sometimes nothing more elegant, than the suppression of either the conjunction . . . or the relative.' He gives the example *I know it was*, for, *I know that it was*.

4.6.2.1.2 Subjunctive in nominal clauses

In view of the modally marked character of the subjunctive forms, it is only natural that they occur in nominal clauses indicating wish, request, exhortation, doubt, etc. (cf. Trnka 1930: 69). In reported speech, the subjunctive forms are also common, particularly in contexts in which uncertainty (question, assumption, etc.) is indicated. (Cf. the Old English and Middle English usage as described e.g. in Traugott *CHEL* I 4.5.3.1, and Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.2.1.)

As in main clauses, subjunctive forms vary with auxiliary periphrasis in subordinate clauses. As early as Middle English, the periphrasis predominates in object clauses. The typical Middle English auxiliary in these contexts is *shall/should*. In Early Modern English, *will/would* gains ground; *may/might* is used in expressions of uncertain wish or expectation.

In the following, examples are given of the use of the subjunctive, the auxiliary periphrasis, and the indicative in nominal clauses:

Subjunctive

(534) I do intreat you, not a man *depart*, Saue I alone,
(Shakespeare *Julius Caesar* III.ii)

(535) I doubt he *be* not well that hee comes not home:
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* I.iv)

(536) there is a doubt made, whether the woman *were* created according to Gods Image; (Donne *Sermons* 9 8 190)

Auxiliary periphrasis

(537) I began to think, How if one of the Bells *should fall*? (Bunyan *Grace* §33)

(538) Than the provost was in dout of hym, that he *wolde* in the nyght tyme *come* and overron the cytie of Parys (Berners *Froissart* 1 405)

(539) and thereupon I made sute that Edward Wyat *might* either *be* brought face to face to me, or otherwise be examined. ([HC] Throckmorton 68 Ci)

Indicative

(540) I am afferd lest the said offer beinge so speciouse at the first heringe *was* oonly made to get therby sum money of your Grace . . .
([HC] Tunstall 137)

(541) For I thynke ther *ys* no man so wythout yes [= 'eyes'] but he seeth playnly the grete pouerty (Starkey *England* 88)

As in Middle English (Mustanoja 1960: 454), the pluperfect subjunctive can be used by the side of the preterite subjunctive to indicate the non-factualness or non-fulfilment of a wish, fear, supposition, etc.:

(542) a brute [= rumour] ranne in Fraunce, that the quene of Aragon . . . had in prison . . . a knyght that no man knewe his name: men supposed it *had ben* syr Peter of Craon ([HC] Berners *Froissart* 6 63)

(543) I thought, quoth my father (rubbing his chin), you *had known* nothing of calculations, brother Toby (Sterne *Tristram Shandy* 203)

4.6.2.1.3 Non-finite nominal clauses

The most common non-finite nominal clauses are infinitival constructions of various kinds. As in Old and Middle English, the infinitive can be preceded by (*for*) *to* or zero (bare infinitive) in Early Modern English. One factor which affects the choice of the construction is whether the infinitive immediately follows the finite verb (*He wanted to see her*) or whether the two verbs are separated, often by the object of the finite verb which also serves as the subject of the infinitive (*I wanted him to see her*).

In the early sixteenth century, the bare infinitive in object position is more common than in Present-Day English, but later it becomes largely restricted to positions after auxiliaries *shall*, *will*, *can*, *may*, *must*, *do*, and, occasionally, *need* and *dare*), to combinations with certain verbs indicating causation or physical perception (*make*, *see, hear*), and adjectives (*lief*, *better*, *best*, etc.).

In Early Modern English, variation between (*for*) *to* and the bare infinitive can be seen both when the infinitive immediately follows the finite verb and when the two are separated. In the first mentioned type, the *to*-construction is more common than the bare infinitive. Instances of the bare infinitive can, in addition to modal auxiliaries, be found with such verbs as *help*, *hear* (with verbs indicating saying, with a passive meaning,

(545)), *let* (particularly when this verb is in a non-finite form (546) and in imperatives) and *make*. According to Wallis (1653 [1972]: 336) *to* is sometimes (*nonnunquam)* omitted after *let*, *bid*, *dare*, *help*, 'and perhaps some others' (*et fortasse alia nonnulla*).

(544) Yet is hee still . . . bound to *help maintaine* his Minister, if he be in want. (1625 Burges *Pers. Tithes* 18 [*OED* s.v. *help* v. B4])

(545) I haue *hearde say*, I am right well aduised, That . . . ([HC] Udall I.ii)

(546) he dyd *let swere* al his people, that . . . ([HC] Elyot 152)

(547) I will *make cease* from me the grudgynges of the childern of Israel ([HC] Tyndale Numbers 17.5)

Fischer (1990: 226–309) divides the constructions where the finite verb and the infinitive are separated by the object of the finite verb (accusative and infinitive: aci) into groups according to the semantics of the matrix clause verb: causative and perception verbs; verbs of persuasion and command; and *verba sentiendi et declarandi* (wishing, saying, etc.: 'learned' aci). The two first-mentioned types are common from Old English on; the learned aci develops in Middle English. With verbs of perception the construction without *to* predominates. Examples with *to*:

(548) he desyred no lenger to lyue / than to *see his Lordes & commons to haue* hym in as great awe and drede as . . . ([HC] Fabyan 168V Ci)

(549) I have *heard some foreiners to blame* us English-men for neglecting . . . ([HC] Hoole 3)

Visser (§2067) points out that *to*-infinitive is common with *see* in the writings of e.g. Rastell, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Lyly, Herrick and Pepys. His contention that *hear*, too, mostly takes *to*-infinitive is not supported by the evidence derived from the Helsinki Corpus: of the approximately fifty examples of *hear* + inf., only three have *to*.

Let – approaching an auxiliary in Early Modern English – is used without *to*. With the causative *make*, the two constructions vary (550), (551); the bare infinitive is more common even in the sixteenth century.

(550) it is neyther French King nor Emperoure that can *make me sell* my country . . . ([HC] Throckmorton 65 Cii)

(551) god ledethe them into experience of them selfe, that is to saye: *makethe them to knowe* themselfe by aduersities. ([HC] Boethius Colville 110)

As in Present-Day English, *to* is used with *let* and *make* when the matrix clause verb is in the passive:

(552) *it ys let us to understand* that thers [= there is] other tenaunts
([HC] Agnes Plumpton 167)

(553) The usual way to begin with a child, . . . is to teach him to know his letters in the Horn-book, where *he is made to run over* all the letters
([HC] Hoole 4)

In 'learned' aci, the object of the matrix verb (*them* in (554)) does not receive its semantic function from this verb (*wish*), but from the infinitival construction (*renounce*) (Fischer 1990: 226).[38] In these constructions *to* clearly predominates. The same is true of aci with verbs of commanding and persuasion and with *cause*. Examples without *to*:

(554) I love the Presbyterians so well as not to *wish them renounce* their reason.
(1657 J. Sergeant *Schism dispach't* [*OED* s.v. *wish* v. 1e])

(555) Say I *command her come* to me. (Shakespeare *Taming of the Shrew* V.ii)

(556) These news would *cause him once more yeeld* the Ghost . . .
(Shakespeare *1 Henry VI* I.i)

The variation between *to* and *for to* as infinitive markers goes back to Middle English (see e.g. Fischer 1988). *For to* originally indicates purpose, but in Middle English this meaning is weakened and the choice between the two infinitive markers is 'mainly a question of lexical preference or style' (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.2.2). In Early Modern English, *for to* becomes obsolete, although there is no shortage of sixteenth-century instances (see Fanego 1991, 1992).

(557) it is necessarie *for to haue* thys ploughinge for the sustentacion of the bodye . . . ([HC] Latimer 25)

When the infinitive is in subject position, the sequence of (pro)noun + *to* + infinitive occurs in Early Modern English (558), (559); note the use of the subjective form in (559). This construction is still common in Shakespeare but it rapidly gives way to the one with *for* + (pro)noun in the seventeenth century (560):

(558) the most verteous lesson that euer prince taughte his seruant, whose *highness to haue* of me now such opinion, is my greate heauines.
([HC] More *Letters* [1557] 1453 Fo 1)

(559) *I to beare* this, that neuer knew but better, is some burden
(Shakespeare *Timon of Athens* IV.iii)

(560) *For vs to leuie* power Proportionable to the enemy, Is all vnpossible
(Shakespeare *Richard II* II.ii)

The development is similar when the non-finite clause is governed by the complement noun or adjective: *for . . . to* (562) supersedes the construction without *for* (561) in Early Modern English:

(561) Knoweth anye manne anye place wherein it is laweful *one manne to dooe* another wrong ([HC] More *Richard III* 32)

(562) why was it not as lawful *for me to confer* with Wyat, as with you ([HC] Throckmorton 66 Ci)

The two constructions are in variation in Shakespeare's texts; the one without *for* is common in comparative clauses, after *than* (see Fanego 1992).

When the construction is in the position of a direct object ('I wanted for him to go'), *for* is uncommon before the nineteenth century (Visser §2064), except with verbs which also take *for* with (pro)nominal objects:

(563) So we *consulted for me to go* first to Sir H. Bennett (Pepys 30 October 1662 241)

In Old English, the passive infinitive is mainly restricted to contexts after a (pre)modal auxiliary (the type *it can be found*; e.g. Fischer 1991: 143–151). In Middle English its use becomes more varied and in Early Modern English it is common after the verb *be* (564) after nouns (565) and adjectives (566) particularly when the subject of the sentence is, semantically, the object (patient) of the infinitive:

(564) Than fyrst *is to be knowen*, what tyme thou shalt put thy rammes to thy ewes; ([HC] Fitzherbert 42)

(565) there be many *Exceptions to be taken* agaynst such Testimonies; ([HC] Throckmorton 68 Cii)

(566) thys thynge . . . is soo *necessarye to be concluded*, of the thinges that be concluded before. ([HC] Boethius Colville 99)

Constructions with the active forms also occur, and at least with adjectives, they remain the more common variant:

(567) The matter (sayth he) is so *harde to searche* and be vnderstoode, that it were much better to let it alone ([HC] Vicary 33)

The passive replaces the older active aci construction in contexts where the 'accusative' noun or pronoun is the object of both the matrix verb and the infinitive ('I saw him greet' = 'I saw him being greeted'; see Fischer 1990):

(568) christ commaunded this *to be payed* for no moo. ([HC] Fisher 318)

(569) Lord Cobham saith, that Kemish . . . did wish him *not to be dismay'd*,
([HC] Raleigh 214.Cii)

The development of the passive in these contexts may have been influenced by Latin. According to Fischer (1990: 210–11), the main cause for its use is, however, the general development of English word order: when SVO order was fixed, all preverbal noun phrases were interpreted as subjects rather than objects to the following active (finite or non-finite) verb.

The perfect infinitive, i.e. the type *(to) have* + past pple, was uncommon in Old and Early Middle English. Instances become frequent from the fourteenth century on. Early Modern English instances support Fischer's argument (*CHEL* II 4.6.2.4) that the perfect infinitive is associated with the non-realisation of action rather than tense relations; hence it is common in clauses of unfulfilled condition, hypothesis, wish, intention, etc. (cf. the use of the pluperfect subjunctive in 4.3.3.2 above). The perfect infinitive can have the same functions in the sentence as the present infinitive:

(570) . . . althoughe *to haue written* this boke either in latin or Greke . . . had bene more easier . . . neuerthelesse . . . (Ascham *Toxophilus* Dedication)

Lowth (1775 [1979]: 87), quoting eighteenth-century instances, condemns this usage.

'Preterite infinitive', i.e. the simple past participle form with *to*, is occasionally found in Early Modern English texts:

(571) He was very anxious *to known* my opinion of a Death-Bed Repentance.
([HC] Burnet *Life of Rochester* 140)

This usage is no doubt related to the combination of modal auxiliaries with past participle forms (*would accepted*), discussed in 4.3.4.2 above.

The split infinitive first appears in Middle English and is very common in Pecock's writings in the fifteenth century (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.2.6). Somewhat surprisingly, this construction is rare in Early Modern English and gains ground again only at the end of the eighteenth century. The most common elements appearing between the *to*-particle and the infinitive are the negative particle and adverbs of manner and degree:

(572) tyll men . . . fell to forgete them . . . and then *to not byleue* them.
(More *Confutation of Tyndale* 300)

(573) To saye therefore that the whole worlde hathe ben blinded many a hundred yeare . . . is *to flatly gainsaye* the moste cleere . . . sayinges of the psalmes (Stapleton 23 r)

As in Present-Day English, the *ing*-form varies with the infinitive in Early Modern English. With most verbs, the accusative + *-ing* construction seems to become common only towards the end of the period; with some verbs, such as *see*, *hear* and *find*, this type is common even much earlier:

(574) Then I *saw ij. nakid imagis lying* a long, the one imbracing the other.
([HC] Leland I 141)

(575) He lay much silent: Once they *heard him praying* very devoutly.
([HC] Burnet *Life of Rochester* 157)

There are a number of factors, both linguistic and extralinguistic, which affect the variation between the simple infinitive and the *ing*-form in these constructions. More study is still needed; it is obvious, however, that the *ing*-form calls attention to the duration of the action or state indicated by the verb more emphatically than the infinitive.

In (574), (575), the *ing*-form is traditionally analysed as a present participle. It may also be used in functions typical of nouns, for instance as a subject or complement (*Seeing is believing*; *I intend to voice my objections to their receiving an invitation*, etc.; cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985 15.12). This *ing*-form is often called the gerund; this term will be used in the following discussion. Many gerundial constructions bear a resemblance to (non-finite) nominal clauses; they can also approach (non-finite) adverbial clauses, particularly when preceded by a preposition ((580), below). The gerund is very common in Middle English; it ultimately goes back to the Old English verbal noun ending in *-ung* or *-ing*, and the development of its verbal characteristics in Middle English has been a topic of lively discussion. Analogy and formal confusion with the present participle and the infinitive, Latin, French and Celtic influence, etc. have been mentioned in this discussion (see e.g. Mustanoja 1960: 567–73).

The noun phrase preceding the gerund (*their* in *to their receiving*, above), can be analysed as its logical subject. In view of the nominal origin of the gerund, it is no wonder that this 'subject NP' was originally in the genitive. In Middle English, with the development of the verbal characteristics of the gerund, the 'subject' could also have the endingless form, as in (576); from late Middle English on, the objective form of the pronominal 'subject' was possible instead of the possessive form (577). The non-genitive noun seems to become common in written texts as late as the eighteenth century, the objective form of the pronoun even later (Visser §1102).

(576) it was true of *this light contynuyng* from day to daye.
(1536 John de Ponte, Ellis *Original Letters* I 2, 125)

(577) I woulde haue no mans honestye empayred *by me tellynge*.
([HC] Latimer 160)

Because of the combination of nominal and verbal features in the gerund, mixed constructions are common in Early Modern English texts. The definite article may precede the gerund, even though it is followed by an object instead of an *of*-phrase:

(578) for *the compassing or imagining the Queenes Death*. ([HC] Throckmorton 71 Ci)

According to Visser, these constructions become less common in the eighteenth century, possibly because of the influence of normative tendencies in the written standard. Lowth condemns them in his grammar (1775 [1979]: 83).

Passive forms of the gerund have been attested since the fifteenth century. Note the use of both the active and the passive form in (580):

(579) a mad tale he told . . . Of his owne doores *being shut* against his entrance
(Shakespeare *Comedy of Errors* IV.iii]

(580) What is my gold The worse, for *touching*? clothes for *being look'd* on?
(Jonson *Volpone* III.vii)

4.6.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into adnominal, nominal and sentential, with reference to the type of their antecedents. The most common are the adnominal clauses, which have a (pro)noun as the antecedent (581)–(583). In nominal relative clauses the relative pronoun 'contains' the antecedent, (584), and sentential relative clauses have an entire clause as the antecedent, (585).

(581) Gorges I wish you shold speake any thinge *that* shold do your self good . . . ([HC] Essex 10)

(582) to meete Maxentius, *whom* he overthrew at ponte Milvij, . . . at the very gates of Rome, *which* he entered & was received with Triumph . . .
([HC] Evelyn 899)

(583) How now Perrott (quoth the Kinge) what is the Matter that you make this great Moane? *To whom* Sir John Perrott answered . . .
([HC] Perrott 33)

(584) At my retorne into Essex house I did there *what* I could to hinder the shootinge . . . ([HC] Essex 11)

(585) in somme places they mowe it, *the whiche* is not soo good to the housbandes profytte . . . ([HC] Fitzherbert 35)

This division is useful in the discussion of the development of the relative pronouns. Attention will also be paid to what Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.6.1.1) calls the animacy parameter and the information parameter. The former divides the antecedents into personal and impersonal; the latter classifies relative clauses as restrictive (581) and non-restrictive (582). As will be shown below, there is variation in the tightness of the link between the relative pronoun and its antecedent even within the restrictive and non-restrictive clauses: in the discussion of the spread of the *wh*-forms, it has proved useful to distinguish a special type of non-restrictive clause called 'continuative'. In this type the two clauses stand in coordinating rather than subordinating relationship (583).

The verb of the relative clauses is in the indicative unless hypotheticity, unreality, etc. is involved. The subjunctive or auxiliary periphrasis is most common in generalising nominal relative clauses:

(586) *whoso wel aduise* her visage, might gesse & deuise which partes how filled, wold make it a faire face. ([HC] More *Richard III* 55)

(587) sayde that whatsoever it *shulde coste* hym, he wolde do his devoyre to ayde his sister (Berners *Froissart* 5 442)

4.6.2.2.1 Relative pronouns

At the end of the Middle English period, *that* was the most common adnominal relative link (its pronominal status is a matter of dispute), although there was a tendency to prefer *which* in non-restrictive clauses. The inflected forms *whom*, *whose* were common with personal antecedents in non-restrictive clauses. The subject form *who* was introduced later; in the second half of the fifteenth century it mainly occurs in letter-closing formulas, with reference to the Deity (Rydén 1983). The earlier development of the inflected forms may be due to the lack of these forms with *that* and to the frequent use of the nominative *who* as a generalising relative 'whoever' (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.1.1).

As early as the sixteenth century *wh*-pronouns are well established in all types of non-restrictive relative clauses, although *that* is still common in texts representing the oral mode of discourse (Dekeyser 1984: 62). There are, however, few unambiguous instances of *that* in continuative clauses.[39] *Wh*-pronouns are also finding their way into restrictive relative clauses (about twenty-five per cent in Rydén's large collection of texts dating from 1520 to 1560).

In the course of the seventeenth century, the share of the *wh*-forms increases in restrictive clauses. They seem to be first introduced into

contexts with a noun antecedent; when the antecedent is a personal or indefinite pronoun, *that* prevails (Rydén 1966: 362 and *passim*). This is probably due to the fact that the link between the antecedent and the relative pronoun is tight in the last-mentioned contexts: in many cases the antecedent pronoun gets its entire meaning from the following relative clause. Consequently, the combination of the pronominal antecedent and *that* may have formed a kind of fixed collocation; there was also no risk of syntactic ambiguity with *that* in these contexts. On the other hand, the combination *that that* gradually gives way to *that which*, although instances can be found as late as the second half of the century:

(588) seeing Pronounciation is *that that* sets out a man . . . ([HC] Hoole 4)

(589) Is this *that that* is called the Protestant Religion . . . ([HC] Lisle 122 Ci)

At the beginning of the sixteenth century *which* could freely be used with reference to personal antecedents (590). The possessive *whose*, on the other hand, could refer to inanimate antecedents (591) mainly because neither *which* nor *that* had a possessive form.

(590) Your owne most louing obedient doughter and bedeswoman, *Margaret Roper, which* desireth . . . to do you some seruice.
([HC] Margaret Roper 511)

(591) all the lines that bee drawen crosse the circle, . . . are named *diameters, whose halfe* . . . is called the semidiameter . . . ([HC] Record B1 r)

The replacement of *which* by *who* in the nominative form first seems to take place with proper-name antecedents and with those referring to the Deity. The distribution along the animacy parameter is established in the course of the seventeenth century. In Rydén's sixteenth-century corpus, one-third of the occurrences of *which* have a human antecedent; in Dekeyser's seventeenth-century one, only one-tenth. Butler (1634 [1910]: 41) accepts *which* with human antecedents without reservations. Wallis adds to the fourth (1674) edition of his grammar a statement in which he regards *who* as more appropriate than *which* with personal antecedents.[40]

This development is in accordance both with the tendency to systematise the use of various grammatical forms in the course of the Early Modern English period and with the polite and formal expression of Tudor and Stuart society, which probably emphasised the observation of the 'personality' of the referent. The present-day state of usage is reached in the eighteenth century, though the 'personal' *which* can still be found in uneducated usage at the end of the century (Austin 1985: 17–19). On the other hand,

the 'dehumanising' of *that* in restrictive clauses only seems to take place after the end of the eighteenth century (Dekeyser 1984: 71–2). According to Lowth (1775 [1979]:100) '*That* is used indifferently both of persons and things: but perhaps would be more properly confined to the latter.' As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, Addison corrects personal *that* relatives into *who* forms when editing the folio issues of the *Spectator*; note also his well-known 'Humble Petition of *Who* and *Which*' [1711], which is directed against the excessive use of *that*. (For a discussion, of the eighteenth century usage, see Bately 1964, Wright 1994a.)

There is little doubt that the spread of the *wh*-forms was supported by the heavy functional load of *that*. When the connection between the antecedent and the relative link was loose, the likelihood of ambiguity and misunderstanding of the meaning of *that* increased. Consequently, the *wh*-forms seem to be first established in contexts of loose relative link – in continuative and sentential relative clauses.

It has been suggested in a number of studies that the function of the relative pronoun in the clause played an important role in the choice of its form. A quantitative analysis shows that the *wh*-forms are first established in less common functions in the clause, in prepositional phrases and direct and indirect object positions (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977, 1979a, Romaine 1982). *That* is most resistant to replacement by *wh*-forms in subject position (see, e.g., Dekeyser 1984: 73). This implies that the spread of the *wh*-forms is a 'change from above', from the formal and literary levels of the language. It seems, however, that the establishment of the present system is the sum total of a number of different tendencies: high frequency is probably not the only factor protecting *that* in subject position. For instance, the fact that *who* allows a distinction between the subjective and non-subjective forms, and that *who(m)* and *which* can be preceded by a preposition, must be taken into account in the discussion of the spread of these forms in various functions of the relative pronoun.

The model offered by the Latin relative pronoun paradigm, *qui*, *quae*, *quod*, etc., has been traditionally referred to as an important factor favouring the spread of the *wh*-forms. It is true that the rapidly increasing influence of classical literature and stylistic ideals on renaissance English coincides with this development. It seems, however, that Latin influence may only have had a supporting role. *Which*, and the inflected forms *whom*, *whose*, were in frequent use even in the Middle English period, and the same was true of the generalising *who*. Rydén (1966: 356) is no doubt right in pointing out that the influence of Latin and Latinate prose can mainly be seen in the increase of the number of loosely appended relative clauses,

often widely distanced from the antecedent, which strengthened the position of the *wh*-forms.

The use of the subjective form *who* for the objective *whom*, which is almost the rule in colloquial Present-Day English, is found as early as the sixteenth century; in the following centuries it is avoided in writing:

(592) but wail his fall *Who* I my selfe struck downe: (Shakespeare *Macbeth* III.i)

In the sixteenth century, a 'pleonastic' *that* may be appended to the *wh*-relatives and relative adverbs. This use of *that*, which was common in Middle English, particularly with generalising pronouns, becomes obsolete in the seventeenth century (cf. the use of *that* with adverbial clause links, 4.6.2.3.1 below).

(593) *Who that* redeth the boke of Exodi shall finde the charitie of this man wonderfull. ([HC] Elyot 151)

(594) he can do no better than shew to hym the vttermoste of hys malycyous mynde *whych that* he beryth toward hym. ([HC] *Merry Tales* 25)

Which can be used both pronominally (i.e. without a following noun) and as a determiner. The determiner *which* is popular in late Middle English and Early Modern English. It always introduces non-restrictive – often continuative – clauses, mainly with non-personal antecedents. The origin of this usage has been attributed to foreign (primarily Latin) influence, but its development may also have been supported by the demand for structural clarity (Mustanoja 1960: 195), particularly in cases in which it ties together loosely connected clauses or sentences:

(595) Amongst new wines only that kinde maye be safelye drunken, that is of a thin substaunce, as amongst Italian wines are Cauchanum & Albanum. &c. *which wines* in dede are thin, white, and waterish, and therfore are called Oligophora . . . ([HC] Turner B5 r)

(596) Also whan hit was of hym demanded what auailed hym Plato or philosophy, wherin he had ben studious: he aunswered that they caused hym to sustayne aduersitie paciently, and made his exile to be to hym more facile and easy: *whiche courage and wysedome* consydered of his people, they eftsones restored him unto his realme and astate roiall . . . ([HC] Elyot 22)

The determiner *which* probably never extended beyond the literate mode of expression.

Along with *which*, the combination *the which* (pronominal or determiner) is common in sixteenth-century English. It first occurs in the North, in late Middle English, and slowly finds its way towards the South. Its rise is

attributed both to the French influence (*liquels*, etc.) and to native constructions (OE *se þe*, *swa hwylc swa*, etc.). In Middle English it is used particularly in contexts in which an unambiguous link between the relative clause and the antecedent is needed, i.e. in continuative clauses and in clauses separated from the antecedent (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.1.1). In the sixteenth century, too, the typical domain of *the which* is continuative clauses, especially with inanimate nominal or clausal antecedents (see (585) above). It is rarer than the simple *which*, although favoured by certain authors. Later on in Modern English it falls into disuse: there are no instances in the Helsinki Corpus dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, and according to Elphinston (1765: II 7), it is no longer used in his time.

In Late Middle and Early Modern English, a finite or non-finite clause can be embedded into the relative clause. The relative pronoun is often used as a (push-down) clause element of the embedded clause (598), (599); for a discussion see Quirk *et al.* (1985:17.63–4); Moessner (1992). In some instances a 'pleonastic', recapitulating pronoun occurs in the relative clause (599); cf. (624).

(597) . . . directed to Bedingfield . . . *who, when he read them, carried* them to the duke . . . ([HC] Burnet *History* II 158)

(598) you haue a Duetie of God appoynted you how you shal do youre Office, *whiche if you exceede, wil be greuously required* at youre hands. ([HC] Throckmorton 65 Ci)

(599) he . . . shortly after founde out a Concealment, *which as soone as* he sought, the King bestowed *it* on hym. ([HC] Perrot 34)

This construction seems best explained by the use of *which* (or *who*) as a loose, almost coordinating link. This type of embedding becomes uncommon in the course of the eighteenth century. Visser (§534) refers to Latin models and to 'writers of "polite" English'. Van der Wurff's discussion (1989) also supports the strong Latin influence in examples like (598). It is not quite clear what Visser means by 'polite English', but it seems that this construction is not confined to formal styles exclusively. Visser quotes a number of examples from drama, and it can also be found in simple speech-based narrative style in seventeenth-century American English (Rissanen 1984: 423). French influence is probably at least as strong as Latin in the rise of this construction: it is to be noted that instances can be found as early as the late fourteenth century (Moessner 1992, Kytö and Rissanen 1993).

In addition to the three relative links discussed above, the relative clause

could be appended to the main clause by zero, i.e. without an expressed relativiser. In present-day written English, zero is mainly used when the relativiser is an object or complement or governed by a clause-final ('deferred' or 'stranded') preposition, as in *The house he bought/used to live in was white*. In subject position, zero is restricted to colloquial expression and mainly occurs after existential sentences (*There's a man likes his beer cold*).

The zero link is confined to restrictive relative clauses. Rydén (1966: 270) refers to Machyn's use of zero in non-restrictive clauses after certain expressions of time. This usage can be attributed to the author's idiosyncratic diary style:

(600) The xij day of *Aprell, was Ester monday*, dyd pryche at Sant Mare spyttyll master Horne. ([HC] Machyn 304)

Zero in subject position occurs in Middle English, and it is common in the sixteenth century. It can be found in both formal and informal writings (Rydén 1966: 267).

(601) But it is not *rumour can* make men guiltie, much lesse entitle me, to other mens crimes. (Jonson *Volpone* Epistle 18)

It is to be noted that even in this period the zero subject is most common in *there is/are* constructions (eighty-seven and a half per cent in Rydén's corpus).

(602) I know *there is noe Man can doe more* than your selfe ([HC] Perrott 37)

It is possible that zero is favoured in existential clauses simply because the boundary between the matrix clause and the relative clause is obvious and the construction is therefore unambiguous (cf. Bever & Langendoen 1972, Erdmann 1980, Nagucka 1980). The number of instances in which the antecedent NP is separated from the zero-introduced relative clause is low:

(603) Heere *they come will tell* you more (Shakespeare *All's Well that Ends Well* III.ii)

In the sixteenth century zero frequently occurs in other positions, too, particularly as the direct object or with a stranded preposition. The typical structural pattern with the zero relative in object position can be defined in some detail: the relative clause immediately follows the antecedent (cf., however, (606)); it is short and has a personal pronoun subject. The antecedent is mostly a noun although pronominal antecedents also occur, (605). All these features seem to diminish structural ambiguity.

(604) that he . . . seeth euery *trespasse we do* ([HC] Fisher 102)

(605) he hathe bene otherwise enformed of *them he put in trust*
(Gardiner 424 [quoted in Rydén 1966: 272])

(606) and resolved to make *the best use of it he was* able.
(Fielding *Tom Jones* II. v 100)

Zero is not necessarily a feature of colloquial language in the earliest Modern English. It occurs in the text of authors whose language can be regarded as formal, although it is avoided in the King James Bible.

In seventeenth-century texts zero in non-subject positions is more popular than in the subject position; in the eighteenth century it seems to become marked as a colloquialism. The grammarians' statements are illustrative while implying that the zero construction was still used even in formal writing at the end of the eighteenth century. Coote (1788: 215 [Visser §630]), states that the omission of the 'objective case' is less liable to objection than that of the 'nominative case'. Lowth (1775 [1979]: 103) rejects it as 'ungraceful' in solemn style and also condemns its excessive use in the colloquial.

Of the less common relative links, *as* and *but* are worth mentioning. *As* is mainly used with *such* and occasionally with *same*:

(607) . . . that noe man might preach, but *such as* should be allowed by authority: ([HC] Hayward 5)

(608) I suppose them to be longer then forty of *such miles as* are betwixt London and Saint Albanes . . . ([HC] John Taylor 128 Ci)

(609) to use *such means as* you shall think fit for the effectuall suppressing all Preparations to such a Disorder *in the same manner as* you would doe any other Sedition ([HC] Letter by Charles II, I 198)

But has the force of a relative pronoun + *not*. It seems to retain much of its conjunctive meaning 'except':

(610) I thynke there be no man *but* somtyme hath had thexperyence of the Ioye . . . ([HC] Fisher 43)

(611) ther was no Englysshman of armes *but that* had ii. or iii. prisoners.
(Berners *Froissart* I 248)

(612) What Townes of any moment, *but* we haue? (Shakespeare *1Henry VI* I.ii)

Note the combination *but that* in (611). The use of *but* in subject position (610), (611) is more common than in object position (612). Although this link was probably never common, it survives throughout the Modern English period.

4.6.2.2.2 Nominal relative clauses

Nominal relative clauses are used in the same functions as the noun phrases, as subjects, objects and complements. In addition to *who* and *(that) which*, these clauses can be introduced by *that* (613), and by *what* (614), which becomes common in the course of the seventeenth century (Kemp 1979):

(613) Let vs not inclyne our selues vnto the preceptes and tradycyons of oure fathers, nor let vs do *that* semes ryght in our eyes. ([HC] Latimer 37)

(614) Doe and say *what* ye lust, ye shall neuer please me ([HC] Udall 1077)

In the above instances the relative clause is generalising but nominal relative clauses can also be non-generalising, as in (615)–(616); cf. Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.6.1.1) for a discussion of the Middle English usage. It is not always easy, however, to keep these two types apart.

(615) There be also *whiche* ought to be used for necessitie only. (Elyot [Scolar Press] 62 v)

(616) desyred him to take *that* they had brought him (Elyot [Scolar Press] 215 v)

From Old English on, the generalising reference has been the domain of *wh*-pronouns. When *that* introduces a nominal relative clause, it is mostly non-generalising, as in (616).

Butler (1634 [1910]) mentions *that* as an alternative to *that which* giving the example *I giv you that you aske*. There are also instances in Bunyan (Widholm 1877: 36). This use seems to become obsolete by the end of the seventeenth century. This is not surprising as the construction obviously deviates from the other uses of the *that*-relative. The heavy functional load of *that* certainly accelerated the loss.

That referring to a group of persons or things is less common:

(617) there are, *that* professe to have a key for the decyphering of euery thing (Jonson *Volpone* Epistle 18–19)

The generalising relative pronouns could be strengthened by *ever*, *so*, *so ever* either spelt as a compound or as separate words, as in *who euer*, *what so euer*, *who so that*, etc. In *whatsomever* (e.g. Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well* III.v), the intensifying element *so* may have been confused with the indefinite pronoun *some*.

As the pronoun of the nominal relative clause also contains the antecedent, it can be more readily placed before the main clause in the sentence:

(618) *Who receyueth you* receiueth me (sayed christ) ([HC] Latimer 90–1)

4.6.2.2.3 Adverbial relative links

From Old English on, *there* and *where* can introduce adnominal and nominal relative clauses. Like the *wh*-pronouns, both can be followed by *that* (620) or *as* (621)–(622) as late as the seventeenth century. The latest instances of *there* in this use are recorded in sixteenth-century texts:

(619) Your laughing *there* you are, is the occasion I weep not *where* I am.
(1594 Bedingfeld transl. of *Machiavelli's Florentine Hist.* 182 [*OED* s.v. *there* 9c])

(620) . . . departe out of the Kynges service without licence of the Kynges leuetenaunt *there that* such departyng be takyn demed and adjuged felonie
([HC] Statutes III 27)

(621) whan they waxe brodye, to sette them *there as* noo beastes . . . hurte them.
([HC] Fitzherbert 96)

(622) he hade me home to hys owne howse, *where as* I had good yntertaynemente;
([HC] Mowntayne 209)

Note the variation between *there* and *where* in (619).

The antecedent of *where* can be *there*:

(623) The mynde of a man is more *there where* it loueth than it is vpon hymselfe.
([HC] Fisher 29)

4.6.2.2.4 Resumptive pronouns

Personal pronouns occurring in relative clauses and coreferential with the relative pronoun are called resumptive:

(624) I had . . . my Woman, Amy, *who* I now dress'd like a Gentlewoman and made *her* my Companion . . .
(Defoe *Roxana* 165)

In Old and early Middle English these pronouns have a clearly definable syntactic function: they indicate the case, gender and number with indeclinable relative particles. After the introduction of the relative pronoun forms *whom*, *whose*, their use is sharply reduced (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.1.1). Instances can, however, be found until mid-eighteenth century (624). In late Middle English and Early Modern English resumptive pronouns may have been used for increasing textual cohesion (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 202–3). As they mostly refer to the object of the clause, Visser (§604) suggests that an additional reason for their use might be a more general tendency to repeat the sentence-initial object with a personal pronoun – a tendency which may be connected with the establishment of the basic SVO order.

4.6.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are traditionally classified on a semantic basis analogously to other adverbials. Typical classes are clauses of time, place, manner, purpose, result, condition, concession and comparison. As will be shown below, these distinctions are in no way clear-cut; many conjunctions introduce clauses of more than one semantic class. In most instances, however, the subordinators have one central and one or more peripheral meanings; thus, for instance, the core meaning of *when* is temporal, while its causal, concessive and conditional meanings are secondary.

In Early Modern English, as in Present-Day English, adverbial clauses can function either as predication adjuncts or as sentence adjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 15.22). Predication adjuncts normally occur in the same positions as direct objects or subject complements; consequently, they are mostly positioned after the matrix clause:

(625) The reason *is, because in this Cure, the vncleanenesse of the body is such, which feedes the matter of the disease.* ([HC] Clowes 9)

(626) that no hatt be worne of any Graduate or Scholer within the University, except it *be when he shall journey out of the Town . . .* ([HC] William Cecil 25)

Most often, however, the adverbial clause functions as a sentence adjunct; the majority of the examples quoted in the following discussion will be of that type.

In Middle English and even in Early Modern English the number and variation of conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses is more extensive than in present-day written or standard spoken language. To give a few instances, *without* and *an if*, *nif*, could introduce conditional clauses, *afore*, *or ere*, *sith*, *sithence* temporal clauses, *for because* and *for why* causal clauses and *howbeit (that)*, *howsomever* concessive clauses. Some of these are still used in non-standard varieties of English. On the other hand, the sphere of use of some conjunctions, most notably *that*, was wider than today. For instance, when two subordinate clauses were coordinated by *and*, the second conjunction could be *that*:

(627) *Though* yet of Hamlet our deere Brothers death The memory be greene: *and that* it vs befitted To beare our hearts in greefe
(Shakespeare *Hamlet* I.ii)

(628) But *since* this has not been so, and *that* both yo and Lovelace call upon me to assume my own Estate, I will enter briefly into the subject.
(Richardson Clarissa II 56)

4.6.2.3.1 'Pleonastic' *that*

In Old and early Middle English, subordinating links were often syntactic constructions consisting of a preposition, the demonstrative pronoun 'that' and a conjunctive element (*þæt* or *þe*), as in *for þam þe*, *for þy þæt* 'for', 'because'. In addition, there are combinations of the simple conjunction and *þæt*, such as *oþ þæt* 'until'. In Middle English, these groups are simplified, but *that* still often follows the conjunction, and can be appended even to conjunctions with which it did not occur in Old English texts. It is possible that Scandinavian influence supported the use of this 'post-conjunctive' *that*. Scholars have described *that* in these positions alternatively as a relative particle or as a more general marker of subordination; in early Modern English it is certainly identified with the nominal clause conjunction *that* rather than with the relative link.

In the sixteenth century, *that* can be found at least with *after*, *as*, *because*, *before*, *beside(s)*, *for*, *if*, *since*, *sith*, *though, (un)till, when and while* (see Rissanen 1989):

(629) *yf that* yow can so doo, paye your chargys of the howsse, ([HC] Mowntayne 207)

(630) *After that* I had told him many consideracions why he had no cause so to say: "Well," said he, . . . ([HC] Roper 35)

(631) I thought my self I might not well do so, *because that* in my conscience this was one of the cases, in which I was bounden ([HC] More *Letters* 505)

(632) I received a Challenge from Sir Amias Preston, and *for that* I did intend to answer it, I resolved to leave my Estate settled . . . ([HC] Raleigh 213 Cii)

In addition, *that* can follow nominal and relative *wh*-connectors (4.6.2.2.1 above) and links going back to non-finite forms of the verbs, such as *notwithstanding*, *excepting*, etc.

'Pleonastic' *that* is relatively common in the sixteenth century. In the course of the seventeenth century its popularity decreases rapidly. Instances can, however, be found even in eighteenth-century texts, e.g. in Fielding. The only conjunction differing from the general trend is *for*: there are more instances of *for that* recorded in the 1570–1640 subperiod than in the 1500–70 one in the Helsinki Corpus (Rissanen 1989). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, even this combination becomes rare. The reasons for the deviant development of *for that* will be discussed below, in the section dealing with causal clauses.

In addition to *that*, the conjunction *as* can be used as the second element of a conjunction introducing adverbial clauses:

(633) They drie vp the fast and sound members, and make the humor grosse, whereof *when as* it is burned or rosted in the kidneyes, stones are ingendred. ([HC] Turner, B7 r)

4.6.2.3.2 Final and consecutive clauses

Clauses indicating purpose (final) and result (consecutive) are similar in meaning and the links introducing them are partly the same. The main distinction is that, unlike consecutive clauses, final clauses normally indicate action which has not taken place, i.e. they are less factual. For this reason, the mood of the final clauses is mostly expressed by subjunctive forms or by modal periphrasis with *may/might*, *mot*, *shall/should* and *will/would*:

(634) Therfore that infelicitie of our tyme and countray compelleth us to encroche some what upon the yeres of children, . . . that they *may sooner attayne* to wisedome and grauitie than . . . ([HC] Elyot 21)

(635) that we ordeyne at the portes and havens of Englande suche provysyon and defence that our countrey *receive* no blame (Berners *Froissart* 4 314)

There is also a close semantic relationship between clauses of purpose and reason. Consequently, conjunctions normally introducing causal clauses can also introduce final clauses, particularly in negative contexts:

(636) And *for* the time shall not seeme tedious, Ile tell thee what befell me . . . (Shakespeare *3Henry VI* III.i)

As can be used as a link in consecutive clauses, particularly when introduced by *such* or *so* in the main clause. These clauses show some resemblance to comparative clauses:

(637) Loue's a mighty Lord, And hath *so* humbled me, *as* I confesse There is no woe to his correction . . . (Shakespeare *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.iv)

(638) *Such* attribution should the Douglas haue, *As* not a souldior of this seasons stampe, Should go so general currant through the world. (Shakespeare *1Henry IV* IV.i)

The simple *that* is a common link in both final and consecutive clauses. Because of its heavy functional load, this conjunction was often preceded by elements making the indication of purpose or result more obvious, such as *so*, *to the intent/end* (recorded since the fifteenth century), and *in order* (recorded since the eighteenth century).

Final clauses:

(639) go to thy bedde and slepe, and be vppe betyme, . . . *that* thou mayste be all the shorte wynters day about thy busynes. ([HC] Fitzherbert 101)

(640) To do this, *to the end that* they may oft-times reade over these . . . ([HC] Brinsley 46)

(641) *to the intent* that they might be ye [= the] easier had, Mr Speaker invited them to dinner ([HC] Aungier 24)

(642) *In order* . . . *that* the Resemblance in the Ideas be Wit, it is necessary . . . (Addison *Spectator* no. 62 I 264)

In order (. . .) *that* probably originates in the prepositional expression indicating either purpose or, in a more general way, 'in regard to', 'in reference to', first attested in the sixteenth century:

(643) The rychesse of ye worlde hath no goodnes, but *in order to* man (1526 *Pilgr. Perf.* 6 [*OED* s.v. *order* sb. 28a])

Consecutive clauses:

(644) Then Il'd shrieke, *that* euen your eares Should rift to heare me, (Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* V.i)

(645) your eye may iudg without muche declaracion, *so that* I shall not neede to make more exposition therof . . . ([HC] Record Fo. 2 r)

In negative final clauses *lest* is used if the intention or purpose to prevent or guard against something is expressed (*OED* s.v. *lest*). This usage goes back to the Old English combination *þy læs þe* and is common in ME (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.1):

(646) which I denied, *lest* they should so recouer the swords . . .([HC] Coverte 17)

4.6.2.3.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses divide into those containing new and those containing given information (cf. Traugott *CHEL* I 4.5.5 and Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.2 for Old English and Middle English usages). In Early Modern English the most common conjunctions introducing causal clauses of new information are *for* (*that*) and *because* (*that*). Less frequently occurring links are *forbecause*, *as*, *for why* and *in that*. Clauses of given information are introduced by *that*, *now (that)*, *since*, *sith* (note the connection of these conjunctions with temporality). The mood of the causal clauses is mostly indicative.

The most common Early Modern causal conjunction is *for*. It goes back to Old English groups in which it functions as a preposition

governing a demonstrative pronoun and, often, *þæt* or *þe* (see the discussion of 'pleonastic' *that* above, 4.6.4.1). According to Mitchell (1985: §§3014–18), causal clauses introduced by these Old English combinations could be either coordinating or subordinating. In Middle English, the combinations with *for* are simplified, but *that* is occasionally used after the (now conjunctional) *for* in the same way as with other conjunctions and certain pronouns (see above, 4.6.2.3.1).

In Early Modern English, *for* is still occasionally used in a way typical of the subordinators, before the main clause (647) and in combinations of two or more coordinated causal clauses (648); cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 13.9–13.10), Rissanen (1989). In most instances in these 'subordinator contexts' it is followed by *that*, as in (649) and with the second *for* in (648).

(647) And *for* he felte hymself so syke he commaunded to aske if that Chambre had any specyall name ([HC] Fabyan 174 v)

(648) the nether mouth of the stomacke is narrower then the vpper, and that for three causes: the first cause is, that the vpper receyeuth meate great and boystrous in substaunce . . . The second is, *for* by him passeth al the meates . . . The thirde is, *for that* through him passeth al the drosse of the Stomacke to the guttes. ([HC] Vicary 68)

(649) king Edwardes lyne shoulde not any longer reigne vpon them, both *for that* thei had so farre gone, that it was now no surety to retreate, as *for that* they thought it for the weale vniuersal to take that wai although they had not yet begonne it. ([HC] More *Richard III* 79)

In most instances the loose causal connection between the two clauses and the post-position of the *for*-clause make it possible to classify *for* as a coordinator:

(650) he saide to Cyrus, O sir, from hensforthe loke that ye take me for a man of great substaunce. *For* I am highly rewarded with many great gyftes for bringing your letters. ([HC] Elyot 155)

This distinction between the coordinating *for* and the subordinating *for that* probably accounts for the fact that the last-mentioned combination increases frequency in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries while the other conjunction + *that* combinations rapidly fall into disuse. As mentioned above, even *for that* seems to become obsolete by the end of the seventeenth century.

Because ('by cause') emerges in the fourteenth century. In its earliest usage it is mostly followed by *that*; from the fifteenth century on, the majority of instances appear without *that*. The grammaticalisation of this conjunction

is remarkably rapid, and it is very popular in the sixteenth century: in texts dating from 1420–1500 in the Helsinki Corpus, the ratio between *because* and *for* is 1:15 (about fifty as against about seven hundred and fifty instances), while in the period between 1500 and 1640 it is 1:3 (about three hundred and fifty as against about a thousand). It is possible that this development is due to the gradual development of *for* towards a coordinating conjunction, a development which underlines its use as an indicator of fairly loose, explanatory cause–effect relationship. Conversely, it can be argued that the emergence of a new clearly subordinating causal link may have accelerated the coordinator development of *for*. It is worth mentioning that Wallis (1653 [1972]: 374) makes a clear distinction between *for* 'nam' and *because* 'quia'.

Causal uses of *sith(ence)*, *since* (from the ME temporal *sithen(s)*, *sin*, < OE *siþþan*), and *as* emerge in Middle English (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.2). This use of *as* seems to develop slowly; there are no unambiguous instances in Shakespeare (Franz 1939: §578), and not many in the Early Modern English section of the Helsinki Corpus:

(651) For *sith* almightie God the father woulde gyue hys moste dearely beloued sonne vnto suche an horrible death, . . . thou mayest bee sure that he hateth sinne very much. ([HC] Fisher 398)

(652) they did not know whether he might not have stepped aside for debt, *since* at that time all people were calling in their money . . . ([HC] Burnet *History* II 164)

(653) But when the king had abused her, anon her husband (*as* he was an honest man . . .) left her vp to him al togither. ([HC] More *Richard III* 55)

It is often difficult to draw a distinct borderline between the causal and comparative uses of *as*:

(654) for *as* she hath Been publickely accus'd, so shall she haue A iust and open Triall . . . (Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* II.iii)

4.6.2.3.4 Conditional and concessive clauses

Like final and consecutive clauses, conditional and concessive clauses are closely related. In both clause types, a condition is involved. In conditional clauses the realisation of the action in the main clause depends on the fulfilment of the condition in the subordinate clause ('If you come here, I'll show you some pictures'), while in concessive clauses, the fulfilment of the condition does not affect the action of the main clause; on the

contrary, the main clause is often in adversative relation with it, as in 'Although he asked me to, I didn't show him any pictures' (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.3).

The relationship between these two clause types can also be seen in the fact that, as in Middle English, the prototypical conditional conjunction *if* can be used in concessive clauses (655)[41] and the prototypical concessive conjunction *though* in conditional clauses (656):

(655) *If* Spirites of their owne accorde woulde gladly tell vs many thinges: yet wee must not giue eare vnto them
(1572 R. H. tr. Lauater's *Of ghostes* 197 [*OED* s.v. *if* 4a])

(656) *Though* a sprete or an angell hath apered to him, let vs not stryve agaynst God. (Tyndale *Acts of Apostles* 23.9)

As in Present-Day English, subjunctive forms predominate in conditional clauses indicating hypothetical or rejected condition. Auxiliary periphrasis also occurs. In non-introduced conditional or concessive clauses (with inversion) the subjunctive or auxiliary periphrasis is the rule (660)–(663). *Would* in most of these contexts seems to imply volition (658):

(657) and if euer it *came* soo to / that he shulde resygne his Kyngelye mageste / he sayde his mynde was to resygne to the Duke of Herforde
([HC] Fabyan 168V Ci)

(658) I might borrow, (if any man *would* lend) spend it I could get, begge if I *had* the impudence, and steale, if I *durst aduenture* the price of a hanging . . .
([HC] John Taylor 129 C1)

(659) If he *should* nowe *take* any thinge of them, he knewe, he said, he should do them greate wronge . . . ([HC] Roper 41)

Besides the prototypical conjunctions *if* and *(al)though*, inversion without an expressed conjunction can indicate a conditional or concessive relationship between the subordinate and the main clause. This usage may go back to Old English (Mitchell 1985 II: §§3678–83), and is possible in formal contexts even in Present-Day English. The clause with an inversion either follows or (most commonly) precedes the main clause. In Present-Day English, verbs occurring in inverted conditional clauses are mainly *be*, *have* and *do*; in Early Modern English the selection of verbs is more varied:

Conditional

(660) *Wist I* that it were trewe . . . I woulde well thynke, that . . . he hanged himselfe. (More *Heresies* 327)

(661) *Would I* haue my flesh Torne by the publique hooke, these qualified hangmen Should be my company. (Ben Jonson *Sejanus* II.iii)

Concessive

(662) For how can that subject please his Liege Souerain, *kepe he* neuer so well his lawes, *obserue he* neuer so exactly his statutes, if with all this he acknowleadg him not for his Prince (Stapleton 5v)

Expressions of alternative or disjunctive concession

(663) I charge thee . . . To do what ever Faustus shall command: *Be it* to make the Moone drop from her Sphere, *Or* the Ocean to overwhelme the world. (Marlowe *Dr. Faustus* I.iii)

The imperative is occasionally used in clauses which are either conditional or concessive in meaning (Ando 1976: §§6.3.9–6.3.10):

(664) *Pursue* him quicklie, and he cannot scape (Marlowe *Edward II* II.iv)

(665) *Live* godly, thou shalt die, though honour heaven, yet shall thy life be forcibly bereaven. (Marlowe Ovid's *Elegies* 3 8 37)

Conditional links no longer used in standard Present-Day English are *so (that)* 'if only', *if case* and, in negative contexts (in which Present-Day English normally uses *unless*), *without*. The conjunction *and* can also link the clauses of a conditional sentence (see 4.6.1).

(666) I prethee go, and get me some repast, I care not what, *so* it be holsome foode. (Shakespeare *Taming of the Shrew* IV.iii)

(667) and *without* they myght have it half for nought, they will bey [= buy] none; ([HC] Isabel Plumpton 198)

In case (that) emerges in Middle English and steadily gains ground in Early Modern English. The less common *if case* (669) may be regarded as an abbreviated variant of *if case be that* (cf. *OED* s.v. *case* sb1 11):

(668) to which Scholars may be removed and kept apart, *in case* they be sick . . . ([HC] Hoole 226)

(669) This speak I (Lords) to let you vnderstand, *If case* some one of you would flye from vs, That there's no hop'd-for mercy with the Brothers Yorke. (Shakespeare *3Henry VI* V.iv)

The main clause (apodosis) following a conditional clause is occasionally introduced by the correlative *so* or *then*:

(670) *If* thou believe not . . ., *so* is it impossible that . . .
(1536 Tindale *Doct. Treat.* 433 [*OED* s.v. *so* 12])

(671) *if* the Brayne be let, al other members be let: and if the Brayne be wel, *then* al other members of the body be the better disposed.
([HC] More *Richard III* 42)

The use of *then* in (671) seems to be due to rhythm or emphasis.

The intensifying *all* plays an important role in the formation of concessive links. It is combined with *though* in Middle English, and by the end of the period it had lost most of its emphasising force. *For all (that)* and *all if* 'even though/if' are less common combinations indicating concessivity. The former phrase can be found throughout the Modern period; the latest instances of the latter are recorded in Barclay's texts in the sixteenth century:

(672) How many of this Citie *for all that* they are Vsurers, yet would be counted honest men . . .
([HC] Smith B2 v)

(673) *All if* I would, it were but shame.
(1514 Barclay *Cyt. & Uplandyshm.* 41 [*OED* s.v. *all* adv. C10b])

From early Middle English on, *all* can be used as an intensifying word even in non-introduced concessive clauses, with an inverted word order:

(674) the holy water of . . . baptysme strecheth to . . . all the actuall synne that the man hath done, *All were he* neuer so olde eare he were baptysed.
(More *Conf. Tindale* 101)

The compound conjunction *albeit* develops in Middle English. Occasionally the pronominal element *it* is missing:

(675) I [= ay], but his feare Would ne're be masqu'd, *all-be* his vices were.
(Jonson *Sejanus* IV 478)

Concessive clauses can be introduced by *notwithstanding (that)*:

(676) Milke, *notwithstanding that* it seemeth to be wholly of one substance, yet it is compact, or made of severall substances.
(1584 Cogan *Haven Health* 176 [*OED* s.v. *notwithstanding* C. conj.])

4.6.2.3.5 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses relate the time of the situation they denote to the time of the situation indicated in the main clause (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 15.26). They are related to causal and conditional/concessive clauses because in those adverbial clause types the action and state of the subordinate clause mostly

precedes that of the main clause. In the following instances, temporal conjunctions *whiles* and *when* are used in a causal (677) conditional (678) and concessive (679) clause:

(677) [the horse] fell downe, and *whiles* hee was not able to endure the paine, walloweth along, and happeneth to besprent his caparison
(Holland *Ammianus Marcellinus* 23 220 [Franz §555 note])

(678) what a thing should I haue beene *when* I had beene swel'd!
(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* III.v)

(679) Dost thou coniure for wenches, that yu calst for such store, *When* one is one too many? (Shakespeare *Comedy of Errors* III.i)

A clear proof of the closeness of temporal and causal clauses is the use of the conjunctions *since* and *as* introducing both classes (see examples (651)–(653) and (694)–(695).

The mood of the temporal clauses is mostly indicative; subjunctive forms appear when uncertainty, non-factuality or prospect are indicated. This is often the case in clauses referring to future time, introduced by *till*, *before*, etc.; see e.g. (697) below.

The time denoted by the main clause can be previous or subsequent to, or simultaneous with, the time denoted by the subordinate clause. Some subordinators (*until*, *since*, etc.) limit the duration of the time indicated by the main clause.

The temporal conjunction most extensive in its scope of meaning is *when*, which replaces the older *þa*, *þo*, *þonne*, in non-generalising contexts, in Middle English (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.4). *When* can be used both with reference to a single event or to repeated or habitual action. It can introduce a clause indicating time either simultaneous to (680), or preceding (681), that referred to in the main clause. It can also indicate a generalisation in time (682)–(683).

(680) *When* I was a scholer in Cambridge, there was there a stinking butcherie . . . ([HC] Turner D1 r)

(681) *When* the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with Tullies booke . . . ([HC] Ascham 183)

(682) *when* a man is in good helth a little [wine] being delayed [= diluted] with water, it maye be taken without harme. ([HC] Turner B3 v)

With a correlative *then*:

(683) *when* your pot is filled, *then* couer the top thereof with salt.
([HC] Markham 113)

The conjunction *where*, primarily local, is often used in a rather loose way in contexts in which *when*, for instance, would sound more natural:

(684) this is like the mending of high wayes In sommer, *where* the wayes are faire enough? (Shakespeare *Merchant of Venice* V.i)

In the generalising use (685), and in intensifying/indefinite contexts, (686)–(687), the compound forms *whenso*, *when(so)ever* are common. These originally emphatic forms emerge in Middle English. The form *whensomever* also occurs (687); cf. *whatsoever* commented on in 4.6.2.2.2 above:

(685) *whensoever* they shall bee examined of a sudden, they shall be very ready, ([HC] Brinsley 46)

(686) I do not yet know when I shall leave this twone. *Whenever* I do, twill be with less relucktancy then ever I did in my life. ([HC] Anne Hatton 212)

(687) The next degree I expecte is some violent fryars and Jesuites inciting . . . Which *whensomever* it bee I confidently beleeve . . .
(1611 in *10th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. 1 547 [*OED* s.v. *whensomever*])

These emphatic forms can occasionally be used in contexts in which a single event is referred to:

(688) He gave me a good supper last night *when ever* I came within his doors.
(1655 *Sorel's Com. Hist. Francion* [*OED* s.v. *whenever* I 2])

The *OED* points out that this use of *whenever* is still current in Scots and Hiberno-English.

As in Present-Day English, simultaneous or overlapping time is mostly indicated by *while(s)*, *(the) whilst*. (For the etymology of these forms, see, e.g., Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.4.)

(689) laboureth to lyue and not to die, *whiles* they may haue strengthe to contynue. ([HC] Boethius, Colville 79)

(690) The Accuser may be drawn to Practice, *whilst* he is in Person.
([HC] Raleigh 212 Cii)

(691) I saw a Smith stand with his hammer (thus) *The whilst* his Iron did on the Anuile coole . . . (Shakespeare *King John* IV.ii)

The whilst is rare in Early Modern English. As in Present-Day English, *while* can be used adversatively, with a weakened temporal meaning:

(692) now adaies beggars are gallants, *while* gentiles of right blood seeme tame ruffians; ([HC] Armin 42)

(693) *whilst* every one of these is the same with the rest, whoever endeavours to obtain any of these without the other, loseth that which he desireth.
([HC] Boethius Preston 127)

See also the use of *while(s)* in instances of the type of (701).

In Early Modern English *as* indicates simultaneous action in more varied contexts than in Present-Day English:

(694) I pray you, iest sir *as* you sit at dinner . . . (Shakespeare *Comedy of Errors* I.ii)

When the time denoted by the main clause follows the time denoted by the subordinate clause, the typical conjunctions are *after* and *sith(ence)*, *since* and, when immediacy or proximity between the events is indicated, *as soon as*. While *after* simply marks the sequence of the two clauses, the conjunctions going back to Old English *siððan* normally mark the beginning of the period after which the situation in the matrix clause applies (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 15.29). In Early Modern English, however, even the last-mentioned conjunctions are occasionally used rather loosely:

(695) *since* I came into this Hall, I hearde one saye (but I knowe him not) that Wiat . . . ([HC] Throckmorton 71, Ci)

From (that) is occasionally used as a connective, in the same contexts as *since*. According to Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.6.3.4), this use goes back to Middle English and may be due to the gradually developing causal meaning of *sith(ence)*, *since*:

(696) Euery gilt . . . Done *frome* he passith the ȝeris of Innocens.
(c. 1500 *Lancelot* [*OED* s.v. *from*])

When the time denoted in the main clause precedes that of the subordinate clause, the most common conjunctions are *before* and (particularly in the sixteenth century) *ere*, (697). The combination *or ere*, (698), is uncommon:

(697) forasmuche as they were coupled *ere* she wer wel ripe, she not very feruently loued, for whom she neuer longed. ([HC] More *Richard III* 55)

(698) Thou shalt have somewhat of me, *or ere* I go.
(1568 Fulwel [*OED* s.v. *or* adv. 1])

Afore is rare, in comparison with *before*, and seems more common in local than in temporal contexts. According to Franz (1939: §558 note), the temporal usage is 'vulgar' in Shakespeare (700) but it occurs in earlier sixteenth-century laws (699):

(699) Also be it enacted . . . that all other Statutes of array made *afore* the makyng of this present Statute, . . . be utterly voyde ([HC] *Statutes* III 9)

(700) ile [= I'll] forsweare keeping house, *afore* Ile be in these tirrits and frights (Shakespeare *2 Henry IV* II.iv)

Until and *till* mark the time up to which the situation in the matrix clause applies (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 15.27). *While(s)* can occasionally be used with this indication:

(701) He shall conceale it, *Whiles* [= until] you are willing it shall come to note (Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* IV.iii)

Against (that) can be occasionally found in a conjunctive use, roughly with the meaning 'by the time (that)'. An indication of purpose is often involved:

(702) And see them readie *against* their Mother comes. (Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus* V.ii)

(703) Prepare a Child *against* he comes to be a Man (1689 Selden *Table Talk* [*OED* s.v. *against* Bb])

Clauses introduced by *as soon as* and *no sooner* (. . .) *but/than* indicate the temporal proximity of two actions or events. According to Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.6.3.4), *no sooner* (. . .) *than* does not occur in Middle English. The earliest instances found in the Helsinki Corpus date from around 1600.

(704) *as soone as* he was gon in to the house this poller [= rogue] lad the horse awaye . . . ([HC] *Merry Tales* 147)

(705) a sodaine fire was raised towards eveninge in Lieth, which was *no sooner* espied by the Englishe, *but* they discharged their ordinance . . . ([HC] Hayward 61)

(706) the Portugals every Year are at the charge of a lusty Squadron in these Seas, . . . who were *no sooner* gone, *than* the Arabs sent their Fleet to do this Mischief here; ([HC] Fryer 193)

But can introduce a temporal clause even in other contexts if the main clause contains a negation, expressed either by an explicitly or implicitly negative adverb:

(707) I *scarce* had paid the Chair-Men, and was coming up after her, *but* I met her on the stair . . . (Wycherley *Love in a Wood* IV.v)

(708) I beheld in my Dream, that they had *not* journied far, *but* the River and the way, for a time, parted. (Bunyan *Pilgrim's Progress* 229)

4.6.2.3.6 Clauses of comparison

Clauses of comparison have traditionally been regarded as a semantic subclass of adverbial clauses. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 15.50, 15.63) make a distinction between two types of clauses indicating comparison. In 'clauses of similarity and comparison', the subordinate clause is a predication adjunct, and the focus of comparison is indicated by the main clause in its entirety. In 'comparative clauses', which are not regarded as a subtype of adverbial clauses by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 15.2) there is a 'standard of comparison' expressed by some element in the main clause; this element is, in most cases, an adjective or an adverb, but it can be any part of the sentence except the verb. The difference in the basic meaning of the two clause types need not, however, be great: the standard of comparison is implied in most clauses of similarity, as in, *It was just [as horrible] as I thought.*

Clauses of similarity or comparison

The most common subordinator introducing clauses of similarity is *as*. As shown above, this subordinator can introduce even other classes of adverbial clauses. In addition, it develops a use parallel to that of a relative pronoun as early as Middle English (Fischer *CHEL* II 4.6.3.5); see, 4.6.2.2.1.

As can be strengthened by *such* or *right*:

(709) if his Highnes might inwardlie see my true minde *such as* God knoweth it is, it wolde (I trust) sone aswage his high displeasure.
([HC] More, *Letters* 509)

(710) Farthermore euery thyng, kepethe that thynge, that is agreyng and according to it, *ryght as* the thynges that be contrarye, corrupteth and dystroyeth it. ([HC] Boethius, Colville 80)

In most instances, however, *such* is best analysed as the antecedent of *as* (notice the comma between *such* and *as* in (711). It is not unlikely that constructions of this type contribute to the development of the relative link use of *as*:

(711) if the matter be *such, as* both the parties may stande with saluacyon, then . . . ([HC] More *Letters* 547)

Of the special uses of *as*, the evaluative–emphatic one is worth mentioning:

(712) Do not laugh at me, (*as* [= as sure as] I am a man), I thinke this Lady To be my childe Cordelia. (Shakespeare *King Lear* IV.vi)

(713) *As* Im a Person, I am in a very Chaos to think I shou'd so forget my self
(Congreve *Way of the World* III.i)

Besides *as*, *like* can introduce clauses of comparison. It is, however, less common than *as*:

(714) Ye have said *lyke* a noble lady ought to say.
(1530 Berners *Arth. Lyt. Bryt.* 520 [*OED* s.v. *like* adv. (conj.) B6a])

The *OED* (s.v. *like* a., adv., conj. B6) quotes the first instances of this use from the sixteenth century and suggests that it originates partly in an ellipsis of *as* in the conjunctive phrase *like as*, or an extension of the quasi-prepositional use of *like*, to govern a clause instead of a nominal, and partly in anacoluthic constructions of the following type:

(715) *Like* to an Eagle, in his kingly pride, Soring through his wide Empire of the aire . . . by chaunce *hath spide* A Goshauke
(1596 Spenser *Faerie Queene* V iv 42 [*OED loc. cit.*])

The fact that *like as* is relatively common in fifteenth and sixteenth century texts supports the first mentioned alternative:

(716) the lyuer . . . should be plycable to the stomacke, *like as* a hande dothe to an apple, to comforte her digestion; for his heate is to the stomacke *as* the heate of the fyre is to the Potte or Cauldron that hangeth ouer it.
([HC] Vicary 69)

Note the variation between *like as* and *as* in (716).

In the seventeenth century, *like as* becomes less common: there are no instances in the Helsinki Corpus from the second half of the century.

In Early Modern English the main clause and the clause of comparison were more often than today linked with an expressed correlative element in the main clause. This element is most often *so*, which appears particularly if the main clause follows the comparative clause:

(717) *as* one starre differeth from another in glory, *so* every word of prophecy hath a treasure of matter in it . . . ([HC] Hooker 7)

With *as* strengthened by *such*:

(718) *Such as* the mayster was *so* was the seruuant.
(a1533 Berners *Huon* 67 232 [*OED* s.v. *so* 22])

With the main clause preceding the subordinate clause (often in oaths and other solemn utterances):

(719) *so* befall my soule *As* this is false he burthens me withall.
(Shakespeare *Comedy of Errors* V.i)

See also the discussion of correlative comparison in comparative clauses, with adjectives and adverbs, below.

When the basis of the comparison is hypothetical ('conditional clause of comparison'), the most common conjunctive links are *as if* and *as though*. If the comparison is hypothetical, the finite verb of the clause is in the subjunctive form, or a modal auxiliary. The simple *as* in this context survives past Early Modern English only with *it*, as in *as it were* ((721); cf. Visser §890):

(720) Which mater when I herd I lete *as* I nothynge had marked it,
([HC] Tunstall 135)

(721) besides the two obvious advantages of surveying, *as it were* in a picture, the true beauty of virtue and deformity of vice
(Fielding *Jonathan Wild* 3 [quoted by Visser §890])

A special case of the use of *as* in clauses of comparison is the combination of *as* with *who/which*, in the phrase *as who say/says* 'as if somebody should say'. This phrase is first recorded in early Middle English; for a discussion of its origin, see Nevanlinna (1974). Both in Middle English and Early Modern English the subjunctive (722) or the modal auxiliary (723) varies with the simple indicative form (724):

(722) Walke before me, and be thou vpright, and I will make my couenant betweene me and thee. *As who say*, one condition . . . of the couenant is our vpright and good profession.
(a1586 *Answer Cartwright* 9 [*OED* s.v. *as* 12a])

(723) *As who should sai* it were a very daungerous matter.
(1551–6 Robinson, transl. More's *Utopia* 35 [*OED loc. cit.*])

(724) For as holy Dauid saith to this gailor . . . whither shal I fle fro thy face: *as who saith* nowhither.
(More *Treatise vppon the last thinges* [1557] 84 E4 [quoted by Visser §890])

Comparative clauses

As mentioned above, comparative clauses indicate similarity in regard to some element expressed in the matrix clause. These can indicate either equality or inequality. The former are typically introduced by *as*, the latter by *than*. These comparative links can introduce clauses, words or phrases.

As in Present-Day English, the standard of comparison is in most cases marked with the correlative particle *as* or *so*:

(725) thanne he taketh the barley or otes by the toppes, and pulleth out *as moche as* wil make a band . . . ([HC] Fitzherbert 36)

(726) my closet is so full stored and *so fine, as* I would never desire to have it better. ([HC] Pepys 7 409)

The *OED* (s.v. *as* 4) quotes a few Modern English instances with *as* in clauses indicating inequality. This usage is, however, exceptional; there are no Early Modern English instances in the Helsinki Corpus.

When the second element (the basis) of the comparison is expressed by a verbal group, a comparative clause of inequality can be introduced by the combination *than that* (727). The same construction is used in Present-Day English.

(727) nothing can be more just *than that* evil Men should be punished, and unjust *than that* they should escape Punishment.
([HC] Boethius Preston 180)

That is not inserted when *than* follows *other*, *else*, or their compounds:

(728) some for malice or ignorance will take things *otherwise than they are spoken* . . . ([HC] Smith E3 r)

Exceptionally, the words indicating inequality (*rather*, *more*, *other*, *else*, etc.) can be dropped:

(729) He did verily believe that Job was torne and tortured by his interpritations, *then* ever he had been by his botches and ulcers.
(1647 Trapp *Comm. Epistles* 330 [*OED* s.v. *than* 3a])

In Old and early Middle English proportional comparatives could be expressed by the combinations *so* . . . *so* (OE *swa* . . . *swa*) or *the* . . . *the* (OE *þy/þon/þe*). By the end of the Middle English period, the latter construction has completely superseded the *so* construction.

(730) So many sinnes so much vnkyndnesse. And *the more haynous, and the more accustomable* that they bee, *the more abhominable* is thyne vnkyndenesse.
([HC] Fisher 401)

In comparisons expressed by words or phrases, the types of linking are essentially the same as with clauses:

(731) and if all these thynges be of greater losse, and may be all done in *as shorte space, as the other*, than doo thy many thynges fyrste. ([HC] Fitzherbert 97)

(732) there is at this day better introductions, and more facile, than euer before were made, concernyng *as wel greke as latine*, if they be wisely chosen.
([HC] Elyot 22)

Note the splitting of the phrase *as well* . . . *as* in (732). The combination *so* . . . *as* is fairly uncommon in phrases and loses ground in the course of the Early Modern English period:

(733) No *so much as a hens turd* but in pieces I tare it ([HC] *Gammer Gurton* I.v)

(734) passing by the side of a hill, *so steepe as the ridge of a house* . . . ([HC] John Taylor 134 Cii)

So . . . *so* can be found in proverbial expressions:

(735) Quot capita tot sensus: *so many heades so many opinions.* ([HC] Clowes 34)

See also (730) above.

The introductory particle can be omitted more freely than in Present-Day English:

(736) That Woman's mind is *charming as* her person; (Farquhar *A Constant Couple* V.iii)

4.6.2.3.7 Non-finite and verbless adverbial clauses

Non-finite adverbial clauses can be divided into four groups: (i) *to*-infinitives, (ii) bare infinitives, (iii) *-ing* forms, and (iv) *-ed* forms. All types can be used either with or without an expressed subject and linked with the main clause either with or without a subordinator.

The Early Modern English use of non-finite adverbial clauses does not essentially differ from present-day usage. As with noun clauses, the bare infinitive is, however, more common than today. *Go*, for instance, relatively often takes the bare infinitive, *come* somewhat more seldom. The present-day restriction of the plain infinitive to contexts in which *go* and *come* occur in the uninflected form (Lass 1987: 169) seems to prevail even in Early Modern English; none of the instances found in the Helsinki Corpus, or of those quoted by Visser (§1318), show the preterite, the 2nd or 3rd pers. ind. pres. sing. or the *ing*-form of *go* or *come*:

(737) yf thou wylt wade in to the water & go seke it & get it me agayne. ([HC] *Merry Tales* 149)

In instances of this type, the infinitives seem to indicate purpose. It is, however, difficult to define the exact meaning of the non-finite clause in these and many other contexts. One reason for this is that a subordinator indicating the relation between the matrix clause and the subordinate (non-finite) clause is absent. Furthermore, mood, voice and tense are not as clearly expressed as in finite clauses: the trend toward developing a

symmetrical system of verb forms is not extended to non-finite verbal groups.

With infinitives indicating purpose *for to* varies with the simple *to* (738)–(739). *In order to* becomes common in the seventeenth century (740):

(738) sith almightie God the father woulde gyue hys moste dearely beloued sonne vnto suche an horrible death, onely *for to quenche* and *to extincte* sinne . . . ([HC] Fisher 398)

(739) in as muche as I am come hither *to bee tried*, I pray you let me haue the Law favourably. ([HC] Throckmorton 67 Cii)

(740) T'is said hee and his family comes up to London upon Wedensday next, *in order to go* into Kent. ([HC] H. Oxinden 277)

When the infinitive combines present and future time reference, it can in some instances be regarded as an equivalent of a temporal, causal or conditional clause. Present-Day English would use constructions with an *-ing* form in many of these instances:

(741) Till thou canst raile the seale from off my bond, Thou but offendst thy lungs *to speake* (= 'because/when you speak') so loud. (Shakespeare *Merchant of Venice* IV.i)

(742) Ile giue you a pottle of burn'd sacke *to giue* (= 'if you give') me recourse to him, and tell him my name is Brook. (Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.i)

The infinitive, without the introductory subordinator *as*, is occasionally used in comparative clauses:

(743) open warning was geuen to all the felowes, none to be *so hardie to geue* me his voice. ([HC] Ascham 280)

The use of the *-ing* and *-ed* forms in non-finite adverbial clauses does not differ much from Present-Day English. Temporal, conditional and concessive clauses are often (745), though not necessarily (744), introduced by the subordinators *when*, *till*, *if*, *though*, etc.

When the subject of these clauses is unexpressed, they are called unattached clauses (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 15.59). As in Present-Day English, the unexpressed subject of the subordinate clause is normally coreferential with the (expressed) subject of the matrix clause. Often, however, the subject of the non-finite clause is coreferential with the object, (744)–(745) or an adverbial (746) in the matrix clause, or it may be understood in the context (747). In many instances (748), a possessive pronoun in the matrix clause gives an indication of the subject. When the subject

of the matrix clause and that of the non-finite adverbial clause are not coreferential, misunderstanding is possible, at least in theory. It is worth noting, however, that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grammarians do not make any condemnatory comments on constructions of this kind.

(744) a certain poore weake man met *the bishop, riding* on his gelding, and craued an almes of him. (1565 Stapleton 90 v)

(745) I wrote to *you, When rioting* in Alexandria;
(Shakespeare *Antony and Cleopatra* II.ii)

(746) My dear master came to *me, at entering* the chapel, and took my hand.
(Richardson *Pamela* 315)

(747) taken out and weigh'd . . . till at length, *looking* at it against the Sun, it appear'd transparent. (Dryden *Amboyna* II.i)

(748) . . . nor could the attempts of Sophia . . . prevent his going.
When gone, we all regarded each other for some minutes with confusion.
(Goldsmith ch. 13)

Being could be used as a kind of temporal/causal introductory element; today, this is non-standard. The understood subject of the *ing*-form is indefinite:

(749) And *being* we are, as I perceive, going some considerable way together, I will give you an account of the whole of the matter. (Bunyan 283)

The use of *that* after *being* shows the origin of this construction:

(750) Air is a cause of great moment, in producing this, or any other Disease, *being that* it is still taken into our bodies by respiration
([HC] Burton I,2 5 81)

The *ing*-forms of many other verbs show a similar development:

(751) Then drawe I a line from C. to D, and it is perpendicular to the line A.B, *accordyng as* my desire was. ([HC] Record C4 r)

(752) *Concernyng* our feare, we haue the Apostle that sayth . . .
(More *Treatise upon the Passion* 166)

(753) Horace . . . confin'd himself to the ridiculing of Petty Vices and common Follies: *Excepting* only some reserv'd Cases, in his Odes and Epodes
(Dryden Poems: Essay on satire 2 653)

(754) Could not he, *seyng* [=seeing] he was god, as well make them as bidde them do it? (Basset 1102)

The roots of the grammaticalisation of these *ing*-forms go back to Middle English, but the final establishment of the prepositional and conjunctive uses seems to take place in Modern English.

In so-called absolute clauses the *ing*- or *ed*-form has an expressed subject. The origin of these constructions is somewhat uncertain; yet it can be safely said that Latin influence has played a considerable role in their establishment (see e.g. Mustanoja 1960: 114–15, and, most recently, Blake 1992). They are more common in the sixteenth century than in Middle English and seem to increase in popularity in the course of the Early Modern English period.

In Old English, the noun phrase indicating the subject of the absolute clause was in the dative case (with certain exceptions). When case distinctions disappeared in Middle English, it is only natural that the preverbal element came to be interpreted as the subject and was given the subjective form. The objective form is exceptional with pronominal subjects; this usage is probably a borrowing from Latin. Lowth (1775 [1979]: 79), quoting (756), considers it faulty.

(755) Peter was one chosen out amongest twelfe to thentent that *he beynge* theyr heed al occasyons of schysmatyke dyuysyon sholde be take away . . .
([HC] Fisher 320)

(756) . . . and *him destroy'd*, Or won to what may work his utter loss, For whom all this was made, all this will soon Follow . . . (Milton *Paradise Lost* IX 129)

The construction can be introduced by a conjunction (757), or preposition (758), to make the relationship between the matrix clause and the non-finite clause more explicit:

(757) *after* certaine bokes of myne finished, I intende to geue out to poore folke.
(More *Picus* [1557] 8 D13)

(758) The wise Phocion was so sensible how dangerous it was to be touched with what the Multitude approved, that *upon* a general Acclamation made when he was making an Oration, he turned . . .
(Steele *Spectator* no. 188, II 240)

As mentioned above there is a tendency towards a symmetric system of verb forms, finite and, to some extent, non-finite, in Modern English. This can be seen in the development of constructions in which the *ed*-form is preceded by *being* or *having been*, which seem to have roughly the same meaning as the simple past participle in these contexts:

(759) the election *being done*, he made countinance of great discontentation thereat.
([HC] Ascham 280)

(760) you were confident in London, *havinge beene perswaded* by your sicophantes that all the Cittie was of your parte ([HC] Essex 22)

NOTES

1 I am also most grateful to all colleagues who have read the whole or parts of my chapter and made valuable comments on it. I would particularly like to mention the names of John Algeo, Bengt Altenberg, Norman Blake, David Denison, Manfred Görlach, Matti Kilpiö, Merja Kytö, Roger Lass, Lilo Moessner, Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, Mats Rydén, Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Laura Wright.
2 It is possible that the use of the article with river names goes back to the common EModE expression *the river X*, through the ellipsis of the noun *river*. The definite article first came to be used with *the Thames* (Reinicke 1915: 36). In his grammar dating from the mid-seventeenth century, Wallis (1653 [1972]: 286–7) states that the names of rivers and mountains are sometimes (*aliquando*) preceded by *the*.
3 Cf. Swedish *Han biter sig i läppen*, German *Er beisst sich auf die Lippen*.
4 According to Jespersen (*MEG* VII 14.2.1), the expression *play the fool* might originate 'in the old drama, with its standing types'. It is more likely, however, that the use of the definite article is here due to the particularly prominent generic indication of the complement in these contexts.
5 See Poussa (1992) for the 'comic–dishonourific' connotations which seem to arise in the pronominal use of the demonstratives by the end of the seventeenth century.
6 In more general terms, we could assume that the weakening of the inflexional system supported the development of lexical means to mark the boundaries between the elements of the clause.
7 This development from numerical through individualising to pronominal uses seems to offer a good example of grammaticalisation through subjectification as outlined by Traugott (1989). In many of its uses *an/one* calls attention to the individual rather than to numerical contrast; this reflects the pragmatic–semantic process in which 'meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective . . . attitude toward the proposition' (35). This kind of subjectification gradually leads to a pronominal use of *one*: it comes to be reanalysed as having syntactic and morphological functions.

   It is possible that the development of the pronominal *one* is supported by the fact that it was a handy way of increasing the cohesion of the text, after the weakening of the inflexional endings.
8 In fact, plural uses of the numeral *one* go back to Old English; cf. also *others*.
9 In the present context, no attention has been paid to the question of word-class change or conversion from adjective to noun in head position. For a discussion, see Nevalainen this volume.

10 Writing, of course, distinguishes even between the plural *-s* and the gen. pl. *-s'*.

11 In Early Modern English the possessive relation can also be expressed by the endingless form of the noun or by the so-called *his*-genitive (*Moses his meekness*). These types are discussed by Lass in this volume (see also Fischer's discussion of the origin and character of the *his*-genitive in *CHEL* II 2.4.1).

12 'Split' modification by prepositional phrases of non-genitival type is also possible:

> Bring forth *that fatall Schreechowle to our house*.
>
> (Shakespeare *3Henry VI* II.vi [owl, fatal to . . .])

> *The perturb'd Court For my being absent?*
>
> (Shakespeare *Cymbeline* III.iv [Court perturbed for . . .])

13 Unlike other names, *(St) Paul's* can be used in non-prepositional contexts as early as Chaucer (Fischer *CHEL* II 2.4.1). This usage implies that the independent genitive has been institutionalised as a proper noun (Altenberg 1982: 67). In Early Modern English there is still variation:

> ther wer secular chanons in *S. Peter's chirch* at Bath; paraventure Offa King of Merches set them ther, for I have redde that Offa did a notable act at *S. Peter's* in Bath. ([HC] Leland 143)

14 Fischer emphasises the partitive or 'ablative' origin of this construction: something taken out of a larger set. She suggests that in the earliest Middle English examples the genitive refers to someone's property or household. For this reason, it is no wonder that in Middle English the head of the double genitive can take the definite article.

There are, however, instances of double genitive in which the partitive reading is impossible (*that courage of his*). It is possible that the addition of the genitive ending to the *of*-complement expresses the subjective (as against the objective) relation between the genitive and its head (Altenberg 1982: 70).

15 This construction, which occurs in present-day written English in archaic contexts, is common in Old English but scantily attested in Middle English texts. It probably has a double origin. On the one hand, it may go back to spoken language, with a strong deictic/demonstrative force given to *this/that*; on the other, in written language, it may have been an imitation of Latin usage. See Kytö & Rissanen (1993).

16 In The Gospel of St John, Tyndale uses the order *eternall life* five times.

17 The two examples quoted by Franz (§275) from Shakespeare (the one below and *Antony and Cleopatra* V.ii) seem to be marked by emphasis or emotion and may be influenced by the demands of the metre:

> it was . . . bequeathed me by will, but *poore a thousand Crownes*
>
> (Shakespeare *As You Like It* I.i)

18 In Rydén and Brorström's (1987) corpus of letters and plays, the percentages of *have* with intransitive verbs vary from about twenty per cent to about forty per cent, as late as the second half of the eighteenth century.

19 The use of OE *weorþan* (cf. German *werden*) as a passive auxiliary disappears in Middle English.
20 The *OED* (s.v. *have* 18) quotes the earliest instance of *have* in these contexts from the ME *King Alisaunder*.
21 In the following discussion, if a more accurate specification is not needed, 'action' is used to refer to the meaning of the verb even when it would be more appropriately described as state, event, etc.
22 This use has been taken as an indication of 'strong assertion' (Visser §1497; Fridén 1948: 159); it is also possible that the emphasis is focussed on the cause and effect sequence expressed by the subordinate and the main clauses as much as on the assertion in itself.
23 Visser (§§760ff.) defines two types of narrative use of the present tense: the substitutive and the 'vividly narrative'. This distinction seems doubtful, but it is easy to accept his suggestion that the vividly reporting present is a very old feature typical of spoken language, perhaps going back all the way to Old English. If this is the case, the lack of instances in Old and Middle English narrative prose texts would be due to the shortage of speech-related texts dating from these periods.
24 Visser (§834) criticises the use of the term 'subjunctive' with reference to the verb forms indicating what he calls the subjunctive mood. The basis of his criticism is that no verb form is used solely for that purpose. Visser's criticism is hardly valid; the relevant point here is that the form used in a certain context marks a distinction in modality.
25 The distinction between the hortative subjunctive and the imperative is, in many cases, mainly terminological.
26 It is uncertain whether the regional 'double modals' are continuations to Early Modern English uses or modern innovations.
27 For a more detailed discussion of the types of subject and object favouring *do*, see Kroch, Pintzuk & Myhill (1982) and Kroch (1989).
28 Other more emphatic negative particles, such as *never*, did not need this kind of intensification.
29 Note, also, '*Do, ma'am,* let me go and see, only for a fancy, whether he is there still' (Fielding *Tom Jones* Vi vi 271).
30 This rough classification is not intended to cover all types of uses with originally impersonal verbs. It is doubtful if, for instance, *he* in (342) can be called an 'experiencer'.
31 Example (361) is the earliest instance of the transitive use of *grow* quoted by the *OED*.
32 The figures from the Helsinki Corpus confirm Jacobsson's findings: there is a dramatic decrease in the occurrence of inversion in the second half of the seventeenth century. Even in the first half of the century, inversion is mostly restricted to the environments mentioned below, such as an auxiliary predicate or a noun subject (Kytö & Rissanen 1993).

33 This order is also possible in present-day Northern British English.

34 According to Jespersen (*MEG* II 7.741) *whether* is used with three referents by Spenser and Jonson. He gives only one example from Jonson's writings:

> a question it were now, *whether of vs three* . . . In pleasing him, claime the precedencie can? (Jonson *Volpone* III.iii)

35 According to Visser (§25) the S + V imperative (the type 'you go home'), common in Old and early Middle English, drops into disuse in Early Modern English, to appear again at the end of the seventeenth century. The only example quoted by Visser from the seventeenth century (Congreve *Love for Love* I.i.7: *you go to breakfast*) seems faulty: the passage reads *go you* in the editions I have checked. The other Modern English instances in Visser are from the end of the eighteenth century or later.

36 The opinions of the grammarians vary concerning the coordinate or subordinate status of *for*-clauses; see e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 2.60, 13.18). See also Jucker 1991.

37 For a possible subordinating *and* in Old English, see Mitchell (1985: §§3668–70).

38 In 'ordinary' aci, as in *I see him come*, *him* is as much object of the matrix verb as it is the subject of the infinitive: *I see him – he comes* (Fischer 1990: 226–7). Example (554) cannot be analysed *I wish them – they renounce*, but, rather, *I wish – they renounce*.

39 Rydén (1966: 204) quotes the following example:

> which wisedome and warenes will not serue neither a traueler, except Pallas be alwayes at his elbow, *that* is Gods speciall grace from heauen, to kepe him in Gods feare . . . (Ascham *Toxophilus* 225)

But *that* may here be a demonstrative pronoun.

40 The grammarians' opinions are not categorical on this point before the eighteenth century (Bately 1965: 246–8).

41 The combination *even if* is recorded from the eighteenth century on, but it seems to be rare until the nineteenth:

> leaving themselves at liberty, *even if* these concessions should be made, to break the treaty by ulterior demands. ([HC] Bolingbroke I 15)

FURTHER READING

There is no exhaustive treatise on Early Modern English syntax comparable to Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* and Mustanoja's *Middle English Syntax*, vol. I. Four main types of sources can be referred to in the discussion and study of Early Modern English syntax: (1) general surveys of Early Modern English with chapters on syntactic features; (2) studies of the language or, more specifically, the syntax of individual authors or texts; (3) histories of English containing discussion of syntactic developments; (4) histories of English syntax.

There are a few fairly recent general descriptions of Early Modern English.

Barber (1976) and Görlach (1991; original German version 1978) contain good chapters on syntax, appropriately projected against the socio-cultural background of the period, with due attention paid to textual variation. Their discussions can be supplemented by Knorrek's (1938) and Partridge's (1969) stylistically oriented observations. Biber & Finegan (1992) introduces an interesting 'dimension-based' approach to the analysis of textual variation in Early Modern English, with reference to a number of linguistic variables, some of which are syntactic.

Studies of the language of individual authors or texts differ vastly in depth and width. By far the most important is still Franz (1939), which contains a wealth of material from the entire Early Modern English period. Compared with Franz, Abbott (1870) necessarily appears dated although not useless. Of the numerous other works on Shakespeare's language, Blake (1983) is the most useful from the syntactician's point of view. Brook (1976) is uneven in its discussion of syntactic phenomena. Of the syntactic discussions of the other Early Modern English authors and texts, many are old but still useful as collections of material: Widholm (1877) on Bunyan, Kellner (1887) on Marlowe, Bøgholm (1906) on Shakespeare and Bacon (in Danish), Grainger (1907) on the King James Version, Uhrström (1907) on Richardson, Björling (1926) on the Bible versions, Sugden (1936) on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Weijl (1937) on Bishop Fisher. More recent studies, giving a full or partial coverage of the syntax of the works they concentrate on, are Dahl (1951) on Deloney, Partridge (1953) on Ben Jonson, Emma (1964) on Milton, Brook (1965) on *The Book of Common Prayer* and Davis (1971) on Tyndale (see also the studies on more specific syntactic topics in 4.2–4.6 below).

Amongst the histories of English, Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar* is a classic. Brunner (1960–2) is systematic, and Strang (1970) is useful for its cultural and socio-historical considerations, despite its 'reversed chronology'. Lass (1987) gives a good general background for the most important developments and contains a fair amount of lucid linguistic discussion. Visser's monumental *Historical Syntax* offers a solid basis for all studies of the development of the English verb syntax, although his argumentation is open to dispute at some points and the accuracy of the spellings of his examples is worth checking. Kisbye (1971–2) contains extensive material but is mainly descriptive. Traugott (1972) gives a theoretically oriented survey of the most important syntactic developments, with particular emphasis on the shaping of modern English. Lightfoot (1979) deals with a number of important developments ranging from Old to Early Modern English; his studies have created a lively discussion of the theoretical issues of syntactic change but also called forth considerable criticism. The most recent overall survey of English historical syntax is Denison (1993).

Many older historical grammars, such as Mätzner (1880–5), Sweet (1892–8), Poutsma (1904–26), or surveys of historical syntax (Kellner 1892, Einenkel 1916, Deutschbein 1917) contain interesting examples and some brilliant analyses of individual syntactic phenomena, although their overall approach is, understandably, dated.

The influence of Latin syntax on Early Modern English is discussed by Sørensen (1957) and, in relation to style, by Partridge (1969). The studies of Workman (1940), Orr (1948), and Prins (1952) on the influence of translations on English concentrate mainly on late Middle English and do not discuss syntactic constructions extensively. An excellent recent discussion of the importance of translation on the development of English is Blake (1992).

As to the Old and Middle English background, this chapter owes a lot to Traugott and Fischer in the two first volumes of the *Cambridge History of the English Language*. Mitchell (1985) for Old English and Mustanoja (1960) for Middle English have also been indispensable.

In the following survey of earlier research dealing with the various details of Early Modern English syntax, references to the general works mentioned above are not repeated. I have also, both in my notes and bibliography, avoided references to works discussing various syntactic phenomena from a purely theoretical or present-day point of view.

4.2 The only exhaustive study of the structure of the Early Modern English noun phrase is Raumolin-Brunberg (1991), which concentrates on Thomas More's usage. It also contains an excellent survey of the linguistic description of the noun phrase in more general terms.

4.2.1 Christophersen's (1939) account of the historical development of the English article system is still well worth reading. Reinicke (1915) discusses the use of the definite article in sixteenth-century texts, and Schröter (1915) usage with river names.

4.2.2–4.2.4 Poussa (1992) contains interesting observations on the development of the uses of *this* and *that* from Early Modern English on. The history of the indefinite pronouns and the propword has been a topic of considerable interest. Einenkel's (1903–4, 1912, 1914) survey is exhaustive but dated. The rise and development of the pronominal and propword *one* has been discussed by Einenkel (1912, 1914), Luick (1906, 1913, 1916), Langenfelt (1946) and Rissanen (1967, 1997). On the development of the pronominal uses of *one*, see also Bald (1984). Meier (1953) and Jud-Schmid (1956) discuss the expression of the indefinite subject in Middle English and Early Modern English. The compound pronouns formed with *-body* and *-one* are discussed by Raumolin-Brunberg (1994a) and Raumolin-Brunberg & Kahlas-Tarkka (1997).

4.2.5 The only comprehensive treatment of the genitive in Early Modern English is Altenberg (1982). Of the older studies, van der Gaaf (1926, 1932), Stahl (1927), and den Breejen (1937) are worth mentioning. Nunnally (1992) contains observations on the types of the genitive in Bible translations.

4.2.6 The order and compatibility of the elements of the noun phrase have not been studied extensively in the past. Sørensen (1983) discusses the history of cataphoric reference of the personal pronouns. Mustanoja (1958) is a thorough survey of the rise and development of the syntactic type *one the best man*. The

question of the gradual transfer from post- to premodification is discussed by Sørensen (1980) and Raumolin-Brunberg (1991). Kytö & Rissanen (1992) traces the development of the combinations of a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun (the type *this my book*).

4.3 In comparison to the noun phrase, the syntax of the Early Modern English verb has been much more extensively studied. Trnka (1930) discusses the syntax of the verb from the end of the fifteenth century (Caxton) to c. 1770 (Dryden). There are also a few monographs which deal with the verb syntax of individual authors: Visser (1946, 1952) on More, Söderlind (1951, 1958) on Dryden, Amman (1961) on Elyot, Ando (1976) on Marlowe.

4.3.1–4.3.2 The development of the tense forms in late Middle and Early Modern English (from Chaucer to Shakespeare) is described by Fridén (1948). Adamson (1995) discusses the historical present in Early Modern English and Elsness (1991) the expression of past time. Of the special studies concentrating on the distribution of *shall* and *will* in Early Modern English, Fries (1925), Hulbert (1947), Weida (1975) and the last two chapters in Kytö (1991) deserve special mention. The *be/have* variation has been studied by Zimmerman (1973); Kytö (1994, 1997); Rainer (1989), based on a corpus of letters; Kakietek (1976), on Shakespeare; and Rydén & Brorström (1987), on eighteenth-century usage. The passives with *have* (the type *he had a book given to him*) are discussed by Moessner (1994).

The standard work on the diachrony of the forms with aspectual significance is Brinton (1988). Mossé (1938) discusses the rise of the *ing-* periphrasis from a wider Germanic perspective. Nehls (1974) concentrates on the history and present-day usage of *be* + *ing* in English. Scheffer (1975) contains a convenient summary of the main outlines of the development of this construction. Åkerlund's early works (1911, 1913/14), are also worth noting. Of recent articles sharpening our picture of the character and development of this construction, Strang (1982), Nagucka (1984), Denison (1985c), Wright (1994b) and Danchev & Kytö (1994), on *be going to* + inf., are some of the most important. Van Draat discusses the early variation between the preterite tense and perfect in three early articles (1903, 1910, 1912a).

4.3.3–4.3.4 A theory of the development of the category of modal auxiliaries is presented in Lightfoot (1979). This has been criticised, and ideas on the establishment of this category have been presented, by Fischer and van der Leek (1981), Warner (1983, 1990), Plank (1984), Goossens (1984) and van Kemenade (1989), etc. Kytö (1991) is now the standard work on the early variation between the modals, particularly *can* and *may*. Kakietek (1972) is a thorough discussion of the modals in Shakespeare.

4.3.5 The most important early study on the origin and development of *do*-periphrasis is Ellegård (1953). Langenfelt's (1933), Engblom's (1938) and Dahl's (1956) surveys and Visser's theory on the origin of this construction, presented in his *Historical Syntax* (Vol III, 1963–73: 1969 III), are also worth noting. In recent years, there has been a steady flow of studies on *do*-periphrasis. Tieken

(1987) and Stein (1990) are book-length studies; the articles by e.g. Ihalainen (1983), Frank (1985), Tieken (1985, 1986, 1989, 1990), Stein (1985a, 1986), Denison (1985b), Nevalainen (1987), Wright (1989a, b), Kroch (1989), Rissanen (1985, 1991a) and Raumolin-Brunberg & Nurmi (1997) illustrate various features in the rise and early development of this periphrasis.

4.4.1–4.4.4 The development of the case system has been studied, at a theoretical level, by van Kemenade (1987). Spies (1897) contains some interesting observations on the forms and non-expression of the subject and object pronouns. Insightful general discussions of the impersonals, with Old English as their starting point, are Elmer (1981), Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987), Allen (1986) and Denison (1990). Mair (1988) discusses the impersonal and personal uses of *like* in late Middle and Early Modern English, and Kopytko (1988) the impersonal use of verbs in Shakespeare. Palander-Collin (1997) discusses the development of *methinks* and related constructions, and Peitsara (1997) the development and variation of reflexive strategies. Van der Gaaf (1929, 1930a) and Brose (1939) have studied the conversion of indirect and prepositional objects into the subject of the passive clause. More recent and theoretically oriented studies of these topics are Bennett (1980), van der Wurff (1990: 35–42) and Moessner (1994). The prepositions of the agent of the passive have been discussed by Peitsara (1992).

4.5.1 The literature relevant to the theoretical approaches and typological implications of the development of English word order have been competently summarised by Fischer in *CHEL* II. Salmon (1965) is an excellent survey of the structure of the simple sentence in Shakespeare's language. The occurrence of the inversion in statements with an initial adverb is discussed in Fries (1940), Jacobsson (1951) and Kytö & Rissanen (1993). Kohonen (1978) describes the early grammarians' statements on word order. Jacobson (1981), Swan (1988) and Nevalainen (1991) discuss the variation in adverbial placement in Early Modern English.

4.5.2 The standard description of English negation is given by Jespersen (1917). Klima (1964) and Horn (1989) are more modern, theoretically oriented studies. Ukaji (1992) discusses the placement of the negative particle *not* before the verb (*he not goes*) and Tottie (1994) the variation between *no(ne)* and *not any*. Austin (1984) describes the use of double negation in late eighteenth-century letters, and Tieken (1982) surveys the attitudes of eighteenth-century grammarians to it. Baghdikian's two articles (1979, 1982) contain a few interesting observations on the development of the negative structures in Early Modern English. Rissanen (1994) discusses the order of the subject and the negative particle in negative questions.

4.5.3–4.5.4 Wikberg's (1975) monograph is the most extensive treatment of the formation of questions in Early Modern English. (See also the works mentioned under 4.3.5 above.) Millward (1966) and Ukaji (1973) discuss the imperatives in Shakespeare.

4.6.2.1 The links introducing nominal clauses, particularly zero and *that*, in Early Modern English have been discussed by Erdmann (1980), Fanego (1990) and Rissanen (1991b). Fischer's articles, conveniently collected in her doctoral dissertation (1990), form an excellent package of research on the use and development of non-finite nominal clauses. Another important monograph-length study is Fanego (1992). The development of the 'gerund' has been discussed by Wik (1973) and Jack (1988).

4.6.2.2 Of the abundant literature on relative clauses and links in Early Modern English, Rydén (1966, 1970) are the most exhaustive although they only cover a relatively short period of time. Romaine (1982) is an excellent introduction to the theoretical description of relative clauses from the historical point of view. Relativisation as a more general question of theoretical linguistics has been competently discussed in Keenan and Comrie (1977) and Romaine (1984). The implications of Keenan and Comrie's 'accessibility hierarchy' to the diachronic development of the relative links have been pointed out, among others, by Romaine (1980) and Dekeyser (1984). The choice of the relative link in Modern English has also been recently dealt with e.g. by Kemp (1979), Kytö & Rissanen (1983), Rissanen (1984), Austin (1985), Dekeyser (1988), Schneider (1992) and Wright (1994a); earlier works on the same topic are Krüger (1929), Steinki (1932), Winkler (1933), Mitsui (1958), Scheurweghs (1964) and Bately (1964, 1965). Reuter (1936) discusses continuous relative clauses, and van der Wurff (1989, 1990) and Moessner (1992) the embedding of adverbial clauses into relative clauses.

4.6.2.3 The development of causal clauses has been discussed by Wiegand (1982), Altenberg (1984), Rissanen (1989), and that of concessive clauses by König (1985). The comparative phrase *as who say(s)* has been discussed by Nevanlinna (1974). Ross (1893) is a thorough text-based survey of absolute constructions. Of later works on non-finite adverbial clauses, Wik (1973) is worth mentioning.

5 EARLY MODERN ENGLISH LEXIS AND SEMANTICS

Terttu Nevalainen

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Overview

Despite the long life and stability of core vocabulary, the rate of language change is no doubt greatest in the lexicon. Lexical words differ from phonemes and grammatical morphemes in that they can be freely added to the existing stock. As we shall see in more detail below, the Early Modern English period is marked by an unprecedented lexical growth. It is achieved both by extensive borrowing from other languages and by exploiting native resources by means of word-formation.

One of the most obvious differences between Old English and Present-Day English is the increase in borrowed lexis. According to one estimate, loan words take up a mere three per cent of the recorded vocabulary in Old English, but some seventy per cent or more in Present-Day English (Scheler 1977: 74). In Early Modern English their share varies between forty per cent and fifty per cent of the new vocabulary recorded (Wermser 1976: 40).

This large-scale borrowing no doubt reflects both the various foreign contacts of the period and the growing demands made on the evolving standard language. This is the period in the history of English when for the first time the vernacular extends to practically all contexts of speech and writing. Borrowed lexis supplies new names for new concepts, but also increases synonymy in the language, thus providing alternative ways of saying the same thing in different registers.

The means by which words are formed are increased by a number of new productive elements that owe their existence to borrowed lexis. Towards the end of the Early Modern English period the set of negative prefixes, for example, includes not only the native *un-* but also four ele-

ments of foreign origin, *a-*, *dis-*, *in-* and *non-*. They are largely used to form new words from the borrowed section of Early Modern English lexis, as in *asymmetric*, *dissimilar*, *infrequent*, and *non-member*.

The reverse side of borrowing is that it contributes to lack of transparency in the lexicon. It had started to build up with the French element in Middle English, and continues especially with the intake of Latinate vocabulary in the Early Modern English period. As a result, English shows no formal connection between a large number of semantically related words, such as *amatory* and *love*, *audition* and *hearing*, and *anatomy* and *cutting up*.

Against this background it is not surprising that vocabulary building is one of the concerns of Early Modern educationalists. Charles Hoole, a London schoolmaster and author of a number of educational treatises, strongly recommends the study of Latin even for such children 'as are intended for Trades, or to be kept as drudges at home, or employed about husbandry'. Hoole argues that they would find it:

> to be of singular use to them, both for the understanding of the English Authors (which abound now a dayes with borrowed words) and the holding discourse with a sort of men that delight to slant it in Latine.
>
> (Hoole 1659: 24)

The introduction of new words does not preclude semantic change, and words often acquire new senses in the course of time. When John Chamberlain wrote to his friend Dudley Carleton in 1608 saying that 'I am sory to heare Sir Rowland Lytton is so crasie' (Chamberlain 1939: 251) he was not referring to Sir Rowland's state of mind, but rather to his impaired physical health. It is often the older meanings of words that present problems to modern readers of Early Modern English texts.

The cumulative effect of the various lexical processes can be seen in the ways in which lexical fields are enriched in our period. A case in point is (*up)rising*. There are no fewer than twenty partly overlapping terms to describe this 'horrible sin against God and man' in Shakespeare alone. Nine of them go back to Middle English (*commotion*, *conspiracy*, *discord*, *dissension*, *insurrection*, *rebellion*, *riot*, *subversion*, *tumult*), five acquire the meaning in Early Modern English (*broil*, *chaos*, *confusion*, *revolution*, *sedition*), and seven are new words introduced after 1485 (*disorder*, *faction*, *mutiny*, *revolt*, *turbulence*, *turmoil*, *uproar*) (Pugliatti 1992).

Sometimes the pace of change was so rapid as to be commented on by near-contemporaries. 'Words and phrases of ancient usage' and 'of doubtful signification' are cited by the revisers of the Second Edwardine *Book of*

Common Prayer (1552) to be among the principal reasons for publishing a new edition in 1662:

> That most of the alterations were made . . . for the more proper expressing of some words or phrases of antient vsage, in terms more suteable to the language of the present times; and the clearer explanation of some other words and phrases that were either of doubtfull signification, or otherwise liable to misconstruction. (Brightman 1921: 31–3)

Unique insights into Early Modern English lexis are provided by contemporary dictionaries. The earliest are bilingual Latin dictionaries, but bilingual and multilingual dictionaries of living languages also begin to be compiled for the benefit of language learners in the first half of our period. The first monolingual dictionaries of English emerged in the early seventeenth century. Their main task was to provide glosses for the increasing stock of learned vocabulary, or 'hard words'. As the period advanced, monolingual English dictionaries extended their coverage to include ordinary everyday usage. A milestone in this long march was Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), which set a model for posterity both in content and in form.

At the beginning of the Early Modern English period neither orthography nor the patterns of word-formation were tightly regulated. Private writings varied more than the printed word, and spellings were not just a matter of learning but of choice. Well into the seventeenth century, the number of spelling variants that a word could have in print was much larger than in the eighteenth. As Vivian Salmon (this volume) shows, the process of spelling standardisation was only nearing its completion towards the end of our period. For the better part of the period, several formally related words could be coined without any clear difference in meaning. This freedom of choice led to a large number of doublets such as *frequency* (1553) and *frequentness* (1664), *immaturity* (1540) and *immatureness* (1665), *immediacy* (1605) and *immediateness* (1633). In the course of time one variant usually became established at the expense of the other, or variant forms acquired different senses, as in the case of *light*, *lighten* and *enlighten*.

The three hundred years from William Caxton to Dr Johnson constitute a period of transition during which the spelling and the morphological shape of words became to a great extent fixed. Although large numbers of new words have been added, the forms that were codified in grammars and dictionaries in the eighteenth century have changed relatively little in the course of the last two hundred years. However, as Barbara Strang (1970: 131) reminds us, the change of tone may be extensive. Many words which

now may be only a little colloquial, or have no stylistic colour at all, were for Johnson 'low', including *banter*, *coax*, *dodge*, *flippant*, *fop*, *frisky*, *fun*, *fuss*, and *simpleton*.

5.1.2 Words and lexemes

This chapter discusses the various ways in which the lexicon was enriched and stratified in the formative centuries of the emerging standard language. Where no ambiguity arises, I use the term *word* in the technical sense of *lexeme*. In everyday usage *word* usually refers to an orthographic or phonological *word-form*, and forms such as *sing*, *sang* and *sung* would count as three separate 'words'. In the more technical sense of 'lexeme', *word* corresponds to a more abstract unit, basically the combination of a form and the sense(s) associated with it in a dictionary entry. A lexeme subsumes all its inflectional word-forms; *sing* 'to make musical sounds with the voice' is realised by five: *sing*, *sings*, *sang*, *sung*, and *singing* (present participle). Derivationally related words, such as *singable* 'that can be sung' and *singer* 'person who sings', are separate lexemes.

A lexeme may be morphologically simple (*sing*) or complex. Complex lexemes are made up of two or more elements. Compounds consist of free morphemes (*lovesong* of *love* and *song*), and derivations are made up of a free morpheme and one or more bound affixes (*unsung* of the prefix *un-* and *sung*; *singable* of *sing* and the suffix *-able*). It is also possible to coin words by means of 'zero' derivation. By this process a word is converted to another word class without the addition of an affix. This is how the verb *clean* ('to make clean') derives from the corresponding adjective *clean*. The process is usually called either zero-derivation or conversion. In what follows, I shall primarily use the latter term.

Productive word-formation processes provide speakers with systematic means of enriching their lexical resources. I shall refer to the structured inventory of words as *the lexicon*. Generally speaking, the lexicon provides each individual lexeme with four kinds of information:

(a)	*morphological*	internal structure and word-forms
(b)	*syntactic*	word-class and other grammatical properties
(c)	*semantic*	word meaning and sense relations with other words
(d)	*syntagmatic*	collocations with other lexemes

The lexicon also assigns words to mutually defining sets, or lexical fields, such as *age*, *kinship* and *colour*. All the lexical properties of words are, of course, liable to change with time, including lexical field membership. The

present-day inventory of *vehicles* would be considerably larger than the principal set of 'things for *carriage*' proposed by John Wilkins (1668: 257), which includes *coach* (*chariot*), *wain* (*waggon*), *chariot* and *cart* (*carr*, *Dray*, *Tumbrel*) – all with wheels – and, without wheels, *sedan* (*litter*), *Barrow*, *sled*, and *Welsh cart*.

In this chapter I shall be mostly concerned with the first three aspects of lexical structure (a)–(c). They are viewed from the diachronic perspective of vocabulary change, i.e. how new lexemes and meanings enter the lexicon in Early Modern English (5.3–5.6). I have less to say about their collocational ranges apart from phrasal lexicalisation (5.5.4.5) and the broad diatypic issue of how words are layered in the lexicon according to use (5.2). My chief interest throughout the discussion is the ways in which these various processes, by reshaping the EModE lexicon, at the same time redirect the lexical potential of the English language.

When we discuss the expansion of vocabulary, one further distinction remains to be made, namely the difference between *types* and *tokens*. *Type* refers to a linguistic entity, such as lexeme or its inflectional word-form, and *token* to its actual realisations in texts. Distinct lexeme types are thus represented by the total grammatical scatter of their different word-forms, and distinct word-form types by the total number of word-form occurrences. *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare* (Spevack 1973: v) shows that the Shakespeare canon consists of a total of 884,647 word-form tokens, which represent 29,066 different word-form types. The concordance does not, unfortunately, tell us how many different lexemes these 29,066 word-forms represent, but a recent estimate judges the number to be about 17,750 (Scheler 1982:89). In what follows, I shall mostly be dealing with lexeme types, even where reference is made to such quantitative notions as frequency of loan words in Early Modern English.[1]

5.2 The expanding lexicon

5.2.1 Dictionary evidence

The time from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century marks a period of heightened lexical activity. Statistics derived from chronological dictionaries suggest that this period presents the fastest vocabulary growth in the history of English in proportion to the vocabulary size of the time. Comparisons based on the *Chronological English Dictionary* (*CED*) show that this extremely rapid growth reaches its peak in the sixty years from 1570 to 1630. The *CED* further suggests that growth continued in the hundred years from 1680 to 1780 but on a more moderate scale (Wermser 1976: 22–3, Görlach 1991: 136–7).

Looking at the expansion of the Early Modern English lexicon as a whole, we can see that the period from about 1530 to 1660 marks the sharply rising slope of an S-shaped curve of growth (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973: 35). The rise is not only due to the introduction of new loan words but to the productive use of word-formation processes. This is noteworthy considering that complex lexemes are generally under-represented in dictionaries (see 5.3.1). Since chronological statistics must, however, always be considered provisional and hence approached with caution, the rest of this section will evaluate this information in terms of both methodology and substance.

When estimating lexical growth, we should bear in mind that the diachronic reconstruction of lexis is fundamentally different from the reconstruction of phonology, morphology and syntax. The reason is the very open-endedness of vocabulary as opposed to the more or less finite systems in grammar and phonology. It is true that a fairly limited number of extant texts makes it possible to reconstruct the basic principles of word-formation available at any given time. But it is not possible even to approximate the actual contents of the lexicon of a language without an extremely large and varied collection of data. The number of texts on which lexical reconstruction can be based increases with the growth of literacy. The written tradition will also preserve large numbers of words that would have been lost in a predominantly oral culture. With a relatively recent period such as Early Modern English, the data sources are of an entirely different magnitude from, say, Old English, and the lexicographer is slowly beginning to get to grips with actual usage (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973: 33).

There is so far no Early Modern English dictionary proper to supplement the information contained in *The Oxford English Dictionary* and the various editions derived from it, such as the *CED*. This is regrettable because the *OED* is far from being an ideal data base for chronological statistics. As Schäfer (1989b: 69) points out, the criteria governing what is recorded in the *OED* reflect a word's status and frequency at the time of compilation, not at the period of origin. The literary bias of the dictionary is made explicit in the preface to its first volume (1888: v): its most important sources are 'all the great English writers of all ages'. This means that extant texts were sampled in proportion to their literary merit with less concern given to such issues as equal chronological coverage. The shorter edition of the *OED* and the *CED* directly based on it are even more obviously intended as lexical aids for readers of English literature (Schäfer 1980: 76). Although the Early Modern period is generally well represented in the sources of these dictionaries, because of the sampling bias, we do not gain a true reflection of the rich variety of writings that have come down to us.

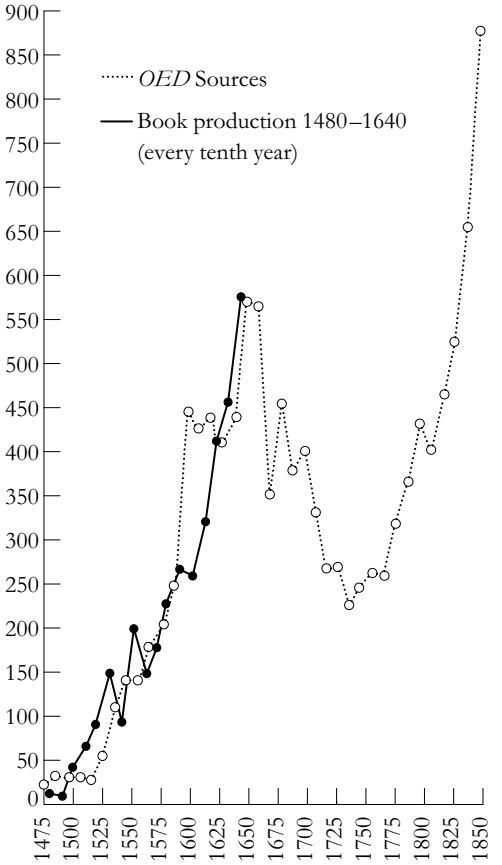


Figure 5.1 Chronological distribution of *OED* Sources

As a rough measure, we may compare the chronological distributions of the *OED* sources with the diachronic increase in the number of new lexemes. Figure 5.1 (from Schäfer 1980: 52) shows the number of sources used per decade, together with the total number of books produced between 1480 and 1640. The vocabulary growth recorded is presented in figure 5.2 (absolute figures based on the *CED*, drawn from Wermser 1976: 23). The two graphs are very similar, which suggests, naturally enough, that the number of sources used is reflected in the number of new lexemes recorded. Nevertheless, the two graphs do not match exactly. The vocabulary curve peaks around 1600, and the source curve around 1650. The Shakespearian period evidently provides more first citations than can be accounted for by the increase in source works. It would therefore seem that the sampling error is not so great as to mask

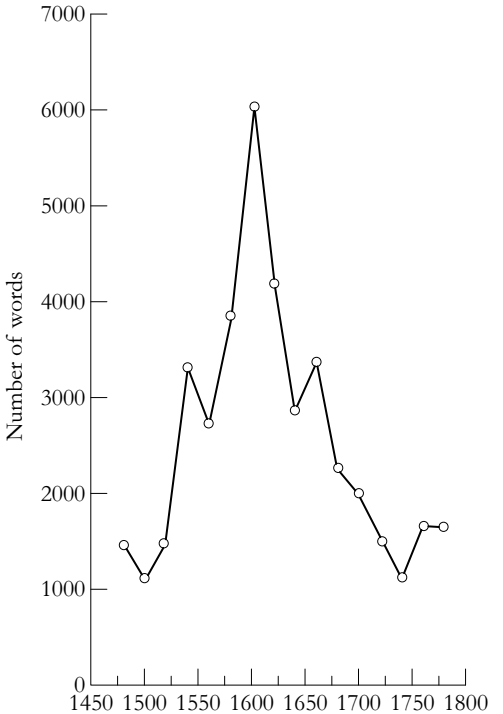


Figure 5.2 Diachronic increase in number of lexemes

the heightened lexical productivity shown by the written sources in the decades around 1600. At the same time, the underrepresentation of the early part of our period in the *OED* sources is obvious. This varying density of coverage also appears from the general reliability rates that Schäfer (1980: 65) calculated for the first datings attributed to various Early Modern English authors by the *OED*. The rate is admirably high for Shakespeare (ninety-three per cent), much lower for Nashe (sixty-three per cent), and lower still for Malory and Wyatt (fifty per cent and forty-two per cent, respectively). Considering the Early Modern English period as a whole, the imbalance in primary sources cannot be ignored when assessing lexical growth on the basis of the dictionary.

5.2.2 Speaker innovation

The very notion of lexical growth may suggest a unilinear course of expansion and a steadily growing lexicon. To realise that this is clearly oversimplifying matters, we need only consider stillborn neologisms, words that are

recorded only once, and have had no lasting effect on the language. And they are merely the tip of the iceberg. Word-coining is a common activity in all ages, and countless speaker innovations have occurred in various domains of language use although there may be no record of them. If they are not adopted by other speakers, and do not spread, new words pass unnoticed by lexicographers.

In most cases, literary and technical language will serve as our witness for the lexical innovation and ingenuity of the past, because it has had a better chance of being preserved for posterity than ordinary everyday language. The following unique occurrences are drawn from the list of Shakespeare's Latinate neologisms compiled by Garner (1982). These words that did not catch on make up almost one third of Shakespeare's Latinate coinages, that is, the new words attributed to him which contain Latin, French or Greek elements, including borrowed affixes (156).

> acture, adoptious, allottery, anthropophaginian, appertainment(s), attax('d), attemptable, besort, chapeless, cloistress, cloyment, comptless, conceptious, concernancy, concupy, confineless, congree(ing), congreet(ed), conspectuity(-ies), convive, copatain, correctioner, cursorary, defunctive, demi-devil, demi-natured, demi-puppet(s), directitude, disliken, dismask('d), disproperty(-ied), disvouch('d), dotant, emball(ing), embrasure(s), empiricutic, enacture(s), encave, enpatron, enschedule(d), ensear, enshield, ensinew(ed), escot(ed), exceptless, exposture, exsufflicate, extincture, facinorous, fleshment, forevouch('d), fustilarian, immask, immoment, immure(d), imperceiverant, implorator(s), inaidible, injoint(ed), insisture, insultment, intenible, interjoin, intrinse, inventorial(ly), invised, irreconciled, irregulous, marcantant, meditance, moraler, nonregardance, oathable, o'ergalled, o'erperch, offendress, offenseful, omittance, outjest, pauser, pedascule, phantasime, phraseless, practisant(s), preambulate, preceptial, precurrer, probal, questant, razorable, recountment(s), rejoindure, remediate, repasture, reprobance, reputeless, revengive, rumourer, scrimer(s), solidare(s), sortance, sternage, substractor(s), successant(ly), superdainty, superpraise, sur-addition, temperality, uncurbable, undercrest, under-honest, ungenitur'd, ungrave(ly), unpay, unpitiful(ly), unplausive, unprovoke(s), unqualitied, unrecuring, unseminar'd, unsisting, unswayable, untempering, untent, unvulnerable.

As these Shakespearian coinages suggest, new words may quite easily be rejected or ignored by the speech community. Many of them were obviously intended as nonce words, such as *unprovokes*, a direct contrast to *provokes* in *Macbeth* (II.iii. 29–30). Metrical requirements may have prompted doublets like *acture* and *enacture(s)*, *cursorary* and *cursory* (Garner 1982:156).

The reasons why so many of the others did not find a lasting place in the language are varied and hard to specify. Some may have been felt semantically opaque or functionally dispensable. With *fleshing* and *insult* available, *fleshment* and *insultment* were not needed to fill a lexical gap. Other neologisms might have been objected to, at least by those who knew Latin, because they violated the principles of Latin word-formation. Shakespeare combined, for instance, the prefix *dis-* with nouns to form verbs, as in *disproperty(-ied)*. This is not allowed in Latin, where the privative prefix *dis-* can be added only to verbs. However, as Garner points out, the practice was common enough at the time, as the *OED* record amply testifies: *disgarboil* (1566), *disgarrison* (1594), *disgarbage* (1612), *disgarland* (1616), *disflesh* (1620), *disgospel* (1642), *disgaol* (1647), *disgavel* (1683).

The fact that so many of Shakespeare's Latinate neologisms have not been recorded since must be partly accidental and partly the result of inadequate dictionary coverage. Most of these forms cannot be objected to in principle, because the patterns of word-formation used by Shakespeare were productive in his time. To pick out a random set, *phraseless*, *rumourer*, *outjest* and *superdainty* would be perfectly legitimate words in Early Modern English on a par with such parallel forms as *limitless* and *spiritless* (noun + adjectival suffix *-less*); *frequenter* and *murmurer* (verb + agent noun suffix *-er*); *outstay* and *outweigh* (prefix *out-* + verb); and *superfine* and *superserviceable* (prefix *super-* + adjective). A number of Shakespeare's other similar formations have fared much better: the privative adjectives *countless*, *motionless* and *priceless*, for example, and the agent nouns *employer*, *protester* and *torturer*.

I have given the above list in order to illustrate the extent to which a single author may utilise the lexical potential of his language – or in some cases simply be an early adopter of a neologism coined by someone who never put it in writing. To do full justice to Shakespeare, it should perhaps be mentioned that some estimates attribute to him no fewer than 1,700 neologisms, or first attestations, including compounds (Garner 1982: 153). The two-thirds of his Latinate neologisms that did continue in use include a good many that are still current in Present-Day English ranging from *amazement* and *epileptic* to *negotiate* and *pedant*.

The peak period of Early Modern English lexical activity produced many learned coinages that have not been attested since. The pains of learning them must have outweighed the gains for those without the benefit of a classical education. The publication of Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604) coincided with this period. It was the first in a long line of monolingual dictionaries to gloss 'hard vsuall English wordes'. Cawdrey states on the title page that they were 'gathered for the benefit &

helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other vnskilfull persons, Wherby they may the more easilie and better vnderstand many hard English wordes, which they shall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elswhere, and also be made able to vse the same aptly themselues'.

5.2.3 The common core

One of the basic aspects of lexical growth is its role in the stratification of the lexicon. Only part of the new vocabulary in any language will find its way into the *common core*, which is shared by the written and spoken medium alike, by all registers, and by all social and regional varieties. It is this common core that is most resistant to change even in a language like English, which has been the most avid borrower of all Germanic languages.

The best early accounts of the common core in Early Modern English are provided by contemporary bilingual and multilingual dictionaries and polyglot wordlists. Stein (1985) lists over 160 editions of such works from the sixteenth century alone. Besides the continuing demand for Latin dictionaries, the expansion of trade and travel also intensified the need for wordlists, vocabularies and dictionaries of the spoken vernaculars, notably French, Italian and Spanish.

Although it has not received much scholarly attention, the core lexis in these works could well be compared with that found in eighteenth century monolingual English dictionaries (see 5.2.4). A good example of the depth and detail of some of the early works is the first bilingual English-French dictionary included in John Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (1530). The entries in the 'table of Verbes', for instance, usually consist of complete sentences (see Stein 1985: 121–39, and further 1997).

> I baake a batche of breed in an ouen . . .
> I Baake a pastye or any suche lyke thynge . . .
> I Baare I vncouer a thynge or make it bare . . .
> I Baste meate as it is in rostyng at the fyre . . .
> I Baaste a garment with threde . . .
> I Babyll I clatter / I am full of wordes . . .
> I Backe I make the backe of a knyfe or sworde or other toole . . .

Gordon (1980: 13) estimates that as much as four-fifths of the original recorded prose vocabulary of Old English has survived in use until the present day. This original Germanic stock includes the names of everyday objects and actions, the commoner adjectives, verbs and adverbs, the terms

of family and social relationships, and grammatical function words (pronouns, prepositions, articles, auxiliary verb forms).

In the course of time, the common core has also absorbed a number of loan words. Scheler (1977: 73) calculates that roughly fifty per cent of the core vocabulary of English has remained Germanic, as opposed to some twenty-six per cent of the entire recorded word-stock. We may conclude that the Early Modern English period did enrich the lexical resources of English considerably, but did not break off native continuity. It is the parts of the lexicon that were affected that we shall turn to next.

5.2.4 Stratification

One of the features of a standard language is maximal variation of function. Standardisation means that one variety spreads to all possible fields of discourse, including the most prestigious ones. The development of a supraregional written standard had begun in the Chancery in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century English became the predominant language of law and of the reformed church, and in the eighteenth it overcame the last Latin bastions in the field of scientific enquiry. This course of events led to a sharp increase in technical terms in Early Modern English.

Compilers of *An Early Modern English Dictionary* will be in a better position than those who work on Old and Middle English in that they will have plenty of primary material to classify the vocabulary into different strata around the common core. Both literary and colloquial lexis can be accessed, the literary more successfully than the colloquial, and both no doubt more reliably in the eighteenth century than in the fifteenth (for discussion of literary usage, see Adamson this volume). Geographical and social variation can also be recovered in the form of dialectal vocabulary and slang, although nothing like a dialect atlas of Early Modern England could be envisaged on the basis of the textual sources available (Görlach this volume).[2]

Different fields of discourse, by contrast, are abundantly documented: the Early Modern English dictionary project has a bibliography of nearly 14,000 titles from 1475 to 1700 (Bailey *et al.* 1975: vii). Here we can witness a rapid diversification of specialist fields, which are developing their own terminologies. Some idea of the development (although owing to the inadequate source materials, not a fully reliable one) is given by Wermser (1976: 131), who shows the increasing share of specialist terms in the new lexis recorded in four Early Modern English subperiods:

1460–74	7.4 per cent
1560–74	16.3 per cent
1660–74	29.3 per cent
1760–74	41.3 per cent

Many specialised fields are already represented in the earliest monolingual glossaries and dictionaries. As shown in detail by Schäfer (1989a), well over a hundred publications providing such lexical information appeared during the period 1475 to 1640 alone. The majority of translator's glossaries were appended to works translated from Latin, and frequently deal with medicine, religious instruction, education and polemics. The glossaries included in thematically arranged introductions to contemporary knowledge are also illuminating. Schäfer (74–5) lists the following fields in which early specialist terminologies were compiled: alchemy, animals, Arabic, architecture, the Bible, canting, carving, classics, cosmography, Euclidean definitions, farriery, fencing, geography, grammar, Hebrew coins and measures, heraldry, herbals, hunting and falconry, inkhorn terms, law, logic, mathematics, medicine, military (fortification, ordnance), minerals, names, 'old' words, philosophy, poetry and poetics, rhetoric, terms of association, theology, weights and measures. The list shows that it was the non-core lexis that called for comment from very early on. The glosses vary in fullness from one-word paraphrases, as in *grace* 'fauoure' (as a biblical term) and *glasyers* 'eyes' (in thieves' cant), to those of encyclopaedic length. The following entries illustrate the rich variety of these 'terms of art':

> *Supercilium* a small fillet in the top of the cornish.
>
> (Joannis Blum, *The Booke of Five Collumnes of Architecture*, transl. by I.T., 1601:1)

> *To Cavere*, is to turne thy point under thine adversaries Rapier on the other side, when thou art bound, or he doth thrust at thee.
>
> (G.A. *Pallas Armata*, *the Gentlemans Armorie*, 1639, fo. B3 r)

> *Circles* are the way whereby the poles of the Zodiacke doe moue in roundnesse from the poles of the world. These doe take their names of the saide poles: and so they are called circle Articke, and circle Antarticke, these circles are distant of the said poles of the world, 23. degrees, and 33 minutes.
>
> (Pedro de Medina, *The Arte of Nauigation*, transl. by John Frampton, 1595, fo. 37 v)

> *Of a Consonant*. A Consonant is a letter, which maketh a sound onely with a vowell. It is single, or double. The single Consonant is a semi-vowell, or a mute. A semi-vowell is a consonant, that hath the halfe sound of a Vowell. (Thomas Granger, *Syntagma Grammaticvm*, 1616, fo. C2 v)

> *Alienation*, is as much to say, as to make a thing an other mans, to alter or put the possession of lande or other thinge from one man to another.
>
> (John Rastell, *An Exposition of Certaine Difficult and Obscure Wordes and Termes of the Lawes of this Realme*, 1579, fo. 17 v)

Although their exact definitions may have changed, many of these terms are still current in Present-Day English, as we are vividly reminded by Rastell's (1579) entries for *baile*, *burglarie*, *contract*, *morgage*, *testament* and *voucher*.

What is perhaps surprising about these lexical aids is the rich documentation of lexical specialisation at such an early date. It is also interesting to note that the terms are usually not localisable. Even the early books on husbandry do not appear to distinguish dialect words, but rather tend to aim at general intelligibility by including synonymous terms from different regional varieties. Fitzherbert (1534: 27) crosses a dialectal line when he heads one of his sections 'To carry out donge or mucke and to sprede it.' *Muck* was the northern term for 'manure', and *dung* the southern.

An increasing number of specialist dictionaries could be added to the above list from the latter half of our period. To name just one, Sir Henry Manwayring's *The Sea-mans Dictionary* (1644) was the first and for over a century the best treatment of maritime terms. Manwayring's entry for *man-of-war* is typical in explanatory detail:

> *Man of War*. I doe not meane to describe what a Captaine or man is, who is a man of War, but a Ship of War (which is called a man of War among Sea-men) making use of the figure *Metonimia* (*continens pro contento*). These qualities, commodities and conditions, I require in a Ship, which I would say should be a right brave man of War: first, she must saile well; secondly, be roomie betwixt the Decks; thirdly, flush without any falls, (for hindering men to passe too and fro at ease,) she must beare out her lower tire all reasonable fitting weather (which if she doe, the lower she carries them the better) her chase and bowe must be well contrived, to shoote as many Peeces right fore-ward, and bowing, as may be (for those parts come to be most used in fight) the Ordnance not to lie right over one an other, but so, as that upon the least yawe of the helme, one Peece or other may ever come to beare: And lastly, she must beare a stowte-saile, such a Ship well manned, with men convenient, to ply their Ordnance, handle the sailes, and use some small shot, were worthy to be called a man of War; That Ship which wants any of these, is like a Souldier who should want either a hand, a legge, or an Arme.

It is noteworthy that about a dozen of the terms used here have their own main entries in the dictionary. According to the *OED* the following eight

were first introduced in a nautical sense or as terms of warfare in Early Modern English: *deck* (1513), *flush* (1626), *falls* (1644), *tier* (1573), *chase* (1634), *bow* (1626), *yaw* (1546) and *small shot* (1593).

Specialist terms figure more and more prominently in seventeenth-century hard-word dictionaries. John Bullokar sometimes indicates the field of discourse of a hard word in his *An English Expositor* (1616). Thomas Blount does so frequently in *Glossographia* (1656), and cites his authorities in the case of law terms, for instance. The title page of Elisha Coles' *An English Dictionary* (1676) especially mentions terms of divinity, husbandry, physic (i.e. medicine), philosophy, law, navigation, mathematics and other arts and sciences. Coles also includes dialect words, and even supplies cant terms and archaisms.

A major source of deliberate learned loans (inkhorn terms) is Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie* (1623). Cockeram drew heavily on Thomas's Latin–English dictionary (1587) and introduced a large number of new words into English by anglicising Thomas's Latin entries. He further suggested 'translations' for common colloquial words (*To Babble*: *Deblaterate*, *Babling*: *Loquacity*, *Verbosity*, *loue of Babling*: *Phylologie*). In fact, about twenty-five per cent of the 3,413 neologisms that the *CED* cites from the period 1610 to 1624 derive from dictionary sources, and Cockeram makes a sizable contribution to them. Another twenty per cent come from *belles lettres*, about thirteen per cent from theology, and fourteen per cent from natural sciences and other professional literature (Wermser 1976: 114–15).

Early monolingual glossaries and dictionaries will not be of much help to a lexicographer looking for Early Modern English colloquialisms, except in the case of cant terms. On the other hand, dictionaries of living languages often provide a range of English synonyms from different registers, including the more colloquial. Randle Cotgrave's *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* (1611) figures prominently in the *CED* record of new words. The following illustrate the wealth of colloquial (near-)synonyms it supplies (Wermser 1976: 117–19, Görlach 1991: 153–4):

FOL. A Foole; asse, goose, calfe, dotterell, woodcocke; noddie, cokes, goosecap, coxcombe, dizard, peagoose, ninnie, naturall, ideot, wisakers;

GARÇE. A wench, lasse, girle; also, (and as wee often meane by the first) a Punke, or Whore.

MAL. Ill, bad, naughtie, lewd; scuruie, mischieuous, hurtfull, harmefull, shrewd; vnseemlie; vncomelie, vndecent; sicke, diseased, crazie, pained, sore, ill at ease.

RUSTIQUE. Rusticall, rude, boorish, clownish, hob-like, lumpish, lowtish, vnciuill, vnmannerlie, home-bred, homelie, sillie, ignorant.

It was not until the eighteenth century that the most common, everyday words were recorded in monolingual dictionaries, notably by John Kersey, Nathan Bailey and Samuel Johnson. Many scholars studying early colloquial usage have turned to drama and private documents such as letters and diaries and, less frequently, to records of court hearings (see Williamson 1929, Wyld 1939, Evans 1950–1: Salmon 1967; Nevalainen 1983). Salmon (1967) uses Shakespeare's Falstaff plays to analyse the colloquial expressions typical of spoken interaction. They include formulas of greeting, parting and summoning, forms of address, exclamations and asseverations. These exclamations would be termed colloquialisms around 1600: *alas*, *well-a-day* (regret); *fie*, *pish*, *tilly-fally* (disdain); *ha* (= PDE *eh*?, seeking agreement); *heigh*, *lo* (surprise); *heigh-ho* (resignation), *tut* (impatience). The list could be lengthened by adding what Salmon calls summoning formulae: *what*, *what ho*, *why*, *I say*; and oaths: *zounds*, *'sblood* (anger or surprise), *Jesu* (pleasure, surprise, excitement), *Lord* (wide range of emotions), and *marry* (< *Mary*; very mild expletive used in answering).

5.2.5 Obsolescence

The glossaries and 'old-word' dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate the extent to which Old and Middle English texts had become incomprehensible. People were no longer expected to be capable of interpreting Old English laws or reading their Chaucer, or indeed their Spenser, who revived a number of Chaucerisms, without the help of glossaries. These developments are also partly connected with the evolution of the standard literary language. A large number of the Middle English words that after 1500 fell out of use from the emerging standard appear in northern regional varieties and Scots (Görlach 1987).

Thomas Speght has as many as 2,700 entries in his collection of 'old and obscure words in Chaucer' (1602). The entries are typically brief: *accidie* l. 'wanhope', *swa* b. 'also', 'so' (l. here stands for assumed Latin origin, and b. for native Saxon). E.K.'s explanatory notes to Spenser's *Shepheарde's Calender* (1579) similarly contain frequent glosses on archaic and dialectal words of the type: *Welkin* 'the skie', *Gange* 'goe' (fo. 10). If anything, these examples show that obsoleteness, too, is a relative notion. *Accidie* and *welkin* both occur in contemporary Elizabethan texts, *accidie* in the sense of 'sloth' rather than 'wanhope' (as also in Chaucer's list of the seven deadly sins). *Swa* is historically the same word as Early Modern English *so*, and *gange* is related to *go*, but they had changed beyond recognition in the course of time (cf. Schäfer 1989a: 33, 49).

Lexical change is often gradual in common, everyday words. Comparing Chaucer with Shakespeare, we can see that while Chaucer used such synonymous pairs as *swink* and *labour*, *wone* and *dwell*, and *sweven* and *dream*, Shakespeare no longer has *swink*, *wone* or *sweven*. Both have *delve* and *dig*, and *clepe* and *call*, but Chaucer prefers the first member of each pair, Shakespeare most of the time the second (Görlach 1991: 140). *Clepe* clearly has overtones of obsolescence, for instance, in *Iudas I am*, *ycliped Machabeus* (*Love's Labour's Lost*, V.ii.602). Shakespeare could also draw upon four other synonyms of 'to be called': *hight*, *name*, *intitule* and *nominate*, of which *hight* is an archaism, and *intitule* and *nominate*, recognisable neologisms (Cusack 1970: 4–5). *Hight* and *cleped* continue to be labelled as archaisms in the eighteenth century, and are included in George Campbell's list of words 'no longer understood by any but critics and antiquarians' (*The Philosophy of Rhetoric* 1776: 411; cf. Tucker 1967: 67).

As the retranslations of the Bible and revisions of *The Book of Common Prayer* testify, the Early Modern English time span is long enough for even prestigious vocabulary to pass from old-fashioned to archaic and obsolete, and to be altogether superseded. Eighteenth-century scholars objected to both archaic and 'low' vocabulary in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and the 1611 Authorised Version of the Bible. Thus Anthony Purver's 'Quaker's Bible' (1764), the only complete independent Bible translation published in the eighteenth century, appends long lists of archaic and obsolete words found in the Authorised Version. Norton (1985) shows that these lists can also be supported from other sources. However, since many of these words are not felt to be archaic today, Norton concludes that they had lost currency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and regained it in the nineteenth. In a number of cases this revival may be directly attributed to the influence of the Authorised Version. Among such words listed by Purver are the following, with his updatings added in brackets: *avenge* (revenge), *changes*, as in *changes in raiment* (suits), *eschewed* (refrained from), *laden* (loaded), *ponder* (consider), *unwittingly* (unawares), and *warfare* (war).

Given the phenomenal growth-rate of the lexicon in the decades around 1600, it would be interesting to know what the life expectancy of these new words was. Gaining an overall view of the rate at which words fell into disuse in Early Modern English is, however, complicated by a number of issues. Polysemy is one of them. A lexeme may lose some of its senses, including the original one, while maintaining one or more recent ones. *Entitle* or *nominate* can no longer be used synonymously with *call* in Present-Day English in the sense of 'name' or 'be named' when speaking of people.

It is nevertheless possible to approach the question from the viewpoint

of total obsoleteness, and study the lexemes that lexicographers mark as obsolete because they are not attested after a given date. This is what Neuhaus (1971) did in his study based on the *SOED*. He found that between 1460 and 1620 more new words were introduced than obsolete ones lost. The period 1640–80, however, showed a higher than average disappearance rate for words introduced after 1530. In other words, the intensive period of neologising is followed by a corresponding increase in obsolete words. Most of these obsolete words disappear during their first decade, and many are cited only once. As they apparently do not form part of the current lexis at any time, one would feel disinclined to talk about obsoleteness proper. Rather, these cases may partly indicate an overzealous desire to enrich the Early Modern English lexicon. This certainly was the case with neologisers like Cockeram. Many still-born neologisms no doubt also reflect the Early Modern English expansion of derivational means in the lexicon, which resulted in redundant parallel formations (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973: 84–8, Wermser 1976: 92–102; see 5.5).

5.3 Lexical processes

5.3.1 Overall distributions

This section provides an overview of the varying degrees to which different lexical processes were being implemented in Early Modern English. Serving as a background to the individual sections on borrowing, word-formation and semantic change, the section also discusses the general conditions, linguistic and extralinguistic, under which these processes operate.

Borrowing differs from the other processes in that it is externally conditioned by language contact, and not directly regulated by linguistic constraints. It is true that short-term oral contacts such as the Far-East trade almost exclusively yield nouns in Early Modern English, but this trend points to lexical gaps rather than linguistic conditioning. As we saw in 5.2.3, grammatical words are nonetheless less likely to be borrowed than content words.

Word-formation, typically affixation, resembles inflectional processes in that it has linguistic input and output constraints. Suffixation, for instance, commonly changes the word-class of the base, thus altering the range of syntactic functions that it may assume. While word-formation and borrowing add to the number of existing lexemes, semantic changes typically lead to polysemy in the lexicon. They are no less relevant, of course. Bailey *et al.* (1975: xxi) rightly argue that 'little can be said about the channels that innovation follows if the growth of new senses for existing vocabulary is not

measured and compared with the introduction of new word forms'. The basic mechanisms of semantic change are reviewed in section 5.6, below.

The information available in the *CED* will provide a rough idea of the relative frequency of borrowing and word-formation as means of expanding the lexicon in Early Modern English. The figures given below, drawn from Wermser (1976: 40), exclude meaning shifts but contrast loan words with the principal processes of word-formation, that is, affixation, compounding and conversion (zero-derivation), in seven Early Modern English subperiods. A further comparison is established with the contribution of minor word-formation processes, including onomatopoeia (*giggle* 1509), reduplication (*knick-knack* 1618), clipping (*miss* for *mistress* 1666) and blending (*tritical* from *trite* and *critical* 1709). The latter two, clipping and blending, are still relatively new and infrequent in Early Modern English. New words of uncertain origin are even fewer and they are not included in the comparison.

Before we turn to the figures, two limitations of the data should be pointed out. First, the *CED* excludes all *OED* subentries of lexemes. This means that the various word-formation processes, especially compounding, are not satisfactorily represented. Secondly, the *OED* does not provide us with as complete a record of technical terms as would be possible on the basis of the sources used; the *SOED*, on which the *CED* is based, further limits the number of specialist terms. Since they are largely the domain of foreign loan words in Early Modern English, borrowing is incompletely represented, too. We may therefore conclude that all these means of augmenting the lexicon are less than optimally covered. On the other hand, since the principles of exclusion apply more or less across the board, we should be able to detect at least the major changes in the impact of the various processes by comparing their distributions in Wermser's seven periods (see, however, 5.2.1 for further discussion of the limitations of the *OED*).[3]

	Loan words	Affixations, compounds, conversions	Minor processes	Total for subperiod	
1460–74	53%	38%	5%	96%	716
1510–24	40%	43%	10%	93%	796
1560–74	45%	42%	8%	95%	2,105
1610–24	51%	42%	5%	98%	3,413
1660–74	48%	40%	8%	96%	2,032
1710–24	38%	48%	10%	96%	919
1760–74	41%	45%	10%	96%	1,149

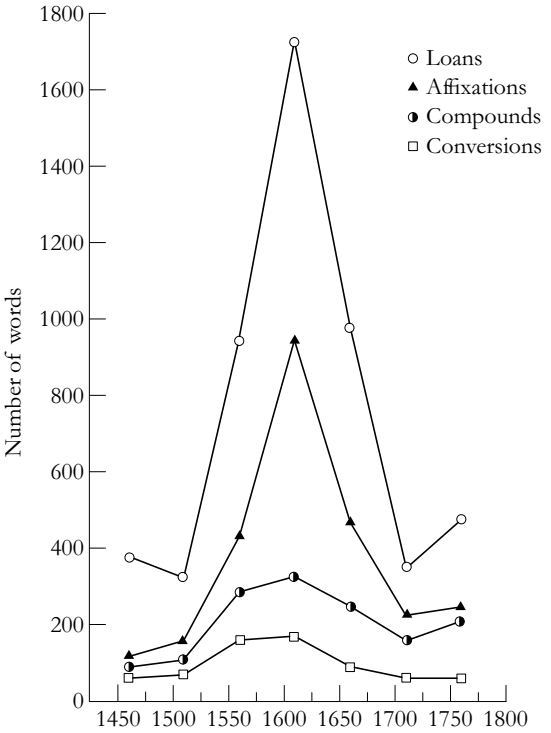


Figure 5.3 Absolute frequencies of loan words, affixations, compounds and conversions

The figures suggest that borrowing is by far the most common method of enriching the lexicon in Early Modern English. With the exception of the period 1510–24, loan words constitute a higher proportion of all neologisms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than the three major word-formation processes of affixation, compounding and conversion put together. The same is true of 1460–74, the peak period for borrowing in relative terms. In the eighteenth century the tide is beginning to turn, and loan words are outnumbered by derivations and compounds.

Figure 5.3 presents the absolute frequencies of loan words, affixations, compounds and conversions in Wermser's Early Modern English subperiods. The curves never intersect but run parallel to each other with only some minor changes in direction. With the exception of the last subperiod, these data suggest that the processes have had relatively fixed rankings as the means of enriching the Early Modern English lexicon. This information should, however, be supplemented by their relative frequencies.

We may compare the relative distributions of the four processes by

breaking down the composite percentages given above. The peak periods for borrowing remain unchanged. Affixations rank as the second-most frequent means of enriching the lexicon. They, too, peak around 1600. It is interesting to note, however, that the relative frequency of borrowed prefixes and suffixes increases steadily – from some twenty per cent at the beginning of the Early Modern English period to seventy per cent at the end of it (Wermser 1976: 64). Compound words come third in this comparison, leaving conversion as the least frequently attested means in the period. However, compounding and conversion peak at different times. The share of compounds rises from the relative low of nine per cent in 1610–24 to a peak of eighteen per cent at the end of the period. By contrast, conversions reach their relative peak early on, nine per cent in 1510–24, and show only another minor rise two hundred years later, 1710–24.

For the sake of comparison, we may turn to Cannon's (1987) analysis of new words introduced into American English between 1963 and 1981. The most striking aspect in this comparison is the much reduced role of borrowing in American English, which remains well below ten per cent of the total of 13,683 new words recorded. By far the largest category is 'additions', compounds and affixations, which amount to twenty-nine per cent and twenty-four per cent, respectively. (Here the results are not fully compatible with our Early Modern English data, as Cannon's definition of a compound is more liberal than most lexicographers'; he admits some phrasal lexemes such as *can of worms* and *meat and potatoes*; Cannon 1987: 200; cf. Bauer 1989: 255.) The label 'shifts' is used of both conversions and meaning shifts, which correspond to twenty per cent of the cases. The remaining eighteen per cent are called 'shortenings' and include backformations, blends and clippings. Allowing for certain differences in the principles of compilation and definitions in the dictionaries referred to, it nonetheless appears that massive borrowing has now subsided. Affixation has remained a central process, while compounding and especially the various processes of shortening have gained momentum since Early Modern English. Leaving meaning shifts out of the account, conversions can be shown to have retained their relative position at well below ten per cent of the total.

This brief comparison does not imply a unilinear development of these processes from Early Modern English to present-day American English, and even less so to present-day British English. At best it may be seen as indicative of the directions that already appeared to be taking shape in the eighteenth century. Even with a liberal margin for error, the figures clearly suggest that in Early Modern English the basic lexical processes had very

different weightings from those found today in one of the principal varieties of Present-Day English.

We may also detect shifts of emphasis in the chronological distributions of neologisms by word-class in the course of our period (Wermser 1976: 82). Nouns constitute more than half of the neologisms throughout Early Modern English. Their relative share rises from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, and reaches seventy per cent in 1760–74. Adjectives are the second-most frequent word-class. Their share is close to twenty per cent throughout the period and exceeds it in 1560–1724, reaching its maximum of twenty-eight per cent in 1660–74. The proportion of verbs reaches twenty per cent of the total only twice in Early Modern English, around 1510–24 and 1610–24, and dwindles to a mere eight per cent at the end of the Early Modern English period. The decline of verbs is partly attributed by Wermser (83) to the preponderance of nouns in scientific terminology, which proportionately increase from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. Nouns also continue to predominate in post Early Modern English. They constitute about seventy-seven per cent of Cannon's (1987: 256) recent American English data, and more than eighty per cent of the borrowings attested in the *SOED* after 1800 (Tournier 1985: 329).

5.3.2 Productivity

So far the application of the various lexical processes has been discussed in terms of their lexeme tokens. This approach reveals the means, and the extent to which they are being used, at a given time. It gives us a broad idea of the chronological stratification of the lexicon, and reflects the interests and activities of the people building up their lexical resources. The number of loan words, for instance, grows largely to meet the demands, real or imagined, of the expanding functions of the standard language.

This does not, however, mean that only numerical comparisons are relevant when assessing the lexical productivity of a given age. Important though this information is, it is only one aspect of the issue. The other side of the coin is the limitations of the various processes and the range of possible but unattested lexemes. Some of these constraints were already referred to above in relation to Shakespeare's stillborn neologisms. We shall now move on to a more detailed survey of the kind of factors that regulate lexical productivity.

Derivational processes resemble inflections in that both add fairly constant meaning components to their bases and stems: the inflectional suffix

-s is used to assign nouns a plural meaning, the lexical suffix *-less* to turn nouns into privative adjectives. The resultant meanings can be computed from their component parts (*meaning* + *s*; *meaning* + *less*). The processes do not, however, remain stable across time. New means are acquired and some previously productive ones may cease. The latter development increases the likelihood that a complex lexeme may in the course of time lose its compositional motivation and become unanalysable. In Early Modern English *wanton*, for instance, was no longer analysable as a combination of the prefix *wan-* 'un' and *towen* 'disciplined'.

The factors that contribute to lexicalisation or the loss of compositional motivation of complex lexemes vary from semantic and syntactic to phonological. The lexicalisation of *hussy* in Early Modern English is a typical instance of parallel developments. In Middle English the compound *housewife* had two variants, one with a secondary stress on *wife*, and the other without. With secondary stress, the second element of the compound remained the same as in *wife*. In the variant without secondary stress, the long vowel was shortened in Middle English, the /w/ was lost, and the word was telescoped into *hussif*, *huzzif* or *hussy* in the early sixteenth century (Barber 1976: 325). As a result of these changes, the morpheme boundary disappeared, and the compound lost its transparency. The semantic specialisation of *hussy* as 'a woman or girl of low or improper behaviour' fixed the new lexicalised form.

Alongside synchronically opaque lexicalised words, we have lexemes that are morphologically fully transparent but no longer represent a productive pattern. The suffixes *-le/el* and *-th* are among those that lose their productivity in Early Modern English. According to Marchand (1969: 324), the native suffix *-le/el* had declined by 1400 as a means to form instrumental nouns. Its last diminutive derivations date from before 1600 (*knobble* 'small knob' 1485; *standel* 'young tree left standing for timber' 1543). Similarly, the native suffix *-th* was only used to form a few nouns in Early Modern English. They include the deverbal derivations *growth* (1557) and *spilth* (1607), and the deadjectival *coolth* (1547). *Breadth* (1523) and *width* (1627) were both presumably established by analogy with such related forms as *length* ([349]). Speakers of Early Modern English could evidently analyse even the less regular derivations such as *breadth*, based on *brede*, into their component parts, a base and the suffix *-th*. Analysable formations like this must nonetheless be considered lexicalised towards the end of the EModE period, because they could not be augmented by means of synchronic word-formation rules.[4]

Lexical productivity itself has many dimensions. A process may have linguistic constraints and assume a limited input and output range, which

means that it is only applicable to certain well-defined bases and will only produce derivations of a well-defined kind. This is particularly the case with suffixation. The suffix *-ness* is thus used to form nouns from adjectives (*brisk* – *briskness*), *-er* forms nouns from verbs (*scrape* – *scraper*) and from other nouns (*stocking* – *stockinger* 'stocking weaver'), and *-ly* adverbs from adjectives (*tight* – *tightly*). The base may also be semantically specified. The suffix *-able*, for instance, is typically adjoined to active transitive verbs to derive passive adjectives (*drinkable* 'that can be drunk', *attainable* 'that can be attained').

Prefixes have fewer word-class restrictions on their input range than suffixes, and they do not alter the word-class of the base. In Early Modern English the negative and reversative prefix *un-* is used quite freely with a variety of bases, both native and borrowed. Barber (1976: 189) lists nouns (*uncircumcision* 1526, *uncertitude* 1541), adjectives (*uncivil* 1553, *uncomfortable* 1592, *uncome-at-able* 1694), participles (*uncloaked* 1540, *uncivilized* 1607), verbs (*unbelieve* 1547, *undeserve* 1621), and adverbs (*uncircumspectly* 1535). In Present-Day English *un-* is restricted to deadjectival and deverbal derivations.

As a rule there are fewer input constraints on conversions and compounds than on affixes. Unlike affixes, neither are based on a closed set of morphemes. The most common type of conversion in Early Modern English is the derivation of verbs from nouns (e.g. *gossip* 1590, *invoice* 1698 (193)). Noun + noun compounds are by far the most productive type of compounds both in Early Modern and Present-Day English. They are also recognised by William Bullokar, the author of the first grammar of the English language to be published in English. In this *Pamphlet for Grammar* (1586: 61) he illustrates the process with the following set of examples and their paraphrases:

> On an erth-bank ner medow-ground, I saw a hors-comb ly, Which I browht into a hors-mil that a ston-wal stood nih, And fynding thaer an elmen plank, I sowht for a wood-betl And woodn wedges, but found nawht, sauing a laten-ketl.
> (*Compositions and substantiue adjectiues resolued by prepositions of*, *for*, *or*, *with*.)
> On a bank of erth or erthn bank, ner ground for medow, I saw a comb for a hors ly, which I browht into a mil with hors, that stood nih a stonen wal, or wal of ston, and fynding thaer an elm-plank, or plank of elm, I sowht for a betl for wood, and wedges of wood, but found no-thing, sauing a ketl of laten.

The examples include both hyphenated nominal compounds (*earth bank*, *meadow ground*, *horse comb*, *horse mill*, *stone wall*, *wood beetle*, *latten kettle*) and

phrases consisting of an adjective and a noun (*elmen plank*, *wooden wedges*). The compounds on the list differ as to their degree of lexicalisation. *Horse comb* and *stone wall*, both going back to Old English, are institutionalised by Bullokar's time. *Meadow ground* is first recorded in 1523, and *horse mill* in 1530. Both would have been well established by the time Bullokar was writing. Of the rest (*latten kettle*, *wood beetle*) there is no previous record in the *OED*. On the basis of this evidence they are non-lexicalised items formed by productive compounding rules.

In our search for lexical productivity, we should perhaps make a further distinction between productivity and creativity. Thus the word *tissue* did not have its biological sense in Early Modern English, but used to mean 'a rich kind of cloth (especially one with gold and silver in it)' or 'a band or girdle of rich material' (Barber 1976: 154). From the latter half of the sixteenth century onwards, the word could be used of any woven fabric or stuff. The biological sense 'animal or plant tissue' was first recorded in the nineteenth century. What we are witnessing here is an instance of semantic change. It does not apply to other lexemes in a rule-governed way, but provides the speakers with a creative means by which to enrich the lexicon in a motivated but largely unpredictable way. The various strategies employed to change word meaning, including metaphoric extension, are reviewed below in section 5.6.

All lexical and semantic processes are naturally limited by the pragmatic fact that 'words serve as concept-forming tools, as crystallization points for semantic material, and the containers for the result of this process' (Lipka 1990: 178). Hence, under normal circumstances, the prior existence of a well-established word would be sufficient to block the admission of a new one. In Early Modern English, however, this principle of economy is relaxed with a large section of the new lexical intake. This lexical extravagance no doubt goes back to such factors as competition between old and new processes and the stylistic values attached to *copiousness* (see 5.4.1).

Synonymous operations could be applied to one and the same base quite freely especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This led to the richness of multiple derivations characteristic of the period. Synonymous verb forms were created by the prefix *en-* and the suffix *-en*, and their combination: *length* (1300), *lengthen* (1500–20), *enlength* (1530) and *enlengthen* (1646). Some bases could give rise to no fewer than five privative variants: *disthronize* (1583), *disthrone* (1591), *dethrone* (1609), *unthrone* (1611), and *dethronize* (1611/56) (Görlach 1991: 180). A large number of these multiple derivations did not outlive the Early Modern English period, and some of those that did have become semantically differentiated in Present-Day English (e.g. *light/lighten/enlighten*).

A productive process may also be blocked if its potential input base is marked. Loan versus native-word status can act as such a marker. The people introducing French and Latin loan words must have had at least some knowledge of these languages, but borrowed lexemes were not always morphologically transparent to their Early Modern English users. There is some evidence to the effect that loan derivations may in fact have been marked as monomorphemic wholes for the purposes of conversion. Biese (1941: 260) shows that there is an increasing tendency since Middle English to avoid forming conversion verbs from native nouns that are derived by means of native suffixes. Exceptions such as *freedom* (1548) number less than a dozen as opposed to the several hundred derivations of foreign origin that were converted into verbs in Biese's data (e.g. *alliance*, *deputy*, *funeral*, *indenture*, *mortgage*; 256–9).[5]

Generally speaking, loan words show vastly varying degrees of integration into English. In a number of cases it is no longer possible to tell whether the word has in fact been borrowed as such, or derived by means of affixation. The *OED* marks words like *abasement* (1561) and *development* (1756) as being modelled on French (*abaissement*, *développement*). The uncertainty is no doubt caused by the fact that the borrowed suffix *-ment* is added to native bases in such hybrid forms as *allowment* (1579), *betterment* (1598), *fulfilment* (1775) and quite a few others (Gadde 1910). They show that the suffix was a productive element in Early Modern English word-formation, and that forms that might have entered the language as unanalysed wholes had in the course of time become transparent.

A number of affixes, more suffixes than prefixes, came into Middle English from French. At first it was more common for native suffixes to be adjoined to borrowed bases than borrowed suffixes to be added to native bases (Baugh 1951: 215). In Early Modern English the increase in hybrid forms testifies to the productivity of the new affixes, which had by now been integrated into the native stock. The affixes that were generalised in Early Modern English include the diminutive suffix *-let* (*streamlet*, *townlet* 1552, *winglet* 1611, *sparklet* 1689, *runlet* 1755), and the prefix *non-*, which spread from legal language into wider use towards the end of the sixteenth century (*non-obedience*, *non-user*, *non-entity*, *non-member*, *non-existent*, *non-preaching*, *non-conformist*, *non-life*; Marchand 1969: 179, 326). However, with the introduction of new technical coinages based on Latin and Greek models, a tendency to avoid hybrids was strengthened from the seventeenth century onwards (Görlach 1991: 176). At the end of our period, new loan words and affixes were again more strictly compartmentalised and less productive than the older layers in the lexicon.

To sum up, the productivity of word-formation processes was increased during the first two centuries of the Early Modern English period by the loose constraints regulating their input ranges and synonymy. A word could serve as a base for multiple synonymous derivations. Fewer affixes fell into disuse than were introduced in the wake of borrowing. Hybrid formations were found with affixes that had come into English in the Middle English period, and were fully naturalised in Early Modern English. All these factors contributed to lexical growth. It would seem that the proliferation of overlapping word-formations was one of the responses to the growing functional demands made on the evolving standard language. Multiple derivations were common before any one variant form had become well-established or fully institutionalised. Those variants that came to be fixed were codified in dictionaries in the eighteenth century.

5.4 Borrowing

5.4.1 Motives and attitudes

Lexicographical sources suggest that borrowing was the single most common way of augmenting the Early Modern English word stock. In the latter half of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth, it was more frequent than the various word-formation processes put together (see 5.3.1, above). Borrowing from foreign languages, especially from Latin, was also an issue that provoked a great deal of discussion and controversy in an era when the standard language was taking shape.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century until the 1580s, the 'insufficiency' of the vernacular was a common cause of complaint. Much of the controversy arose in connection with translation of the classics and the Bible. It was argued that English lacked the prestige of French and Latin as a language of learning and literature. English was 'rude' and 'barbarous', inexpressive and ineloquent, and it did not have the technical vocabulary required in specialised domains of language use, for example in medicine. The need to expand the lexicon was then partly practical, to coin new words for new concepts, and partly stylistic, to provide a richness of vocabulary, known as *copiousness* or *copy* (*copia verborum*), which was considered the hallmark of a literary language (Jones 1953: 3–31, 68–141).

One of the early neologisers of the utilitarian kind was Sir Thomas Elyot. His innovations for the most part come from the classical languages, and include a number of words that are still current, such as *animate*, *education*, *encyclopaedia*, *frugality*, *metamorphosis*, *modesty* and *persist* (Barber 1976: 79).

In his preface to *Of the Knowledg whiche Maketh a Wise Man* (1533, fo. A3), Elyot states his aims as follows:

> I intended to augment our Englyshe tongue, wherby men shulde as well expresse more abundantly the thynge that they conceyued in theyr hartis (wherfore language was ordeyned) hauynge wordes apte for the pourpose: as also interprete out of greke, latyn/ or any other tonge into Englysshe, as sufficiently/ as out of any one of the said tongues into an other . . . there was no terme new made by me of a latine or frenche worde, but it is there declared so playnly by one mene or other to a diligent reder that no sente[n]ce is therby made derke or harde to be vnderstande.

It was the growing tendency to borrow merely for the sake of magniloquence that gave rise to the Inkhorn Controversy in the latter half of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. What came to be seen as superfluous learned borrowings from Latin were heavily criticised. In *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553, fos. 86v–87r), Thomas Wilson gives a graphic illustration of their overuse by quoting 'An ynkehorne letter', which he claims is genuine. It contains, for instance, the following loan words that had not been attested before: *accersited*, *adepted*, *adjuvate*, *celebrate*, *clemency*, *collaud*, *condisciple*, *contemplate*, *dominical*, *fatigate*, *frivolous*, *impetrate*, *invigilate*, *scholastical*, *sublimity* and *revolute* (Barber 1976: 84–5). Although Wilson may have intended them all as examples of the inkhornisms of his day, many of them were in fact preserved for posterity, some even without overtones of excessive formality. One argument in favour of loan words was in fact that they would quickly lose their strangeness and become naturalised (Gotti 1992: 331).

The eloquence of learned loans was promoted by people like Cockeram, to whom 'hard words' were, as he states in the preface to his dictionary (1623), 'the choisest words themselues now in vse, wherewith our language is inriched and become so copious'. The Inkhorn Controversy itself died down in the course of the seventeenth century, but the affectation of innovations continued to be criticised. In his *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* (1653: xxi), John Wallis states that English is now copious to the extent of luxury (*ad luxuriam copiosa*).

During the Restoration, loan word criticism takes a new turn when it begins to be directed at the affected use of French loans. The number of French loans at the time is, however, in no way comparable to the earlier influx of Latin-based vocabulary. It must therefore be the social and cultural aspirations associated with the use of French words and phrases in speech that were satirised by Dryden, Etheridge and other Restoration

playwrights. The impact of French continued to cause concern in the eighteenth century. George Campbell (1776: 413) protested against redundant synonymy:

> Are not *pleasure*, *opinionative*, and *sally*, as expressive as *volupty*, *opiniatre*, and *sortie*? Wherein is the expression *last resort*, inferior to *dernier resort*; *liberal arts*, to *beaux arts*; and *polite literature*, to *belles lettres*?

Dr Johnson saw more harm done at the level of collocations and phraseology, and directed his criticism against translations:

> No book was ever turned from one language into another, without imparting something of its native idiom; this is the most mischievous and comprehensive innovation; single words may enter by thousands, and the fabrick of the tongue continue the same, but new phraseology changes much at once; it alters not the single stones of the building, but the order of the columns. If an academy should be established for the cultivation of our stile . . . let them, instead of compiling grammars and dictionaries, endeavour, with all their influence, to stop the licence of translatours, whose idleness and ignorance, if it be suffered to proceed, will reduce us to babble a dialect of *France*. (Johnson 1755: 5)

In the following sections, I shall confine myself to borrowed lexemes without trying to assess the impact of loan translations (calques) on the lexicon. Unlike the case in Old English, loan words are probably the more common of the two in Early Modern English. Loan translations were, however, resorted to even by linguistic purists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on a par with native word-formation processes as a means of augmenting native lexical resources. In his biblical translations, Sir John Cheke introduced, without much success, such calqued forms as *gainbirth* 'regeneration', *gainrising* 'resurrection', *onwriting* 'superscription' and *moond* 'lunatic'. He also used *biwordes* for 'parables', *hundreder* for 'centurion' and *washing* for 'baptism' (Barber 1976: 91).

5.4.2 Loan word status

The status and identity of loan words varies in the borrowing language. Some issues of their lexical productivity have been touched upon in section 5.3.2 above. The process of borrowing may even be quite heterogeneous as far as individual lexemes are concerned. Two aspects of this variability in Early Modern English merit separate discussion: reborrowing of the same foreign item, and the varying degrees of lexical and morphosyntactic integration displayed by borrowed lexis.

5.4.2.1 Multiple borrowing

The fact that a lexeme has at one point been borrowed into English does not necessarily settle its status in the lexicon. Doublets are a case in point. According to Reuter (1936: 1), about two-thirds of all the loan verbs borrowed from Latin at one time or another have had two forms. After the eighteenth century they were only preserved if they were semantically differentiated. Thus we have, for instance, both *conduce* (1425), derived from the Latin present stem of the verb *conducere*, and *conduct* (fifteenth to sixteenth century) from the past participle *conductus*; *confer* (1528) from *conferre* and *collate* (1558) from *collatus*; *construe* (1362) and *construct* (1610); *resurge* (1575) and *resurrect* (1772), and so on. Where no semantic differentiation had taken place, it was more common for the present stem forms to fall out of use. Thus *captive*, *exone*, *retrahe*, *repone* and *reverb* were all lost in the developing standard language (but not in Scots), while their longer variants *captivate*, *exonerate*, *retract*, *repose* and *reverberate* were preserved (Scheler 1977: 45–6, Reuter 1936: 19–30).

Multiple borrowings should perhaps be distinguished from etymological 'corrections' of borrowed words. It was not seldom that earlier French-derived loans were restored to their Latin shape in the course of the late Middle English and EModE periods. This process gave rise to a number of doublets such as *avowtery* v. *adultery* and *parfit* v. *perfect* (Görlach 1991: 145; see further 5.4.3.1).

Malapropisms and folk etymologies illustrate the opaqueness of 'hard words' to ordinary people. John Hart (1570) is one of the first to comment on the confusion arising from such formally similar items as *temperate* and *temporal*, *stature* and *statute*, and *abject* and *object* (Danielsson 1955: 69). Uncertainty of this kind was increased by the introduction of synonymous doublets. As they seriously detracted from the one-form–one-meaning principle of lexical economy, doublets must have made the language barrier even greater for the less educated.

On the other hand, oral borrowings from living languages could also appear in a variety of forms. Deciding on the shape of words caused particular problems with languages that had no written form. The case of *rac(c)oon*, borrowed from the Powhatan (Virginia) dialect of Algonquian, provides a good illustration. According to the *OED*, it first appeared in two plural forms as *rahaugcums* and *raugroughcums* in a narrative by Captain Smith in 1608. In 1610 we find the forms *aracoune* and *arathkone*, and in 1624 *aroughcun* and *rarowcun*. The modern form *raccoon* is first attested in 1672.

What etymologically counts as the same form could also be reborrowed

into different fields of discourse. The French past participle *animé* is first attested in English in 1577 as a name given to various resins (according to the *OED*, presumably because they contain so many insects as to be 'animated'). In the eighteenth century the same form reappears as a term of heraldry, 'in action and showing a desire to fight'. Because they are semantically so wide apart, the two instances of *animé* must be treated as homonyms rather than as different senses of the same lexeme. Reborrowing may thus increase homonymy in the lexicon.

At the other end of the scale, we have polysemy arising from a borrowed sense being added to the meaning range of a loan word. Both general and specific senses are evidenced, although it is often far from easy to tell sense borrowing from native change. Thus Chaucer resorts to the loan words *declination* and *hemisphere* only as astronomical terms, while a number of their modern senses first appear in the sixteenth century. In *The Governor* (1531: 240 v.) Elyot decides against using *intelligence* in its usual sense of 'understanding' because

> intelligence is nowe vsed for an elegant worde/ where there is mutuall treaties or appoyntementes/ eyther by letters or message specially concernynge warres.

Baugh (1951: 270) gives these examples as illustrations of sense borrowing in the Renaissance. Foreign influence cannot, of course, be ignored in an age like this; it was all-pervasive. On the other hand, there is no *a priori* reason why especially the older layers of loans should not acquire new senses as a result of language-internal semantic developments.

5.4.2.2 Integration

Internal meaning changes supply evidence of a high degree of integration of a loan word into the receiver language. So do changes affecting the lexical field into which the loan enters. The fact that the Franco-Latin *animal* successfully replaced the Middle English French loan *beast* in the general sense of 'living creature' in Early Modern English speaks for its naturalisation. As *deer*, the native word for 'animal', had become common in its present sense in Middle English, and *beast* had acquired its brutal, non-human associations early on, Samuels (1972: 73–4) suggests that the introduction of *animal* filled a need in the lexicon. We may generally assume that borrowing for necessity produced more both semantically and lexicogrammatically integrated loans than borrowing for sheer *copy*.

One way of assessing lexical integration is to look at the productivity of

loan words as bases for word-formation processes. In the case of *animal*, the *OED* record suggests that the noun became derivationally integrated in the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, while its compounds and collocations do not begin to appear until the eighteenth.

Derivations		*Compounds/collocations*	
animalic	1677	animal kingdom	1706
animalist	1678	animal pieces	1711
animalness	1731	animal food	1749
animalise	1741	animal flower (Actinia)	1767
animalisation	1767	animal heat	1779
animalised	1784	animal electricity	1793

As in the case of *animal*, borrowing usually means that native and borrowed lexemes will cooccur in the same lexical sets. In these etymologically mixed sets, words with related conceptual meanings need not be formally related. Loan-word integration thus promotes lexical dissociation. This typically occurs in the more technical and non-colloquial registers in Early Modern English, which borrowed the second elements in pairs like *belly/ventral*, *book/bibliography*, *egg/ovum*, *heart/cordial*, *naked/nudity*, *night/nocturnal*, *saying/dictum* and *sun/heliocentric* (for borrowed prefixes, see 5.5.2).[6]

Borrowing for necessity might be expected automatically to lead to morphosyntactic integration in terms of free admission of inflections and syntactic functions. But not all loans that presumably fill gaps are integrated in this way in all registers. In technical domains, 'need-filling' loans often have a special status as terms. In this capacity they may occur only in fixed phrases, be rarely inflected, and assume only a limited range of syntactic functions in the sentence. In the language of law, new terminology was commonly formed by combining a native term, or an integrated loan word, and its foreign (near-)synonym (Mellinkoff 1963: 121–2, Koskenniemi 1968: 116–17). The following binomials illustrate the strategy that has a long history in legal language and still prevails in Early Modern English. They are drawn from Rastell (1579) and Mellinkoff (1963). (The exact dates refer to their first attestations in legal use; the others to first datings of the French loan components.)

bargain and sale	(F + OE; 1579)
breaking and entering	(OE + F; 1617)
final and conclusive	(F + Lat.; 1649)
maintenance and upkeep	(F + OE; fifteenth century)
new and novel	(OE + F; fifteenth century)
pardon and forgive	(F + OE; fifteenth century)
tax and tallage	(F + F; 1534)

It is hard to tell the extent to which binomials were motivated by loan-word accommodation alone. It would appear that repetitive word pairs were a more-or-less automatic feature in the rhetoric of a number of formal registers at the time (see e.g. Rissanen 1975, and Adamson this volume). The following passage comes from the indictment of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, accused of high treason in 1554. It illustrates the way in which loan words were coupled with other loans or native lexemes in parallel constructions. It is noteworthy that all the verb pairs should appear uninflected in structures of complementation. This kind of register-specific use of loan words does not greatly promote their syntactic or semantic independence. More particularly, if these Middle English loans had been confined to fixed collocations in all registers, there would have been little likelihood of their morphosyntactic integration.

> . . . and also thou wast adherente to the Queenes Enimies within hir Realm, giuing to them *Ayde and Comfort*, &c. and also *falsly and trayterously* didst *conspire and intend* to *depose and deprive* the Queen of hir Royal Estate, and so finally destroy hir, &c. and also thou didst *falsly and traiterously deuise and conclude* to take violently the Tower of London, &c.
>
> ([HC], *State Trials*, p. 64; italics added)

5.4.3 Sources

5.4.3.1 Latin

Latin was the dominant source of borrowed lexis in Early Modern English. During the period of about 1560 to 1670 well over half of the loan words attested in the *CED* come from Latin. Only at the very beginning of the EModE period are direct loans from French more frequent than Latin loans, which even in the eighteenth century comprise some forty per cent of the loan word total. According to Wermser (1976: 45), the peak period of Latin borrowing in absolute terms is around 1610–24, and the lowest point is reached a hundred years later 1710–24, when the figures fall to a mere eighth of the peak period (1047 v. 131 attestations in the *CED*, respectively). Since they also include words that are only found in dictionaries, the figures for 1610–24 are slightly inflated, but not so much as to obscure the overall tendency (see 5.2.4; Barber 1976: 169).

The Early Modern English Latin loans are on the whole bookish, although many belong to the general vocabulary. Their status also changed as the period advanced. Latin was increasingly used to introduce specialist terms, 'terms of art', into the vernacular. Up to the 1520s, Latin loans cover about twenty per cent of the total of new terms, but during the next 150 years their proportion attains the forty per cent level (Wermser 1976: 55).

Specialists themselves defended borrowing by appealing to the lack of exact or equivalent technical terms in English. The success of Latin terminology may be partly attributed to its lack of ambiguity. While promoting the use of English, the Royal Society, for instance, openly endorsed the one-form–one-meaning principle. Many must also have shared Robert Boyle's view of 'the propriety' of retaining Latin terms. Latin was the *lingua franca* of international science and scholarship, and eminent scientists such as Bacon, Harvey and Newton continued to write their major works in Latin (see Vickers 1987: 8–22, Gotti 1992).

In the period of intense borrowing of Latin terms, it was the fields of medicine, zoology, botany (animal and plant names in particular) and theology that gained most. Mathematics and architecture appear to reach their peaks in 1560–74, anatomy in 1610–24, and architecture, botany and general scientific terms again in 1660–74 (Wermser 1976: 55). In the Restoration period Latin became quite unfashionable in general use, but continued to be extensively used for technical terms (Barber 1976: 171). As the share of specialist terms in the lexical intake steadily grew in the eighteenth century, new Latin loans and neo-classical formations became increasingly associated with technical registers.

In the Middle English period, Latin influence was largely filtered through French, often to the extent that it is difficult to know which of the two languages provided the immediate source for a given loan word. In a number of cases, both probably served as models. In the Renaissance it is more common to find that loans go back to Latin directly, although their sources may vary from Classical to Neo-Latin. The largest group in Barber's (1976: 173) *OED* sample of some 400 Latin loans covering the period 1500–1700 come from medieval Latin. Early Modern English also produces doublets of direct loans from Latin and Middle English borrowings of what are regular French developments of the same items (Serjeantson 1961: 262):

count	(ME)	compute	(1631)
garner	(ME)	granary	(1570)
poor	(ME)	pauper	(1516)
ray	(ME)	radius	(1597)
spice	(ME)	species	(1551)
strait	(ME)	strict	(1578)
sure	(ME)	secure	(1533)

The classical revival and prestige of Latin prompted quite a few respellings and, in some cases, spelling pronunciations of what were considered

'corrupt' forms borrowed via French into Middle English. This process of restoration went on from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Respellings include such common words as *debt* for *dette*, *doubt* for *doute*, *indict* for *endite*, and *victuals* for *vitailes* (see Lass this volume, Salmon this volume, Scheler 1977: 47).

Most of the Latin loans in Early Modern English are nouns, adjectives and verbs. Nouns are frequently taken over morphologically unaltered in the nominative case (e.g. *augur*, *circus*, *medium*, *interior*). This is particularly the case with loans from modern Latin since the sixteenth century. Many technical terms preserve their original plural forms: *formula – formulae*, *fungus – fungi*, *genius – genii*, *genus – genera*, and many more. Other Latin case forms are also borrowed, for instance, the ablative in *folio*, *proviso*, *rebus* (pl.), and *via*. Latin verb forms are adopted as nouns in *deficit*, *exit*, *caveat*, *ignoramus*, *recipe*, *veto*, *tenet*, *fiat* and entire verb phrases in *facsimile* and *factotum*. Adverbs and prepositions appear in *alias*, *alibi*, *extra*, *interim*, *item* and *verbatim* (Serjeantson 1961: 263–4).

The other principal mechanism of accommodating Latin words is by morphological anglicisation. One way to do that is to drop the Latin inflectional ending. This principle gives us such forms as *constriction* from *constrictionem* (accusative), *expunge* from *expungere*, *immature* from *immaturus* and *terrific* from *terrificus*. This was a particularly common procedure with verbs. As pointed out above in 5.4.2, verbs were adopted either in their present stem or in their past participle form (c.f. *imburse*, *immerge*, *transcribe* v. *commemorate*, *enumerate*, *imitate*). The latter type were originally participles in Middle English, but were overwhelmingly adopted as base forms in Early Modern English. Reuter (1936: 4–15) traces this process of change by calculating the ratios of present stem forms as against participial formations in individual authors. Chaucer has about 200 Latinate verbs derived from the present stem, and thirty-seven derived from the past participle. The corresponding ratio is 300 to 100 in Caxton, 200 to 400 in Shakespeare, and as high as 250 to 850 in Cockeram (whose verbs mostly come from Thomas's Latin dictionary).

Participial adjectives were commonly formed on the Latin nominative stem in Early Modern English. Most of the adjectives in Barber's data (1976) formed by dropping the Latin inflection go back to *-atus* and end in *-ate* (e.g. *immediate*, *inveterate*, *commensurate*). Many of them have since become obsolete, including *alienate*, *conflate*, *contaminate* and *expiate*, or been replaced by participial forms in *-ated*. Other typical Early Modern English forms are those ending in *-al* (from Latin *-alis*), as in *official* and *transcendental*. Adjectives based on the oblique stem end in *-ent* or *-ant* (*frequent*, *relevant*).

The data in Barber (1976: 173–4) show that nouns that drop the Latin inflections often end in *-y*, which corresponds to the Latin nominative stem *-ius*, *-ia*, *-ium*, as in *commentary*, *deliry* ('delirium') and *prelaty* ('prelacy'). Other types include *-ic*, *ism*, *-ian* and *-ine*. Nouns formed on the oblique stem commonly end in *-ion* (e.g. *invitation*, *prelusion*, *relaxation*).

Another way of anglicising Latin forms was to replace the Latin derivational ending by the well-established terminations that had come into Middle English via French (see 5.5.3). The most common types of nouns are those ending in *-ity* (from L *-itās*), like *immaturity* and *invisibility*, and in *-ence*, *-ency*, *-ancy* (from L *-entia* and *-antia*), such as *transcendence*, *delinquency* and *relevancy*. By far the most common adapted endings with adjectives are *-able*, *-ible* (from *-ābilis*, *-ibilis*), as in *inviolable* and *susceptible*, and *ous* (from *-us*), as in *invious* 'pathless'.

The following chronological survey of Latin loans from 1476 to 1776 illustrates the range of Latin borrowing in Early Modern English. It is drawn mainly from Serjeantson (1961: 260, 264–5), and is hence based on the *OED*.

1476–99 dismiss, instruct 1477; inspector 1479; verbatim 1481; convalesce 1483; hostile 1487; permit (vb) 1489; concussion, popular 1490; victim 1497; produce (vb) 1499

1500–49 cadaver 1500; integer 1509; genius 1513; junior 1526; fungus 1527; vertigo 1528; acumen 1531; folio 1533; area, exit, peninsula 1538; abdomen 1541; circus 1546; augur, axis 1549

1550–99 vacuum 1550; genus, medium, specie(s) 1551; caesura 1556; corona 1563; innuendo 1564; cerebellum 1565; decorum 1568; nasturtium 1570; interregnum 1579; compendium, viva-voce 1581; omen 1582; militia 1590; radius, sinus 1597; virus 1599

1600–49 premium 1601; torpor 1607; equilibrium 1608; specimen 1610; spectrum, series 1611; census 1613; vertebra 1615; tenet 1619; squalor 1621; agend-um (-a), veto 1629; fiat 1631; formula 1638; onus 1640; crux, impetus 1641; focus 1644; data 1646

1650–99 copula 1650; album, larva 1651; complex, vortex 1652; pallor 1656; pendulum 1660; nebula, rabies 1661; minimum 1663; corolla 1671; serum 1672; calculus, stimulus 1684; lens, lumbago, status 1693; antenna 1698

1700–49 nucleus 1704; cirrus 1708; caret 1710; inertia 1713; locus 1715; propaganda 1718; alibi 1727 (adv., n. 1774); auditorium 1724; ultimatum 1731; maximum 1740

1750–76 colloquial, minutia, -ae 1751; cellulose (n.) 1753; decorator 1755; insomnia 1758; tentacle 1762; fauna 1771; bonus 1773; extra, herbarium 1776.

5.4.3.2 French

The statistical comparison in Wermser (1976: 45) shows that French accounts for well over a half of all the borrowed lexis at the beginning of our period. Its relative share remains between twenty and thirty per cent of the total in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Wermser's four subperiods (see 5.3.1, above). The account in Pennanen (1971a: 13), based on a sample of about 4,000 French loans from 1550 to 1700, is arranged by decades. It shows that, in absolute terms, French borrowing reaches its peak in 1570–1620, with another brief rise in 1650–60. Pennanen's data further indicate that the rate of obsolescence of these loans is highest in the first half century (1550–1600), and decreases towards the end of the seventeenth century.

Pennanen's study also considers the difference between integrated loans and those that the *OED* marks as phonologically and/or morphologically unassimilated. What is striking is the increase in the number of unassimilated loans since the 1640s. Their share of the French loans in 1651–1700 is more than double the corresponding figure for the previous century, 1550–1650.

Unlike Latin, French loan words come from a living language. In Early Modern English they mirror England's cultural and political contacts with France, as well as the influence of French emigrants, who settled in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fifteenth and sixteenth-century loans no doubt in part continue to reflect the role of French as a language of administration and law, but much of the seventeenth-century variation can only be explained in terms of Anglo-French relations, which were revived during the Restoration, after the various tensions that had existed between the two countries since the 1620s were relaxed.

The large number of unassimilated loans in the latter half of the seventeenth century speaks for the fashion among the cultivated upper social ranks of introducing French words and phrases into ordinary conversation. It was this fashionable use of French that writers like Dryden, and later Addison, Johnson, Campbell and others objected to. The *OED*-based study by Leidig (1941) suggests that even many relatively assimilated eighteenth-century loans related to food, drink, travel, sport, the arts and luxury goods did not become a lasting part of the Present-Day English lexicon. Leidig argues that this vein of borrowing subsequently petered out in the late eighteenth century for two reasons. The French Revolution put an end to the cultural influence of the nobility in the country, while England at the same time was becoming increasingly bourgeois in outlook,

and the middle classes gained a more prominent position in the transmission of the literary culture.

In form, French loan words do not depart greatly from their sources. Morphological anglicisation takes place, however, with some affixes that already have a corresponding form in English. *Contre-* is thus changed into *counter-* (as in *counterpoint*), *-té* into *-ty* (*docility*, *fidelity*), and verbs take the native suffix *-ize* (*anathemize*; Barber 1976: 177). Unanglicised words retain their original forms (*contrepied*, *naïveté*). In most cases loans retain their original spelling, or something close to it. Their pronunciation also remains as close to the original as allowed by the English phonological system – or the speaker's command of French. The tendency reflects the changing functions of French loans, ranging from necessary terms used by all social ranks to marked foreignisms, which, since 1550, indicated membership of a prestigious and educated elite (Görlach 1991: 168).

Where ME loans are pronounced with a /tʃ/ in words like *chandler* and *broach*, and in *rage* with a /dʒ/, EModE loans record the changes that had in the meantime taken place in the French sound system, so that *chandelier* and *brochure* are pronounced with a /ʃ/ and *rouge* with a /ʒ/. ME loans were mostly integrated into English, and affected by native English sound changes, such as the GVS (see Lass, this volume). Thus we have the diphthong /aɪ/ in words like *nice* and *vine*, which were borrowed in Middle English, but a long monophthongal /iː/ in the EModE nouns *machine* and *police* (Skeat 1970: 12–13). Like many other EModE borrowings from French, they have also retained the main stress on the second syllable.

Serjeantson (1961: 157) notes that Early Modern English loans nonetheless often display sound substitutions and stress shifts. The more widespread the use of a loan word, the more likely it is to undergo processes of substitution that replace, for example, nasal vowels by the combination of an oral vowel and a nasal consonant (e.g. /ɒn/ in *envelope*). In the same way, the French short /a/ is replaced by /æ/, and the final /e/ by the diphthong /eɪ/; both are shown by *ballet* /bæleɪ/. The great majority of the Early Modern English loans come from the emerging standard variety of Central French. Some words have their origins in Provençal (*mistral* 1604, *lucerne* 1626, *lingo* 1660, *gavotte* 1696 and *troubadour* 1727) and Swiss-French dialects (*chamois* 1560; Serjeantson 1961: 158–9).

The late fifteenth-century loans include a number of items that are still current in Present-Day English. The following are a few illustrations: *domicile*, *industry* 1477, *cite* (vb), *consume* 1483, *elegant* 1485, *band* (n.), *decision* 1490, and *intuition* 1497. Serjeantson (160–2) surveys the different fields of discourse of the later loans. The sixteenth-century borrowings include a

number of military and naval terms, such as *trophy* 1513, *pioneer* 1523, *pilot* 1530, *colonel* 1548, *volley* 1573 and *cartridge* 1579. Trade loans are also frequent: *palliasse* 1506, *livre* 1553, *indigo* 1555, *vase* 1563, *cordon* 1578 and *portmanteau* 1584. There are already quite a few 'social' loans, including *minion* 1556, *bourgeois* 1564, *vogue* 1571, *esprit* 1591, *genteel* 1599, *madame* 1599, as well as the now obsolete *sirrah* 1526. Other areas can be illustrated by *scene* 1549, *machine* 1549, *grotesque* 1561, *potage* 1567, *promenade* 1567, *hautboy* 1575 and *moustache* 1585.

As shown above, the second half of the seventeenth century was more susceptible to French borrowing than the first. The category of military, naval and diplomatic loans includes *cartouche* 1611, *brigade* 1637, *platoon* 1637, *mêlée* 1648, *envoy* 1666, and *aide-de-camp* 1670 (the last is one of the many French loans marked as non-assimilated in the *OED*). 'Social' loans are particularly frequent in this period: *repartee* 1645, *liaison* 1648, *naïve* 1654, *class* 1656, *decor* 1656, *rapport* 'relationship' 1661, *malapropos* 1668, *metier* 1674, *faux pas* 1676, *beau* 1687, *verve* 1697, *menage* 1698. Other areas of borrowing include arts and literature, dress, games and dancing, and food: *rôle* 1604, *crayon* 1644, *soup* 1653, *cabaret* 1655, *cravat* 1656, *memoirs* 1659, *champagne* 1664, *ballet* 1667, *nom-de-plume* 1679, *pool* 1693, *denim* (< *serge de Nîmes*) 1695, *attic* 1696, *mousseline* 1696 and *vinaigrette* 1698.

In the eighteenth century, food and cooking continue to attract French loans (e.g. *casserole* 1706, *croquette* 1706, *ragout* 1710, *hors d'oeuvre* 1742, *liqueur* 1742); so do literature, music and art (e.g. *critique* 1702, *belles lettres* 1710, *connoisseur* 1714, *vaudeville* 1739, *dénouement* 1752, *précis* 1760, *brochure* 1765). The variety of other cultural loans can be illustrated by *civilization* 1704, *écu* 1704, *envelope* 1707, *salon* 1715, *bouquet* 1716, *police* 1730, *roulette* 1734, *glacier* 1744, *picnic* 1748, *etiquette* 1750, *gauche* 1751, *fête* 1754, *dentist* 1759, *femme de chambre* 1762, *passé* 1775, *souvenir* 1775 and *regime* 1776. There is a noticeable increase in political and scientific, especially chemical, terminology of French origin towards the very end of the eighteenth century.

French influence on English phrasing is also considerable. Prins (1952: 32) dates its peak period to late Middle English, but it continues to be felt in Early Modern English. These loan translations range from polite turns of speech, such as *at your service*, *do me the favour*, *to engage somebody in a quarrel*, *to make (one's) court to*, *to make* (later: *pay*) *a visit*, to idiomatic phrases like *by occasion*, *in detail*, *in favour of*, *in the last resort*, *in particular*, *to the contrary*.

5.4.3.3 Other European languages

With few exceptions, the share of loans from European languages other than Latin and French remains well below ten per cent of the loan word total in

the Early Modern English period. The languages that contributed most are Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch.[7] The contribution of the the rest of the European languages increases in the course of the eighteenth century, as does the share of non-European languages. The relative share of the latter exceeds the ten per cent level in the last decades of our period (Wermser 1976: 45).

5.4.3.3.1 Greek

The renaissance revival of classical learning also intensified direct borrowing from Greek, although it is in no way comparable to the massive borrowing from Latin. Many Greek loans were still filtered through Latin or French, to the extent that the term *Latinate* may be used to cover all three (see 5.2.2). The *CED* figures cited above reflect the *OED* practice of recording the immediate donor language of the loan word as its etymological source. A more varied picture of the Greek impact on Early Modern English may perhaps be provided by illustrating both those loans that came from classical Greek and those that were mediated through Latin. The following illustrations, drawn from the *CED* and Serjeantson (1961: 269–70), show that Greek loans are mostly learned. Some of them have since become popularised but the vast majority consists of technical and scientific terms. It was the method of combining originally Greek lexical elements that established itself as an important source of international scientific terminology in the nineteenth century. In the Early Modern English period most of the specialised loans belong to the fields of theology, classical civilisation and mythology (Barber 1976: 175).

As in the case of Latin, most of the Greek loans are nouns, adjectives and verbs. Nouns predominate, and usually take the English plural morpheme *-s*. The first decades of our period do not provide any direct Greek loans in the *CED*. In the following survey, Lat. indicates that the word entered English through Latin.

1500–99 alphabet (Lat.) 1513; drama (Lat.) 1517; dilemma (Lat.) 1523; hyperbole (Lat.) 1529; phrase (Lat.) 1530; catastrophe (Lat.) 1540; crisis (Lat.) 1543; arthritis (Lat.) 1544; isthmus (Lat.) 1555; hegemony 1567; acme 1570; pathos 1579; praxis 1581; dialysis 1586; hypothesis 1596

1600–99 archive (Lat.), strophe 1603; onomastic 1609; hexapla 1613; epiglottis 1615; meteorology 1620; program (Lat.) 1633; coma 1646; electric (Lat.) 1646; psyche 1647; cosmos 1650; elastic 1653; euphemism 1656; nous 1678; narcosis 1693

1700–76 phlox, monotony 1706; camera (Lat.) 1708; terpsichore 1711; aphrodisiac (adj.) 1719; anaesthesia (Lat.) 1721; thyroid 1726; bathos 1727; triptych; philander 1731

5.4.3.3.2 Italian

In the ME period the vast majority of loans of Italian origin came into English usage through French . While this indirect borrowing continued in the early part of the EModE period, direct loans were becoming increasingly common. In Tudor times, England had direct contacts with Italy through the Flemish trade conducted with Venice, and private travel in Italy also became fashionable, thus spreading the knowledge of Italian culture.

Many of the early loans are related to trade; for instance, *traffic* (F) 1506, *parmesan* 1519, *caravel* 1527, *artichoke* 1531, *carat* 1552, *bankrupt* (F) 1553, *majolica* 1555 and *frigate* 1585. The cultural loans that entered English in the sixteenth century range from literature, music and architecture to social activities: *ballot*, *carnival*, *cupola*, *duomo* 1549; *sonnet* 1557; *cameo* 1561; *lottery* 1567; *pilaster* 1575; *piazza* 1583; *duel(lo)* 1588 (1591); *madrigal*, *stanza* 1588; *motto* 1589; *canto* 1590; *belvedere* 1596; *fresco*, *stucco* 1598; and *canzone* 1599. Some terms have since undergone meaning changes, and their original senses have become obsolete. They include *scope* 'mark for shooting at' 1534, *cassock* 'a horseman's coat' 1550, *cartel* 'a written challenge' (F) 1560, *cavalier* 'a horse-soldier' 1560, *manage* 'to control a horse' 1561 and *garb* 'grace' or 'elegance' 1591 (Serjeantson 1961: 186–9).

Loans related to Italian products, social customs and arts accumulate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some geological and medical terms also appear. Serjeantson (189–90) groups the following under life and society: *umbrella* 1609, *lagoon* 1612, *gala* 1625, *gusto* 1629, *incognito* 1638, *regatta* 1652, *gambit* 1656, *firm* 1744 and *imbroglio* 1750. The scientific terms borrowed are mostly popular: *volcano* 1613, *granite* 1646, *bronze* 1721, *lava* 1750, *tufa* 1770, *malaria* 1740, *influenza* 1743. Many architectural terms borrowed in this period have gained a lasting position in English, e.g. *portico* 1605, *villa* 1611, *grotto* 1617, *balcony* 1618, *mezzanine* 1711, *arcade* 1731. The same applies to many of the musical terms: *opera* 1644, *recitative* 1645, *sonata* 1694, *solo* 1695, *tempo* 1724, *trombone* 1724, *oratorio* 1727, *concerto* 1730, *soprano* 1730, *aria* 1742, *pianoforte* 1767 (=*fortepiano* 1769) and *falsetto* 1774. The visual arts borrowed *catafalque* 1641, *bust* 1641, *mezzotint* 1660, *cartoon* (F) 1671, *terra-cotta* 1722 and *dilettante* 'a lover of fine arts' 1733.

5.4.3.3.3 Spanish

Direct contacts between England and Spain were intensified in the first part of the Early Modern English period, partly due to the good relations under Queen Mary. Besides native Spanish words, Spanish contacts also introduced into English a number of loans of non-European, mainly of American and African, origin. The spectrum of Hispanic borrowing can

be illustrated by some of the fields of discourse that the loans represent (Serjeantson 1961: 197–200). They include trade terms and products (*cask* 'barrel' 1557, *anchovy* 1596, *sherry* 1597, *lime* (fruit) 1622, *cargo* 1657), people and titles (*don* 1523, *renegade* 1583, *hidalgo* 1594, *booby* 1599, *creole* 1604, *desperado* 1610, *toreador* 1618, *matador* 1681), and military and political terms (*grenade* (F) 1532, *armada* 1533, *embargo* 1602, *junta* 1623, *corvette* (F) 1636, *flotilla* 1711). Other widespread loans are *tornado* 1556, *peccadillo* 1591, *sombrero* 1598, *spade* (cards) 1598, *sierra* 1613, *guitar* 1629, *escapade* (F) 1653, *siesta* 1655, *esplanade* (F) 1681, *marinade* (F) 1704, *mantilla* 1717 and *cigar* 1735. The American-based Spanish loans relate to people, products and nature: *cannibal* 1553, *negro* 1555, *maize* 1565, *potato* 1565, *alligator* 1568, *tobacco* 1577, *banana* 1597, *ananas* 1613, *vanilla* 1662, *avocado* 1697, *barbecue* 1697, *tortilla* 1699 and *pampa* 1704 (Scheler 1977: 64).

5.4.3.3.4 Dutch

Because they are so closely related, Flemish, Frisian, Afrikaans and Low German proper are often included in diachronic accounts of Dutch borrowing. Alternatively, these varieties are grouped together under 'Low German' (see Serjeantson 1961: 170, Scheler 1977: 25, den Otter 1990: 262). In any case, the vast majority of these loans are evidently of Dutch origin in the strict sense of the word. In view of the great affinity of these varieties – it is often impossible to tell the immediate source of a loan word without external evidence on purely formal grounds – I shall in the following account adopt the broader view, and discuss Dutch loans in the wider sense of the term, including the influence of the neighbouring varieties.

Den Otter (1990) used the online *Oxford English Dictionary* to calculate the share of these 'once-Dutch' words of all the new lexis introduced in each century, and found that their relative proportion peaks in the fifteenth century (1.2 per cent), drops slightly in the sixteenth (0.7 per cent), and then remains relatively stable throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (about 0.5 per cent of the total). In absolute terms, the greatest number were introduced in the sixteenth century.

Den Otter's survey shows that most of the fifteenth-century loans reflect the common commercial interests of the Dutch and the English, as they are typically related to goods, cloth and rope. The late fifteenth-century loans include *guilder* 1481, *excise* 1494 and *hose* 1495. Trade terms continue to be borrowed in the sixteenth century, together with nautical vocabulary, e.g. *gulden* 1502, *scone* 1513, *dock* 1513, *splice* 1524, *dollar* 1553 and *yacht* 1557. A variety of other items were also borrowed: *wagon* 1523, *snuff*

('inhale') 1527, *steady* 1530, *bully* 1538, *snip* 1558, *bumpkin* 1570, *catkin* 1578, *spatter* 1582, *filibuster* 1587, *split* 1590, *rant* 1598 and many others.

The seventeenth-century entries are mainly navigational, but terms from commerce, warfare and art were also widely borrowed (Serjeantson 1961: 176–8): *smack* 1611, *keelhaul* 1626, *cruise* 1629, *jib* 1661, *yawl* 1670; *brandy* 1654, *tea* 1655, *duffel* 1677, *smuggle* 1687; *knapsack* 1603, *onslaught* 1625, *easel* 1654, *sketch* 1668. Other loans from the period can be illustrated by *hanker* 1601, *slur* 1609, *drill* 1611, *skate* 1656, *slim* 1657 and *hustle* 1684. In the eighteenth century, basically the same variety of loans can be detected (*gin* 1714, *schooner* 1716, *roster* 1727, *cookie* 1730, *spillikin* 1734, *yankee* 1765, *caboose* 1769, *mangle* 1774), with the addition of some words from South African Dutch (*kloof* 1731, *steenbock*, *springbok* 1775).

5.4.3.3.5 Others

The lexical influence of other European languages on Early Modern English is more sporadic, and especially in the early part of the period filtered through French, Dutch and Spanish. The following illustrations are mostly drawn from Serjeantson (1961) and Finkenstaedt & Wolff (1973).

As in the case of Spanish, direct contacts with Portuguese were mainly established in the sixteenth century. The words borrowed are mostly related to the Portuguese settlements and colonies in Africa, India, the Far East and America: *apricot* 1551, *coco* 1555, *flamingo* 1565, *molasses* 1570, *banana* 1572, *mango* 1582, *copra* 1584, *mandarin* 1589, *guinea* 1598, *tank* 1616, *pagoda* 1618, *dodo* 1628, *macaque* 1698, *teak* 1698, *veranda* 1711, *auto-da-fé* 1723, *palaver* 1735 (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973: 147).

Early Modern English borrowed directly but not extensively from the Celtic languages within the British Isles. There is some overlapping between the individual languages – *whisky* (1715), for instance, has been assigned both to Irish and to Scots Gaelic – but in most cases the immediate source of the loan has been identified as one of the three main donor languages. Irish is the source of *bog* 1505, *brat* 1505, *trousers* 1599, *Tory* 1646 and *galore* 1675. Loans from Scots Gaelic include *glen* 1489, *plaid* 1512, *slogan* 1513, *gob* 1550, *ptarmigan* 1599 and *Gaelic* 1774. The number of Welsh loans is the smallest of the three, including *flannel* 1530 and *coracle* 1547.

The Scandinavian languages Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic all contributed to EModE lexis. Most of the loans are related to Scandinavian products, culture and nature. Among those that have been preserved until the present day are *rug* 1551, *gruesome* 1570, *bat* (mammal) 1575, *snag* 1577, *snug* 1595, *troll* 1616, *skittles* 1634, *gauntlet* 1661, *rune* 1690, *fjord* 1694, *cosy*, 1709, *saga* 1709, *lemming* 1713, *tungsten* 1770 and *eiderdown*

1774. The corpus-based study of Moskowich & Seoane (1995) suggests that a large number of the Scandinavian loans that were found in Middle English, particularly those denoting physical action, were no longer in active use in Early Modern English. Many of those that are attested belong to the semantic fields of law (*bench*) and social relations (*bond*, *call* [vb]).

The High-German loans from the early part of our period are very few; one notable area of borrowing in the latter half is mineralogy. The scope of High-German borrowing can be illustrated by listing some items that still occur in Present-Day English, such as *landgrave* 1516, *lobby* 1553, *carouse* 1567, *hamster* 1607, *sauerkraut* 1617, *plunder* 1632, *zinc* 1651, *bismuth* 1668, *cobalt* 1728, *pumpernickel*, *quartz* 1756, *iceberg* 1774 and *nickel* 1775.

Although infrequent, Russian loans are still more numerous than those from the other Slavonic languages. They include *rouble* 1554, *Czar* 1555, *steppe* 1671, *mammoth* 1706, *ukase* 1729 and *suslik* (a species of ground-squirrel) 1774.

5.4.3.4 Non-European languages

The influence of non-European languages on Early Modern English is frequently mediated through other European languages. For the first time, non-European loans exceed ten per cent of the total of the new borrowed lexis in the last decades of the EModE period (Wermser 1976: 45). The following survey, mostly drawn from Finkenstaedt & Wolff (1973: 149–56), illustrates loans that entered English through direct contacts, either trade or actual settlement. In the EModE period, England began to expand globally, first to the eastern coast of North America and the West Indies in the seventeenth century. Extensive trade networks were also established with West Africa, India, Indonesia and South America. Nearer to home, trade in the southern and eastern Mediterranean was of particular importance.

A number of words came into English in the seventeenth century from Turkish. Many of them were of Persian or Arabic origin and only mediated through Turkish. Most of the direct loans were nouns: *janizary* 1529, *horde* 1555, *vizier* 1562, *caftan* 1591, *jackal* 1603, *sherbet* 1603, *yogurt* 1625 and *pasha* 1646. The direct Persian loans include *turban* 1561, *shah* 1564, *divan* 1586, *bazaar* 1599, *caravan* 1599, *pilau* 1612, *mullah* 1613, *parsee* 1615 and *seersucker* 1757.

Near-Eastern borrowings are also mainly nouns, and most of them come from Arabic. The bulk of Arabic words, however, enter Early Modern English via Spanish, Portuguese, Italian or Turkish. There are very

few direct loans before 1500, and equally few in the eighteenth century. Many of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century borrowings are still current, such as *sheikh* 1577, *hashish* 1598, *ramadan* 1599, *henna* 1600, *arrack* 1602, *fakir* 1609, *imam* 1613, *Moslem* 1615, *mohair* 1619, *Koran* 1625, *harem* 1634, *Allah* 1702. Although most biblical terms were borrowed earlier through Latin, some direct loans from Hebrew can also be found in our period: *Jehovah* 1530, *log* 1530, *Talmud* 1532, *shekel* 1560, *torah* 1577 and *bethel* 1617.

As with most non-European languages, direct loans from the various African languages are isolated nouns (e.g. *zebra* 1600, *baobab* 1640, *chimpanzee* 1738, *mumbo jumbo* 1738 and *gnu* 1771).

The many languages of the Indian subcontinent, mainly Hindi, Urdu and Tamil, also contributed to Early Modern English. The richest variety of these loans came in the seventeenth century, but some earlier and later ones are also attested: *typhoon* 1588, *curry*, *coolie* 1598, *toddy* 1609, *nabob*, *rupee* 1612, *guru*, *pariah*, *tyre/tyer* 1613, *sahib* 1627, *cot* 1634, *pundit* 1672, *bungalow* 1676, *dungaree* 1696, *tom-tom* 1693, *maharaja*, *pukka*, *mongoose* 1698, *jute* 1746, *shampoo* (vb) 1762 and *jungle* 1776.

The languages of Indo-China, mostly Malay, are the immediate source of a few Early Modern English loans, including *bamboo* 1598, *paddy* 1623, *cockatoo* 1634, *orangoutang* 1699 and *kapok* 1750. There are also some words borrowed from Chinese, such as *Japan* 1577, *litchi* 1588, *ginseng* 1654 and *ketchup* 1711. Japanese loan words include *shogun* 1615, *sake* 1687, *soy* 1696 and *mikado* 1727.

With the first English colonies in Virginia and New England, direct contacts were established with North America in the early seventeenth century. Besides the rich inheritance of place names, there are a number of words relating to wildlife and the local ways of life that were borrowed from North-American Indian languages, for instance, *racoon* 1608, *opossum* 1610, *moccasin*, *persimmon* 1612, *moose* 1613, *wigwam* 1628, *papoose*, *skunk*, *tomahawk* 1634, *hickory* 1676 *totem* 1760 and *caucus* 1763. Direct South-American loans are, by contrast, rare – *Inca* 1594, *jaguar* 1604 and *jacaranda* 1753 are among the few recorded. Much of the lexical influence of South-American Indian languages was mediated through Spanish (see above, 5.4.3.3.3).

5.5 Word-formation

5.5.1 Introduction

Word-formation is concerned with the patterns of language on which new lexemes are formed. It accounts for composites which are analysable both

formally and semantically. Basically they consist of a sequence of a modifying element (determinant) and the element modified (determinatum). Using this distinction, the main EModE word-formation processes can be described in terms of free lexemes or bases and bound affixes as follows (Marchand 1969: 2; Lyons 1977: 521; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1520):

(1) derivations consisting of an affix and a base:
  (a) *prefixation* adding a prefix (determinant) to the base (determinatum) without a change of word class (*hero* → *antihero* (1714); see 5.5.2)
  (b) *suffixation* adding a suffix (determinatum) to the base (determinant), usually with a change of word class (*modernize* → *modernizer* (1739); see 5.5.3)

(2) *compounding* adding a base to another (*bread* + *basket* → *bread-basket* (1522), determinant + determinatum; see 5.5.4)

(3) *conversion* (or zero-derivation) assigning the base to a different word class without changing its form (*pioneer* n. (1523) → *pioneer* vb (1780); see 5.5.5)

This classification reflects the important typological change in English from stem-formation in Old English to word-formation as we know it today. In the course of the Middle English period invariant free lexemes came to be established as bases for word-formation, and the rich stem allomorphy of OE was largely lost in derivational morphology (see Kastovsky 1985, 1992a). In this respect Early Modern English is already Modern. As far as productive means of affixation are concerned, however, it is expanding. At the end of the period, the set of productive prefixes and suffixes closely resembles the present-day one.

Word-formation processes are best classified in structural terms, i.e. in terms of the word-classes that they apply to and those that they produce. So terms such as *denominal* and *deverbal* are used below to refer to lexemes formed from nouns and verbs, respectively. *Moderniser* is an instance of a deverbal noun, a noun derived from the verb *modernise* by means of the suffix *-er*. Prefixes also apply to specific word classes but no word-class change is effected as a result of prefixation. Since prefixes constitute a closed class, the options available at any given time are accounted for by a semantic classification of the productive elements (see 5.5.2).

Foreign influence is reflected in Early Modern English word-formation in a sharp increase of non-native elements as productive affixes. New affixes arise as a sufficient number of borrowed complex lexemes are interpreted as morphologically transparent. This happened to a wealth of Middle English loans, which were integrated into English and analysed as consisting of a base and a separate meaningful affix. The new adoptive affixes had

a profound effect on the composition of the Early Modern English lexicon in that, as the number of affixes multiplied, non-native elements clearly outnumbered the native in terms of both type and token frequency.

As most of these newly adopted affixes were practically limited to foreign – Romance and classical – bases, the effects of their naturalisation can be seen in a quantitative shift towards a non-native basis of coining new words in Early Modern English. This development finally establishes two lexical strata in the English lexicon, with some far-reaching consequences for the phonological and morphological makeup of the language (see Lass, this volume).

According to the information contained in the *CED*, the share of Germanic bases in new coinages falls from about thirty-two per cent at the beginning of the Early Modern English period to some thirteen per cent at the end. They are outnumbered by French and, since the end of the sixteenth century, Latin bases. It is in fact Latin that is the single most frequent source of new derivations from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. An even more dramatic change is observed in the etymological distributions of affixes. At the beginning of our period, the proportion of native affixes was some eighty per cent of all new derivations, but at the end, a mere thirty per cent (Wermser 1976: 64, 67).

5.5.2 Prefixation

While prefixation was poorly represented in Middle English word-formation, proportionately more new prefixes were introduced into Early Modern English than suffixes. This multiplication of prefixes increased synonymous means of derivation, especially in literary and other technical registers.

We may turn to hybrid forms in order to see how well the new affixes were integrated. The use of Latinate affixes with native bases spread in Early Modern English. This suggests that they were analysable to native speakers and becoming assimilated into the Early Modern English lexicon. It is, however, interesting to note that very few new hybrids of this kind occur in the writings of Elyot, Ascham, Mulcaster, Jonson and other scholars of the time. Most classicists were conservative and preferred homogeneous morphemes. They may be contrasted with more liberal neologisers, who did not hesitate to combine heterogeneous elements.

Garner (1983) compared Shakespeare's use of twelve Latinate and five native prefixes in hybrid forms with their use in the 1611 Authorised Version of the Bible. The Latin prefixes included were *con-*, *contra-*, *de-*, *dis-*,

in- (negative), *inter-*, *post-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *re-*, *super-* and *trans-*; the native forms were *be-*, *fore-*, *out-*, *over-* and *under-*. Garner found that Shakespeare used 101 different hybrid words 178 times altogether. If hybrids with *un-* are included, the number of hybrid lexemes rises to 400. The Authorised Version contains only seven hybrids used twenty-four times in all; with the prefix *un-*, the number amounts to forty-one, approximately one tenth of the number found in Shakespeare. None of those appearing in the Bible are new formations, but most of them go back to Middle English, whereas Shakespeare can here be credited with as many as 137 neologisms. The rest of his hybrids are mostly renaissance formations. If *un-* is excluded from the account, only the following hybrids occur in the Bible: *recall*, *renew*, *foreordain*, *overcharge*, *overpast*, *overplus* and *overturn*; of them, only the forms with *re* involve a borrowed prefix. By contrast, the sole prefixes with no hybrid forms in Shakespeare are *de-* and *pro-*, both still of limited use in Early Modern English. It appears that, even in the Renaissance, hybrids were often controlled by etymological considerations. Hence learned borrowing did not promote maximal integration of the borrowed elements.

Unlike many borrowed suffixes, prefixes do not affect the sound structure of the base, but they may themselves carry either a secondary or primary stress (see further Lass, this volume). As they do not change the word-class of the base, and (some two thirds of the productive prefixes in Early Modern English) are not limited to any one word-class, their main linguistic function is semantic. My discussion of Early Modern English prefixes is therefore based on meaning. It provides an itemised account of the increase in productive prefixes grouped according to semantic distinctions, much along the lines suggested by Quirk *et al.* (1985) for Present-Day English. These broad semantic categories show the relations between contrasting and competing elements. If a prefix is polysemous, it is discussed separately under the relevant entries. My analysis differs from Quirk *et al.* in that items such as *after*, *out* and *over* come under compounding rather than prefixation, because they also function as free lexemes (adverbs and prepositions).

5.5.2.1 Negative and reversative prefixes

As the negative prefixes *in-*, *non-* and *dis-* became productive in late Middle and Early Modern English, derivational means for expressing antonymy in the lexicon were significantly increased. *Dis-* could also be used to derive reversative and privative verbs. The only native prefix to express negative and reversative meanings in Early Modern English was *un-*.

5.5.2.1.1 Negative (*a-*, *dis-*, *in-*, *non-*, *un-*)

Throughout Early Modern English, *un-* remains the most common negative prefix. It expresses complementary and contrary semantic relations ('not', 'the opposite of') and combines with adjectives, both simple and derived, native and borrowed (e.g. *unfit*, *unfortunate*, *ungodly*, *uncommon*, *uncivil*, *unfashionable*, *uncomfortable* (sixteenth century); *undesirable*, *un-English*, *uncritical*, *unconditional*, *unearthly* (seventeenth century); *unprimitive*, *unconscious*, *unabsurd*, *un-British*, and *undramatic* (eighteenth century). It is established with derivations ending in *-able* and found with postposed prepositions, as in *uncome-at-able* (1694). It occurs with participial adjectives (*unbecoming*, *undeserving*, *unabated*, *unabsorbed*) and, since the sixteenth century, with past participles of prepositional verbs, as in *unheard-of* (1592), *uncared-for* (1597), *uncalled-for* (1610), and *unwished-for* (1632). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *un-* could even intensify negative adjectives ending in *-less* (*unboundless*, *uncomfortless*, *undauntless*, *uneffectless*, *unhelpless*). As with most adjectival prefixes, adverbs based on *un-*adjectives are common (*unluckily*, *undoubtedly*, *unfortunately*, *unalterably*, *unhandily*).

Early Modern English also continues to form nouns by means of *un-* ('the opposite of', 'lack of'), but they are far less numerous than adjectives. The sixteenth century records, for instance, *uncharity*, *ungratitude*, *unsuccess*; the seventeenth, *unculture*, *unintelligence*, *unobservant*, *unsatisfaction*; the eighteenth *unconcern* and *unreserve*. Even a few backformed verbs occur in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as *unknow* from *unknowing*, *undeserve* (< *undeserving*), *unbecome* (< *unbecoming*), and *unbeseem* (< *unbeseeming*).

The negative prefix *non-* ('not') came into English from Law Latin through Old French. The earliest native coinages were legal terms, such as *non-ability*, *non-appearance* (fifteenth century), and *non-feasance*, *non-performance*, *non-resident*, *non-user* (sixteenth century). Although *non-* prefers Latinate bases, hybrids occur from the fifteenth century onwards (*non-knowledge* 1503, *non-truth* 1648, *non-freedom* 1658, *non-swearer* 1690, *non-foreknowledge* 1740). All the early derivations are nouns. The input range for *non-* was broadened in the seventeenth century, when adjectives and participles began to appear with the prefix (*non-harmonious*, *non-graduated*, *non-preaching*, *non-communicant*). This occurred at a time when the use of the prefix was extended to other domains of learning, especially to philosophy and religion (end of the sixteenth century: *non-obedience*, *non-necessity*; seventeenth century: *non-member*, *non-natural*, *non-resistance*, *non-existent*, *non-entity*, *non-elect*, *non-juror*, *non-collegiate*, *non-compounder*, *non-descript*; eighteenth century: *non-adherence*, *non-conductor*). With few exceptions, such as *non-act*, *non-concur*, *non-licentiate*, *non-* does not combine with verbs in Early Modern English.

The rise of the negative prefix *in-* was influenced by both French and Latin borrowing. It reached the status of a productive morpheme at the beginning of the EModE period. *In-* is broadly synonymous with *un-*, and it is attached to adjectives and nouns of French and Latin origin. As in Latin, the prefix loses its nasal component in certain contexts due to assimilation; it is spelled *im-* before bilabial consonants, *il-* before /l/, and *ir-* before /r/. The numerous EModE adjectives with *in-* include, for example, *inextinguishable*, *insufferable*, *inseparate*, *infrequent*, *inanimate*, *infertile*, *inconsequent*, *inimitable*, *inhospitable* (sixteenth century); *inofficious*, *insusceptible*, *intangible*, *insensitive*, *inharmonic*, *injudicious*, *inadequate*, *inadvertent*, *inalienable*, *inarticulate*, *incoherent*, *inexperienced* (seventeenth century); *inadmissible*, *incautious*, *inaccurate*, *inharmonious* (eighteenth century). Nouns are also common: *inhospitality*, *inexperience*, *incivility*, *inclemency*, *inutility* (sixteenth century); *incoherence*, *inabstinence*, *inactivity*, *inaptitude*, *incapacity*, *incompetence*, *insobriety* (seventeenth century); *inaction*, *inapplication*, *inattention*, *incaution*, *intolerance* (eighteenth century). In some cases, it is not possible to tell on formal grounds if the word in fact goes back to a negative adjective instead of being derived from a noun. Where no adjective is available, no such uncertainty arises.

In Early Modern English it was possible to attach *in-* to any adjective of French or Latin origin, as well as to past participles, as in *incivilized*, *incomposed*, *inconcerned*, *inconnected*, *indisputed* and *inexpected*. A number of these forms were rivalled by parallel derivations with *un-*, and have since given way to them. *In-* has stood its ground better with denominal formations. Along with such adjectives as *unable* and *unequal*, for example, which in Early Modern English had *in-*forms, we still use the nouns *inability* and *inequality*.

The origins of *dis-* go back to French and Latin. It was common in reversative and privative verb derivations since the fifteenth century (see next section) but also appeared with nouns, adjectives and verbs forming complementary and contrary opposites basically synonymous with *un-*. Adjectives formed by means of *dis-* in Early Modern English include *discontent*, *dispassionate*, *discourteous*, *disadvantageous*, *dissimilar*, *disharmonious*, *discontinuous*, *disrespectful* and *disreputable*. Noun-formations have two related senses, 'lack, absence of N', as in *distrust*, *discommodity*, *disuse*, *discredit*, *discontinuity*, *disability*, *disaffection*, *disregard*, *dispassion*, and 'the converse of N', as in *disorder*, *disfavour*, *discourtesy*, *dislike*, *disservice*, *disunion*, *disesteem*, *disapproval*, *disbelief*, *disinclination* (Marchand 1969: 161). *Dis-* is almost exclusively associated with Romance bases and competes with the other negative prefixes for denominal and deadjectival formations in Early Modern English. With verbs it is virtually unrivalled in the sense 'not', 'fail to', however. Its Early

Modern English attestations include *disapprove*, *disaffirm*, *disesteem*, *disrespect* and *dissatisfy*.

The prefix *a-* ('not'), originally from Greek, was of very limited productivity in Early Modern English. It is attested in such technical deadjectival formations as *atheological*, *asymbolic*, *apsychical*, *asymmetric* and *asyllabical*.

5.5.2.1.2 Reversative and privative (*de-*, *dis-*, *un-*)

Un- is the most common prefix in Early Modern English to convey reversative and privative (objective or ablative) senses. It marks the reversal of verbal action (*undo*), and either removal of something denoted by the base (*unnerve*; object relation), or removal of something from a place denoted by the base (*unhouse*; ablative relation). *Un-* forms mostly transitive verbs from both native and borrowed bases. Its many reversative coinages include *unbewitch*, *unbless*, *unconsecrate*, *undress*, *unfreeze*, *unload*, *unmarry*, *untwist* (sixteenth century); *unblock*, *undraw*, *unfurl*, *unlatch*, *unlink*, *unmount*, *unravel* (seventeenth century); *uncoil*, *unhitch*, *unlay*, *unstow* (eighteenth century). *Un-* became particularly popular with verbs in *-ize* and *-ify* from about 1600 onwards, as in *uncivilize*, *uncanonize*, *unbarbarize*, *unnaturalize*, *unsanctify*, *undeify*, *undignify* and *unglorify*.

The increased productivity of denominal conversion verbs since Middle English provided input material for the privative type. The two senses, objective and ablative, can be illustrated by *unburden*, *uncloak*, *unman / unbosom*, *unkennel*, *unstock* ('remove a ship from the stocks') (sixteenth century); *unballast*, *unfrock*, *unnerve / uncage*, *unhinge*, *unhook*, *unsphere* (seventeenth century); *unbale*, *unguard* (eighteenth century). Occasionally, *un-* could redundantly intensify privative verbs, as in *unbare* and *undecipher*.

The other current reversative and privative prefix was *dis-*. It prevailed with Romance bases, but was occasionally attested with native ones as well, as in *dishallow*, *disentangle*, *disflesh*, *dishearten*, *dislimb*. The first reversative coinages with *dis-* are dated to the late fifteenth century (e.g. *discompose*). After 1500 the usage becomes common: *disappear*, *disanimate*, *disestablish*, *disinfect*, *disunite* (sixteenth century); *disanoint*, *disassociate*, *dislink*, *discanonize* (seventeenth century); *disarrange*, *disconnect*, *disqualify* (eighteenth century).

Privative coinages are similarly generalised with *dis-* in Early Modern English, as in *dismerit*, *distune* (fifteenth century); *disburden*, *dissceptre*, *discountenance*, *dishorn*, *disrank* (sixteenth century); *disedge*, *discloud*, *disinterest*, *disprivilege*, *disgarland* (seventeenth century); *disbud*, *disgown*, *dismast*, *diswarren* (eighteenth century). The ablative sense 'remove from', 'put out of' occurs in *displace*, *dishouse*, *discase*, *disparish*, *disorb* and *disbar*.

In post Early Modern English, *dis-* is somewhat recessive in reversative derivations, partly because of the adoption of another prefix of Latinate

origin, *de-*, towards the end of the eighteenth century (cf. *deobstruct* 1653). Privative senses are also generalised with *de-*, but to a lesser extent than the reversative sense. Some tentative privative coinages occur in Early Modern English: *detomb* 1607, *dethrone* 1609, *detruth* 1647, *demast* 1666, *delawn* 1726 'deprive (a bishop) of his lawn', *debark* 1744.

5.5.2.2 Locative and temporal prefixes

A few Early Modern English locative (spatial) prefixes are polysemous, notably *fore-* and *mid-* (both also temporal) and *sub-* and *super-* (also intensifying; see 5.5.2.5). These senses did not arise in the EModE period through semantic change, but in the case of *fore-* and *mid-* go back to Old English, while those of the Latin-derived *sub-* and *super-* are good candidates for sense borrowing (see 5.4.2).

The distinction between prefixation and compounding is here made on formal grounds. Particles (adverbs and prepositions) which combine with other free lexemes are hence discussed under compounding. For particles *after*, *by*, *forth*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *through*, *under* and *up* combining with nouns, see 5.5.4.1.8; with adjectives, 5.5.4.3.7; and with verbs, 5.5.4.4.1 and 5.5.4.5.3.

5.5.2.2.1 Locative (*a-*, *fore-*, *inter-*, *mid-*, *sub-*, *super-*, *trans-*, *circum-*, *extra-*, *supra-*)

Native locative prefixes proper are in the minority in Early Modern English. The prefixal element *a-* is a reduced form of the Old English locative preposition *on*, *an*. As Marchand (1969: 139) points out, it is not a true prefix, because it does not function as the determinant of the combinations it forms. It is added to verbs – less frequently to nouns – and the formations are used as predicative adjectives or adverbs with a meaning similar to the progressive aspect ('in a state/position of'). Its Early Modern English deverbal coinages include *acrook* (1480); *ajar* 'jarring', *acry*, *aflaunt*, *askew*, *atilt* (sixteenth century); *adrift*, *agape*, *asoak*, *astride*, *aswim* (seventeenth century); *asquat*, *atwist*, *astraddle* (eighteenth century). Denominal derivations (*aflame*, *ahorseback*, *ashore*, *a-tiptoe*) are fewer but they include a number of nautical terms such as *astear*, *asterboard*, *atrip*, *aweather* and *aweigh*.

Fore- ('in front of', 'before') goes back to the Old English particle meaning 'before', with respect to place as well as time. In Early Modern English it serves as a productive locative and temporal prefix. In its locative function it combines with nouns, forming such coinages as *forename*, *forecourt*, *forehand*, *foredeck* (sixteenth century); *forepeak*, *foreyard*, *foretack*, *foreground*, *fore-edge*

seventeenth century; *forearm*, *foreshore*, *forewoman* (eighteenth century). It does not combine freely with other word classes.

Mid- 'middle' is descended from an Old English adjective, but can be considered a marginal prefix in Early Modern English. It produces both locative and temporal nouns. Although *mid-* usually combines with native words, its derivations are mostly technical (medical, botanic, astronomic, nautical). They include *mid-channel*, *mid-earth*, *mid-finger*, *mid-heaven*, *midland*, *midriver*, *mid-ship* and *midwicket*.

Sub- ('beneath', 'under') is increasingly used as a nominal prefix with personal nouns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in *sub-constable*, *sub-head*, *sub-treasurer*, *sub-almoner*, *sub-agent*, *sub-commissioner*, *sub-officer* and *sub-postmaster*. The prefix also occurs with non-personal nouns (*subsection*, *subdialect*, *subcommittee*, *subspecies*). Its deadjectival uses gain ground in scientific terminology after 1600 in formations like *subcostal*, *sublingual*, *submarine*, *submucuous*, *subrenal* and *subspinal*. Deverbal derivations, by contrast, are rare (*subcontract* 1605, *subdistinguish* 1620, *sub-let* 1766).

Locative derivations with *super-* ('over', above') are less frequent. They include some denominal coinages (*superstructure*, *superimposition*) and adjectives like *superordinate*, *superlunary* (after *sublunary*) and *superterranean* (after *subterranean*), as well as some other technical terms formed to match derivations with *sub-*. *Supra-* ('over', 'above') is a weak rival of *super-* (*supra-aerial*, *supra-lunary*). The native particles *over* and *under* in compounds partly overlap with these new locative prefixes (see 5.5.4 below).

The prefix *inter-* ('between', 'among') is used in Early Modern English to form verbs, nouns and adjectives. The deverbal derivations are due to both Old French and Latin loans, while the denominal and deadjectival ones owe more to Latin models. The prefix can take native as well as borrowed bases. It became weakly productive in most derivational categories towards the end of the Middle English period, but was not generalised until the sixteenth century. Its deverbal derivations include *interlink*, *intermix*, *intermarry*, *interfold*, *intertangle* (sixteenth century); and *interdeal*, *interlock*, *interwork*, *intervisit*, *intertwine* (seventeenth century). The denominal derivations often convey the sense 'intermediate', 'connecting' or 'reciprocal', as in *interspeech*, *interlight*, *intermark* and *interthing*. The deadjectival coinages with *inter-* are mostly technical terms including *interlunar*, *interstellar*, *intermundane*, *interscapular* and *interfoliaceous*.

The prefix *trans-* ('across') is common in Early Modern English Latin loans. It also became mildly productive on its own and combined with denominal verbs often in the sense 'change the N' (*transnature*, *trans-shape*, *transplace*, *transdialect*, *transcribble*), nouns (*translocation*, *transcoloration*), and

some adjectives (*trans-substantial*, *translunary*). Other mildly productive locative prefixes in Early Modern English include the Latin-derived *circum-* 'around' (*circumclose*, *circumsail*) and *extra-* 'outside' (*extra-judicial*, *extra-uterine*).

5.5.2.2.2 Temporal (*ante-*, *fore-*, *mid-*, *post-*, *pre-*, *re-*)

There are three synonymous prefixes in Early Modern English for expressing the temporal notion 'before', namely the native *fore-*, and the Latin-based *pre-* and *ante-*. The most recent and least productive of the three is *ante-*, which appears in technical registers from the sixteenth century onwards forming adjectives (*antediluvian*, *antepaschal*, *antemundane*) and nouns (*antetheme*, *antedate*, *antetype*, *antenoon*, *ante-eternity*). The prefix has a locative sense in *antestomach*, *antechapel* and *anteroom*.

The native prefix *fore-* continued to produce deverbal and denominal coinages both with native and borrowed bases, but was losing ground in the verbal group towards the end of the Early Modern English period. Its deverbal formations include *foreappoint*, *forearm*, *foredoom*, *forefeel*, *foremention*, *foreshadow* (sixteenth century), *forebode*, *foreact* and *fore-reach* (seventeenth century). Its denominal derivations are mostly locative; temporal senses appear in *foregame*, *foremother*, *forenight* 'previous night' and *foretime* 'past'.

The nominal and verbal prefix *pre-* reached full productivity with verbs of Latin origin in the sixteenth century (e.g. *preconceive*, *pre-elect*, *precontract*, *prejudge*, *premeditate*). The seventeenth century formed, for instance, *predetermine*, *predigest*, *predispose*, *pre-establish*, *prepossess* and the eighteenth, *preconcert* and *precontrive*. Denominal derivations are frequent from the late fifteenth century onwards including *preapprehension*, *pre-equipment*, *preassurance*, *preconception*, *predisposition*, *pre-existence*, *prearrangement* and *pretaxation*. In Early Modern English, *pre-* did not combine with nouns to form adjectives of the type *pre-war*. There was, however, a tendency to use the prefix as an intensifier meaning 'exceedingly', as in *pre-pleasing* 1530, *pre-pious* 1657, *pre-regular* 1674.

Post- ('after') owes its existence to Latin loan models. It contrasts with *pre-* but is less productive. What we find in Early Modern English are a few nouns (e.g. *post-date*, *post-eternity*, *post-noon*), verbs (*post-date*, *post-exist*), and adjectives (*postmeridian*, *post-deluvian*). The locative sense is not current in native coinages.

Temporal coinages with the native *mid-* ('middle') are mostly nominal and include *midnoon*, *midtime*, *mid-season* and *mid-week*.

The rise of the prefix *re-* ('again', 'back') in the fifteenth century was due to both French and Latin models. It became very productive during the Early Modern English period with transitive verbs, both native and foreign,

expressing repetition of the action denoted by the base. The meaning aspects conveyed range from improving the previous, inadequate result of the action to restoring a previous state or result. In contrast to loan words, where the prefix is usually unstressed, it tends to be stressed in native formations. The vast variety of verbs derived by means of *re-* include *reassume* (fifteenth century); *reassure*, *reconsider*, *re-enforce*, *re-examine*, *regain*, *replant*, *reprint* (sixteenth century); *reinforce*, *readmit*, *readjust*, *reappear*, *reboil*, *recast*, *recompose*, *refill*, *reinvest*, *reset*, *reproduce* (seventeenth century); and *reabsorb*, *recapture*, *recede*, *reconstruct*, *recount*, *redress*, *reopen* (eighteenth century). The prefix naturally appears with deverbal nouns, as in *redelivery* and *re-election*.

5.5.2.3 Prefixes of opposition and support (*anti-*, *co-*, *contra-*, *counter-*, *pro-*)

The EModE period also generalised prefixes that might be called attitudinal, among them *counter-* and *anti-*, and the more marginal *pro-* and *co-*. *Counter-* ('against') goes back to French. Appearing first in some learned coinages in late Middle English, it gained wider currency in the second half of the sixteenth century in denominal and deverbal derivations. These denominal coinages typically have the sense 'done as a rejoinder to or in return for N', as in *counterplea*, *counterbond*, *counterstroke* (sixteenth century); *counterplot*, *countercharge*, *counterevidence*, *counterpressure* (seventeenth century); *counterattraction*, *counterdeed*, *counterstep* (eighteenth century). The rarer locative sense 'opposite and parallel' occurs in *counterbalance*, *counterpart*, *counterbook* and *counterfoil*. Deverbal coinages with *counter-* are relatively less numerous. They include *countermine*, *counterplot*, *countermarch*, *countersecure* and *counteract*. In the seventeenth century *counter-* was rivalled by another Latinate form, *contra-*, as in *counter-/contrafissure*, *-natural*, *-distinct*. In most cases forms with *counter-* became generalised.

Greek and Latin loan words gave rise in Early Modern English to the prefix *anti-* ('against', 'opposing'), which started to gain currency in the latter part of the sixteenth century. It was first used to denote the rival candidate of the opposite party in religious contexts, as in *antipope*, *antideity*, *antigod*. The general senses of its denominal coinages are 'against' and 'opposing' (*anti-king*, *anti-parliament*, *anti-hero*, *anticlimax*). *Anti-* also formed adjectives with the sense 'opposing' (e.g. *anticeremonial*, *antimonarchical*, *anti-papal*, *antipatriotic*). The spread of the prefix to chemico-medical terminology in the seventeenth century produced derivations with such more specific readings as 'counteractive', 'neutralising' or 'preventive of' (*antifebrile*, *antihypnotic*, *antihysteric*, *anticatarrhal*, *antiseptic*).

Pro-, the antonym of *anti-* in the sense 'in favour of' did not arise in the Early Modern English period. The only productive use was in denominal derivations denoting 'the substitute of', where Early Modern English follows the Latin model (*pro-legate*, *pro-rector*, *prorex*, *pro-tribune*, *pro-vice-chancellor*). In this sense *pro-* competes with another Latin-derived prefix, *vice-*, which goes back to the fifteenth century. In Early Modern English, *vice-* is more productive than *pro-*, as it combines both with nouns (*vice-collector*, *-consul*, *-master*, *-agent*, *-roy*, *-president*, *-god*, *-warden*) and, since the seventeenth century, with adjectives (*vice-ministerial*, *-apostolical*).

Early Modern English continues the pattern found in Latin and Old French to form denominal derivations with *co*(*n*)- ('joint', 'fellow'). Most of the native coinages are personal nouns of the type *coheir*, *co-burgess*, *co-defendant*, *co-guardian*, *co-juror*. Non-personal nouns also occur (*co-eternity*, *co-agency*, *co-existence*, *co-effect*). Verbs with *co-* are less frequent (*co-unite*, *co-articulate*, *co-work*, *co-appear*, *co-ordain*). The few adjective coinages include *co-essential*, *co-eval*, *co-infinite* and *co-extensive*. Following Latin and French models, Early Modern English also coined some forms with *com-* and *con-* (e.g. *commingle*, *condivide*).

5.5.2.4 Pejorative prefixes (*mal-*, *mis-*, *pseudo-*)

The main pejorative prefixes in Early Modern English are *mis-* and *mal-*. *Mis-* has its origins in both Old English and French, and can be applied to native and borrowed bases in the senses 'wrongly, badly, amiss'. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it also means 'unfavourably'. It combines with verbs and deverbal nouns, enjoying great popularity between 1550 and 1650. Its Early Modern English deverbal derivatives include *misname*, *misgive*, *misjudge*, *mishandle*, *mistranslate*, *misapply*, *misterm*, *misinterpret*, *misquote*, *mismatch*, *mispronounce* (sixteenth century); *misvalue*, *misconstruct*, *misapprehend*, *misconjecture*, *miss-spell*, *miscalculate*, *misexplain* (seventeenth century); and *missexpress*, *mismeasure*, *misfire*, *misconduct* (eighteenth century). While some nouns with *mis-* were coined in their own right, most are derived from deverbal forms. The following instances exemplify both: *misfortune*, *misreligion*, *misaffection*, *miscomputation*, *miscarriage*, *misgrowth*, *misconduct* and *misalliance*.

Mal- ('ill, evil, wrong, defective, improper') is adopted from Middle English French loans, but it does not become productive until the seventeenth century. In Early Modern English it is largely limited to nouns in formal administrative and legal language, including *maladministration* 1644, *malpractice* 1671, *malexecution* 1689, *malinstitution* 1714, *malconduct* 1741 and *malconformation* 1776.

Around 1600, formations with *pseudo-* (from Greek, 'false') become quite common. Its use is largely restricted to personal nouns such as *pseudo-Catholic* 1605, *pseudo-Moses* 1613, *pseudo-politician* 1628. *Pseudo* may have been interpreted as a full word especially in the early part of our period, because it could also occur as an independent adjective and noun. Around 1800 it may be called a living prefix (Marchand 1969: 188).

5.5.2.5 Intensifying prefixes (*arch-*, *hyper-*, *proto-*, *sub-*, *super-*; *be-*, *en-*)

Two kinds of intensifying prefix operate in Early Modern English: those that form denominal and deadjectival derivations expressing degree and size (*arch-*, *hyper-*, *proto-*, *sub-*, *super-*), and those that are adjoined to simple or conversion verbs to reinforce different semantic elements of the base (*be-*, *en-*). In certain theoretical frameworks the latter constitute a special category of prefixes that alter the word-class of the base (see 'conversion prefixes' in Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1546). The present analysis is supported by the large number of doublets in Early Modern English where the prefix-formation is matched by a suffix-formation or a pure conversion (*enlength*, *enlengthen* v. *length*, *lengthen*; see 5.3.2).[8]

The Early Modern English lexicon was enriched by a number of moderately productive prefixes expressing degree and size, notably *arch-*, *proto-*, *super-*, *hyper-* and *sub-*. They partly reduplicated the native particles *over* and *under*, as both could be attached to nouns and adjectives (see 5.5.4). The two means would, however, differ in terms of register and productivity.

Arch-, which represents Greek 'supreme', 'highest', was first prefixed to nouns denoting a title or an office, either ecclesiastical or profane (e.g. *arch-priest*, *arch-prelate*, *arch-chaplain*; *archduke*, *arch-governor*, *arch-architect*, *arch-gunner*). In the seventeenth century it was extended to non-personal names (*arch-beacon*, *arch-city*, *arch-piece*). Its pejorative reading 'worst' is attested since the beginning of the sixteenth century, as in *arch-traitor*, *arch-enemy*, *arch-heretic*, *arch-villain* and *arch-hypocrite*.

A partial synonym of *arch-* is the Latin-derived *proto-* ('chief', 'first'). It became productive towards the end of the sixteenth century in learned denominal derivations such as *protoplot*, *protoparents*, *protochronicler*, *proto-protestant*, *proto-Bishop*, *protorebel* and *protodevil*.

Super- ('over', 'beyond') is adapted from Latin loans. In a native coinage the intensifying sense is first attested in the adjective *superfine* (1575). Its later Early Modern English formations include *superserviceable*, *super-royal* and *supersensual*. The prefix also has a purely locative sense (see 5.5.2.2.1).

Hyper-, a cognate of *super-* (originally from Greek 'over', 'too much'),

becomes an English prefix around 1600. It combines only with learned bases, as in *hyper-prophetical*, *hyper-magnetic*, *hyper-superlative*. In the early derivations the sense conveyed may be merely 'that which is beyond' (*hyper-angelical*, *hyper-physical*).

Sub-, the opposite of *super-*, is first attested in the sixteenth century in its corresponding locative sense 'below', 'under'. It also became mildly productive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the intensifying sense 'somewhat/not quite x', as in *sub-red*, *sub-goldish*, *sub-angelical*, *sub-rustic* and *sub-dulcid*.

The verbal prefix *be-* goes back to Old English, and is very common in the sixteenth century. It combines with denominal and deadjectival bases (conversion verbs) and is associated with a variety of ornative senses ranging from 'equipped or covered with' to 'beset with'. Early Modern English denominal-verb derivations can be illustrated by *belime*, *bemire*, *begrime*, *bejewel*, *bestain*, *beblood*, *becrown*, *begift*, *becloud*, *bemist* (sixteenth century); *benet*, *besmut*, *bestar*, *becurl*, *belace* (seventeenth century); and *bedevil*, *bewig* (eighteenth century).

Deadjectival verbs with *be-* were usually more intensifying than their unprefixed counterparts (*becalm*, *bedim*, *besot*, *bemad*, *belate*, *bemean*). With other verbal bases the prefix *be-* could be used to mark transitivity, or simply to intensify the meaning of the base. Examples of the first function, of the type 'to bemoan a man', are *bedaub*, *bedash*, *belabour*, *bemock*, *bepaint*, *bestick*. The intensifying function of the prefix is detectable in *berate* ('rate vehemently'), *bestir*, *bewilder*, *bedeck*, *bedazzle* and *bebless* ('bless profusely').

As many of the functions of *be-* could be replaced by plain unprefixed forms, the *be*-derivatives mostly duplicated them. This was even more often the case with the prefix *en-* (*em-* before /p/ and /b/), which goes back to Middle English loans from French. *En-* correlates with several general senses ('to put into x', 'to make into x', 'to get into x'), and it is primarily applied to denominal bases. It became productive in the fifteenth century, and was widely used in the sixteenth in both native and non-native verbs, which thus rivalled denominal conversion verbs (see 5.5.5.2.1). *Endanger*, *encrown* and *embull* ('to publish in a bull') appear in the last decades of the fifteenth century. The sixteenth century formed *emball*, *emblazon*, *embody*, *encage*, *encamp*, *encipher*, *encoffin*, *encompass*, *encradle*, *endungeon*, *enflesh*, *enfold*, *engulf*, *ensheath*, *enshrine*, *ensnare*, *ensnarl, enthrall*, *entomb*, *entrap*, *entrench*, *enwall* and many more. From the seventeenth century are recorded *embank*, *emblaze*, *embox*, *encase*, *enchurch*, *encolour*, *enfetter*, *enfrenzy*, *engrace*, *enjail*, *enjewel*, *enlist*, *enslave*, *ensole* and *enstamp*. The far fewer eighteenth-century derivations include *embale*, *embed*, *emblossom* and *enrapture*. Derivations from deadjectival

bases are common in the Early Modern English period, although rarer than denominal ones. They include *endear*, *ennoble*, *embrave*, *enrough*, *embitter*, *enhappy*, *embrown*, and *encrimson*.

En-derivations occur quite freely with the suffix *-en*, as in *embrighten*, *embolden*, *encolden*, *enharden*, *enhearten*, *enlengthen*, *enliven*, *enquicken*, *ensweeten* and *enwiden*. Because of Latin influence, *in-* was in some cases used in parallel with *en-*; in others it replaced it. *In-* (*im/il/ir-*) was favoured with Latinate bases, yielding forms such as *imburse*, *immingle*, *inspirit* and *impalace*. In some French loan verbs such as *enclose* and *encounter* the prefix resembled the native locative particle *in*. By analogy, the use of *en-* was extended to add an intensifying meaning aspect to a number of simple verbs (*encover*, *emblaze*, *engird*, *enkindle*, *entwine*, *entrust*, *embind*, *encheer*). In poetry, both *en-* and *be-* could be used freely to supply an extra syllable. They may evoke a poetic register, but often need have no other function except the metrical one (Salmon 1970: 17).

5.5.2.6 Quantitative prefixes (*bi-*, *demi-*, *mono-*, *multi-*, *pan-*, *poly-*, *semi-*, *tri-*, *twi-*, *uni-*)

The main prefixes to express quantity in Early Modern English are *uni-*, *bi-*, *tri-* and *multi-*, which go back to Latin, and the Greek-derived *mono-* and *poly-*. They are primarily used to form technical terms. The only native prefix, *twi-*, has literary associations.

Uni- ('one') first appeared in fifteenth-century adaptations of Latin adjectives, and became marginally productive in Early Modern English in denominal and deadjectival coinages such as *unifoil*, *univalve*, *unitrine* and *unipresent*. Its synonym *mono-* is perhaps even more marginal; it occurs in few adjectives towards the end of our period (*monoptic*, *monopyrenous*, *monospherical*).

The prefix *bi-* ('two') first became moderately productive in deadjectival derivations in the sixteenth century (*bicorporated*, *bicapited*, *biforked* (sixteenth century); *bicapsular*, *bicipitous* (seventeenth century); *bipennate*, *bilobed*, *bimaculate(d)* (eighteenth century). The corresponding native prefix *twi-* ('two') is weaker. Besides a few adjectives of the type *twi-gated*, *twi-pointed* and *twyforked*, it produced some nouns and verbs (*twichild*, *twi-reason*; *twifallow*). *Tri-* ('three') combines with nouns and adjectives from the sixteenth century onwards to form technical terms, as in *triarchy*, *trigram*, *trilemma*, *trisyllable*; *tripersonal*, *trilinear*, *triliteral*.

Multi- ('many') started to gain ground from the seventeenth century onwards as a productive prefix in deadjectival formations such as *multivarious*, *multisiliquous* and *multicapsular*. It was partly competing with *poly-*, which

had begun to appear in the sixteenth century in learned denominal and deadjectival derivations with Greek or Latin bases (e.g. *polyangle*, *polydemonism*, *polyscope*, *polyacoustic*, *polynomial*).

Other prefixes expressing quantitative notions in Early Modern English are *pan-* ('all'), and *semi-* and *demi-*, both meaning 'half'. *Pan-* goes back to Greek, and is found in English coinages since about 1600. They are mostly scholarly nouns and adjectives such as *panharmony*, *pangrammatist*, *panopticon*, *pandedalian* and *pan-Britannic*.

Demi- is abstracted from French loan words. It was first attested as an English prefix in the fifteenth century, and became fairly productive in Early Modern English forming derivations such as *demigod*, *demi-island*, *demidevil*, *demicritic*, *demimale*. It was particularly used to derive technical terms, for instance, in the fields of heraldry (*demi-lion*, *demi-ram*), warfare (*demibastion*, *demicannon*, *demihake*), music (*demicrotchet*, *demi-quaver*, *demiditone*), and weights and measures (*demibarrel*, *demigroat*). In most cases it was subsequently replaced by *half-* and *semi-*.

Semi- (from Latin 'half') became productive in late Middle English, and was generalised in Early Modern English in nouns and adjectives of non-native origin. The prefix mainly contributed to technical terminology in various domains including music (*semitone*, *semi-quaver*, *semi-breve*), mathematics (*semi-axis*, *semi-angle*, *semi-base*), astronomy (*semi-sextile*, *semi-quadrant*), religion and philosophy (*semi-Atheist*, *semi-Arian*, *semi-infidel*), and architecture (*semi-channel*, *semi-relief*).

5.5.3 Suffixation

Despite the spate of new productive prefixes, prefixal means of derivation are clearly outnumbered by suffixal in Early Modern English. Most of the suffixes, too, are of foreign origin, and many had already gained their productive force in late Middle English. Quite a few of them had in fact arisen in the context of loan-word accommodation (e.g. *-al*, *-ate*, *-ant/ent*; see 5.4.3.1). In view of the number of suffixes borrowed, it is significant that the most productive individual suffixes should be native. Barber (1976: 185–8) shows that *-ness* and *-er* produce the most nouns in the period 1500–1700. Similarly, *-ed* and *-y* are the most frequently attested adjective suffixes.

While derivation by native suffixes involves no changes in the stress or phonological shape of the base, borrowed suffixes vary in this respect. Especially when new suffixes combine with foreign bases the main stress may be attracted to the syllable immediately preceding the suffix, or it may

be carried by the suffix itself (see Lass this volume 3.6.2–3.6.3). These stress-affecting suffixes include *-arian*, *-ation*, *-ee*, *-eer*, *-ese*, *-esque*, *-ette*, *-ial*, *-ian*, *-ic*, *-ician*, *-ious* and *-ity*. But a non-native stress assignment is not always identifiable as a 'stress shift'. Where suffixation serves the purpose of loan-word accommodation, it may involve a stem which need not have an adapted English equivalent (Marchand 1969: 215–25).

In the following survey, suffixes are grouped both by the word class that they form (noun, adjective, adverb and verb suffixes) and by the word class that they combine with (e.g. denominal, deverbal suffixes). This choice reflects the view that the main function of suffixation is grammatical, changing the word-class and hence the grammatical potential of the lexeme. Semantic distinctions are then established within the limits of these categories (Quirk *et al.* 1985, Kastovsky 1985). The main exception to this principle is denominal noun suffixes in that they do not affect the word-class of the base.

Most of the new suffixes hardly reflect any semantic gaps in the derivational system of Early Modern English. Some of them serve attitudinal (diminutive, pejorative) functions, but the vast majority quite simply appear to provide homogeneous means of derivation in the etymologically divided lexicon, thus reduplicating the native resources.

5.5.3.1 Noun suffixes

Noun suffixes constitute the largest group of all Early Modern English suffixes. Denominal and deverbal noun suffixes can be semantically divided into concrete and abstract. The former have agentive, diminutive or gender-denoting senses; the latter mostly express status and domain (denominal) or action and fact (deverbal).

5.5.3.1.1 Denominal nouns: concrete (*-eer*, *-er*, *-ess*, *-et*, *-ette*, *-ician*, *-kin*, *-let*, *-ling*, *-ster*, *-y*)

The suffixes that express occupation and other related agentive notions include the Old English *-ster* and *-er*, and the French-derived *-eer* and *-ician*. In Early Modern English *-ster* is largely restricted to male agent nouns. Many of these coinages have pejorative senses (*gamester*, *whipster*, *bangster* 'bully', *penster*, *rhymester* and *trickster*). Female agent nouns could be derived from forms in *-ster* by means of the suffix *-ess* (*backstress* 1519, *seamstress* 1613, *songstress* 1703; for other derivations with *-ess*, see below).

The suffix *-er* is extremely productive with verbal bases, but also yields denominal nouns in Early Modern English (*tinner*, *podder*, *jobber*, *stockinger*).

In the late fifteenth century it begins to produce agent nouns in *-grapher* (*historiographer*, *cosmographer*, *scenographer*, *lexicographer*). The type *-loger* (e.g. *philologer*, *physiologer*, *mythologer*) has since given way to *-ist*. The suffix is further used to derive nouns denoting 'an inhabitant of', as in *cottager*, *islander*, *docker*, *Icelander*, *New Englander*, but there are also several rival types.

The French-derived suffix *-ician* is used productively since the mid-fifteenth century to derive nouns denoting persons skilled in an art or science. It often correlates with earlier names of arts and sciences ending in *-ic* (*geometrician* 1483, *arithmetician* 1557, *mechanician* 1570, *politician* 1588, *dialectician* 1693).

The other French-based suffix *-eer* became productive in the seventeenth century. With the exception of military terms (*privateer*, *blanketeer*), most of the Early Modern English coinages are derogatory (*garreteer* 'literary hack', *pamphleteer*, *pulpiteer*, *sonneteer*).

Denominal diminutive and feminine suffixes in Early Modern English include the native *-ling* and *-et*, the Middle English formatives *-ess* and *-kin*, as well as the Early Modern English innovations *-y* and *-let*. The suffix *-ling* adds a diminutive or depreciative sense to the animate noun expressed by the base. The latter shade of meaning has typically been applied to human nouns since the sixteenth century, as in *worldling*, *groundling*, *squireling* and *authorling*. The suffix is also common with names of young animals and plants (e.g. *porkling*, *kidling*, *catling*, *troutling*; *seedling*, *oakling*). Most of the coinages with *-ling* are denominal, but deadjectival and deverbal forms also occur (*tenderling*, *weakling*; *weanling*, *starveling*, *changeling*).

The diminutive suffix *-et* probably owes as much to ME French loans with this ending as to the corresponding OE suffix *-et*. Early Modern English coinages are mostly diminutives, such as *brooket*, *porket*, *locket*, *feveret*; *sippet*, *smicket* (the latter two from *sop* and *smock*, respectively). The late Modern English diminutive suffix *-ette* seems to represent both French *-ette* and *-et*.

The French-derived suffix *-ess* was established in the fourteenth century. It was used productively to form feminine nouns in Early Modern English both with borrowed and native bases, including coinages such as *actress*, *ambassadress*, *laundress*, *murdress*, *poetess* (sixteenth century), and *farmeress*, *heiress*, *peeress*, *spinstress*, *stewardess*, *tutoress* (seventeenth century). The suffix was either added directly to its masculine counterpart (*heiress*, *tailoress*), or to a reduced form, following Latin and French models (*ancestress*, *adultress*, *procuress*).

The diminutive suffix *-kin* came into Middle English from Dutch loan words. In Early Modern English it appeared with both animate and inanimate nouns (*napkin*, *rutterkin* 'swaggering gallant', *cannikin*, *lambkin*, *bulkin*,

bumpkin, *ciderkin*). The suffix is also found in oaths such as *God's bodikins*, *pitikins* (from *pity*).

The hypocoristic suffix *-y* (*-ie*) seems to have originated in Scottish personal names of the type *Charlie* in the mid-fifteenth century. Pet names also passed into the category of common nouns in Early Modern English (*kitty* (Catherine) 'young girl', *lowry* (Laurence) 'fox', *jockey* (John and Jack) 'professional rider'). Similar derivations from common nouns include *daddy*, *brownie*, *laddie*, *granny*, *hubby* 'husband' and *mousy*.

The diminutive suffix *-let* was established in English by about 1550. It appears to have been modelled on both French and the earlier suffix *-et*. The suffix became increasingly productive during the Early Modern English period both with native and non-native bases, deriving, for instance, *streamlet*, *ringlet*, *townlet*, *kinglet*, *droplet*, *winglet*, *lamplet*, *sparklet*, *bandlet* and *runlet*.

5.5.3.1.2 Denominal nouns: mostly abstract (*-age*, *-ate*, *-cy*, *-dom*, *-ery*, *-ful*, *-hood*, *-ing*, *-ism*, *-ship*)

The group of denominal suffixes that denote status, domain and other related semantic notions consists of *-dom*, *hood* and *-ship*, which go back to Old English, and *-age*, *-ery*, *-ism*, *-ate* and *-cy*, which are modelled after Middle English loans. They all derive abstract nouns.

The suffix *-dom* was mainly used to create abstract nouns meaning 'status, condition', or 'realm' (*archdukedom*, *birthdom*, *heirdom*, *mayordom*, *motherdom*, *peerdom*, *priestdom*, *queendom*). The pejorative sense that is common today is absent from most Early Modern English coinages (but cf. the inherently negative *cuckoldom*, *devildom*).

The denominal suffix *-hood* is moderately productive in Early Modern English in the senses 'status of' or 'time of', producing, for instance, *motherhood*, *sainthood*, *squirehood*, *boyhood* and *babyhood*. Some deadjectival coinages also occur, such as *lustihood*, *hardihood*.

The basic senses of *-ship* are 'state, condition' or 'rank of'. It produced a number of new coinages in Early Modern English, among them *guardianship*, *prefectureship*, *membership*, *courtship*, *lectureship*, *ownership*, *authorship* and *relationship*. It also evolved a new sense denoting 'a skill at' in such derivations as *workmanship*, *horsemanship* and *scholarship*.

The French-derived suffix *-age* has been used as a denominal and deverbal suffix since late Middle English. Denominal derivatives from personal nouns usually denote a condition, state or collectivity in Early Modern English (e.g. *baronetage*, *clientage*, *matronage*, *orphanage*). Besides collectivity, derivatives from non-personal nouns may express system and material (*leverage*, *leafage*, *mileage*, *oarage*). Some derivations denoting place or abode are

also found, including *parsonage* and *vicarage*. For deverbal coinages, see 5.5.3.1.4.

The suffix *-ery* (*-ry*) comes from French and yields both abstract and concrete nouns in Early Modern English. Its abstract derivations denote 'state, business' or 'behaviour of' (*barbery*, *rivalry*, *smithery*, *joinery*; *chemistry*, *dentistry*); the sense conveyed by the coinage may be pejorative, as in *bigotry*, *drudgery*, *foolery*, *savagery*, *slavery*, *thievery*, *pedantry*. Forming mass nouns from personal nouns the suffix also conveys the sense of collectivity, as in *peasantry*, *soldiery*, *tenantry* and *Welshry*; things taken collectively are denoted by items such as *cutlery*, *ironmongery*, *stationery*, *crockery*, *machinery*, *confectionery* and *scenery*. Finally, *-ery* produces locative count nouns meaning 'place of activity, abode' (*brewery*, *chandlery*, *fishery*, *heronry*, *nursery*, *printery*, *swannery*, *tannery*).

Many nouns ending in *-ist* correspond to an abstract noun in *-ism* denoting a principle or a doctrine. This suffix has been in productive use since the sixteenth century. In Early Modern English it was mostly associated with non-native bases, as in *criticism*, *Anglicism*, *protestantism* and *modernism*, but coinages on native bases also occurred (*witticism* 'a witty remark', *truism*, *Irishism* 'Irish idiom').

The denominal suffix *-ate* is mainly attested in renderings of Latin words in the sense 'office, function' or 'institution of'. It gained some currency in Early Modern English, producing such coinages as *tribunate*, *triumvirate*, *patriarchate*, *syndicate*, *baccalaureate*, *episcopate* and *electorate*.

The denominal suffix *-cy* is modelled on *-ancy* and *-acy* (see 5.5.3.1.5). It becomes productive in the eighteenth century and derives a few nouns denoting state or position, including *chaplaincy* 1745, *cornetcy* 1761 and *ensigncy* 1767.

Two other denominal suffixes worth mentioning are the native *-ing* and *-ful*. Alongside its verbal use, *-ing* derives mass nouns from concrete nouns. Early Modern English coinages mainly denote collectivity or substance. They include *tiling*, *paling*, *plaiding*, *channeling*, *toweling*, *quilting*, *matting*, *silvering*, *sugaring*, *plumbing*, *leggings* and *icing*.

Although *-ful* is more productive as an adjective suffix, it also derives nouns with the sense 'the amount that N contains', as in *mouthful*, *pailful*, *basketful*, *houseful*, *fistful*, *glassful*. The noun status of these formations is shown by their capacity to take the plural ending in Modern English. In some cases their status may still be variable: *mouthfuls* v. *mouthsful*.

5.5.3.1.3 Deverbal nouns: concrete (*-ant/ent*, *-ard*, *-ee*, *-er*)

Deverbal nouns divide roughly into two categories semantically, personal nouns derived by means of *-er*, *-ant/ent*, *-ee* and *-ard*, and abstract nouns usually expressing action or fact, derived by means of *-ation*, *-ment*, *-ance/ence*, *-al*, *-ing*,

-ure and *-age*. Only *-er* and *-ing* are of native origin; all the rest are adopted from French. However, Kastovsky's (1985) comparison of Old English and Modern English deverbal nouns reveals a remarkable continuity of the main semantic types. The adoption of the passive benefactive suffix *-ee* in Early Modern English marks the only significant semantic addition, making it possible to derive personal nouns denoting the goal of verbal action.

The agentive suffix *-er* is almost fully productive deriving personal nouns from dynamic verbs, both native and borrowed (e.g. *examiner*, *lecturer*, *tattler*, *heeler*, *modernizer*). It also forms other animate nouns (*pointer* – a dog breed, *springer* – a fish that springs, salmon). The suffix is not limited to agentive nouns in Early Modern English but can appear with non-animate nouns expressing a variety of semantic notions from instrumentality ('that which V-ing is carried out with': *poker*, *duster*) to objective ('that which is being V-ed': *drawers*, *wrapper* 'headdress') and locative senses ('where V-ing takes place': *boiler*, *slipper*). It is also frequently attached to compounds (*new-comer*, *bystander*, *sleep-walker*). The spelling variants *-ar* and *-or* occur in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century latinised forms where *-er* was earlier used, as in *beggar*, *liar*, *pedlar* and *sailor*, *vendor*, *visitor*.

The participial suffix *-ant/ent* was first used in Middle English to accommodate French and Latin legal terms. It was increasingly analysed as an English suffix in Early Modern English because its derivations could be connected with a verb (e.g. *attendant* 1555 – *attend*; *dependant* 1588 – *depend*; *claimant* 1747 – *claim*). Besides personal nouns, the suffix is associated with instrumental nouns, such as *illuminant* 1644, *solvent* 1671 and *absorbent* 1718. It does not operate on native bases in Early Modern English.

Another deverbal noun suffix to gain currency in Early Modern English is *-ee*, which goes back to Law French term pairs like *donor/donee* in Middle English. They came to be associated with the corresponding verbs in English, and *-ee* began to derive personal nouns denoting the goal or beneficiary of the action expressed by the passive meaning of the verb (*grantee* 1491, *debtee* 1531, *mortgagee* 1584, *referee* 1621, *payee* 1758). The suffix spread to Germanic bases in Early Modern English, as in *trustee* 1647, *drawee* 1766.

By contrast, the suffix *-ard* did not last long in current usage. It was used to derive depreciative epithets of the type *braggart* 1577, *stinkard* 1600 and *laggard* 1702, but became more or less non-productive after 1700.

5.5.3.1.4 Deverbal nouns: mostly abstract (*-age*, *-al*, *-ance/ence*, *-ation*, *-ing*, *-ment*, *-ure*)

The native suffix *-ing* produces both abstract nouns denoting activity or state and concrete nouns denoting the results of the activity expressed by

the verb. The first type consists of verbal nouns (gerunds); because it is fully productive with all verbs, it is usually considered to represent a grammatical rather than a lexical process (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1547). The second type can be considered properly lexical. It is also very common, and even derives plural nouns. Early Modern English examples include *clearing(s)* 'pay', *diggings*, *engraving*, *etching*, *savings*, *scrapings* and *shearings*. Derivations with *-ing* can also express other semantic notions, for instance, instrumental (*coating*, *stopping*, *stuffing*, *wadding*) and locative (*landing*).

Except for *-ing*, most Early Modern English deverbal affixes denoting action or fact go back to Middle English loans. Perhaps the most productive of them is *-ation*, because it is the only alternative available for verbs ending in *-ise*, *-ate* and *-ify*. It first acquired its derivative character in the fifteenth century with verbs in *-ify*. Early Modern English examples are *amplification*, *modification*, *verification*, *identification* and *beautification*. Derivations with *-ise*-verbs become productive in the early seventeenth century, including *authorisation*, *catechisation*, *formalisation*, *pulverisation*. Just like many derivatives from verbs in *-ify* and *-ise*, forms involving verbs in *-ate* often have French or Latin counterparts. In many cases it is impossible to tell whether a given form is the result of borrowing or deverbal derivation in Early Modern English (cf. *education*, *saturation*, *alternation*, *intimidation*, *affiliation*). This also applies to derivations from unsuffixed verbs, because native bases are on the whole rare (but cf. *flirtation* 1718, *starvation* 1778).

The suffix *-ance/ence* was naturalised in late Middle English and derives abstract deverbal nouns denoting action or the result of action. It becomes quite productive in Early Modern English. Although the suffix is not restricted to loans, most of its coinages have Romance bases (*admittance*, *appliance*, *clearance*, *consistence*, *guidance* (sixteenth century); *compliance*, *condolence*, *emergence*, *reliance* (seventeenth century); *convergence*, *remittance*, but cf. *bearance* (eighteenth century)).

The deverbal and denominal suffix *-age* similarly goes back to the late Middle English period. Its earliest deverbal coinages were abstract nouns denoting action or fact but resultative and locative senses also emerge in Early Modern English, where the suffix readily takes both native and non-native bases (*anchorage*, *drainage*, *leakage*, *luggage*, *package*, *postage*, *storage* and *sweepage*). In some cases such as *anchorage*, *postage* and *storage*, for instance, it is not possible to say whether the derivative is in fact deverbal or denominal.

The suffix *-al* can be considered naturalised by about 1400. It chiefly derives countable abstract nouns from dynamic verbs; both native and non-native bases appear from the seventeenth century onwards (*denial*,

recital, *removal*, *survival* (sixteenth century); *approval*, *committal*, *disposal*, *proposal*, *renewal*, *revival* (seventeenth century); *avowal*, *bestowal*, *carousal*, *supplial* (eighteenth century)).

The suffix *-ment* was established in Middle English, but its derivative pattern appears to be stabilized only in the mid-fifteenth century. It is mostly attached to non-native bases to derive both abstract and concrete nouns, including *abasement*, *assessment*, *astonishment*, *management*, *retirement*, *treatment* (sixteenth century); *aggrandizement*, *amusement*, *assortment*, *commitment*, *engagement*, *environment* (seventeenth century); *equipment*, *fulfilment*, *statement* (eighteenth century). The suffix *-ure* became mildly productive in Early Modern English with verbs ending in *-s* or *-t*, deriving action nouns on the model of loan-word pairs of the type *pressure/press* and *closure/close*. Many Early Modern English coinages have not survived to the present day (*clefture*, *vomiture*, *raisure*, *praisure*; but cf. *departure*, *enclosure*, *erasure*, *exposure*).

5.5.3.1.5 Deadjectival nouns (*-acy*, *-ancy/ency*, *-by*, *-ity*, *-ness*, *-ton*)

There are two marginal deadjectival noun suffixes which both form personal nouns in Early Modern English, *-by* and *-ton*. Both are native, and presumably derived in imitation of place names. The suffix *-by* derives, for instance, *sureby* 1553 'dependable person', *rudesby* 1566, *sneaksby* 1580 'mean fellow', and *idle(s)by* 1589. The forms with *-ton* ('fool') include *skimmington* 1609 and *simpleton* 1650.

The main suffixes that derive abstract nouns from adjectives are the native *-ness* and the French-derived *-ity*. Both are very productive in Early Modern English and have partly overlapping input ranges. Both are used to form derivatives that denote abstract states, conditions and qualities, and this is the semantic domain that prevails with *-ness*. It prefers native bases but is not limited to them. Its Early Modern English attestations include *commonness*, *heartiness*, *disingenuousness*, *self-consciousness*, *uprighteousness*, *wariness*, *wittiness* and *youngness*. It also readily appears with participles (*invitingness*, *premeditatedness*).

The suffix *-ity* has a wider semantic range than *-ness*; in addition to the abstract notions of state, condition and quality, it is found in coinages such as *capability*, *oddity*, *peculiarity* and *regularity*, which may have concrete denotations and appear in the plural. The suffix was adopted from late Middle English French and Latin loan words, but from the sixteenth century onwards it became synchronically associated especially with adjectives ending in *-able/ible*, *-ic*, *-al* and *-ar*. Except for a few cases with native bases such as *oddity*, *-ity* was applied to Latinate bases, as in *capability*, *inflammability*; *compatibility*, *feasibility*, *infallibility*; *eccentricity*, *elasticity*, *electricity*; *brutality*, *virtuality*; *regularity*, *similarity*. For the rivalry between *-ness* and *-ity*, see futher Romaine (1985).

The suffix *-acy* is licensed in English by French and Latin loans, where it served as an adaptational termination. In late Middle English it also began to be used productively to denote state or quality in derivations based on words ending in *-ate*. Most Early Modern English coinages with *-acy* are deadjectival, e.g. *obduracy*, *effeminacy*, *intricacy*, *subordinacy*, *intimacy*, *illiteracy*, *accuracy* and *legitimacy*; denominal forms include *piracy*, *magistracy* and *curacy*.

The first instances of *-ancy/ency* as a productive suffix appear in the fourteenth century, but it was only generalised in the sixteenth. It derives abstract nouns meaning 'state or quality of being x' from nouns and adjectives ending in *-ant/ent*. With the exception of a few denominal derivations, EModE coinages with *-ancy/ency* are mostly deadjectival (e.g. *consistency*, *decency*, *efficiency*, *sufficiency*, *vacancy* (sixteenth century); *agency*, *compliancy*, *deficiency*, *fluency*, *redundancy*, *tendency* (seventeenth century); *convergency*, *brilliancy* (eighteenth century)). There was some competition between *-ancy/ency* and the related deverbal suffix *-ance/ence*, for instance, in such doublets as *fragrancy/fragrance*, *intelligency/intelligence*, *persistency/persistence*. In most cases the latter form prevailed, partly perhaps because *-ance/ence* was also used as an anglicising termination for French and Latin loans.

5.5.3.2 Noun/adjective suffixes (*-(i)an*, *-arian*, *-ese*, *-ist*, *-ite*)

This group consists of suffixes, all of them non-native, which form nouns and adjectives on a denominal and deadjectival basis. They were first used to anglicise French or Latin loans, but were generalised as English formatives in the Early Modern English period.

The suffix *-(i)an* is chiefly added to proper nouns to form personal nouns and non-gradable adjectives meaning 'belonging to x', 'pertaining to x'. It was first used to anglicise Latinate loans in Middle English. Native derivations are very frequent from the sixteenth century onwards. The range of Early Modern English coinages can be illustrated by *Lancastrian*, *Devonian*, *Chaucerian*, *Etonian*; *Lutheran*, *American*, *Jamaican* and *Sumatran*. Forms like *Parisian* and *Australian* with the French suffix *-ien* were re-latinised accordingly. A number of derivations with *-(i)an* arose from latinised modern names such as *Cantabrigian* 1540 (from *Cantabrigia* for *Cambridge*), *Oxonian* 1540 (from *Oxonia* for *Oxford*), *Norwegian* 1605 (from *Norvegia* for *Norway*) and *Salopian* 1700 (from *Salop* for *Shropshire*).

The denominal suffix *-arian* was first used to anglicise Latin words in *-ārius* in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth, a large group of terms were coined meaning 'member of a sect', 'holder of a doctrine' (e.g. *latitudinarian*, *sectarian*, *Trinitarian* and *Unitarian*). The suffix soon gained wider

currency in Early Modern English. Its coinages are chiefly nouns derived from Latin bases; some of them may also function as adjectives (*attitudinarian*, *Parliamentarian*, *septuagenarian*, *sexagenarian*).

The denominal suffix *-ite* ('member of a community, faction', 'follower of') appeared chiefly in Middle English ecclesiastical translations, and spread to native personal and place name derivations in the Early Modern English period, as in *Wycliffite* 1580, *Siamite* 1601, *Bedlamite* 1621, *Cromwellite* 1648, *Zionite* 1675, *Jacobite* 1689, *Williamite* 1689, *Mammonite* 1712 and *Bostonite* 1775. The suffix also became very productive in scientific nomenclature towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The principally denominal suffix *-ist* first appeared in Latin and French loans in Middle English. It can be considered naturalised by about 1600. It is used to derive personal nouns and adjectives signifying 'one connected with N', 'supporter of a principle or an ideology' or 'a person exercising a given profession'. Early Modern English coinages include *novelist* 'innovator', *tobacconist* 'one addicted to tobacco', *linguist*, *humorist* (sixteenth century); *duellist*, *monopolist*, *flutist*, *votarist*, *non-conformist*, *florist*, *bigamist*, *violinist* (seventeenth century); and *egotist*, *ebonist* (eighteenth century).

The denominal suffix *-ese* seems to be derived from EModE Italian loans denoting nationality and place of origin, such as *Milanese*, *Genoese* and *Chinese*. It was generalised in personal nouns and adjectives denoting remote foreign countries in late Modern English, where it was competing with *-(i)an* and *-ite*. The few EModE coinages include *Cingalese* and *Siamese*.

5.5.3.3 Adjective suffixes

An increasingly large number of suffixes for deriving adjectives from nouns appeared in Early Modern English. The more than half a dozen native suffixes and the two 'semi-suffixes' (*-like* and *-worthy*) usually formed adjectives from both native and non-native bases. They were augmented by almost as many borrowed ones, most of which became productive in the sixteenth century and were restricted to loan lexis. The two main deverbal suffixes *-able* and *-ive* go back to late Middle English.

Largely synonymous suffixes naturally lead to many competing derivations at an age of rapid and relatively unmonitored lexical growth. The *OED* lists altogether eight adjectival forms connected with the noun *arbour*, for instance. Native means are only used in *arboured* 1596; all the rest anglicise the etymologically related Latin adjective by non-native means: *arbory* 1572, *arboreous* 1646, *arborical* 1650, *arborary* 1656, *arboral* 1657, *arboreal* 1667 and *arborous* 1667 (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973: 62). From this

wealth of choice, only *arboreal* seems to enjoy any currency in Present-Day English.

5.5.3.3.1 Denominal adjectives: native suffixes (*-ed*, *-en*, *-ful*, *-ish*, *-less*, *-ly*, *-some*, *-y*; *-like*, *-worthy*)

The most frequent adjective suffixes in Barber's (1976: 187) Early Modern English material are the native *-ed* and *-y*. Both derive chiefly concrete adjectives. The suffix *-ed* forms possessive adjectives meaning 'provided with N'. It takes both native and foreign bases, as in *conceited*, *looped*, *palsied*, *roofed*, *spirited* (sixteenth century); *dropsied*, *fanged*, *intelligenced*, *leisured*, *pebbled*, *propertied* (seventeenth century), *cultured*, *flavoured*, *foliaged*, *grassed*, *pronged* (eighteenth century). Its coinages can also have the sense 'having the shape or qualities of N', as in *piped*, *orbed* and *domed*. The suffix is further used to derive adjectives from compounds (*honeycombed*, *mother-witted*) and syntactic groups, the latter part of which need not have an independent existence (*hare-brained*, *lily-livered*, *long-haired*, *pig-headed*, *pot-bellied*, *silver-tongued*, *rose-lipped*).

The suffix *-y* is usually added to concrete mass nouns to derive gradable adjectives meaning 'full of N, covered with N, characterised by N'. It is not limited to native bases. Its Early Modern English coinages include *dirty*, *gloomy*, *healthy*, *shaggy*, *spicy*, *sunshiny*, *wiry* (sixteenth century); *creamy*, *draughty*, *grimy*, *nervy*, *nutty*, *rickety*, *silky* (seventeenth century); *funny*, *glazy*, *sloppy*, *wispy* (eighteenth century). There are also some deadjectival coinages with *-y* signifying 'somewhat, suggesting x' (*brittly*, *browny*, *dusky*, *haughty*, *lanky*). For its deverbal derivations, see 5.5.3.3.3.

The suffix *-ish* derives gradable and non-gradable adjectives chiefly from proper and countable nouns. Its prevailing senses are 'belonging to N', 'having the character of N'. In Early Modern English it continues to form adjectives expressing nationality and origin, as in *Turkish*, *Jewish*, *Cornish*, *Swedish*, *Polish*. Many derivatives have a derogatory sense (e.g. *bookish*, *fiendish*, *girlish*, *Romish*, *waspish*, *waterish* (sixteenth century); *fairish*, *mobbish*, *modish*, *monkeyish*, *owlish* (seventeenth century); *babyish*, *mulish*, *rakish*, *summerish* (eighteenth century)). From late Middle English, *-ish* also appears with colour adjectives conveying the sense 'nearly, but not exactly x'(*blackish*, *brownish*, *purplish*); and from the sixteenth century it commonly derives adjectives with an approximative sense (*darkish*, *fairish*, *genteelish*, *tallish*, *thinnish*, *warmish*; cf. *-y*, above, and *sub-*, 5.5.2.5).

Early Modern English also continues to make productive use of *-ful*, which derives gradable adjectives chiefly from abstract nouns with the sense 'ful(l) of N', 'having, giving N'. Early Modern English coinages include, for instance, *deceitful*, *useful* (fifteenth century); *beautiful*, *delightful*, *hopeful*, *reproachful*,

successful (sixteenth century); *eventful*, *fanciful*, *hasteful*, *tasteful*, *wistful* (seventeenth century). The suffix appears to be losing ground after the seventeenth century except in formations with *un-*, which occur throughout the period (*unartful*, *uncareful*, *unhelpful*, *unreproachful*, *unsuccessful*, *unuseful*).

Etymologically, the negative counterpart of *-ful* is *-less*. It derives adjectives meaning 'without N', 'not giving N'. With *-ful* becoming more abstract in late Middle English, the two suffixes are no longer necessarily regular opposites, as the derivatives containing both *un-* and *-ful*, for instance, clearly indicate. Since then, *-less* derives adjectives even more independently. Early Modern English coinages can be illustrated by *seamless*, *workless* (fifteenth century); *honourless*, *lidless*, *limitless*, *matchless*, *priceless*, *sexless* (sixteenth century); *gainless*, *honeyless*, *letterless*, *noiseless*, *stateless*, *stomackless* (seventeenth century); *rayless*, *shelterless*, *thornless* (eighteenth century).

The denominal adjective suffix *-ly* conveys the sense 'having the (good or bad) qualities of N'. It forms gradable adjectives chiefly from concrete nouns, as in *beggarly*, *cowardly*, *leisurely*, *masterly*, *orderly*, *portly*, *princely*, *ruffianly*, *vixenly*. With expressions of time, *-ly* denotes recurring occurrence (*hourly*, *monthly*, *quarterly*, *weekly*). A native competitor for *-ly* is the semi-suffix *-like* (see below).

The OE suffix *-some* ('characterised by') continues to form chiefly denominal adjectives in Early Modern English (*awesome*, *burdensome*, *dangersome*, *healthsome*, *laboursome*, *quarrelsome*, *troublesome* (sixteenth century); *frolicsome*, *gleesome*, *humoursome*, *joysome*, *playsome* (seventeenth century); *fearsome*, *nettlesome* (eighteenth century)). The suffix also derives some deadjectival and deverbal adjectives (*brightsome*, *darksome*; *hindersome*, *meddlesome*, *tiresome*).

The denominal adjective suffix *-en* has the basic sense 'made of, consisting of N' as well as the derived one 'resembling, like N'. The latter is gaining ground in Early Modern English, and new coinages often have both senses; *flaxen* and *milken*, for example, denote both material and colour. Concrete senses are still current, however, as appears from data such as the paraphrases given by Bullokar (1586: 61) for *earthen*, *elmen* and *stonen* (5.3.2 above). He also illustrates the alternative way of expressing material by means of nominal compounds (*earth bank*, *elm plank*, *stone wall*).

The semi-suffix *-like* 'resembling', 'befitting' – called so by Marchand (1969: 356) because it can also occur independently – made its appearance in the fifteenth century. Negative coinages can be found since the sixteenth century. EModE examples of *-like* include *bishoplike*, *godlike*, *fleshlike*, *ladylike*; *unchristianlike*, *ungentlemanlike*, *unmanlike*, *unwarlike*.

The other denominal semi-suffix used to derive adjectives is *-worthy*, which goes back to Old English. It has limited productivity in Early

Modern English with only few coinages such as *noteworthy* and *praiseworthy*. No negative formations appear until late Modern English.

5.5.3.3.2 Denominal adjectives: borrowed suffixes (*-al (-ial/ical/orial/ual)*, *-ary/ory*, *-ate*, *-esque*, *-ic*, *-ous*)

According to Barber's (1976: 187) *OED* data, the most productive of the borrowed adjective suffixes between 1500 and 1700 is *-al*, with its variants *-ial* and *-ical*. The suffix owes its existence to Latin loans in *-ālis* ('having the character of', 'belonging to'), *-al* being its anglicised form since Middle English. In Early Modern English *-al* could be attached to nouns of Latin and Greek origin, as in *horizontal*, *hexagonal*, *positional*, *baptismal*, *global* and *regimental*. There are very few coinages from native words (e.g. *burghal* 1591 from *burgh*). Coinages in *-ial* arise in the sixteenth century, and include, for example, *amatorial*, *censorial*, *dictatorial*, *imperatorial* and *professorial*. The variant form *-ical* was often associated with the names of sciences, as in *arithmetical*, *logical* and *rhetorical*. It was not uncommon for forms in *-ical*, both new coinages and loans, to have shorter variants in *-ic*, as in *mathematical* 1522 v. *mathematic* 1549, *analytical* 1525 v. *analytic* 1590, *grammatical* 1526 v. *grammatic* 1599, *tactical* 1570 v. *tactic* 1604, *theoretical* 1616 v. *theoretic* 1656. The form *-ical* is occasionally used to derive non-scientific words such as *whimsical* 1653, *nonsensical* 1655 and *lackadaisical* 1768. On analogy with Middle English loans such as *spiritual*, *-ual* could also form derivatives from anglicised Latin words in Early Modern English (*accentual*, *conceptual*, *eventual*, *tactual*).

The French-derived suffix *-ous* ('full of', 'of the nature of') is earlier than the other borrowed adjective suffixes. It largely gained its productive force in the fourteenth century, and in Early Modern English it derived adjectives from both native and foreign nouns. Coinages with native bases are less numerous (e.g. *burdenous*, *murderous*, *slumberous*, *tetterous*, *thunderous*, *wondrous*). Its foreign-based derivations include *hasardous*, *momentous*, *odorous*, *poisonous*, *prodigious*, *sorcerous*, *usurious*, *verdurous*. The suffix also takes words ending in *-(at)ion* (*ostentatious*, *vexatious*) and *-y* (*analogous*, *monotonous*). It also commonly adapts Latin adjectives with no fixed anglicising termination.

The suffix *-ic* ('pertaining to') occurs in ME French loans. The first English formations begin to appear in learned words in Early Modern English, including derivations of ethnic and other proper names (*Celtic*, *Finnic*, *Gallic*, *Germanic*, *Icelandic*, *Miltonic*). Other EModE coinages include *aldermanic*, *bardic*, *operatic*, *oratoric* and *scaldic*. Terms such as *operatic* and *oratoric* have earlier derivations in *-ical*. Overall, technical terms in *-ic* represent complex correlative patterns many of which ultimately go back to Greek. Thus many loan words in *-y* tend to derive adjectives in *-ic* (e.g. *-graphy*, *-logy*,

-metry). So do words in *-sis* (*mimesis/mimetic*), *-ite* (*parasite/parasitic*), *-cracy* (*democracy/democratic*) and *-m(a)* (*drama/dramatic*, *problem/problematic*).

The suffix *-ary* was first used to anglicise adjectives of Latin origin. English coinages begin to appear in larger numbers from the sixteenth century onwards, and include, for example, *cautionary*, *complementary* (sixteenth century); *fragmentary*, *probationary*, *supplementary* (seventeenth century); *complimentary*, *residuary*, *revolutionary* (eighteenth century). The basic semantic difference between *-al* and *-ary* is that the latter usually also expresses purpose or tendency (cf. *fractional* 'of the nature of a fraction' v. *fractionary* 1674 'tending to divide into fractions').

Having served as an anglicising termination in Latin and French loan words in Middle English, the suffix *-ate* became mildly productive in the Early Modern English period as a denominal adjective suffix. All its coinages derive from foreign bases (*affectionate*, *compassionate*, *dispassionate*, *opinionate*, *roseate*).

The suffix *-esque* derives adjectives chiefly from proper nouns ('in the style of N'). The overwhelming majority of Early Modern English adjectives in *-esque* are Romance loans. The first native coinages are recorded in the eighteenth century (*picturesque*, *carnivalesque*).

5.5.3.3.3 Deverbal adjectives (*-able*, *-ive*, *-y*)

The main suffixes forming adjectives from verbs in Early Modern English are the French-derived *-able* and *-ive*, and the native *-y*. They had all become productive prior to the Early Modern English period. The suffix *-able* is primarily deverbal, although denominal derivations also occur. It derives both active ('fit for doing') and passive meanings ('fit to be done'). In Early Modern English it is equally productive with borrowed and native transitive verbs, and the passive sense is more common than the active one (e.g. *advisable*, *approachable*, *attainable*, *conquerable*, *countable*, *eatable*, *drinkable*, *readable*; cf. active: *answerable*, *perishable*, *speakable*, *suitable*). Negative coinages with *un-* may antedate their affirmative counterparts (dates in brackets), as in *unaccusable* 1582 (c. 1646), *unavoidable* 1577 (c. 1638), *unbreakable* 1480 (1570), *unclimbable* 1533 (c. 1611) and *unconsumable* 1571 (1641). Coinages from phrasal and prepositional verbs occur after the sixteenth century (*come-at-able* 1687, *get-at-able* 1799). Denominal coinages are very much in the minority, but convey both active and passive meanings (*actionable*, *fashionable*, *leisurable*, *marrigeable*, *marketable*, *palatable*, *sizeable*). The spelling variant *-ible*, due to Latin loan words, spread to Latin- derived coinages (*compressible*, *perfectible*, *resistible*).

The suffix *-ive* ('pertaining to') continued to anglicise adjectives of French and especially Latin origin in Early Modern English. It is also

increasingly used as a deverbal suffix to derive adjectives from Latin-based verbs ending in *-s* or *-t* in English as, for instance, in *amusive*, *conducive*, *coercive*, *depressive*, *extortive*, *persistive*, *preventive* and *sportive*. Derivations from native bases are rare and usually jocular (*babblative*, *writative*).

The only native suffix to produce deverbal adjectives is *-y* ('having the tendency to'; see 5.5.3.3.1). These derivations become common in the EModE period (*choky*, *crumbly*, *drowsy*, *slippy* (sixteenth century); *floaty*, *spewy*, *sweepy* (seventeenth century); *clingy*, *fidgety*, *shaky*, *shattery* (eighteenth century)).

5.5.3.4 Adverb suffixes (*-like*, *-ly*, *-way(s)*, *-ward(s)*, *-wise*)

All the productive adverb affixes in Early Modern English are of native origin, which is a unique situation in the mixed derivational system. As *-ly*, the most common of them, is almost fully productive in Present-Day English, some accounts such as Marchand (1969) treat it as an inflectional suffix. On the other hand, since its function is specifically to change word class, and since it has distributional limitations in Early Modern English, especially with respect to elementary adjectives, it is discussed here under derivation (see further 5.5.5.3; Koziol 1972: 272–3, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1556, Nevalainen 1997). Because of their limited productivity, the rest of the adverb suffixes are covered by Marchand (1969), too, under derivation, *-ward(s)* as a suffix, and *-like*, *-way(s)*, and *wise* as semi-suffixes. They all supply denominal means of adverb derivation.

The form *-ly* is the late Middle English reduced form of *-lyche*, an earlier combination of the adjective suffix *-ly* (< OE *lic*) and the OE adverb suffix *-e*. As in Present-Day English, *-ly* is most commonly used to derive adverbs of manner, respect and degree in Early Modern English. It is applied to adjectives, participles and numerals (*bawdily*, *commandingly*, *shortsightedly*; *firstly*, *thirdly*) as well as to nouns (*agely*, *partly*, *purposely*). The suffix occasionally derives adverbs from adjectives in *-ly*, as in *friendlily* and *livelily*. With adjectives in *-ic/ical* it regularly displays the form *-ally* (*domestically*, *historically*, *poetically*). On the other hand, it is used less widely than today to derive intensifiers, with which zero-derived forms are common (e.g. *exceeding/extreme/surpassing well*; see 5.5.5.3).

The semi-suffix *-wise* ('in the form or manner of') is the second-most productive adverb suffix in Early Modern English. It is even listed by Bullokar (1586: 41) together with *-ly* as an adverb suffix to denote qualities (*tablewise*, *heartwise*). It serves both as a deadjectival and, increasingly, as a denominal suffix (*hooked-wise*, *humble-wise*, *leastwise*, *likewise*, *roundwise*; *end-wise*, *lengthwise*, *sidewise*, *sporting-wise*, *theatre-wise*).

There was already some competition between *-wise* and the other semi-suffix *-way(s)* ('in the way, manner of', 'in the direction of') in the sixteenth century, for example, in such cases as *longwise/longways* and *lengthwise/lengthways*. The suffix *-way(s)* was only mildly productive in Early Modern English. It was extended to nominal bases (*breadthways*, *edgeway(s)*, *endway(s)*, *crossways*, *sideway(s)*) but became at the same time less productive as a depronominal and deadjectival suffix (*anyway(s)*, *someway*; *likeways*, *straightway*).

In the sense 'in the direction of' *-way(s)* was rivalled by the suffix *-ward(s)*. The latter was attached to prepositional adverbs, cardinal points and, especially since the sixteenth century, to nouns to derive adverbs of direction. Its EModE attestations include *leftward*, *north-eastward*, *south-westward*; *landward(s)*, *seaward(s)*, *skyward(s)*, *sunward(s)*, *windward(s)*).

As shown in 5.5.3.3.1, *-like* was productive as an adjective suffix in Early Modern English. Hence adverbial occurrences with *-like* may be treated either as zero-derivations from homonymous adjectives or as derivations by means of the denominal adverb suffix *-like*. The latter view is espoused by Koziol (1972: 272), who cites such EModE coinages as *gentlemanlike* 1542, *bishoplike* 1555, *wifelike* 1598, *fatherlike* 1604 and *lionlike* 1610.

5.5.3.5 Verb suffixes (*-ate*, *-en*, *-er*, *-(i)fy*, *-ise*, *-le*)

Early Modern English had inherited three productive native verb suffixes, *-en*, *-er* and *-le*, and generalised three non-native ones, *-ate*, *-(i)fy* and *-ise*. The native form *-en* was used primarily deadjectivally to derive both transitive-causative ('make x') and intransitive verbs ('become x') in Early Modern English. Verbs in *-en* were perhaps originally extensions of earlier suffixless verbs, but were predominantly interpreted as deadjectival by the sixteenth century; no deverbal derivations appear after about 1660, and denominal coinages are very rare (*MEG* VI: 357). The suffix also has phonological input constraints, the bases having to end either in a stop or a fricative. EModE coinages in *-en* include *brighten*, *chasten*, *deafen*, *fatten*, *lengthen*, *moisten*, *stiffen*, *weaken* (sixteenth century); *dampen*, *deepen*, *flatten*, *frighten*, *redden*, *ripen*, *widen* (seventeenth century); *broaden*, *madden*, *tighten* (eighteenth century).

The suffixes *-le* and *-er* are similar in that they both have reiterative senses, and originally were not always associated with existing roots. Most EModE coinages in *-le* denote repetition of small movements (*crackle*, *draggle*, *dribble*, *fizzle*, *hackle*, *prattle*, *quackle*, *snuffle*). The coinages in *-er* express sound or movement (*flitter*, *gibber*, *patter*, *snicker*, *sputter*, *stutter*, *whimper*). Both suffixes have phonological constraints: an /l/ in the base excludes *-le*, and an /r/ disfavours *-er*.

The suffix *-ate* made its appearance in Middle English as an anglicising termination with Latin participles, and appeared with other verb forms after about 1400. As Reuter (1934: 106–7) shows, by the sixteenth century nearly half of the verbs in *-ate* have no prior attestations as participles, and therefore cannot be considered backformations, but rather derivations in their own right. From the sixteenth century onwards, *-ate* was used to form verbs from Latin nominal stems and Romance nouns. The suffix was very productive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with attestations such as *capacitate*, *debilitate*, *fabricate*, *facilitate* and *fertilitate*. It did not, however, oust Latinate verbs which had already been adapted by means of *-(i)fy* or *-ise*, and forms such as *edificate*, *deificate*, *pulverizate* were short-lived.

Another causative suffix to become productive in the sixteenth century is *-(i)fy*. It originated in French and Latin loans in Middle English and, like the other non-native verb suffixes, continued to adapt loan verbs even after becoming an independent English formative. As a naturalised suffix it was frequently attached to Latinate bases, but native bases are also in evidence. Transitive denominal derivations outnumber deadjectival ones and, from about 1700, derogatory senses are common (*beautify*, *fishify*, *Frenchify*, *uglify* (sixteenth century); *countrify*, *happify*, *ladyfy*, *stonify*, *typify* (seventeenth century); *monkeyfy*, *toryfy*, *townify*, *speechify* (eighteenth century)).

The most productive of the new suffixes is *-ize*, which first appeared in Middle English Latin and French loans. The suffix is considered naturalised towards the end of the sixteenth century, when a number of new deadjectival and deverbal coinages are witnessed, including *bastardise*, *equalise*, *gentilise*, *popularise*, *spiritualise* and *womanise*. Most of these derivations are transitive, and have a causative sense, but intransitive instances ('act as') are also found especially between about 1580 and 1700 (e.g. *gentilise*, *monarchise*, *paganise*, *soldierise*). This was a period when *-ise* was used to derive a large number of technical terms chiefly from neo-Latin bases; adjectives in *-al*, *-(i)an*, *-ar* and *-ic*, for example, readily took the suffix. The coinages include *apologise*, *criticise*, *fertilise*, *formalise*, *humanise*, *Italianise*, *mechanise*, *methodise*, *monopolise*, *patronise*, *personalise* and *satirise*.

5.5.4 Compounding

Multiple criteria are needed to arrive at an adequate definition of compounds in English. A compound may be defined, as in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1567), as a lexical unit consisting of more than one base, and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word. The chief problem is to distinguish compounds from grammatical phrases which consist of a

premodifier and a head (*blackbird* v. *black bird*). The problem is accentuated when we are confronted with historical data. Orthographic criteria offer no reliable guidelines even in Present-Day English, where a compound may be written either 'solid', hyphenated or 'open' (*flowerpot*, *flower-pot*, *flower pot*). We may assume that Early Modern English does not deviate much from Present-Day English in that compounds as a rule have the main stress on the first element and the secondary stress on the second element in simple two-word compounds. This type of information is not, however, readily available for individual problem cases in Early Modern English.

Morphosyntactic criteria are more useful in a diachronic context. Compounds have complex morphological representations that serve as inputs to inflectional rules. Thus the plural of *flowerpot* is *flowerpot* + *s* (cf. the corresponding co-ordinate phrase *flower* + *s (and) pot* + *s*). Similarly, it is not possible for a determinant of a compound to be modified independently of the whole. We cannot, for example, intensify an adjective that forms part of a compound (cf. **a very blackbird* v. *a very black bird*).

Internally most compounds can be understood as telescoped clauses, and thus motivated in terms of the syntactic–semantic functions of their constituent elements (Marchand 1969: 22, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1570). They include Subject–Verb, Verb–Object, and Verb–Adverbial relations, all productive in Early Modern English:

fleabite	(1570)	'a flea bites' → S + V
book-seller	(1527)	'x sells books' → V + Obj.
night-fishing	(1653)	'(x) fish at night' → V + Advb.

The notion of semantic unity referred to above implies a degree of lexicalisation: compounds are expected to have a meaning which can be related to but not directly inferred from their component parts. In practice semantic transparency is a continuum ranging from totally opaque former compounds such as *hussy* (< *housewife*) and *gammer* (< *grandmother*) to fully transparent coinages, such as *book-seller* and *grave-digger* (called synthetic compounds by Marchand 1969: 17 and Bauer 1988: 255; see also Kastovsky 1986a, and 5.3.2). Although compounding involves open-class lexical items, it can be semantically compared with prefixation: one element is modified by another, and together they constitute a functional unit. Three types of relation are traditionally distinguished (Lass 1987: 200–1):

(a) determinative (*tatpuruṣa*), e.g. *goldfish* 1698, *steam-engine* 1751
(b) copulative (*dvandva*), e.g. *merchant-taylor* 1504, *queen-mother* 1602/*mother-queen* 1591
(c) exocentric (*bahuvrīhi*), e.g. *busybody* 1526, *redskin* 1699

Both (a) and (b) are endocentric in the sense that one of the bases is functionally equivalent to the whole – in (b) either one in fact. In (c), bahuvrihi compounds, no such determinatum is overtly present. It could be interpreted as a zero morpheme representing an entity specified by the compound. These exocentric formations are sometimes called pseudo-compounds. I adopt the traditional view and discuss them under compounding rather than conversion.

Both dvandva and bahuvrīhi compounds are much rarer in Present-Day and Early Modern English than the first type, determinative compounds. Hatcher (1951), however, adduces evidence that there is an Early Modern English revival of dvandva compounds, which begins in the sixteenth century. This is a literary tendency greatly influenced by classical models, such as *oxymoron*. Shakespeare coined, for instance, such imaginative and often satirical coinages as *giant-dwarf*, *king-cardinal*, *master-mistress*, *sober-sad* and *pale-dull*. In the seventeenth century dvandvas made their way into technical language (*hydraulo-pneumatical* 1661, *anatomic-chirurgical* 1684).

The overwhelming majority of Barber's (1976: 192) some two hundred or so Early Modern English compounds are nouns, three-quarters of them of the form N + N. Compound adjectives are much rarer, and verbs and adverbs extremely rare. Barber's subject matter analysis reveals that compounding is used in many different fields. Large groups are connected with practical affairs such as farming (e.g. *sheep-brand* 1586, *pin-fallow* 'winter fallow' 1668), fishing (*heaving-net* 1584, *anchor-tow* 1637), commerce (*Bristol-diamond* 1596, *transfer-book* 1694), and tools (*pinching-iron* 1519, *spoon-hammer* 1688). Another large group consists of names of birds (*spoonbill* 1678), and especially plants (*rose-campion*, 1530, *waterdock* 1548, *lung-flower* 1597, *rot-grass* 1631). Names for people are also common (*bawdy-basket* 1567, *scrapepenny* 1584, *Frenchwoman* 1593). Properly scientific or scholarly terms form a distinct minority (anatomy: *pine-glandule* 'pineal gland' 1615; arithmetic: *offcome* 'product' 1542). Even the religious terms coined are mostly popular (*will-work* 'a work performed by the human will, without divine grace' 1538, *gospel-lad* 'Covenanter' 1679).

The following discussion is based on word-class distinctions of the determinatum (noun, adjective, verb) with a section of its own on exocentric compounds. A further division is made according to the determinant (noun, a verbal form in *-ing*, verb, adjective, adverb, particle). As with suffixes, syntactic–semantic criteria are then applied within these formal categories largely following the distinctions made in Marchand (1969), Koziol (1972) and Quirk *et al.* (1985). Because of limitations of space, only the main types productive in Early Modern English can be presented here.

5.5.4.1 Compound nouns: endocentric

5.5.4.1.1 Noun + Noun

The most common type of compound noun in Barber's (1976: 192) EModE material consists of two morphologically simple nouns. They are mostly determinative and thus endocentric with one base being modified by the other. Depending on whether or not the compound can be paraphrased in terms of a copula sentence, i.e. a subject–complement relation (either 'N1 is N2' or 'N2 is N1'), we may make a distinction between what Marchand (1969: 40) calls the copulative type and the rectional type (the former including traditional dvandvas). Both go back to Old English, and regularly place the determinant first, followed by the determinatum.

Besides the additive dvandva compounds discussed above, the copulative type can be interpreted more widely to include other semantic relations involving the copula. In fact, as Jespersen (*MEG* VI: 147) points out, the exact limitation of cases is often doubtful. *Boy-king* may be understood as a person who is both a boy and a king (dvandva), a boy who is also a king, or a king who is also a boy. Compounds are often open to more than one reading. In the case of copulative compounds we can make Marchand's (1969: 40–1) distinction between subsumptive (*oak tree*) and attributive (*girl friend*) types.

The subsumptive type shows the semantic relation of hyponymy (N1 (is a hyponym of) N2). It is well attested in Early Modern English in cases like *pathway*, *pumice-stone*, *puss cat*, *shrew-mouse* and *roadway*. The attributive type (N2 is N1) is particularly common with determinants denoting the sex of the determinatum, both people (*boy-angel*, *maid-servant*, *man-nurse*, *woman-cook*, *woman-grammarian*, *woman-poet*) and animals (*bull-calf*, *cock-chicken*, *hen-partridge*, *jack-merlin*, *jenny-ass*, *tompuss*). Cases where the order of the elements is reversed are generalised in Middle English; their Early Modern English attestations include *beggar-boy*, *beggarwoman*, *bondmaid*, *shepherd girl*, *servant-gentleman*, *washerwoman*; *turkey-cock* and *turkey-hen*.

Other copulative relations between N1 and N2 are physical or functional resemblance and composition. Their range of variation in Early Modern English can be illustrated by coinages many of which are still in current use:

> N2 (is like) N1: *bell-flower*, *bull-frog*, *dragon-fly*, *jelly-fish*, *kettledrum*, *needle-fish*, *star-thistle*, *T-beard*
>
> N2 (consists of) N1: *ironware*, *meat-pie*, *paper money*, *steel-pen*, *stone-jug*, *tin-kettle*

Non-copulative, rectional compounds show an even greater variety of syntactic–semantic relations in Early Modern English. The determinant is often associated with a subject function (e.g. agent, instrument), and the determi-

natum with the functions of an affected or effected object. The two can also have a part–whole relationship, which may be interpreted in terms of salient possession, or they may be linked by an adverbial relation of spatio-temporal location or instrumentality. These adverbial relations are often interpreted in terms of purpose ('N2 is for N1'; cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1575). Rectional compounds are exemplified by the following paraphrase relations; again, many of these EModE coinages are still current in Present-Day English.

N1 (powers/operates) N2: *air-gun*, *mouth-organ*, *steam-engine* (1751), *water-clock*
N1 (yields/produces) N2: *cane juice*, *cow dung*, *cowhide*, *cowslip wine*, *heat-fever*
N1 (has) N2: *apron-string*, *arrow-head*, *door-ring*
N1 (is located) at N2: *bird cage*, *bread basket*, *fire place*, *key-hole*, *money-box*, *guest-chamber*
N1 (is V-*ed* by means of) N2: *horse-whip*, *teeth-brush*

It is also possible to reverse the functions of the determinant and determinatum:

N2 (controls/works with) N1: *boatman*, *chairman*, *coachman*, *fireman*, *liveryman*, *postman*
N2 (yields/produces) N1: *corn mill*, *honey bee*, *sugar cane*
N2 (has) N1: *cross bun*, *flagship*, *stone-fruit*
N2 (is located) at N1: *ground-nut*, *mountain-ash*, *skylark*, *table-spoon*, *tombstone*, *water-lily*, *morning star*, *night-light*, *winter-cherry*

The possessive relation 'N1 has N2' is typically expressed by genitive compounds involving animate determinants (*Jew's harp*, *mother's-tongue*). There are many plant names of this kind (*goat's beard*, *hog's fennel*, *cat's foot*), including a number of loan translations (*dog's tongue* < Greek < Lat. *cynoglossum*, *dog's-tooth* < Lat. *dens canis*).

While genitive compounds were already productive in Old English, plural compounds began to gain ground in Middle and Early Modern English. In Early Modern English it is not always possible to distinguish between the two in cases such as *sales-book*. There are few explicit forms like *mice-trap*. Most *s*-compounds can generally be explained in rectional terms: *banksman* 'overlooker at a coal mine', *deathsman* 'executioner', *draftsman*, *groomsman* 'bestman', *tradesman* (N2 controls/works with N1); *beeswax*, *goat's wool*, *lamb's wool* (N1 yields/produces N2).

5.5.4.1.2 Adjective + Noun

A compound noun with an adjective determinant is motivated by an attributive subject–complement relation ('N is adj.'). The type goes back to Old

English. Many of its Early Modern English attestations denote animate beings, as in *blackbird*, *freshman*, *granddaughter*, *madwoman* and *nobleman*. They are common throughout the period; only ethnic nouns of the type *Cornishman*, *Englishwoman* begin to lose ground (Marchand 1969: 64). Surviving EModE coinages with inanimate denotata include *broad-sheet*, *common-room*, *dead-weight*, *hardware*, *highlight*, *hothouse*, *longboat* and *smallpox*.

The adjective functioning as the determinant may be a zero-derived noun, in which case the compound commonly expresses an object or adverbial relation (see 5.5.4.1.1). These compounds can be further interpreted in terms of purpose (*sick-house* 'house for the sick', *poor-box*, *wetnurse*). The type does not occur in Old English, and is rare before 1600.

5.5.4.1.3 V-*ing* + Noun

Where the determinant is realised by a verbal form in *-ing*, the coinages display paraphrase relations similar to rectional N + N compounds. The determinant acts as a verb, and the determinatum may assume a semantic role expressed by a subject, object or adverbial function. With very few surviving coinages from Middle English, the subject type gains ground in Early Modern English (Marchand 1969: 71).

Verb + Subject: *dancing-girl* 'the girl dances', *floating bridge*, *flying squirrel*, *folding door*, *humming bird*, *rolling-stone*, *serving-maid*
Verb + Object: *heaving-net* 'heave a net', *looking glass*, *riding horse*, *smelling bottle*, *spending money*
Verb + Place Adverbial: *dining room* 'dine in a room', *landing place*, *melting pot*, *waiting room*, *writing table*
Verb + Time Adverbial: *calving time*
Verb + Instrumental Adverbial: *burning-glass* 'burn with a glass', *drawing-knife*, *knitting-needle*, *walking-stick*

Many of the object and adverbial types have a deverbal noun as determinant and may be further interpreted in terms of purpose ('N is designed for the purpose of V-*ing*'). This derived reading motivates the type *riding-coat* 'coat used for riding' (*dressing gown*, *hunting whip*, *travelling box*).

A simple copulative relation is in evidence with cases such as *drinking bout* (1672) and *whooping cough* (1739) 'cough which is, or consists of whooping' (Marchand 1969: 39). Here, too, the determinant is analysable as a deverbal noun with a more or less independent lexical status.

5.5.4.1.4 Verb + Noun

Compound nouns with a verbal determinant appear to have become more productive since Old English. In Early Modern English they

show the same range of syntactic–semantic relations as V-*ing* + Noun compounds.

> Verb + Subject: *chokeapple* 'the apple chokes' (because it is harsh and unpalatable), *draw-boy*, *driftwood*, *rattlesnake*, *sheargrass*, *watchdog*, *work-people*
> Verb + Object: *pastime* 'pass the time', *skim-milk*, *treadwheel*
> Verb + Adverbial: *peep-hole* 'peep through the hole', *wash-house*; *plaything* 'play with a thing', *spy-glass*, *stopcock*

Again some of the object and especially adverbial cases may be understood in terms of purpose – a *plaything* is 'a thing for x to play with' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1573). Sometimes it is not easy to tell whether in fact the determinant functions as a noun rather than a verb. Hence *rattlesnake* could perhaps also be interpreted as a snake characterised by a rattling noise (cf. Koziol 1972: 66).

5.5.4.1.5 Noun + Deverbal Noun

Compound nouns with zero-derived deverbal determinata go back to Old English, but most surviving coinages are post Middle English. The type appears to be most productive in the subject–verb relation, and the object relation is stronger than the adverbial. The object relation is the only one associated with compounds with the pronoun *self* as determinant in Early Modern English.

> Subject + Verb: *daybreak* 'the day breaks', *eyewink*, *fleabite*, *heartbreak*, *night-fall*
> Object + Verb: *bloodshed* 'shed blood', *leasehold*, *roll call*, *woodcut*; *self-command*, *self-control*, *self-esteem*, *self-murder*, *self-pity*
> Adverbial + Verb: *daydream* 'dream during the day', *homework*, *table talk*

Compounds like *sheep walk* are semantically once removed from the above basic types as they denote the place where the activity of 'sheep walking' is taking place. There are also cases where the determinatum is fully lexicalised and does not have the functions typical of a verb (e.g. *footprint*, *inkstand*, *sidewalk*).

5.5.4.1.6 Noun + V-*ing*

Compounding a noun and a verbal noun in *-ing* is a productive process since Old English times, but again many of the attested coinages are Middle English or later. The type produces abstract compounds referring to human activity. They are typically based on a verb–object or verb–adverbial relation. The verb–object relation is the more common of the two.

Subject–verb correspondences are exceptional. *Nose-bleeding* is attested in Early Modern English, and *cock-crowing* 'dawn' and *cock-fighting* go back to Middle English (Marchand 1969: 76).

Object + Verb: *book-keeping* 'keep books', *bull-baiting*, *deer-stealing*, *foxhunting*, *house-keeping*, *peace-offering*, *thanksgiving*, *wool-gathering*
Adverbial + Verb: *church-going* 'go to church', *heartburning*, *seafaring*, *night-angling* 'angle at night'; *fly-fishing* 'fish with a fly', *handwriting*, *picture-writing*

5.5.4.1.7 Noun + V-*er*

Compound nouns with a deverbal agent noun in *-er* as determinatum are well attested since Old English, and constitute a highly productive type in Middle English and Early Modern English. They are more frequently based on verb–object than verb–adverbial functions. The great majority of these nouns denote persons (but cf. *nut-cracker*).

Object + Verb: *book-keeper* 'x keeps books', *book-seller*, *fire-eater*, *gold-washer*, *hairdresser*, *image-maker*, *rat-catcher*, *shipbuilder*, *shop-keeper*, *story-teller*, *torch-bearer*
Adverbial + Verb: *church-goer*, *rope-dancer*, *sleep-walker*, *street-walker*, *day-sleeper*, *night-wanderer*

Since the sixteenth century, the agent noun *monger* (< OE *mangian* 'to trade') only forms disparaging nouns (*meritmonger*, *pardonmonger*, *whoremonger*). As it also occurs as an independent word, it does not count as a (semi-)suffix in Early Modern English (cf. Marchand 1969: 357).

5.5.4.1.8 Particle + Noun compounds

Since Old English, particles functioning as both adverbs and prepositions have occurred as first members of noun compounds. In Early Modern English they comprise *after*, *by*, *forth*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *through*, *under* and *up*. Marchand (1969: 109) also includes *back* and *down* in this group. In most cases, particle determinants have locative senses and thus partly overlap with locative prefixes (see 5.5.2.2). Some also have abstract senses. *Over*, for instance, means 'excessive' in *overburden*, *overdose*, *overproportion*. Particle determinants occur with the full range of nominal determinata in Early Modern English:

Particle + Noun: *afterlife*, *afterthought*, *backhand*, *backwater*, *by-office*, *by-passage*, *inside*, *inwall*, *off-corn*, *out-patient*, *outpost*, *overcare*, *overgarment*, *through-passage*, *through-toll*, *underbelly*, *undergrowth*, *undersecretary*, *upland*, *upshot*
Particle + Deverbal Noun: *backfall*, *back-set*, *inlay*, *input*, *intake*, *off-cut*, *onset*, *outbreak*, *outfit*, *outlet*, *outset*

Particle + V-*ing*: *inbeing*, *ingathering*, *inlying*, *offscouring*, *offreckoning*, *upbringing*
Particle + V-*er*: *backslider*, *bystander*, *onlooker*, *onsetter*, *outlier*, *outrunner*, *underwriter*, *upriser*

Verb-based compound nouns correspond to structures consisting of a verb modified or complemented by a locative particle. Particle + Deverbal Noun denotes a specific instance, result, or place of action. In Early Modern English the type is more productive than exocentric noun compounds consisting of a verb and a particle such as *drawback* and *turnout*, which are generalised in late Modern English (see 5.5.4.2.2; Marchand 1969: 110). Deverbal agent nouns such as *onlooker* have the variant form Noun + Particle (*finder-out*, *looker-on*, *passer-by*, *setter-up*). Neither is very common in Early Modern English.

5.5.4.2 Noun compounds: exocentric

It was pointed out above in 5.5.4 that not all compound words are endocentric. Marchand (1969: 13) distinguishes a separate class of pseudo-compound nouns of the type *redskin* and *pickpocket*, which have a compound determinant and a zero determinatum. I shall call them exocentric. These compounds are of two kinds, noun-based (bahuvrīhi formations; *redskin*) and verb-based (*pickpocket*). The noun-based or bahuvrīhi compounds can be related to the semantic strategy of metonymy: an entity is referred to by a compound that in fact denotes only a part or a characteristic of it (see 5.6.3.2 below). Most exocentric compounds, both noun- and verb-based, are personal nouns. Because they are mostly pejorative in meaning, they do not directly compete with suffixal agent nouns.

5.5.4.2.1 Noun-based exocentric compounds

Bahuvrīhi compounds are exocentric because they have no overtly expressed determinatum. Although *redskin* is based on an Adjective + Noun compound of the attributive kind ('the skin is red'), it does not refer to skin but rather to a person being attributed the property of red skin. Bahuvrihi compounds usually correspond to a possessive relation ('N1 (has) N2'; where N1 = x, and N2 = red skin). As in most cases no change of word-class is involved – *red skin* and *redskin* both have nominal heads – the traditional view of bahuvrihis as compounds of a special kind is justified.

Bahuvrīhi compounds were weakly productive in Old English, and they were mainly used adjectivally. They gained ground in Early Modern English partly in the wake of deverbal personal nouns modelled on French and

partly because the older type had developed an adjectival byform (*redbreast* > *redbreasted*) thus reserving the short form for nominal functions. The most productive kind in Early Modern English are bahuvrīhi nouns based on attributive Adjective + Noun compounds. On the other hand, the Old English denominal type Numeral + Noun is hardly attested at all except in *one-berry* and *nine-holes*. Coinages based on Noun + Noun and Verb + Noun compounds denoting properties are rare. The latter kind is first attested in Early Modern English (Marchand 1969: 386–9).

Adjective + Noun: *blackhead*, *brazen-face*, *busybody*, *goldilocks*, *green-sleeves* 'inconstant lady-love', *flatnose*, *grey-coat*, *lightweight*, *longlegs*, *redskin*, *square-toes*, *whitehead*

Noun + Noun: *asshead*, *barrel-belly*, *blockhead*, *hunchback*

Verb + Noun: *crack-brain* 'a crack-brained person', *draggle-tail*, *leapfrog*, *shatterbrain*

5.5.4.2.2 Verb-based exocentric compounds

There are two kinds of exocentric noun compound derived from verbs and verb phrases. The first kind, based on a verb–object relation, was modelled on French imperative compounds of the type *coupe-bourse* 'cutpurse', 'purse snatcher'. It became productive in Middle English, denoting an agent performing the action expressed by the verb phrase. Most EModE personal noun coinages are colloquial and pejorative. They are used to refer to anything from criminals and slanderers to idlers and misers, as in *cut-throat*, *do-nothing*, *fill-belly*, *killjoy*, *knowlittle*, *lackwit*, *lickladle*, *picklock*, *pickpocket*, *rakehell*, *telltale*, *turncoat*, *spendthrift*, *spitfire*. Impersonal coinages include *breakwater*, *stopgap* and *turnstile*.

Derivations of the other kind consist of Verb + Particle combinations denoting either agent or action. Agent nouns began to appear in the sixteenth century, and were perhaps first connected with the Verb + Object type and thus with an imperative notion. EModE coinages, many of them colloquial and pejorative, include *go-between*, *pullback* 'adversary', *runabout*, *runaway* and *sneakup*. A number of them have since become obsolete (*fall-away* 'apostate', *go-before* 'usher', *hangby* 'parasite', *holdfast* 'miser', *lieby* 'mistress', and *startback* 'deserter'; Marchand 1969: 382–3).

Deverbal nouns denoting action or the result of action may be considered conversions of phrasal or prepositional verbs in Early Modern English (but cf. the Present-Day English type *sit-in*, for which no lexicalised verb exists). The type is gaining momentum in the seventeenth century. The coinages are colloquial but not commonly derogatory in meaning (*drawback*, *go-down* 'retreat', *hop-about* 'dance', *Passover*, *put-off*, *pullback*, *setback*, *turnout*, *turnover*; Lindelöf 1937: 4–9).

5.5.4.3 Compound adjectives

5.5.4.3.1 Noun + Adjective

Noun and adjective combinations are formed on two basic patterns: 'as adj. as N'/'adj. like N' (*sky-blue*; a hyponym of the adjective in question) and 'adj. with respect to N' (*seasick*). Both types are found in Old English, but most of the compounds in use today are first attested in the Modern English period. Some elements only became productive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including *dog* (*dog-cheap*, *dog-lean*, *dog-mad*, *dog-weary*) and *proof* (*fireproof*, *mosquito-proof*, *stormproof*, *waterproof*, *windproof*). Attestations of the N + adj. type are particularly frequent from the decades around 1600.

EModE coinages of the *sky-blue* kind, based on comparison, include *air-clear*, *day-bright*, *lifelong*, *silver-grey*, *skin-deep*, *star-bright* and *world-wide* 'as wide as the world'. Instances like *seasick* are equally numerous. They usually display various adverbial relations: *air-tight*, *blood-guilty*, *brainsick*, *foot-loose*, *heart-sore*, *love-sick*, *snow-blind*. Compound adjectives with the pronoun *self* of this type include *self-conscious*, *self-complacent*, *self-dependent*, *self-destructive* and *self-sufficient*.

5.5.4.3.2 Noun + V-*ing*

In adjectives which are formed from a noun followed by a present participle the noun functions either as a direct object or as an adverbial modifier of the verb. The type was of only limited use in Old English, and the great majority of Present-Day English compounds date from the Modern English period. The following instances, which also include pronoun determinants, are first recorded in the EModE period:

> Object + Verb: *all-seeing* 'x sees all', *all-knowing*, *heart-breaking*, *home-keeping*, *life-giving*, *painstaking*, *penny-pinching*, *self-boasting*, *self-denying*, *world-commanding*
> Adverbial + Verb: *day-lasting* 'x lasts a day', *night-faring*, *night-shining*

5.5.4.3.3 Noun + V-*ed*

The most common type of compound adjective in Barber's (1976: 192) material consists of a noun followed by a past participle. It is already attested in Old English. In Early Modern English and Present-Day English alike, it is very common where the noun has an agential or instrumental reading, but other adverbial functions also occur. The verb regularly has a passive interpretation. Early Modern English attestations of the type include *awestruck* 'struck by awe', *frost-bitten*, *hand-made*, *hen-pecked*, *spell-bound*, *sun-dried*, *wind-shaken*; *death-doomed* 'doomed to death', *heart-struck*;

forest-born 'born in a forest', *heart-felt*, *heaven-sent*. In some few cases the compound adjective must be interpreted in terms of a quality based on a subject–(passive) verb relation (e.g. *crest-fallen* 'with the crest fallen', *heart-broken*, *tongue-tied*).

5.5.4.3.4 Adjective + Adjective

Combinations of two adjectives are either copulative (dvandvas) or determinative. The latter type is first attested in Late Middle English, and it is not very productive in Early Modern English. It is used hyponymically, for instance, to indicate a shade of colour (*dark green*, *deep orange*, *light grey*, *pale pink*). Since most of these coinages are fully transparent semantically – in many cases their determinants are also modifiable (*very deep orange*) – and since they continue to be stressed like phrasal units in Present-Day English, they could alternatively be analysed as adjective phrases in Early Modern English.

The copulative type is extremely rare in Middle English, but is being revived in Early Modern English. Apart from nonce forms such as Shakespeare's *fortunate-unhappy*, *heavy-thick*, *honest-true* and *proper-false*, however, ordinary everyday formations like *bittersweet* are rare. Hatcher (1951) cites early instances of the more technical use of the type from *Hamlet* (II.ii.377–8), where Polonius presents paradoxical divisions of drama into *pastoral-comical*, *historical-pastoral*, *tragical-historical* and *tragical-comical-historical-pastoral*. In the seventeenth century, the type is increasingly being associated with technical terminology, and the first part is often a combining form with *-o* (*historico-cabbalistical*, *medical-physical*, *physicomechanical*, *plane-convex*, *theologico-moral*). Early instances of ethnic compounds of this kind are *Gallo-Greek* 1601 and *Anglo-Saxon* 1610 (Hatcher 1951: 198).

5.5.4.3.5 Adjective/Adverb + V-*ing*

From Old English on, compound adjectives are also formed with adjective or adverb determinants and present participle determinata. As with past participle determinata (see 5.5.4.3.6), the adverb is usually a zero form in Early Modern English. Present participle compounds are motivated by verb–adverbial, or copula–subject complement relations in active sentences. The adverbial usually indicates the manner or duration of the action expressed by the verb, while the adjective attributes a property to the subject of the sentence (*easy-going* 'x goes easily', *everliving*, *far-reaching*, *ill-looking* 'x looks ill', *high-sounding*, *high-flying*, *long-suffering*, *never-dying*, *quick-fading*, *swift-flowing*, *wild-staring*, *wide-spreading*).

5.5.4.3.6 Adjective/Adverb + V-*ed*

An adverbial determinant followed by a past participle usually indicates the manner or circumstances in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out (*far-fetched*, *well-educated*). Most of these compounds have a passive meaning. The type goes back to Old English and is highly productive in Middle and Early Modern English. Its EModE attestations include *deep-seated*, *far-removed*, *high-flown*, *home-made*, *home-spun*, *high-prized*, *ill-chosen*, *ill-grounded*, *late-begun*, *late-found*, *new-coined*, *new-laid*, *rough-hewn*, *thinly-settled*, *well-dressed* and *wide-spread*.

In some cases the determinant assumes a subject complement reading (*bare-gnawn*, *true-born*). Borderline cases like *nobly-minded* have a possessive reading ('x has a noble mind') just like denominal adjectives derived by the suffix *-ed* (see 5.5.3.3.1). The intensifier *all* 'fully', 'extremely' occurs in *all-admired*, *all-dreaded*, *all-honoured* and *all-praised*.

5.5.4.3.7 Particle + Adjective compounds

The same basic set of particles combines with adjectives as with nouns in Early Modern English (see 5.5.4.1.8 above). Participial compounds with particles correspond to a verb–modifier relation. The relation between a particle determinant and an adjective determinatum is usually one of intensification, as in *overbold* 'too bold' and *through-hot* 'very hot'.

Particle + Adjective: *overanxious*, *overcareful*, *over-confident*, *over-credulous*, *over-eager*, *over-fond*, *over-scrupulous*, *through-old*, *through-ripe*, *through-wet*

Particle + V-*ing*: *aftercoming*, *downlying*, *forthcoming*, *incoming*, *indrawing*, *onlooking*, *outgoing*, *outstanding*

Particle + V-*ed*: *afterborn*, *downcast*, *ingrown*, *inwrought*, *offcast*, *outbound*, *outcast*, *underdone*, *undersized*, *uprooted*, *upturned*

There also appear in Early Modern English pseudo-compound adjectives where the determinant follows the determinatum (e.g. *cast-off*, *fallen-off*, *grown-up*, *put-on*, *run-down*; Koziol 1972: 81). For lexicalised phrasal adjectives, see 5.5.4.5.

5.5.4.4 Compound verbs

There are basically two kinds of compound verb, forms combining a particle and a verb (*outdo*, *overwrite*, *underbid*), and derivations on a composite basis resulting from conversion or backformation (*snowball*, *spoonfeed*; cf. 5.5.5 and 5.5.6.1). Because they have zero-determinata, the latter are formally counted as pseudo-compounds by Marchand (1969: 100). Both kinds gain ground in Early Modern English.

5.5.4.4.1 Particle + Verb

Although the particles *out*, *over* and *under* all have concrete locative senses, in compound verbs they usually convey abstract notions. *Out* ('outdo in V-*ing*') first appears in the fifteenth century and becomes fully productive by 1600 (*outbabble*, *outbrag*, *outdo*, *outlast*, *outlive*, *outride*, *outsell*, *outrun*, *outwork*). Denominal conversion verbs also combine with *out-* in Early Modern English; the meaning here is 'to excel, surpass in respect of N' (*outgun*, *outnumber*, *outrival*, *outwit*, *outvote*). *Out* partly overlaps with *over* in cases like *outsleep* and *outstay*. The notion of going beyond the limits of what is denoted by the impersonal object of the verb is also present in compounds like *outgrow*, *outsit* and *outwear*.

Over-compounds go back to Old English. The concrete sense of covering what is denoted by the (actual or implied) object of the verb continues in EModE coinages, as in *overcloud*, *overfilm*, *overfly*, *overglide*, *overmask*, *oversnow*, *overspan*, *oversweep* and *overwrite*. The abstract sense of disturbed balance 'upset' is found in cases like *overawe*, *overbear*, *overpower*, *overrule* and *overtop*. *Over* rivals *out* ('surpass in V-*ing*'), for example, in *overbid*, *overdo* and *overshine*. By 1600, *over* is also established in the sense 'to do beyond the proper limit, to excess' and freely combines with all verbs whose semantics allows this reading (*overact*, *overburden*, *overfeed*, *overindulge*, *overpay*, *overpeople*, *overrate*, *overtire*).

In Old English, *under* was used in compound verbs meaning 'below, beneath something (denoted by the object of the verb)'. This was often done in imitation of the Latin locative prefix *sub-*. The usage continued in Early Modern English (*underline*, *underscore*, *undersign*). It was not, however, until the seventeenth century that the sense prevalent in Present-Day English, 'below a fixed norm or standard', became fully productive (*underact*, *underbid*, *underdo*, *underrate*, *undersell*, *undervalue*, *underwork*).

5.5.4.4.2 Pseudo-compound verbs

Few OE verbs derived from compound nouns survive the Middle English period, but the type regains ground from the sixteenth century onwards. Marchand (1969: 102) distinguishes two types of pseudo-compound verb derived by conversion from nominal compounds, Noun + Noun and Adjective + Noun conversions. The first type is the more common of the two in Early Modern English and produces verbs like *dovetail*, *earmark*, *hamstring*, *handcuff*, *honeycomb*, *nickname*, *pickpocket*, *ringfence*, *shipwreck*, *snowball* and *tiptoe*. The latter includes such coinages as *drynurse*, *roughcast* and *whitewash*.

Backderived verbs also begin to gain currency in the sixteenth century, but are on the whole fewer than conversions in Early Modern English.

Most of them can be related to agent nouns (*blood-suck* < *blood-sucker*), action nouns (*merrymake* < *merry-making*), and participial adjectives (*rough-hew* < *rough-hewn*). The following coinages also go back to Early Modern English: *browbeat*, *cony-catch*, *double-die*, *eavesdrop*, *henpeck*, *housewarm*, *new-cast*, *new-create*, *stargaze*, *sooth-say*, *sunburn*, *tonguetie*, *winterfeed*.

There are some general considerations which may at least partly account for the relative infrequency of backderived verbs. Motivated backderivations are basically in competition with verb phrases (*merrymake* v. *make merry*), and the determinant of the compound corresponds to a complement of the verb at the syntactic level. In both Early Modern and Present-Day English, verb complements such as direct objects regularly come after the verb (Vx). Despite the fact that backderived verbs conform to the morphologically preferred order determinant–determinatum (xV), their close connection with the syntactic construction may constrain their overall productivity: people do not so much *bookread* or *taxpay* as *read books* and *pay taxes* (Marchand 1969: 105).

As we have seen above, the determinant–determinatum order is typical of Early Modern English determinative compounds of most kinds. Verb-based noun compounds of the type *pickpocket* (Vx) discussed in 5.5.4.2 remain a small minority. The majority processes follow the determinant–determinatum (modifier–head) order that is not only characteristic of Modern English compounding but morphology in general. The preferred syntactic and morphological orders hence differ, making Early Modern – like Present-Day – English a typologically mixed language.

5.5.4.5 Phrasal lexicalisation

Cases where phrasal sequences of more than one word are reduced to one-word status fall between grammar and lexis. These multi-word items do not always have the grammatical integrity required of words as lexicographical units – phrasal verbs, for instance, may be discontinuous (***turn on*** *the light* – ***turn*** *the light* ***on***). Because of the lexicalisation aspect, these processes nonetheless merit separate discussion. Phrasal lexicalisation is often viewed as a particular kind of compounding, because no change of word-class takes place with phrasal verbs and most phrasal nouns (see e.g. Koziol 1972, Cannon 1987). On the other hand, those phrasal nouns, adjectives and adverbs that involve word-class change are sometimes analysed as minor instances of conversion (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1530, 1563). Although I append phrasal lexicalisation to compounding, it is clear that these colloquial processes often defy strict categorisation in traditional lexicological terms.

5.5.4.5.1 Phrasal nouns

According to Koziol's (1972: 70) data, the most commonly attested type of phrasal noun in Early Modern English consists of a noun postmodified by a prepositional phrase. The second most common type is a sequence of two nouns. Koziol gives the following examples:

> Noun + Prepositional Phrase: *bill of fare*, *cat-o'-nine-tails*, *commander-in-chief*, *dog-in-the-manger*, *Jack-in-the-box*, *Jack-of-all-trades*, *love-in-a-mist* (plant), *love-in-idleness* (plant), *man-of-war*, *matter of fact*, *mother of pearl*, *rule of thumb*, *stock-in-trade*, *will-o'-the-wisp*
> Noun + Noun: *bread and butter*, *cup-and-ball*, *give-and-take*, *knife-and-fork* (plant)

Unlike ordinary compound nouns, many of these lexicalised phrases have the plural marker attached to the first noun rather than the second (*bills of fare*, *men-of-war*). There is also a great deal of vacillation, which in some cases continues to the present day. We find as many as three different variants for the plural of *son-in-law* in the quarto and folio editions of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (IV.vi.190), viz. *son-in-laws*, *sons-in-law* and *sons-in-laws* (Marchand 1969: 123).

Other kinds of phrasal noun also occur, including adjective phrases (*good-for-nothing*) and lexicalised clauses (*what-d'ye-call-'em*) converted to nouns. Clausal nouns in particular are often nonce formations, as in this passage describing a flatterer in Nicholas Udall's morality play *Respublica* (1553) (Koskenniemi 1962: 97).

> What clawest thowe myne elbowe, pratlinge merchaunt? walke,
> Ye flaterabundus yowe, youe flyering clawbacke youe,
> Youe *the-Crowe-is-white* youe, youe *the swanne-is-blacke* youe,
> Youe *John-Holde-my-stafe* youe, youe *what-is-the-clocke* youe.
>
> (Udall *Respublica* I.iii.28–31)

5.5.4.5.2 Phrasal adjectives and adverbs

In Early Modern English lexicalised phrasal adjectives typically consist of a prepositional phrase (*out-of-date*, *out-of-fashion*, *out-of-the- way*, *under-age*) or a sequence of two conjoined adjectives (*cut-and-dried*, *deaf-and-dumb*; Koziol 1972: 81). Prepositional phrases may also lexicalise as adverbs, as in *aforetime*, *betweendecks*, *perhaps*, *underhand*, *upstairs/downstairs* and *withinside* (Koziol 1972: 85). In some cases it is indeed difficult to say whether a prepositional phrase is primarily lexicalised as an adverb or an adjective (e.g. *offhand*, *underground*, *uphill/downhill*). Further sources for adverbs are noun phrases (*sometimes*), prepositional phrases with adverbial heads (*erelong*, *forever*), and adverb phrases (*anyhow*, *somehow*; Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 96, 105).

5.5.4.5.3 Phrasal verbs

Regular verb and particle (adverb, preposition) combinations are often treated in grammar rather than lexis because they do not always have the grammatical and semantic integrity of a single word. Even fully lexicalised phrasal verbs allow the particle to be removed from the verb. Much the same constraints apply in Present-Day English as those stated for Early Modern English by Michael Maittaire in *The English Grammar* (1712: 111):

> The Particle, which compounds the verb by following it, does not always go next to the verb; but the Noun, which is governed by the verb, is often placed between; as *i keep in my breath* or *i keep my breath in*; . . . The Pronoun ever goes between: as *i keep him in*.

Semantically multi-word verbs range from fully transparent, non-lexicalised combinations (*go after* 'to follow') to semi-idiomatic (*break up*), where the verb maintains its meaning and the particle functions like a semi-productive affix (*up* 'completion'), and highly idiomatic combinations (*bring up* 'to rear') without similar compositional motivation (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1162–3).

Although phrasal verbs were becoming increasingly frequent in Middle English, it appears that idiomatic meanings did not begin to evolve until in later Middle English (Hiltunen 1983a: 148–9, Brinton 1988: 225–34). In Early Modern English the phrasal verb category grew steadily. On the basis of forty-six plays from the early Renaissance to the present day, Spasov (1966: 21) estimates that the share of phrasal verbs remains below ten per cent of the total of all verbs from his four Early Modern English subperiods, but does exceed the five per cent level from about 1600 onwards.

At the same time it is interesting to note that the most common verb and particle collocations appear to be the same in Early Modern and Present-Day English. Comparing the Early Modern English section of the Helsinki Corpus with the Lancaster–Oslo/Bergen Corpus of present-day written British English, Hiltunen (1994) found that, in both of them, the following were among the most frequent combinations: *go/take away*; *bring/come/go back*; *come/go/sit/lay down*; *cut/take off*; *come/find/go out*; and *bring/come/take up*. Among the frequent particles, *out* seems to have extended its domain most since Early Modern English, and *forth* to have receded most.

As today, the phrasal verb largely belongs to the colloquial idiom in Early Modern English. Kennedy (1920: 14) shows that in the 1611 King James Bible it is less frequent than in Elizabethan comedies, and is usually to be taken literally, as in *enter in*, *go on*, *pluck out*, *root up*. Concrete senses are also frequent in handbooks and fiction (Hiltunen 1994). This less idiomatic end

of the semantic continuum may be further illustrated by such cases – many of them cited by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grammarians – as *bring in* v. *carry away*, *cast about*, *get up*, *go by* ('to go near'), *go back*, *go down* (e.g. to the cellar), *go over* ('to cross'), *pass over* and *put on* (e.g. clothes; Hiltunen 1983b). Some verbs had only a concrete sense; *come by* meant 'to come near' but not 'to acquire'.

What is already striking in Early Modern English is the polysemy of phrasal verbs. The more idiomatic senses can be illustrated by *bring up* ('to rear'), *cast up* ('to compute'), *fall out* ('to quarrel'), *give up* ('to abandon'), *find out* ('to discover'), *put off* ('to delay'), *put out* ('to extinguish'), *set in* ('to begin'), and *turn up* ('to make an appearance'). Some of these idiomatic senses have since then become obsolete. In Early Modern English *put away*, for example, could mean 'to dispel', 'abolish', and 'sell'; *figure out* 'to portray', and 'represent' (the sense 'to work out' is a later development).

5.5.5 Conversion

Conversion is a derivational process because it changes the word-class designation of a lexical item. Since it does not involve any overt determinatum, it is also called zero-derivation. As a derivational process conversion can be compared with suffixation (Marchand 1969: 359, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1558):

	VERB		DEVERBAL NOUN
Suffixation	remove	⟶	removal (1597)
Conversion	remove	⟶	remove (1553)

The zero-derived noun is both functionally and morphologically equivalent to the suffixal. Both can be preceded by determiners, take the plural ending, and complement verbs and prepositions. English lexical items can in principle assume several different grammatical functions. The main limitation is that content words cannot readily become function words. Function words themselves are not so constrained, but adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns are freely converted to nouns and verbs. In Early Modern English we find, for instance, *the ups and downs*, *the ins and outs*, *to near*, *to up* and *but me no buts* (for other retorts, see Randall 1989).

Where to draw the line between conversion and a syntactic process depends on one's theoretical framework. Understood in a broad sense, conversion could result from incongruent syntactic functions, ellipsis or semantic changes operating within one and the same word-class. Two marginal groups can be distinguished. The first is commonly called partial

conversion. Here a word of one word-class appears in a function characteristic of another. Typical instances of this kind are nouns that are used 'adjectivally' as subject complements and premodifiers of other nouns as, for instance, *copper*, *cotton* and *embryo* in post-Middle English (Koziol 1972: 281). Since cases like this do not take adjectival inflections, nor are they fully lexicalised as adjectives, it is not necessary to increase homonymy in the lexicon by recording them as zero-derived adjectives. Instead, we can analyse a case like *copper kettle* in syntactic terms as a noun premodified by another noun or, as the case may be, a compound noun (see 5.5.4.1, and Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 95–6). Adjectives that are used as collective nouns, as in *the rich* and *the poor*, may similarly be considered partial conversions and analysed as adjectival heads of noun phrases (Rissanen, this volume; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1559, 1562). Both kinds of partial conversion are excluded from the following discussion. However, in both categories there are cases that have become fully lexicalised in the course of time. EModE denominal adjectives of this kind include *cheap*, *commonplace* and *orange* (Koziol 1972: 282). Deadjectival nouns are discussed in 5.5.5.1.2 below.

The second marginal group that is sometimes subsumed under conversion consists of what may be called transfers of secondary word-class. They turn non-count nouns into count nouns (*cheese* v. *two cheeses*), non-gradable adjectives into gradable (*English* v. *very English*), and transitive verbs into intransitive (*x reads the book* v. *the book reads well*; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1563–6). Of great syntactic and language-typological interest though these transfers may be, they are strictly speaking not the result of a word-formation process but rather a semantic change within one and the same word-class combined with syntactic modifications. In principle these changes can be related to metonymic transfers, which do not effect a word-class change (see 5.6.3.2).

It was noted in section 5.3.2 that there are very few formal constraints on conversion in Modern English. This does not mean that conversions should be semantically underspecified or vague. The process usually operates on one sense of a lexeme at a time. Which sense is lexicalised is selected on pragmatic grounds. When verbs are converted into nouns it is often done in order to name objects that are closely connected with the state, action or process denoted by the verb: *a rattle* is an instrument used to make a rattling noise (1519), and *a reprieve*, 'a warrant granting suspension of capital sentence' (1602), is derived from the verb *reprieve* in the sense of 'to suspend the execution of a condemned prisoner'.

According to the lexicographical evidence discussed in 5.3.1 above, conversion is the third-most frequent word-formation process in Early

Modern English. In Barber's (1976: 193) sample of the *OED*, the most common types are formations of verbs from nouns (*gossip*, *invoice*, *lump*), of nouns from adjectives (*ancient*, *invincible*), and nouns from verbs (*invite*, *laugh*, *scratch*). Marchand (1969: 364–5) notes that borrowing of cognate nouns and verbs such as *arm/to arm* and *rule/to rule* may have facilitated the process of conversion in Middle English.

There is evidence, however, that polysyllabic loan words begin to disfavour zero-derivation in Early Modern English. Biese (1941: 239) shows that from 1650 onwards suffix formations had got the upper hand of direct conversions in disyllabic and trisyllabic words borrowed from French and Latin. The following discussion of the Early Modern English developments concentrates on conversions to noun and verb. Deadjectival adverbs are touched upon as a minor category.

5.5.5.1. Conversion to noun

The main sources of conversion nouns are verbs and adjectives. In most cases, zero-derived nouns share the stress patterns of their bases. Marchand (1969: 379) suggests a synchronic stress rule to account for the cases where nouns are distinguished from verbs by stress: 'whenever we find stress shifting word pairs, we are dealing with deverbal substantives'. He adds that the stress patterns of the underlying bases are retained by denominal verbs.

Diachronically the situation is less straightforward, as Pennanen (1971b: 36) points out. First, stress-shifting word pairs are not always derivationally related. They may be quite simply due to borrowing, in which case the chronological succession of the items varies, as with *augment* (V before N) and *absent* (adj./N before V). Secondly, a denominal verb does not always retain the stress pattern of its base (cf. *escort* noun 1579, verb 1708; *progress* noun 1432, verb 1590; *premise* noun 1374, verb 1526). So indicative though it is, stress alone cannot always resolve the issue of derivational directionality of conversions (see further Lass this volume: 3.6.2).

5.5.5.1.1 Deverbal nouns

The process of converting verbs to nouns is restricted in Early Modern English in that conversion nouns are seldom derived from verbs formed with borrowed suffixes, notably *-ify* and *-ise*. Suffixal means are used in these derivations. By contrast, conversions from native verbs in *-le* and *-er* are common (e.g. *glimmer*, *glister*, *shudder*, *whisper*; *crinkle*, *grumble*, *juggle*, *prattle*, *wriggle*; Biese 1941: 266–8). Conversions of prefixed verbs to nouns also

appear to be more common than in Present-Day English (e.g. *betray*, *detain*, *dismiss*, *enjoy*, *pretend*; Biese 1941: 454–9, Konkol 1960: 190–1).

Early Modern English deverbal nouns typically nominalize the event, state or activity denoted by the verb. This predicational type appears to dominate over the other syntactic–semantic relations (Marchand 1969: 373–4). The 'object of V' relation is also quite common, while the 'subject of V' and adverbial relations are much rarer, especially the temporal one ('time of V'). These various cases are illustrated by the following EModE attestations:

Predication: *contest*, *glide*, *grasp*, *hiss*, *laugh*, *push*, *ring*, *say*, *scream*, *shuffle*, *struggle*, *swim*, *twinkle*, *yawn*
Object of V: *award* ('something that is awarded'), *brew*, *convert*, *cut*, *produce*, *quote*, *stew*, *tender*
Subject of V: *cheat* ('someone that cheats'), *pry*, *sneak*
Place of V: *bend*, *dip* ('slope'), *lounge*
Instrument of V: *goggles* ('spectacles'), *purge*, *rattle*
Time of V: *spring*

5.5.5.1.2 Deadjectival nouns

Adjective to noun conversion is generally explainable in terms of an adjective + noun phrase from which the noun has been ellipted. Rissanen (this volume 4.2.4) shows that in Early Modern English a great deal more variation was allowed in this respect than today. As pointed out above, zero-derived collective plurals like *the rich* that have no singular forms are on morphological grounds treated as instances of partial conversion.

Partial conversion may in the course of time lead to full lexicalisation. EModE deadjectival nouns fall morphologically into three groups. The first one consists of nouns that have a regular plural form, such as *Christian*, *fluid*, *German*, *human*, *inferior*, *liquid*, *mortal*, *Protestant*, *Republican* and *savage*. Items in the second group can appear in both singular and plural, but have no overt plural marking (*Japanese*, *Swiss*; *Chinese* and *Portuguese* could also take the plural marker in the seventeenth century). Members of the third group have regular plural forms but no singular (*ancients*, *classics*, *eatables*, *moderns*; see Koziol 1972: 282–3).

5.5.5.2 Conversion to verb

Conversion verbs derive from nouns, adjectives and particles. Most of them are denominal in both Early Modern English and today. Conversions from suffixed nouns are not common. Marchand (1969: 373) suggests that, as many of the nominal suffixes derive nouns from verbs, it would be

contrary to reason to form such verbs as *arrival* and *guidance* when *arrive* and *guide* already exist. This also applies to deadjectival nouns such as *idleness*. Suffixed loan words are, however, more freely treated as monomorphemic units and converted to verbs (see 5.3.2; Biese 1941: 256–9). Zero-derivation of verbs from prefixed lexemes is commonly limited. Verbs derived from negative adjectives such as *unfit* 'to make unfit' (1611) may occur more frequently in Early Modern English than today, but most of them are short-lived (Biese 1941: 134–66).

5.5.5.2.1 Denominal verbs

As with suffixal verbs, causation is the predominant semantic element in zero-derived verbs, both denominal and deadjectival. Following Marchand (1969: 368–71), we may consider them in terms of the syntactic–semantic relations of the verbal determinatum, or zero, and the nominal determinant. EModE attestations of denominal derivatives reflect different adverbial functions, including the locative ('to put in/on N') and the instrumental ('to V with N'). Instances of the verb–object relation involving an effected object ('to produce N') are also common. An affected object is involved in ornative and privative conversions, which correspond to 'to put N on something' and 'to remove N from something', respectively. The verb–object complement relation ('to convert x into N') occurs, but more rarely than the other causative relations mentioned. The stative subject complement function ('to be/act as N') is typical of personal nouns.

Verb – adverbial, locative: *angle* ('to ru – n into a corner'), *bottle*, *casket*, *channel*, *cloister*, *coffin*, *garrison*, *kennel*, *pillory*, *pocket*, *roost*, *strand*, *tub*;
instrumental: *barge* ('to journey by barge'), *chariot*, *gun*, *hand*, *ladle*, *oar*, *net*, *paw*, *pulley*, *scythe*, *trumpet*

Verb – Object: *commotion* ('to cause commotion'), *epistle*, *fissure*, *gesture*, *inventory*, *lecture*, *paraphrase*, *parody*, *puncture*, *puppy*, *serenade*;
ornative: *brick* ('to put bricks on', 'to close up with brickwork'), *glove*, *index*, *label*, *lacquer*, *ledge*, *mask*, *nickname*, *pension*, *tinsel*;
privative: *bark* ('to strip off the bark from a tree'), *core*, *fin*, *pelt*, *shell*, *skin*, *rind*

Verb – object complement: *bundle* ('to make up into a bundle'), *group*, *lump*, *phrase*, *pulp*, *silence*, *total*

Verb – subject complement: *butcher*, *cavalier*, *mother*, *nurse*, *page*, *pilot*, *rival*, *sentinel*, *slave*, *umpire*, *usher*

Denominal verbs are commonly polysemous. We can easily find even semantic opposites, such as the ornative and privative senses of *skin*, 'to furnish or cover with skin' (1547) and 'to strip or deprive of the skin'

(1591); for privative prefix formations, see 5.5.2.1.2. Processual and stative senses also co-occur. So the verb *brother* means both 'to make a brother of' (1573) and 'to act as a brother' (*circa* 1600) (Bladin 1911: 116; Konkol 1960: 91–3).

5.5.5.2.2 Deadjectival verbs

The group of deadjectival verbs is much smaller in Early Modern English than the denominal one, although it includes a number of derivatives that have since become obsolete (e.g. *apparent* 'to make manifest', *apt*, *civil*, *fierce*, *happy*, *infallible*, *obtuse*, *uncertain*, *womanish*; Biese 1941: 134–66). Semantically deadjectival verbs correspond either to a transitive verb–object complement relation ('to make adj.') or to an intransitive verb–subject complement relation ('to become adj.'). The first one is by far the more common. Both senses are possible in many cases in Early Modern English, including *bloat*, *lavish*, *lower*, *mellow*, *plump*, *shallow* and *sullen*.

> Verb–object complement: *dirty* ('to make dirty'), *empty*, *equal*, *fit*, *nimble*, *numb*, *obscure*, *parallel*, *secure*, *spruce*, *yellow*
>
> Verb–subject complement: *idle* ('to be idle', 'to move idly'), *lazy*, *mute*, *northern*, *shy*, *swift*

Deadjectival conversions often compete with *-en* suffixations, as in *slack* 1520 and *slacken* 1580 (see 5.5.3.5, and for Present-Day English, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1562).

5.5.5.2.3 Particle-derived verbs

A number of locative particles were also converted to verbs in Early Modern English. They include *about* 'to change the course of a ship', *down* 'to bring down', *forward*, *near*, *off*, *south*, *through* 'to carry through', and *under* 'to cast down'. Interjections are perhaps a more common source for verbs. They occur in colloquial usage, and can usually be paraphrased as 'to say x', 'to utter x': *adieu*, *gee-ho* (to a horse), *hem*, *humph*, *miaow*, *pish*, *pooh*, *shoo*, *tush*, *yea*, *zounds* 'to exclaim "zounds"' (Biese 1941: 178–214).

5.5.5.3 Conversion to adverb

In his *Pamphlet for Grammar* (1586: 40) William Bullokar lists the principal means of forming adverbs in his day. They include the suffixes *-ly* and *-wise*, and the adverbial use of adjectives. Two groups of adverbs in particular are augmented by means of zero-derivation in Early Modern English, intensifiers and adverbs based on elementary adjectives.

Peters (1994) shows that the class of intensifiers gained an exceptionally large number of new members in the Early Modern English period. Quite a few of them were zero-derived from adjectives, including forms such as *ample*, *detestable*, *extreme*, *grievous*, *intolerable*, *surpassing* and *vehement*. Towards the end of the period, the suffixed *-ly* forms were gaining ground at the expense of many zero-forms such as *dreadful*, *exceeding*, *extraordinary* and *terrible* (Strang 1970: 139). This morphological regularisation did not, however, prevent such common zero-forms as *pretty* and *very* from becoming generalised in standard usage.

Suffixed and suffixless adverbs also continued to be derived from elementary adjectives denoting dimension, physical property, speed and value. New zero-formations attested in Early Modern English include *bad*, *blunt*, *cheap*, *dark*, *quiet*, *rough*, *shallow*, *tight* and *weak* (Nevalainen 1994). Despite any normative pressures in the eighteenth century, suffixless forms were often preserved in comparatives and superlatives (*slower*, *slowest*) and in participial compounds (*new-laid*, *rough-hewn*, *soft-spoken*).

5.5.6 Minor processes

The figures in section 5.3.1 show that other Early Modern English word-formation processes are much less frequently attested than affixation, compounding and conversion. Three minor processes, backformation, clipping and blending, nevertheless merit a separate discussion in view of the more dominant position of 'shortenings' in Present-Day English (eighteen per cent of the data in Cannon 1987). Acronyms proper do not seem to occur in Early Modern English, but some instances of 'alphabetisms', which are pronounced as sequences of letters, have been documented (e.g. *a.m.* 1762 < Lat. *ante meridiem*; *M.A.* 1730 < *Master of Arts*; Wölcken 1957: 320; see also Rodriguez & Cannon 1994).

The Early Modern English record of reduplications also calls for a brief comment. Besides such simple cases of syllable doubling as *pooh-pooh*, *sing-sing* and *yap-yap*, they are commonly realised either by initial consonant change combined with rhyme (*claptrap*, *hocus-pocus*, *humdrum*, *hurly-burly*, *mumbo-jumbo*, *roly-poly*) or by vowel alternation (*bibble-babble*, *chitchat*, *dingdong*, *flipflop*, *knick-knack*, *shilly-shally*, *tittle-tattle*, *wishy-washy*, *zigzag*). Vowel alternation may similarly motivate non-reduplicative coinages. The most common pattern is /i/ – /a/ (Koziol 1972: 298–300, Marchand 1969: 429–39):

> *clitter* 1528/ *clatter* OE; *dib* 1609/ *dab* 1300; *giggle* 1509/ *gaggle* 1399; *gripple* 1591/ *grapple* 1580; *higgle* 1633/ *haggle* 1583; *scribble* 1467/ *scrabble* 1537; *snip* 1586/ *snap* 1495

The number of formations combining rhyme and vowel alternation increases in the sixteenth century, but their productivity slackens in the latter half of the seventeenth. Marchand (1969: 439) attributes these changes to the popular and emotional character of these processes in the post-Old English period, and concludes that they are less likely when the linguistic and literary standards of society become rigid and conventional. As the above examples suggest, most reduplicatives imitate sounds or characterise alternating movements; they may also be disparaging or intensifying.

Neologisms could also be created by other means of sound imitation (*baugh* 'to bark', *clank*, *scranch* 'to crunch', *splash*), by misderivation (*do* < *ado*, misinterpreted as *a do*) and popular etymology (*ancient* 'a flag, a standard-bearer' < *ensign*; Barber 1976: 194–5; see 5.6.5).

5.5.6.1 Backformation

Backformation is defined by Marchand (1969: 391) as derivation of words that are known to have been extracted from longer words which have the formal appearance of bimorphemic, composite signs. Thus the verb *peddle* (1532) is backderived from the noun *peddler* (1377). Pennanen (1966) distinguishes six productive patterns of backformation in English.[9] His statistics show that backformation cannot properly be spoken of before 1500. This is partly no doubt caused by the limitations of the material available, but may also to some extent reflect the large amount of non-integrated new lexis that came into Middle English (Pennanen 1966: 87–9; see also 5.4.4.2). All six types are productive in Early Modern English.

(1) A verb is backformed from what is believed to be or really is an agent noun or an instrument noun
cobble 1496 < *cobbler* 1362; *tipple* 1500 < *tippler* 1396; *soothsay* 1606 < *soothsayer* 1340; *scavenge* 1644 < *scavenger* 1530; *spectate* 1709 < *spectator* 1586; *vint* 1728 < *vintner* 1297

(2) A verb is backformed from a real or supposed action noun
atone 1555 < *atonement* 1513; *injure* 1583 < *injury* 1382; *grovel* 1593 < *grovelling* fourteenth century; *collide* 1621 < ? *collision* 1432–50; *negate* 1623 < *negation* 1530; *locate* 1652 < *location* 1592; *sidle* 1697 < *sidling* 1330; *legislate* 1719 < *legislation* 1655

(3) A verb is backformed from an adjectival word which is taken to be a derivative from the verb (present or past participle)
sunburn 1530 < *sunburnt* 1400; *speckle* 1570 < *speckled* 1400; *laze* 1592 < *lazy* 1549; *site* 1598 < *sited* 1455; *frostbite* 1611 < *frostbitten* 1593; *superannuate* 1649 < *superannuated* 1639; *collapse* 1732 < *collapsed* 1609

(4) A noun is backformed from an adjective taken to be derived from it
must 'mustiness' 1602 < *musty* 1530; *greed* 1609 < *greedy* OE; *landlock* 1627 < *landlocked* 1622; *finick* 'a finical person' 1706 < *finical* 1592; *haze* 1706 < *hazy* 1625; *stupe* 'a stupid person' 1762 < *stupid* 1541

(5) An adjective is backformed from an abstract noun, adverb or another adjective, whose base it is taken to be
ginger 'dainty' 1600 < *gingerly* 1519; *hydroptic* 'dropsical' 1631 < *hydropsy* 1300; *greensick* 1681 < *greensickness* 1583; *homesick* 1773 < *homesickness* 1756

(6) A 'primary' noun is backformed from what is taken to be its derivative
soothsay 'a true or wise saying' 1549 < *soothsayer* 1340/ *soothsaying* 1535; *symphone* 'one having great liking in harmony' 1572 < ? *symphony* 1290; *sciagraph* 'a diagram' 1656 < *sciagraphy* 1598; *septuagene* 'a septuagenarian' 1656 < *septuagenary* 1605

Backformations often have either a colloquial and humorous or a technical character. The process hence applies to both native and borrowed lexemes. Many of the simplex forms coined in Early Modern English have since become obsolescent, but composite forms have fared better (e.g. *browbeat* 1603, *eavesdrop* 1606, *housewarm* 1666 and *kidnap* 1682; Pennanen 1966: 146).

5.5.6.2 Clipping

In colloquial language a polysyllabic word can be reduced, often to a single syllable, either by foreclipping (*cute* 1731 < *acute*) or backclipping (*miss* 1666 < *mistress*). The process by itself does not change the word-class or the meaning of the shortened item, but with time the item may be dissociated from its source and become lexicalised. In Middle English, shortening applied to a number of French loan words with an unstressed initial syllable (e.g. *sport* < OF *desport*). It is not perfectly clear whether the process of omitting unstressed initial syllables is the same as the (perhaps more conscious) omission of stressed initial elements. In any case, with native or naturalised lexemes the process of clipping is not properly established until the fifteenth century (Marchand 1969: 449).

An unstressed initial syllable was dropped from such native items as *alone* > *lone* 1530, *alive* > *live* 1542, *against* > *gainst* 1590 and *withdrawing-room* > *drawing-room* 1642. Stressed initial elements could similarly be lost: *periwig* > *wig* 1675 (Koziol 1972: 302–3).

The more common type of clipping in both Early Modern English and today is backclipping, where the end of the word is discarded. In

the sixteenth century we get, for instance, *chap* < *chapman*, *coz* < *cousin*, *gent* < *gentleman*, *mas* < *master*; in the seventeenth, *brandy* < *brandywine*, *cit* < *citizen*, *hack* < *hackney*, *mob* < *mobile* (< *mobile vulgus*), *phiz* < *physiognomy*, *quack* < *quacksalver*, and *van* < *vanguard*; and in the eighteenth, *brig* < *brigantine*, *confab* < *confabulation*, *gin* < *geneva*, *hip*, *hyp* < *hypochondria*, *rep* < *reputation*. The same clipped form may represent two different lexemes. Thus *sub* stands for both *subordinate* 1696 and *subaltern* 1756 (Koziol 1972: 305–6).

5.5.6.3 Blending

Blending can be defined as compounding by means of merging two words or word-fractions (e.g. *luncheon* 1580 < *lunch* + *nuncheon*). Except for coinages based on sound symbolism, blending and word-manufacturing of this kind are less frequent in Early Modern than in Present-Day English. Especially with blends based on sound symbolism, the meanings of the fused words may be closely related; in some cases the process cannot be traced with any certainty (*splutter* 1677 < ? *sputter* + *splash*). Fewer problems arise with other blends.

As Cannon (1986: 737) points out, writers would consciously create blends for aesthetic or practical effect. Examples of this kind include Shakespeare's *rebuse* (< *rebuke* + *abuse*), Greene's *foolosophy* (< *fool* + *philosophy*) and *niniversity* (< *ninny* + *university*), and Swift's *tritical* (*trite* + *critical*).

The EModE record of blends includes both playful nonce words and some more lasting coinages (Behr 1935, Koziol 1972: 43–7):

> *divelination* 1591 < *devil* + *divination*; *lunch* 1591 < ? *hump*, *bump*, *lump* + *hunch*, *bunch*; *canton* 1594 < *canto* + *canzone*; *twirl* 1598 < *twist* + *whirl*; *blotch* 1604 < *blot* + *botch*; *clunch* 1628 < *clench* + *clutch*; *dumbfound* 1653 < *dumb* + *confound*; *comrogue* seventeenth century < *comrade* + *rogue*; *rariety* seventeenth century < *rare* + *variety*; *inamoretta* 1767 < *inamorata* + *amoretta*

5.6 Semantic change

5.6.1 Concepts and issues

The consequences of semantic change are familiar enough. The generalisation and specialisation of meanings, their amelioration and pejoration, are universal. So are the basic mechanisms of semantic change: either word meanings are reanalysed in relation to language-external factors within the same conceptual field, or they are intentionally extended to new items in

another field. New senses are conventionalised not only because of the need to name something hitherto unnamed but also to encode attitudinal contrasts and register variants.

Shifts of meaning may take place over an extended period of time. So *nice* underwent a series of ameliorative changes from 'foolish' and 'stupid' in Middle English to 'fastidious', 'precise', and 'fine' in Early Modern English, and to 'agreeable' and 'pleasing' in the eighteenth century. *Silly*, by contrast, deteriorated from Old English 'happy' and 'blessed' to 'simple', 'feeble-minded' and 'stupid' in the sixteenth century.

Two cumulative effects are also worth bearing in mind. First, given that word meaning is the aspect least resistant to reinterpretation in language, the larger the lexicon, the more material there is for semantic change to operate on. Secondly, older words as a rule have larger semantic ranges than newly adopted words, which start out with one sense. The figures in Finkenstaedt & Wolff (1973: 108–10), based on the *SOED*, roughly indicate that, in Present-Day English, about forty per cent of the lexemes that date from the fifteenth century have only one sense, while some sixty per cent of the words that go back to the seventeenth century, and as many as ninety-eight per cent of those from the twentieth, are monosemous.

Faced with the dynamism and sheer complexity of semantic creativity, I shall content myself with an outline and illustration of the main strategies in Early Modern English. In a number of cases I shall have to shift the emphasis away from individual words to sets of semantically related lexemes. The following discussion is based on the traditional view of the way in which meanings are related to extralinguistic reality. A word symbolises a concept, which refers to an object or state of affairs in the external world (Lyons 1977: 175). The conceptual (descriptive, denotative) meaning thus mediates between its extralinguistic referent (set of referents, denotatum) and the linguistic symbol. As we shall see, this simplified model will need to be further enriched by such notions as connotative meaning, which is conveyed by the regular association of a word with a given register or context of use.

My main concern here is with changes in extralinguistic categorisation prompting a meaning change in a lexeme, on the one hand, and meaning transfers based on perceived similarities in the referent sets of two lexemes, on the other. Because the two may be intertwined in sense shifts, my polarisation is merely heuristic. In order to be able to compare semantic change with word-formation processes, particular attention will be paid to the regularities observed in meaning shifts.

5.6.2 *External motivation*

At its most delicate level, semantic reconstruction ultimately means reconstructing past societies with all their cultural and social ramifications. The three hundred years from the advent of printing to the American Declaration of Independence take us a long way from a static medieval agricultural society – through great diversification of economic, political and socio-cultural activities, including the worldwide contacts of the English language – to the dawn of modern industrial society. Important aspects of the world view changed: the medieval Great Chain of Being from God down to man and lifeless matter was abandoned in favour of a more mechanical universe with God as a remote First Cause. Also discarded was the Ptolemaic cosmology with the Earth as the centre of the universe. New science supplanted the doctrine of the four elements of earth, water, air and fire as the physical basis of all matter, including the four humours (melancholy, phlegm, blood, choler) in human physiology. Many of these changes culminated in the seventeenth century and gave rise to conceptual frameworks which subtly altered the meanings of such key words as *humour*, *element* and *science* itself, to name only a few (Barber 1976: 158–64).

5.6.2.1 Specialisation

We may begin by looking at a change in progress. One of the many new scientific terms to come into English in the seventeenth century was *electricity*. In his *Dictionary* (1755), Samuel Johnson glosses the adjective *electric* as 'attractive without magnetism; attractive by a peculiar property, supposed once to belong chiefly to amber', and the noun *electricity* as 'a property in some bodies, whereby, when rubbed so as to grow warm, they draw little bits of paper, or such like substances, to them'. Johnson's comment on his own gloss is worth quoting in full because it reveals the on-going changes taking place in the extension of the term:

> Such was the account given a few years ago of electricity; but the industry of the present age, first excited by the experiments of *Gray*, has discovered in electricity a multitude of philosophical wonders. Bodies electrified by a sphere of glass, turned nimbly round, not only emit flame, but may be fitted with such a quantity of the electrical vapour, as, if discharged at once upon a human body, would endanger life. The force of this vapour has hitherto appeared instantaneous, persons at both ends of a long chain seeming to be struck at once. The philosophers are now endeavouring to intercept the strokes of lightning.

Johnson's *philosophers* in this context refers to 'men deep in knowledge, either moral or natural'. *Philosophy* was still the general term used of human knowledge of all kinds, including 'the course of sciences read in the schools'.

Science came to English from Old French in the fourteenth century in the broad sense of '(certain) knowledge', which persisted into Early Modern English. *Inscience* appeared in the sixteenth century in the sense of 'want of knowledge', 'ignorance'. *Science* was also used for acquaintance with or mastery of any department of learning. Cawdrey (1604) specifically defines *science* as 'knowledge, or skill'. In Early Modern English the term *the seven liberal sciences* was used synonymously with *the seven liberal arts* of the *Trivium* (Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric) and the *Quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy). The modern, narrower sense was introduced in the eighteenth century:

> The word science, is usually applied to a whole body of regular or methodical observations or propositions . . . concerning any subject of speculation. (*OED*, s.v. *science*; 1725, Watts *Logic* II.ii.§9)

The even more specialised sense of 'natural and physical science' did not appear until the latter half of the nineteenth century, thus reflecting the increasing separation of the physical from the mental in the field of human learning.

Phisicke was another one of Cawdrey's 'hard words', and he gives it the senses 'medicine, helping, or curing'. The word was also used in its wider sense of 'natural science, the knowledge of the phenomenal world'. In this sense it had been rivalled by the longer term *physics* since the late sixteenth century, and by the eighteenth century *physics* was established in the sense of 'natural science in general'. Locke still appears to have included in its scope the study of God and angels, but in the course of the eighteenth century it was limited to inorganic nature. Dr Johnson (1755) glosses *physick* as 'the science of healing', with the derived senses of 'medicines, remedies' and 'purge'. While *physician* is defined as 'one who professes the art of healing', *physical* retains a wider sense, 'relating to nature or to natural philosophy; not moral'.

The medieval sense of *element* referring to the four basic constituents of matter (earth, water, air, fire) is frequent in Early Modern English writings even after the doctrine itself had become outmoded. The denotatum of the term was modified in the eighteenth century, and would include such substances as spirit, salt, sulphur and oil. At that time the term was not yet used to refer to such well-known metals as gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, or any of the elements that were named in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including zinc (1651), manganese (1676), cobalt (1728) and nickel (1755) (Savory 1967: 92).

Sense specialisation may also arise as a result of social changes. At the end of our period political events changed one sense of the administrative term *governor* from 'administrator of a British colony' to 'elected head of a state of the Union'. Similarly, the Early Modern English sense of *king*, 'absolute monarch', has in Britain been redefined as '(figure)head of government' (Hock 1986: 300). The old descriptive senses of both terms remain historically valid. In both cases the broad dictionary definitions of the terms may also remain unaltered: *governor* is generally glossed as 'a person who controls any of certain types of organisation or place' and *king* as '(the title of) the male ruler of a country, usually the son of a former ruler' (see *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, s.v. *governor*, *king*).

These examples show how words are assigned more specific senses in response to new discoveries, changing circumstances and the increasing diversity of human interests. New or revised concepts thus do not always acquire new names. Nor need all the earlier, well-established senses of a word always be affected by this type of reanalysis. *Element* has retained its earlier general sense of 'raw material of which a thing is made', and *inscience* is still the antonym of *science* in the sense of 'knowledge'.

Specialisation may also be used to supply a new name for a previously named referent. This is extremely common in slang but much rarer in the standard language (Warren 1992: 42–5). Renaming typically arises from the need for a euphemism or wish to express an attitude towards the referent. The process is often resorted to in the vocabulary denoting sexual activity. Numerous Latinate words acquire these specialised senses in Early Modern English, including *seduce* 1560, *erection* 1594, *intimacy* 1676 and *orgasm* 1684 (Hughes 1988: 11).

5.6.2.2 Generalisation

The interaction between specialist terms and ordinary, everyday vocabulary also works in the other direction: words are borrowed from specialist fields, such as law and medicine, and enter into common use. The process is apt to lead to meaning generalisations due to less narrowly understood denotata. The legal term *moiety* 'a half, one of two equal parts' (1444) acquired a more general sense 'one of two parts into which something is divided' in non-technical use towards the end of the sixteenth century. It could also appear contextually in the sense of 'a small part'. In the same way religious words are often secularised in the course of time. It was the religious sense of *sermon* that gave rise to 'a long or tedious discourse or harangue' (1596). *Crusade* and *cult* acquired their figurative senses in the eighteenth century (Hughes 1988: 51).

The extension of a term may be metonymic or metaphorical. As pointed out above, the word *humour* 'moisture', 'fluid', was in Middle English employed in medical writings as a special generic term for the four cardinal fluids of the human body. The following definition of the common uses of the term in the Renaissance is given by Ben Jonson in his Introduction to *Every Man out of His Humour* (1600):

> . . . so in euery humane bodie The choller, melancholy, flegme, and bloud, By reason that they flow continually In some one part, and are not continent, Receiue the name of Humors. Now thus farre It may by Metaphore apply it selfe Vnto the generall disposition, As when some one peculiar quality Doth so possesse a man, that it doth draw All his affects, his spirits, and his powers In their confluctions all to runne one way, This may be truely sayd to be a Humor.

As Jonson mentions, the use of the term was extended to mean the 'general disposition', overwhelming characteristic of a person. This wider sense prevailed even after the term had been divested of its medical status in the seventeenth century, and thus lost its popular scientific motivation. The word now also acquired the specific senses of 'that quality which excites amusement', and 'the faculty of perceiving what is ludicrous or amusing'. At the same time, some linguistic vestiges of the original meaning of *humour* as 'a fluid' remain in our medical terminology. Dirckx (1983: 67) points out that physicians still continue to speak of the aqueous and vitreous humours of the eye, humoral immunity, humoral products of tumors, and neurohumoral agents.

The generalisation of titles in Early Modern Britain was motivated partly by increased social mobility, partly by reasons of courtesy and prestige. The most thoroughgoing changes affected the titles of *Master (Mr*) and *Mistress (Mrs*) and the status names of *Lady* and *Gentleman*. With the exception of *Lady*, they were all properly used with reference to the lesser nobility of Tudor and Stuart England, including professional people. These ranks were distinguished from the greater nobility (Lords and Ladies), on the one hand, and from the lower ranks of yeomen and husbandmen (Goodmen and Goodwives), on the other. Among the lesser nobility, there was a common tendency for the wives of Baronets and Knights to be called by the courtesy title of *Lady* instead of *Dame*, while men were called *Sir*. An esquire or a plain Gentleman was called *Master*, and women of these ranks, both married and unmarried, had the title of *Mistress*. Although the hereditary gentry more than doubled during the Early Modern English period, their proportion remained at about five per cent of the total population (Laslett 1973: 36–9).

In the highly stratified Early Modern society people were expected to

acknowledge the social status of their addressees. A failure to do so would give offence and cause social embarrassment. Contemporary courtesy books clearly preferred to err on the side of caution:

> For if wee meete with a man, we neuer sawe before: with whome, vppon some occasion, it behoues vs to talke: without examining wel his worthines, most commonly, that wee may not offend in to litle, we giue him to much, and call him *Gentleman*, and otherwhile *Sir*, althoughe he be but some *Souter* or *Barbar*, or other suche stuffe: and all bycause he is appareled neate, somewhat gentleman lyke.
>
> (Giovanni della Casa, trans. R. Peterson, *Galateo or a Treatise of the Manners and Behauiours*, 1576: 43)

The title of *Master* was naturally extended to gentlemen who had earned their position by virtue of their office rather than by birth. Hugh Latimer, the Bishop of Worcester, was referred to as Master Latimer by his sixteenth-century contemporaries even though his father was a yeoman. Shakespeare's First Folio was entitled *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623). The poet's father had risen to the status of a country gentleman and had acquired a coat of arms. By this time, all gentlewomen were commonly referred to by the status name of *Ladies*, which was now spreading to the lower ranks. In Thomas Middleton's citizen comedy *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1630) the wives of an apothecary and a sweet-meat maker are flattered when Sir Walter Whorehound elevates them to the rank of ladies (Barber 1976: 151–2).

This process radically expanded the denotata of titles. By the end of the EModE period *Mr* had become so common that in 1765 *The Monthly Review* wrote that it was 'equally claimed by the son of a peer, or a porter, an opulent merchant, or the master of a green-stall' (Tucker 1967: 160). In his Falstaff plays Shakespeare had already generalised the corresponding title of *Mistress* to all his female characters (Salmon 1967: 53). *Mrs* continued to be the abbreviated form used of both single and married women by the end of the EModE period, although the shortened form *Miss* also appeared as a title of (young) unmarried women.

5.6.3 Contextual inferencing

5.6.3.1 Inferential shifts

As the case of titles illustrates, the denotatum of a lexeme may sometimes be felt to be vague or indeterminate, or may on purpose be treated as such for reasons of politeness. The case also shows how use may effectively change denotata. It is not uncommon that contextual features become criterial with

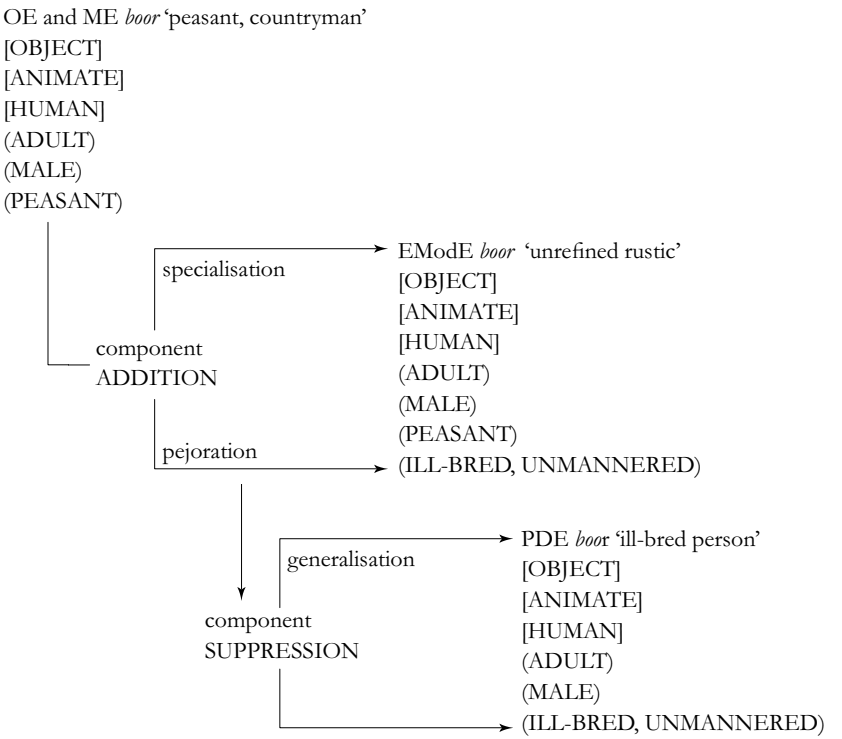
time, and restructure the semantic composition of a lexeme. The Middle English meaning of *average* was 'the duty charged on goods'. A particular form of it was the expense or loss to owners arising from damage at sea to ship or cargo. The word came to apply to the equitable distribution of this expense or loss among the parties concerned (1598). It was this enriched sense that was later extended to the mathematical sense of 'arithmetic mean' (1735).

Similarly, the ME adjective *savoury* had the sense 'pleasant tasting, agreeable'. The derived sense 'having a piquant taste', 'not sweet', is first attested in 1661. Finally, the Italian noun *umbrella* (< Lat. *umbra* 'shade') came to English in the early seventeenth century in its original sense 'sunshade'. Its current sense was established by 1634. These examples, drawn from Waldron (1967: 143–4), illustrate how meaning shifts may arise when contextual co-occurrence features of a lexeme are inferred to be part of its semantic composition.

A new sense may arise from the conventional use of certain politeness strategies in interactive situations. When people wish to stress their cooperativeness and good intentions they often promise more than they can keep. Early Modern English institutionalised instances of this strategy are not hard to find. Adverbs such as *anon*, *by and by*, *directly* and *presently* all had the sense 'at once' before acquiring what the *OED* calls their blunted senses 'soon' and 'shortly'. From the early fifteenth century onwards *presently* had been used to indicate exact time reference ('at the very time', 'at once' and 'instantly, promptly'). From the mid-sixteenth century it developed the less precise readings 'in a little while', 'before long', 'soon', 'shortly'. It is typical of inferential shifts of this kind that they proceed gradually. The *OED* remarks that the growth of the new sense of *presently* was so imperceptible that the early examples, especially before about 1650, are doubtful (Nevalainen 1992).

Incorporation of contextual and evaluative information may also change the expressive and register connotations of a lexeme. This readily leads to a change in its denotative meaning as well. We need only think of the adjectives *silly* and *nice* referred to above. There is no shortage of cases of this type. The following are listed by Barber (1967: 153) as illustrations of lexemes that have gained a connotation of disapproval since or in the course of the EModE period: *artful* ('learned, skilful, artistic'), *addicted* ('devoted, inclined, attached'), *coy* ('shy, modest'), *cunning* ('skill, dexterity, art'), *gaudy* ('gay, ornate'), *mediocrity* ('an average degree of ability', 'moderation, temperance'), *obsequious* ('compliant, obedient') and *ringleader* ('leader, head'). On the other hand, the following have lost their pejorative sense since Early Modern English: *enthusiasm* ('imagined divine inspiration', 'intemperate religious emotion'), *politician* ('crafty schemer, intriguer'), *precise* ('excessively scrupulous, puritanical') and *shrewd* ('malicious, hurtful, cunning').

Connotative changes are typical of *nomina appellativa*. I shall use the case of *boor* to illustrate a typical path of development in more detail (see 5.6.4.4 for similar changes accompanying metaphoric extension). In Middle English *boor* (< OE *gebūr*) was a synonym of *peasant* meaning 'a person living in the country'. From the sixteenth century onwards it began to be limited to 'rustics, peasants with no refinement'. The modifiers that collocate with it in the *OED* examples include *dull-sprighted*, *paltry*, *rustic*, *peasant* and *rude*. *Boor* also developed the wider sense of 'rude, unmannered person' in Early Modern English, and thus became synonymous with *a lubber*, *clown* and *a rude fellow*. The first change was based on a negative contextual implication, the second was brought about by metaphoric transfer. Following Kleparski (1986: 75–6) we may describe the two shifts, respectively, as a component addition and a component loss in the lexical–semantic structure of the EModE lexeme *boor*. The first change added a pejorative meaning component (ILL-BRED, UNMANNERED) to its semantic structure, and the second suppressed a component expressing the social qualification (PEASANT). Both altered the denotative meaning of the lexeme. The process can be presented componentially as follows (Kleparski 1986: 77):



5.6.3.2 Metonymy

Metonymy ('name change') is a special kind of semantic transfer based on contextual inferencing. It is used to denote one category in terms of another which is inseparably associated with it. A part is typically transferred to represent the whole, as when *the crown* is used for 'the sovereign' or 'regal power' (1579), or *the bench* for 'the judges' collectively (1592). Metonymic change is of wide currency in both ordinary and specialist language. *Dish*, which since Old English has meant 'a broad, shallow vessel', became lexicalised in the sense of 'food ready for eating' (1526). *Chop* used to mean 'a piece chopped off', but in Early Modern English it was also transferred to the more specific sense of 'a slice of mutton or pork' (1640). In EModE parliamentary vocabulary *floor* was transferred to 'right of speaking', and *seat* to 'membership in Parliament' (1774). The Latin opening words of religious songs gave rise to the metonymic uses of *Magnificat* and *Te Deum*. *Magnificat* was generalised in the sense of 'a song of praise' (1614), and *Te Deum* came to denote any public utterance of praise to God (1679).

Even personal names are metonymically converted into common nouns. *Sandwich* (1762) derives from the name of the 4th Earl of Sandwich (1718–92), whose refreshment at the gaming-table was some slices of cold beef placed between slices of toast. *Derrick*, 'a machine for lifting and moving heavy weights', goes back to the surname of a noted hangman at Tyburn around 1600. By metonymy his name came to be used in the sense of 'gallows', and in the eighteenth century it was transferred to denote a lifting tackle (Waldron 1967: 189–96).

The above examples show the range of variation in metonymy: X and Y can be related by a variety of contextual associations, part for whole, container for contents, concrete to abstract and vice versa, and proper name for concept. We may also come across metonymic transfers in word-formation. Bahuvrihi compounds are a case in point (see 5.5.4.2). Compounds like *longlegs* and *redskin* are derived by reference to what is only part of the entity that they are meant to denote. The extension of these forms to refer to human beings is a metonymic process. It commonly conveys the speaker's humorous or depreciatory attitude.

Metonymic principles are at work when deverbal action nouns are used to refer to the result of the action (effected objects), as in *etching* and *savings*. Changes of secondary word-class, such as transfers of intransitive verbs into transitive, may also be considered broadly metonymic. They take place on the syntagmatic plane without effecting a word-class change. In Early

Modern English it is, for instance, more common for an intransitive verb to be turned into transitive than vice versa (see 5.5.5, and Rissanen, this volume, 4.4.2.1).

5.6.4 Metaphoric extension

Recent research has rediscovered the extent to which metaphor is used in structuring and creating meanings not only in poetry and fiction but in the lexicon more generally. Metaphoric extension in the use of a word involves a perceived similarity between the denotata of two lexemes: X is like Y. When Rosalind states that 'Love is merely a madness' in *As You Like It* (III.ii.343) she is drawing a parallel between love and insanity – a metaphor that still flourishes in Present-Day English.[10]

In the course of time metaphors may be lexicalised, and may no longer be perceived as metaphorical (cf. *satellite*, below). Various metaphoric processes are used extremely productively in Early Modern English to create names for new concepts, and to multiply the names for old. Both activities typically increase polysemy, and the latter also adds to the number of synonyms in the lexicon.

The types of meaning that are produced by metaphoric means represent what Ullmann (1964: 201) calls 'centres of attraction'; the interests and aspirations of the speech community, including the taboos of fear, delicacy and propriety. In this respect the metaphoric means of producing new meanings do not differ from other meaning changes or indeed from borrowing or regular word-formation processes. Metaphoric creativity may also not be quite so random as is commonly assumed. The ways in which people perceive similarities and differences are conditioned by properties of human conceptualisation, which Lakoff & Johnson (1980) suggest are traceable to human physiology and spatio-temporal orientation. This is particularly obvious in synaesthesia, meaning transfer from one sensory sphere to another. In the following, I shall discuss the results of the various metaphoric processes in Early Modern English pointing out both period characteristics and some more general, timeless trends.

5.6.4.1 Physical similarity

Many metaphoric processes may be thought of as language-internal borrowing. This is notably the case with metaphors which transfer lexemes from one field of discourse to another on the basis of physical or functional similarity. As with foreign borrowing, areas of intense lexical growth

made extensive use of this strategy in Early Modern English, and a number of specialist terms were created in this way. The following scientific terms, for example, have remained in the language, but their sources, and hence their metaphoric connections, have mostly been lost (Savory 1967: 38):

efflorescence	1626	'a period or action of flowering'
	1667	'the loss of water in crystallisation'
hilum	1659	'a very small thing, a trifle'
	1753	'the attachment-scar of a seed'
parasite	1539	'one who eats at the table or at the expense of another'
	1727	'an organism living in or upon another'
pollen	1523	'fine flower or other powder'
	1760	'the male element of flowering plants'
satellite	1548	'an attendant upon a person of importance'
	1665	'a small or secondary planet which revolves around a larger one'

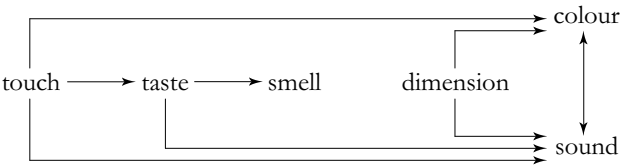
Hilum and *pollen* show how metaphoric extension may be based on similarity in shape or size between X and Y. This type is quite common in Early Modern English botanical nomenclature. The following plant names are drawn from *The Grete Herball* (1526): *bear's foot*, *goosebill* ('the rote of it is lyke a goos byll'), *goosefoot* ('because the sede spredeth forkewyse as a goos fote'), *hare's palace* ('For yf the hare come vnder it/ he is sure that no best can touche hym'), *king's crown*, *priest's hood* (Rydén 1984: 36, 44).

The classical revival of the Renaissance naturally inspired a wealth of metaphors. Proper names, for instance, were converted into common nouns to be used as lexicalised shorthand for familiar concepts that were usually expressed by phrasal means. Among them are the following: *Adonis* (1622) 'a handsome youth', *Atlas* (1589) 'one who supports or sustains a great burden', *Hercules* (1567) 'a man of prodigious strength', *Juno* (1606) 'a woman of stately beauty', 'a jealous woman', *Penelope* (1581) 'a chaste wife', and *Venus* (1579) 'a beautiful or attractive woman'.

The far-reaching influence of the Bible can be similarly illustrated: *Abigail* (1666) 'a lady's maid', *Goliath* (1591) 'a giant', *Magdalen(e)* (1697) 'a fallen woman reformed', *Nimrod* (1545–1697) 'a tyrant', *Pharaoh* (1630) also 'a tyrant', *Samson* (1565) 'a very strong man' and *Solomon* (1554) 'a wise person, sage' (Koziol 1967: 166–7). Most of these personal metaphors are based on a given characteristic shared by X and Y. On the other hand, as shown by *efflorescence*, *parasite* and *satellite*, above, metaphors may also derive from functional similarity, and be based on a scene rather than a single feature.

5.6.4.2 Synaesthesia

Another particular kind of metaphoric extension is involved in *synaesthesia*, where a lexeme is transferred from one sensory area to another. A synaesthetic process took place when the adjective *hot* was transferred from the area of touch ('having a high degree of heat') to that of taste ('spicy') in later Middle English, or *faint* was moved from colour ('lacking clearness or brightness') to sound ('barely audible') in Early Modern English. Williams (1976: 463) suggests that the process is quite regular diachronically: if an adjective transfers from its earliest sensory meaning to another sensory modality, it will do so according to the following scheme:



The scheme implies that a touch-word will transfer to taste, to colour or sound. Taste-words do not transfer to tactile words, but to the domains of smell and sound. Dimension-words, such as *big*, *deep* or *high*, transfer to the spheres of colour or sound, colour-words to sound, and sound-words to colour. Early Modern English provides a fair amount of support for the assumed regularity, but there are also a number of exceptions. The following transfers were recorded by Williams (1976: 475–6) on the basis of the *OED* and *MED* (A–L). Those instances that violate the suggested order are marked by asterisks.

TOUCH TO TASTE	coarse 1587, cold 1585, dry 1700, hard 1581, piquant 1645, pungent 1675*, smooth 1743
TOUCH TO SMELL	pungent 1668*
TOUCH TO COLOUR	cold 1706, crisp 1565, grave 1611, keen 1602, mild 1645
TOUCH TO SOUND	asper 1626, grave 1585, hard 1620, harsh 1530
TASTE TO COLOUR	brisk 1727*, mellow 1563*
TASTE TO SOUND	brisk 1660, mellow 1668
DIMENSION TO COLOUR	full 1657, thin 1655
DIMENSION TO SOUND	acute 1609, big 1581, flat 1591, hollow 1500, shallow 1626, thin 1660
COLOUR TO SOUND	faint 1660

Williams's model cannot account for meaning tranfers from touch to dimension (*sharp* 1537, *smart* 1668), from taste to colour (*brisk* 1727, *mellow*

1563), from dimension to taste (*acute* 1620, *fat* 1609, *flat* 1607, *small* 1676), and from sound to taste (*loud* 1641, *shrill* 1567).

The inaccuracies can be partly blamed on unreliable datings of secondary meanings in historical dictionaries, or even to an unprecedented degree of semantic creativity in the Early Modern English period, but neither explanation is entirely satisfactory. More plausibly, Lehrer (1985: 293) suggests that the whole problem arises from the influence of semantic fields on each other: if one or more items in one field are patterned in another field, then the other items also become available for extension to the second field. This would account for the extension of dimension adjectives to the domain of taste in wine terminology, which started with *high* and *thin* in Middle English, continued with *fat*, *flat* and *small* in Early Modern English, and has spread to most basic dimension-words in current usage, including *acute*, *big*, *deep*, *empty*, *even*, *full*, *hollow*, *little* and *thick* (294; see also Sweetser 1990: 23–48 for further discussion of metaphors of perception; Ogura and Wang 1995 for the role of word frequency in semantic change).

5.6.4.3 Abstraction

Metaphoric extension is universally resorted to in reference to abstract categories, or when terms are created for denotata that are removed from direct human sense-experience. In his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* ([1690] 1700), John Locke made the observation that most English psychological terms are derived from the language of concrete objects and physical action ('sensible ideas'; see Waldron 1967: 168):

> It may also lead us a little towards the Original of all our Notions and Knowledge, if we remark, how great a dependence our Words have on common sensible Ideas; and how those, which are made use of to stand for Actions and Notions quite removed from sense, have their rise from thence, and from obvious sensible Ideas are transferred to more abstruse significations, and made to stand for Ideas that come not under the cognizance of our senses: e.g. *to Imagine*, *Apprehend*, *Comprehend*, *Adhere*, *Conceive*, *Instil*, *Disgust*, *Disturbance*, *Tranquillity*, etc., are all Words taken from the Operations of sensible Things, and applied to certain Modes of Thinking.
>
> (Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* [Nidditch, ed. (1975) III i 403])

The verb *adhere* is a good example of the strong tendency. It was first recorded in 1597 in the sense of 'to cleave to a person or party', and its more abstract sense 'to cleave to an opinion, principle or method' was

attested in 1656. In the above passage, Locke himself uses a number of lexemes that etymologically count as metaphoric transfers, including *dependence* (< F, going back to Lat. 'to hang down, be suspended') and *stand for*, while his *sensible* ('perceptible to the senses') has undergone just the kind of change that he is describing.

Metaphoric extension may also give rise to metalinguistic meanings. They are used to express linguistic relations and to refer to linguistic events. The former can be illustrated by the rise of new conjunctive adverbs, such as *hence* ('as a result'), and the latter by a number of new speech-act verbs. Many of these verbs are epistemic in that they express the speaker's beliefs about the truth of the proposition. The following examples trace the paths of development of some of them (Traugott 1989: 43–5, 1990: 508–12). *Insist* is particularly noteworthy because it has developed two speech-act meanings, one directive ('to demand that') and the other assertive ('to maintain that').

assume	1420	'to arrogate to oneself', 'adopt'
	1450	'to suppose' (in the sense of 'imagine')
	1714	'to claim that something is the case'
insist	1590s	'to stand on', 'dwell at length on', persevere'
	1676	'to demand that'
	1768	'to maintain that'
observe	ME	'to pay practical attention to a rule', 'perceive by the senses'
	1559	'to take scientific notice'
	1605	'to remark that'

Traugott notes that in speech-act verbs the referent of the verb has been metaphorically transferred from the external described situation to the discourse situation. If the verb also develops a performative use, it will constitute the discourse situation, as in the case of *commit* ('to pledge oneself to do X').

commit: fourteenth century 'to give in trust'
fifteenth century 'to put' (in prison), 'do' (something bad)
eighteenth century 'to pledge oneself to do X'

5.6.4.4 Evaluation

The kinds of abstraction process described above occur regularly in metaphoric meaning change. Traugott (1990: 499) concludes that meanings based on the external described situation increasingly tend to become based on the internal (perceptual or cognitive or evaluative) situation. The

third or evaluative kind may involve either amelioration or pejoration. Pejoration is generally the more common of the two, and Early Modern English is no exception in this respect (see 5.6.3.1 above).

5.6.4.4.1 Terms of abuse

The Early Modern English period is rich in (pseudo-)euphemistic terms of abuse. A growing stock of animal names was used with reference to women: *brach* ('bitch'), *cow* ('coarse, degraded woman'), *hen* (a humorous or low colloquial term for 'wife, woman, female'), *puss* (term of contempt), *sow* ('fat, clumsy, slovenly woman') and *vixen* ('ill- tempered woman'). *Pigeon* and *goose* further illustrate that animal metaphors are mostly culture-specific. At the end of the sixteenth century, *pigeon* could be used of either sex in the senses of 'a foolish person' or 'coward', as well as to denote 'a young woman, girl, sweetheart'. *Goose* did not only refer to a foolish person but spread metonymically from one of its local senses of 'venereal disease' (*Winchester goose*) to denote a prostitute carrying the disease (cf. Partridge 1968: 219).

There is also some evidence that semantically related items may develop quite similar evaluative meanings. *Goose*, *chicken* and *pigeon* all acquired the sense of 'a foolish person' in the sixteenth century. *Baboon* became a general term of abuse around 1500, thus paralleling the earlier development of *ape* ('a fool'). In his Bible translation (1526) Tyndale borrowed the French *viper* in its zoological and metaphorical senses creating a synonym for the Middle English *serpent*; *snake* followed suite, and acquired the pejorative sense of 'a treacherous person' in the late sixteenth century (Lehrer 1985). *Viper* reoccurs in the speeches of Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General, against Sir Walter Raleigh at his trial in 1603:

> Well, I will now make it appear to the World, that there never lived a viler Viper upon the face of the Earth than thou. ([HC] *State Trials* 216)

The well over fifty new Early Modern English terms of female abuse listed in Hughes (1991: 212–28) may be contrasted with the much fewer terms of endearment, including *coney*, *lamb* and *mouse*. The same imbalance is found by Koskenniemi (1962: 91) between all terms of endearment and abuse, male and female, in her study of English drama from 1550 to 1600. Hughes attributes it to such social factors as the Puritan Revolution, Restoration cynicism and Augustan austerity. As our access to the colloquial language of the period is fairly limited, however, the range and use of these terms is hard to reconstruct. Hence appeal to broad social notions can at best provide only a partial explanation of what looks like a striking case of semantic imbalance.

5.6.4.4.2 Intensifiers

Early Modern English significantly enriches the various adverbial means of expressing speaker attitude to what is being talked about. One of the adverbial categories to be remarkably augmented is boosters, which denote a high degree or a high point on a scale (e.g. *very* in *very well*). According to Peters (1994), the *OED* records as many as 210 new boosters introduced between 1500 and 1800. They include the following items first attested between 1590 and 1610: *ample*, *capitally*, *damnably*, *detestable*, *exquisitely*, *extreme*, *grievous*, *grossly*, *horribly*, *intolerable*, *pocky*, *spaciously*, *strenuously*, *surpassing*, *surpassing*, *terribly*, *tyrannically*, *uncountably*, *unutterably*, *vehement*, *villainous* and *violently*. As we can see, both zero-derivation and the regular *-ly* form are common in this category. The source domains for boosters consist of qualitative adverbs (*terribly*, *violently*), as well as dimensional (*highly*, *extremely*) and quantitative adverbs (*much*, *vastly*) and expletives (*damned*).

Some other very common scalar adverbs also develop in Early Modern English. *Just* ('exactly') becomes an exclusive scalar adverb synonymous with *merely* and *but*. *Even* ('exactly') acquires the additive sense current today: *In Warre*, *even the Conqueror is commonly a loser* (→ 'so certainly everyone else is'; *OED*, 1641, J. Jackson *True Evang. T.* III.209). The adverbs are related to the corresponding adjectives, *even* meaning 'flat', 'level', 'smooth', 'equal', and *just* meaning 'righteous'. We may trace some of the sense shifts undergone by *just* in order to gain a better idea of the rise of abstract meanings of this kind.

The form *just* was borrowed from French into later Middle English, and goes back to the Latin adjective *jūst(us)* and adverb *juste* (< *jūs* 'law'). The adjective had a number of related senses, including 'fair', 'legitimate', 'well-founded' and 'correct' as well as 'fitting', 'precise' and 'exact'. Traugott (1990: 504) points out that the development of the word in French and English crucially depends on the change of the basic adjectival senses 'fair', 'righteous' and 'legitimate' to 'fitting' and 'exact', 'precise'. This shift would appear to be based on the inference that whatever is 'just' is done in precisely the right way. Metaphoric abstraction hence motivates the adjective 'exact' and the derived adverb 'exactly', which appeared in English around 1400.

Unlike *even*, *just* does not become an additive adverb. It gains a new exclusive adverbial sense ('no more than', 'no other than') towards the end of the seventeenth century. The change appears to be inferential, *just x* ('no more and no less than x') becoming subjectively associated with contexts where x is not thought of as anything much. At this stage *just* often cooccurs with other exclusives (Nevalainen 1991: 151–4):

> . . . Books of Physick: which the ill state of health he has fallen into, made more necessary to himself: and which qualifi'd him for an odd adventure, which I shall *but just* mention.
>
> ([HC] Gilbert Burnet *Some Passages of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Rochester* 1680: 27)

The history of *just* reveals the many layers of a complex semantic change. In this particular case, meanings related to honesty and fairness refer to the social situation, those denoting precision ('exactly') to the realm of human perception, while those to do with scalarity and exclusiveness ('merely') are largely based on the speaker's attitude. Metaphoric abstraction and subjective strengthening of meanings alternate in the process, and sometimes produce different results for similar inputs, such as 'exactly' (*just* v. *even*).

5.6.5 Linguistic motivation

In *An Essay Towards a Real Character* (1668, I), John Wilkins voices his concern over what he considers the defects of natural languages. He complains that both Latin and English have too many *equivocals*: 'so the word *Bill* signifies both a *Weapon*, a Bird's *Beak*, and a written *Scroul*: The word *Grave* signifies both *Sober*, and *Sepulcher*, and to *Carve*, &c.' Metaphors and stock phrases may cause ambiguity, and synonyms are tedious *superfluities*. It is linguistic anomalies of this kind that Wilkins sets out to remedy by devising his artificial language for the use of the scientific community. The 'real character' did not gain a large following, but Wilkins's concerns are commonly repeated (nor was he the first to draw attention to these issues). I shall devote the remainder of this section to them.

It is traditionally argued that the optimal lexicon would be one in which a lexeme has only one sense, and no two lexemes have the same phonological or morphological shape. Lexical developments would then be expected to be guided by this one-form–one-meaning principle. The issues that arise here are regulation of polysemy, differentiation of synonyms and avoidance of homonymy. In all three cases the argument in favour of linguistic conditioning should, however, be approached with great caution. We are at best dealing with tendencies, and the effects of linguistic conditioning, if they can be isolated at all, are closely connected with other aspects of meaning change.

Semantic change tends to increase polysemy. As we have seen, the older the word is, the more senses it is bound to have. Hence it is difficult to estimate the extent to which polysemy operates as a brake on semantic change. It would rather seem that factors such as the position of the lexeme and its

various senses in the lexical fields it enters are more decisive. The semantic changes undergone by *meat* illustrate the case. By Early Modern English, this ME word for 'food' had also acquired the more restricted sense of 'meat' that it has today. In one of its senses, the word had thus become its own subordinate term or hyponym. The two senses would inevitably occur in the same contexts, and could cause confusion. It may be assumed that it was partly because of this that the more general sense of *meat* was in the seventeenth century superseded by one of its synonyms, namely *food* (Görlach 1991: 203). The noun *wit* provides a more elaborate example of the same tendency. At the beginning of the Early Modern English period it had eight related senses, most of them going back to Old English or early Middle English (Barber 1976: 145–7):

(1) 'the seat of consciousness, the mind'
(2) 'the faculty of thinking and reasoning'
(3) 'the faculties of perception'
(4) 'right mind, sanity'
(5) 'great mental capacity, intellectual ability'
(6) 'a person of great intellectual ability, a genius'
(7) 'practical talent, constructive or mechanical ability'
(8) 'good judgement, discretion'

In the course of the Early Modern English period, the oldest four (1–4) were becoming archaic or restricted in use; so was the sense 'practical talent' (7). But the word also gained two new senses:

(9) 'apt, agile, or entertaining use of language' (1542)
(10) 'a person of lively fancy, with the faculty of saying smart or brilliant things' (1692)

The net result of these changes was that the lexeme did not in fact become much less polysemous, but only more specialised and biased towards the notion of 'clever use of language'. As in the case of *meat*, the superordinate senses were lost.

Samuels (1972: 76) regards incompatibility of older and newer senses as the usual reason for meaning loss. This incompatibility may arise from pejoration, as in the case of *crafty*, which meant both 'skilful', 'dexterous' and 'wily', 'cunning' in Early Modern English, and *cunning* 'learned', 'skilful', which acquired the negative sense of 'sly' (1599). The new senses of a lexeme may also be associated with taboo. *Lewd* originally meant 'lay', 'not in holy orders' in Old English, and subsequently gained the pejorative senses 'common, 'low'; 'ignorant', 'unlearned'; 'bad', 'evil'; and 'unchaste'.

Only a weak case can be made for incompatibility arising from the loss of information content with intensifiers such as *awfully*, which is related to the adjective *awful* meaning 'awe-inspiring'. One need only look up a few cases like this to see that polysemy is in fact quite common (see all of 5.6.4.4). So ambiguity rarely arises if the different senses of a lexeme are associated with different lexicogrammatical environments.

Reduction in polysemy also reduces partial synonymy. For the better part of the Early Modern English period, *wit* had a number of partial synonyms, including *mind*, *intellect*, *intelligence*, *sense*, *conscience*, *ingenuity*, *genius*, *curiosity* ('carefulness', '(undue) attention to detail'). The case of *wit* is typical in that total synonymy is a rare phenomenon. What we frequently find is partial synonymy embedded in polysemy. The problem is further alleviated by the fact that conceptual synonyms usually differ with respect to their register connotations.

Borrowed lexis significantly increased conceptual synonymy in Early Modern English, but it was also connotatively marked for register. It is, on the other hand, worth bearing in mind that synonymy was commonly recognised as a stylistic device (known as *copy*) in an age when the legitimacy and sufficiency of the vernacular were a subject for debate. Multiple derivations from one base are a case in point in Early Modern English. The fact that so many neologisms were rejected may nevertheless be taken as an indication of an overabundance of synonyms. Certain early dictionaries, such as Cockeram's (1623), went to extremes when striving to refine 'vulgar' words. Although there was no simple lexeme for it in the language, Cockeram's coinage *bubulcitate*, for instance, was never generalised in the sense of 'to cry like a cow-boy'.

Contextual inferencing may also lead to semantic divergence of synonyms. Thus *ghost* and *spirit* were largely interchangeable in Early Modern English but have diverged since. Even if no differentiation took place, several factors could distinguish synonyms in actual use. To begin with, they may differ in their frequency of occurrence. The adjectives *evil*, *ill* and *bad*, for example, show diachronic frequency fluctuation. Görlach (1991: 202) suggests that *evil* is the most common of the three in Middle English, *ill* in Early Modern English and *bad* in Present-Day English.

When *just* acquired the meaning 'no more than' in the seventeenth century, it was added to a stock of ten other adverbs that could have the semantic implication 'no other than', 'no more than': *alone*, *barely*, *but*, *exclusively*, *merely*, *only*, *purely*, *simply*, *singly* and *solely*. Of these, *but* and *only* were both extremely frequent (covering between themselves ninety-four per cent of the 2,840 instances in my Early Modern English corpus in

Nevalainen 1991). Except *alone*, the rest were rare. Some of them were functionally quite marginal (*singly*) or textually limited (*barely*), or both (*exclusively*); others, like *just*, were not fully established; yet others had recently fallen into disuse (*alonely*). Even the quantitative prototypes had collocational restrictions: *only* was favoured with subjects and adverbials, and with definite entities (*only Mary was there*), and *but* was preferred with quantified entities and verbs and subject complements (*Mary is but a child*).

Morphological and phonological developments may bring about a third kind of overlap in the lexicon, namely similarity in form between two semantically unrelated words. Usually homonymy will cause little confusion across word-class boundaries. Within the same word-class problems may arise if the lexemes have similar syntactic and register distributions. Sometimes two items that are felt to be homonymous (although historically they may also be instances of polysemy) become formally separated. A number of such items were assigned different spellings in the eighteenth century, including *discreet* and *discrete*, *flower* and *flour*, *human* and *humane*, *mettle* and *metal* (Görlach 1991: 193).

It is hard to find much conclusive evidence of homonymy as a catalyst for semantic change. The case of *let* 'allow' and *let* 'hinder' is illuminating, and by no means atypical. As a result of a protracted process of phonetic change, the two verbs became indistinguishable in form by the mid-sixteenth century. The process of obsolescence of *let* 'hinder' appears to have been correspondingly gradual. Samuels (1972: 69) points out that, since late Middle English, it had been rivalled by a number of partial synonyms, including *restrain* (1340), *withstand* (1385), *hinder* (1400), *accloy* (1430), *stop* (1440), *prohibit* (1523), *bar*, *debar* (c. 1550), *damp* (1550), *check* (1581), *impede* (1605), *obstruct* (1647) and *prevent* (after 1650). The *OED* suggests that the verb has been growing more archaic and obsolete in most constructions since 1600. Homonymic clashes like this need not then be remedied instantaneously. Overall, homonymy as a motive for obsolescence appears much more marginal than the other semantic relations considered.

On the other hand, similarity in form may sometimes lead to semantic convergence. Certain clusters of sounds may come to be interpreted as meaningful, and be reanalysed as some kind of semi-productive affixes. Samuels (1972: 54–5) illustrates this by considering two possible cases of phonaesthesia, /kl-/ 'clinging, coagulation' (e.g. *cling*, *claw*, *clutch*, *cleave*, *clay*, *clog*, *cloy*, *clutter*, *climb*), and /br-/ 'vehemence' (*break*, *bruise*, *brute*, *brawl*, *brandish*, *brag*). He suggests that the phonaesthemes best account for the following sixteenth-century changes:

clog	'to fasten wood to' (1398) → 'to encumber by adhesion' (1526)
clasp	'to fasten' (1386), 'to enfold' (1447) → 'to grip by hand' (1583)
brazen	'of brass' (OE) → 'impudent' (1573)
bristle	'to stand up stiff' (1480) → 'to become indignant' (1549)
broil	'to burn' (1375) → 'to get angry' (1561)

While weighing this kind of evidence, one should bear in mind that phonaesthemes are elusive, and easily lend themselves to multiple interpretations. So Marchand (1969: 407, 410) considers /br-/ primarily as a marker of unpleasant noise, as in *brabble* (1500) 'brawl' and *brash* (1573) 'sickness arising from disorder of the alimentary canal', 'sudden dash of rain'. To Tournier (1985:146), by contrast the combination mainly suggests 'breaking'. Marchand associates /kl-/ with sound (*clash* 1500, *clang* 1576, *click* 1581, *clank* 1614), Tournier with 'gripping' and 'holding fast'.

The possible influence of sound symbolism apart, cases like *broil* are also good candidates for 'ordinary' sense developments such as metaphorisation (cf. *boil/burn with anger*). This brings us back to the complicated issue of retracing actual processes of change. They may arise from multiple motivation and be shaped by a number of factors over an extended period of time. The Early Modern English evidence that we have looked at suggests that linguistic motives never function as purely mechanical agents of change. Naturally enough, their effects can be shown to combine with other factors, such as contextual and register variation, semantic hierarchies in the lexicon and frequency of use.

NOTES

1. I would like to express my thanks to all colleagues who have taken the time to read and comment on various aspects of this chapter, especially Norman Blake, David Burnley, Manfred Görlach, Dieter Kastovsky, Roger Lass, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, Mark Shackleton, Gabriele Stein and Matti Rissanen.
2. There is no shortage of contemporary comments on lexical issues throughout the Early Modern English period. They range from Caxton's prefaces and the sixteenth-century Inkhorn Controversy on learned borrowing (see 5.4.1), to the rich variety of topical arguments in eighteenth-century critical journals, prescriptive grammars and dictionaries (see Tucker 1967, Sundby, Bjørge & Haugland 1991).
3. It is worth noting that processes of word-formation in fact outnumber borrowing in Barber's (1976: 167) 1,848-word sample of the *OED* covering the period 1500–1700. Barber finds that 1,223 of these lexemes were acquired by various word-formation processes, notably suffixation, and only the remaining

625 were loans. The difference between Barber and Wermser (1976) may be due to the smallness of Barber's sample, as well as the exclusion of *OED* subentries from the *CED*, on which Wermer's extensive statistics are based.

4. Individual speakers may occasionally coin words with affixes like *-th*, but it is not likely that these (often jocular) neologisms would pass into the general vocabulary of English. Examples of such individual productivity are *greenth* (Walpole 1723, G. Eliot 1786) and *illth* (Ruskin 1860, G. B. Shaw 1889; see Tournier 1985: 76–7, Bauer 1988: 60–5).
5. The *OED* example of the verb *freedom* is from 1548: *the meane wherwyth we be fredomed frome y^e^ thraldome* (Gest *Pr. Masse* 107).
6. Near-synonyms also multiply rapidly, sometimes to the extent of profusion. The Middle English inheritance of verbs meaning 'to free', for instance, consists of OE *free*, Old Scandinavian *lose* and *rid*, OF *acquit*, *clear*, *deliver*, *discharge*, *dispense*, *excuse*, *ransom*, *release*, *relieve*, *rescue* and *save*. The Early Modern English period enlarges it by adding the French-based *disembarrass*, *disencumber*, *disengage*, *disfranchise*, *exempt*; the Latin *absolve*, *emancipate*, *exonerate*, *extricate* and *liberate*, as well as the etymological hybrids *disburden*, *disentangle* and *disenthrall* (Scheler 1977: 96–7; see also Markus 1990: 263–5).
7. Borrowing from Greek exceeded the five per cent level from the early seventeenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth. The share of Italian loans remained below the five per cent level until the eighteenth century, when they multiplied, accounting for more than ten per cent of the total in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Both Spanish and Dutch borrowing remain below the five per cent level. There is a minor peak for Spanish at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Dutch shows a higher rate of borrowing in the first part of the Early Modern English period than in the second (Wermser 1976: 45).
8. The theoretical implications of postulating a category of 'conversion prefixes' are discussed in more detail in Kastovsky (1986b, 1992b). Basically, it would go against the general principle of English morphology, which (as opposed to syntax) is based on the sequence determinant/determinatum (modifier/head).
9. In some cases it is difficult to establish with any certainty whether a correlation is in fact the result of backformation or independent borrowing. The issue becomes particularly tricky when the two forms involve morphophonemic alternation, as is often the case with verbs that are related to action nouns (cf. *collide* < ? *collision*). Here, as elsewhere, dictionary evidence cannot solve the problem, and the dates given should be taken as a necessary but by no means sufficient condition for the relation.
10. It is often suggested that the evolution of the plain style diminished the role of metaphor as an integral feature of prose and poetry in the seventeenth century (Srigley 1988, Gotti 1992: 338). Whether such fluctuation can also be detected in the lexicon remains to be seen. Warren (1992: 126) finds that metaphor is the single most frequent semantic process leading to semantic change

in Present-Day English. In her dictionary data it is responsible for over forty per cent of the novel senses in both slang and standard English.

FURTHER READING

5.1 There is to date no comprehensive guide to Early Modern English lexis, but good overviews of many central issues can be found in Barber (1976, 2nd edn 1997) and Görlach (1991). Early Modern English lexis is also considered – often less systematically – in studies of individual authors or texts, and in general histories of the English language (see Rissanen this volume: further reading). General introductions to lexicological terminology are provided by a number of standard textbooks, such as Lyons (1977), Bauer (1983, 1988), Cruse (1986), and Lipka (1990).

5.2 The Early Modern English dictionary project is discussed in Schäfer (1989b). A modest step forward is the publication of the *Michigan Early Modern English Materials* in computer-readable form, but it cannot of course compensate for the lack of the dictionary proper (see Bailey *et al.* 1975). In many cases the information given in the *OED* can be supplemented by consulting the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), the regular contributions to *Notes & Queries*, and separate collections of antedatings (e.g. Bailey 1978, Rynell 1987, Schäfer 1989a), many of them are also incorporated into the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Lancashire's *Early Modern English Dictionaries Corpus* provides a useful computerised database of a number of contemporary Early Modern English dictionaries (Lancashire & Patterson 1997)

For contemporary Early Modern English dictionaries, one of the best is Starnes & Noyes (1991 [1946]). Stein (1985) provides a thorough discussion of early bilingual dictionaries before Cawdrey, and Schäfer (1989a) a survey of monolingual printed glossaries and dictionaries 1475–1640. For a recent assessment of Cawdrey, see also McConchie (1992). Branded words in Early Modern English dictionaries are surveyed by Osselton (1958), and the old-word tradition in more detail by Kerling (1979). McConchie (1997) discusses the sixteenth-century lexicographical record of English medical terminology. Norri (1992) and (1998) are two recent monograph-length treatments of the various strata of medical vocabulary between 1400 and 1550 and their sources, and Wright (1994) of the sources of London English. Glossaries of Shakespeare's lexis are supplied by Onions (1986[1911]) and Partridge (1968[1947]).

Besides the standard reference works, my illustrative material is drawn from primary texts, some of them available in the computer-readable Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC). For a general introduction to the Early Modern English section of the corpus, see Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (1993), and for the sources and coding conventions, Kytö (1996). My statistical information comes mostly from Finkenstaedt & Wolff (1973) and Wermser (1976), both based on the *CED*, which contains all the main entries in *The Shorter Oxford*

English Dictionary (*SOED*; 81,182 entries in all) plus some updates from the *OED* and other sources.

5.3 For general discussion of lexical productivity, see the relevant sections in Lyons (1977), Bauer (1983, 1988), Quirk *et al.* (1985 Appendix I), Kastovsky (1986a) and Lipka (1990). Tournier (1985) bases his PDE description on extensive corpus data. Bauer (1988), Matthews (1991) and Anderson (1992) compare and contrast inflectional and derivational morphology, including compounding, and also suggest morphological models that abolish any sharp distinction between the two.

Serjeantson (1961 [1935]: 5.4) provides a traditional textbook treatment of borrowing throughout the history of English, and Scheler (1977) a more recent overview. The role of translation in this process is explored by Blake (1992). Borrowing in Old and Middle English is discussed by Kastovsky (1992a) and Burnley (1992), respectively. Recent work on native and borrowed lexis in Middle English includes Dekeyser and Pauwels (1989) and Dalton-Puffer (1992); they consider, respectively, the lexical replacement of Old English vocabulary and the productivity of non-Germanic word-formation patterns in Middle English.

There are a number of German dissertations on Latinate loans in Early Modern English (e.g. Faltenbacher 1907, Ksoll 1933, Leidig 1941, Rösener 1907), but because of poor documentation the early ones are often not very reliable. The works by Reuter (1934, 1936) on Latin and Pennanen (1971a) on French are more systematic and still worth consulting. Colman (1995) compares borrowing from French and Latin at different times in relation to the size of the lexis as a whole, and so do Culpeper & Clapham (1996). Prins (1952) gives an extensive account of French influence on Middle English and Early Modern English phrasing. The phonological development of a group of French loans in Middle and Early Modern English is traced by Diensberg (1985). Meurman-Solin (1993: 191–5, 227–35) considers lexical borrowing in Older Scots. Well-documented surveys of attitudes to loan words and linguistic usage can be found in Jones (1953) for the Renaissance, and Tucker (1967) for the eighteenth century.

5.5 There is no full-length account of EModE word-formation available to supplement the information in standard textbooks (Barber 1976, Görlach 1991). Marchand (1969) still furnishes the single most comprehensive diachronic survey of English word-formation to date. Stein's (1973) bibliography of English word-formation up to the 1970s also includes diachronic studies. An excellent account of OE word-formation can be found in Kastovsky (1992a) and a more concise one of Middle English in Burnley (1992). Cognitive Grammar is applied to early ME affixation by Zbierska-Sawala (1993).

EModE word-formation is discussed in a number of studies on individual authors; for Shakespeare, see the essays in Salmon & Burness (1987) and Hussey (1992); for Jonson, Pennanen (1951); and for other Elizabethan playwrights, e.g.

Koskenniemi (1962). The new words in Boyle's texts are discussed in Gotti (1996). Comprehensive book-length accounts of the various word-formation processes that would cover the entire Early Modern English period are not numerous, but see Biese (1941) on conversion, Thun (1963) on reduplication and Pennanen (1966) on backformation.

My own discussion of EModE word-formation is cast within a framework of European structuralism and owes most to Marchand (1969), Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Kastovsky (1992a). The Early Modern English data are largely drawn from the *OED*, Marchand (1969), Koziol (1972), both based on the *OED*, and Jespersen (1942).

5.6 Traditional accounts of semantic change can be found in Ullmann (1964), Koziol (1967) and Waldron (1967). For a pragmatically oriented approach, see Sweetser (1990). The role of inferential features is also discussed by Lipka (1985). Both Barber (1976) and Görlach (1991) contain chapters on lexical change in Early Modern English. Hughes (1988) gives an account of the diachronic developments of a number of lexical fields, including taboo terms (for swearing, see also Hughes 1991). Central aspects of the Elizabethan world picture are discussed in Tillyard's (1943) classic work; more recent treatments of the topic include the two informative volumes by Thomas (1971, 1983).

Work on individual lexical items in Early Modern English includes Menner (1945) on *clever*, *fair*, *happy*, *nice*, *sad*, *silly* and *stout*; Erämetsä (1951) on *sentimental*; Rudskoger (1952) on *fair*, *foul*, *nice*, *proper* (1970) on *plain*; Knox (1961) on *irony* (including *banter* and *raillery*); and Tucker (1972) on *enthusiasm*. See also Lewis (1967 [1960]) for brief essays on *nature*, *sad*, *wit*, *free*, *sense*, *simple*, *conscience/conscious*, *world*, *life* and *I dare say*.

6 REGIONAL AND SOCIAL VARIATION

Manfred Görlach

6.1 General background

6.1.1 Homogeneity versus heterogeneity[1]

No language in the world is homogeneous, or ever will be. Whereas earlier forms of English were characterised by extreme variation on all levels and Middle English is in fact best described as a loose conglomerate of unstable varieties, we usually lack any more detailed insight into what functions this variation had for the individual speaker. The social correlates so well known from modern sociolinguistics, such as age, sex, education, religion, can normally not be applied to the existing texts, nor can even the geographical range of recorded forms be determined with any degree of certainty. Finally, if modern dialect or other non-standard features are contrasted with (as the term *non*-standard implies) an accepted standard form of a language, this method would necessarily fail with Middle English even if we knew more about it than we do and, in view of the state of surviving documents, ever will. It is safe to assume that for its speakers the linguistic heterogeneity of Middle English was ordered in some way, but it was so only for continually shifting speech communities, whose number and individual geographical spread we know very little about. The scene changed dramatically in the fifteenth century: the emergence of a new standard language began to re-institute a linguistic norm for written supraregional English. This development was a natural consequence of the acceptance of English in public domains, and was speeded up by the change-over to English as the Chancery language in 1430. It is certain that the development towards more homogeneous forms of written English would have taken place without the introduction of printing from 1476 on, but the production of books, almost all from Westminster/London, which supplied relatively cheap

reading matter all over England, meant that the printed norms could spread more quickly and more evenly.

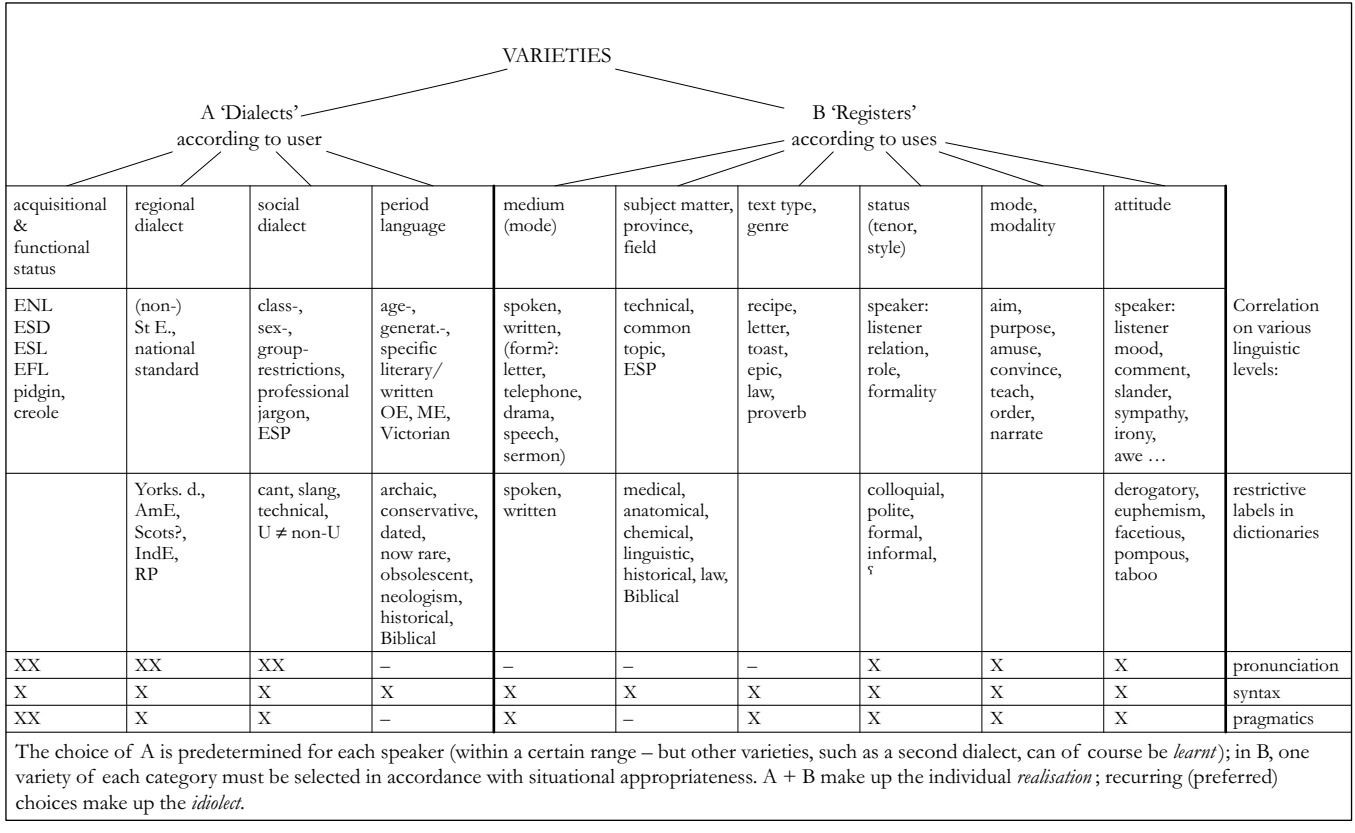
It is important to realise that this process almost automatically devalued the use in writing of all forms that were locally or otherwise deviant. It can be assumed that anyone whose usage did not conform with 'the best English' simply did not know any better; obviously, cases of deliberate neglect of the pressure towards conforming were rare (cf. Raleigh below), although it is, of course, a different matter that not all deviations that are stigmatised today were necessarily so in Early Modern English times (spelling; h-dropping, 'double' negation etc.). This also implies that less of the variation found in Early Modern English is functional than today (differences becoming so through the speakers' interpretation in the process of standardisation). There is a danger of our interpreting existing variation in the light of modern concepts of functional correlation between linguistic variables and social factors where both linguistic and social categories and their possible correlation, i.e. their interpretation by the speech community, are dubious.

Present-Day English is one of the stylistically richest languages in the world. Looking back on this wealth of variation, a linguist soon discovers that Old and Middle English have contributed relatively little to this *embarras de richesses*, and that it was functional expansion and competition with Latin in the Early Modern English period that led to this high degree of diversification. However, not all varieties throve: whereas there was a notable expansion of categories according to use (especially according to medium, formality, text type and form), the amount and range of variation according to user, in an age of increased communication and democratic equality including access to education, appear to have diminished. Any discussion of present-day variation will therefore have to look closely at the historical foundations of this diversification, most of which developed in the period under discussion.

6.1.2 The categorisation of varieties

A description of functional variation in Present-Day English, based on the classical categorisations of Halliday *et al.* (1964), Crystal & Davy (1969), Gregory & Carroll (1978), O'Donnell & Todd (1980) and Quirk *et al.* (1985), can be arranged in the form of the grid opposite.

Such a classification seems to be general enough to be applicable to all speech communities and languages in time and space, although not all individual categories or types can be expected to exist in every single community, nor can specific correlations or allocations. For instance, more than one



A 'Dialects' according to user				B 'Registers' according to uses						
acquisitional & functional status	regional dialect	social dialect	period language	medium (mode)	subject matter, province, field	text type, genre	status (tenor, style)	mode, modality	attitude	
ENL ESD ESL EFL pidgin, creole	(non-) St E., national standard	class-, sex-, group-restrictions, professional jargon, ESP	age-, generat.-, specific literary/ written OE, ME, Victorian	spoken, written, (form?: letter, telephone, drama, speech, sermon)	technical, common topic, ESP	recipe, letter, toast, epic, law, proverb	speaker: listener relation, role, formality	aim, purpose, amuse, convince, teach, order, narrate	speaker: listener mood, comment, slander, sympathy, irony, awe …	Correlation on various linguistic levels:
	Yorks. d., AmE, Scots?, IndE, RP	cant, slang, technical, U ≠ non-U	archaic, conservative, dated, now rare, obsolescent, neologism, historical, Biblical	spoken, written	medical, anatomical, chemical, linguistic, historical, law, Biblical		colloquial, polite, formal, informal, ˢ		derogatory, euphemism, facetious, pompous, taboo	restrictive labels in dictionaries
XX	XX	XX	–	–	–	–	X	X	X	pronunciation
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	syntax
XX	X	X	–	X	–	X	X	X	X	pragmatics

The choice of A is predetermined for each speaker (within a certain range – but other varieties, such as a second dialect, can of course be *learnt*); in B, one variety of each category must be selected in accordance with situational appropriateness. A + B make up the individual *realisation*; recurring (preferred) choices make up the *idiolect*.

Figure 6.1 Varieties of English. Based on Halliday *et al.* (1964); Crystal & Davy (1969); Gregory & Carroll (1978); O'Donnell & Todd (1980); Quirk *et al.* (1985)

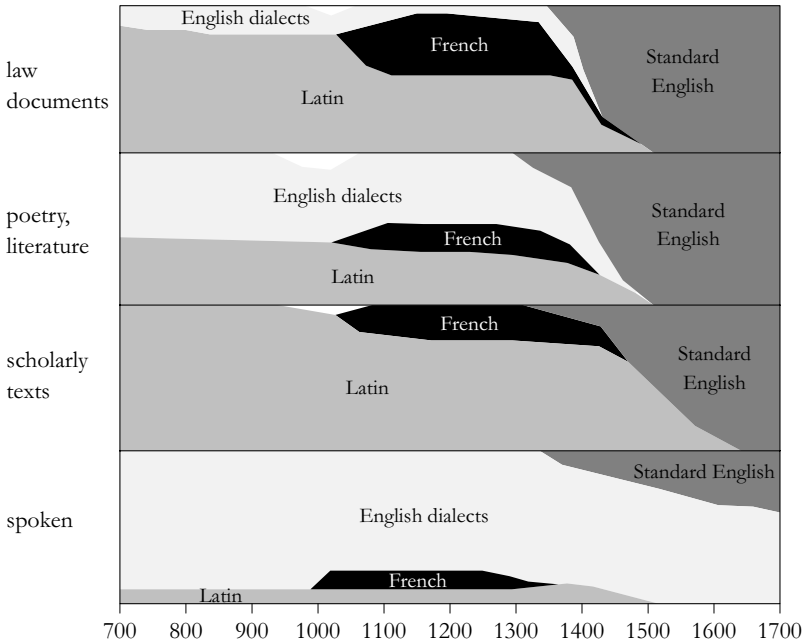


Figure 6.2 English dialects, Latin, French and Standard English in varieties of written and spoken English

language is involved in such a grid in multilingual societies, and any one of these may have conventionalised forms and functions, for instance when language X is exclusively used for religion, is normally written, is very prestigious, is known (or at least actively used) only by a small minority, etc. A linguist describing language forms and uses in a specific community will have not only to detail available varieties/languages and existing functional choices, but also to account for possible combinations of categories e.g. to say whether a lyric poem is likely, possible or quite extraordinary in regional dialect. (The graph above makes clear that 'dialect' will always be understood as 'regional' in this chapter for varieties which other scholars prefer to call 'the vernacular', to contrast with a more generic use of 'dialect'.) It is also important to know how strict expectations, conventions or regulations are.

Are mixtures of varieties and languages common practice, are they tolerated or stigmatised? How well defined are linguistic forms of text types/genres, and what does it mean if a speaker/writer does not conform with the hearer's/reader's expectations? As regards Early Modern English, such reflections relate to the status of English, French and Latin, and their changing prestige and functions within the period (cf. figure 6.2; see 6.2.2 below).

6.1.3 The time frame 1450–1800

From the viewpoint of both the linguist/dialectologist and the social historian, the beginning and end of the Early Modern English period are relatively ill defined. In particular, there has been a long discussion of whether the fifteenth century (or how much of it) should be included in the period, and whether the eighteenth century (or the period after 1660) does not constitute a period by itself. Establishing periods in a necessarily continuous development involves problematic decisions for all historical disciplines, be they music, economic history, dress, architecture, literature or linguistics. Members of a particular community are younger or older, progressive or conservative, choose particular features to express their identities, or select different styles to express different roles.

However, there came a point in the fifteenth century at which every educated speaker (and particularly writer) of English had to make a decision as to what kind of English he considered more respectable or correct for formal use than another (possibly his vernacular) form and show this attitude by conforming (to a greater or lesser degree) with what can loosely be called 'formal, written London English'. This implied distancing himself from regional uses, which would become increasingly marked as 'spoken, informal, less prestigious, uneducated, lower-class'. Although this point would be sooner or later, depending on region, education, age, sex and linguistic awareness and social ambition, the shift is uncontroversial – which permits us to speak of a new era in the linguistic history of English. Although naive sociolinguistic conclusions must be avoided, it is uncontested that this change has to do with a changing political, economic, intellectual *Weltbild*, that of the Renaissance.

The end point may seem to be less well defined, if only because there is a greater number of options. For many who see the English Civil War as the great historical divide, the period would end in, say, 1640 or 1660 (with the beginning of the Restoration). Since linguistic developments take some time to reach completion, other scholars have opted for 1700 – a decision which also commends itself for mnemotechnic ease. For those who favour 1776 (the date of America's secession), 1800 (as a round figure), 1815 (the end of the Napoleonic threat) or 1832 (the death of Scott and the beginning of cheap printing) the Early Modern English period ends when the Industrial Revolution and a new industrial society begin. The decision makes sense for the dialectologist and historical sociolinguist, too, since the prestige and stigmatisation of linguistic varieties, and in consequence, frequency of use of individual 'styles' depends on the type of society speakers live in.

6.1.4 The social history of education, in particular reading and writing

A great number of factors related to schools and book production have consequences for, or are indicative of, attitudes to the language chosen for communication, especially in written form, and to the questions of correctness:

6.1.4.1 French and Latin

The medium used in schools was French until the fourteenth century when John of Cornwall, according to Trevisa's famous account, changed it to English (Mossé 1952: 285–90 prints the passage together with Higden's Latin and Caxton's text of 1482). This cannot apply to grammar schools and universities, for which Latin was obligatory well into the seventeenth century. If elegance and correctness were considered worth cultivating in just *one* language, then the natural choice would have been Latin for at least a great number of the educated. (Note the parallels for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, where the choice was French in many countries, or for many present-day countries world-wide, where the choice is English, and cf. 6.2.2) Whether imitation of Latin structures was due to deliberate transfers, or unintentional 'osmosis', it is important to see that the linguistic or logical constructions and rules for writing were learnt by the educated on the pattern of classical Latin, and that the English style used in many formal text types was apparently praised according to how close it came to Latin models (see also Nevalainen this volume, Adamson this volume).

6.1.4.2 Standards of written English

Since book language was and is considered correct and since it provided a model to be imitated, standard written English was likely to secure a hold with native speakers of English vernaculars, of Scots or of other languages (like the Celtic ones), affecting these speakers in different ways but ultimately replacing the less prestigious variety in one domain (say biblical, or administrative) first, and others later. Although this process would affect only the written medium at first, it is obvious that it would not leave the lexis (less so, the syntax) of spoken English untouched. Also, the naive belief that if written usage is correct then the spoken forms ought to approximate to it as closely as possible led to an increasing number of spelling pronunciations. Some scholars believe (cf. Lass this volume) that even contrasts like /**ai**/ versus /**oi**/, allegedly lost in most varieties, were re-instituted through spelling differences of the *nice*:*noise*, *pint*:*point* type.

(Modern German *has* seen the re-institution of the /eː/ v. /ɛː/ contrast on the basis of <ee> v. <ä> spellings, at least for many speakers.)

The continuing importance of Latin and the absence of a well-defined norm for English up to the eighteenth century meant that 'good education' became closely connected with 'proper language' comparatively late in the social history of English. True enough, Thomas Elyot referred to the importance of choosing the right nurse to provide a pattern for proper pronunciation as early as 1531 – but he stressed the importance of good Latin even more (1531: 131–2). In the seventeenth century, lexicographers advertised their books as guides to good English, and Locke stated that proper English was a necessary part of the education of a gentleman. However, it was only in the times of Lord Chesterfield that this concern became dominant. From 1737 on, he wrote a long series of letters to his son of which at least fifty deal with questions affecting the English language (Neumann 1946):

> The language of the lower classes is, of course, to be avoided because it is full of barbarisms, solecisms, mispronunciations, and vulgar words and phrases, all of which are the marks of 'a low turn of mind, low education, and low company . . . ordinary people in general speak in defiance of all grammar, use words that are not English, and murder those that are'. (466, quoting Chesterfield's Letters 701, 729)

It was only through works like Johnson (1755) and Lowth (1762) that proper guidance could be provided on lingustic law and order. However, writers of guidebooks realised that their efforts might well be thwarted by the neglect or inability of the users. Trusler admits (1766: 18):

> Though *Humoursom*, instead of *Humorous*, be chiefly heard among the low People, (none of whom, in all Probability, will ever study this Book, to learn good English) yet, as there are few bad Expressions used by the Vulgar, but that sometimes make their Way into better Company, it is proper to take Notice that the Word, which implies *Comical*, is *Humorous*, and not *Humoursom*; the Signification of which last Word is *Peevish*, *Froward*, *Hard to please*.

6.1.4.3 Demographic facts

Although there is of course no straight correlation between the currency of dialect and its evaluation on the one hand, and urbanisation and density of population on the other, a look at changes in demographic patterns between 1800 and 1900 can serve to throw into relief the sociolinguistic conditions that underlie my discussion. To the facts represented in figures 6.3 and 6.4 (from Darby 1973: 393, 676) should of course be added the

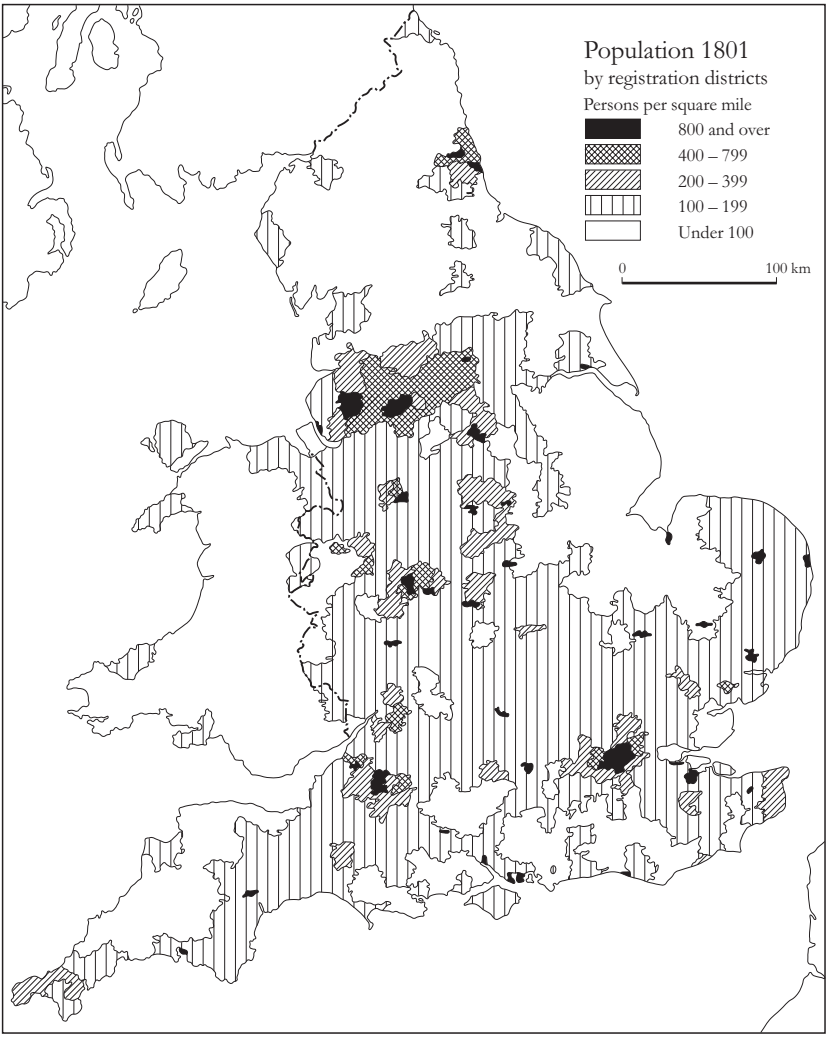


Figure 6.3 Population of England, 1801. Based on H. C. Darby (ed.) *A New Historical Geography of England*, Cambridge University Press, 1973

increase of mobility (aided by modern developments in transport), education and communication.

The maps also indicate that in 1800 there was little chance for lower-class urban dialects to develop outside London (if we assume that a population of a certain size is necessary for such varieties to emerge), but that the situation had drastically changed by 1900.

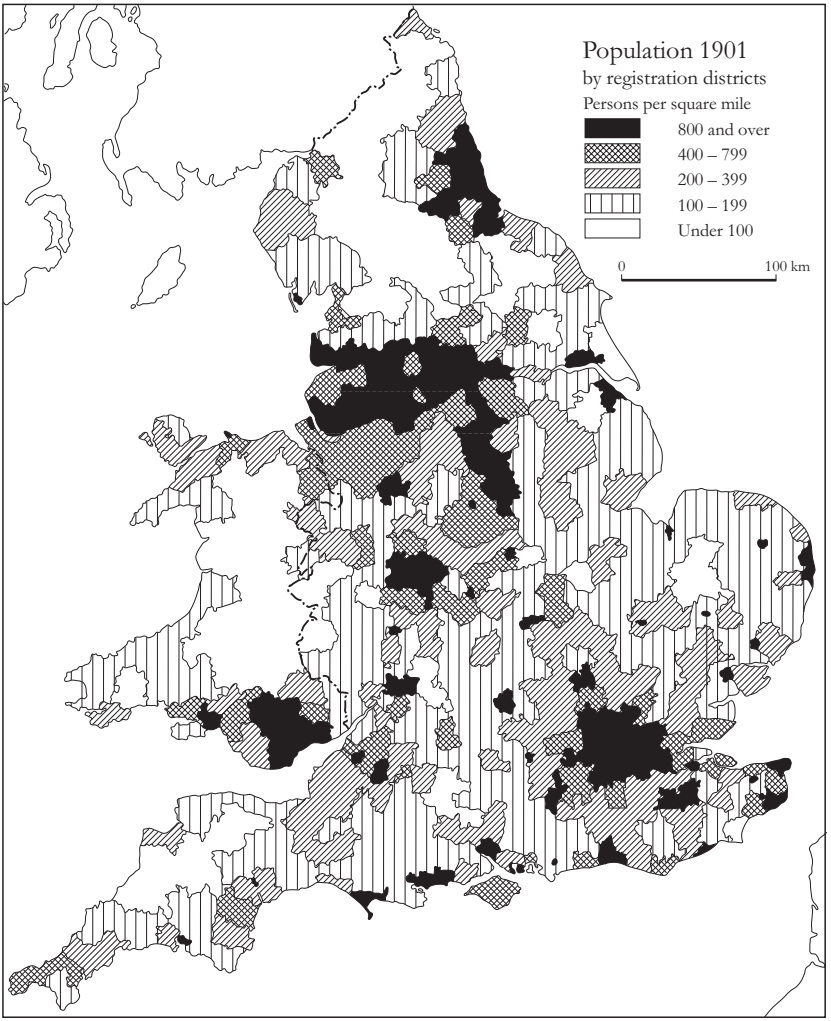


Figure 6.4 Population of England, 1901. Based on H. C. Darby (ed.) *A New Historical Geography of England*, Cambridge University Press, 1973

6.1.5 *The geographical scope: England and the problem of Wales, Scotland, Ireland and America*

At the beginning of the Early Modern English period variation in English was a problem confined to England. Harrison, in his introduction to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, carefully distinguished between England and Scotland, attributing three languages to each: English, Welsh and Cornish

as against Scots, Gaelic and Norn (1577; text in Görlach 1991: 233–6), and Mulcaster (1582: 256) has a similar (much-quoted) remark:

> Our English tung . . . is of small reatch, it stretcheth no further then this Iland of ours, naie not there ouer all.

In fact, the effective anglicisation of Wales did not start until the sixteenth century, and Wales was still predominantly Welsh-speaking in the nineteenth century, and Cornish survived until the eighteenth. From Early Modern English onwards, the range of varieties of English therefore expanded in coherent areal speech communities which had English as a second language (ESL), with a gradual shift to native-language status (ENL) around the fringes first, and (in Wales) a speedier change from the period of early industrialisation onwards, i.e. *after* the end of Early Modern English. Where the shift to English was completed, local forms of it may still be characterised by accent, but have not developed into broad dialects, the language having been transmitted in its standard form, through schools and books.

Scotland had developed a semi-independent standard before 1603, in the times of the independent kingdom, on the basis of educated Edinburgh usage. The question whether sixteenth-century Scots should be considered as a language, or rather as a dialect of English (and therefore part of this chapter) is impossible to decide unambiguously. When I had to decide whether or not to include Scots in my *Introduction to Early Modern English*, I tried to summarise the pros and cons as follows (Görlach 1991: 22):

> On the one hand, Scots fulfilled the critera usually assumed to be constitutive for a language:

1. It was a national language whose use coincided with the political boundaries of the Scottish kingdom.
2. It had developed a literary/written standard.
3. The court at Edinburgh and the University of St Andrews provided a norm of written (and presumably also of spoken) Scots.
4. There are several statements extant indicating that some users considered Scots an independent language (cf. Bald 1926).

On the other hand, the weight of these criteria is diminished by the increasing convergence of Scots with English in the course of the period; and there are other factors which argue against independent language status:

1. The reciprocal intelligibility of Scots and English was not seriously endangered even when the two were furthest apart (in spite of the remarks made above).

2. Structural differences were most marked in phonology/orthography and – in some texts – in lexis, but much less so in inflexion and syntax.
3. Educated speakers remained conscious of the common descent of Scots and Northern English, and of the close historical relationship between Scots and English in general.

It can therefore be argued that Scots is and always has been a sub-system of English, whose incipient separation from Early Modern English was slowed down as a consequence of political, economic and cultural factors in the sixteenth century and finally blocked by the adoption of English as the written (and, later, the spoken) language of higher prestige (cf. McClure 1994).

Ireland had an old (medieval) English-speaking community, which survived into the Early Modern English period (and right into the nineteenth century) mainly in 'The Pale' just north of Dublin and in County Wexford, where its archaic character was noted as early as 1577 when Stanihurst commented upon it in his contribution to Holinshed. Further dialects (mainly Western English and Scots) were transported with the settlers of the Ulster Plantation, where they are still distinct as Mid-Ulster English and Ulster Scots. Later anglicisation of Ireland, mainly from Cromwell onward, had a non-standard English input, but without any regional bias; the more typical features of Hiberno-English are due to a combination of incomplete second-language acquisition by speakers of Irish Gaelic and the settlers' and administrators' dialects. Although the Irish brogue became a butt of irony for educated London society in the eighteenth century (including comment by Irish emigrants such as Swift) and thus came to be a stylistic variety within British English (cf. the texts assembled in Bliss 1979), it is not included in my discussion. (Also compare earlier stage Irish English spoken by Macmorris in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, 6.3.4.2 below.)

Dialects were also transported to the North American continent. However, even where settlers came from mainly one area (the 'Pilgrim Fathers' came predominantly from the Midlands) there was the expected 'colonial levelling' (Trudgill 1986 and cf. the early statements collected in Matthews 1931) so that only in very isolated pockets did British dialects have a chance to survive (such as Southwestern English dialects in out-of-the-way Newfoundland fishing communities). In a few other places, the provenance of the input may still be detectable (Scots and Irish in the Appalachians/Ozarks, disputed dialect and Hibernian English features in Caribbean creoles), but these components were fused with other elements in the proverbial 'melting-pot' so that it now takes a historical linguist to identify them.

Apart from Ulster, only Orkney and Shetland saw the expansion of the Scots language, but even here this was replaced by school English in the eighteenth century, as also happened in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands after the abortive 1745 rising.

The spread of English within Britain and further abroad is, then, quite different from the situation in extraterritorial German settlements – all dialect-speaking, even though Standard German is normally available through the church and the schools. The reason for the greater homogeneity of spoken English around the world is certainly partly that English had achieved greater unity, at least as a formal written language, by the time it came to be transplanted so that dialect speakers had a common denominator of 'correctness' if they wished to conform linguistically.

6.1.6 Historical sociolinguistics and the problem of sources

Much of the best tradition of historical linguistics has always taken the social and political realities of earlier stages of the language into account. In this respect, books like Wyld (1936), Horn & Lehnert (1954) and Jespersen (1909–49) are relevant to our topic. However, there has only recently been a group of studies that actually claim the title of sociohistorical linguistics; three of these studies cover our period and are at least partly in our field:

Romaine (1982) is an attempt to correlate linguistic variables (indicative of 'anglicisation') with sociolinguistic factors, here represented by four text types in sixteenth-century Scots, her main concern being to account for different distributions of relative pronouns. While the study is of impressive depth and rigour, it fails to do sufficient justice to some sociohistorical factors: for one thing, the Early Modern English 'input' is not analysed, and further, it remains open what social distinctions the four text types are taken to represent since we do not learn much about authors and their intentions, addressees and patrons, formal restrictions deriving from text-specific decorum or about the relevance of sources (in the case of the translation here analysed).

Devitt (1989), on a quite similar topic, is an advance over Romaine, since Devitt takes into account more linguistic variables and more text types, which are interpreted as specimens of written communication within social frameworks and functions as far as these can be reconstructed. Both authors have, significantly, chosen a field where, with two related and linguistically similar standard languages clashing under quite well-known conditions, and amply documented, individual features can be plausibly

ascribed to one of the two systems and 'interference features' be easily detected, counted and interpreted with regard to the writer's motives, and possibly correlated with what is known about both writer's and addressee's social status features.

Tieken (1987) was in a more difficult position when investigating the social relevance of 'empty' *do* in eighteenth-century texts. As school-book knowledge has it, the feature ought to have been dead by the end of the seventeenth century, and it generally was in respectable prose. (Pope objected to it even in verse, where it served metrical convenience.) However, while we can certainly agree with the author that *do* in affirmative non-question sentences is an indicator of informality, it is difficult to pin down its social relevance. (Compare, for lexis/phrasing, Wyld's (1936: 22) remarks on the surprising outspokenness and absence of genteel diction in many upper-class women in the early eighteenth century.)

The number of smaller studies illustrating the impasse of sociolinguistic interpretation of historical data – even for quite well-documented communities – could be multiplied. One of the more impressive ones is Labov's claim to have identified possible mergers, semi-mergers or non-mergers of vowel phonemes in sixteenth-century educated London English (1975; the topic is taken up in Harris 1985 and in Lass this volume). We are forced to admit that there cannot have been general mergers of, say, *ea* [ɛː] and *ai* [æ[1]] in the sixteenth century, if the two sounds have separate histories in the later standard. However, it is quite a different matter how this non-merger is to be interpreted in social terms. Hart, one of the astutest observers of the emerging standard and certainly aware of sociolinguistically relevant distinctions, does have this merger (if we can trust his painstaking transcription) and claimed it was part of 'the best English', possibly becoming entrapped in a self-introspective (dialect-based?) fallacy – or that there was still more than one form of 'best English'.

But even where the evidence is very clear, its social interpretation may not be. How much *tolerance* is there towards linguistic variation in a given society, and can we assume that there are universal or common regularities in degrees of acceptance, or must the choice offered within a system characterised by variability sooner or later lead to functional differentiation – how long can variation be neutral? And how much credit can we give to the statements of language-conscious participant observers, many eager for linguistic law and order, and some coming to the battlefield with axes to grind?

Generations of schoolmasters and orthoepists insisted on a phonic representation of written <gh>, even when the majority of speakers had /ø/ or /f/ in word-final position or before /t/ (type *high*: *height*, *laugh*: *laughter*).

Now Elizabeth I, not only competent in at least five languages, but also educated by Roger Ascham as her tutor, spells the word *rhymes* as *righmes* in her translation of Boethius of 1593 (text in Görlach 1991: T20/99) – an indication that she could not have pronounced words like *night* with /x/, or else she would not have put *gh* in where it did not belong (taking *igh* as an unambiguous spelling for the diphthong developed from ME /i:/). What do we make of the evidence that the queen herself did not pronounce her /x/s properly (cf. Lass this volume: 3.5.1)? What of the fact that the very unusual spelling cannot have seemed correct even at a time when spelling was much more variable than later? (We do in fact have indications that spelling did not matter as much, as a sociolinguistic indication of proper education, as it did from the eighteenth century on with people like Lord Chesterfield.)

Phonology provides a long list of features that were stigmatised in certain speech communities and periods but are not so now, or *vice versa*. Instances are:

> /h/-dropping, which came to be discredited only from the late eighteenth century onwards (Milroy 1983)
>
> the /oi = ai/ merger in *noise*: *nice*, which was apparently common in educated speech in the eighteenth century, but became provincial in the nineteenth (cf. Lass this volume: 3.4.2.6);
>
> /-n/ for *-ng*, which was common in unstressed syllables, and remained so in conservative RP as late as about 1900, but is now a highly stigmatised feature in most formal varieties of English.

On the other hand, pronunciations that led to modern standard British English (RP) *great* and *dance* were strongly disliked when first used.

All this serves to show that scholars can go badly astray if they extrapolate uncritically from their own speech to describe earlier phases of English – or other geographical varieties.

6.1.7 Reconstruction

There is nothing wrong, in principle, with using diachronic evidence to reconstruct earlier dialects (although the linguist cannot hope to reconstruct full systems of subvarieties – let alone their social and stylistic 'meaning'). It will be helpful to show a few cases in which the principle has been usefully applied (or is awaiting judicious application) to Early Modern English varieties:

(a) The publication of *LALME* (McIntosh *et al.* 1986) seems to cry out for a scholar to relate the Middle English data to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century data collected in *EDD* and modern atlases, fitting in the

evidence we have of Early Modern English regional differences. (But note that *LALME* concentrates on spelling to the virtual exclusion of other linguistic levels.)

(b) The stability of dialect boundaries, or rather, the *shift* of the 'isophones' of individual features has been adequately treated for 'the Southwest', 'Watling Street', the 'Humber–Ribble line' and the English–Scottish border. For periods less well documented, as Early Modern English often is, we can extrapolate the movement of receding or advancing features.

(c) Transported varieties of Early Modern English, spreading first to Scotland and Ireland, later to America (both to New England and to the Caribbean), have developed into new varieties of English whose features – through all the haze of language contact and colonial levelling – throw some light on varieties of Early Modern English, especially where the geographical and social provenance of settlers, and their educational and religious backgrounds are fairly well known.

(d) Structural insights derived from regional and social variation in English of various periods can not only supplement our data, but also interpret them. Whether all this should be subsumed under sociohistorical linguistics is a matter of label. One of the most convincing illustrations of the principle appears to be Lass's conclusion, based on the development of the long high vowels in northern dialects, that the Great Vowel Shift cannot be explained by means of a drag-chain hypothesis (Lass this volume: 3.3).

All evidence of this kind has to be handled with very great care, but it seems that the chances of successful reconstruction are much better for Early Modern English than for other periods, since so much more linguistic and sociohistorical data are available and can be correlated.

6.1.8 The contribution of Early Modern English dialects to the standard language

There is no comprehensive study of the topic, so any account must be incomplete and partly conjectural. The following generalisations would seem to need verification very urgently, but they can still contribute towards the setting up of hypotheses for comprehensive investigations.

The processes by which the English standard came to be established at a very early date (compared with other northern European countries) suggest that the 'fusion' happened in the fifteenth century, and that regional features had no great chance of being accepted into the standard after 1500; such 'influences' are rather to be expected, especially as far as pronunciation and syntax are concerned, in 'vertical' diffusion, i.e. they reflect an interchange of coexisting social and stylistic varieties within London English.

Lexis is slightly different. An individual item (or a variant pronunciation of an existing word, say *kirk* for *church*) can easily be adopted from a dialect if there is some justification for it, e.g. in the designation of a local object or custom. However, the number of such internal loanwords is very low in English: this is certainly a consequence of the way standardisation proceeded, and the scant evidence is therefore in stark contrast to the great number of regional items in Modern German. Three types of such borrowings can be distinguished:

(a) A few words were restricted to Early Modern English dialects, but later lost their regional flavour, apparently via adoption into the supraregional language: *clever*, *tidy*.

(b) Other words came through literature where they were often used to designate dialect (e.g. 'northernisms' in Spenser), but when adopted into the common language shed both their regional and literary connotations: *hale* (from Spenser), *weird* (through Shakespeare), *glamour*, *gruesome*, *raid* (from Scott – the richest source).

(c) Finally, there were a great number of words referring to plants, tools, etc. in the language of farmers, artisans and sailors. Although most of these were not accepted into Standard English, there are quite a few that remained in use in the special jargon of the trades, with or without additional regional restrictions (cf. expressions for 'vessels': *fat/vat*, *keg*, *keeve* 'tub', South West).

The apparently very limited interchange (in contrast to the vast influence of Standard English on the dialects) is an important indicator of the inequality of the standard and various forms of non-standard language in Early Modern English times, and also of the circumstance that other focal areas – comparable, for instance, with the capitals of small dukedoms in Germany – were lacking in England after 1400. Note that the interchange was much more frequent between sociolects (their speakers being in more frequent contact); for instance, words might become acceptable when they lost their stigma through the rise to power of the speakers with whom they were associated (cf. 6.4).

6.2 Attitudes

6.2.1 Introductory comments

How did people react to variation in Early Modern English, and how far did they correct their speech, selecting from the varieties available the ones most appropriate to situation and purpose? (At least in written usage we must take into account that the educated were guided by the

rules of classical decorum as formulated by handbooks on rhetoric (6.2.3).) The surviving sources are, however, scant, and many of the statements are vague or ambigious. An instance is the anecdote about Sir Walter Raleigh, who is reported *not* to have accommodated to courtly London speech patterns. The account is worth quoting in full (from Wyld 1936: 109):

> he heard from Sir Thomas Malet, one of the justices of the King's Bench, who had known Sir Walter, 'that notwithstanding his so great mastership in style, and his conversation with the learnedest and politest persons, yet he spoke broad Devonshire to his dyeing day.

However, this statement is found, some fifty years after Raleigh's death, in Aubrey's *Short Lives* (not published until 1898). Was it really a dialect, or just a regional accent? Did he, for instance, use South-West dialect words and inflections, or broad 'Zummerzet' pronunciation, or was it only the non-London quality of his vowels that made his speech remarkable? And can we assume that Raleigh did not bother to conform because he was too powerful, whereas, by contrast, all the others did? How well attested is the claim that Gabriel Harvey 'took speech lessons to acquire a more elegant pronunciation' (Holmberg 1964: 11, who interprets this as seeming 'to imply that people were conscious of educational or social differences in pronunciation'). What does James VI's linguistic conversion mean in sociolinguistic terms when he published his works written after 1603, as James I, in impeccable English – and what was his spoken English like? Linguistic misdemeanour was criticised often quite severely, and sometimes by colleagues taking offence at each others' usage; Gil was not in agreement with Hart, and Nashe and Harvey fought vigorously over alleged inkhorn terms (see Nevalaihen, this volume). Attitudes towards correct, or rather incorrect, language did not soften after 1660. At that time authors not only criticised their contemporaries, but started accusing Shakespeare and Jonson of linguistic mistakes – sometimes anachronistically. The peak of such efforts came, however, in late eighteenth-century Edinburgh, when authors weeded out each other's Scotticisms. However, such explicit statements certainly represent the tip of the proverbial iceberg – we can safely assume that prescriptive attitudes in schools and the pressures that linked social upward mobility with 'proper' speech were much more important. But most of this evidence is lost, and it is therefore as important as it is time-consuming to get as close as possible to a reconstruction of what caused linguistic stigmatisation.

6.2.2 The status of Latin, French and English

6.2.2.1 Introduction

Variation in English, and attitudes towards the vernacular, cannot be seen independently of views on Latin and French, and that in two ways: first, it was Latin's well-regulated system of spelling, inflection and syntax that was looked upon as a model of elegance, and there was also the parallel that Englishmen saw in the efforts of the French to create a national standard language in the sixteenth century – with the model function of Latin replaced to some extent by French after 1660. Secondly, statements about Latin and French by native writers served as guidance when decisons about elegance and correctness had to be taken for English. Cicero, Horace and Quintilian were among the most-quoted authors when archaisms and neologisms, dialect or low words, debatable inflectional forms or lack of congruence, stylistic adequacy, the structure of sentences and logical arguments were discussed. Again, much of this was not explicitly stated, since what the most eminent Latin authors had advised was common knowledge among the educated.

6.2.2.2 Latin

Jones (1953) has provided a comprehensive account of the competition between Latin and English in the sixteenth century. Continued use of Latin, many renaissance writers argued, would keep English crippled with regard to the more respectable and sophisticated registers particularly of written uses. In order to make English into a fully functional national language, its uses had to be extended into domains associated with Latin, such as the sciences – against the opposition of those who, with good reason, pointed out the risks of such a development. Mulcaster (1582), who in his spirited plea for the vernacular asked 'Why not all in English?', summarised such objections to English under the following headings (cf. Görlach 1991: T8):

(a) English is needless (but look at the time wasted in the learning of foreign languages!)
(b) it is coarse and uncultivated [*uncouth*] (but look at the state of Latin before Cicero made an effort to polish it!)
(c) it is of 'small reatch' (but it is indispensable in England and a perfect means of communication)
(d) there is not much learning preserved in it (a fact that could be changed once scholars started using it)

(e) there is no hope of 'anie greatnesse' (but this is partly due to the fact that England is a 'Moanarchie' and ruled by Christian religion, facts that do not encourage liberty and eloquence)

(f) the use of English will hinder international scholarly communication (but scholars in Romance-speaking countries have begun to write in their vernaculars) . . .

Such discussions were made possible by the increasing self-confidence of English speakers after about 1575; they were less surprising after the emergence of Britain as a world power (a development that started in 1588, with the defeat of the Armada), and they became unnecessary with the completed emancipation of English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

With Latin's change of status from a second to a foreign language after 1660, its use became a badge of humanist education in the arts, a qualification that had lost its pragmatic functions and which was cultivated for its own sake.

The legacy of Latin, as far as variation in Early Modern English was concerned, was tremendous (as it was for other European vernaculars, too):

(a) Adoption of Latin-based words made possible full terminologies for scholarly disciplines, the sciences and technology

(b) Transfer of Latin syntactical patterns created respectable varieties of written English that were capable of higher degrees of abstraction and complexity for registers which became increasingly dominated by the written or printed word. (For an identification of such syntactic calques see Görlach 1991: 126–30; and see Adamson, this volume.) The proper mastery of these styles became the object of language education and thereby a sociolinguistic mark of the well-bred in contradistinction to the less educated, the slow reader, bad speller and clumsy user of syntax. Latin (on top of developments that would have happened as a result of the functional expansion in any case) thus also helped to distance written from spoken English, that is define more clearly the most important functional divide among the varieties according to use.

(c) The study of Latin (as stated above) provided the pattern of what a well-ordered standard language should be like: a system with no alternatives left in spelling, with clear (and, if possible, rational) rules in syntax and with a vocabulary that showed a clear distinction between the 'nice' words on the one hand, and the colloquial, low, technical and dialectal on the other – types that only rarely found their way into the writings of Cicero – or of Addison and Steele. This corrective function of Latin did not end with its dominance in the grammar schools, but the nature of its impact changed: with the Age of Reason, Latin was increasingly seen as

> deficient itself, and so its rules were copied only where they agreed with the demands of logic. After 1660, grammarians started objecting to contradictions and redundancies more than in earlier periods, so that double negation and double comparison, redundant pronouns and lack of concord came to be stigmatised, and unambiguous marking of adverbs, and distinctions between *who/which/that*; *will/shall*; *past/perfect*; simple and aspectual forms came to be demanded. A comparison with Latin structures will easily show that most, but by no means all of these developments had an equivalent in Latin.

The high prestige of Latin made misuse possible and indeed likely: Latinate syntax and vocabularly came to be the hallmark of writers unduly stressing their classical education, sometimes bordering on unintentional parody. When Day (1586: 38) wanted to illustrate excesses of such a style ('A ridiculous maner of writing') he did not invent a specimen (as Wilson in 1555 had done with his *inkhorn letter*), but went straight to a medical treatise, A. Boorde's *Breuiary of Helthe* of 1547 (text in Görlach 1991: T44):

> Egregiouse doctors, and maysters of the eximiouse & Archane Science of Phisicke, of your Vrbanlyte Exasperate nat your selues against mee, for makyng of thys little volume of Phisicke. Considering that my pretence is for an vtilitie and a common wealthe. And this not onely, but also *I* doe it for no detriment, but for a preferment of your lawdable science, that euerie man shoulde esteeme, repute and regard the excellent facultie. And also you to bee extolled and highly preferred, that hath and doth studie, practise and labour this sayd Archane science, to the which none inartious persons, can nor shall attayne to the knowledge: yet nothwithstanding fooles and insipient persons, yea and manie the whiche doth thinke themselues wise (the which in this facultie be fooles in deed) will enterprise to smatter &c.

On the other hand, incompetent handling of Latinisms became a distinctive feature of the sociolect of those who had 'small Latin and less Greek'. The use of *inkhorn terms* in the speech of students and other more educated persons is contrasted with the bungling malapropisms characteristic of the lower sociolects (6.4.1).

6.2.2.3 French

French had lost its second-language functions as the medium for the law, the higher administration and much of written everyday communication including private letters in the course of the fifteenth century, but its use and its prestige as the most important modern foreign language remained

unaffected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Kibbee 1991). After 1660, when the court returned from exile in France, and when the cultural dominance of *la grande nation* left hardly any European nation unaffected, English added 'courtly language' to its repertoire of registers – and its fashionable misuses. Complaints about unjustified influence of French on English last from the 1660s to the 1750s, and they range from indirect comment in the form of satire on language in Restoration Comedy to Dr Johnson's outspoken warning that English would become a dialect of French if this influence continued (see also Nevalainen, this volume).

6.2.2.4 Purism

Purism, defined as the deliberate attempt at reducing the number of foreign words or avoiding their use altogether, is not a modern phenomenon. Renaissance authors could point to Cicero's and other Latin authors' objections to a too liberal use of Greek where Latin expressions were available – or could be coined. Purism *does* depend on a certain degree of linguistic nationalism or at least a conviction that unrestricted borrowing reduces to some extent the expressiveness of one's language, a potential which ought to be cultivated by writers, teachers and other linguistic pacesetters.

There was little of such feeling in the sixteenth century; or at least there were not many people who flatly rejected the borrowing of foreign vocabulary. The more thoughtful users of the language (such as Sir Thomas Elyot) tried to use foreign words only where they could not do without them – according to Ciceronian precepts. One wonders why so few attempted to translate (or paraphrase) terminologies into English (Golding for medicine, Lever for logic, Puttenham for rhetoric), and why Cheke, who so vociferously demanded an 'unmixed and unmangled' vernacular, was himself so inconsistent. There was certainly no institution that could have implemented a puristic language policy, should it have ever been formulated, and there do not seem to have been many who saw the sociolinguistic consequences of excessive borrowing, as Wilson did as early as 1553 when he warned against a division of English:

> Therfore, either we must make a difference of Englishe, and saie some is learned Englishe, and other some is rude Englishe, or the one is courte talke, the other is countrey speache, or els we must of necessitee, banishe al suche affected Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of language.
> (1553: 87^{r} = Görlach 1991: T4/76–81)

However much attention the unjustified overuse of loanwords in inappropriate situations found in many circles, lexical expansion by borrowing from Latin was not affected in general. Puttenham (1589: 120) warned against the diction of the universities 'where Schollers vse much peeuish affectation of words out of the primatiue [classical] languages,' and the story of the student who went to the shoemaker to have 'two tryangyls and two semy cercles' put on his 'subpedytals' (text in Görlach 1991: T 51) neatly illustrates the situation:

> *Of the scoler that bare his shoys to cloutyng*
> In the vnyuersyte of Oxonford there was a skoler y^{t} delytyd mich to speke eloquent english & curious termis/ And cam to y^{e} cobler wyth hys shoys whych were pikid before as they vsyd y^{t} seson to haue them cloutyd & sayd thys wyse/ Cobler I pray the set me .ii. tryangyls & .ii. semy cercles vppon my subpedytals & I shall gyue the for thy labor/ This cobler because he vnderstode hym not half well answerid shortly & sayd/Syr youre eloquence passith myne intelligence/ but I promyse you yf ye meddyll wyth me/the clowtyng of youre shone shall coste you .iij. pence. ¶By thys tale men may lerne y^{t} it is foly to study to speke eloquently before them that be rude & vnlernyd. (1526)

(Also note the mother-wit of the shoemaker, whose status is characterised by his dialectal plural *shone*.) Moreover, the frequency of malapropisms appears to indicate that even lower-class speakers loved the sesquipedalian word. Since most of the evidence occurs in literary texts one could rightly question its authenticity, but Cockeram's dictionaries (1623), meant for simple speakers and offering refined equivalents for short Saxon words, point to the same conclusion – this was no period, obviously, for puristic achievements.

Which individual language was objected to apparently depended on the conspicuousness of the imports. Although Wilson (1553: 86r) ridiculed the use of 'oversea language', which included 'Angleso Italiano', by those returning from the Continent, his main concern (and that of his contemporaries) was with Latin – contrast, two hundred years later, the obsession with 'Gallic' loans harboured by Dr Johnson, whose own style is an epitome of Latinate diction.

All this shows that it is not enough to count tokens of loan words but that stylistic appropriateness and correct use of foreign words can indeed be pointers to idiolects of social significance. Since the function of languages and the social structures correlated with their use changed so dramatically in the period under discussion, the situational context must in all cases be very carefully interpreted.

6.2.3 Classical views of correctness: elegance and decorum

Grammar, according to the classical distinction, took care of the *ars recte dicendi* (correctness), while the *ars bene dicendi*, the art of beautiful speech, was the field of rhetoric. The system was highly formalised and was made teachable in many handbooks of Latin and of English, in works by, for instance, Peacham (1577) and Puttenham (1589). According to these rules, an expression could not be correct in all contexts, but only appropriate for a certain function, the correlation being established by *decorum*. The principle is not confined to literary language, or to written uses, but it was normally discussed in books devoted to 'The Arte of English Poesie'. Scholars comparing the state of English with that of classical Latin necessarily found that English was deficient on many counts. There were gaps in lexis (and in syntactic possibilities), but stylistic flexibility was sorely lacking as well. It is interesting to see that the legitimacy of loan words was 'proved' by the arguments that they added synonyms to the language (creating copiousness of speech; see Adamson this volume) and that they sounded better than native words (adding euphony and metrical or rhyming possibilities). Obviously, to overcome the inelegance of the vernacular was considered as urgent by writers of literary texts, as was the need to fill lexical gaps for writers of expository scientific prose. Such problems are even more evident when poets used the vernacular for a particular genre for the first time, that is, could not follow in the footsteps of a predecessor in accordance with the principle of *imitatio*. Edmund Spenser, who was the first to write pastoral poetry, made his shepherds speak a new language composed of archaisms, dialect and classical allusions – which provoked Ben Jonson's remark that 'Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language.' And he did not, but it was not his intention to use a form of English that had ever been in use: certainly broad dialect, however sociolinguistically realistic for shepherds, would not have fulfilled the tenets of decorum for pastoral *Poetry*. Even Milton, as late as 1667, had no epic style to fall back on for his *Paradise Lost*, so he tackled, in an English style modelled on Virgil and Horace, 'Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime' (*Paradise Lost* I. 16). Like writers of medical handbooks in the vernacular, who stressed how much easier it would have been for them to write in Latin, Milton would have had an easier time using Virgilian epic Latin – and would not have incurred Addison's scathing remark that he had built a temple of brick.

Milton possibly illustrates, in his verse and prose, the effect of decorum most convincingly: a large proportion of his vocabulary is either restricted to his poems (e.g. 'hard words'; the use of existing lexemes with meanings

adapted from Latin equivalents) or found only in his prose writings (e.g. the 'low' words used for the political and religious polemics of the Civil War). It is perhaps correct to say that Milton and the Civil War period represent the decisive stage in the process leading to the sharp distinction between poetic diction and non-literary language, thereby anticipating the tenets of classicism (Davies 1970).

Such hard-won stylistic expansion, which made possible the correlation with levels of formality, stylistic sophistication and appropriateness for individual genres was utilised in the eighteenth century. There is probably no period in the history of the English language when the influence of 'the best writers' on what is considered correct and appropriate has been so great as it was between 1660 and 1760 (cf. Collins 1972, Görlach 1990b: 31). Although the influence of prescriptive grammarians was also considered (cf. 6.2.4), their main impact came rather after 1750. Moreover, the influence exerted by the writings of Dryden, Swift, Addison and Steele before 1750 was different since they provided models to be imitated rather than rules to be followed.

6.2.4 Prescriptive and descriptive attitudes – reason and usage

Grammar, it was widely held in the Renaissance, was an attribute of Latin; English, lacking norms in spelling, pronunciation, morphology and syntax, was considered to be largely irregular and, many would have claimed, incapable of being reduced to a proper system and orderliness. If it ever were, this would have to be on the basis of the established rules of Latin. This conclusion was natural for grammarians who believed not only in the superiority of classical Latin but also that the structure of all languages was, ideally, identical. It does not come as a surprise, then, that the beginnings of grammar teaching in English are characterised by a tradition based on Latin and with a strong prescriptive slant. This tradition lasted well into our own days – Sir Winston Churchill still remembered his school grammar describing nonexistent English 'cases' arranged in paradigms according to Latin models. But even where the match with Latin was less close, the prescriptive attitude remained: the increase in the number of English grammars between 1600 and 1800 used in Michael's (1970) study is impressive: only thirty-four works date back to the seventeenth century (and many of these were in Latin), but nine, seventeen, thirty-five, eighty-one and ninety-three, a total of 235, come from the five twenty-year periods of the eighteenth century respectively. It is safe to say that the majority of these books tended to become shorter and more prescriptive

all the time, obviously satisfying the need of many readers for unambiguous advice.

The other, more or less complementary, tendency was to follow usage. In order to do this, it had to be clear which variety should be chosen as a model. The formula of classical Latin was to be guided by the consent of the learned (Ben Jonson's translation of Quintilian's *consensus eruditorum*), and it was clear from early on that educated London use was the only possible choice. Although some might argue in favour of the greater Germanic purity of northern English, 'yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is', as Puttenham summarised common opinion in 1589 (121). He was even more explicit in stating which sub-types of Southern English ought to be avoided (cf. Görlach 1990: 99), namely the language of:

(a) the people in the 'marches and frontiers' and 'port townes' (because of language mixing)
(b) the universities (because of Latinate diction)
(c) rural areas
(d) the lower classes ('of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort') regardless of region
(e) the old poets ('for their language is now out of vse with vs')
(f) 'Northern-men . . . beyond the riuer of Trent' (because even the language of the well-educated of this region shows some interference from the northern dialect).

However, it was not at all easy to establish a consensus, and the later history of English grammatical thinking shows that most authors came to accept usage only grudgingly, including those who paid lip-service to Horace's famous dictum about 'vse and custome', which are (in Puttenham's translation, 1589: 123) 'onely vmpiers of speach'. Ben Jonson was one of the few early grammarians who not only included a section on syntax in his *Grammar* (posthumously printed in 1640), but also diverged from Latin rules when describing English structures.

However, if we review the major developments of English syntax in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we find that most have no parallel in Latin structures (cf. Knorrek 1938, and Rissanen this volume):

(a) the completion of functional (fixed) word order (notably free in Latin)
(b) the regulation of the syntactical uses of *do* (which has no equivalent in Latin at all)
(c) the semantic distinction between past and present perfect (tense distinctions in Latin are completely different – in fact almost contrary)
(d) the consolidation of aspectual distinctions (there is no formally equivalent aspect in Latin).

All these developments began before 1660, and the first two were almost complete by that time. We can only state that they 'happened' against the rules of Latin-based grammars, whereas many syntactic transfers from Latin (such as sentence linking with initial *which* and some types of participial constructions; cf. Rissanen this volume) had all but disappeared by the Restoration – use and custom, only umpires of speech, appear to have won, at least in these respects, and as regards the first half of the period here discussed.

The eighteenth century inherited a largely ordered grammar from Early Modern English – but the system did not always agree with logical premises. In cases of unsettled usage, writers like Johnson would have preferred to apply reason, but he, too, realised how harmless a drudge he was: in a much-quoted passage (1755) he pontificated on *lesser*: 'A barbarious corruption of *less*, formed by the vulgar from the habit of terminating comparatives in *er*; afterwards adopted by poets, and then by writers of prose', to which he added in later editions: 'still it has the authority which a mode originally erroneous can derive from custom'. Lowth's disapproval of the irregularity of *good* and *bad* is even more strong-worded: 'They are in general words of most frequent and vulgar use, in which the caprice of Custom is apt to get the better of analogy' (1769: 59, 104; quoted from Leonard 1929: 141–2 – not in the first edition of 1761). In fact, almost all the important eighteenth-century writers reflecting on the state of the English language discuss the problem of the two opposed principles of reason and usage, preferring the one or the other, or looking for compromises between them (cf. the informative chapter 'The appeal to usage and its practical repudiation' in Leonard 1929: 139–65).

6.2.5 Views on the vernacular

It is common in times when a standard language is being established for dialects to be stigmatised as the speech of those who cannot do any better. England was no exception, and since the standard came early and was quickly implemented, the discrediting of dialect use was quick and dramatic. It is significant that the proportion of dialect texts compared to what was intended as standard writing cannot be more than one in a thousand before 1660, and mentions of dialect are also quite few. Most of these warn against the use of dialect words or grammatical structures, but there is Gil's (1621: 19) remarkable statement that dialect is admissible in poets:

> The use of dialects is permitted of all writers only to poets, who refrain from employing it in general, except when they infrequently use northern speech for the sake of rhyme (? *rythmi*) or euphony, because it is sweetest, oldest and purest, since closest to the language of our ancestors. (translation M.G.)

Negative attitudes changed very slowly. No help was to be expected from Scots: whereas the language of official documents changed slowly to English forms by 1660 (Devitt 1989), literary texts such as James I's or Drummond of Hawthornden's were almost completely anglicised. However, there must have been the beginnings of a change of attitude from the early seventeenth century onwards regarding the dialects of northern England, which is likely to be connected with the appreciation of their Germanic character (cf. the Puttenham and Gil quotations above, and the attitudes of 'Saxonist' scholars such as Camden, Verstegan and Lisle who praised the great age and the Germanic roots of English).

It is therefore no coincidence that John Ray (cf. 6.3.3) found so much support for his collections of dialect words in the north and that the first 'gentlemanly' dialect poem, George Meriton's of 1683, comes from Yorkshire (cf. 6.3.4); both Ray's scholarly interest in and Meriton's use of dialect for 'literary' purposes are very early compared to other European countries.

In the eighteenth century interest in, or at least tolerance of, dialect appears to have further increased – if it conformed to the Augustan idea of decorum. The so-called revival of Scots as a literary medium by Allan Ramsay and others happened after the shock of the union of the parliaments in 1707, i.e. the loss of what was left of Scottish political independence; but it also filled a niche of pastoral, satiric and comic poetry, allocated to an 'anti-standard' in the Augustan framework of decorum. Whether the great number of dialect poems of eighteenth-century England were stimulated by the Scottish model is impossible to say. However, it is quite clear that the underlying attitude was that dialect ought not to interfere with the standard: in consequence, dialect words were normally excluded from Johnson's dictionary of 1755 (or were clearly marked if they *are* there); Grose's *Provincial Glossary* of 1787 is not a proper 'dictionary' and it is also a complement to his collection of cant (*Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 1785). Also, the mention of dialect in grammars, most detailed in Adams (1799), is normally in the form of a warning against the use of these forms (cf. 6.3.2, 6.3.3).

6.2.6 *Views on low speech (including occupational jargon and cant)*

It is no surprise that attitudes towards the lower sociolects are even more critical than towards dialect – which could at least have a nostalgic touch of the Golden Age and rural simplicity about it. Puttenham's phrasing is remarkably straightforward when warning the prospective writer against following 'the speach of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort . . . for such persons doe abuse good speaches by strange accents or ill shapen soundes, and false ortographie' (1589: 120). With such views certainly dominant at the time, it is quite remarkable that Thomas Harman, a member of the landed gentry, as early as 1567 undertook to collect specimens of cant (cf. Görlach 1991: T9) – but also note the Elizabethan fascination with the underworld that is evident from cony-catching pamphlets and similar texts. However this may be, it is remarkable that many dictionaries continued the tradition by including Harman's material until this and much additional lexis were combined in Grose (1785).

Occupational jargon is different; there is a practical need for it, and its evaluation very much depends on how narrowly the idea of a standard is considered to be confined to the 'respectable' words of the liberal arts: the first dictionaries of specialised language (such as Manwayring 1644) appeared in the seventeenth century, at a time when this type of diction was also being praised by Sprat (1667, cf. Görlach 1991: T17), whereas Dr Johnson was more sceptical about such vocabulary (1755) – all depends, obviously, on how deeply an observer is steeped in the tradition of literature and the humanities.

6.3 Evidence of geographical variation

6.3.1 *The evidence on individual linguistic levels*

In the section below, data on variation in Early Modern English are critically reviewed; much of the evidence discussed is, however, not unambiguously dialectal in the narrow sense. Just as Wilson (1553) and Puttenham (1589) combined their warnings against broad dialect, lower-class speech, inkhornisms and archaisms as varieties not to be used by the poet, and just as Spenser mixed regionalisms, sociolectal and archaic elements in the speech of his shepherds, so writers of grammars and dictionaries were not clear about what should be marked as 'dialectal' and what as 'low'. Probably their indecision was justified: since the view of dialect as a non-standard variety had become common after the establishment of the new standard, it is needless to argue whether Henry Machyn's 'written Cockney' should

be filed under the one or the other, for it is the uneducated *and* regional speech of a sixteenth-century Londoner. My section, then, focusses on region, but does not exclude social class and stylistic features, when they cooccur with dialect or represent the functions that regional differences served in communication.

6.3.1.1 Spelling

Correct spelling has, at least since the eighteenth century, assumed great sociolinguistic importance, but there is considerable evidence that the stigmatisation of spelling mistakes is a new development. True enough, if uneducated speakers like the undertaker Henry Machyn spelt according to their lower-class pronunciation, the spelling would be stigmatised too; his *Diary* of 1557 (cf. the excerpt in Görlach 1991: T40) is riddled with exotic spellings which must have given him away as uneducated even in this early period (*whent*, *cronnacull*, *howsswold*; cf. the discussion in Wyld 1936: 141–7). Puttenham must have had people like him in mind when warning against 'ill shapen soundes and false ortographie'. However, Queen Elizabeth's spelling *righmes* mentioned above indicates that rather unpredictable spellings were found in educated writers; and letters and diaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are still full of them – and they were often used by female writers. Many people must have thought that to spell correctly was the secretary's job, and not necessarily a badge of liberal education. This attitude changed only in the eighteenth century when many of the educated became obsessed with orthography.

The case is, of course, different with dialect words. Since no orthographic norms existed for such words, writers had to make the spelling up, and since there is no unambiguous correlation between sounds and letters in English, the results are not always satisfactory. In consequence, the faulty or misleading notation of dialect evidence is one of the major concerns of every historical dialectologist.

6.3.1.2 Pronunciation

Pronunciation has always been the most conspicuous marker of regional or social varieties, as comments from antiquity onwards show. In English, too, one of the first extended comments, in Trevisa's translation (1387) of Higden's *Polychronicon*, notes regional differences in 'sownynge of speche', and enlarges on the unpleasant pronunciation found in York in particular, which also affects intelligibility (cf. the excerpt printed in Wakelin 1977: 34;

Lass this volume). Puttenham, although concerned with the written language appropriate for the poet, mentions pronunciation with regard to lower-class London dialect. Not that the educated agreed on what was 'the best English': and many of those who pontificated about correctness were indeed hampered by their own dialect backgrounds, as Dobson (1968) in particular was careful to point out when discussing the reliability of the statements of individual orthoepists.

Hart, who very carefully observed and described what he put forward as the norm for others to imitate, had in his ideolect a merger of *mead*:*maid* words which is only occasionally attested for sixteenth-century London – and which was certainly not the basis of the later standard which has the merger of *mead*:*maid* and *maid*:*made* (cf. Görlach 1991: 69 and the discussion in Lass this volume).

Other writers on Early Modern English norms who were possibly influenced by their native dialects include: Peter Levins (1570; there is 'abundant evidence of Northernisms', though his speech 'was certainly accommodated in many ways to the language of the South', Dobson 1968: 21, 24); in John Cheke's speech there seem to be some traces of his Cambridge origins (45); William Bullokar's language seems to reflect his Sussex origins (105–8); and Richard Mulcaster has a full chapter (125–7) devoted to the Northernisms in his speech.

In an age when learning standard pronunciation for non-standard speakers meant paying for an elocution teacher – a phase that lasted right into the late eighteenth century, when the method was adopted by well-to-do Edinburgh citizens – the norm spread but slowly and not very efficiently. It is compelling diachronic evidence that Puttenham's localisation of the best English (found in London and sixty miles around it) is almost identical with the area of present-day Southern English (the area of /baːθ tʌb/ south of Northern and Midland /baθ tʊb/); cf. figure 6.5.

Such accommodation to a prestige pronunciation was difficult because the correlation between graphemes and phonemes was not perfect (and still is not): Hart (1569) had adduced various reasons for a reform of the orthography, one of them being 'for straungers or the rude countrie English man, which may desire to read English as the best sort vse to speake it' (Görlach 1991: T6: 30ff.). Even when dictionaries became more common, they did not, before Walker (1791), include information on correct pronunciation.

6.3.1.3 Morphology

In a language with an inflectional morphology so greatly reduced as was that of English after 1450, inflection would not seem to be a field in which

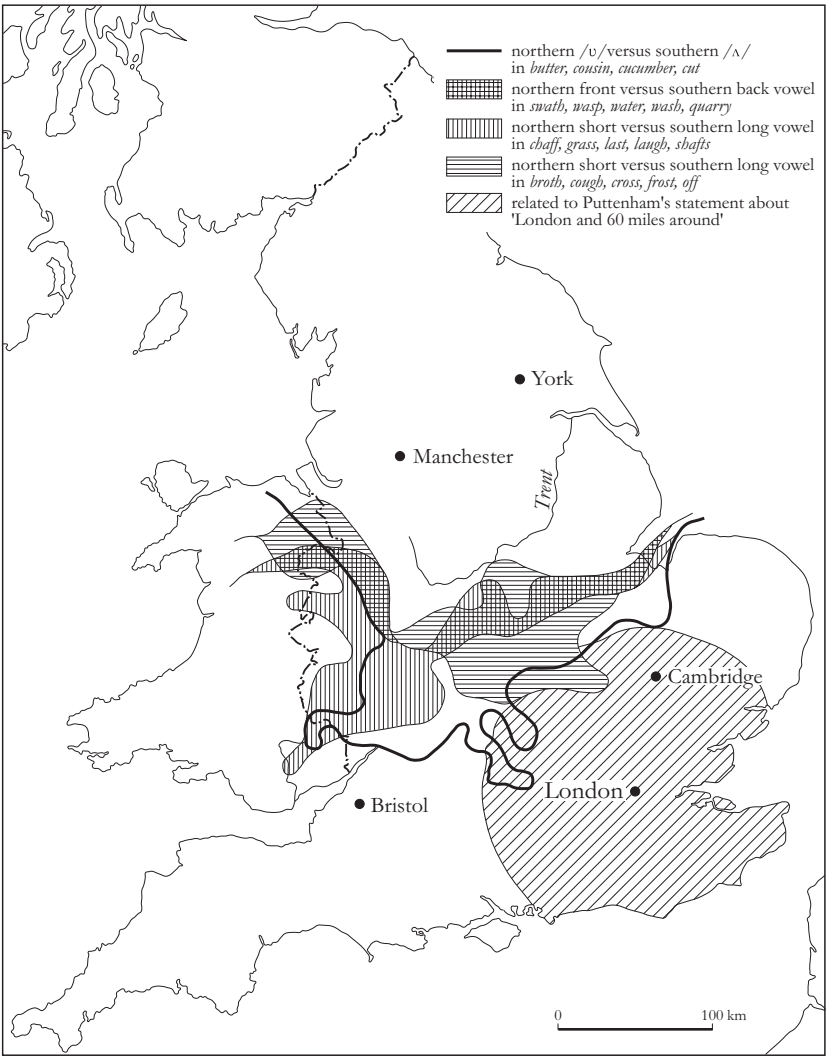


Figure 6.5 The geographical basis for 'good' English. Transition area between southern England and northern England, based on Puttenham (1589) and Glauser (1991)

dialect or other non-standard features will be prominent. Deviation from the standard can, however, be expected where

(a) historical forms were retained in dialect, unaffected by correctness as taught in the schools or as found in books: and where,

(b) by contrast, regularisations were generalised in dialects where the fossilising influence of the written tradition, with the authority exerted by texts

such as the Bible, preserved and sometimes re-instituted irregular forms in the standard.

The fact that the two tendencies are contradictory, but that both are nevertheless documented, will make it clear that predictions about the direction of linguistic change are impossible (cf. Lass this volume). A few examples may illustrate the problem:

Clear cases of (a) are the retention of *-n* plurals in a few nouns (*shoon*, *eyen*), or the survival of forms of verbs (*holp*, *clumb* for standard *helped*, *climbed* or *brung* for *brought*, *geten* for *got(ten)* etc.). (b) is illustrated by regular forms of nouns or verbs where the standard form is irregular.

However, there are quite a number of complex cases which are not so easy to decide. Many Early Modern English dialects appear to have had zero-genitive; Machyn's (1557) use of y^{e} *quen grace*, *master Hall cronnacull* are cases in point (cf. the discussion in Wyld 1936: 316–18). The reason behind this appears to be an over-generalisation – number-marking being more important than case-marking, the possessive function would here be expressed by word order (as for the other 'cases'), and the distinction between singular and plural retained.

The reason for the frequent unexpected dialect forms in the comparison of adjectives is possibly downright linguistic insecurity leading to over-generalisations and hypercorrections.

In the case of the third person singular ending, the originally regional divide between northern *-s* and southern *-eth* had collapsed by 1500, the two inflections being either in free variation or increasingly in complementary distribution according to medium, form and text type (cf. the still very readable account in Wyld 1936: 332–7, which, however, lacks quantifications). With only written evidence to go by, it is of course dangerous to assume that the choice was identical in both informal forms of writing and colloquial speech. In particular, we do not know what the motivation of the two forms was in various dialects and sociolects where both were available. Their distribution according to genre in the period 1580–1610, when *-eth* first became restricted to formal prose and then more narrowly to biblical/religious texts (and scripted-to-be-spoken sermons), is one of the unique developments of English. It is interesting to see that *-eth*, which was also the indigenous southern dialect form, is apparently never used in combination with other stereotypical forms such as *cham* for 'I am' or voiced initial fricatives of the *Zummerzet* type, to indicate dialect speakers on the stage – obviously because *-eth* could not function as a marker of respectable prose and the speech of uneducated country bumpkins at the same time.

Different again was the regional, social and stylistic distribution of the *spake*, *bare*, *wrate* preterites. When tense-marking became opaque in *bare*, *spake* for speakers who had a (near-)merger of the reflexes of ME /ɛː/ and /aː/, the adoption of /oː/ in *bore*, later in *spoke* was an easy solution conforming with the system. However, these new forms may have sounded vulgar to those who still kept their /ɛː/ versus /aː/ vowels distinct (Samuels 1972: 171–2), which in turn led to the perception of *bare* as 'refined'. In due course, <a> was extended by hypercorrection to forms like *wrate* (these forms now cooccurring with *-eth*, as in the Bible of 1611). In contrast to *-eth*, however, <a> does not seem to have been affected by the fact that this feature, too, was a marker of dialect – of the English and Scottish varieties north of the Humber. By the late seventeenth century, however, both *-eth* and <a>, were restricted to biblical contexts and came to be regarded as too archaic for 'normal' use.

Finally, even though the *thou:thee* versus *ye:you* problem is one of morphology, its development was determined by sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors. Although the outline history of the variable is clear (cf. Finkenstaedt 1963), many questions, especially those concerning dialects and sociolects, must remain open. With the change of markedness from *you* (polite) to *thou* (intimate, biblical/Quaker style, dialect) the rule of 'correct' (=situationally adequate) use must have been very complex indeed, especially since (unlike usage in Modern German) *thou*-ing was not based on an agreement between two persons, but remained variable according to mood, formality of context and topic (see Lass this volume). The history of *thou* after 1630 is, then, a typical case of the survival of an old distinction in varieties less affected by standard influence (dialects and lower sociolects) or where it was intentionally cultivated as a feature of group language (Quaker style).

6.3.1.4 Syntax

Of all the linguistic levels, it is probably most difficult to distinguish between regional and social non-standard features in syntax, since both would have been levelled away by the prescriptive influence of the schools in the surviving written texts. Moreover, syntactic variation is more often a consequence of stylistic choice, depending on formality, text type and topic: where one writer may deliberately flout the rules of 'correct' syntax by using conversational style (in a private letter or in a personal diary not intended for anyone else to read), another may use simple syntax because he cannot do any better.

One of the greatest limitations is that we have no authentic account of the syntax of the (various styles of) spoken English of the time. All text types that purport to render spoken English verbatim or at least 'faithfully' – parliamentary debates, negotiations, depositions of witnesses and court proceedings (cf. Barber 1974: 48) are at best approximations – and they represent quite exceptional types of spoken English. Texts scripted to be spoken exist in the form of sermons or plays – but of course they are *not* specimens of spoken English.

Finally, evidence of Early Modern English dialect syntax is almost nil. The fact can be illustrated by one of the few statements made about regional syntax before 1800. Robert Baker (1770) remarks on a feature used 'even by Persons of Distinction' in Lancashire and Chestire: *any* and *none* for '(not) at all'. He comments: 'Surely there cannot be a greater Violation of Grammar and Common-Sense. It is necessary to inform these North-western People of Fashion, that *any* and *none* have not the Significations they give them'. It illustrates the limitations of historical sociolinguistics that there are no means to ascertain

(a) whether Baker's statement is correct
(b) how widespread (socially and regionally) the incriminated usage was
(c) what the other lexical and syntactical features of the speech of such 'Northwestern people of fashion' were.

Not even modern dialectology is of any help in this; for one thing, modern dialectal distributions may be quite different, and Wright (1905) and the *SED* are quite incomplete as regards syntax.

Even more grievous is the absence of data to solve one of the most puzzling problems in the reconstruction of regional English syntax. We know from the standard language that the categories of tense, aspect, *Aktionsart*, and emphasis emerged, or were re-arranged, in post-medieval English, affecting *do* support, *be* + V + *ing*, *be* + *on* + V + *ing* and the preterite versus present perfect contrast. It so happened that *do* emerged as a grammatical dummy in some types of sentences, a marker of emphasis in others, and a full or resumptive verb in yet others, but that combinations with modals or *be/have* were not allowed. Some dialects must have regulated the uses of *do* in a different way – modern reflexes of south-west dialects have *do* in continuative function, Hiberno-English allows *doz be*, and some forms in Caribbean creoles which may derive from dialectal *do* (but have largely unsettled etymologies) point in the same direction (Harris 1986). It seems that we are here faced by insurmountable difficulties because

(a) the surviving texts are either standard or – if they claim to represent dialect – are somewhat late, are *written*, and written by 'gentlemen' with possibly distorted views of what dialect was or ought to be, and are in verse (which permits more *do*'s even in the standard);
(b) the modern reflexes are some 300 years later than the crucial period, and forms and functions cannot be assumed to have remained unchanged (in regional dialects); and
(c) modern reflexes in Hiberno-English or Caribbean creoles are of such uncertain etymology and likely to have been so thoroughly affected by language contact phenomena that their value for reliable reconstruction is minimal.

(The fact that modern dialectology has until recently largely neglected the field of syntax does not help, either.)

6.3.1.5 Vocabulary

Lexis has been one of the traditional domains of dialectology (and partly of sociolinguistic studies): words of restricted currency are conspicuous (although their diagnostic value for geographic ascriptions may not be quite as impressive as that of regional accents and pronunciations), and from an early date they tended to be collected by people interested in language varieties. It is also true that words can be identified as 'the same' over long periods with a greater degree of confidence than either pronunciations or syntactic patterns can. Finally, the existence of dictionaries (even if the authors did not concentrate on dialect lexis, or made it a principle normally to exclude non-standard, non-respectable lexis, cf. 6.3.3, 6.4.3) means that there exist valuable sources apart from types of other texts – which almost constitute the only data base for syntactic descriptions.

Early Modern English inherited a very rich vocabulary: since there was no supraregional form of Middle English, thousands of heteronyms (words of identical meaning/reference but of geographically restricted currency) existed for regional speech communities. It is not at all clear how the selection process worked when, in the formation of the new standard, the members of these Middle English heteronymic sets either

(a) were accepted as (near-)synonyms into the standard – often with stylistic or subtle semantic differentiation;
(b) went 'underground' in the unwritten codes of regional dialect, often resurfacing only in the records of modern dialectology (in a few cases including varieties in America or Australia), or of the special languages of the professions, or of cant or slang; or

(c) died out without leaving a trace in Early Modern English or Present-Day English.

To have formed part of educated London lexis of the fourteenth century certainly increased the chances of type (a) survival, but the great number of Chaucerian words that did not live on into Early Modern English – even with the efforts of revivers – is striking.

The evidence provided by different sources of Early Modern English dialect lexis is very uneven. Texts intended to portray dialect speakers or to point to typical non-standard features often concentrate on pronunciation, and if they focus on lexis, the data are frequently difficult to interpret, as is the case with sociolectal comment in Shakespeare.

Malapropisms (cf. 6.4.4 below) are interpreted as the failure of less educated speakers to handle *hard words* correctly; however, the instances found in plays (where they are certainly intended to ridicule their speakers) are mostly far-fetched and exaggerated – no doubt to ensure that the audience got the joke (cf. stereotypical features in the portrayal of stage dialect).

Even where a more systematic description is to be expected, as in the use of restrictive labels in dictionary entries (cf. 6.3.3), the practice is not consistent nor is the coverage in any way comprehensive. These labels are not sufficient, either, to describe the connotations of individual words or meanings.

6.3.1.6 Other information on dialects and sociolinguistics

Contemporary descriptions that approximate to what is expected from modern dialect research or sociolinguistic descriptions are lacking. In particular, there is no Early Modern English account of the totality of English dialects, their distinctive features, their functions and degree of stigmatisation, and their geographical ranges. Similarly, there is no sociolinguistic account beyond what is discussed within the narrow range of educated speech, where fashions, mannerisms, social snobbery expressed in shibboleths, corruption of standards and offences against good taste may be treated. However, English society up to 1815 was predominantly agrarian, with a tiny educated upper crust, and the speech of the majority – rural in the greater part of Britain, urban lower-class practically only in London – was of no great interest except to the few writers who dealt with selected features mainly out of curiosity, or who, as literary men, used their gift of observation to write on members of the other

classes, in drama or fiction – but then they were not intent on realistic portrayal. As in Phillips's account of Victorian writings (1984), any analysis of sixteenth and eighteenth century fictional texts purporting to describe non-standard speech provides a selective account of linguistic attitudes as formulated by the upper middle classes rather than a sociolinguistically realistic picture (cf. the texts and short interpretations in Blake 1981).

6.3.2 Explicit statements by grammarians and literati

Statements before 1580 are rare, and they are normally concerned with the form of the standard language rather than with specific dialects. Moreover, since the term did not have its precise modern English meaning, we do not always know what an author is referring to in the few cases where 'dialect' is mentioned. Although statements become more numerous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the authors' main concern is still with correctness in the standard language; dialect is a more important topic for lexicographers (6.3.3) and writers (6.3.4). Only major comments are quoted below in chronological order and accompanied by short interpretations; supplementary evidence will be found in Appendix 1:

1490 In the prologue to *Eneydos* Caxton commented on regional diversity in contemporary English as a problem for the printer (Wakelin 1977: 35). He mixed complaints about rapid change (instability) and regional differences, but his argument, and the story told in support of it, are not convincing: by Caxton's time, the form *eyren* had virtually disappeared from written English and *egges* would have been understood by all readers. (Caxton does not mention any other lexical problems that might have arisen in his translations, nor any regional problems in spelling or syntax.) In fact, printing his books in London-based English was the only possible decision in his time; there was no alternative left in England (books printed in sixteenth-century Edinburgh might be in Scots, although not all of them were; cf. Bald 1926).

1589 Puttenham's extensive discussion of the language appropriate for the poet (book 3, chapter 4 of his *Arte of English Poesie*, text in Görlach 1991: T11 and cf. 6.2.4) includes pertinent remarks on why dialect should be avoided. He warns against the speech of various regions, against jargon (of the universities) and uneducated speech, as well as English influenced by language contact (in ports or along the Celtic border).

1595–6 Richard Carew's *Excellency of the English Tongue* (printed 1614, ms. version in Smith 1904, II: 285–95) was prompted by Henri Estienne's *De la précellence du langage françois* of 1579. Illustrating the value of English, Carew refers to the wealth of expressions provided by the varieties of the vernacular:

> Moreouer y^{e} Copiousnes of our languadge appeareth in the diuersitye of our dialectes, for wee haue court, and wee haue countrye Englishe, wee haue Northern, & Southerne, grosse and ordinary, which differ ech from other, not only in the terminacions, but alsoe in many wordes, termes and phrases, and expresse the same thinges in diuers sortes, yeat all right Englishe alike, neither cann any tongue (as I am perswaded) deliuer a matter with more varietye then ours, both plainely and by prouerbes and Metaphors. (Text in Görlach 1991: T12: 132–40)

1605 Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* is an attempt by a 'Saxonist' to prove the age and value of the Germanic languages, and of the Germanic element in English. His remarks on dialectal diversity in contemporary English sound very modern, although the one specimen sentence that he quotes to illustrate differences in pronunciation does not tell us very much:

> This is a thing that easely may happen in so spatious a toung has this, it beeing spoken in so many different countries and regions, when wee see that in some seueral parts of England it self, both the names of things, and pronountiations of woords are somewhat different, and that among the countrey people that neuer borrow any woords out of the Latin or French, and of this different pronuntiation one example in steed of many shal suffise, as this: for pronouncing according as one would say at London *I would eat more cheese yf I had it*, the northern man saith, *Ay sud eat mare cheese gin ay hadet* and the westerne man saith: *Chud eat more cheese an chad it*. Lo heer three different pronountiations in our owne countrey in one thing, heereof many the lyke examples might be alleaged.

1619/21 Alexander Gil discussed dialect in his *Logonomia anglica*, chapter 6. Although he may not have had firsthand knowledge of dialects apart from that of his native Lincolnshire, his treatment is systematic, covering all the major dialect areas and illustrating them with well-selected characteristic features from pronunciation, morphology and lexis (for a detailed analysis see Wakelin 1977: 39). It is remarkable that Gil points out that dialect is admissible in poets (cf. 6.2.5) and that the Northern dialect is to be preferred because of its age and purity; by contrast, he is very harsh on the south-western varieties (1621: 18)

> However, among all dialects, none compares in barbarousness with the western, particularly if you listen to rural people in Somerset; one might even be uncertain whether they speak English or some foreign language. (translation M. G.)

While these arguments are found elsewhere, they here seem to justify Spenser's practice – *The Faerie Queene* was used for all of Gil's phonetic transcriptions.

1665 A 'dialect survey' was demanded by John Evelyn in his letter to Wyche (text in Görlach 1991: T16), 'what particular dialects, idiomes, and proverbs were in every several county of England' – a scheme that is very similar to the one executed by Ray. Although Evelyn did not link the two arguments himself, it is likely that he saw in a documentation of dialect lexis a possible means of expanding the English vocabulary by vernacular elements – he had mentioned 'a Lexicon or collection of all the pure English words' as a desideratum in the same letter, as also a review of the loan words and the possibility of reviving old English words in their stead (cf. Osselton 1958: 123).

1674 For John Ray's *Collection* see 6.3.3 below.

1682 The antiquarian Sir Thomas Browne followed in the Camden tradition; his *Certain Miscellany Tracts* include no. VIII on the topic 'Of Languages and Particularly of the Saxon Tongue' (in Bolton 1966: 70–82). He mentions 'many words of no general reception in England, but of common use in Norfolk, or peculiar to the East Angle Countries; as . . . *Mawther*, . . . *Clever*, . . . *Stingy*'. His reason for this was not, however, an interest in dialects *per se*, but in the evidence they provided on etymology, especially the Scandinavian background.

1724–7 Daniel Defoe included remarks on various English dialects in his *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*. He stressed that the distance from London explained the difference in speech, and singled out Devonshire dialect (*Jouring*), which in tone and accent was particularly unintelligible. He also noticed in his account of Northumberland 'that the Natives of this County . . . are distinguished by a *Shibboleth* upon their Tongues in pronouncing the Letter R, which they cannot utter without an hollow Jarring in the Throat' – the first account of the 'Northumbrian burr' (cf. Wakelin 1977: 40–1).

1738 Jonathan Swift includes the Devonshire knight Sir John Linger in his *Polite Conversation* 'speaking in his own rude dialect, for no other

reason than to teach my scholars how to avoid it'; the satire is rather on the town-bred affectation of the 'scholars' than any uncouthness on the part of the 'country put' (as Tom Neverout calls him), and Swift is hitting out at presumably the opinion of Neverout and his like when he observes in his introduction:

> my intention was only to shew the misfortune of those persons, who have the disadvantage to be bred out of the circle of politeness; whereof I take the present limits to extend no further than London, and ten miles round. (quoted from Osselton 1958: 168)

1762 Thomas Sheridan's *Course of Lectures on Elocution* has, for good reason, remarks on 'rustic pronunciation' in lecture 2. His argument is strictly from a standard viewpoint, which means that dialects, the speech of the lower classes and the 'defects' of non-native speakers all come to be classified as 'vices':

> Nay in the very metropolis two different modes of pronunciation prevail, by which the inhabitants of one part of the town, are distinguished from those of the other. One is current in the city, and is called the cockney; the other at the court-end, and is called the polite pronunciation. As amongst these various dialects, one must have the preference, and become fashionable, it will of course fall to the lot of that which prevails at court, the source of fashions of all kinds. All other dialects, are sure marks, either of a provincial, rustic, pedantic, or mechanic education; and therefore have some degree of disgrace annexed to them.
>
> (quoted from Wakelin 1977: 41)

Note that the year before, in his *Dissertation on the Causes of the Difficulties, Which occur, in learning the English Tongue* (1761), Sheridan had pointed to difficulties in acquiring proper pronunciation 'an exactness in which, after all the pains they can take, is found to be unattainable, not only by foreigners, but by Provincials. (Footnote: By Provincials is here meant all British Subjects, whether inhabitants of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the several counties of England, or the city of London, who speak a corrupt dialect of the English tongue)' (1761: 2).

1791 John Walker, as the title of his *Pronouncing Dictionary* shows, was again concerned with proper pronunciation; he had quite a lot to say on regional and social variation, but of course nothing on lexical or syntactical differences (cf. Wakelin 1977: 42).

1799 James Adams's *The Pronunciation of the English Language* 'vindicated from imputed anomaly and caprice', and 'with an appendix on the

> dialects of human speech in all countries, and an analytical discussion and vindication of the dialect of Scotland' – a 'British' writer from Edinburgh provided the last and one of the most detailed accounts of regional peculiarities in eighteenth-century English. Typically enough, the author came from the outer fringe, as did Sheridan before him, and was a partisan of proper English, but with some understanding for its regional forms, including Scottish English. Of the English dialects 'counteracting the classical pronunciation', the south and south-west 'have a rough and quaint mixture of sounds', 'The midland counties are generally pretty free from dialect; even the country people have but few oddities of expression and sound', 'Suffolk outdoes all the counties of England in the queer cant and uncouth sounds of phrases and words', and 'The dialect of Lancashire is original, and as singular as the Scotch. It is remarkable that education and absence from the country never entirely hide the Lancashire-man' (1799: 144–5). Adams also has one of the earliest complimentary remarks on American pronunciation: 'The Anglo-Americans speak English with great classical purity. Dialect in general is there less prevalent than in Britain, except amongst the poor slaves.' (146)

Statements from the eighteenth century show that the split between phonetic and lexical treatments of dialect was more or less complete, and that the inclusion of Wales, Scotland, Ireland and America posed new problems for those concerned about the classical purity of the language. Since dialect was seen exclusively from the viewpoint of the standard speaker (and teacher) no complete picture of a dialect could emerge. This had to wait for the new tradition of dialectology that started in the nineteenth century.

6.3.3 Dictionaries

6.3.3.1 Introductory comments

Two types of dictionaries should be distinguished where non-standard lexis is concerned:

(a) A general dictionary will include a certain amount of lexis with restricted currency (regional, social, stylistic, chronological, etc.); the number and quality of such entries will depend on the purpose of the work, and so will the information that can be retrieved about a particular dialect

(b) Special collections of words (exclusive dictionaries) can be made for the speakers/users of the variety in question or for scholarly purposes; in our

case, this would mean dictionaries of a specific dialect, or of words with any kind of regional restriction (compare dictionaries of slang, cant, the professions etc, 6.4.3.).

When discussing the period from 1450 to 1800, one must also keep in mind that monolingual dictionaries started only with Cawdrey's (1604) and were dominated by the exclusive type of hard-word lists, before the modern type of dictionary emerged in the eighteenth century (Starnes & Noyes 1946). Before 1604, there were quite a few glossaries appended to individual books that also served the function of glossing the hard words contained in the text (Schäfer 1989 and Nevalainen this volume).

6.3.3.2 Dialect words in *Early Modern English* general dictionaries

Although dialect words, it might be argued, are no less difficult to understand than Latinate items, they were not normally included in great numbers in the earliest dictionaries – unless they were also archaic, and therefore connected with the Chaucer–Spenser–Speght tradition. No counts have been made of dialect words in the first EModE dictionaries (though see Osselton 1958, Wakelin 1987, Görlach 1995b), but it is safe to say that there were only very small numbers before 1660. If we were sure that omissions from a dictionary were intentional, non-inclusion could be interpreted as the strongest kind of negative stylistic marking. If a dialect item was included, it is interesting to note whether it was labelled, and how. Knowledge of the regional currency of words was of course very limited among lexicographers; 'dialect' or 'low' would be possible general labels, and if 'North' or a specific county was mentioned, we can at best assume that the word was known in the particular area, but certainly not that it was confined to it. Also, note the problem of 'village words', mainly designations for plants and animals: in these cases there is, at least for the Early Modern English period, only a choice between a local word or a scientific term in Latin, but no expression in the supraregional standard.

In what follows I will survey the practice of major seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dictionaries with regard to the dialect lexis they contain, and describe the reasons for their inclusion and how the relevant entries were labelled, arranging my material in chronological order and relegating minor sources to Appendix 2 (as in 6.3.2), basing my statements mainly on Starnes & Noyes (1946), Osselton (1958), Bately (1967), Brengelman (1981), and Schäfer (1989), and including for the first period a few glossaries appended to books.

1565 Laurence Nowell's manuscript *Vocabularium saxonicum* is the first dictionary of Old English. Marckwardt (1952) was the first to analyse it, also pointing to its relevance for the student of English dialects (here quoted from Wakelin's summary, 1977: 43):

> for students of local dialect, Nowell's work is of special importance in that it includes words from contemporary regional dialect, cited by the author whenever he was aware of the survival, in local dialect, of an OE word which had dropped out of use in Standard English. Being by birth and upbringing a Lancashire man, it is natural that he felt best qualified to cite words from Lancashire dialect, from which he records 173 words, but there are also seventeen words from other parts of England, some of which were added by Nowell's pupil William Lambarde.

1602 Speght, Thomas, ed. *The workes of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed* (Schäfer 1989: 49). The second edition has the glosses accompanied by abbreviations, of which 'b' refers to 'some Dialects within this our Country of Brittain, and many of them deriued from the Saxon tongue'. Some 800 words are thus marked, making 'b' the largest category. It is quite uncertain on what basis the ascriptions were made, and how reliable they are. Rather than providing a list of dialect words, the glossary mentions those which the compiler believes have disappeared from the standard but are still current in individual dialects. There is a possibility that the judgement is biased in the way Edmund Spenser's is, i.e. by the assumption that dialect is always more conservative than the standard and, in consequence, the labels 'archaic' and 'dialectal' apply to two largely identical sets of words.

1604–40 While various editions of the hard-word dictionaries of Cawdrey, Bullokar and Cockeram include a certain number of obsolete words, the number of regionally restricted items appears to be negligible (normally combined with archaic regional connotations, as in *eld* 'old age').

1674 John Ray's *Collection of Words not Generally Used* (second augmented edition 1691) was a novel and major achievement. It is significant that Ray was a botanist and member of the Royal Society; so he went at the collection of dialect words with scientific rigour. He justifies his project in the (1674) preface by giving the following reasons: nothing of the sort has ever been done; the book may prove 'useful for someone travelling the Northern Counties'; and it 'may afford some diversion to the curious' (full text in Görlach 1991: T5).

Ray starts from the accepted division into North Country and South and East Country, listing some 700 items (1691: 1–86) for the first, and some 300 for the second section (1691: 87–121), providing geographical labels where possible. He is, however, honest enough to admit that he often found words that he had believed were confined to one county in other regions of England. There is an appendix of local words with Celtic equivalents (122–30), one with a supplement of northern words (adding important items like *brock*, *gob*, *gully*,*steg*, 131–8) and a 'Glossarium Northanhymbricum' (139–52), all communicated by interested readers of the first edition (1674).

Ray, commenting upon suggested additions that he decided not to include is careful to give his reasons (1691); he left out items if they were (according to his own linguistic competence)

(a) common throughout England ('at least where I have lived or conversed');
(b) different in sound or spelling only (*corse* for *corps*);
(c) different in meaning or in style only, e.g. *Lugs*, for Ears, is a 'general but derisory Word; A *Reek*, with us signifies not a Smoak, but a Steam rising from any Liquor or moist thing heated'.

Ray's is a memorable achievement for his time. He combines the current fascination with Germanic and Celtic roots with a scientist's critical view of his data, and his methods (using as many 'informants' as possible, but sifting the evidence with the aid of his common sense) strike one as quite modern. He was used as a quarry by most later lexicographers who cared to include dialect, but not all were as critical as he was.

1676 Elisha Coles's *English Dictionary* shows the almost immediate impact of Ray. Coles, too, saw hard words in 'the difficult Terms that are used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, Phylosophy, Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences' (as he explains on the title page), but also in dialect and canting terms (for which he used the similarly recent book by Richard Head, *The Canting Academy* of 1673). Such additions also came in handy to support his claim that his book contained 'many Thousands of Hard Words . . . more than are in any other English Dictionary or Expositor'. His Table of Abbreviations in the introduction shows the detail of his labelling: apart from various languages indicated in etymologies, he also has C = Canting, and Che(shire), Cu(mberland), De(vonshire), E(ssex), K(entish), La(ncashire), Li(ncolnshire), No(rth-Countrey), Nf. = Norfolk, Not(tinghamshire), Sc(otch), So(uth-Countrey), Sf. = Suffolk, Ss. = Sussex, W(iltshire), We(st-

Countrey) and Y(orkshire). However, these labels are quite rarely used (e.g. *bannock*, *biggins* marked La.), other words which appear to have been dialectal even in Coles's time are unlabelled (*barton*) and many others possibly still recorded in dialect are marked o(ld word).

1706 John Kersey revised Phillips's *New World of Words* so thoroughly that it can be regarded as a new dictionary (Starnes & Noyes 1946: 84). Among other innovations he included 'many Country-Words', a cover term for both agricultural terms (from John Worlidge's *Systema agriculturae* of 1668) and dialect items (from Ray). Kersey took over many of these into his next dictionary (Starnes & Noyes 1946: 87): *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708); the two books further enlarge on the lexical, regional and cultural information of dialect terms, as the words quoted by Starnes & Noyes beautifully illustrate. These modest words also contribute to making the vocabulary contained in the dictionaries less Latinate and thus add to its 'English' appearance.

1721 Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological Dictionary* is one of the major pre-Johnson dictionaries. He mentions the inclusion of dialect as a special feature of his book on the title page, and draws the entries from all available lists – from Kersey, Coles and Ray (Starnes & Noyes 1946: 103), obviously guided by a desire to be as comprehensive as possible: the 42,000+ entries are an impressive indication of his diligence. Axon (1883) analysed the dialect words contained in Bailey – some 6,000 of them, which cannot possibly all have been authentic and current in his time: the great number of entries labelled 'O' (old word) or 'Sax', or as historical terms ('in old records') or as words from occupational jargon ('in Gunnery', 'among Hunters') shows that Axon's criteria were much too liberal. Even so, Bailey's dialect component is one of the largest in all eighteenth-century dictionaries.

All the eighteenth-century dictionaries contained a certain number of dialect and country-words, although the desire for inclusiveness was counterbalanced by an increasing feeling that a dictionary (like the one undertaken by the French Academy) was an instrument of the standard language – or of standardising the language. If early dictionaries were intended for hard words, eighteenth-century ones were increasingly restricted to respectable words in active use, especially in written forms. Although Bysshe's (1702) work is concentrated on literary English, the restrictions formulated in his Preface are enlightening since they remind one of Johnson fifty years later:

> This Dictionary contains a Collection of such Words only, as both for their Sence and Sound are judg'd most proper for the Rhymes of Heroick Poetry. For which Reason are omitted.
>
> I. All Burlesque Words, and such whose Signification can be employ'd only in Subjects of Drollery.
>
> II. All uncommon Words, and that are of a generally unknown Signification, as the Names of Distempers that are unusual; the Terms of Arts and Sciences, all proper Names both of Persons and Places; together with all Pedantick hard Words, whose Sound is generally as harsh and unpleasing, as their Sence is dark and obscure.
>
> III. All Base, Low Words: by which I mean, such as are never met with but in the Mouth of the Vulgar, and never us'd, either in Conversation or Writing, by the better and more Polite sort of People. The French call them *Des Mots Bas*, but our Language scarce allows us a Term to distinguish them by.
>
> IV. All Obsolete, Spurious, and Miscompounded Words, which are unworthy the Dignity of Style requir'd in an Heroick Poem.

1755 Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* is not only one of the most astounding singlehanded achievements in the field, it is also outstanding for the impact it had on defining the standard language. Stability, perspicuity, order and respectability were the guiding principles in which non-standard diction, by definition, did not have any room. Scots had certainly no place in it – how could it have had with the members of educated Edinburgh society just purging themselves and each other of Scoticisms, on the way to refined Augustan diction. In fact, Johnson encouraged Boswell to compile a dictionary of Scots, and thus achieve for his country what Johnson had done for England.

We cannot, then, expect to find much dialect in Johnson. Testing 100 words preserved in traditional Scots but lost from standard English (Görlach 1990e), I found that only 34 were included – and only half of these marked. A dialect (or 'low') word had a greater chance of being included if it was recorded in one of the major poets or other writers, such as those of the Chaucer–Spenser tradition; however, the reasons for acceptance, especially of unlabelled words, are not always very clear. Where Johnson chose to label a word, it was often to warn against its use, as in:

> *eame* a word still used in the wilder parts of Staffordshire
> *neb* retained in the north
> *slippy* a barbarous provincial word
> *stound* sorrow: out of use. The *Scotch* retain it.

With so many helpers from Scotland around him, he could have easily inserted more dialect words; but as recent research has (unsurprisingly) shown he decided against them:

> His rejection of the independent contributions from his amanuensis is particularly notable in that it suggests an active avoidance of information on and actual words from Scottish dialect, an area in which Macbean could certainly have instructed him. The relatively frequent observations on Scottish or regional usage of English words which were written on to the Sneyd-Gimbel slips by the amanuenses were always ignored by Johnson in his final preparation of printer's copy. (Reddick 1990: 99)

The well-defined function of a proper dictionary did not affect the supplementary notion of a 'glossary', 'vocabulary' and other lists of special lexis, and it is significant that the compilation of glossaries, in the form of independent collections or appended to local histories, by authors guided by antiquarian interests, went on all through the eighteenth century. Wakelin (1977: 43) mentions such works from Kent, Dorset, Manchester and Westmorland; seven of these were conveniently reprinted by Skeat (1873), of which the six from the eighteenth century are discussed in Appendix 2.

The parallel to poems written in increasing numbers in the local dialect (cf. 6.3.4) is obvious. Nor is it coincidence that two dictionaries by Grose, one on dialect and one on cant, were published in the heyday of prescriptive lexicography, the 1780s:

1787 Francis Grose's *Provincial Glossary, with a collection of local proverbs* is, a hundred years after Ray, the second great dictionary of dialect words – and with over 2,000 entries the largest collection before the *EDD*. It is a surprise that the Preface justifies the undertaking by beginning: 'The utility of a Provincial Glossary to all persons desirous of understanding our ancient poets . . .' The categories of which dialect lexis is composed according to Grose also strike one as very eighteenth-century:

(a) retentions in regions where 'modern refinements do not easily find their way';
(b) 'loanwords so corrupted by passing through the mouths of illiterate clowns as to render their origin scarcely discoverable';
(c) 'arbitrary words . . . ludicrous nominations' without any etymology

– judgements, which could not have been formulated more drastically even by Johnson himself, and which reflect the climate of the age realistically.

The uneven sources available to Grose led to somewhat biased proportions: the north predominates with some fifty-five per cent of the entries

('North country' or more specifically Northumberland, Cumberland and Lancashire – hardly any words from Yorkshire); the South is comparatively well represented (thirty per cent) mainly because 'Exmoor' provides some ten per cent of the total, leaving all the other regions far behind (next are Norfolk and Kent). The list makes fascinating reading, but the delight could have been greater had there been more entries with illustrative sentences or encyclopedic information. Grose was apparently content with the mechanical job of compilation; there is no critical discussion of the evidence. As was to be expected, the regions indicated are often much too narrow, as a comparison with the *EDD* data shows.

6.3.4 Dialect in texts

6.3.4.1 Letters, diaries and other informal texts

As was mentioned above, the loss of regional features in the writing of 'provincials' was so rapid in the fifteenth century that no consistent dialect, or even regional characteristics that would allow attribution to a particular place, are normally found in the written evidence, as Wyld stated many years ago:

> The first point to be mentioned is that Regional dialect disappears completely from the written language of the South and Midlands; both from Literature proper, and from private letters and documents. We shall look in vain in poetry for such distinctive Regional character as we saw in Bokenam in the preceding century, or in private letters, for even such slight traces of Regional influence as we found in Shillingford's letters. We are able at most to point here and there to a feature – generally connected with grammatical forms – which we may attribute to the writer's native county. (1936: 100)

Whenever a sixteenth- to eighteenth-century writer chose to use dialect in one form or another, this would not be because no other variety was available (as was normally the case in Middle English), but due to a conscious decision to aim for a special effect.

As regards text types, the less 'literary' ones would exhibit fewer occasions for such display. It is in fact striking that not even in Scotland did the writing of letters and diaries 'in dialect' survive into the eighteenth century (and it was rare before that time): the cultivation of written forms of dialect came to be a literary exercise quite early – and so the only letter in Scots that Burns ever wrote was a playful *tour de force*.

The occasional mis-spellings that are found in later Early Modern English private documents are generally diagnostic of social status rather than of dialect.

6.3.4.2 Dialect in literary texts

As in the dictionaries, we have to distinguish between texts which include some dialect (for instance to indicate the provenance and educational status of a character in a play or novel) and those that are in dialect throughout – a feature naturally more frequent in shorter forms like poems, anecdotes or short stories than in longer ones like novels, and in humorous, satirical, pastoral and otherwise informal genres rather than in texts in which decorum requires the standard language. Plays are a case apart since to understand a play written in dialect the expected audience must have a high degree of competence in the variety in order to be able to follow it.

If dialect is the result of literary activity, its forms can be easily manipulated so that it can be

(a) adapted to the comprehension of the audience;
(b) suited to literary traditions and stylistic conventions of decorum;
(c) tailored to sociolinguistic expectations regarding age, sex, education, etc. of the persona characterised by it.

In all this, a linguist must expect a certain 'distortion' of natural dialect – in fact the wisdom of using literary representations for linguistic analysis has been seriously doubted, a doubt that is not justified if the necessary care is taken in the interpretation of the evidence. Page points out Fielding's handling of 'dialect' in *Tom Jones*, which is limited to a few features:

> The expression 'gee a brass varden' stands out like a signpost to remind the reader that this is dialect speech, but it clearly suits the novelist to play down the dialect element when his intention is not primarily comic. In other words, dialect is *a variable dependent on the demands of fictional situation rather than on the probable behaviour of an actual speaker*. The other significant aspect of Fielding's dialogue is the use of variant spellings of ordinary English words – *feace* for *face*, *quoat* for *coat* – to suggest regional pronunciation: it is by this means, rather than, for example, by the use of dialect words and phrases, that the flavour of Western's speech is created. The reason is one of intelligibility: Fielding has no intention of baffling the reader, who is given only so much as seems easily tolerable. In both these respects, Fielding's example sets a pattern for many later novelists.
>
> (Page 1988: 59)

Drama came to be a popular form of literature when the standard language emerged – so only 'forerunners' like the morality plays were written in ME dialect throughout. Coming late 'on to the stage' as drama did, all its history is one of standard (not necessarily formal!) English, with dialect and sociolect used by writers for the purposes of characterisation. There is

hardly any dialect drama before the nineteenth century, and that is very marginal.

Looking at the evidence for stage dialect before 1800, one is struck by the fact that there is so little of it, a state of affairs commented on by Blake (1981: 81) with reference to Shakespeare:

> What is important is that Shakespeare did not use this dialect elsewhere even though he had opportunity to do so. Thus in *As You Like It* the country wench Audrey and the other country people make no use of it; similarly the clowns in all plays and the characters like Dogberry who mangle the language are not given this dialect. The reasons for this omission are speculative. In part it may be that many of the plays concern court or city people for whom a peasant dialect was inappropriate whatever their class; and in part it may be that Shakespeare found its use too restrictive. The dialect was too well used to allow much scope for the characters who spoke it, for the audience would react to them in a predictable way and Shakespeare was too adventurous in his comedy to use something which was so stereotyped.

In poetry, the use of standard versus dialect was determined by decorum even more closely than in drama. Dialect could have been used in very informal poems by village poets – of which there appear to be none in the sixteenth century – or in pastorals (as by Spenser, below). Poems purely in dialect (not necessarily in pure dialect) appear, as a result of gentlemanly interests often with an antiquarian/local-historian flavour, from 1679 right into the twentieth century.

In prose, there is less than might have been expected, and this in jokes, anecdotes and similar short forms. Apart from the occasional story in a jest book (see below), uses of dialect start only in the eighteenth century. The impetus comes from the periphery, from Ireland and, after 1707, from Scotland, where literary nationalism (expressed in Ramsay's editions of sixteenth-century texts, his collections of Scots proverbs and his pastoral and satirical poems) was to make up for the loss of political independence (cf. McClure 1994).

Blake (1981) has provided quite a full list of non-standard English in English literature; I will here select only a few major texts including dialect or written in dialect, again arranging the evidence in chronological sequence, often basing my summaries on Blake's analyses and complementing the list for pre-1640 by information from Eckhardt (1910), and relegating minor sources to Appendix 3:

1540 A jest from *The Merie Tales of the Mad men of Gotam* (text in Barber 1976: 27–8, Görlach 1991: T8). This short tale is relevant because the

linguistic divergence between English and Scots (rarely in contact in their spoken forms) is here construed to provide complex patterns of non-understanding caused by differences in pronunciation and lexis, and because the story was written by an Englishman.

> And he wente to London to haue a Bores head made. He dyd come to a Caruer (or a Joyner) saying in his mother tonge, I saye spek, kens thou meke me a Bare heade? Ye said the Caruer. Than sayd the skotyshman, mek me a bare head anenst Yowle, an thowse bus haue xx pence for thy hyre. I will doe it sayde the Caruer. On S. Andrewes daye before Chrystmas (the which is named Yowle in Scotland, and in England in the north) the skottish man did com to London for his Bores heade to set at a dore for a signe. I say speke said the skotish man, haste thou made me a Bare head? Yea said the Caruer. Then thowse a gewd fellow. The Caruer went and did bryng a mans head of wod that was bare and sayd, syr here is youre bare head. I say sayde the skotyshman, the mokyl deuill, is this a bare head? Ye said the caruer. I say sayd the Skotishman, I will haue a bare head, syk an head as doth follow a Sew that hath Gryces. Syr said the caruer, I can not tel what is a Sew, nor what is a Gryce. Whet horson, kenst thou not a sew that will greet and grone, and her gryces wil run after her and cry a weke a weke. O said the caruer, it is a pigge. Yea said the skotish man, let me haue his fathers head made in timber, and mek me a bird and set it on his skalps, and cause her to singe whip whir, whip whir. The caruer sayde, I can not cause her to singe whip whir. Whe horson sayde the skotish man gar her as she woulde singe whip whir. Here a man maye see that euerye man doth delight in his owne sences, or doth reioice in his fantasie. (1540)

1579 Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* has a particularly 'dense' literary dialect to characterise the rustic protagonists. Propriety demanded that they should speak not straightforward 'low' dialect but a language in tune with the expectations of bucolic poetry. Spenser tried to achieve this by a mixture of three elements of which the first two were seen as largely coextensive:

(a) dialect features (regardless of region, but with a notable Northern touch);
(b) archaic language, mostly derived from Chaucer and his followers;
(c) expressions (and concepts) of classical mythology which provided the explicit link with the tradition of the genre.

Although Spenser's contemporaries (Puttenham 1589, Ben Jonson) severely criticised his practice, they did so from different literary and linguistic standpoints – however artificial the language used was, it provided

both distance from the realistic 'low' speech of shepherds and a tribute to decorum. There was no convincing solution to the problem before Ramsay, who was in a position to use literary Scots for pastoral diction, an antilanguage with the right socioliterary connotations.

1599–1605 Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1605) is the only play in which conventional 'Cotswold' dialect was used by the author, and this only in one passage, where it serves for linguistic disguise, supporting Edgar's attempt, on a linguistic level, to pass for an uneducated country bumpkin, a claim also evident in his dress. The well-known passage contains the expected linguistic 'signals' to the audience in the form of stereotypical southwestern features, as used by other authors and described by Gil (1619/21).

Henry V (1599), by contast, contains Shakespeare's most consistent portrayals of the English of Welshmen (Fluellen), Irishmen (Macmorris) and Scotsmen (Jamy), again concentrating on characteristic features of pronunciations (up to a certain measure that would not impede intelligibility). It has frequently been observed that the absence of dialect in Shakespeare is not only remarkable because propriety would have permitted him to use it (and other lower-class varieties) for many of his characters, but also because the author must have grown up as a native speaker of Warwickshire dialect – and yet, as far as we can be certain, very few of these features are carried over into the texts of his plays.

1633 Ben Jonson's *Tale of a Tub* has the greatest number of south-western features of all the plays of the period (Eckhardt 1910: 38–41). The action takes place among rustics in Middlesex; their use of 'south-west' dialect shows that this had by this time become a non-regional stage convention indicating rural speakers; it is used somewhat inconsistently, with greater frequency in the first half, but more sporadically thereafter. (It is of course a sociolinguistic paradox of literary dialect that speakers are *introduced* as dialect speakers to define their role; the author can reduce such clues later in the play. In real life, a dialect speaker will have fewer non-standard features in the beginning and become 'denser' with increasing familiarity and informality.) Jonson used some dialect in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), but there its use was confined to 'Puppy, a Wrestler (a Western Man)' as the *dramatis personae* calls him. Finally, some of the shepherds speak somewhat eccentric 'Northern' in *The Sad Shepherd, or, A Tale of Robin Hood*, no doubt provoked by the setting in Sherwood Forest. (The mixed and inconsistent dialect tempts one to state that 'Jonson, in affecting the shepherds, writ no language.')

1634/81 R. Brome & Thomas Heywood's *The Late Lancashire Witches* (1634) has, appropriately enough, 'northern and north-west Midland features' in it (Blake 1981: 105). When Shadwell based his *The Lancashire Witches* on the earlier play and modified the dialect, he 'presumably used his local knowledge to improve the representation . . . (being) familiar with the East Lancashire dialect'. Dialect 'is used by those who have not been exposed to refined society and who put country pursuits before intellectual and moral improvements'. That his use was not meant to be realistic is indicated by the fact that it is not used by (or for) 'the witches or even by the chambermaid' (105).

1673 *Yorkshire Dialogue . . . between an Awd Wife, a Lass, and a Butcher*. The anonymous broadsheet, printed in York (cf. Skeat 1896), although only 70 lines long, is of importance because it obviously represents the earliest specimens of the dialogue form (related to Spencer's use in *The Shepheardes Calender* 1579) that came to dominate local productions, variously called *A Dialogue*, *an Eclogue*, *Rustic Sketches*, etc.

1683 George Meriton's *Yorkshire Dialogue* (Alston 1965 IX: 7–8), probably based on the 1673 *Dialogue*, is the most consistent early specimen of the genre. Its 440 lines contain country scenes in seasonal arrangement; the form is apparently used by the gentleman collector to insert as many dialect words and proverbs as the context will bear. Later editions (of 1685 and 1697) provide greater narrative coherence, and further additions bring the text to 774 lines. There is also in the same book an additional poem on Yorkshire Ale in Standard English, a collection of Yorkshire proverbs and a reprint of F. Brokesby's description of Yorkshire dialect (from Ray ^{2}1691).

Dialect evidence in eighteenth-century literary texts is very unevenly spread; Blake (1981: 109) rightly says of two of the important genres in which dialect might well have been used but was not:

> The poetry of the eighteenth century may be discounted as far as dialect is concerned. Even the drama is not very rich in new developments except for the rise of Cockney.

There is, then, the occasional isolated dialect feature in poetry at most; in drama dialect has a much less prominent role than other forms of lower-class speech such as deviant grammar, fashionable expressions, malapropisms and misuse of register (the increasing use of Cockney features appears to have this 'sociolinguistic' function rather than a more strictly regional one). 'Almost overnight Cockney became the principal vulgar language of

novels' (Blake 1981: 118). He links the phenomenon not only with the size of London and the number of books published there, but also with London speech becoming the butt of prescriptive grammarians in the second half of the eighteenth century to an extent unparalleled in earlier periods.

The remaining texts fall into two groups which are quite distinct and should, in consequence, be treated separately, namely, the use of dialect in novels and texts written with the explicit aim of illustrating particular dialects (of the Meriton type above); and Novels: my discussion will concentrate on Defoe, Fielding and Smollett and be based on Blake (1981: 113–26). It will be advisable to keep in mind that the heyday of dialect in novels was still to come, after the breakthrough had been achieved from the periphery of Sir Walter Scott's use of Scots in the speech of less educated speakers in his Scottish novels, but it should also be remembered that he did not *invent* the technique that he promoted so successfully.

Defoe was aware of dialect differences as his remarks in his *Tour* (1724–7, see 6.3.2) convincingly illustrate. However, he never used it extensively in his novels, apparently preferring other sociolinguistic markers to characterise speakers as non-standard – possibly provincial speakers do not feature in his metropolitan outlook, and the use of Cockney had not yet been 'discovered' as a literary medium.

Fielding's most memorable dialect speaker is Squire Western in *Tom Jones* (1749). His speech is mainly of the traditional south-western type (apparently without accommodation to Hampshire, the Squire's home), characterised by initial voicing of fricatives and the quality of some of the long vowels: *veather* 'father', *vind* 'find', *zee* 'see', *huome* 'home'. The retention of *-st* and *-(e)th* in verbal inflections is a conservative feature rather than a regional one. It is more difficult to decide how 'realistic' the portrait is, i.e. to what extent members of the landed gentry did not care to adopt standard speech, and posssibly even cultivated certain local features in their pronunciation. (If this was still the case in the eighteenth century, then the situation was to change drastically in the nineteenth.)

As a Scotsman educated at Glasgow University, Tobias Smollett must have been bidialectal from his early youth, but he must also have realised that linguistic varieties in a novel are better restricted to a sprinkling of dialect features if meant for the general reading public. Blake (1981: 120) quotes the very relevant comment by Lismahago in *Humphrey Clinker* (1771) which 'may enshrine Smollett's own views':

> He observed, that a North-Briton is seen to a disadvantage in an English company, because he speaks in a dialect that they can't relish, and in a

> phraseology which they don't understand. – He therefore finds himself under a restraint, which is a great enemy to wit and humour.

His first novel, *Roderick Random* (1748), published when he was twenty-seven and had been away from Scotland for eight years, contains a number of dialect speakers whose speech habits are suggestive rather than realistically precise. The Newcastle waggon driver Joey speaks 'northern', but with more widespread regional features and some eye-dialect added: moreover, 'some of the spellings may have been borrowed from other literary writers, and the result is a very mixed language' (Blake 1981: 117). Clarinda, represented only by a letter, uses a form of written Cockney which is intended as grotesque. Finally, there are the Welshman Mr Morgan and a few Suffolk peasants, and French speakers of English, all using only a few deviant features. By contrast, the Scots used for Fraser, the errand boy, in *Humphrey Clinker* is much denser – but then he has only a few words to say. The obvious sociolinguistic interpretation of his Scots, which carries notions of lower-class speech, can be compared with class restrictions in Scott over forty years later (cf. McClure 1994).

The history of dialect literature in the narrow sense remains to be written, and so only a brief account can be presented here. Continuing the genre exemplified by Spenser and Meriton, the eighteenth century saw an expansion of texts written with the explicit motivation of documenting particular dialects. The demands of literary etiquette meant that these works would all be of the pastoral, satiric and ephemeral kind ('fugitive pieces'); many of them were probably not meant for print, or failed to be printed because no publisher was interested in them. The fullest collection of titles of dialect poetry appears to be that in the 'Bibliography of the principal books, mss., etc. quoted in the dictionary' appended to vol. VI of the *EDD* (Wright 1898–1905). I here give a list of relevant works in chronological order, supplemented by a few titles from other sources, with a note of the counties. The years of publication and the geographical spread will easily show the limitation of the material. The bibliography also shows that in the nineteenth century (mainly between 1840 and 1890) there were many more of these productions (cf. Ihalainen 1994); this explosive growth was probably a consequence of cheaper printing, a much enlarged reading public and a 'scholarly' interest in the dialects, combined with the concern that all this richness might soon be lost (an argument notably absent from eighteenth-century texts):

1717 Anon., *The Obliging Husband and Imperious Wife . . . in witty and ingenious dialogues* (Devon); the first of a long series of dialect texts of the area (Wakelin 1986: T12).

1746 Anon. [? Joshua Hole] *Exmoor Courtship* and *Exmoor Scolding* (cf. Alston IX, 36–42, there ascribed to Wilmot Moreman or Peter Lock). These are two of the best-known early dialect texts published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*; cf. Wakelin (1986: T13), who finds that the dialect 'is intended to be that of rural N. Devon, and it is much more precisely represented than that in *The Obliging Husband* . . . the author tries to work in as many dialect words as possible'.

1746 John Collier *View of the Lancashire Dialect; by way of dialogue . . . showing in that speech the comical adventures and misfortunes of a Lancashire clown* (Alston IX, 11–27). The author came to be famous under the penname of 'Tim Bobbin', on the basis of this main work (frequently reprinted). His life as a teacher near Rochdale and his lifelong interest in his native dialect make his writings an important source of early Lancashire speech. 'He was an astute observer of character, and for many years used to take note of every quaint and out-of-the-way term or phrase he heard in village alehouses and elsewhere.' (*DNB*).

1763 John Collier's *Tim Bobbin's toy-shop open'd or, his whimsical amusements. Containing, his view of the Lancashire dialect* . . . (Alston IX, 28) continued his earlier success; note the very full glossary (53–92). Collier's writings also appeared from 1775 onwards in a great number of collected editions (*The Miscellaneous Works*).

The 'literature' here surveyed shows a strong preference for the northern counties, with the Southwest lagging behind, and the rest hardly represented at all. Although this was to change slightly in the nineteenth century, it is interesting to note that the regions represented showed the strongest survival of traditional dialect right into the twentieth century – a correlation which can hardly be coincidental.

6.4 Evidence of social variation

6.4.1 Introductory

A great number of social, regional and stylistic factors combine when it comes to deciding about prestige and correctness, and about the appropriateness of specific forms of language in a given situation. Modern sociolinguistic studies have shown that social variables like age, sex, religion, social status and occupation are relevant for linguistic stratification, and also for how they correlate with statistical probabilitites of occurrence in individual speech communities or groups. However, it is also evident that

social factors and their relative importance are subject to change, at least as much as the linguistic variables and their available variants are. Moreover, modern sociolinguistics has also shown that factors that speakers are unaware of are frequently as crucial as those that are conspicuous, and that there may be combinations of determinants that are relevant where the individual categories are not.

When discussing the social relevance of Early Modern English variation it is necessary to admit that

(a) we are dependent on explicit comment by grammarians etc. to a greater degree than can be conducive to a balanced account;
(b) the terms in which such rare descriptions are couched are evaluative, impressionistic and terminologically vague.

Sundby, who made a study of prescriptive labelling in eighteenth-century grammars, found that the labels used to indicate cases of alleged impurity, imprecision and lack of clarity are very numerous, and that terms are often partial synonyms without giving us enough information about what the differences or degrees of referential overlap between them consist of. Also, it is often not quite clear whether a label belongs to the field of more narrowly linguistic correctness in spelling, pronunciation or syntax, or more to usage (stylistic, social and contextual). If we accept that 'low' is predominantly an indicator of social propriety, we are still faced with the problem of interpreting the exact meaning of *coarse*, *low*, *not polite*, *rough*, *uncouth*, *ungenteel*, *ungentile*, *unpolite*, *unseemly*, *vulgar*, and various longer expressions like 'first introduced into speech by the incogitancy of the vulgar', 'not infrequent among the inferior orders of the community', 'shamefully adopted by the ignorant' – a small, but illustrative selection of one category only. (The data are drawn from Sundby 1987: 29–30; cf. Sundby *et al.*, 1991.)

Within the Early Modern English period there was a great deal of change and of social conflict, circumstances that were of course reflected in language. However, this is not to say that we can always pin down the social motivation behind linguistic change. Innovations might be initiated by the less-well-educated majority and be grudgingly accepted by the grammarians and literati, as some developments in pronunciation obviously were. However, others were originally markers of refined speech, such as *gyard*, *cyart* palatalisation (see Lass this volume), and later became hallmarks of dialectal – and Caribbean – pronunciations. On the other hand syntactic change was partly monitored by attitudes of correctness as defined by the educated – but they sometimes regulated and described in more precise terms developments that had taken place in the usage of the populace.

Criticism of class-specific language is, then, often directed against linguistic change. The fascination of a well-regulated language, crystallising in Swift's 'Proposal for correcting, improving and ascertaining the English tongue' (1721) and the demand for an academy to settle such matters, was at least partly seen as a measure to ward off the corrupting influence of 'low speech' – or neglect on the part of the educated: 'ignorance and caprice' emanating from the French-influenced Court were regarded by Swift himself as the major sources of the recent decline in standards.

6.4.2 Social variables in Early Modern English speech

6.4.2.1 Sex

Sex can hardly be considered an independent Early Modern English variable. Explicit comments are few, and where they occur, they are most often correlated with (lack of) education, sometimes with squeamishness and hypercorrection (although the latter factors tend to increase in weight in the nineteenth century). What little evidence we have can be illustrated by the following quotes:

1596 Lexis (squeamishness). Euphemisms tend to be more frequent in women, and obviously were more typical of sixteenth-century women than of men, as the anecdote inserted in Harington's *The Metamorphosis of Aiax* seems to indicate (the title *A-iax* and the name *Iaques* punning on *jakes* 'privy, toilet'):

> There was a very tall and seruiceable gentleman, somtime Lieutenant of the ordinance, called *M. Iaques Wingfield*; who coming one day, either of businesse, or of kindnesse, to visit a great Ladie in the Court; the Ladie bad her Gentlewoman aske, which of the *Wingfields* it was; he told her *Iaques Wingfield*: the modest gentlewoman, that was not so well seene in the French, to know that *Iaques*, was but *Iames* in English, was so bashfoole, that to mend the matter (as she thought) she brought her Ladie word, not without blushing, that it was *M. Priuie Wingfield*; at which, I suppose the Lady then, I am sure the Gentleman after, as long as he liued, was wont to make great sport. (quoted from Barber 1976: 156)

1604 Lexis (difficulties with hard words, as a consequence of little education). The title page of Cawdrey (1604) claims that the glosses here provided were 'gathered for the benefit & helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or other unskilfull persons'.

1621 Pronunciation (over-refined). Gil criticises certain progressive pronunciations by the *Mopsae* (18) which Lass puts down to 'a type of

affected, over-delicate hypercorrecting female speaker – what we would now call "refayned"' (this volume: 3.4.2.1). However, nearly all the sociolinguistic background to this ascription is lacking, so interpreting the *Mopsae* as forerunners, so to speak, of 'refained' Kelvinside or Morningside females is somewhat conjectural.

1755 Johnson labels some intensifiers (*frightfully*, *horrid*) as used 'in womens cant'.

These statements are not only very few in number, but also formulated by men. What we get in them are glimpses of how women were looked upon in Early Modern English times rather than what their speech was like. These limitations are unlikely to be overcome by data from other disciplines, such as economic or educational history.

6.4.2.2 Education

Education must have been the most important social factor in a very competitive society with a high degree of social (upward) mobility. From 1450 on, competence in French became an ornament rather than a necessary qualification for upper-class membership; Latin remained a highly prestigious language of scholarship (see Jones 1953, Görlach 1991), but to have 'small Latin and less Greek' did not exclude the speaker from rising to a position of power and respect. The proper use of English became more and more important; this included competence in scholarly and technical registers, and the proper use of hard words. Discussions about correctness relate, however, to the upper ten per cent or so of society; this statement is still true for the cultured society of the Augustan age – when books on the ideal of the gentleman still stressed the need for linguistic education in the mother tongue. It was only after 1750 that the rapid increase in prescriptive grammars led to a popularisation of grammatical knowledge and its diffusion to larger sections of society (cf. 6.1.4.2 above).

Lack of education is normally mentioned as the reason for improper, vulgar, rude pronunciation (Puttenham's 'strange accents and ill shapen sounds') and incorrect syntax (mainly by eighteenth-century grammarians).

6.4.2.3 Occupation

Occupation is, on the one hand, closely connected with education. On the other, there are specific differences between individual trades, which

are reflected in the special vocabularies used. The status of these words differed from period to period, and from writer to writer. It is significant that Puttenham (1589) warns against imitating the language of craftsmen, whereas Sprat thinks that one ought to prefer 'the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that, of Wits, or Scholars', according to the principles of the Royal Society, which 'exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking' (Sprat 1667, text in Görlach 1991: T17/73–9). In the eighteenth century, the inelegance of designations for everyday objects made Harwood in his *Liberal Translation of the New Testament* (1768) render Mark 1.7 ('the latchet of whose shooes I am not worthy to stoupe down, and vnloose', Authorised Version) as 'for whom I am not worthy to stoop to perform the meanest office'.

The relevant lexis came to be collected in encyclopedic dictionaries of individual 'non-liberal' disciplines from the seventeenth century onwards, and this did not raise objections as long as no claim was made that such words belonged to the general vocabulary (e.g. Manwayring 1644). In fact, the eighteenth century saw a rich development in encyclopedic dictionaries of the sciences and technology, which culminated in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (modelled on the French *Encyclopédie*). Even Johnson, as a lexicographer of general English, found surprisingly little to object to in the speech of the 'mechanicks': he took what he found in technical dictionaries, and in the preface excused gaps in his dictionary of 1755 not because the words in question were low, but because there were limits to his own capacity:

> That many terms of art and manufacture are omitted, must be frankly acknowledged; but for this defect I may boldly allege that it was unavoidable: I could not visit caverns to learn the miner's language, nor take a voyage to perfect my skill in the dialect of navigation, nor visit the warehouses of merchants, and shops of artificers, to gain the names of wares, tools and operations, of which no mention is found in books; what favourable accident, or easy enquiry brought within my reach, has not been neglected; but it had been a hopeless labour to glean up words, by courting living information, and contesting with the sullenness of one, and the roughness of another. (quoted from Bolton 1966: 150)

Craigie (1945) has drawn attention to the lexical treasures that lie hidden in handbooks of agriculture. Writers from Fitzherbert (1523) to J. Mortimer's *Whole Art of Husbandry* (1707), William Ellis's *The Modern Husbandman*, *or the Practice of Farming* (1750) to William Marshall's *Minutes of Agriculture* (1774–7) provide a mine of information on the material

culture – and the words designating the objects – of the farm. Many of the terms used are regional, but they are not strictly dialectal because the writers are normally unaware of a standard equivalent, as Ellis was in the case of *duckbill*:

> *Duckbill* or Dugdale *Wheat*. In Essex they call this *Greypoll Rivet*; in Huntingdonshire *Dunover Wheat*; in the West Country, *Grey-poll* and *Blue-poll Wheat*; in Hertfordshire, *Duck-bill*, or Dugdale, *Wheat* . . . The common Duck-bill wheat has a darkish, brown, crooked, guttery kernel. (quoted from Craigie 1945: 89)

However, he did not take down the names of objects in their dialect form, as a dialectologist would have done.

The lexis here covered is, then, primarily occupational (although it provides fascinating possibilities for diachronic dialectology, especially in the *Wörter und Sachen* [words and things] tradition). The *names* of the weeds mentioned by Ellis are of great interest, but so are the classes of plants – if they can be identified – as evidence of the material culture of the eighteenth-century farmer:

> . . . bodle, butter-flower, camock, clivers, crow-garlick, gould, hell-weed, penny-grass, rattle-grass, clap-weed, clob-weed, cow-garlick, creese (= gould), crow-needle, curd-wort, curlock (= charlock), dog-parsley, dunny-leaf or dunny weed (= crowfood), fetch-grass, hair-weed, hairy-bind, horse-gould, old man's beard, parsnip weed, ray-grass bennet, wheat bennet, and tyne-weed. (quoted from Craigie 1945: 91)

There is evidence that eighteenth-century linguists lumped such 'village words' and 'dialect items' together; cf. Marshall's lists and other glossaries discussed in 6.3.3.2.

6.4.2.4 The language of religion

Religious language, as the language of the Bible and *The Book of Common Prayer*, enjoyed a very high prestige – for many, biblical English was identical with written English, and therefore with correctness (cf. the impact of the English Bible on Scotland, McClure 1994). This model is evident in writers like Bunyan, but the more general influence of the Bible on the written standard has not been documented in any comprehensive way. (There are occasional references to its stabilising influence, but they need to be complemented by detailed linguistic analysis.)

The language of religious communities is of different social relevance. There is the contrast between Protestants and Catholics (as apparent from

the differences in their respective translations of the bible; cf. Görlach 1991: T18–19) and the continuing discussion about how the word of God can be appropriately rendered in English. Even more characteristic is the language of the Quakers, intentionally cultivated by members of this community in order to distance themselves from the 'rude' people, i.e. non-Quakers (cf. the journal of George Fox of about 1674, excerpt in Görlach 1991: T50). Lexis is the most distinctive element of Quaker language; it differs from common English in:

(a) a few new coinages (*steeplehouse* 'church')
(b) restricted meanings (*rude* 'non-Quaker', *friend* 'Quaker', *church* 'community')
(c) use of biblical expressions (*to come to the light that Christ had enlightened him withall* 'be converted')

Quakers' insistence on addressing individuals as *thou* was even more conspicuous: *thou*ing a judge and refusing to doff their hats in court got many of them into trouble.

In the eighteenth century, the language of John Wesley (cf. Watson 1962) is of particular interest: the combination of the language of evangelicalism and scriptural idiom with the free use of 'low' words to an extent unthinkable for more standard-conscious writers, make his style unmistakable. Three characteristics deserve to be stressed in particular:

(a) As with Quaker style, the specific jargon is marked by new meanings imposed on older words rather than new coinages.
(b) The influence of biblical expressions is all-pervasive (cf. Watson's analysis of passages in letters, sermons and Wesley's *Journal*, 1962: 164–90).
(c) Proverbial expressions, maxims, tags, hackneyed quotations and colloquial expressions (including some slang and dialect) are admitted with few restrictions set by propriety – although Wesley's style *is* typically Augustan in other places (Watson 1962: 191–217).

The use of biblical metaphors and picturesque diction based on everyday speech provides a remarkable copiousness, as the terms used for the devil (Watson 1962: 21) will illustrate: *accuser of the brethren, the enemy (of souls)*, *king of the children of pride*, *eldest son of pride*, *old murderer, tempter*, *sower of tares*, *blatant beast*, *bad master*, *old sophister*. In literature, too, there is – even outside the obvious genres of sermons and church hymns – a rich stream of religious language, ranging from Ananias in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* through Bunyan's works (which were among the most widely read texts of the time) to Scott's Covenanters (e.g. in *The Heart of Midlothian*).

6.4.3 Sociolinguistic evidence on individual levels

6.4.3.1 Pronunciation

Important changes in Early Modern English phonology arose from coexisting variation which was more or less connected with social class: in a simplified account, the phonological merger of the *meet*:*meat* words had happened in 'low' and most colloquial speech by 1500–20, but was not accepted as 'standard' before 1660 (see Lass this volume). However, though there is widespread variation in a great number of features, it is uncertain to what extent the alternative pronunciations were stigmatised or preferred. Holmberg, after a very detailed investigation of the relevant sources, believes there was much less criticism of the speech of the lower classes before 1700 than we are tempted to assume: he is convinced

> that a standard of pronunciation existed or was at least well on its way. However, class distinctions are not expressively mentioned in this context, and it appears as though appeals for 'better' pronunciation were not chiefly based on social conditions. No seventeenth-century grammarian advises his reader to avoid this or that pronunciation because it is heard only among the lower classes. It is clear that the feeling had not yet grown up that pronunciation was a class shibboleth. This was to come later, when the suddenly well-to-do bourgeois were trying to rise above their stations. (Holmberg 1964: 19)

Modern views on social-class differences and the 'snob value' of a good pronunciation, so Holmberg claims, began to be recognised only in the eighteenth century (20). At first, criticism appears to have been levelled particularly against the fashionable, sloppy, ugly or incorrect pronunciations of other members of the upper class – 'the struggle of elites' (Leonard 1929: 169). One of the hotly debated points was the pronunciation of clusters in *fix'd*, *fledg'd* (Swift 1712) and other contractions, a battle which is still undecided in the written language and is likely to remain so for some time (cf. Lass this volume). However, the class element was increasing; Holmberg (1964: 24) sees the first definite statement on the matter by a grammarian in Johnson's criticism of writers of English grammar prescribing about proper pronunciation:

> [They] have given long tables of words pronounced otherwise than they are written, . . . [but have] formed their tables according to the cursory speech of those with whom they happened to converse; and concluding that the whole nation combines to vitiate language in one manner, have often established the jargon of the lowest of the people as the model of speech. (quoted from Holmberg 1964: 24)

However, class membership is not everything as long as there are still Squire Westerns around. The Scotsman William Perry, self-conscious as a member of a provincialised nation, found in 1775:

> Mere men of the world, notwithstanding all their politeness, often retain so much of their provincial dialect, or commit such gross errours in speaking and writing, as to exclude them from the honour of being the standard of accurate pronunciation. Those who unite these two characters, and with the correctness and precision of true learning, combine the ease and elegance of genteel life, may justly be styled the only true standard for propriety of speech. (quoted from Holmberg 1964: 26)

Thomas Sheridan, another 'provincial' himself, thinks corruption is the combined result of the lack of a proper court English and inappropriate models:

> Now the greatest improprieties in that point are to be found among people of fashion; many pronunciations, which thirty or forty years ago were confined to the vulgar, are gradually 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. (1780, quoted from Holmberg 1964: 29)

Honey (1988) has provided a convincing background to the eighteenth-century conditions that were to lead to the very class-conscious attitudes of the nineteenth century, especially as regards the precursors of RP:

> (Upper-class) prejudices were given particularly strong expression . . . when the efforts of dictionary makers and orthoepists, and the burgeoning London industry of teachers of elocution, were reinforced by judgements like that of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu. . . . In a letter in April 1773 to a relative, she wrote:
>
> 'I am glad you intend to send my eldest neice [sic] to a boarding school. What girls learn at their schools is trifling, but they unlearn what could be of great disservice – a provincial accent, which is extremely ungenteel . . . I dare say you will find great improvement in her air and her speech by the time she has been there a year, and these are points of great importance. The Kentish dialect is abominable, though not so bad as the Northumberland and some others; but in this polished age, it is so unusual to meet with young ladies who have any patois, that I mightily wish to see my neice cured of it.' (Honey 1988: 211–12)

Honey goes on to quote a long list of similar statements, but points out that boarding schools, the remedy suggested for such compensatory education, were not really equipped for the job – as is testified by the speech of leading

politicians who kept their regional accents well into the nineteenth century: Walpole (Lancashire), Peel (Staffordshire) and even Gladstone (Honey 1988: 212–13). It will be useful to keep in mind that such discussions were addressed to the upper five per cent of English people; 'vulgarisms' had ceased to be a danger to refined speech – as in grammar, the elocution teachers could concentrate on the nicer problems.

What the language of the lower and middle classes was like in the eighteenth century often only becomes apparent when their pronunciations are criticised. Historians of the language are keen to find first mentions of discredited features of this kind that made their way into the standard language (as happened with the merger of *fir*:*fur* words in the seventeenth century, to /r/-loss in the eighteenth and the long back vowel in *pass*, *past* in the nineteenth).

6.4.3.2 Grammar

It is noteworthy that variants of grammar (such as *I loved/I did love/I have loved/I was loving* or *my father's house/the house of my father/my father his house*) are normally not discussed in relation to social parameters: 'correctness' was at stake, and that would have been decided on the basis of *reason*, *logic*, *the consent of the learned* or even euphony rather than sociolinguistic concerns. Even more than in the case of pronunciation, the battle about correctness was fought between factions within the educated upper classes, and it concerned increasingly insignificant questions as the eighteenth century advanced. However, sociolectal differences in grammar did exist, and continued to do so, and it is through contrasts between the prescriptivist grammarians and 'respectable' texts on the one hand and usage in 'low' or informal texts on the other hand that they can be brought to light.

The studies of Markus (1988, on past versus present perfect in Early Modern English letters), Tieken (1987, on *do* in informal texts) and Rydén & Brorström (1987, on *be* versus *have* with verbs of motion) have uncovered and analysed interesting data that are relevant for sociolinguistic stratification. But it must be stated that the convergence of four types of factor makes it impossible to decide which is the specifically social element in the evidence: variation is here determined by medium (written versus spoken), degree of formality, text type (e.g. private letter) *and* the social make-up of writer (and addressee) – and these would have to be broken up, ideally, into the constituent factors of age, sex, etc.

The syntax of Early Modern English literary texts has not been comprehensively analysed with respect to the sociolinguistic information they

contain; such an analysis would seem to be most promising for plays where the social characteristics of the personae are known, the intentions of the author evident from extralinguistic clues and the literary bias of the text determinable. Among the 'metalinguistic texts' that are useful for analyses Swift's 'Polite Conversation' has a special place; however, it is only the fashionable colloquial language of the upper crust that is treated.

6.4.3.3 Vocabulary

> CLO. He sir, that must marrie this woman; Therefore you Clowne, abandon: which is in the vulgar, leaue the societie: which in the boorish, is companie, of this female: which in the common, is woman: which together, is, abandon the society of this Female, or Clowne thou perishest: or to thy better vnderstanding, dyest; or (to wit) I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death, thy libertie into bondage: I will deale in poyson with thee, or in bastinado, or in steele: I will bandy with thee in faction, I will ore-run thee with police: I will kill thee a hundred and fifty wayes, therefore tremble and depart.
>
> (Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, V.1.47ff.)

Lexis is the most obvious marker of social class in written texts, even though the nicer connotations and sociolinguistic restrictions of lexical items may well be lost on modern readers, even with the *OED* and special glossaries at hand. There are, in sociohistorical reconstruction, the following categories to apply to Early Modern English:

colloquial used informally
jargon restricted to the speech of certain professions or other groups
cant restricted to the jargon of 'vagabonds', the secret language of criminals
slang the highly informal or anti-formal (vivid, fashionable, partly offensive) language originating from certain professions or other groups
vulgarisms offensive expressions, often relating to taboos and indicative of lack of proper education

It may be regarded as an indication of a different attitude that the terms we consider indispensable to a description of linguistic variation were not available in Early Modern English. Even if the categories were (e.g. *cant*), they might well be referred to by vague or idiosyncratic terms and often periphrastic expressions. Here is a list of first occurrences of linguistic terms with the year when the relevant senses first occurred:

dialect 'form of speech peculiar to a region or group' (1577)
jargon 'unfamiliar language or terminology of a special group' in Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651)
cant disparaging meaning 'special language of a group, jargon' in Dryden (1681)
diction 'choice of words, manner of expression' in Dryden (1700)
colloquial 'conversational, belonging to common speech' in Johnson (1751–2)
slang 'special vocabulary of tramps or thieves' (1765)
'jargon of a particular profession' (1801)
'very informal language characterised by vividness and novelty' (1818)

It is a controversial question whether, even for modern languages, non-standard vocabulary can be defined sufficiently precisely to permit a classification of the lexis and allocate unambiguous labels to entries in dictionaries: Partridge's most recent *Dictionary of Slang* (posthumously published) has in its subtitle *and Unconventional English. Colloquialisms and catch phrases, fossilized jokes and puns, general nicknames, vulgarisms and such Americanisms as have been naturalized*. If we also accept *rhyming slang*, *cant*, *euphemisms*, *genteelism*s, *Shelta*, *Polari* and (Anglo-)*Romani* as possible candidates (and why shouldn't we?) the field becomes intimidatingly complex.

Categories in Early Modern English were by no means better defined. With the exception of (rogues') cant and technical language, both defined by the groups that use them, the remaining lexis is negatively characterised by being non-standard rather than in a positive way. *Vulgar*, *rude*, *ungenteel*, *disgustful*, *improper*, *familiar*, *low*, *vile*, *barbarous* could refer to individual words as they could to idiomatic expressions and syntactic constructions. Judgements on what was non-standard and why, and whether *colloquial* (eighteenth-century: 'only in conversation') was proper speech or not, were as fleeting as were the terms used to refer to these objectionable categories.

In practice, lexicographers who were forced to use restrictive labels to guide the users were in difficulties. Two major eighteenth-century compilers may serve to illustrate the problem.

The second volume of Bailey's *Universal Etymological Dictionary* (1727) contains some 25,000 entries of which 22,000 are marked acceptable (*), 950 are 'daggered' as unfit for general use, and some 2,000 doubtful cases are not labelled at all (cf. the careful analysis by Osselton 1958: 64–101, on which my summary is based). Bailey explains his highly prescriptive procedure as follows:

> I have distinguish'd those common Words and of approv'd Authority, imitable by the Illiterate, from those more proper to be used by the more

> learned Pens, and on jocular Occasions, in Burlesque, Comedy, or free Conversation. 'To those words of approv'd Authority and imitable by the Illiterate, I have prefix'd an Asterism (*), and to the other an Obelisk (†), and some which I would not determine for or against, I have omitted to prefix any Mark at all, leaving them to be used or not, according to the Judgement of the User.' (quoted from Osselton 1968: 64–5)

The four per cent of objectionable words – a tiny number compared with modern dictionaries – are not further categorised by Bailey; in many cases the reasons for labelling are not clear. However, only a minority are there because they were probably considered dialectal or 'low' – even though 'Bailey has branded colloquial words in far greater proportion than any of his predecessors; both in numbers and in colourfulness – ranging from pure dialect and proverbs to cant and obscenity – they make the most distinctive feature of his collection' (Osselton 1958: 87).

Even such a systematic mind as Johnson's was obviously not up to the task of attributing words to their proper sociolinguistic categories. His labelling shows the following progression:

> *familiar, in conversation* 'to be used informally, colloquial'
> *low* 'not fit for polite use': *sham*, *uppish*
> *burlesque*, ludicrous 'not fit for serious use': *tiny*, *to brush*
> *cant* 'jargon, esp. criminal jargon: *gambler*
> *bad* 'conflicting with good taste and genteel society'
> *barbarous* 'conflicting with grammatical correctness and good taste': *banter*

Combinations occur (low cant: *fun*, *lingo*, *stingy*; low bad: *cudden*, *woundy*; *to shab* is even labelled 'a low barbarous cant word'). Note that the omission of a word can indicate the strongest form of stigmatisation: *cove*, *duds* and other cant words are not in, but *bouze* is (without a label), nor are many French loan words labelled. Also, periphrastic labelling is common: *chum*, a word used in the universities; *bamboozle*, a cant word not used in pure or in grave writings; *cocksure*, a word of contempt; *clever*, a low word, scarcely ever used but in burlesque or in conversation; *viz.* 'to wit', a barbarous form of an unnecessary word; *abominable*, in low and ludicrous language; *abominably*, a word of low or familiar language; *frightful*, a cant word among women for any thing unpleasing; *horrid*, in women's cant; *nowadays*, this word though common and used by the best writers, is perhaps barbarous; *nowise*, this is commonly spoken and written by the ignorant barbarians, *noways*. Apart from criteria deriving from stylistic and social acceptability, uncertain etymology will often 'condemn' a word. As in Bailey, the overall number of labellings, however, is small; quite a number of words for which one could

expect a label (*arse*, *piss*) are in fact without – and the most objectionable are 'labelled' by omission.

6.4.4 Dictionaries of cant and cant in dictionaries

Of all the social distinctions in English lexis, only cant (and slang) was collected in the Early Modern English period, and was, if included at all, consistently marked in general purpose dictionaries. There was no room in the early lexicography of English before 1800 for cant or slang in dictionaries of everyday language – words like *dog* and *cat* were admitted only from 1700 onwards, and colloquial language even more hesitantly; the word 'slang' did not exist with its modern meaning before 1801. Thus, it is only the lexicography of cant and that of the special lexis of the trades (= jargon) that is available for the period.

Noyes's account of 'The development of cant lexicography' (1944; repr. in Starnes & Noyes 1946: 212–27) is both comprehensive and easily accessible so that it will be sufficient to give a summary of the material, which extends from Harman (1566) to Grose (1785). There is no country in Europe (not even France) in which the tradition of collecting the jargon of 'vagabonds' was as thorough as it was in England; the most important books arranged in chronological order are the following:

1565 (1561) John Awdelay's *The fraternitie of vacabondes* (Alston IX, 217–19, Schäfer 1989: 25, Viles & Furnivall 1869) is a sketch of the names and occupations of various types of vagabonds (forty-eight glosses); although the chronology of the two works is not quite clear, it seems that Harman knew, and used, Awdelay's book, which therefore (apart from a few earlier remarks in other works like Copland's *The Hye Waye to the Spyttel House*, 1517–37?) can be considered the earliest treatment of cant.

1566/7 Thomas Harman's *Caveat or Warening, for Commen Cursetors vulgarely called Vagabones* contains only 114 words, apparently collected by the author from personal acquaintance; the lexis is arranged according to topics; definitions are by one English equivalent only. Despite Harman's obvious interest in cant, he is very critical (or apologetic) about it, calling it 'the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskes and lasy Lorrels.' Harman's book was apparently widely used by later compilers, first in 1592 (*The Groundworke of Conny-catching*).

1592 Robert Greene's *Second Part of Conny-Catching* has a brief list of canting terms, with little overlap with Harman's (also cf. Schäfer 1989: 38).

1608 Thomas Decker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light* has a glossary of eighty-eight terms, mainly from Harman, but here arranged in alphabetical order.

1610 S[amuel] R[id]'s *Martin Mark-All* (Schäfer 1989: 56) has a glossary of 129 entries, a revised and much improved version of Decker's list.

1665 Richard Head's *English Rogue* has a vocabulary based on Decker's and now expanded to 187 words.

1673 The same author's *Canting Academy* (Head 1673) is claimed to include a glossary 'more compleat than any hath been publisht hitherto'. The 300 words are arranged as a double word-list (a pattern tried out for hard word-lists by Cockeram in 1623). Head gives a very interesting account of the difficulties of collecting the material and deciding which words are still in use:

> I have consulted . . . what is printed on this subject, and have slighted no help I could gather from thence, which indeed is very little; the greatest assistance I had in this discovery, was from *Newgate*; which with much difficulty I screw'd out of the sullen Rogues, . . . From these I understood, that the Mode of Canting alter'd very often, and that they were forced to change frequently those material words which chiefly discovered their mysterious practices and Villanies, least growing too common their own words should betray them. Here in this Vocabulary or little Canting Dictionary, you have all or most of the old words which are still in use, and many new never published in print, and but very lately minted, such too which have passed the approvation of the Critical Canter.
>
> (quoted from Starnes & Noyes 1946: 219)

The first hard-word dictionaries had not included cant (although, being incomprehensible, it would certainly have qualified for inclusion). Thus Coles (1676), who also made consistent use of Ray's recent dialect dictionary (1674), seized the opportunity of including most of Head's entries. This practice was followed most conspicuously by Bailey (1727 and later editions), but not by Johnson, whose concern with the standard language permitted him to include only the few cant terms that could be excused by their use by 'good' authors.

1690–1700 The undated *New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* by B. E. is much more comprehensive than Head. Noyes thinks that he 'resorted to padding in the form of the inclusion of many slang and specialized terms' (Starnes & Noyes 1946: 222); while this is certainly true for some words, others may have been included because

the distinction between cant and jargon was not well enough demarcated, at least not for B. E.

1725 Anon., *A New Canting Dictionary* is clearly dependent on B. E.; the number of words is reduced by the omission of all items that were not cant.

The eighteenth century saw an impressively broad stream of *Canting Academies* and lives of notorious criminals, some of which had glossaries to help the gentle reader (Noyes 1946: 223–7).

1785 Francis Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* is a truly remarkable collection: as its 2,700 entries indicate (and as the title acknowledges) this is not a glossary, vocabulary or list of canting terms but a comprehensive collection of all kinds of disreputable language, which includes the lexis assembled in the various dictionaries of cant, but adds a great deal of jargon, of slang and even of what should probably be called 'colloquial'.

6.4.5 Sociolect in literature

Classic literary theory as accepted by Early Modern English writers demanded 'low' style for certain literary genres (such as comedy) or parts of others (such as characters representing lower strata of society in plays or novels). Dialect played only a marginal role in this; for urban audiences and readers it made much more sense to indicate social differences through varieties coexisting in the speech community – in whatever purified literary form.

Plays would seem to provide the most extensive and reliable source of speech differences according to social class, sex, age and personal style accommodated to the situation. However, reservations about dialect in plays are also valid, with certain qualifications, about representations of sociolectal variation: an author has to depend on the quality of his own observation, on the linguistic knowledge, stereotypes and stigmas shared by his audience – and on the frame provided by classical decorum.

Early Modern English occurrences of malapropisms may illustrate the problem: many of these, as used from Shakespeare and other dramatists of his time to Sheridan (whose character Mrs Malaprop in *The Rivals* of 1775 gave rise to the term), are rather flat, and sociolinguistically they are not convincing, since characters sometimes garble and mix up words that even the less well-educated cannot possibly have found difficult (cf. Kökeritz 1953). Authors obviously tended to exaggerate in order to demonstrate the

principle of malapropism even to the 'uncivil' groundling, possibly even to make him feel superior. The author thus drove his point home, putting effect before realistic portrayal. In fact, authors differ greatly in matters of plausibility: the language used by Ben Jonson's 'contemporary' characters is obviously much closer to EModE reality than Shakespeare's (cf. King's 1941 excellent analysis).

Partridge (1935) has provided the most comprehensive survey so far of varieties used to indicate the social status of characters in Early Modern English plays (cf. Blake 1981), but the topic is in urgent need of new and thorough investigation. It is, of course, of forbidding dimensions and immense complexity. The composite features that make the speech of a character non-standard – regional, low/over-refined, uneducated, vulgar, group-specific (according to membership of occupational, religious or other sets) and various other 'stylistic' characteristics – are difficult to separate out on an 'emic' level; they are conflated in the ideolect and inseparable in dramatic situations, where they are made to serve highly specific uses by the playwright. For instance, the speech of uneducated lower-class speakers is marked by a combination of features on all linguistic levels, such as:

(a) vulgar or sloppy pronunciation (not normally indicated in the text, but evident in contractions like *an't*, *ha*, *is't*)
(b) forms of address (pronouns and titles)
(c) a preference for shorter and more 'Germanic' words (or misuses of longer ones), few synonyms and a high proportion of colloquialisms, jargon, cant, and proverbs
(d) shorter and less complex sentences, the absence of Latinate or rhetorical syntactic structures
(e) the use of prose (rather than blank verse or rhyme)

The interplay of all these, and the contrast with other sociolects, makes generalisations across genres and periods impossible; a close analysis will have to take account of the author's intentions, the expected audience, literary traditions, genre and topic. Even after all these have been analysed, there will remain a considerable number of 'etic' features arising from the individual production of the play, much of whose social meaning cannot be reconstructed with any degree of confidence.

Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences had a strong predilection for 'realistic' lower-class life, which dramatists (and pamphleteers) like Greene, Nashe, Harvey, Jonson, Shakespeare, Decker, Middleton, Fletcher and many others did not hesitate to represent, according to the rules of propriety, complete with earthy language composed of colloquial or vulgar speech, slang, jargon and cant with a strongly London basis.

The closing of the theatres, the Civil War, and the new start after 1660 with writers of Restoration comedy such as Wycherley, Shadwell, Vanburgh and D'Urfey brought about a change in what 'colloquial' or 'slang' was considered to be (cf. Blake 1981: 98–101), reflecting more upper-middle-class fashions of speech (unless the medium used was anti-language like cant). Partridge has aptly described the characteristics of such informal language:

> Some of the upstart qualities and part of the aesthetic (as opposed to the moral) impropriety spring from four features present in all slang, whatever the period and whatever the country: the search for novelty; volatility and light-headedness as well as light-heartedness; ephemerality; the sway of fashion. (1935: 19)

He goes on to reflect on the rapid turnover in this type of lexis, a feature that was well known to Early Modern English writers:

> no language as depending on arbitary use and custom, can ever be permanently the same, but will always be in a mutable and fluctuating state; and what was deem'd polite and elegant in one age, may be accounted uncouth and barbarous in another.
>
> (Martin 1749: 111, quoted from Osselton 1958: 103–4)

Most of eighteenth-century drama is unexciting as regards dialect or sociolect; apparently the strict observance of propriety did not leave much room beyond the exploitation of vogue language and other mannerisms. However, there is the new rise of literary Cockney that appears to fill the gap of necessary contrast (Blake 1981: 110 gives a list of the most relevant plays; also cf. Matthews 1938).

The novel gives the same impression: Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* contain a great amount of colloquial language, as the topics would lead one to expect, but the most important development is the new freedom of non-standard language as found in Fanny Burney's *Evelina* of 1778 (for a short characterisation see Blake 1981: 125–6).

6.5 Conclusion

The Early Modern English period was decisive for the modern definition of the status of the newly emerging standard language (cf. Görlach 1990b); its existence made it possible to speak about 'non-standard' – how novel such concepts are is indeed testified by the *OED*'s first attestations (*standard* [*language*] from 1836, *non-standard* from the twentieth century). The simplified correlation (which I have tried to modify by my detailed discussion) is that the more important the proper use of the recognised standard form of

English became, the more discredited, stigmatised or, at best, condescendingly tolerated the non-standard came to be. Regional dialect had the advantage of being far away from the urban speech communities and could be nostalgically raised to a form of pure speech of a lost Golden Age, and thus come to be accepted (in forms purified by the poet) in certain niches of poetry. Such views did not, of course, help speakers of broad dialect in social, educational and political reality – though, even at the end of our period, a regional accent was not totally taboo among members of the upper classes. Non-standard sociolects had, by contrast, no such excuse. The overruling concern about establishing a written and much later, a spoken standard for English meant that the corpus of utterances about non-standard speech, in spite of all the texts quoted in this chapter, is very patchy indeed. This scantiness is made worse by the fact that most forms quoted are mentioned by partisan observers, for correctional purposes, or because they found the gibberish of the uneducated striking, exotic and therefore worth noting and collecting. There is no need to stress that such stray remarks cannot form the basis of a full description of the development of the various strands of non-standard speech. This is so even though the amount of such metalinguistic comment rose to unprecedented proportions compared with relevant annotations of the vernacular in the Middle Ages.

APPENDIX 1

Supplementary evidence on dialects (6.3.2)

1542 Thomas Smith, in his discussion of the correct pronunciation of Ancient Greek (*De Recta et Emendata Linguae Graecae Pronuntiatione* (published 1568)), has a few isolated remarks on the pronunciation of English dialects. The fact that he grew up in Essex, as the son of a Lancashire mother, makes it likely that he based his remarks on personal experience.

1586 Camden, in his *Britannia*, dealt with the historical development of English as well as – very briefly – with its dialects; these came to be considered as evidence for the antiquity of the English language *vis-à-vis* Latin (cf. the excerpt in Bolton 1966: 22–36, from the 1605 English edition).

1597 Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Maister* points to the difficulties that dialect speakers have with standard spelling (which is based on a different pronunciation, but not unambiguously). He allows the use of dialect words 'if they be peculiar termes, and not corrupting of words'

(i.e. alternatives to standard forms), and a Northerner (Scotsman?) is entitled to regional vocabulary in his private correspondence (Wakelin 1977: 37–8).

1604 Simon Daines, in his *Orthoepia Anglicana*, equated dialect and 'vulgar, barbarous customs', when he briefly mentioned regional corruptions and absurdities. His strongly prescriptive attitude appears to be based on his experience as a Suffolk schoolmaster.

1653 John Wallis made only passing mention of dialect pronunciation in his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*.

1687 Christopher Cooper's *The English Teacher* has a short chapter (xix) 'Of Barbarous Dialect' (cf. Lass this volume), in which pronunciations like *e'nt* (is not), *sez* (says), *shure*, *shugar*, *shet* (shut), *sarvice*, *vitles* (victuals), *whutter* (hotter), *wont* (will not) or *yerth* (earth) are castigated; no reason is given, nor their regional or social distribution indicated. (The list is almost identical with that in his 1685 *Grammatica* in Latin.)

1691 Francis Brokesby contributed to the second edition of Ray (1674, ^{2}1691) 'Some Observations . . . concerning the dialect and various pronunciation of words in the East-Riding of Yorkshire'; since he was vicar of Rowley, in the East Riding, from 1670 to 1690, the description, which is one of the earliest and most systematic descriptions of any English dialect, is certainly based on personal observation, and was stimulated by Ray (1674). The text was reprinted in Meriton (1683, ^{3}1697, see 3.4).

1701 John White's *The Country-Man's Conductor in Reading and Writing True English* . . . (Förster & Förster 1901: 113–17) lists a few Western idiosyncrasies that he noted during his many years as a schoolmaster in Tiverton, adding in the preface: 'I would not have any one think it our general way of Speaking, no for any thing I can understand, we generally speak as near to the dialect of the Pulpit and Bar as any in Great Britain.'

1775 The later eighteenth century saw a great number of local histories published; many of these contain some dialect (pronunciation and lexis). The most important of these are listed in Alston (IX, 43–69); among them the surveys by William Marshall (1787–90, cf. below) and the descriptions by John Watson (on Halifax, 1775), Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn (on Westmorland & Cumberland, 1777), John Hutton (on Ingleborough, 1781), Thomas West (on the Lakes, 1780). The North predominates, but there is also Sir John Cullum's account of Hawstead (Suffolk, 1784) and Marshall's of Norfolk (1787).

1785 and 1787 On Grose's *Dictionaries* see 3.3.

APPENDIX 2

Supplementary evidence on dialect words in general dictionaries of Early Modern English (6.3.3.2)

1597 John Gerard's *The herball or generall historie of plantes* (Schäfer 1989: 43). The author appends 191 lemmas of plant names, primarily popular, of the type 'birds toong, that is Stichwort', including many that were, or became, village words or dialect items in the narrow sense.

1781 John Hutton's collection of some 700 words from the Westmorland/Lancashire area, a list with minimal glosses, which includes many local words, but also a great number of more generally 'Northern' items (*barn* 'child', *beck*, *brackens*) and a few in which only the pronunciation differed from the standard.

1787 William Humphrey Marshall's 'Provincialisms of East Norfolk' was appended to the author's *Rural Economy of Norfolk*. (He also compiled similar books on other counties, from which the four glossaries listed below were excerpted by Skeat 1873.) Marshall claims that 'the languages of Europe are not more various, or scarcely more different from each other, then are the dialects of husbandmen in different districts of this Island' (1873: 44), and he stresses how convenient some knowledge is for the stranger to enable him to speak the dialect 'in its provincial purity'. He also felt 'an inclination to an enquiry into the origin and progress of the English language' thus combining usefulness and scholarly interest. It is a pity that he restricted himself to 'rustic' lexis and did not include the 'ordinary dialect' for reasons of 'propriety' (1873: 45). This limited his list to just over 300 entries, some accompanied by useful encyclopedic information.

1788 Marshall's 'Provincialisms of East Yorkshire' come mainly from 'the Eastern Morelands and the Vale of Pickering' since 'the Wolds, Holderness, and the Howardian Hills use the same dialect, but in a less perfect state' (1873: 21). His explanation of why the 'Moreland Dales' are exceptional is worth quoting in full:

> [They] have been still more effectually cut off from all converse with strangers. Their situation is so recluse, their soil in general so infertile, and their aspect so uninviting, that it is probable neither Roman, Dane, nor Saxon ever set foot in them. No wonder, then, the language of these Dales, which differs little from that of the Vale, – except in its greater *purity*, – should abound in *native words*; or that it should vary so widely in *pronunciation* from the established language of this day, as to be in a manner wholly unintelligible to strangers; not, however, so much through

> *original words*, as through a regular *systematic deviation* from the established *pronunciation* of *English words*. (1873: 17)

The glossary has some 800 entries, ranging from glosses only to extended encyclopedic and folkloristic descriptions.

1789 Marshall's 'Provincialisms of the Vale of Glocester' contains only seventy-five items, partly because the 'provincialists' possess 'a singular reservedness toward strangers' (1783: 55). He also notes various 'misapplications' of pronouns, and an additional *on* = 's/he'.

1790 Marshall's 'Provincialisms of the Midland Counties' is organised like the other glossaries; its approximately 250 entries reflect the less conspicuous lexis that was to be expected in Central dialects.

1796 Marshall's 'Provincialisms of West Devonshire' contains only 140 entries – certainly a meagre result for one of the most distinctive areas. It is a pity that Marshall apparently did not use the experience he had gained in compiling earlier collections for a more systematic and comprehensive study. However, even in their present form, divided between various appendixes, his compilations are quite impressive and deserve to be compared with Ray's and Grose's.

APPENDIX 3

Supplementary evidence on dialect in texts (6.3.4)

1553 The play *Respublica* (by Nicholas Udall?). People, 'a kind of allegorical clown who represents the suffering peasant community', is contrasted with the other speakers by his consistent use of 'Southwestern' dialect, the type of stereotyped stage dialect characterised mainly phonetically by the voicing of initial fricatives and *ch* forms in *ich*, *cham*, *chill* etc. and quite similar to Shakespeare's use of the convention. (Blake 1981: 71, Eckhardt 1910: 12–16, Wakelin 1986: T11.)

1581 Nathaniel Woodes's play *The Conflict of Conscience* has the northern priest Caconos in a minor part (Blake 1981: 74–5). His language represents a slightly inconsistent Scoticisation in spelling/pronunciation of an English text, with only a few well-known northernisms (*ken*, *mun*) and malapropisms added. The language used was probably intended as a more critical attack than the use of south-western dialect would have carried with it (see Blake 1981: 75, for interpretation and a passage quoted).

1586 William Warner's *Albion's England* introduces another northerner 'who expresses in a northern dialect the views of the common people

about the monks and other religious characters' (Blake 1981: 60). Again, there is a mechanical translation into features conceived as northern and, again, the linguistic deviation is not meant to be funny.

1598 Robert Greene's play *The Scottish History of James VI* has a much weaker sprinkling of Scots features, in the language of Bohan and in that of two noblemen; 'the use of Scots must here be regarded as of the scene-setting' and, again, Bohan's use of Scots is not intended as 'comic, . . . indicating vulgarity or a low-class nature' (Blake 1981: 76). It appears from the uses of 'Northern'/'Scots' that this dialect had a much more serious function than the south-western, possibly indicating that London writers distinguished between the provinciality of 'Cotswold dialect' and the 'otherness' of the language of the neighbouring state.

1600 Munday and others have a few features of northern dialect, Irish and Welsh English in their *Sir John Oldcastle* – in this and in other plays with inconsistent dialect marking, it would be very useful to know whether the actors expressed a more convincing provinciality when speaking the parts (and to know how linguistic and other features combined to produce this effect).

1605 The anonymous play *The London Prodigal* has a consistent speaker of south-western dialect, the cloth-maker Oliver, whose home is explicitly mentioned as Devonshire. His speech contains the conventional phonological features, but also a number of morphological and lexical features which are dialectal, 'vulgar' or archaic (Eckhardt 1910: 33–6).

1635 Richard Brome's *Sparagus Garden* (Eckhardt 1910: 41–3) has plenty of (inconsistent) dialect because two of the main characters speak it: Tom Hoyden from Taunton in Somerset is made to exhibit rustic commonsense in his adventures in London: dialect as motherwit is here contrasted with his brother's claims to being a gentleman expressed by 'fine' language.

1636 The masque *The King and Qveenes Entertainement at Richmond* is described as a 'country dance', introduced 'by some Clownes speaking; and because most of the Interlocutors were *Wiltshire* men, that country Dialect was chosen'. The few lines have mainly stereotypical south-western features, with a few other non-standard additions, but no peculiary Wiltshire characteristics (text and analysis in Wakelin 1986: 179–80; cf. Eckhardt 1910: 43–6).

1686 George Stuart's *A joco-serious discourse. In two dialogues, between a Northumberland-Gentleman, and his tenant a Scotsman*, . . . (Alston IX, 9) is in the Meriton tradition, but remarkable for the fact that the author attempts to render two neighbouring varieties. Even though this does

not go beyond a sprinkling of local lexis and selected deviant pronunciations, the text is accompanied by fairly full glosses in the margin.

1747 Josiah Relph's *A Miscellany of Poems*, consisting of original poems, translations, pastorals in the Cumberland dialect, familiar epistles, fables, songs and epigrams. With a preface and a glossary, from Glasgow (Alston IX, 33–5); note the combination of dialect pastorals with other genres, the provision of a glossary – and the place of publication.

1762 Anon., '*Cornwall*', *a Western Eclogue between Dangrouze and Bet Polglaze* (Wakelin 1986: T2), a dialogue of eighty-four lines, again published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Wakelin (1986: 57) says: 'it is in the tradition of humorous dialogues which combine earthy comedy with sub-standard and dialect speech. In this case, the phonology . . . represents a considerable advance on [Andrew Borde's 26 lines of doggerel of 1547].'

a1767 Richard Dawel's *The Origin of the Newcastle Burr. A satirical poem* (only the second edition recorded) is remarkable as the first account of 'Geordie' – and for its concentration on the one stereotypical feature of the local dialect (cf. Defoe 1732 above).

1778 *Gwordy and Will*. This pastoral dialogue in the Cumberland dialect is ascribed to Charles Graham.

1784–93 The antiquary Joseph Ritson (1752–1803), otherwise renowned for his attacks on Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Johnson's edition of Shakespeare, and on Percy's *Reliques*, and for his detection of the Ireland forgeries, was also one of the earliest and most important collectors of local verse (*DNB*). The examples include:

1784 *The Bishopric Garland*; or *Durham Minstrel*

1788 *The Yorkshire Garland*; *being a curious collection of old and new songs*, *concerning that famous county*

1793 *The Northumberland Garland*; or, *Newcastle Nightingale*: a matchless collection of songs.

1788 *Copy of a letter wrote by a young shepherd to his friend in Borrow-dale*. New ed. (ascribed to Isaac Ritson; first ed. apparently in James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* 1787; Alston IX, 56, 70); to which is added a Glossary of the Cumberland words, Penrith.

1790 Ann Wheeler's *The Westmoreland Dialect*, *in three familiar dialogues*, in which an attempt is made to illustrate the provincial idiom, was published with a glossary in Kendal (Alston IX, 67); a fourth dialogue was added in 1802.

1796 *Plebeian Politics*; *or the principles and practices of certain mole-eyed Warrites exposed*, *by way of dialogue betwixt two Lancashire Clowns*, *together with several fugitive pieces*, is ascribed to Robert Walker. It testifies to the popularity of

John Collier that the collection was published under the name of 'Tim Bobbin the Second'.

NOTE

My chapter contains little new information; I have had to rely on other scholars' work a great deal, in particular on Blake (1981), Dobson (1968), Eckhardt (1910), Leonard (1929), Osselton (1958), Starnes & Noyes (1946) and Wakelin (1977), the bibliographical research of Alston (1968) and the English Linguistics reprint series based on it; I have also used my own relevant publications, especially Görlach (1991) and the papers now collected in Görlach (1990a, 1995a). For valuable advice on contents and style I wish to thank my colleagues Charles Barber, Norman Blake, John Davis, Roger Lass, Matti Rissanen, Vivian Salmon and Helen Weiss – to name only a few. The late Ossi Ihalainen's advice was particularly helpful (his contribution to the *Cambridge History of the English Language* continues from my chapter); this essay is contributed to his memory.

7 LITERARY LANGUAGE

Sylvia Adamson

7.1 Introduction: the scope of this chapter

The rise of a national Standard language in the period 1476–1776 (see Görlach this volume) had its literary counterpart in the formation of *a national literature*, embodied in the works of those whom influential opinion identified as the nation's 'best authors'. Indeed, the codifying of language and the canonising of literature were not merely simultaneous but symbiotic processes, with the 'best authors' being quarried for instructive examples as much by grammarians and language teachers as by rhetoricans and literary critics. Dr Johnson, for instance, advised prospective readers of his Dictionary that 'the syntax of this language . . . can be only learned by the distinct consideration of particular words as they are used by the best authors' (Johnson 1747: 19). And Johnson's was not an innovative attitude. He was simply ratifying an alliance between Literary English and Standard English that was already being negotiated almost two centuries earlier. For when Puttenham advises sixteenth-century poets to write in 'the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue' ([1589]: 145), his sixty-mile radius draws the boundary not of a homogeneous regional dialect, but rather of an emerging establishment variety, centred on the Court and London and circumferenced by the universities of Cambridge and Oxford and the main seat of ecclesiastic power at Canterbury.

The tradition represented by Puttenham and Johnson has proved a powerful one, gaining in strength as it became institutionalised in the syllabuses of nineteenth-century schools and twentieth-century universities. But in the academic debates of more recent years, its restrictive definition of literature has come under attack. Its opponents have exposed the presuppositions behind the creation of a national literary canon, have challenged the

biases of its selections – political, educational, sectarian, sexual – and so recovered for literary analysis varieties of writing which these biases either excluded from print or stigmatised as ephemera, 'the infinite fardles of printed pamphlets, wherewith thys Countrey is pestered' (Webbe, 1586; in Smith 1904: I 226). Since the 1980s, renaissance literature has been progressively de-canonised to give due recognition to works produced by non-establishment writers, such as women and Ranters, or in non-canonical genres, such as letters and broadside ballads.

The present chapter will be more conservative in scope. Although I recognise the importance for later stylistic history of many of these recently revalued writings – the influence, for instance, of the seventeenth-century Puritan conversion narrative on the eighteenth-century novel (Adamson 1994) – for the purposes of this volume I shall follow Puttenham and Johnson, and tell the story of what Partridge christened the 'Literary Standard' (Partridge 1947: 306). For one thing, it is the stylistic sibling of the Standard language-variety, which is the main focus for the companion chapters on phonology, syntax and lexis. But there are historical as well as practical grounds for taking the formation of a Literary Standard as the primary narrative for a history of style in the period 1476–1776, not least the fact that many of the kinds of writing excluded from the official canon defined themselves, and hence shaped their styles, in relation to it. The relation may be one of imitation, as with some women's poetry, or one of active hostility, as with most of the pestering Puritan pamphlets, but in either case an account of the forms of the canonical literary language may be an essential first step towards explaining features of the non-canonical. At the same time, closer inspection of the Literary Standard reveals that its own history is more complicated than the account given so far would lead us to expect. For instance, the persistence of the term 'best authors' can be misleading. Comparing the lists of 'best poets' given in Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) and Bysshe's *The Art of English Poetry* (1702), it is startling to find that where overlap would have been possible, it does not occur: Bysshe inherits Puttenham's bias in favour of writers of educated, court-based English, but he selects *none* of the authors in Puttenham's canon; and of the extensive canon proposed by Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) he retains only Shakespeare and Jonson. Such a disagreement inside what looks like a coherent cultural project suggests that the development of the Literary Standard may be less continuous and cumulative than the development of the Standard language-variety that forms its base. The process of stylistic change in Early Modern English may resemble revolution rather than evolution.

That was certainly the view of Bysshe's contemporaries. Post-Restoration critics, from Dryden to Johnson, saw the political interregnum of the mid-seventeenth century matched by a disruption in the literary tradition, a disruption so severe as to make the stylistic ideals of their predecessors appear alien or even perverse – hence the practice, introduced in the 1670s, of modernising approved writers of 'the former age', such as Shakespeare and Sidney. I have reflected such views in designing this chapter in two parts to correspond to two (overlapping) phases in the history of the Literary Standard. The first phase (sections 7.2–7.4) begins with the educational reforms associated with Erasmus and Colet at the start of the sixteenth century and ends in 1667 with Milton's publication of *Paradise Lost*, the last major work written fully in the spirit of those reforms. The second phase (sections 7.5–7.8) begins in the 1640s, when writers attached to the Stuart court in exile came under the influence of French neo-classicism and writers who remained in England were released from the hegemony of court style and the restrictions of royal censorship. More delicate sub-divisions of period and style are detectable but none is as fundamental. Although many writers of the Jacobean period (1603–25) reacted against their Elizabethan predecessors, they were, in Kuhnian terms, working within the same paradigm, sharing a framework of stylistic practices and assumptions, whereas a profound stylistic gulf separates Bacon from Locke, however similar their philosophies. And although Dryden's first publication (1649) appeared only a decade after Milton's (1637), they are like neighbouring towns separated by a national frontier, sharing many stylistic isoglosses but paying allegiance to a different Literary Standard. What binds the two phases of our period together and sets them apart from the periods on either side (described in *CHEL* II and *CHEL* IV) is the degree of allegiance that both also acknowledge to the stylistic norms of classical literature.

7.2 The renaissance phase, 1500–1667

7.2.1 Of classical literature

The gradual emergence of English as a national language during the course of the sixteenth century, celebrated by Jones (1953) as 'the triumph of English', was a more complex process than that title suggests. As the vernacular extended its functions into domains previously associated with Latin, it extensively remodelled its forms in imitation of the more prestigious and standardised language that it displaced (Adamson 1989, Görlach this volume). In the same way, the drive to establish a national literature – for contemporary commentators the most visible sign of English's

'triumph' – led writers to challenge the achievements of Latin literature by faithfully reproducing its genres and styles in the vernacular. Renaissance 'imitation' was thus a paradoxical exercise, simultaneously subversive and subservient. By the mid-nineteenth century it was already an exercise whose motivating force could only be reconstructed by a difficult feat of historical imagination. Wordsworth, though born before our period ends (in 1770), looks back on Milton's *Lycidas* (1638) as the product of a vanished era:

(1) an importance & a sanctity were at that period attached to classical literature that extended . . . both to its spirit & form in a degree that can never be revived (Wordsworth 1842/3)

In 1500, the concept of 'classical literature', which Wordsworth takes for granted, was itself a novelty. Its formulation was central to the design of a new curriculum for the new grammar schools then being founded to propagate the renaissance humanism brought from Italy by scholars such as Erasmus. John Colet, the founder of St Paul's, perhaps the most influential of these schools, defined its educational programme in self-consciously revolutionary terms:

(2) all barbary all corrupcion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poysenyd the olde laten spech and the varay Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was vsid, whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes. I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng laten in Redyng vnto them suych auctours that hathe with wisdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence. (Colet 1518)

The school statutes here enshrine the renaissance myth of history that ultimately shaped our own system of historical nomenclature. Colet breaks up the continuum of past time into three distinct periods and unites the two outermost – modern and ancient – in hostility to a middle period (hence *Middle Ages*), which he stigmatises as 'the later blynde worlde', a time of 'barbary' and 'corrupcion'. The goal of education is seen as the recovery of the virtues of ancient civilisation, in a process which Colet's contemporaries imaged as a re-awakening, a resurrection or a re-birth (hence *Renaissance*). Colet is typical in characterising this goal in primarily linguistic terms: he

castigates the medieval period for its 'laten adulterate', which he defines as a deviation from the grammar and usage of 'the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence'. This relatively brief period (say, 190–19 BC), which became known as the Latin 'Golden Age', provided renaissance educators both with a standard of correctness against which to measure the work of later writers (such as 'seint ambrose and seint Austen' [Augustine]) and with a canon of 'best authors' to exemplify it. As a result, when the word *classical* entered the language (c. 1600), it already carried a double sense: it was a temporal term, designating the first of Colet's three periods, and also an evaluative term, meaning 'of the first rank of authority; constituting a standard or model; especially in literature' (*OED* 1).

Literature is a more difficult word. It's clear that around 1500 it covered a wider semantic range than it normally has now, referring to a mental capacity as well as a written product and overlapping with modern terms such as *literacy* and *scholarship*. As late as 1755, Johnson's Dictionary recognised only this older sense of the word, defining it as 'learning; skill in letters'. Hence Colet's canon of literature embraces the genres of history (Sallust), philosophy/theology (St Augustine) and forensic oratory (Cicero [Tully]) alongside the imaginative fictions of poetry (Virgil) and drama (Terence). But in coining the antonym *blotterature*, Colet shows that a significant shift was taking place inside the concept of 'literature', a shift that would eventually make aesthetic value its principal criterial property. *Literature* in the Renaissance is increasingly understood as writing that combines learnedness with good style, or, in the terms that Colet uses here, it is 'wisdome joyned [with] eloquence'. And if he seems to focus on eloquence at the expense of wisdom, it is because for him, as for renaissance humanists generally, good style is inseparable from (indeed the index of) learning and even morality (as hinted by the adjectives *pure* and *chaste* attached to *eloquence*). In a complex equation 'classical literature' became at once an intellectual, a moral and an aesthetic ideal, and this is what gives it for the renaissance period as a whole the 'importance' and the 'sanctity' that Wordsworth detects.

The diffusion of the classical ideal and its conversion into a programme for vernacular literature were due in large part to the pedagogic practices which Colet and other humanists introduced in pursuit of the reform of Latin. The aim of the reformers was to make their target-language Golden Age Latin and to make grammar-school pupils bilingual in Latin and English (hence Latin was prescribed for use even in playtime). These were precisely the right conditions for language interference, and the possibility of interference was enhanced by the introduction of new

teaching methods: the technique of *analysis-genesis*, for instance, required pupils to analyse the grammatical and stylistic construction of a canonic text and then create an imitation or pastiche of their own; the technique of *double translation* interwove the vernacular into this process by requiring them to translate a passage from Latin into English then translate their own English version back again into Latin. Practices such as these necessitated the constant squaring of English with Latin constructions and since the grammatical and stylistic norms of Latin were codified and those of English were not, there was nothing to prevent Latin from being calqued onto English. It is not surprising, then, that the effects of the pedagogic revolution appeared simultaneously in both languages: the 1530s and 1540s saw the first wave of works by English authors in 'the new pure classicizing style of renaissance Latin' (Binns 1990: 3) and the first attempts to imitate the Latin hexameter line in English vernacular verse (Attridge 1974: 129).

But the transfer of Latin forms into English was not just an accidental by-product of pedagogy, it was also a willed cultural project. The humanists' focus on Golden Age Latin had drawn their attention to a period in which the self-definition of the Roman state found expression in its writers' attempts to make Latin rival Greek as a literary language. Terence had imitated Menander, Virgil Homer and Cicero Demosthenes, and Horace regarded his Latin adaptations of Greek poetic forms as his chief claim to immortality (*Odes* 3.30). The study of parallel Greek and Latin passages in the renaissance curriculum made even schoolboys familiar with techniques for calquing styles across languages, while the success of Roman writers created a precedent for English nationalists to make native literature match the achievements of Latin. The dignity of the emerging nation-state was felt to be bound up with its ability to claim a canon of vernacular writers who could each trace their stylistic descent from a classical predecessor. From the 1580s it became common to speak of Spenser as the English Virgil (or Homer), and by 1598 Francis Meres was able to produce a lengthy 'comparative discourse' demonstrating that the English could challenge the Greeks and Romans in every facet of literary performance, ranging from lifestyle ('As Anacreon died by the pot: so George Peele by the pox') to language:

(3) As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripides . . .; and the Latine tongue by Virgill, Ouid, Horace . . .: so the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeously inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by Sir Philip Sydney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman. (Meres 1598)

7.2.2 De copia

Meres's choice of words – *mightily enriched and gorgeously inuested* – points to the key concept in renaissance ideas of an eloquent classical style, the concept of *copia*, which is sometimes translated as *store* or Anglicised as *copie* or *copy*. Since the stylistic sense of *copy* has become obsolete (its complete lifespan, as recorded in *OED* citations, lies within the bounds of the renaissance phase of our period, 1531–1637) and since its surviving descendant *copious* is now largely pejorative as a description of style, it is important to recover the contexts that gave it its renaissance meaning and status before looking at the linguistic practices to which it refers.

The term and concept of copia owed its currency largely to a primer in classical Latin style which Erasmus presented to Colet for use in St Paul's school in 1512 and which became the standard schoolboy introduction to the subject for the next 150 years. He gave it a title that resonated with classical precedents. Its familiar form, *De copia*, was the name of a book which Seneca was popularly (though mistakenly) supposed to have sent to St Paul. In consciously re-enacting this gesture by presenting his own book to the school that Colet had named after St Paul, Erasmus made the cultivation of copia central to the larger humanist project of re-dedicating pagan eloquence to Christian wisdom. The book's full title *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum* [of the double abundance of matter and words], echoed the phrase in which the Roman rhetorician, Quintilian, summed up the linguistic resources of the ideal orator, epitomised for him by Cicero. In adopting this title, Erasmus was implicitly accepting the style of Ciceronian oratory as the primary model for neo-Latin literature more generally. And for the whole of the renaissance phase of our period, vernacular literature, too, was studied and practised under the rubric of oratorical rhetoric. Erasmus's *De copia* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, which codified and theorised the practice of Cicero, were the main ancestors of manuals of English eloquence from Sherry's *Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550) to Blount's *Academie of Eloquence* (1654), and we have the evidence of Drummond that Ben Jonson, at least, regarded Quintilian as the best mentor for poets (in Spingarn 1908: I 210).

In this respect, the Renaissance could be seen as the end, not the beginning, of a stylistic tradition, since medieval theories of style were also rhetorically based and also descended from Quintilian. But the sixteenth century brought a crucial change of emphasis. During the medieval period, the formal features commended by Quintilian had become divorced from their classical function of forensic oratory and associated instead with the

politeness rituals of courtly and diplomatic letter-writing. In Chaucer, rhetoric is primarily a resource of 'endyting' and 'the poet' is often equated with 'the clerk'. In renaissance poets, from Skelton to Milton, a more frequent collocation is 'poets and orators'. What happened in the Renaissance – partly through the discovery of new manuscripts of Quintilian and Cicero – was a re-integration of the formal figures of rhetoric with the suasive and affective functions of oratory and this went together with an enhanced conception of the orator's social role (Vickers 1988: 254–93). Quintilian had argued that a great orator is 'the mouthpiece of his nation' [*apud hunc et patria ipsa exclamabit*] and one whom 'men will admire as a god' [*hunc ut deum homines intuebuntur*] (*Institutio* 12.x.61, 65). Correspondingly renaissance rhetoricians also place emphasis on the power of eloquence and on eloquence as a form of power, as when Peacham takes up Colet's theme of 'wisdom with eloquence':

(4) so mighty is the power of this happie vnion, (I mean of wisdom & eloquence) that by the one the Orator forceth, and by the other he allureth, and by both so worketh, that what he commendeth is beloued, what he dispraiseth is abhorred, what he perswadeth is obeied, and what he disswadeth is auoidede: so that he is in a maner the emperour of mens minds & affections, and next to the omnipotent God in the power of perswasion, by grace, & diuine assistance. (Peacham 1593)

At one extreme, this image of eloquence finds its most perfect embodiment in the eponymous hero of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587/8). Modern productions of this play have tended to foreground the violence of Tamburlaine's actions, but the text emphasises that his first step towards becoming 'emperour' – his defeat of Theridamus and a thousand Persian horsemen – is achieved by an oration. 'Won with thy words' concedes Theridamus, endorsing Peacham's characterisation of rhetoric as an arsenal of 'martiall instruments both of defence & inuasion . . . weapons alwaies readie in our handes' (*Tamburlaine* I.ii.228; Peacham 1593: sig. ABiv^{r}).

But eloquence doesn't always conquer by force. Alongside the *armamental* ideal of rhetoric runs an *ornamental* ideal, descending more directly from the 'aureate' styles of Lydgate and the post-Chaucerians (Blake *CHEL* II: 527–8) and from late medieval notions of the form and function of courtly language (Burnley 1983: 186–200). Among Elizabethan theorists, the ornamental view is most clearly expressed by Puttenham:

(5) And as we see in these great Madames of honour, be they for personage or otherwise neuer so comely and bewtifull, yet if they want their courtly habillements or at leastwise such other apparell as custome and ciuilitie

> haue ordained to couer their naked bodies, would be halfe ashamed or greatly out of countenaunce to be seen in that sort, and perchance do then thinke themselues more amiable in euery mans eye, when they be in their richest attire, suppose of silkes or tyssewes & costly embroderies, then when they go in cloth or in any other plaine and simple apparell. Euen so cannot our vulgar Poesie shew it selfe either gallant or gorgious, if any lymme be left naked and bare and not clad in his kindly clothes and coulours, such as may conuey them somwhat out of sight, that is from the common course of ordinary speach and capacitie of the vulgar iudgement, and yet being artificially handled must needes yeld it much more bewtie and commendation. (Puttenham [1589])

Style here is conceived as charming, rather than changing, the mind of an audience. Where Peacham's images are masculine Puttenham's are feminine and 'martiall instruments' are replaced by 'richest attire'. In this conception, eloquence is part of the self-celebration and self-maintenance of the contemporary Court and Puttenham's description belongs alongside the Tudor sumptuary laws, which restricted the wearing of gold to members of the nobility, and the Ditchley portrait of Queen Elizabeth (in London's National Gallery), which shows her subjugating Europe with her 'costly embroderies'.

Both ideals of eloquence – armamental and ornamental – are present in the connotations of the word *copia*, whose range of use in Latin covers the supply both of wealth and of military forces. And for the Elizabethans, many other terms had a similar duality, notably *brave*, *gallant*, *(h)abiliments*. Around 1600, all these words, – and, indeed, *ornaments*, too – had a sense range that encompassed both the martial and the sartorial, whereas their modern descendants have specialised into one sense field or the other. In the case of *copia*, its two facets are held together in the image with which Erasmus opens *De copia* and crystallises its stylistic ideals:

> (6) There is nothing more amazing or more glorious than human speech, superabounding with thoughts and words and pouring out like a golden river.
> *[non est aliud vel admirabilius vel magnificentius quam oratio, divite quadam sententiarum verborumque copia, aurei fluminis instar exuberans]* (Erasmus 1512)

Erasmus here combines Quintilian's image of the impassioned orator as an irresistible natural force (the great river overflowing its banks, described in *Institutio* 5.xiv.31, 12.x.61) with the late medieval image of poetry as opulent artifice (a river of gold). The conjunction of these two ideals is difficult to maintain and, when separated, both prove to have their problems. Opulent artifice in the hands of an insufficient artificer degenerates into

diffuse decoration while suasive-affective power can as easily destabilise as uphold a nation-state. Marlowe's Tamburlaine occupies the role of both hero and villain and, as Sidney complains, the 'honny-flowing Matron Eloquence' may be impersonated by 'a Curtizan-like painted affectation' (Sidney 1595; in Smith 1904: I 202). But although such worries are voiced in sixteenth-century discussions of copia, it is predominantly the positive connotations that are foregrounded; in the seventeenth century, the negative undertones become commoner and more insistent.

7.2.3 Of figures of speech

(7) As figures be the instruments of ornament in euery language, so be they also in a sorte abuses or rather trespasses in speach, because they passe the ordinary limits of common vtterance (Puttenham [1589])

All accounts of copia – whether ornamental or armamental, positive or negative – agree with Puttenham in identifying its 'instruments' as *figures of speech*, that is, forms of expression that deviate in specified ways from the norms of 'common utterance'. Providing a descriptive taxonomy of such figures was a primary goal of renaissance manuals of classical rhetoric, such as *De copia*; and the later manuals of vernacular rhetoric – whether addressed to poets, like Puttenham's treatise or to lawyers, like Hoskins's – followed suit, attempting to supply English equivalents for all the figures attested in classical theory or practice. It is clear that from their schooldays onwards, renaissance writers studied, memorised and internalised sets of figures and, under the same influence, renaissance critics – and ordinary readers – analysed a text or an author's style in terms of the repertoire of figures it deploys, as witness E.K.'s commentary, appended to Spenser's *Shepheards Calender* (1579), or Hoskins's guide to Sidney's *Arcadia* (Hoskins [?1599]). Some modern scholars have argued that this is still the most historically responsible approach to renaissance style.

(8) If you cannot pick up a list of the figures and read it through avidly, thinking of all the instances of their application and re-creation in Petrarch or Racine, Shakespeare or Milton, then you have not yet thought yourself back into a Renaissance frame of mind (Vickers 1988: 283)

Though I accept the spirit of these recommendations, it is not so easy to implement them in practice. The renaissance passion for rhetoric has bequeathed us not *a list* of figures but many lists – frequently at odds with one another in their nomenclature and classification systems. What is called a *trope* (a figure of thought) in one manual may be classed as a *scheme* (a

figure of sound) in another and though, for example, both Peacham and Puttenham have a figure called *onomatopoeia*, it has a much wider scope in Peacham's account (where it includes archaism and compounding). Add to this the sheer number of figures involved – approaching 200 in Peacham's list – and it becomes clear that for any brief account some principle of selection and synthesis is indispensable. The principle I have adopted here is to identify the subsets or collocations of figures responsible for some of the main stylistic trends of the period and to describe them in a way that attempts to mediate between definitions current in the Renaissance and linguistic terminology more familiar to modern readers.

I follow Hoskins – who follows Erasmus – in the titles I give to my groupings: *figures of varying* and *figures of amplifying*. Though I shall not always follow Hoskins – who does not always follow Erasmus – in deciding which figures belong to each category, the category labels themselves provide a useful reminder that rhetoric had a functional basis, in which figures were cultivated not as a set of forms but as the 'instruments' of a suasive or affective purpose. Varying is what attracts an audience and causes them to listen or read with pleasure, amplifying causes them to admire the author and remember his words. Varying achieves its ends by giving a discourse richness and diversity, amplifying gives it intensity and grandeur. Theoretically they are separable aspects of copia and can be separately exemplified (as they will be here). But it is when they are combined that the golden river of eloquence flows in full force.

7.3 Of varying

7.3.1 Introduction: the metamorphic style

Figures of varying all play off an element of persistence or repetition against an element of change. Many of these figures have a long history of use, their popularity spanning the Classical–Medieval–Renaissance divides. But almost all fell from favour by the end of the seventeenth century, and though some have found their defenders among twentieth-century critics, the full varying style has never been reinstated in popular taste. Modern readers confronted with Lyly or Shirley are still apt to share the impatience voiced by Bateson (1934: 32–3; 63–4) and Lewis (1969: 83–7). It's important to remember therefore that varying is central not only to the practice of copia but to renaissance aesthetic and cultural ideals more generally. As we have already seen (in 7.2.1), it is deeply rooted in the period's pedagogical practices (with their emphasis on putting a given content through multiple linguistic forms) and in its attitude to history (which looks to find

the classical past re-born in modern forms, casting Erasmus as a modern Seneca or Peele as a modern Anacreon). Quite commonly, linguistic and historical translations go hand in hand, as in Daniel's 1609 version of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which simultaneously turns Latin into English and the Roman civil wars into the 'bloody factions' of Lancaster and York.

But the work which tells us most about what varying could mean to its renaissance practitioners is Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, arguably the most popular classical text of the first half of our period. Already famous for its tales of physical transformation (Chaucer, for instance, expected his audience to recognise allusions to Daphne becoming a tree and Actaeon a stag), *Metamorphoses* owed its enhanced renaissance standing to the way in which it gives its theme both a stylistic and a metaphysical dimension. Ovid was the recognised master of the figures of varying surveyed below (7.3.2–7.3.6) and in the final book of his poem he justifies both his stories and his style by an appeal to the philosophy of Pythagoras. Here all linguistic and physical metamorphoses are celebrated as types of metempsychosis, the process by which (in Pythagorean doctrine) each individual soul persists and retains its identity despite bodily change and all individual souls are diverse manifestations of a single divine original. Dryden called the speech in which this philosophy is expounded 'the Master-piece of the whole *Metamorphoses*' (Dryden 1700; in Watson 1962: II 270) and Sandys, in the commentary attached to his translation of the poem, interpreted Pythagorean ideas of perpetual variation, expressed in passages such as (8), as a noble pagan prefiguring of Christian ideas of immortality:

(8) All alter, nothing finally decayes:
Hether and thether still the Spirit strayes; . . .
As pliant wax each new impression takes;
Fixt to no forme, but still the old forsakes;
Yet it the same: so Soules the same abide,
Though various figures theire reception hide. (Sandys 1632)

7.3.2 Varying the word i: morphological variation

I shall follow Dryden in using *the turn* as a convenient shorthand name for a group of related figures that appear in renaissance rhetorics under more formidable titles, such as *adnominiatio*, *enallage*, *paregmenon*, *polyptoton*, *traductio*. All represent the attempt to find native equivalents for the practice, much favoured by Ovid, of juxtaposing *morphological variants*, by which I mean different forms built on the same root lexeme. Gerard Langbaine,

writing in 1691, notes both the decline of the turn among his own contemporaries and its prominence a century earlier. He exemplifies its Latin pattern from Plautus:

(9) *Justam* rem & facilem <esse> oratum a vobis volo:
Nam *juste* ab *justis justus* sum Orator datus.
Nam *injusta* ab *justis* impetrare non decet:
Justa autem ab *injustis* petere insipientia'st

The formal variation in (9) draws partly on the resources of derivational morphology (to produce the series *justa-injusta-juste*) but more heavily on inflectional morphology (which produces *justam-justus-justa-justis*). While the first of these groups can be replicated in English (*just-unjust-justly*), the second creates more difficulty since *just*, like other English adjectives, is not inflected for number or case. Early-Modern-English writers faced the same difficulty, as Puttenham notes ([1589]: 171). By the sixteenth century, the loss of inflectional morphology had gone so far that the invariant word was pretty well the norm (see Lass this volume), which meant that it was almost impossible to make a single root produce patterning as dense as Plautus's. The examples in (10) are more typical of the English turn, both in their relative brevity and in their exclusive reliance on derivational variants.

(10) a) How should we tearme your dealings to be *iust*
If you *vniustly* deale with those, that in your *iustice* trust. (Kyd 1592)

b) if it be the guise of Italy to welcome *straungers* with *strangnes*, I must needes say the custome is *strange*. (Lyly 1579)

In many cases the lack of inflections means that the turn becomes quite abstract, existing only in the reader's recognition that an invariant form occupies two distinct syntactic categories or plays two distinct syntactic roles. So in (11a) *love* turns from verb to noun and in (11b) *pitie* turns from object to subject.

(11) a) They doe not *loue*, that doe not shew their *loue*
(Shakespeare 1623/?1594)

b) Knowledge might *pitie* winne, and *pitie* grace obtaine (Sidney 1591)

If further extended, turns of this type run the risk that their unvarying repetition of sound may (as Erasmus warns) strike the reader as demonstrating not copia but a cuckoo-like lack of it (King & Rix 1963: 16). Compare (9) with (12) for instance:

(12) But yet, per*chance* som *chance*
May *chance* to change my tune:

And, when (Souch) *chance* doth *chance*:
Then, shall I thank fortune? (Wyatt 1557/?1530–7)

But though the structure of English puts strict constraints on the viability of the turn as a stylistic device, the pre-standardised state of the language in the renaissance phase of our period offered temporary compensation, by providing writers with a repertoire of alternative realisations in both morphology and phonology (Lass, this volume). Variation between these forms occurs in most texts of the time, following predictable sociolinguistic patterns; but it may also be exploited for the more purely aesthetic purposes of creating turns, as in (13), where juxtaposition foregrounds the alternation between *th/s* verb endings in (13a) and variant syllable counts in (13b).

(13) a) With her, that *hateth* thee and *hates* vs all
(Shakespeare 1623/?1590–1)

b) These *violent* [3 syll.] delights have *violent* [2 syll.] endes.
(Shakespeare 1623/?1595–6)

Sometimes, instead of varying a lexical morpheme, writers create turns purely from the variants of grammatical morphemes. So (14) plays on the allomorphs of the (weak) past participle morpheme and (15) pits synthetic against analytic forms of the genitive (described by Rissanen in 4.2.5):

(14) Despis'*d*, distress*éd*, hat*ed*, martyr'*d*, kill'*d* (Shakespeare 1623/?1595–6)

(15) a) Upsprang the crye *of men* and *trompettes* blast [both in subject role]
b) In *Priams* ayd and rescue *of his town* [both in object role]
(Surrey 1557/?1540)

It may even be that the *double comparative* and *double superlative* forms of adjective (described by Lass in 3.8.3), which are often attributed by modern commentators to uncertainty of usage or typological transition in Early Modern English, should be interpreted, at least in some instances, as deliberate turns, which, like the genitives of (15), play off analytic against synthetic alternatives by combining the two. It's notable that such forms can be found in consciously grandiloquent discourse, as with the double comparative of (16a), and that Ben Jonson explicitly claims the usage as an 'Englishe Atticisme, or eloquent Phrase of speech', perorating, as if to prove his point, on the double superlative of (16b):

(16) a) The Kings of Mede and Lycaonia
With a *more larger* list of sceptres (Shakespeare 1623/1606–7)

b) an Englishe Atticisme, or eloquent Phrase of speech, imitating the manner of the *most ancientest*, and finest Grecians, who, for more emphasis, and vehemencies sake used [so] to speake. (Jonson 1640)

In many cases, morphological varying supports other features of stylistic design. Considerations of metre, for example, may play a part in all the examples from (13) to (15), and in (15) the combining of genitive forms also allows Surrey to imitate a type of varying much admired in Latin but normally difficult to achieve in English without violating word-order norms or losing intelligibility. This is the figure of *chiasmus*, in which a sequence of identical or equivalent constituents is repeated in reverse order, making a pattern of ABBA:

A	B	B	A
cry	men	trumpet	blast
Priam	aid	rescue	town

In other cases, the formal pattern is semanticised, making the turn a figure of thought as well as a figure of speech:

(17) a) *loue* is not *loue*
Which *alters* when it *alteration* findes,
Or bends with the *remouer* to *remoue* (Shakespeare 1609)

b) Or as a Thief . . .
In at the window *climbes* . . .
So *clomb* this first grand Thief into Gods Fould:
So since into his Church lewd Hirelings *climbe*. (Milton 1667)

In (17a) *alter* and *remove* both imitate the inconstancy they denote by recurring in variant forms (*alteration*, *remover*); the equation of true love with constancy is echoed in the *in*variance of the repeated form *love–love*. In (17b) Milton uses the turn *climbs–clomb–climb* to align the actions of a generic prototype (*a thief* . . . *climbs*) with its parallel realisations in the biblical past (Satan's entry into Eden) and the English present (the transformation of the clergy into a salaried profession). And in (18):

(18) thou art so truth (Donne 1633/?1590s)

Donne produces an elliptical turn, in which the choice of the noun *truth* instead of the adjective *true* (present in the reader's consciousness, if not in the text, because demanded by the syntax) implies that truth is the essence of the beloved rather than a mere attribute.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the force of such examples could no longer be felt. Although Dryden uses the turn (for instance, 'their *vain*

triumphs and their *vainer* fears'), he does so as a conscious resurrection of the practice of Spenser, Ovid and Virgil and increasingly with misgivings. In 1693, he calls turns 'great Beauties' of style, but by 1697 he sees them as 'little Ornaments' or a 'darling Sin', unsuitable for an epic poem (such as Milton's) or the representation of a strong passion (such as Donne's). Using the favoured STYLE = CLOTHING metaphor of the period, he dismisses turns as 'thin and airy Habits' unlike 'the weight of Gold and of Embroideries . . . reserv'd for Queens and Goddesses' (in Watson 1962: II 150–2, 238–9).

7.3.3 Varying the word ii: polysemy and homonymy

For the sake of familiarity, I shall again use a late-seventeenth-century term, *the pun*, to cover a range of renaissance terms, such as *allusio*, *ambiguitas*, *amphibologia*, *antanaclasis*, *paronomasia*, *ploce*, *prosonomasia*, *skesis*. The pun is in some sense the converse of the turn, since here the form remains constant or nearly constant and what varies is the meaning. But it shakes hands with the turn in those cases where the writer draws attention to the figure by juxtaposing two occurrences of an invariant form in its variant senses, as in (19)

(19) a) or *pay* me quickly, or Ile *pay* you ['remunerate' → 'punish']
(Jonson 1616)

b) At one slight *bound* high overleap'd all *bound* ['jump' → 'limit']
(Milton 1667)

or when pun and turn are combined, as in (20), where the word that changes its meaning also changes its form (20a) or its syntactic category (20b):

(20) a) the *last* and *lasting* part ['final' → 'enduring'] (Browne 1658)

b) for he had almost forgot his *Compasse*, he was so farre out of *compasse* with thinking howe to *compasse* Philomela
[concrete noun → abstract noun → verb; 'instrument' → 'reckoning' → 'succeed with'] (Greene 1592)

This kind of pun, cultivated assiduously in the early part of our period, declined along with the turn in the course of the seventeenth century and by modern commentators is sometimes not recognised as a pun at all. But renaissance writing is equally rich in what is now regarded as the central, if not the sole, type of this figure, the elliptical pun, in which the form occurs only once and its two (or more) meanings are evoked by the context. Puns

of this sort are found, of course, in all periods; what distinguishes renaissance practice is the frequency with which they are used in non-comic contexts and for propositional or heuristic purposes. In *the heuristic pun* (as I shall call it) a similarity of sound between two words is used as evidence of a similarity or relatedness in what they denote. The title of Herbert's poem, *The Collar* (1633), is a heuristic pun of this kind, encapsulating the proposition (which the poem as a whole then illustrates) that anger (*choler*) is equivalent to a state of bondage (*collar*), and in another title, *The Sonne*, Herbert draws on one of the most popular puns of the period to prepare the reader for the discovery of Christ's dual nature, uniting the humble *son* of man with the glorious *sun* of heaven. In Milton's *At a Solemn Musick*, two heuristic puns in successive lines form the basis of a developing theological argument:

(21) That undisturbed Song of pure concent,
Ay sung before the saphire-colour'd throne (Milton 1673/?1633)

Concent can mean either 'assent' (now spelt *consent*) or 'musical concord' (now spelt *concent*) and here both meanings are invoked to create an equation between obedience and harmony, which is taken one step further by the pun on *ay* ('always' and 'yes') which invites us to imagine heavenly eternity as a state of perpetual assent.

As these examples illustrate, the variability of Early Modern English spelling fuels punning by creating a proliferation of homographs (see Salmon this volume). But the motivation to utilise this resource as a device of argument is the belief that a *homonym* is also, in some sense, a *synonym*, which is one facet of the more general belief that there is a natural correspondence between form and meaning. This view of language, often itself expressed by punning means – that *oratio est ratio* [speech is reason] or *nomen est omen* [name signals nature] – came down to renaissance writers with both classical and biblical authority. They found it debated in Plato's *Cratylus* (one of the works rediscovered in the Renaissance), exemplified in the etymological speculations of Varro's *De lingua latina*, and endorsed by Christ himself when he gave Simon the name Peter (*Petros* in the Greek New Testament) as a sign that he was to be the rock (*petra*) on which the Church would be founded (Matthew 16.18). The *nomen–omen* equation is not always entertained without scepticism in the Renaissance (and the opposite view carried the weight of Aristotle's authority); but it is entertained very widely, so that, whether seriously or whether with a conscious suspension of disbelief, most writers use puns as a source of knowledge – or at least a legitimate form of argument – regardless of whether there

is any etymological relatedness between the homonyms or any empirical similarity in their referents, as in the case of the Protestant polemicist, quoted by Wilson, who 'vehement in the cause of his countrie' turned Cardinal Pole's surname into a moral heuristic:

(22) o Poule, o whurle Poule, as though his name declared his evill nature (Wilson 1551)

7.3.4 Varying the word iii: lexical fields and sense relations

7.3.4.1 Introduction

A large number of the figures of varying involve word-play based on the sense relations we now call *synonymy*, *antonymy*, *hyponymy*. The simplest of these, synonymy, can be seen as the inverse of the pun: whereas the pun combines (full or partial) identity of form with difference in meaning, synonymy combines (full or partial) identity of meaning with difference of form. Antonymy and hyponymy are more complex types of relation, in which a shared element of meaning is combined with a foregrounded relation of opposition (in the case of antonymy) or inclusion (in the case of hyponymy). All three are *paradigmatic* relations, in that they structure the vocabulary to create a set of options for a given lexical slot. What is characteristic of the varying style is that the options are not treated as mutually exclusive; instead, the text presents a constellation of related words which play variations on the element of meaning they have in common. In (23), to take an extreme example, Burton exploits the recursive potential of the adjective slot to play a dozen variations on the theme of 'decrepit':

(23) How many decrepite, hoarie, harsh, writhen, bursten bellied, crooked, toothlesse, bald, bleareyed, impotent, rotten old men shall you see flickering still in every place. (Burton 1632)

Though the general description I have given applies to all the figures in this group, there are significant differences dictated by the kind of sense relation that is most salient, so that it will be worth considering the three main sense relations separately.

7.3.4.2 Synonymy (the basis of such figures as *sinonimia*, *interpretatio*, *paraphrasis*)

The multiplication of synonyms – *sinonimia* as it was generally called – is the first method of cultivating copia that Erasmus recommends and its popularity in the period owes much to the authority it gained from its

prominence as a school exercise in the Erasmian syllabus. To Puttenham it is so central to the concept of copia that he calls it 'the figure of store' (Puttenham [1589]: 214). This is in fact a revision of Erasmus's intentions, in that for him the practice of sinonimia was primarily a pedagogic strategy by which the budding orator acquired a repertoire of semantically equivalent words and became adept in selecting the one most appropriate to any particular audience, topic or occasion, since 'there is no word that is not the best in some particular place' (trans. King & Rix 1963: 20). But in the vernacular successors of *De copia*, the pedagogic practice has been converted into a feature of style. Peacham, for instance, describes sinonimia as a figure which

(24) adorneth and garnisheth speech, as a rich and plentiful wardrop, wherein are many and sundry changes of garmentes, to bewtifie one and the same person (Peacham 1593)

The simplest form of sinonimia, which Peacham himself draws on here, is the use of synonymic doublets (*adorneth and garnisheth*, *rich and plentiful*, *many and sundry*, *one and the same*). *Doubling*, as it has been called, has a long history in English and indeed can be documented as a stylistic feature of Indo-European languages in general (Koskenniemi 1968). It has been explained as a means of creating emphatic forms (by close-coupling items with primary stress) and/or of foregrounding key ideas (Mueller 1984: 147–61), and a list of the doublings in Colet's statutes (2) would indeed act as a précis of his message: *barbary/corrupcion – distayned/poysenyd – the olde laten spech/the varay Romayne tong – that ffylthynesse/abusyon – I abbanysh/Exclude*. But by the time Colet was writing, at the start of the sixteenth century, an intensified use of doublings had become the hallmark of the aureate style favoured by Caxton and his press; and by the century's end, under the intervening influence of Erasmian pedagogy, sinonimia was producing styles where, as in (24), every clause contains a doubling or, as in (5), doubling has become so commonplace – *comely/bewtifull*, *habillements/apparell*, *ashamed/out of countenaunce*, *plaine/simple*, *gallant/gorgious*, *clothes/coulours* – that tripling is required to foreground the central contrast between 'richest attire' (*silkes, tyssewes, costly embroderies*) and the undressed state (*naked, bare and not clad*).

In this form of sinonimia, the emphatic function of doubling, arguably still present in Colet's use, has been heavily overlaid with an elaborative or ornamental function. Peacham implicitly acknowledges this when he adopts Puttenham's 'rich clothing' analogy to describe the figure in (24) and it causes him to issue a caution on its use: 'although the eares of simple

hearers be satisfied, yet their minds are smally instructed' (Peacham 1593: 150). One solution to this problem (where it is felt as a problem) is to exploit the fact that synonymy rarely if ever involves a complete identity of meaning. In fact, in Erasmus's pedagogic plan, one point of practising sinonimia was to sensitise pupils to the differences (whether of sense or register) between referentially similar words. This practice finds literary expression in the device I shall call *interpretive sinonimia*, in which synonyms are arranged in a sequence that deepens or changes our understanding. In (25), for instance, Ralegh progressively expounds the meaning of *this earth* with two partial synonyms whose differences map the sequence of his (and his reader's) prospective burial and dissolution:

(25) But from this *earth*, this *grave* this *dust*
The Lord will raise me up I trust (Ralegh 1618)

The difference between elaborative and interpretive sinonimia is strikingly illustrated when Shakespeare uses them for respectively the first and last utterances of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Holofernes enters the play as a parodic version of the Erasmian pedagogue, the embodiment of what Hoskins (no doubt recalling the miseries of his youth) calls a 'schoolmaister foaming out synonymies' (Hoskins [?1599]: 24). He deals not in doublings but in quadruplings and, compared with (25), his synonyms for *earth* are repetitive rather than progressive or climactic.

(26) ripe as the pomewater, who now hangeth like a jewel in the ear of *caelo*, the *sky*, the *welkin*, the *heaven*, and anon falleth like a crab on the face of the *terra*, the *soil*, the *land*, the *earth*. (Shakespeare 1623/?1594–5)

His last speech however is very different. Rebuking the courtiers who have made fun of him and his companions, he substitutes interpretive for elaborative sinonimia:

(27) This is not generous, not gentle, not humble

Here *gentle* is linked by sound echoes to the words on either side of it (sharing its root morpheme *gen* with *generous* and its syllabic /l/ with *humble*) and it is partially synonymous with both of them. But they relate to quite different sectors of its Early Modern English sense range: as a term of social description (cf. *OED* 1), *gentle* is the opposite of *humble* and coincides with *generous* (a word recently imported to express the rank and appropriate virtues of the high-born courtier); but in its increasingly prevalent use as a term of moral description (cf. *OED* 8), *gentle* falls within the same semantic field as *humble*. The sequence of (27) as a whole thus probes the interconnections between social and moral values and, in context, provides

a crushing reproach to Holofernes's addressees, who, as courtiers, are of gentle rank, but accept the responsibilities of neither a social code (in which gentles are generous) nor a moral code (in which the gentle are humble).

In both its forms, elaborative and interpretive, sinonimia remains a major feature of literary language throughout the renaissance period. It is perhaps not coincidental that its dominance as a figure of speech coincided with the high-water mark of foreign borrowing (see Nevalainen, this volume), reflecting what was surely a heady sense that the lexical resources of English were becoming almost boundless. Its grip on the stylistic imagination of the time can be seen when Bacon uses it even in the act of criticising the excesses of copia:

(28) the whole *inclination and bent* of those times was rather towards copie than weight (Bacon 1605)

and when he revised his Essays in 1625, he massively increased the number of doublings (arguably promoting elaborative 'copie' at the expense of forensic 'weight'):

(29) a) Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue, but to waigh and consider (Bacon 1597)

b) Reade not to Contradict and Confute; Nor to Beleeue and Take for granted; Nor to Find Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. (Bacon 1625)

By the mid-seventeenth century, however, sinonimia was in decline, as changes in Milton's vocabulary confirm. Corns notes an increasing tendency towards an invariant form–meaning correspondence:

> Milton had in his earliest writing a pronounced preference for using sets of synonyms for recurrent concepts, whereas later he favours using the same words whenever a subject reappears. For example, in the first 3,000 words of *A Treatise of Civil Power* (1659) 'scripture' and 'scriptures' occur together twenty-five times, and the only other word used for holy writ is 'gospel' . . . In contrast, in the opening 3,000 words of *Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641) Milton uses not only the recurrent terms 'Bible', 'Gospel', and 'Scriptures', but also 'holy writ', 'that sovran book', 'the pure Evangelick Manna', 'holy text' and 'Gods word' (Corns 1990: 115)

7.3.4.3 Antonymy

Cruse points out that of all sense relations, the relation of oppositeness, though ill-defined and multifarious, is 'the most readily apprehended by

ordinary speakers' and 'possess[es] a unique fascination' (Cruse 1986: 197). Antonyms are experienced as at once maximally separated and very close, so that members of an antonymic pair often have identical contexts of use and are readily substituted for each other in speech errors. Common reasons for antonyms to co-occur in a discourse are as an expression of contrast (the figures of *syncrisis*, *contentio*, *antithesis*) as in the example Peacham quotes from Solomon's proverbs: '*wise* women *vphold* their house, but a *foolish* woman *pulleth it down*' (Peacham 1593: 162), or as a means of selecting the relevant sense of a polysemous word ('by *light* I don't mean not-*dark*, but not-*heavy*'). This is the use we find in (5), where Puttenham brings out the composite sense of *gallant* and *gorgeous* ('richly dressed') by a double set of antonyms, the *naked, bare and not clad* sequence focussing the 'dressed' component of their meaning while *plain* and *simple* highlight the 'rich' component. What is more specific to the renaissance handling of antonymy is a predilection for figures that seek to assert *both* halves of an antonymic pair, rather than treating them as mutually exclusive alternatives. It is this use of antonyms that we find in (4), partially repeated in (30) below, where Peacham's praise of the power of eloquence is expressed in its (and his) encompassing of opposites (*commendeth–dispraiseth*, *perswadeth–disswadeth*, *beloued–abhorred*, *obeied–auoidede*).

(30) what he commendeth is beloued, what he dispraiseth is abhorred, what he perswadeth is obeied, and what he disswadeth is auoidede
(Peacham 1593)

The extreme form of mutually inclusive opposites is the figure known from the mid-seventeenth century as *oxymoron* (more common sixteenth century terms are *contrapositum*, *synoeciosis*). This 'composicion of contraries' as Hoskins calls it ([?1599: 36) can be achieved by conjunction at the level of syntax (as in Wyatt's 'I *feare and hope*: I *burne and frese*') and compounding at the level of the word (as in Sidney's *climb-fall* or Herbert's *sowre-sweet*). But it is perhaps most commonly expressed by adjective–noun collocations and Lanham invites his readers to practise oxymoronic reading on such modern combinations as *military intelligence*, *academic administration*, *business ethics* and *airline food* (Lanham 1991: 106). Typical renaissance examples are Milton's *living death* and *darkness visible* or Sidney's *mourning pleasure*, *delightful terribleness* and *unkind kindnesse* (which combines oxymoron with a turn on *kind*). The closely related figure of *paradox* turns such combinations into propositional form, as in Shakespeare's *fair is foul and foul is fair* or Donne's *when thou hast done, thou has not done* (which combines paradox with a pun on *done/Donne*).

These figures of self-contradiction all challenge the 'commonsense view

of life as systematized in ordinary usage' by asking the reader to interpret collocations which 'entail irreconcilable elements of meaning or reference' (Leech 1969: 143, 140). Sometimes, in religious discourse particularly, the contradictions are maintained *as* contradictions and used to point to a plane of reality that transcends human conceptual categories, as with the paradoxes of the Annunciation in (31a). In other cases, the contradiction can be resolved, either by positing an out-of-the-ordinary psychological state, in which normally incompatible emotions and beliefs coexist, such as the self-divisions of Petrarchan love in (31b); or by varying the interpretation of one of the terms (via pun or metaphor) to yield a second, non-contradictory sense, as in (31c–d).

(31) a) yea thou art now
Thy Makers maker, and thy Fathers mother (Donne 1633)

b) So strangely (alas) thy works on me prevaile,
That in my woes for thee, thou art my joy;
And in my joyes for thee, my onel' anoy. (Sidney 1591)

c) No face is faire that is not full so blacke
[*black* = 'dark-complexioned'; *fair* = 1.'pale-complexioned' (*OED* 6); = 2. 'beautiful' (*OED* 1)] (Shakespeare 1623/?1594–5)

d) I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night
[*day* is interpreted literally, *night* metaphorically as 'emotional darkness' and/or 'physical blindness'] (Milton 1673)

All these forms of paradox are well precedented in classical and native vernacular tradition; but, as with the pun, the Renaissance pushes a traditional practice to extremes, creating what Colie (1966) called a 'paradoxia epidemica'. One result was to force a specialisation in the sense of the term *paradox* itself. It entered English meaning 'an opinion contrary to common belief' (a definition that covers both Erasmus's famous defence of folly and Copernicus's hypothesis that the earth moves round the sun). But by the mid-seventeenth century, this was giving way as the dominant sense of the word to the more specialised meaning of 'a self-contradictory statement which is nonetheless true'. By that time, though, the epidemic had almost burnt itself out. Where Browne in 1642/3 was happy to entertain Tertullian's famous paradox of faith *certum est quia impossibile est* [it is certain because it is impossible] on the grounds that 'to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith but perswasion' (*Religio Medici*: I, 9.), Hobbes in 1651 was frankly dismissive: 'both parts of a contradiction cannot possibly be true; and therefore to enjoin the belief of them, is an argument of ignorance' (*Leviathan*: I, 12). From the standpoint of empirical rationalism, paradox

appeared not so much an instrument of knowledge as a form of verbal trickery.

The relation between linguistic description and empirical reality is also at issue in another major figure of contrast in the period, *paradiastole*, which brings into confrontation two descriptive terms with identical reference but opposite evaluations: 'as, to call an unthrift, a liberall Gentleman . . . the niggard, thriftie' (Puttenham [1589]: 185). Paradiastole enters the literary language from the rhetorics of both Court and law-court, and it carries the characteristics of each. Puttenham, the courtier, calls this figure 'the soother' and associates it with courtly euphemism (which might be described, paradiastolically, as either flattery or politeness). Peacham (in his 1577 edition) associates it rather with the forensic function of extenuation; but by 1593 he castigates it as a perverted use of the 'rich wardrop' of rhetoric: it is used 'to cover vices with the mantles of virtues' (Peacham 1593: 169). In the course of the seventeenth century paradiastole became increasingly problematic through being associated with the relativising of political morality in Machiavelli's arguments that *clemency* is equivalent to *weakness* or *cruelty* to *justice* (Skinner 1991). But sixteenth-century writers could still use it positively, as a means of introducing moral discrimination into the language of description. In (32), Sidney performs a paradiastolic variation on the simple statement 'knight fought against knight' to insinuate the different moral standing of the two protagonists, since in each variation the first term is a negatively valued equivalent of the second:

(32a) there was . . . rage against resolution, fury against virtue, confidence against courage, pride against nobleness; (Sidney 1590)

To climax the series Sidney turns to the figure of paradox:

(32b) love in both breeding mutual hatred

forcing his reader to discriminate between apparent synonyms (*in both/mutual*) and to see contrary emotions (*love/hatred*) as co-present and causally related.

In all these cases, the compatibility or coexistence of opposites receives more emphasis than their differences. In renaissance writing generally, the force of antithesis is more commonly carried by lexis than by syntax and often there is a counterpoint between lexis and syntax, with antonyms characteristically appearing in syntactic structures which make them parallel (e.g. *what commendeth . . . what dispraiseth* in (30)) or sequential (e.g. *now hangeth . . . anon . . . falleth* in (26)) or conjoined (e.g. *burn and freeze*) or dependent (e.g. *hot ice*). (33) is typical:

(33) the treasures we vp-lay
Soone wither, vanish, fade and melt away (Bolton 1600)

The semantic focus here is on the contrast between human aspiration and its frustration by the power of mutability (expressed in the quadruple sinonimia of the last line), but structurally their adversative relation is diminished: the couplet form foregrounds the phonetic similarity between *uplay* and *melt away* and the syntax places *uplay* in a restrictive relative clause modifying the main argument (*treasures*) of *melt away*. In effect, the construction is a large-scale version of the modifier–head relation found in oxymorons such as *living death*.

7.3.4.4 Hyponymy and meronymy (the figures of *distributio*, *diaeresis*, *divisio*, *enumeratio*, *merismus*, *partitio*; *itemising*, *anatomising*)

Hyponymy is a class–member relation where the *superordinate* term names the class and the *hyponyms* its component members. The prototype case is biological taxonomy and it is an example of this type that Peacham chooses to illustrate the figure of *diaeresis*:

(34) aske the cattaile, and they shall inform thee, the fowles of the aire & they shal tel thee . . . or the fishes of the sea, and they shal certifie thee (Peacham 1593)

Here, as Peacham points out, a generalisation ('brute beasts do teach') is replaced by its instantiating particulars. But because each of the particulars contains the superordinate term as a component of its meaning (*cattaile*, *fowles*, *fishes* all entail 'beast'), there is a high degree of semantic recurrence in a list of hyponyms, even where individual hyponyms are mutually incompatible (as *fowl* is with *fish*). And in the verb set of (34), hyponymy blurs into synonymy (depending on whether we take *inform/tel/certifie* to be variant types of the action 'teach' or simply alternative labels for the same act). At the other extreme of hyponymy are sets such as (35):

(35) The Rose, the shine, the bubble and the snoe (Bolton 1600)

whose superordinate term – call it *ephemera* – does not denote a so-called natural class like 'creature' but an artificial class created by a particular world-view or an individual act of imaginative apprehension (though as Lakoff (1987) and others have argued, the distinction between natural and culture-specific classification systems is by no means clear-cut). Many such classes were created by renaissance theories of the universe as a network of analogical structures which correspond to each other at all points (Mazzeo 1964). Within this scheme of things, for example, *lion*, *sun*, *gold* (which to

most modern readers evoke quite disparate natural classes) are interpreted as co-hyponyms of a superordinate term for 'head of a hierarchy'. But as that example shows, unless reader and writer share the conceptual scheme which provides the underlying generalisation, hyponymic sequences are liable to dissolve into semantically incoherent lists. Herbert's poem *Dotage* opens up this possibility by offering an apparently disparate sequence – *casks of happinesse*, *childrens wishes*, *chases in Arras* – as instances of the traditional class of 'earthly vanities'.

Different problems of construal are presented by sets of terms such as:

(36) a) Rattles, Drums, Halberts, Horses, Babies o' the best . . .
(Jonson 1631/1614)

b) your beech-coale, and your cor'siue waters,
Your crosse-lets, crucibles, and cucurbites. (Jonson 1612)

c) phesants, caluerd salmons,
Knots, godwits, lamprey's (Jonson 1612)

It may be tempting to read (36c) as a more detailed example of the 'brute beast' set in (34): in this case itemising the individual species of 'fish' and 'fowl'. But in context the common factor is that they are all items on the same menu, just as the terms in (36b) are unified by denoting an alchemist's tools of trade, and those of (36a) by being a stock-list of things for sale at Bartholomew Fair. In other words, a different lexical relation is at work in (36); words are bound together not by hyponymy but *meronymy*. Like hyponymy this is a relation in which one term can be said to 'include' a number of others. But whereas hyponymy is a member–class relation, reflecting a taxonomy or conceptual hierarchy, meronymy is a part–whole relation, reflecting the existence of complex structures in concrete reality. The *holonym* names the whole and the *meronyms* its component parts. The prototype case of meronymy is 'the division of the human body into parts' (Cruse 1986: 157–80), and the figure of *divisio* in renaissance writing often takes this form too, as when Spenser celebrates the body of his bride by cataloguing 'her goodly eyes . . . her forehead . . . her cheeks . . . her lips . . . her brest . . . her paps . . . her snowie necke' (*Epithalamion* 1595: ll.171–7). But meronymy is also at work in the analysis of an event into its causal and/or chronological phases, as in (37) where an event first summarised as 'my love is slain' is then analysed into a narrative sequence:

(37) Assail'd, fight, taken, stabb'd, bleed, fall, and die (Donne 1635)

Renaissance rhetoricians tend not to distinguish between hyponymic and meronymic figures (though Peacham's discussion of *enumeratio*, for

instance, is clearly and exclusively meronymic) and in the stylistic practice of the period their similarities are probably more important than their differences. Both provide techniques for particularising rather than generalising and many examples could be construed as either, for instance:

(38) And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flyes (Milton 1667)

This is in one sense hyponymic, all the verbs being modes of 'locomotion'. But, as with (36c), the context makes their relation meronymic: they enumrate the component vicissitudes of Satan's journey. Similarly, Burton's list (23) could be construed as either the varieties of decrepitude (hyponymy) or its coexistent symptoms (meronymy). But the exercise of reading these examples both ways highlights crucial differences between hyponymy and meronymy. Hyponymic figures reflect the procedures of renaissance neo-Platonic thought by approaching an abstract idea (such as mutability) through its divergent concrete instantiations (such as a primrose, a bubble, snow) to which the idea in turn gives meaningful connection; meronymic figures, in which a physical entity is broken down into its component parts or an event into its successive phases, look forward to the more empirical approach to nature that comes to the fore in the later seventeenth century.

7.3.5 *Varying the word iv: metaphor (translatio, transport, translated words; allegoria; conceit)*

Metaphor is a form of lexical variation in which a word from one field of reference (the *tenor*) is replaced by one from another field (the *vehicle*) on the basis of some perceived similarity between the two fields (the *ground*). In the example with which Puttenham ([1589]: 178) illustrates the figure: 'to say, *I cannot digest your unkinde words*, for I cannot take them in good part', the tenor is *take in good part*, the vehicle is *digest*, and the ground is the analogy between the mental process of receiving information and the physical process of eating.

Metaphor thus shares with other figures of varying a persistence (of meaning) combined with a change (of form), and it has particular affinities with hyponymic figures, since the semantic link between tenor and vehicle (as between co-hyponyms) is their mutual relation to an unstated third term (in one case the ground, in the other the superordinate): digesting and taking in good part are both instances of, let's say, 'successful assimilation', in the same way as, in (35), the bubble and the snow are both instances of 'ephemera'. But metaphor is at once the more challenging and the more rewarding figure. In interpreting sequences like (34) and (35), the reader can

reconstruct the superordinate by comparing the co-hyponyms, whereas in the pure form of metaphor neither tenor nor ground are stated and their recovery imposes a more active role on the reader, who becomes almost co-creator of the metaphorical meaning. A passive reader can after all take *I cannot digest . . . words* as a literal (if trivially informative) statement of fact.

Most renaissance commentators agree with Quintilian (*Institutio* 8.vi.4–18) that metaphor is both 'the commonest and by far the most beautiful of tropes'. It is the commonest because of its occurrence in the metaphors of everyday speech, where I '*boil* with rage' or '*see* your point'; in its literary form, it is 'the most beautiful' not only because it evokes creative activity in the reader but because that activity results, as in the case of the heuristic pun and some forms of paradox, in a changed understanding of the world, in this case by causing us to reanalyse one phenomenon in terms of another. Puttenham's metaphor, for instance, prompts a mutual transfer of attributes between the activities of conversing and eating, in a way that, potentially, alters our attitude to both.

Allegory, where this double apprehension is extended from a single word to a whole narration, is, in consequence, even more highly valued. Peacham likens metaphor to a star, allegory to a constellation (1593: 27) and for Puttenham allegory is 'the chief ringleader and captaine of all other figures, either in the Poeticall or oratorie science' ([1589]: 186). They speak for a period that inherited allegory not only as a genre of writing (medieval vernacular precedents include *Piers Plowman* and the *Roman de la Rose*) but also as a method of reading, which could be applied to texts not overtly allegorical. The Stoic philosophers had found moral meanings in Greek myths, the Church Fathers had turned the Old Testament into an allegory of the New and laid the foundations for a four-level interpretation of all Scriptural writings, and the early humanists had transferred these methods of bible exegesis to classical texts such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, finding that 'manie times under the selfesame words they comprehend some true vnderstanding of naturall Philosophie, or sometimes of politike gouernement, and now and then of diuinitie' (Harington 1591: in Smith 1904 II, 201–2). It was as the conscious culmination of these traditions that Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590/1596), the first native and nationalist epic of the Renaissance, was designed as a multi-level allegory extended through twenty four Books.

Where allegory intensifies metaphor by protracting the vehicle and multiplying the tenor, the *conceit* does so by increasing the conceptual distance between tenor and vehicle and so heightening the sense of wonder when the ground of their likeness is discovered. In practice, a conceit is

almost always an extended metaphor since the writer undertakes to prove the 'far-fetcht' likeness he has posited, to 'hammer it out' as Shakespeare's Richard II puts it, having set himself the task of comparing 'this prison where I live unto the world' (*Richard II* V.v.1–41). Sidney similarly offers a feature-by-feature comparison between a palace façade and Stella's face (*Astrophil and Stella*, ix), and, in what is now, and was then, one of the most famous of renaissance conceits, Donne details the respects in which lovers' souls are like a pair of compasses:

(39) Thy soule the fixt foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if the'other doe.
And though it in the center sit,
Yet when the other far doth rome,
It leanes, and hearkens after it,
And growes erect, as that comes home (Donne 1633)

But if allegory can be regarded as the 'captain' among metaphoric figures, the conceit is perhaps the group's overreacher. Compare (39) with the two metaphors for beheading which Hoskins cites from Sidney's *Arcadia* (Hoskins [?1599]: 8)

(40) a) to divorce the faire mariage of the head & body
b) heads disinherited of their naturall signioryes

Both of these metaphors are grounded in the system of natural correspondences that were believed to exist between physical, interpersonal and political structures, such that

head : body :: husband : wife :: prince : state.

Metaphors such as (40) support the belief system that supports them by encouraging the reader to discover it afresh in the act of interpreting them. In principle, a conceit works in the same way, merely taking a more unexpected starting-point. Sidney's conceit of the palace façade simply elaborates a very old analogy which sees the body as the house of the soul. But conceits like (39), and its more extreme descendants in the work of Cowley and Cleveland, go beyond the range of traditional correspondences in search of ever more startling ones, until, effectively they begin to privatise metaphor (as Herbert's *Dotage* begins to privatise hyponymy). And by privatising metaphor, they make the whole system of correspondences appear to be the product of a poet's conceit (= 'imaginative prowess') rather than something given in nature.

The conceit fell from favour by the end of the seventeenth century and the extravagance of its procedures was in part responsible for the

discrediting of metaphor more generally (as well as for the rapid pejoration of the terms *far-fetched* and *conceited*). But for the late Elizabethan commentators, there is still 'no trope more flourishing than a metaphor' (Fraunce 1588: 15). Peacham puts it first in his collection and gives it by far the longest entry (1593: 3–14) and Hoskins revises Erasmus by replacing sinonimia with metaphor at the head of his figures of varying. Metaphor can indeed be seen as the epitome of renaissance varying, if only because its alternative name, *translation*, identified it with those other types of varying to which the period gave the name *translation* too: from metaphrase, the translation of language, through metamorphosis, the translation of bodies, up to metempsychosis, the translation of souls.

7.3.6 Varying the phrase: apposition as a structural principle

As we have seen in 7.3.2.3, the practice of lexical variation is associated with parallel and recursive constructions in syntax. The paradigm case is *apposition*. In one sense, apposition is the inevitable syntactic consequence of the figure of sinonimia, since it appears in its simplest form as soon as synonyms are juxtaposed, or, to take the definition given in Lily's *Royal Grammar* (1567), wherever there is 'direct or indirect conjunction of two substantives in the same case, one of which is explained by the other' (Michael 1970: 136). Lily and other renaissance commentators treat apposition as a category of both grammar and rhetoric and its rhetorical applications in the period frequently stretch the bounds of its grammatical description. It may be useful, however, to start from a more restrictive modern definition. In the canonic case, two or more linguistic units are said to be in apposition under the conditions listed in (41):

(41) (a) they are co-constituents of a larger unit;
(b) they are constituents of the same grammatical level;
(c) they are performing the same syntactic function;
(d) one of them could be omitted without affecting the acceptability of the larger unit;
(e) they have the same extra-linguistic reference
(see Quirk *et al.* 1972: 620–48; Matthews 1981: 222–36)

The key criteria of apposition then are semantic reiteration, formal reiteration and codependency. In renaissance practice, any one of these criteria may be be relaxed (or conversely, foregrounded) in specific examples of use. The following examples will illustrate some of the main possibilities (appositional units are enclosed by {..})

(42) Come Sleepe, o Sleepe, {the certaine knot of peace,}
{The bathing place of wits,} {the balme of woe,}
{The poor mans wealth,} {the prysoners release,}
{The indifferent Judge betweene the hie and lowe} (Sidney 1591)

In (42) all five conditions of (41) are met. The six marked units occur in the same sentence, where they are constituents of the same level and type (all noun phrases fulfilling the same syntactic role as the first term in the series, *sleep*). They all have the same extra-linguistic referent (the concept or state that *sleep* usually designates) and any one of them could be omitted without making the sentence as a whole ungrammatical. This example represents the simplest form of appositional structure and its sequence of noun phrases shows obvious affinities with the elaborated address forms of Lydgate (see Blake *CHEL* II: 527–8), which derive in turn from the litany and canticle formulae of religious discourse. But Sidney here carries out a more thoroughgoing secularisation of the content and the synonymic sequence is as much interpretive as elaborative, one effect of the whole being to provide a definition of the original unanalysed term, *sleep*. Apposition is a popular method of definition in the period, it defines by accumulation rather than by abstraction or reduction and it permits – indeed promotes – the inclusion of alternative and potentially contradictory perspectives.

In some appositional constructions, the criterion of semantic repetition is loosened, synonymy being replaced by hyponymy or meronymy as the semantic relation between the units, but as if in compensation, the criterion of formal repetition is usually in these cases strictly maintained, as in Fuller's meronymic portrait of Bishop Jewel:

(43) . . . So {*devout* in the *Pew* where he *prayed*} {*diligent* in the *Pulpit* where he *preached*} {*grave* on the *Bench* where he *assisted*} {*milde* in the *Consistory* where he *judged*} {*pleasant* at the *Table* where he *fed*} {*patient* in the *bed* where he *died*} . . . (Fuller 1655; original italics)

Here the appositional series is on the verge of becoming a list. But all elements are bound together syntactically by repeating the pattern *[Adj] in the [N] where he [V]*, and they are linked semantically by referring to a single extra-linguistic entity – Bishop Jewel's life – and together forming a definition of it. The series could easily be recast in the canonic appositional form of (42) as: 'Bishop Jewel, cleric, judge, domestic companion'.

In the following example, it is the criterion of syntactic codependency that is relaxed, since the operative units are complete and independent clauses. What makes the sequence an instance of apposition in the rhetorical if not the grammatical sense is the high degree of semantic reiteration.

In a particularly Ovidian form of variation, all four units express the same proposition (that beauty is evanescent).

(44) {Beauty is but a flowre,
Which wrinckles will deuoure,}
{Brightnesse falls from the ayre,}
{Queenes haue died yong and faire,}
{Dust hath closde Helens eye} (Nashe 1600)

It is by this means that apposition is elaborated and enlarged as a structural principle. For within Nashe's poem as a whole, this stanza takes its place in a much larger design, in which the general proposition that 'none from [death's] darts can fly' is reiterated in successive stanzas, each of which takes a hyponymic variant on the theme, illustrating the death of the rich, of the beautiful, of the strong, of the intelligent. The semantic recurrence is echoed and reinforced by the formal recurrences of stanza and refrain 'I am sick, I must die'. This type of appositional construction could be extended almost *ad infinitum* by writers intent on tracking resemblances across the whole of their analogical universe. Hoskins notes, for example, of Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, a work of over 1,500 lines, that 'this only tricke made vpp J:Ds poeme of dauncing, All daunceth, the heavens, the elements, mens myndes, commonwealths, & soe by parts all daunceth' (Hoskins [?1599]: 23).

7.4 Of amplifying

7.4.1 Introduction: the grand style

(45) There are three maner of stiles or inditings, the great or mightie kinde, when we vse great wordes, or vehement figures. The small kinde, when we moderate our heate by meaner wordes, and vse not the most stirring sentences. The [lowe] kinde, when we vse no *Metaphores* nor translated words, nor yet vse any amplifications, but goe plainly to worke, and speake altogether in common wordes. (Wilson 1553)

Amplifying is an ambiguous term in renaissance critical vocabulary. One of its senses continues the tradition of medieval rhetoric, in which *amplificatio* effectively means prolongation, being associated with figures for expanding on or extending the topic of discourse (by digressions, repetitions, reformulations). But in the renaissance revision – and re-classicising – of rhetoric, amplifying was also interpreted as the equivalent of what Aristotle had called *auxesis*, a heightening or intensifying of emotional impact (*Rhetoric*, I.1368a 22–27). In this conception, the topic is made imaginatively

larger not just verbally longer; indeed in some contexts the best means of amplifying may be to abbreviate.

For renaissance commentators, amplifying in the *auxesis* sense is preeminently a property of what by the end of our period had become known as *the grand style*. Earlier names are more various, but the basic division of styles into three major types, as given by Wilson in (45), was inherited by the Renaissance from Roman rhetoricians as was the linking of each stylistic type to a particular rhetorical function: 'the simple style for proving, the middle style for pleasing, the vehement style for persuading' [*subtile in probando, modicum in delectando, vehemens in flectendo*] (Cicero, *Orator*, 21.69). Though all three functions are necessary, and a speaker may well switch from one style to another in any given discourse, the grand style (Wilson's *great or mightie kinde*, Cicero's *vehement* style) stands at the head of the triumvirate because it has the power to *change* its audience: it 'implants new ideas and roots out the old' [*inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas*] (*Orator*, 28.97). It is typically depicted in images of tempests and torrents, or of height, light and flight – hence the terms in which Milton appeals for divine aid to achieve a style grand enough to match the 'great Argument' of *Paradise Lost*:

(46) I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above th'*Aonian* Mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime . . .
What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support (Milton 1667)

7.4.2 Amplifying the word

7.4.2.1 The latinate vocabulary

For most renaissance commentators, the obvious route to the grand style lay in the use of what Wilson (in 45) calls 'great words', or Marlowe in the prologue to *Tamburlaine* calls 'high-astounding terms'; and most saw the obvious source of such words as the stratum of the lexicon borrowed from the classical languages (which I shall here call *latinate*, adopting the broad-based definition proposed by Nevalainen this volume, 5.2.2). The link between latinity and amplifying is illustrated in (46), where the epic qualities Milton desires are both described and stylistically epitomised in the Latin-derived words *illumine*, *support*, while their negative counterparts (*dark*, *low*) are expressed in what Dryden disparagingly called 'our Old *Teuton* Monosyllables' (Dryden 1697; in Watson 1962: II 252). This

correlation was already well established at the beginning of our period, as witness Caxton's praise of Skelton for translating Diodorus Siculus into '*polysshed* and *ornate* terms' instead of '*rude* and *old* langage' (Prologue to the *Eneydos*, 1490; in Blake 1973: 80). In Caxton's own revision of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, published in 1485 and intended, as his Prologue tells us, to supply a 'noble' vernacular work on a nationalist theme, he ennobled the style to match, removing many of Malory's alliterations – the residue of older, native techniques of heightening – and increasing the number of latinate words. Malory's '*s*ate *s*orowyng', for instance, becomes Caxton's 'made *lamentacion*' (Blake 1968: 40–1). Many other writers had the same preference, making the *-ation* (<*acion*>, <*acioun*>) noun suffix and the *-al* and *-ate* adjective suffixes among the most prominent style-markers of fifteenth-century 'aureate' writing (as in aure-*ate* itself). These suffixes are still much in evidence in Skelton's *Replycacion*, foregrounded as rhyme syllables in a passage where, like Milton in (46), he aims to both extol and exemplify the power of poetic eloquence:

(47) Howe there is a spyrituall
And a mysteriall
And a mysticall
Effecte Energiall . . .
Of hevenly inspyracion
In laureate creacyon
Of poetes commendacion (Skelton 1528)

Lexically, Skelton's advance on Caxton is that he is not content with obtaining his 'great words' *via* French; he also borrows from classical sources direct. *Energiall*, for instance, comes to him from Aristotle *via* Quintilian to describe a key property of the grand style, what Sidney later called 'that same forciblenes or *Energia* (as the Greekes cal it), of the writer' (Sidney 1595; in Smith 1904: I 201).

The period separating (47) and (46) – 1528–1667 – witnessed the great influx of latinate borrowings documented by Nevalainen (this volume 5.4.3), an influx that the grand style not only benefited from but actively sponsored. Whereas in technical genres imports were needed to fill gaps in the native lexicon when English displaced Latin in fields of scholarship requiring terms such as *education*, *embryo*, *figurative*, in literary genres the imports were often synonymous – in referential terms – with items already existing in the language. The motive for borrowing in this case is purely stylistic, as appears in the seventeenth-century dictionaries (such as Cockeram 1623 and later editions of Bullokar) which offer their readers lists of

synonyms and defend the apparent redundancy by an appeal to the public demand for 'ample' alternatives to 'vulgar words'. Moreover, just as the distinction between literary and technical genres is not clear-cut in the Renaissance (see 7.2.1 above) nor is the dividing line between stylistic and utilitarian borrowings. No language *has* to borrow to fill a lexical gap. As long as it has word-formation rules it can neologise from native resources (as German renaissance writers largely did), or it can augment its word-stock by calques rather than borrowings, as Sir John Cheke demonstrated by preferring, for instance, *onwriting* to *superscription* (Barber 1976: 91). The relative failure of Cheke's native neologisms and the overwhelming preference of his contemporaries for the latinate reflects in part the previous history of the language, with its long-established habit of borrowing from French (see Burnley, *CHEL* II: 423–32); but, more immediately, it expresses the conscious desire of English renaissance writers to assimilate to classical culture and the widespread belief that latinate forms lent sonorousness and authority to great arguments in whatever genre.

What Cheke and other mid-sixteenth-century purists perhaps did achieve by resisting the latinate invasion and defending the dignity of native 'Saxon' English was to develop a general awareness of the etymological origin of words and an appreciation that the Saxon and latinate elements in the word-stock had different and complementary expressive properties. As I have argued elsewhere (Adamson 1989), these properties relate directly to the different conditions in which the two layers of the lexicon are learned. Saxon words are typically learned early, learned through speech and in the context of physical experience. Hence no one needs to be told the meaning of *light* or *strong*; they consult their memories of all the experiences with which the word is connected. Words like *illumine* or *energial*, by contrast, are learned late, learned through education and interpreted by reference to explicit definition. They are therefore associated not only with a formal, public style but also with a range of meaning that is primarily abstract and ideational, whereas Saxon words are associated with private and intimate discourse and their semantic range is characteristically experiential: they encode perceptions, emotions, evaluations. This means that any discourse aiming to encompass both kinds of meaning is likely to incorporate both kinds of word, as Shakespeare does in (48) where the second line virtually paraphrases the first:

(48) Absent thee from felicitie a while,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in paine
(Shakespeare 1623/1600–1)

Here – as Hamlet urges Horatio not to commit suicide – the two coordinated imperatives focus on complementary aspects of what it means to forgo the comforts of death, and they do so by drawing on the complementary strengths of the two lexical strata. In the first line, the key words, *absent*, *felicity*, are used to convey an intellectual apprehension of a state of stoical endurance, which they simultaneously dignify by their own stylistic formality. The second line turns to the physical reality of living on and expresses it in predominantly Saxon vocabulary (the only exception, *pain*, though Romance in origin, would, for renaissance writers, be assimilated to the group of Dryden's 'old Teuton monosyllables' by virtue of at least being monosyllabic and old).

In drama and sermon, whose audiences might include both the educated and the unlatined, this kind of register-switching and self-paraphrase is particularly common, but the pattern is repeated in other genres too, including the natural home of the grand style, epic. Perhaps because the grand style was so clearly defined in functional rather than formal terms and because its function was so clearly understood to be persuasion or moving, most renaissance writers ground the magniloquent latinate in the homely Saxon. In a trivial sense, they have no choice: since the *closed class* words of English (prepositions, articles, conjunctions) have remained almost exclusively Germanic, even the most ardent Latiniser is bound to produce a hybrid text. It is only in the *open class* (nouns, verbs, adjectives) that significant choice can be made and at this level, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the norm for the grand style is to interweave latinate and Saxon. Apart from phrasal varyings, such as (48), we find synonymic doublings (e.g. Bacon's *find talk and discourse*; Donne's *contignation and knitting*; Browne's *breach or dichotomie*; *fire and scintillation*) and syntagmic couplings (e.g. Shakespeare's *lass unparalleld*; *cold obstruction*; Milton's *irrecoverably dark*; *bad eminence*; and, in (46), *things unattempted*). Styles which, by contrast, collocate latinate with latinate – in couplings such as *ingent affabilitee* and *magnificall dexteritee* or doublings such as *celebrate and extoll* or *tortive and errant* – tend to appear in parodies rather than instances of the grand style, as the marker of an 'affectate' discourse or a speaker out of touch with reality. The language of Wilson's Lincolnshire clergyman (excerpted in (49)) or Shakespeare's Agamemnon (discussed in Adamson 1989: 220–2) exemplifies not *auxesis* but the figure called *bomphiology* (or, more familiarly, *bombast*), the use of words 'as seeme altogether farced full of wind' (Puttenham [1589]: 259):

(49) Pondering, expending, and reuoluting with my selfe, your ingent affabilitee, and ingenious capacity, for mundaine affaires: I cannot but celebrate, and extol your magnifical dexteritie aboue all other. (Wilson 1553)

7.4.2.2 Malapropism (*cacozelon*)

It has been argued that the stratification of the English lexicon is not simply a linguistic fact but a social problem, since it is 'apt to form or . . . accentuate class divisions' (Jespersen 1946: 134). As Jespersen notes, anyone who has not had access to a classical education will find latinate words hard to understand and to produce, because 'there are usually no associations of ideas between them and the ordinary stock of words and no likenesses in root or in the formative elements to assist the memory'. And because English is unique among Germanic languages in the degree to which it has borrowed its prestigious words from Latin, it has, he suggests, a unique form of humour, based on the abortive efforts of the unlatined to achieve a grander style. The usual name for their speech errors, *malapropism*, commemorates Sheridan's Mrs Malaprop, a character created in the neo-classical phase of our period (in *The Rivals* 1775), but the literary type came into being much earlier. In 1553, Wilson supplied anecdotes of 'poore simple men' or 'ignorant felowes' mangling the form or meaning of latinate words; in 1577, Peacham turned the malady into a figure of speech, *cacozelon* (a term borrowed from Quintilian and redefined for the purpose); and by 1600 Shakespeare had created two of literature's most memorable cacozealots, Mistress Quickly and Dogberry (the latter almost certainly inspired by one of Wilson's anecdotes). The class bias of the humour is evident enough. Both characters use grandiose words to shore up an insecure social footing: Quickly, as the would-be respectable 'hostess of the tavern', and Dogberry as 'a wise fellow, and which is more, an officer, and which is more, a houshoulder . . . and one that hath two gownes' (*Much Ado* IV.ii.80–5); and both trip over their want of Latin, misforming words (such as *allicoly* for *melancholy*, *vagrom* for *vagrant*) or misapplying them (*redemption* for *damnation*, *odorous* for *odious*) or sometimes doing both at once, as in Quickly's praise of the 'fartuous' Mistress Page (*Merry Wives* II.ii.97).

And yet – *pace* Jespersen – Dogberry's repertoire of great words is not simply, or not solely, the object of ridicule. One important distinction between dogberryisms and malapropisms is that in the renaissance phase of our period the distinction between creative and incompetent latinising was far from clear-cut: a looser set of restrictions on latinate derivational morphology obtained than for later periods and until 1604 there was no dictionary to show which forms or meanings were already attested and in use. So whereas in 1775 Mrs Malaprop is simply wrong in using *reprehend* for *comprehend* in (50a):

(50) a) Sure if I reprehend any thing in this world, it is the use of my oracular tongue (Sheridan 1775)

the case is not so clear in 1600 when Dogberry uses *comprehend* for *apprehend* in (50b):

b) our watch sir haue indeede comprehended two aspitious persons (Shakespeare 1623/?1598–9)

since some of Shakespeare's far from illiterate contemporaries – in an attempt to revive the original Latin sense-range of *comprehend* – were seriously using it to mean 'seize' or 'arrest' (see *OED* 1 & 2). And although this is a latinism that Shakespeare himself evidently rejects, many of his own coinages – such as *disquantity*, *immoment*, *irregulous*, *composture*, *besort* – have struck later commentators as 'abortions' or 'barbarisms' (Garner 1987a, b). In a sense, all renaissance latinisers were experimenters like Dogberry, and their efforts produced a heady proliferation of equivalent forms (as in *vastness*, *vastity*, *vastacy*, *vastidity*, *vastitude* and *vasture*) and alternative meanings (*inequitable*, for instance, was coined not only as 'unjust', from the Latin *aequus* = 'just', but also as 'not to be ridden through', from *equus* = 'horse', on the model of *unnavigable* from *navis* = 'ship'). There was even a distinct form of discourse devoted to such experimentalism, treading the borderline between malapropism and the grand style, the form known as *fustian*. Cockeram – though with disclaimers – included fustian words in his dictionary:

(51) I haue also inserted . . . euen the *mocke-words* which are ridiculously vsed in our Language, that those who desire a generality of knowledge, may not bee ignorant of the sense, euen of the *fustian termes*, vsed by too many who study rather to be heard speake, than to vnderstand themselves (Cockeram 1623)

and Hoskins evidently rather preened himself on his 'fustian speech' to the Middle Temple (Hoskins [?1599]: 15, 50; 111–113).

Cacozelic comedy (the conscious manipulation of malapropism) thus takes its place as one of a group of derivatives of the grand style which are also anti-types to it. Though terminological distinctions are never consistently applied, *bombast* refers to the excessive or unwarranted use of latinisms, *fustian* to their playful or anarchic use. Both words gained their metalinguistic senses in the last decades of the sixteenth century, developing, in line with the STYLE = CLOTHING metaphor of the time, from terms for material: *bombast*, the cotton wool padding used for false enlargement (*OED* 2), *fustian*, the cotton velvet which imitates the finery of the real thing (*OED* 1a/c).

7.4.2.3 Archaism

Jespersen's retrospective doubts about the value of latinising were voiced at the time, not only by Sir John Cheke and others in the sixteenth century but also in the seventeenth century by, for instance, Milton's teacher, Alexander Gil, who claimed that Latin influence had done more damage to the nation than the havoc wreaked by Danish and Norman invaders (Gil 1619: 23). In literary terms, the question that vexed these linguistic nationalists was how to achieve a grand style with native resources and one answer was by the use of *archaism*, which enabled a poet to heighten his language above 'common wordes' without handing it over to foreigners. As Jonson put it, paraphrasing Quintilian: 'Words borrow'd of Antiquity, doe lend a kind of Majesty to style . . . For they have the Authority of yeares, and out of their intermission doe win to themselves a kind of grace-like newnesse' (in Spingarn 1908: I 38). The most influential exponent of the archaising grand style was Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590/1596), whose opening Book presented its readers with this form of 'grace-like newnesse' in thirty seven out of its fifty five stanzas (Sugden 1936: 11).

Spenser had prepared the ground with *The Shepheard's Calender* (1579), in which he not only employed many words no longer current in the English of his time, but drew attention to their presence by including E.K.'s glosses and prefatory apologia, the *Epistle Dedicatory*. There archaising is defended on the grounds of cultural continuity, with Chaucer and Lydgate cited as the sources of particular words or usages. The *Epistle* argues that it is the depletion of English vocabulary by the loss of Chaucerian words 'which is the only cause that our mother tonge, which truly of it self is both ful enough for prose and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barrein of both' and its author opposes the attempt to make up the deficiency by those who 'borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latine . . . haue made our English tongue a gallimaufry or hodgepodge of al other speches' (in Smith 1904: I 130). The rejection of latinate vocabulary is not, it should be emphasised, a rejection of classical influence. What Spenser is attempting is, very often, a large-scale version of the word-calquing practised by Cheke. In both cases, a classical form is taken as pattern, whether a word (as in Cheke's *superscriptum*), or a genre (such as the *eclogue*) or a figure (such as *epanorthosis*) and then filled with native material. As the examples in (52) show, E.K.'s glosses draw attention as much to the classicism of Spenser's forms (the rhetorical figure in (52a), the calqued phrase in (52b)) as to the antiquity and Englishness of is lexis (as in (52c)); and the two impulses meet in (52d) with the discovery

that the 'olde' English word *make* is closer to classical Greek than the modern English *versify*.

(52) a) I loue) a prety Epanorthosis in these two verses, and withall a Paronomasia or playing with the word
[glossing the line: *I loue thilke lass (alas why doe I loue?)*]

b) Neighbour groues) a straunge phrase in English, but word for word expressing the Latine vicina nemora.

c) Gride) perced: an olde word much vsed of Lidgate, but not found (that I know of) in Chaucer

d) to make) to rime and versifye. For in this word making, our olde Englishe Poetes were wont to comprehend all the skil of Poetrye, according to the Greeke woorde [*poiein*] to make, whence commeth the name of Poetes. ('E.K.', 1579)

Despite the carefully scholarly tone of glosses like (52c) (52d), Spenser's archaising was creative rather than conservative, particularly in spelling and morphology. As Osselton notes (1990: 52), Spenser attaches the 'typical Middle English -n inflection . . . to foreign loan-words, as in *atchieven*, *displeasen*'; he uses the obsolete past participle prefix *y-* (< OE *ge-*) for foreign as well as native stems, as in *yglanced*. He also extends what were felt to be antique Saxon spellings to words of French origin, substituting <despight> for <despite> or <quight> for <quite> (a substitution made possible by the combination of an unstandardised spelling system with a sound-change – the loss of OE /x/ described by Lass in 3.5.1 – that had turned pairs like *wright/write* into homophones for some groups of Early Modern English speakers). It is not clear how learned a philologist Spenser was, but it seems likely that these practices were the result of policy rather than ignorance, since his 'mistakes' in Chaucerising are closely in line with his treatment of contemporary vocabulary, where he also saxonises borrowed words, either by drawing them into compounds with native words (e.g. *life-resembling*, *late-attempted*) or by re-forming them, as when he coins *discordful* by taking the well-established latinate form *discordant* and replacing its Romance inflectional ending with the native suffix *-ful*. The overall effect was to homogenise his poetic vocabulary and confer genetic citizenship on borrowed words, implying that the lexis for an English grand style could be assembled by extending the productivity of native word-formation processes.

Spenser's poetic programme was the culmination of a trend begun much earlier in the century. Pynson's edition of Chaucer was published in 1526, followed by Thynne's edition of 1532, reprinted with additions in 1542,

1550, 1561, a publishing history that bears out Wilson's observation at the mid-century that 'the fine courtier wil talke nothyng but *Chaucer*' (Wilson [1553]: 162). A new edition by Speght in 1598 suggests a resurgence of this popularity at the end of the century. Nonetheless many contemporary commentators agreed with Jonson in condemning Spenser's archaism as artificial: 'in affecting the Ancients [he] writ no Language' (in Spingarn 1908: I 34), and those who tried to prove the naturalness of Chaucerisms ran into other difficulties. The most common defence was that archaisms were still living words in other dialects of English, which led Gil to commend the use of northern dialect in poetry (Gil 1619: 18). But for a Court-centred, London-based literary circle, this was rather a *dis*commendation and it is the rusticity, as much as the unnaturalness, of archaism that limited its appeal. Hence Puttenham advises the poet *against* northern dialects 'though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is' (Puttenham [1589]: 145) and Sidney, normally an advocate of Spenser, finds 'that same framing of his stile to an old rustick language' to be something he 'dare not alowe' (in Smith 1904: I 196). Despite the prestige of *The Faerie Queene* and the dominance of Spenserian styles in *England's Helicon*, the collection which celebrated the state of English poetry in 1600, by that date the archaisers were generally on the retreat in the battle for the grand style, though, perhaps *via* Gil, Spenser's influence and a significant segment of his archaic vocabulary passed on to Milton, who combined it with the latinity it had originally opposed.

7.4.2.4 The epithet (*adjectivum*, *appositum*, *attributum*, *epitheton*, *sequens*)

The *epithet* is commended as means of amplifying from Aristotle onwards and renaissance interest in the figure is marked by the appearance of collections such as Textor's *Epitheta* (1524) or Poole's *English Parnassus* (1657). Although Puttenham's account ([1589]: 176–7) makes clear that the epithet should not be exclusively identified with the adjective (it can be any descriptive 'addition'), the adjective is the form it most commonly takes. Its role in amplifying can be seen in (53), where to create a climax in the last line of a sonnet's octave, Bolton repeats the nouns of the previous line, adding an adjective to each and using the adjectives to orchestrate his poem's central themes of beauty (*fair*, *sweet*) in transience (*vain*, *brittle*):

(53) Of praise, pompe, glorie, ioy (which short life gathers,)
Faire praise, vaine pompe, sweet glory, brittle ioy. (Bolton 1600)

For poets of the Spenserian school, who were generally chary of latinate vocabulary, the intensive use of adjectives provided an obvious alternative method of amplifying. A climactic stanza from Book III of *The Faerie Queene* yields twelve adjectives in nine lines (discounting the modifying noun *mirtle*) and five of the lines have the proportions of the Latin 'golden line', combining a verb with two nouns and two adjectives:

(54) Right in the middest of that Paradise,
There stood a *stately* Mount, on whose *round* top
A *gloomy* grove of mirtle trees did rise,
Whose *shadie* boughes *sharp* steele did neuer lop,
Nor *wicked* beasts their *tender* buds did crop,
But like a girlond compassed the hight,
And from thir *fruitfull* sides *sweet* gum did drop,
That all the ground with *precious* deaw bedight,
Threw forth most *dainty* odours, and most *sweet* delight (Spenser 1596)

None of these adjectives is a recent latinism and though not all are Saxon, they were all well established in the language before Chaucer's time, with two significant exceptions: in *gloomy* and *shadie*, Spenser has neologised by taking an existing noun and adding a native adjectival suffix *-y* (< OE *-ig*). This practice, first made fashionable by Wyatt, was widely adopted by later poets. Groom attributes its popularity to the metrical usefulness of disyllabic words, pointing to cases where *-y* was tacked on to words that were already adjectives: *calm* > *calmy*, *pale* > *paly* (Groom 1955: 7–10); and Carew's 1594 translation of Tasso richly illustrates the type, including *blacky*, *hugy*, *largy*, *shrilly*, *straungy*, (Sherbo 1975: 42). But metrical considerations alone would not explain the massive Early Modern English increase in the adjective class as a whole, which seems rather to support Jespersen's view that adjectives had been 'rather sparingly represented' in the native vocabulary (Jespersen 1946: 122–3). It suggests at least that renaissance writers, intent on amplifying by epithet, felt some need to augment their resources. Apart from suffixation (as in the *-y* coinages), two other strategies lay to hand: one was to borrow adjectives direct from Latin (as in Bacon's *lunar* < Lat. *lunaris* 1626) the other was to create them by compounding (as in Milton's *moon-struck* 1674) and the controversy over latinisation lent a special edge to the choice between these routes. Compounding was endorsed by linguistic nationalists as a natural native practice and the influence of the most famous national poet, Spenser, lent a prestige to the results which secured a poetic niche for compound epithets beyond the bounds of our period. But nationalism was not the only factor. Greek creates adjectives in the same way and this enabled Sidney to combine nationalism with classicism by aligning

English with Greek in opposition to Latin: '[our language] is particulerly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language' (Sidney 1595; in Smith 1904 I 204).

It is noticeable that some of the most fluent compounders, Spenser, Chapman, and Sidney himself, were familiar with Greek and made direct translations of Greek originals, such as Spenser's '*rosy-fingred* Morning' or Chapman's '*earth-shaking* god'. But this input accounts for only a small proportion of the whole. In the exuberance of their compounding renaissance writers utilise all the patterns described by Nevalainen (this volume 5.5.4.3) and increasingly draw into them borrowed as well as native base forms. We find: *dartthirling*, *peoplepesterd*, *hertgripyng*, *fore-watched* (Grimald); *climb-fall*, *fore-accounting*, *wrong-caused*, *live-dead*, *kiss-cheek*, *seven-double* (Sidney); *filthy-feculent*, *cold-congealed*, *nigh-forwearied*, *mossy-hoar* (Spenser) and even whole phrases, as in Shakespeare's '*world-without-end* hour' or Herbert's '*Christ-side-piercing* spear'.

Comparing these compounds with the set of adjectives in (53) and (54) reveals the advantages of the practice: *sweet*, *sharp*, *wicked*, *tender* do not create the rhetoric of wonder that is the hallmark of amplifying. By contrast, compound epithets not only carry the shock of new words, they also open the vista of new thoughts. As Leech points out, new compounds imply 'the wish to recognise a concept or property which the language so far can only express by phrasal or clausal description' (Leech 1969: 44). They thus cause readers to re-think their existing stock of categories and to admire the 'depe-wittednesse' of the prompting poet. But this inventiveness brings its penalties. There is no consistent shape to compound epithets: they do not carry a clear marker of their adjectival function (unlike, say, adjectives formed with the *-y* suffix); without a standardised practice of punctuation it is often unclear whether or not a sequence is to be read as a compound (is Marlowe's '*high astounding* terms', for instance, equivalent to *high*, *astounding* or *high-astounding*?); and there is great variability in the relations between the compounded elements (the forms in '*cloud-capped* towers' and '*fen-sucked* fogs' look similar but require quite different interpretations). In general, the more inventive the writer the less transparent the relation between the compound and the phrase or clause to which it might be said to be equivalent. Shakespeare, for instance, has puzzled many subsequent interpreters with such collocations as '*child-changed* father', '*death-practised* duke', '*water-standing* eye', '*thought-executing* fires' (Salmon 1987: 202).

Uncompounded latinate adjectives cause no such problems. They have a recognisable set of suffixes (Nevalainen this volume 5.5.3.3.2), whose semantic relation to the base form is relatively predictable; and they carry

with them the heightening effect regularly associated with latinate lexis. It is perhaps not surprising then that compounding lost favour, as we see from a comparison between Milton's early work – from *Comus* (1637) to the Psalm paraphrases (1645) – where he produces compounds such as *sin-worn*, *new-entrusted*, *sea-girt*, *smooth-dittied*, *froth-becurled*, *thunder-clasping*, and his later work, where the numbers are fewer and the forms more conventional and transparent. Dryden took the process further, explicitly rejecting Sidney's views on compounding (in Watson 1962: II 206) and in his own poetry favouring latinate adjectives, or the even more discreet and transparent method of *-y* suffixation. By the mid-eighteenth century the pattern he set had become stylised as part of poetic diction. Johnson's Dictionary entry for *epithet* dismisses the wider extension that the term had in the Renaissance ('it is used . . . improperly for title, name . . . it is used improperly for phrase, expression') and offers as defining illustrations of the form a latinate adjective 'the *verdant* grove' and two with *-y* suffixes: 'the *craggy* mountain's *lofty* head'.

7.4.2.5 Conclusion

(55) You Sulph'rous and Thought-executing Fires,
Vaunt-curriors of Oake-cleauing Thunder-bolts,
Sindge my white head. And thou all-shaking Thunder,
Strike flat the thicke Rotundity o' th' world,
Cracke Natures moulds, all germaines spill at once
That makes ingratefull Man. (Shakespeare 1623/?1605)

This passage is taken from a paradigm context for the grand style – a kingly speaker expressing a tempest within and defying a tempest outside – and it draws on all the strategies for amplifying the word that I have surveyed in this section. There are recent *latinisms*: *sulphurous* (1530), *ingrateful* (1547), *rotundity* (1589), *germain* (1605), the last probably coined by Shakespeare in this very line (< Lat. *germen*, 'a seed'). There is one notable *archaism*: *spill*, which Shakespeare normally uses in the sense of spilling blood or liquid, appears here with its original OE sense of 'destroy', a sense that by 1605 was already well down the road of obsolescence. And there are many *epithets*, both in the broad sense of appositive, descriptive phrases (line 2 is an epithet of this sort) and in the narrow sense of *adjectives*, of which there are seven in the six lines, including three *compound-adjectives* (*thought-executing*, *oake-cleaving*, *all-shaking*).

But contrary to what one might expect from Wilson's description of the grand style in (45), this speech of Lear's also demonstrates that the

'common wordes' of English are not simply the inert residue or the thread on which the 'great wordes' are strung. Rather, they make a distinct contribution to the grand style's character. The register-mixing found in (46) and (48) is very much in evidence here, too, both in concrete–abstract couplings like *thick rotundity* and in the larger-scale contrast between the 'great words' of the opening noun phrases, which invoke cosmic powers, and the four Saxon monosyllables which, equally powerfully, depict their human effects: *sindge my white head*.

7.4.3 Amplifying the phrase: periodicity as a structural principle

7.4.3.1 Introduction

One influential model for a vernacular high style already available at the beginning of our period was the 'aureate' prose associated with Caxton's press, particularly with his own writings (Blake *CHEL* II: 529–30; Mueller 1984: 162–77). This is now generally known as *curial* style and, as the name implies, it is thought to originate in the prose of court administrators. Burnley has suggested that its most salient formal features are directly attributable to its original diplomatico-legal functions, which he characterises as 'congratulatory ceremoniousness' and 'continuous clarity' (Burnley 1986: 596). The first is achieved through latinate vocabulary, synonymic doublets and elaborated forms of address and invocation; the second – which Burnley takes to be the more essential property of the style – depends on devices that simultaneously promote textual cohesion and referential precision. In practice, this means a heavy use of relativisers (especially *which (N)*; *the which (N)*) and other forms of anaphoric conjunction (such as *and* + *that same* (N); *or* + *the said* (N); *that is to say*) linking clauses into larger units, sometimes of great length. To most modern commentators the result has appeared 'trailing', 'rambling' or 'shapeless' and even the defenders of late fifteenth-century prose concede the difficulty of dividing its flow into what would now be regarded as well-formed sentence units (Blake 1973: 36–42).

Shapelessness was not a problem for curial prose in its original administrative contexts, as it was essentially a written style. But in literary genres, the humanist shift to oratorical models led to demands for a grand style that, while retaining the 'continuous' quality of curial prose, would add affective force to its 'ceremoniousness' by being organised in ways more suited to oral delivery and aural comprehension. So although curial style persists into the sixteenth century, its structural indeterminacy is gradually tamed by a stylistic ideal exemplified in the practice of Cicero and codified

in the theory of Quintilian. The epitome of this ideal is the figure of speech known as *periodos*, or *the period*. (To avoid confusion, I will use *Period* for the figure of speech and *period* for the unit of time.)

A Period is often now thought of as a particular type of complex sentence, in which the main clause is completed at, or towards the end of, the construction, having been preceded or interrupted by one or more subordinate clauses. But this definition took shape only gradually during the course of the eighteenth century; and renaissance writers, like their classical mentors, regarded the Period as a category of *rhetoric* rather than *grammar*, to be discussed primarily in terms of meaning or effect. The Greek original of its name – *periodos* – means 'circuit' and Aristotle (on the most probable interpretation of *Rhetoric* III 9) likens the effect of periodic style to the experience of running round the circuit of a race-track, as opposed to the dispiriting effect of running with no end in view (an admirable analogy for the experience of reading curial prose). Roman rhetoricians offer the alternative names of *comprehensio*, *continuatio* and *conclusio* and, as these imply, they see the characteristics of the Period as a certain comprehensiveness, continuity and completeness of sense. Renaissance commentators echo these views when they describe a Period as 'a circuit of speech' or praise a well-crafted example as 'rounded' or 'perfected' (i.e. completed).

The formal correlates of these aesthetic judgements are very varied, though bi-partite constructions are common, fostered by Aristotle's metaphor of the outward and return movement of a race, and, on the authority of Cicero and Quintilian, four-part constructions are often cited as the ideal, a view perhaps prompted by another dominant metaphor for the Period, which envisages its component units as the limbs of a body (the original meaning of the names by which they are known: *colon* in Greek, *membrum* in Latin, and *member* in Early Modern English). In later accounts it becomes common to equate a member with a clause, but this is not the case in renaissance practice, as we see in this example from Nashe (discussed in Parkes 1992: 88):

(56) Hauing spent manie yeres in studying how to liue, and liude a long time without money; having tyred my youth with follie, and surfetted my minde with vanitie, I began at length to looke backe to repentaunce, & addresse my endeuors to prosperitie: But all in vaine, I sate up late, & rose early, contended with the colde, and conuersed with scarcitie; for all my labours turned to losse, my vulgar Muse was despised & neglected, my paines not regarded or slightly rewarded, and I my selfe (in prime of my best wit) layde open to pouertie. (Nashe 1592)

(56) exemplifies the close relationship that Parkes detects between the rise of renaissance periodic style and the humanist punctuation system. Nashe

uses a colon (followed by the capital on *But*) to divide (56) into two halves, which are in turn divided into halves by semi-colons. But there is no consistency of length or construction between the four units thus marked out: the first member (*hauing spent . . . money*) comprises a cluster of non-finite clauses, the second and much longer member (*hauing tyred . . . prosperitie*) is a complex sentence, while the last two members both include a number of independent clauses linked by coordination or parataxis. In fact, either of these units (*But all . . . scarcitie* and *for all . . . pouertie*) could qualify as an independent bi-partite or four-member Period in its own right (*sate up . . . / rose . . . // contended . . . / conversed . . .* and *my labours . . . / my Muse . . . // my paines . . . / my selfe . . .*). Modern editors often re-punctuate examples such as (56) as multi-sentence paragraphs, and it could be argued that the renaissance notion of the Period conflates two structural concepts that have since been distinguished and specialised: the paragraph as a sense-unit and the complex sentence as a syntactic unit.

However, despite the lack of a formal definition of a Period and despite the range and variety of the forms that renaissance commentators include under that title, there is sufficient consensus of practice for us to identify what may be called a *principle of periodicity* and to offer an account of it in terms of the two aims that most clearly distinguish periodic grand style from the curial style that preceded it: they are a *unified composition* (7.4.3.2) and a *foregrounded ending* (7.4.3.3).

7.4.3.2 The unified composition

Baxandall (1971) has likened (and linked) the Renaissance's rediscovery of the principle of periodicity to its discovery of a new principle of unified composition in painting, fixed point perspective, the art of arranging all the elements of a composition to give the visual impression of a continuous recession from a single viewing-point. He, like many others, takes the grammatical equivalent of perspectival geometry to be the use of subordination, envisaging a Period as a hierarchically organised construction in which each subordinate clause realises or modifies a constituent of the clause immediately superordinate to it, and all depend on a single main clause. The example of 'a Period of two Members' given by Brightland and Gildon (1711: 146) is a construction of this type:

(57) (1) Before I shall say those Things (O Conscript Fathers) about the Public Affairs, which are to be spoken at this Time; (2) I shall lay before you, in few Words, the Motives of the Journey, and the Return.

Here unified composition is realised by nested subordination: (1) consists of two clauses, the second being subordinate to the first (*which . . . Time* is a restrictive relative clause modifying *those Things*) and (1) in turn is subordinate to (2) (in a relation of adverbial adjunct to main clause). The effect is to foreground (2) and the information it conveys as the focal point of the message, relegating the two clauses of (1) to the function of supplying relevant but subsidiary context. However, although constructions like (57) provide a model for periodic writing from the eighteenth century onwards and come gradually to be seen as the Period's canonic form, they are relatively rare in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century practice. There syntactic unification is far more commonly expressed through those constructions which Matthews groups under the title of *juxtaposition* (Matthews 1981: 220–41). Four clause types are particularly frequent:

i. *non-restrictive relatives* (for the restrictive versus non-restrictive distinction, see Huddleston 1984: 398–402 and for Early Modern English usage, see Rissanen this volume 4.6.2.2). The non-restrictive relative is a prominent feature of (2), reprinted as (60) below.

ii. *participial clauses* (for a fuller description, see Ross 1893, Sørensen 1957: 131 and Rissanen this volume 4.6.2.3). Nashe uses a series of participial clauses to open (56) and Schlauch (1959: 252–3) and Ronberg (1992: 107–8) both provide examples from Sidney's *Arcadia* of long Periods based almost exclusively on this clause type.

iii. clauses introduced by conjunctions which can be analysed as either (or neither) subordinators or coordinators: e.g. *for*, as in the final member of (56) above and of (63) below. (For a fuller discussion of the status of *for*, see Fischer *CHEL* II: 291–2, Wiegand 1982).

iv. *correlative constructions*, such as 'either you clean the kitchen, or we get a divorce'; 'the more he ate the fatter he grew'. In 7.2.2. there are examples of long Periods by Puttenham (5) and Meres (3) based on the *as . . . so* correlative, a pattern that Meres makes the staple of his style in *Palladis Tamia* (see Smith 1904: II 309–24).

Various explanations can be offered for the prevalence of such constructions in renaissance periodic syntax. It may reflect the lack of an analytic framework capable of differentiating between construction types, since the concept of the subordinate clause was not fully formulated until the 1670s (Michael 1970: 473–8) and the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives was not recognised until much later. Equally, it may reflect a transitional stage in the historical development of techniques of clause combining – a stage of *inter*dependency that occupies the mid-point of a cline from the relative *in*dependence of parataxis to the full

dependency of embedded constructions (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 168–77). Correlative constructions in particular have been posited as the bridge between parataxis and hypotaxis in the history of other Indo-European languages (Haudry 1973) and Workman's study of fifteenth-century English prose shows that what we now think of as subordinators more commonly appear there in correlative combinations: *when . . . then*; *where . . . there*; *if . . . then*; *because . . . therefore* (Workman 1940: 50, 37–58 *passim*).

The problem with applying such explanations to the history of style is that they tend to reinforce the view, prevalent in many discussions of Early Modern English prose particularly, that the renaissance periodic sentence is a clumsy and primitive ancestor of sentences such as (57) on which the modern definition is based. It is important to entertain the alternative supposition that it represents a radically different stylistic ideal and that renaissance writers may have been working with a notion of unified composition that did not imply a hierarchical constituent dependency. After all, the metaphor of the Period as a body can be construed in two ways: by imagining the limbs either as all subordinate to the head, or as equal and independently functioning partners.

Some such hypothesis is necessary to account for the zeal with which renaissance writers cultivated what I shall call *the paratactic Period*. The members of such constructions consist of syntactically complete and independent clauses, but they are made to exhibit unity and interdependence not only by punctuation but by parallelisms of form or meaning (matching the body's symmetrical patterns of two arms *versus* two legs, or left side *versus* right side). In the typical case, a repetition of syntactic structure (the figure of *parison*) is echoed in other formal patternings, such as *isocolon* (equal length members), *epiphora* (identical endings), *epanaphora* (identical openings) or, on the semantic level, synonymy, antonymy and the other types of lexical variation described in 7.3.4. To take one example:

(58) Shee is gonn, Shee is lost, shee is found, shee is ever faire.
(Ralegh ?1592)

All four members of this group have the same structure and the same opening; additionally, the first two clauses are related by the synonymy of *gone/lost*, clauses two and three by the antonymy of *lost/found*, and the final pair by the alliteration of *found/fair*. On a larger scale, Nashe, in (56) above, reinforces the signals of his orthography by the same means, ending the two halves of his Period on words that chime in sound and contrast in meaning: *prosperitie/povertie*.

7.4.3.3 The sense of an ending

The close link between periodicity and closure is reflected in sayings such as: 'death sets a period to all suits in courts', in the American English use of *period* as the equivalent of British English *full-stop* and, more recently, as a discourse marker signalling the end of a topic or discussion.

For Aristotle, it was the fact that the ending is always in sight that distinguished the periodic circuit from loose, running prose. For Quintilian, the ending was the high point of the Period and he gives the budding orator much advice on how to make his endings tell: sentences should rise and grow in force, the whole Period should converge to a point at the end, the hearer's expectations must be roused and satisfied (*Institutio* 9.iv.23, 30, 62). In terms of its effect, the Period thus consists of a sequence of suspensiveness, crescendo and resolution. The means by which these effects are achieved are partly prosodic (as I will illustrate in 7.4.3.5) and partly syntactic. What Quintilian proposes is that in a clause sequence, the main clause should occur at the end, and should itself end with the verb 'for it is in verbs that the real strength of a discourse resides' [*in verbis enim sermonis vis est*] (*Institutio* 9.iv.26); in other words the sense and syntax of the whole construction are held in suspension until resolved simultaneously by the verb as the last word of the sequence.

Quintilian's advice is, of course, addressed to those composing in Latin. When it is applied to English, problems begin to appear. The postponement of the main clause within the clause group is problematic, because the rhythmic bias of English is towards right-heavy rather than left-heavy structures and the effect of a left-heavy Period is likely to be bathos rather than resolution. And within the clause itself the postponement of the main verb can also cause problems. As Fischer notes (*CHEL* II: 372–5), there was a consistent drift away from verb-final constructions from the Old English period onwards, and, as time went by, the continuing loss of inflections made it increasingly difficult to distinguish subjects from objects when the expected SVO order was violated. Since pronoun inflections have been retained, it remains possible to interpret OSV constructions such as Spenser's *her he hated* or Milton's *him the Almighty power hurled*, but where nouns are used the lack of case-marking means that it is often an exercise in problem-solving to determine whether a given sequence is to be construed as OSV or SOV. The solution is relatively simple in the two instances that appear in consecutive lines of the stanza quoted in (54):

> Whose shadie boughes sharp steele did never lop [OSV]
> Nor wicked beasts their tender buds did crop [SOV]

But elsewhere Spenser's reader may be forced to halt and weigh one option against the other in the light of contextual clues, as in the following instances (discussed in Dillon 1976: 14–15):

(59) a) that false winged boy/Her chast hart had subdewd
b) Her swollen hart her speach seemd to bereaue

In multi-clause constructions the difficulties of postponing the main verb are greatly increased, as shown by example (60) (reprinted from (2) in 7.2.1):

(60) [A]ll barbary all corrupcion all laten adulterate WHICH ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath *distayned and poysenyd* the *olde laten spech and the varay Romayne tong* WHICH in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was vsid, WHICHE also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes. I say *that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon* WHICH the later blynde worlde brought in WHICH more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly *abbanysh and Exclude* oute of this scole and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng laten in Redyng vnto them suych auctours that hathe with wisdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence.

(Colet 1518)

This passage occupies a transitional position between curial and periodic methods of amplifying. Burnley's description of curial style, given in 7.4.3.1, provides almost a structural blueprint for many of its procedures: the heavily modified opening noun phrase (the equivalent in discursive prose of the elaborated address forms of diplomatic epistolary prose), the synonymic doublets (here italicised), the multiple redefinitions (*with that same*, *I say that*, *which . . . may be callyde*) and the prominence of *which* (here capitalised) as a clause connector. But (60) also exemplifies in embryonic form the principle of periodicity, notably in Colet's attempt to implement Quintilian's advice and make the whole Period converge towards the end by turning the series of seemingly digressive *which* clauses into a contained interlude between the fronted object (*all barbarye . . . all Laten adulterate*) and its governing verb (*I abbanyshe and Exclude*). But the attempt is more strenuous than successful. Apart from creating problems of construal for the reader, who is likely to be led down the garden path by an initial assumption that *all barbarye . . .* is the sentence subject, there are problems of control for the writer, as we see from his apparent need to recapitulate his topic/object halfway through (*I say that ffylthynesse and all suche abusyon*).

To mitigate such difficulties, those who persevere with Quintilian's

model typically employ devices to buttress or foreground the postponed elements: as Colet does in (60), reinforcing his postponed main verb by sinonimia (*abbanyshe and Exclude*) and adding weight to his postponed main clause by a tagged-on coordinate (*and charge the maisters . . .*). Other writers follow the spirit rather than the letter of Quintilian's advice and foreground the ending by other means, such as a concluding metaphor, epigram, or reversal of expectation, as in (58), for example, where the final *fair* breaks the semantic set of *gone–lost–found*. The aim in all cases is to find a means of postponing the reader's grasp of the Period's unity until its close. In other words, the unified composition and the sense of an ending are not separate but interdependent ideals. The Period is a teleological construct whose author works in the same spirit as the divine creator, foreseeing the end and directing the unwitting reader/hearer towards its final disclosure.

7.4.3.4 Some renaissance Periods

(61) Almightie God, whiche hast geuen suche grace to thy Apostle sainct Andrewe, that he counted the sharp and painfull death of the crosse to be an hye honour and a great glory: Graunt us to take and esteme all troubles and aduersities whiche shal come unto us for thy sake, as thinges profitable for us toward the obtainyng of everlasting life: through Jesus Christ our Lorde. (Cranmer 1549)

In devising a vernacular version of the Collect form for inclusion in the first *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) Cranmer simultaneously provided one influential solution to the problem of naturalising periodic construction in English (Mueller 1984: 226–43). Syntactically, (61) consists of a single complex sentence, but it is orthographically divided into two halves by the first colon and following capital letter. This draws attention to the main verb *Graunt* which begins the second half. By this means, Cranmer combines the virtues of suspense and sentence balance: the verb is delayed by the sequence of clauses following the initial vocative, but since it occurs at the mid-point of the structure, the weight is evenly distributed between right and left halves. Like (60), (61) has affinities with curial style, for instance, in the elaborated invocation which constitutes the first half of the Period and in the heavy use of synonymic doublets: *sharp and painfull*, *hye honour and great glory*, *take and esteme*, *troubles and adversities*. But 'rounding' and 'perfecting' are achieved by making the text perform a verbal circle from *Almightie God* to *Christ our Lorde* and by making its orthographic division semantically structural. Just as Meres in (3) uses the *as . . . so* construction to correlate classical past with renaissance present, Cranmer matches

a biblical precedent (Andrew's 'painfull death') with a contemporary application (our 'troubles and adversities'). In this respect (61) typifies not only one form of the renaissance Period but also the metaphysical significance which writers of the time attached to periodicity as a compositional principle. As Mueller puts it, the design of the Collects images 'the constant cooperation of God's grace with man's free will' (Mueller 1984: 236). Ricks finds similar theological overtones in the famous Period which opens *Paradise Lost*, encompassing in its circuit all past and future divine history from 'Mans First Disobedience' to his regaining of Paradise (Ricks 1963: 28).

The example of *Paradise Lost* acts as a reminder that periodicity is not simply a feature of prose. In fact, as (62) shows, the effects of Marlowe's 'mighty line' may owe as much to his mastery of the principle of periodicity as to his mastery of the iambic pentameter (I use capitals and brackets to clarify the construction):

(62) OUR SOULES, [whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous Architecture of the world:
And measure euery wandring planets course,]
[Still climing after knowledge infinite,
And alwais mouing as the restles spheares,]
WILS US TO WEARE OUR SELUES {and neuer rest,}
UNTILL WE REACH THE RIPEST FRUITES OF ALL,
<That perfect bliss and sole felicitie,>
<The sweet fruition of an earthly crowne.> (Marlowe 1592/?1587)

Unlike Colet in (60), Marlowe begins with his sentence subject (*our soules*), but he creates suspense by delaying the main verb (*wils*) for six lines by a series of juxtapositional clauses: non-restrictive relatives (*whose faculties . . . comprehend . . . and measure*) followed by participial clauses (*climbing . . . and moving . . .*). But though delayed, the verb is not final; Marlowe balances the potentially left-heavy structure with an ending composed of a series of synonymic phrases: *ripest fruites*, *perfect bliss*, *sole felicitie*, *sweet fruition*, culminating in *earthly crowne*, the concrete reality for which the preceding terms are metaphoric variations. (For its contemporary audience the sense of an ending in this final phrase would have been enhanced by a frisson both of social revolution and of blasphemy, since the orthodox goal of 'our soules' would have been a *heavenly* crown.)

The length of the construction in (62) is essential to Marlowe's effects here. It creates a continuously mounting climax, appropriate to the 'still climing' soul, and it arouses the audience's admiration for the author's (or protagonist's) virtuosity in unifying and 'perfecting' a large-scale structure.

For similar reasons, mastery of the long Period was the goal of many renaissance writers: Schlauch quotes one of 177 words from Sidney's Arcadia (1959: 252–3) and Milton's *At a Solemn Musick* extends a single Period through a twenty-four line poem. But length alone does not distinguish periodic from curial style and, although a certain length in the Period may be regarded as the condition on which its other properties achieve their optimum development, it should be seen as a contingent not a criterial feature. In fact, many renaissance Periods are relatively short, as Jonson illustrates in the process of making precisely this point:

(63) Periods are beautifull when they are not too long; for so they have their strength too, as in a Pike or Javelin. (Jonson 1640)

Here Jonson colloquialises periodic construction by abbreviating it and placing the main clause/verb very early. But the principle of periodicity is preserved in the circuit of thought which, like the runner in Aristotle's image, turns back on itself halfway. The consciously polemical first half is balanced by the second which explains and justifies it; and the ending is foregrounded by the analogy with which he clinches the point.

The contest between Mark Antony and Brutus for the sympathies of the crowd in *Julius Caesar* is also a contest between two conceptions of periodic construction, epitomised in these two extracts.

(64) a) There is Teares, for his Loue. Ioy, for his Fortune: Honor, for his Valour: and Death, for his Ambition.

b) And in his Mantle, muffling vp his face,
Euen at the Base of *Pompeyes* Statue
(Which all the while ran blood) great *Cesar* fell. (Shakespeare 1623/1599)

(64a) is symmetrical and paratactic. Like Ralegh in (58) above, Brutus repeats a syntactic formula and rounds it to a close by the shock of the last member's semantic dissonance. In (64b), the final conjunct of a more extended structure, Antony exemplifies an asymmetrical and hypotactic periodicity: three members of different syntactic type (a participial clause (line 1), a prepositional phrase (line 2), a non-restrictive relative clause (line 3)) resolve on to a concluding main clause with a concluding verb (*great Caesar fell*). This is the type of cumulative construction that Quintilian and Cicero associated with oratory's power of moving, with the power and passion of the grand style; Brutus's symmetrical construction, patterned and static, is associated with the pleasing grace and artistry of the middle style. By giving the victory to Antony in this battle for men's minds, Shakespeare suggests that he shares Cicero's evaluation

of the relative persuasiveness – or demagogic power – of the two types, but the un-Ciceronian brevity of (64b) points to the way in which the cumulative Period was to be naturalised in English.

7.4.3.5 Periodicity and prosody

In all the classical discussions, the Period is considered as much a unit of prosody as of sense. Aristotle likens it to a strophe and this view of its structure is reinforced and extended by the Quintilian/Ciceronian notion that the component units of a four-member period should each approximate in length to a hexameter line.

It was natural then that the renaissance revivers of the Period should try to match it to modern vernacular verse-forms. Two in particular proved hospitable to periodic composition. For those interested in the long Period, the *sonnet* provided an appropriate vehicle: the *Petrarchan* sonnet lends itself readily to bi-partite compositions, allowing octave to be set against sestet, as in Milton's 'Fairfax, whose name'; while the *Shakespearean* sonnet (in fact pioneered by Surrey, with its three quatrains and a couplet, is well suited to four-member constructions. A typical case is Shakespeare's 'When I consider everything that grows', or Surrey's 'In the rude age' (discussed in Spearing 1985: 324–5), where the three quatrains present three parallel conditional clauses leading up to a rhetorical question, which is then answered in the exclamation of the concluding couplet. Many single-Period sonnets were produced in the century between Wyatt and Milton and it is arguably not coincidental that the sonnet and the long Period rose and fell in favour at the same time.

For the abbreviated Period, which gained ground from 1600 onwards, the couplet is a more appropriate verse correlate and it too is construable as either a bi-partite or four-member construction, as in (65) where Drayton takes a Period of the same type as (57) and (64b) and tailors it to match the concluding couplet of a sonnet (brackets added to clarify):

(65) [{Now if thou would'st,} {when all haue giuen him ouer,}]
[{From Death to Life,} {thou might'st him yet recouer.}]
(Drayton 1619)

It is significant that Jonson who, as (63) shows, championed the abbreviated Period, also promoted the renaissance revival of continuous couplet writing, creating by their combination a prosodic–syntactic pattern that was refined by Waller and Denham in the mid-seventeenth century and transmitted *via* Dryden to the eighteenth century (see 7.7.3.2).

In prose genres, too, classical precedent prescribed that attention should be given to qualities of sound, most notably to the management of the *clausula*, a rhythmical pattern used to enhance the sense of an ending, analogous to a cadenza in music. Though a clausula might occur at any of the major internal divisions of a Period, its canonical site is at the conclusion of the final member, the place where 'our minds take breath and recruit their energies' [*animi velut respirant ac reficiuntur*] (Quintilian, *Institutio* 9.iv.62).

The rules governing Cicero's repertoire of clausulae were first established by Zielinski in 1912 and have been extensively reviewed since, but comparable consideration of his renaissance vernacular imitators awaits the resolution of remaining problems in our understanding of how renaissance writers construed Latin prosody and how they mapped Latin's phonological contrasts of quantity on to the sound-pattern of English. To complicate matters, the Renaissance inherited alongside the clausula, the *cursus*, its stress-based descendant, used in medieval liturgical Latin; and to complicate matters further, there were also attempts to develop native clausulae, which differed from both of the Latin models in being stress-final. Cranmer's punctuation marks off a unit of this type in (61), the commonly used cadence of x/x/x/:*through* JESUS CHRIST *our* LORD (here and below I use capitals to indicate stressed syllables).

The best-studied of these cadence types is the anglicised cursus (Croll 1966: 303–59, Parker 1938). The patterns of its models in liturgical Latin derive from the most common Ciceronian clausulae, reinterpreted to substitute syllable stress for syllable length. Though part of the medieval 'adulterate' Latin rejected by humanists like Colet, these patterns had the virtue of familiarity and of obvious compatibility with the stress-based prosodic system of English. In transferring them from Latin liturgy to vernacular prose, renaissance writers were heightening secular language with features appropriated from the religious register and simultaneously recreating the classical function of the clausula as a marker of the grand style in the genres of oratory and history. In the work of Sir Thomas Browne, for instance, the stylistic cline from the low style of *Vulgar Errors* (1646) to the middle style of *Religio Medici* (1643) to the high style of *Urn Burial* (1658) is marked by a progressive increase in use of such cadences (Warren 1971). The basic set of cursus patterns can all be illustrated from Period endings in chapter 5 of *Urn Burial*:

(66) a)(i) *cursus planus 1*: /xx/x
e.g. BONES at the BOTtome; TAUNT of ISAIah
a)(ii) *cursus planus 2*: /xxx/x
e.g. EDGE of repetITions; meTHUselas of HECtor; LONG as agaMEMnon

b)(i) *cursus tardus 1*: /xx/xx
e.g. HUmane disCOVery; POSThumous MEMory; THROWN at his MONument. (The ending of (56) is also a cadence of this type: OPen to POVertie.)
b)(ii) *cursus tardus 2*: /xxx/xx
e.g. BALsam of our MEMories; ANGles of conTINgency; ANCient magnaNIMity
c) *cursus velox*: /xxxx/x
e.g. IN famy of his NATure: FOLly of expectATion; ART of perpetuATion

The most famous of the classical clausulae is known as the *esse videatur* type. The phrase *esse videatur* had been notorious in classical times when Tacitus accused Cicero of using it excessively and vapidly, as an inflated variant of *sit* (equivalent to using *seems to be* instead of *is* in English) solely in order to end his Periods with the cadence - ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘. The formula returned to notoriety in renaissance England when Gabriel Harvey earned the nickname of *esse videatur* from his attempts to reproduce Ciceronian clausulae in his own Latin writings. It is certain therefore that this particular prose cadence was salient; and it was ripe for adaptation into English vernacular prose because it already had a stress-based equivalent in cursus planus 2 ((66a)(ii) above). For these reasons, it occurs widely in renaissance writing and often with a certain metalinguistic self-consciousness, as a marker of the rhetorical grand style itself. Shakespeare gives it to Brutus, for instance, to round off the set-piece Period quoted in (64a): *DEATH for his amBITion*; and it is used by Jonson to commend comely composition, (67a), by Donne to assert the rhetorical claims of scriptural language, (67b), and by Bacon to mock at the rhetorical excesses of Ciceronians such as Harvey (67c):

(67) a) Then take care, in placing and ranking both matter and words, that the composition be comely; and to doe this with *DILigence and OFTen*.
(Jonson 1640/?1620–35)

b) the Holy Ghost in penning the Scriptures delights himself, not only with a propriety, but with a delicacy, and harmony, and *MELody of LANguage*. (Donne 1640/1623)

c) the round and cleane compo*SITion of the SENtence*, and the sweet *FALLing of the CLAUSes* . . . (Bacon 1605)

7.5 The neo-classical phase, 1660–1776

7.5.1 Of classical literature

During the last hundred years of our period, the literary prestige of classical models persists, but there is a discernible shift in the nature of their

influence. Where early renaissance classicisers attempted to reproduce the stylistic features of Latin in the linguistic material of English, later writers increasingly looked for equivalence rather than imitation. By the end of the seventeenth century there was a widespread belief that each language had its own particular 'genius'; it followed that instead of re-modelling English in the form of Latin, writers should seek native means for achieving classical effects. As a result, the classicism of the eighteenth century involves an affinity of spirit rather than a copying of forms: Pope aims at reproducing the *tone* of Horace where Milton had imitated his syntax. When Milton describes his translation of *Odes* 1.5. (1673) as: 'rendred almost word for word without rhyme according to the Latin measure, as near as the language will permit', he shows his kinship with a sixteenth-century writer such as Stanyhurst, who attempted to replicate not just the word order of Latin poetry but its prosodic system of length contrast. But Dryden championed the native English idiom (Watson 1962: I 70, 206, 268–9) and Young speaks for most of Dryden's successors when he argues that it is time for the *forms* of classical literature to be set aside.

(68) Let us build our Compositions with the Spirit, and in the Taste, of the Antients; but not with their Materials. (Young 1759)

This is in part a natural development from renaissance nationalism. But it is also a testimony to the achievement of renaissance writers. In the frontispiece of Blount's *Academy of Eloquence* (1654) Sidney and Bacon appear alongside Cicero and Demosthenes, and by the reign of Queen Anne, English writers could look back on a native Golden Age and find a whole pantheon of native classics, to be admired or outdone in their turn. So where Chapman's *Iliad* (1598–1611) competed with Homer, Pope wrote his version (1715–20) with one eye on Homer and the other on Chapman; Johnson's prose, as his contemporaries noted, owed as much to Browne as to Cicero; and for innumerable eighteenth-century poets Milton occupied the role of stylistic mentor that Virgil had filled for Surrey. By the end of our period, anthologies of *English* literature were being introduced into grammar schools and there were proposals in the air for a radical revision of the classical curriculum outlined in 7.2.1. Buchanan's *Plan of an English Grammar-school Education*, published in 1770, came with 'an introductory inquiry whether by the English language alone, without the embarrassment of Latin and Greek, the British youth, in general, cannot be thoroughly accomplished in every part of useful and polite literature'.

7.5.2 Of orators and men of letters

By taking oratory as the role model for poetry, the Renaissance had bridged the traditional medieval divide between clerk and knight, since in the figure of the orator the clerkly virtues of literacy gain the badge of social honour formerly reserved for the military prowess of the knight. This fusion of categories appears everywhere in the early part of our period: in Gascoigne's motto, which dedicates him equally to the gods of war and eloquence (*tam Marti quam Mercurio*); in Chapman's fantasy of an ideal university where 'all doubts or differences of Learning, Honour, Duellisme, Criticisme, and Poetrie, shall bee disputed' (*Monsieur d'Olive*, 1606, I.ii.14–15); and in Skelton's obsession with being known as Poet Laureate, – the laurel wreath being the classical tribute awarded, as Sidney notes, only to poets and to 'tryumphant Captaines' (1595; in Smith 1904: I 193). Puttenham's literary history fostered the myth that renaissance poetry was the product of a race of 'courtly makers' ([1589]: 60) and to many, at the time and since, the myth became reality in the figure of Sir Philip Sidney – nobleman, soldier and poet, patriot and patron of poets.

The equivalent myth for the eighteenth century is 'the Grub Street hack', and it is a characterisation often endorsed by the writers themselves, as in Goldsmith's *Epitaph* on Edward Purdon (1773), which commemorates him as 'a bookseller's hack', or in Johnson's Dictionary entry for *lexicographer*, where he commemorates himself as a 'harmless drudge'. Images are not of course straightforward reflections of fact; the drudges of literature outnumber its aristocrats in any period. But the shift in image is nonetheless significant. The synthesis of courtier–soldier–poet embodied in Sidney had disintegrated a century later. Dryden's attempt to sustain it by insisting, in his *Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* (1693), that the Earl of Dorset surpasses both himself and Donne as a satirist is already a sycophantic fiction. By that date, the 'courtly maker' has become either the dilettante patron or the professional man of letters, earning his living poised precariously between court patronage and a mass reading public. In Dryden himself, the role of poet-laureate, which for Skelton existed as an ideal, becomes fully institutionalised but, in the process, reduced in status from a civic tribute to a state pension; and Dryden's own pride in his 'laurel wreath' was ridiculed in the nickname 'Bays', maliciously bestowed by members of the Court that ostensibly honoured him.

But at the same time the literary influence of the Court was dwindling: the technological changes that made literature more widely available made a public outside the Court a possible alternative source of remuneration

and honour. Pope, debarred from court patronage and the laureateship by his Catholicism, was probably the first English writer to make a living on mass sales. His translation of Homer, particularly popular with the new middle-class audience that had classical aspirations but limited classical learning, enabled him to boast his independence:

(69) But (thanks to *Homer*) . . . I live and thrive,
Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive (Pope 1737)

Johnson's repudiation of Lord Chesterfield's fickle patronage, in a letter famous from the time it was written in 1755 and finally made public by Boswell in 1791, stands as a symbol of the progressive disestablishment of literature in the course of the century, a process that can be interpreted equally as a liberation or a demotion. From then on, the writer had to defend the dignity of his calling: otherwise he was likely to find himself bracketed with the journalist rather than with the statesman and orator. Boswell's heroising *Life of Johnson* (1791) paves the way for the revaluing of 'the Grub Street hack' by providing the portrait of Johnson that Carlyle handed on to the nineteenth century as the image of the 'Hero as Man of Letters': 'in his squalid garret, in his rusty coat; ruling . . . whole nations and generations' (*Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 1841: 250).

7.5.3 Of poetic diction

These changes have profound and in some ways contradictory consequences for literary style. On the one hand, the shift from a courtly to a middle-class audience promoted, particularly in the prose of the period, a shift from highly wrought élitist language to a democratic plain style, from formal virtuosity to semantic transparency. The figure of *correlative distribution* in which Shakespeare had celebrated the renaissance ideal 'the Courtiers, Soldiers, Schollers: Eye, tongue, sword' (*Hamlet* III.i.151) violates the phrase-structure norms of English to produce a pattern that only the scholar's eye can turn into communicative sense; and Puttenham in commending allegory as 'the Courtly figure', had acknowledged that its 'couert and darke termes' make it problematic for 'the world' outside ([1589]: 186). The new note in poetry is sounded by Denham's *Cooper's Hill* (1642/3), in a passage which Dryden's admiration turned into a model for the century that followed. (It is still quoted with approval in Priestley 1777: 299.)

(70) Oh could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
My great example, as it is my theme!

> Though deep, yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull,
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full (Denham 1643)

Denham's central metaphor echoes Quintilian's description of the middle style, which flows gently like a clear stream contained within green banks [*lenior tamen ut amnis lucidus quidem sed virentibus utrinque ripis inumbratus*], in contrast to the overflowing torrent of the grand style (*Institutio* 12.x.59–61). Since this is the style which is designed for 'pleasing' or 'conciliating' an audience (*delectandi . . . conciliandi*) it is perhaps the appropriate choice for writers who depend on mass sales. On the other hand, the development of literature as a *profession* promoted, particularly in poetry, the perception of its language as a professional register, with codified rules and conventions that set it apart from the language of its readers' day-to-day communications. Johnson claims that the rise of a specifically 'poetical diction' is a product of the period since Dryden (1779–81: I 330), an analysis supported both by Gray, who favoured poetic diction, and by Wordsworth, who at the end of the century rebelled against it (Adamson *CHEL* IV, 7.2.). But if 'poetical diction' is the eighteenth-century equivalent of the renaissance 'grand style', then it marks a specialisation and reduction in the ideal of poetic discourse. This is paralleled by a restriction in the scope of all associated concepts. By the end of our period, for instance, we find a marked change in the application of the term *literature* (Williams 1976: 150–4). The synthesis of learning and verbal art which defined *literature* for Colet in (2) has begun to break down, the learning being assigned to 'useful literature' (and later *science*) and the verbal art to 'polite literature'. And within this latter and increasingly aestheticised category, the term *poetry* tends to be used as the antonym of *prose* (and later *the novel*), rather than in the broader sense of Aristotle's *Poetics* or Sidney's *Apologie*, where poetry is the rival science to history and philosophy. The change in meaning of *elocution*, which loses its sense of 'eloquence' (*OED*.1–2) and becomes specialised to 'polite pronunciation', is perhaps the most decisive of all these shifts and the most telling sign of the demotion of the cluster of concepts that made up the renaissance stylistic ideal.

7.6 Of perspicuity

7.6.1 The principle of perspicuity

The change in literary style that took place towards the end of the seventeenth century has often been represented – both at the time and since – as a rejection of rhetoric. It is perhaps more accurately described as a *redirection* of rhetoric, in which the practitioners of many different genres, as

though acting in concert, divert their energies away from copia towards alternative goals: the 'plain and simple' style of nonconformist demotic oratory; the 'naturalness and ease' of coffee-house conversation; the '*clarté*' that the French Academy prescribed as the first virtue of neo-classical literature; and the 'truth' that the Royal Society demanded in the descriptive language of empirical science. The coverall term for these goals – and we meet it everywhere in commentators of the time – is *perspicuity*.

Like copia, perspicuity has its roots in classical antiquity and indeed it is commended as a stylistic virtue by English renaissance theorists too. But the neo-classical period did with perspicuity what the Renaissance had done with copia – turn a motif into the main theme. For Quintilian, perspicuity had been largely a practical necessity, the forensic orator's defence against an inattentive jury or a dullwitted judge (*Institutio* 8.ii.22); for Hoskins ([?1599]: 6–7), it is a virtue associated primarily with the genre of letter-writing (rather than the art of the *Arcadia*). But for neo-classical writers, it permeates the whole aesthetics of literary style. Eighteenth-century handbooks offer as many recipes for being perspicuous as their sixteenth-century predecessors gave for being copious.

The concept of perspicuity that emerges in the period has two aspects, differently weighted in its various sponsoring groups: that speakers should be mutually intelligible and that language should act as a transparent window on the world. The ideal of *mutual intelligibility* lends impetus to the period's attempts to establish standardised usages, since it is clear that speakers understand one another most readily when they speak the same variety of a language; and the ideal of *referential transparency* fuels the drive towards establishing fixed relations between words and things. Increasingly, the two kinds of perspicuity are felt to be linked: a language of transparent reference is held to be the most easily intelligible and so is recommended as the foundation for a standard variety which can survive social difference and temporal change. It is no accident that neo-classical writers repeatedly couple the concept of perspicuity with ideas of universality and permanence. Defoe, for instance, in recommending 'a direct Signification of Words, . . . which we call speaking *Sense*' argues that 'this, like Truth, is sullen and the same, ever was and will be so, in what manner, and in what language soever 'tis express'd. *Words* without it, are only Noise' (1697; in Bolton 1966: 98–9). Such views led to a widespread belief in translation as a test of perspicuity, for if a piece of language can be translated without obvious change of meaning, then it demonstrably owes its force to its 'truth' (i.e. its empirical or logical validity) and not to the 'noise' of its words.

Addison applies this test to literary language in his influential distinction between true and false wit (*Spectator* 1711, Nos. 58–63). True wit consists in the resemblance of *ideas*, and these remain unchanged however they are dressed in language because the mind apprehends them independently of their linguistic garb. False wit consists in resemblances of *language*, hence 'the only way . . . to try a Piece of Wit is to translate it into a different Language', because

(71) One may represent true Wit by the Description which *Aristinetus* makes of a fine Woman, When she is *dress'd* she is Beautiful, when she is *undress'd* she is Beautiful (Addison 1711; original italics)

Addison here radically reverses the argument of his renaissance predecessor, Puttenham, by locating beauty in the body not in its clothing (compare (5) above). Sprat, too, replaces gorgeousness with nakedness as a metaphor for the ideal style ('a close, naked, natural way of speaking') when he describes how members of the Royal Society set about divesting themselves of the trappings of the previous age (1667; in Spingarn 1908: II 118). Most eighteenth-century handbooks of style follow suit, often seeming, like the grammar books of the time, to be courses in what *not* to write. In general, this includes all forms of language that draw attention to themselves: amplifications, ingenious word play and intricate patterns of sound. If not rejected outright, such gaudinesses are relegated to the literature of burlesque, for, as we see from Pope's *Peri Bathous* (1728), the characteristic features of copia are reassembled to form the new age's stereotype of bad writing. Serious art follows the rules of perspicuity.

These rules, like the directions for copia, apply both to the choice of words and to their combination in discourse, and I shall again discuss both, but reversing the order followed in 7.3. and in 7.4., in line with the period's own change of priorities. In ideas of style we find the same shift that has been noted in theories of language (Land 1974, Cohen 1977) – the renaissance focus on the unit of the word gives way to a neo-classical focus on units of syntax or discourse.

7.6.2 The Perspicuous Discourse

7.6.2.1 'Reject all amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style'

This was one of the stylistic objectives the Royal Society set itself according to its historian Sprat (1667; in Spingarn 1908: II 118). And although a touch of sinonimia is to be found in the way he expresses the ideal in 1667 (*amplifications . . . and swellings*) we can see the progress it had made by 1711,

if we set Addison's terse handling of the STYLE = CLOTHING metaphor in (71) alongside Puttenham's elaboration in (5). Gone are Puttenham's extended comparison (*as we see . . . even so*), his use of parentheticals (*at least-wise . . .*; *suppose of . . .*; *that is . . .*), his lexical variations (*comely and beautiful*; *naked and bare and not clad*). Instead, Addison pares the form of his second sentence down to the starkness almost of an algebraic paradox: a = x, neg (a) = x. (The model of 'Mathematical plainness' commended by Sprat is implicit in many stylistic discussions of the period; it is perhaps most explicitly taken up in Priestley's *Lectures on Oratory* (1777: 45), when he proposes to 'explain the method of geometricians, and endeavour to show how far it may be adopted, or imitated with advantage, by writers in general'.)

Where there *is* verbal variation in (71) it corresponds to empirical variation, in the sense that what remains the same in the referent remains the same in the language (*beautiful* → *beautiful*), while what changes in the referent changes in its linguistic expression too (*dressed* → *UNdressed*). Addison similarly transmutes renaissance periodic construction: its function of creating suspense is retained (indeed suspense and a surprise ending are central to his effects here) but its form is radically simplified and abbreviated to two parallel adverbial-clause–main-clause sequences (*When . . ., she is . . .//when . . ., she is . . .*). Finally, the relative clause, the servant of copia in renaissance poetics but a perpetrator of digression in neo-classical eyes, is also reformed and rehabilitated: the example here (*which Aristinetus makes*) is a *restrictive relative*; its role is to define rather than to add descriptive elaboration, in contrast, say, to Colet's *non-restrictive relatives* in (60) or Spenser's in (54).

Addison's stylistic revision of Puttenham is typical of his period. Neo-classical writing in general shows a marked decline in the use of parentheses and non-restrictive relative clauses, and the practice of variation, commended by renaissance critics, becomes a vice rather than a virtue. Its main features are epitomised and mocked by Addison in the productions of his fictional would-be poet, Ned Softly:

(72) *I fancy when your Song you sing.*
(Your Song you sing with so much Art) . . .

> . . . pray observe [says Ned] the Turn of Words in those Two Lines. I was a whole Hour in adjusting of them, and have still a Doubt upon me, Whether in the Second Line it should be, *Your Song you sing*; or, *You sing your Song* (Addison 1710)

In two lines Ned manages to combine the lexical repetitiveness of the turn – *sing/song* – and the digressive syntax of the parenthesis. And to make

matters worse, they are accompanied by another fault that neo-classical critics detected in renaissance practice: its perverse distortion of natural word order.

7.6.2.2 'Reduce transpos'd words to the Natural Order'

This is how Lane's *Key to the Art of Letters* (1700: 108–9) expressed a maxim which became central to neo-classical notions of perspicuous syntax. Its growing importance in our period may be gauged from the shift of emphasis in schoolroom practice. Where Poole's *Practical Rhetorick* of 1663, one of the vernacular descendants of *De copia*, concentrated on exercises in 'varying an English', schoolmasters a century later preferred to set exercises in 'resolution', defined by Buchanan as 'the unfolding of a Sentence, and placing all the Parts of it . . . in their proper and natural Order, that the true meaning of it may appear' (1767; quoted by Michael 1970: 471). So Greenwood resolves (73a) into (73b):

(73) a) O Woman, *best are all Things* as the Will
Of God Ordain'd them, his creating Hand
Nothing Imperfect or Deficient *left*
b) O Woman, *all Things are best* as the Will of God Ordain'd them, his creating Hand *left* nothing Imperfect or Deficient (Greenwood 1711)

Milton provided the text for many of these exercises, with his Latin-inspired word order a particularly popular target, as here, where Greenwood 'corrects' the subject–complement inversion in the first line and the postponed verb in the last. For increasingly 'the Natural Order' was equated with the *English* order. As Brightland and Gildon put it: 'the regular Connection of the Words in the Form of Nature . . . is generally more regarded by the English, and other Modern Languages than by those of the Ancients' (1711: 141). There was a general preference for maintaining an SVO sequence and for placing adjective before noun, verb before adverb and main clause before subordinate adverbial clause. But these preferences were justified by an appeal not only to norms of English usage but to universal reason, and where the 'Natural Order' of conversational practice turned out to be at odds with the 'Natural Order' of rational grammar, the latter was often preferred. Hence Dryden's revision of his own style to reduce the practice of preposition-stranding in such constructions as: *which none boast of*, *the Age I live in*, *what were you talking of?*, *this the poet seems to allude to*. Although very common in spoken English, preposition-stranding was regarded by some as a violation of the logic by which a *preposition* was so

called because it was *pre-posed*, its 'natural place' being in front of the word it governs (Bately 1964: 275–6).

In other cases, principles of communicative efficiency or conversational 'easiness' were allowed to prevail. There is no technical term for *information structure* in the period, but the concept is invoked whenever grammarians discuss, for example, what items other than the subject can be allowed to hold first position in the sentence. They recognise that word order often performs the function of distributing the writer's emphases and enabling the reader to discriminate between *given* and *new* information. So, for example, whereas Greenwood's exercises in transposition regularly restore the canonical SVOA order by removing to final position adverbial clauses introduced by *if*, *though*, *as long as* (Greenwood 1711: 218–19), Priestley's advice reflects an understanding that natural stress and focus fall at the end of an information unit, which means that there are times when 'it favours perspicuity' for the adverbial clause to precede the main clause (as with Addison's *when* . . . clauses in (71)): 'for were those circumstances placed after the principal idea, they would either have no attention at all paid to them, or they would take from that which is due to the principal idea' (Priestley 1777: 282). In the same spirit, Lane (1700: 110) concedes that address forms and other 'exciting particles' can replace the subject in sentence-initial position (as with *O woman* in (73)) because they serve to 'excite the attention of the hearers to what follows' (undoubtedly the function of Dr Johnson's famous 'Sir, . . .'). Priestley adds to this an important distinction between initial and parenthetical address forms, which points to an interest in the pragmatic functions of word ordering: the initial position, he suggests, is more formal, the parenthetical is more 'easy and familiar' (Priestley 1777: 283; see also Kames [1762]: II 73).

7.6.2.3 'Make a coherent Discourse'

Locke's interest in the connection of ideas as a philosophical and psychological issue is reflected in his and his period's interest in the stylistic issue of *cohesion*, or as Locke puts it, how 'to make a coherent Discourse' (Locke [1690]: 471). Locke himself establishes a fundamental stylistic maxim for the century that follows him when he goes on to claim that 'the clearness and beauty of a good stile' consists in 'the right use' of 'the Words, whereby [the mind] signifies what Connection it gives to the several Affirmations and Negations, that it Unites in one continu'd Reasoning or Narration'. It is perhaps more than anything the new attention paid to

connective strategies that causes the sea-change in prose which everyone notices in passing from renaissance to neo-classical styles.

Anaphora

One role of the pronoun is (in Early Modern English terminology) to 'rehearse' an antecedent noun. In this role it is purely a function word with no independent meaning or colour. As a consequence, in styles aiming at the virtues of copia, the 'rehearsal' of antecedents is often carried out by synonymic noun phrases. But this poses a double threat to the perspicuity of a text: readers have to establish sameness of sense in order to establish grammatical coreference; and they may have difficulties in interpreting the information structure of the message (in terms of its given–new relationships) since a new linguistic form may or may not signal a new topic. More generally, where all terms are heightened by the practice of sinonimia their relative importance becomes unclear. The sharpness of Addison's epigram on true wit, (71), depends in part on the fact that he gives us only one lexical formulation for 'a fine woman'; thereafter he uses the anaphoric pronoun *she*, thus making the semantic cohesion clear while throwing the reader's attention forward on to the new information contained in the predicates (*she is . . . dressed/ . . . beautiful/ . . . undressed*). Buchanan's *British Grammar* provided a whole chapter of exercises in replacing noun phrases with pronouns (Buchanan 1762: 219–39), and Kames pointed out the confusion that can arise if this principle is neglected, as for instance in: 'instead of reclaiming the natives from their uncultivated manners, they were gradually assimilated to the ancient inhabitants', where the reader is left in doubt whether *the natives* and *the ancient inhabitants* refer to different groups or are 'only different names given to the same object for the sake of variety' (Kames [1762]: II 23).

The anaphoric function of the relative marker was also well known, and it is almost certainly perspicuity rather than Latinity that prompts the favouring of *wh-* over *th-* markers in the theory and (to a lesser degree) the stylistic practice of the time. Swift commented that 'one of the greatest difficulties in our language, lies in the use of the *relatives*; and the making it always evident to what antecedent they refer' (cited in Bately 1964: 282). The *wh-* markers diminished the difficulty because, unlike *that*, they cannot be confused with complementisers or demonstratives and they provide explicit grammatical information: the *who/which* contrast specifies the animacy of the antecedent, the *who/whom* contrast signals the pronoun's syntactic role in its own clause. As Wright has shown, Addison, often taken as the model of perspicuous prose, consistently revised his work to increase the proportion of *wh-* to *th-* relatives (Wright 1997).

Discourse deictics

The same motives account for the increased prominence given to demonstratives and other discourse deictics (e.g. *this*, *that*, *such*). Like anaphoric pronouns, they bind a discourse together, but in addition the semantic contrast between *this* and *that* gives the writer a means of distinguishing levels of textual or emotional distance (Huddleston 1984: 296–7). Some of these functions can be seen in the opening of Steele's essay on *The Death of a Friend*:

(74) There is a sort of Delight which is alternately mixed with Terror and Sorrow in the Contemplation of Death. The Soul has its Curiosity more than ordinarily awaken'd, when it turns its Thoughts upon the Conduct of such who have behaved themselves with an Equal, a Resigned, a Chearful, a Generous or Heroick Temper in that Extremity. We are affected with these respective manners of Behaviour as we secretly believe the Part of the Dying Person imitable by our selves . . . However, there are no Ideas strike more forcibly upon our Imaginations than those which are raised from Reflections upon the Exits of great and excellent Men. (Steele 1711)

Each sentence here has a new subject, which means there is a danger of the discourse becoming fragmented. The discourse deictics (*that* in the second sentence, *these* in the third) avert that danger. They enhance cohesion by formally binding each sentence to its predecessor and they enhance comprehension by signalling that the new lexical material of the noun phrases they introduce is to be construed as given information: '*that* extremity' rehearses *death*, '*these* . . . manners of behaviour' rehearses the sequence *an equal* . . . *temper*. In addition, they guide the reader through the topic-flow of the discourse, the distal deictic *that* marking the receding topic, the proximal deictic *these* marking the topic of continuing relevance or more immediate personal involvement.

The so-called 'existential *there*' that opens the essay also belongs to this network of textual signposts. Like *this* and *that*, it began life as a spatial deictic and it retains much of this deictic force in its discourse function, which has caused some linguists to name it the 'presentative *there*' (Bolinger 1977: 90–123). In Present Day English it is typically used to buttonhole the addressee/reader and to signal the newness of the information that follows. Breivik, who tracked its historical development to 1550, notes that by that date it 'is governed by virtually the same syntactic factors as those operative today' but that it has not 'acquired quite the same pragmatic status as it has in contemporary English' (Breivik 1983: 324). Steele's use in 1711 is fully modern. *There* appears not only at the beginning of the

essay, but also in the last sentence of the extract when the next topic is announced.

Finally in this group of textual pointers, we can include *respective*. Although not deictic in origin it performs the same function as *this/that* in simultaneously rehearsing and clarifying. As used in Steele's third sentence, it refers back to the series, *Equal, Resigned, Chearful, Generous* and blocks the possibility of the reader misconstruing it as a set of synonymic variations by informing us that they are to be construed as separate and mutually exclusive alternatives. This metalinguistic function of *respective* appears to have been largely a late seventeenth-century development (the *OED*'s first citation is from 1646) and its emergence is one more indicator of the period's growing concern with what it termed 'contexture'.

Conjunctions and conjunctive adverbials

When Locke commends connecting words he is referring above all to the use of conjunctions and conjunctive adverbials, such as the *however* that introduces Steele's last sentence in (74). These are all words which not only bind parts of a discourse together but also specify, to a greater or lesser degree, the nature of the binding relationship. In renaissance appositional styles the main conjunctions are *and* and *or*, both classed by Harris as the most rudimentary members of their class, since they link but fail to specify the nature of the link: *and* 'does no more than barely *couple*' and *or* does 'no more, than *merely disjoin*' (Harris 1771: 242, 252). *Or* may mark an alternative possibility or an alternative formulation, while *and* may express almost any relation at all. Writing that relies heavily on conjunctions like these thus poses continual problems of interpretation for its readers. In the neo-classical period, writers aiming at perspicuity deploy a greater range of connectives and differentiate their functions more precisely. Steele's *however*, widely used by himself and his contemporaries, is a case in point. It appears to have joined the repertoire of conjunctive adverbials only in the seventeenth century (Finell 1996: 205–10) and, as illustrated by its role in (73), it provides a more specific alternative to *but*, allowing the writer simultaneously to concede the position stated in the sentence preceding it and to announce the approach of an adversative or qualifying statement in the sentence it introduces.

For Locke, the function of connectives is 'to express well' a sequence of 'methodical and rational Thoughts' and he makes this the key criterion of 'the clearness and beauty of a good Stile' (Locke [1690]: 471–2). Locke thus recognises no distinction between *cohesion* as a stylistic device and *coherence* as a semantic relation, or rather, he adopts an ideal view in which the one acts as signal of the other. Swift bases his satiric strategy on their possible

divergence. Stylistically he pushes his period's interest in connectivity to an extreme: as Milic has shown, he begins a third of his sentences with a connective, often a double connective (e.g. *for although*; *and first*; *but however*) and not infrequently a whole cluster (e.g. *and indeed if*; *and therefore if notwithstanding*) (Milic 1967: 122–36, 225–30). The effect on contemporary readers may be gauged from the fact that Johnson, not one of Swift's admirers, conceded that 'it will not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any [inconsequence] in his connections, or abruptness in his transitions' (Johnson 1779–81: II 483). However, as Milic correctly notes, the connectives are in fact often used redundantly or inappropriately, with their specific meanings either disregarded or actively distorted. He concludes that the spurious 'appearance of great logic' is a persuasive device, designed to make readers feel 'enlightened by order and clarity' (Milic 1967: 136). But it is important to add that in many cases Swift then forces his readers to do a double-take on the process of persuasion they have undergone, by making them realise that his apparently lucid and irresistible line of argument has led to conclusions they find morally or emotionally unacceptable (most notoriously in his *Modest Proposal* of 1729, which suggests solving the economic problems of Ireland by turning surplus babies into 'nourishing and wholesome food'). In other words, both Steele and Swift testify to the importance of connective strategies in the new stylistic ideal, but where Steele does so by implementing Locke's recipe for 'the clearness and beauty of a good Stile', Swift parodies it and puts in question the 'methodical and rational' values with which it is associated.

7.6.3 The Perspicuous Word

7.6.3.1 'Positive expressions, clear senses'

When the Royal Society came to consider perspicuity at the level of the word, what it demanded, so Sprat reports, was the use of 'positive expressions, clear senses' (Sprat 1667; in Spingarn 1908: II 118). In the linguistic research sponsored by the Society in the late seventeenth century, this imperative inspired Bishop Wilkins's efforts to create an artificial lexicon based on the principle of one-form–one-meaning (Salmon 1972: 32–7; 1979: 191–206); as a stylistic maxim, it is echoed up to the end of our period. In the 1760s Priestley was recommending those attending his lectures on oratory to begin by fixing the definition of 'all the important words' in their discourse, this being the 'very touchstone of truth' (Priestley 1777: 46–7).

The first effect of applying this criterion to literary language is to exclude

anything that savours of equivocation or pun, which Addison defines as 'a Conceit arising from the use of two Words that agree in the Sound, but differ in the Sense' (1711; in Bond 1965: I 262–3). He illustrates such figures from Milton in his later critique of the language of *Paradise Lost* (1712; in Bond 1965: III 63).

(75) a) Begirt th'Almighty throne/*Beseeching* or *besieging* . . .
b) At one slight *Bound* high overleapt all *Bound*

Word-play of this sort fails the translatability test in the most spectacular manner and it is one of the chief faults that writers of this period find in their predecessors. Ridiculing the classical terminology with which renaissance theorists had dignified the practice (*paragram*, *ploce*, *paranomasia*, *antanaclasis*), they replace it with consistently belittling terms (*jingle*,*quibble*, *clench* and *pun* itself), as when Dryden censures Ben Jonson for using 'the lowest and most groveling kind of Wit, which we call clenches' (1672; in Watson 1962: I 178–9) or Dr Johnson, a century later, censures Shakespeare, because 'a quibble was to him the fatal *Cleopatra* for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it' (1765: 23–4). In lamenting Milton's propensity to pun, Addison portrays it as the vice of an age now ended. In the generation succeeding Milton, he believes, punning has been 'entirely banish'd out of the Learned World' and 'universally exploded by all the Masters of Polite Writing' (1711, in Bond 1965: I 261; 1712, in Bond 1965: III 63).

'Entirely' and 'universally' may be to overstate the case. While it is true that puns appear less frequently in neo-classical than in renaissance writing, they did not disappear altogether. They are important to Swift (Nokes 1978) and not uncommon in Pope, as for instance the famous pun on *port* in (76):

(76) Where Bentley late tempestuous wont to sport
In troubled waters, but now sleeps in Port. (Pope 1743)

which is explained in a spoof learned footnote:

> Viz. 'now retired into harbour, after the tempests that had long agitated his society.' So *Scriblerus*. But the learned *Scipio Maffei* understands it of a certain wine called *Port*, from *Oporto*, a city of Portugal, of which this professor invited him to drink abundantly. –SCIP. MAFF., *De compotationibus academicis*.

But the presence – and length – of the footnote suggests that Pope (or Warburton) did not altogether trust the eighteenth-century reader to spot the 'harbour'/'wine' double meaning without guidance, and the pun's location – in a section of knockabout satire – is a sign of the genre restriction

the period imposed on this kind of word-play. Addison allows puns 'into merry Speeches and ludicrous Compositions' (and hence occasionally into his own humorous essays); what he and other neo-classical critics deplore in earlier writers is their tendency to pun in serious genres, such as 'the Sermons of Bishop *Andrews*, and the Tragedies of *Shakespear*' (1711; in Bond 1965: I 260). So Dryden, after an early outbreak in *The Wild Gallant* (acted 1663), largely avoided punning in his later drama.

The immediate explanation for this restriction is the period's growing concern for linguistic *decorum*, a matching of style to discourse type which prescribes that, for instance, serious genres and topics should be expressed in serious words. But we need also to explain why the pun came to be regarded as axiomatically non-serious. A number of factors are involved. For one thing, it is important to note that sermons and drama, dominant genres in the earlier period, are both performance arts and their oral/aural mode of operation provides the most favouring conditions for the pun: /kɒlər/ for instance, can be interpreted equally as 'anger' or 'neck-strap', as it is in successive lines of *Romeo and Juliet* (I.i.4–5). But Andrews and Shakespeare reached their eighteenth-century audience in *written* form, where the attempt to identify <choler> with <collar> is bound to appear more strained. The later period's own literary production was more dominated by written genres and the increasing standardisation of spelling made it increasingly difficult to indicate a pun in writing without manifest wrenching of accepted norms. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, the drive towards a rational one-form–one-meaning spelling system, fostering and fostered by the growth in dictionary-making, reduced the possibility of puns by decisively dividing pairs such as *travel/travail*, *concent/consent*, *sun/son*. Hence all modernising editions of earlier writers were (and still are) forced to resolve indeterminacies, thus implying that in any given context one form–meaning relation is primary and any alternative meanings are secondary, inessential or artificial.

But the main change was less technological than ideological. Puns were confined to comedy and satire because neo-classical writers were disinclined to take seriously a naturalist view of language which concedes to the pun the power to suggest an occult link or correspondence between its diverse referents. This particularly affects the use of puns based on *homophony*, where two empirically distinct referents share 'one noise'. It is an accident of sound-change that pairs such as *sun/son* and *heart/hart* have fallen together, an accident of cultural history that a wine and a harbour share the name *port*. It is this kind of pun particularly that neo-classical writers consigned to burlesque. Puns based on *polysemy*, where one sense has developed

out of another, are more rational; hence, though largely confined to satiric genres, they can be used for serious purposes.

Pope, for instance, achieves many of his deadliest effects simply by the oscillation between the abstract and concrete senses of a word or phrase, as in (77)

(77) Your country's peace, how oft, *how dearly bought*! (Pope 1737)

where the abstract reading – 'achieved at great sacrifice' – presents the poem's addressee as a hero, while the concrete reading – 'paid for with a lot of money' – carries quite different implications. In this instance, since the addressee was King George II, it was perhaps politic for the intended meaning to remain veiled. More commonly Pope forces the double-take on his reader by the exploitation of *zeugma*. In renaissance rhetorics, zeugma is no more than its name (= 'a yoking') implies, a construction in which one word governs two others. Day illustrates the figure with the example: 'his loosenesse overcame all shame, his boldnesse feare' (1599: 82), where *overcame* acts as the yoke between two subjects and two objects. But although Johnson's Dictionary offered the same definition (and example) in 1755, neo-classical practice was establishing the more specific modern sense of zeugma, in which it applies to cases like *he lost his temper and his hat*. Here the objects appear to be *incongruously* yoked because they draw on different senses of the yoking verb. This is the form of zeugma used by Pope in examples such as (78a)–(78c):

(78) a) Or stain her Honour or her new Brocade
b) Or lose her Heart, or Necklace, at a Ball
c) Dost sometimes Counsel take – and sometimes *Tea*
(Pope 1714; original italics)

But although these can certainly be described as puns, the pun here survives in severely restricted form: it lies only in the two different senses of the verbs (*stain*, *lose*, *take*) that are foregrounded by their simultaneous collocation with abstract and concrete nouns. And whereas renaissance heuristic puns urge their hearer/reader to see a likeness in two things overtly unlike (son = sun, choler = collar), the jolting effect of zeugma encourages us to find differences where the linguistic form suggests affinities. Pope's moral argument is that staining honour is precisely *not* equivalent to staining brocade, that counsel should *not* be 'taken' in the same spirit as tea, and that hearts are different from necklaces. In the terms popularised by Locke, the puns in (78) are an exercise in *judgement* rather than *wit*, where wit consists in looking for imaginary resemblances, while judgement involves

'separating carefully, one from another, Ideas, wherein can be found the least difference, thereby to avoid being misled by Similitude and by affinity to take one thing for another' (Locke [1690]: 156).

The other main type of pun to survive is the *double entendre*. It probably owes its name to this period (the *OED* dates it to 1673) and it is appropriate that it should, because it typifies the neo-classical attitude to multiple meaning, both in its restricted sphere (the genre of comedy, the topic of sexual impropriety) and in the way it operates. Take, for example, these *double entendres* from Wycherley's *The Country Wife*:

(79) *Sir* Jaspar *calls through the door to his Wife, she answers from within*
Sir Jas. Wife! my Lady Fidget! wife! he is coming in to you the back way.
La. Fid. Let him come, and welcome, which way he will.
. . .
Enter Lady Fidget *with a piece of China in her hand, and* Horner *following.*
La. Fid. And I have been toyling and moyling for the pretti'st piece of China, my Dear.
Hor. Nay she has been too hard for me, do what I cou'd.
[*Mrs Squeamish*.] Oh Lord I'le have some China too, good Mr. *Horner*, don't think to give other people China, and me none, come in with me too.
Hor. Upon my honour I have none left now.
Squeam. Nay, nay I have known you deny your China before now, but you shan't put me off so, come —
Hor. This Lady had the last there.
La. Fid. Yes indeed Madam, to my certain knowledge he has no more left.
Squeam. O but it may be he may have some you could not find.
La. Fid. What d'y think if he had had any left, I would not have had it too, for we women of quality never think we have China enough.
(Wycherley 1675)

Wycherley retains the comic convention of naming characters within the *nomen = omen* tradition outlined in 7.3.3 (a convention still apparent a century later in Fielding's Mrs Slipslop or Sheridan's Sir Antony Absolute) but his characters' use of language seems almost tailor-made to illustrate the consequences of holding the opposite view, expounded by Locke. If, as Locke famously argued ([1690]: 404–8), there is no natural connection between word and referent, then a word's meaning may vary according to context and user. In this instance, *come in the back way* is a vague, generalised phrase that is given specific but different meanings by Sir Jasper (who is talking about rooms) and Lady Fidget (who is talking about bodies). The *double-entendre* on *China* is an even more extreme case: its sexual meaning (as

far as I know) is purely arbitrary and is available only to those who, like the audience, share the coterie frame of reference established by Horner and his ladies. In some ways, this could be called the perfect *anti*-pun since the double meaning is created without any pre-existing homophony or polysemy to supply an ambiguous form.

This feature allies it to the form of double meaning that not only survives but flourishes in the neo-classical period: *irony*. Irony is the rhetorical figure that makes a virtue of the neo-classical belief in the arbitrariness of the form–meaning connection, since it works by divorcing the word said from the word meant. In Stirling's mnemonic rhyme:

(80) An *Irony*, dissembling with an Air,
Thinks otherwise than what the Words declare (Stirling 1733)

Irony is not so much a figure of speech as a method of double reading. In this it resembles allegory (discussed in 7.3.5), a link recognised by Puttenham, when, having reviewed a set of ironic figures (*ironia*, *sarcasmus*, *asteismus*, *micterismus*, *antiphrasis*, *charientismus*), he concludes: 'all these be souldiers to the figure allegoria and fight vnder the banner of dissimulation' ([1589]: 191). But the literary history of the period suggests that irony and allegory are competitors rather than collaborators, in that the growing importance of the first coincides with the decline of the second. One explanation appears in the way Scaliger differentiates the two (*Poetices libri septem* 1561: III 85): allegory brings together similars, while irony brings together contraries, precisely in order to expose the ground of their difference. Translated into Lockean terms, allegory is a figure of wit, irony a figure of judgment, appealing to the same literary taste that is manifested in the neo-classical revision of zeugma. Indeed, as practised in (78) zeugma is itself a form of irony, since the reader is required to disbelieve the equation that 'the Words declare'.

The general change in the status of irony can be gauged by setting two schoolmasters' accounts alongside each other. In Poole's late Erasmian primer (published posthumously in 1663), irony is simply one among many methods of varying; in Stirling's *System of Rhetoric* (1733), it is one of the four master tropes that appear together on the first page. Their illustrations differ significantly too:

(81) a) Love is weak, *for sooth*! and every thing overcomes it; *yes*, *indeed* [Ironic variation on *love conquers all*]
b) Self-love sees all things, is very *quick-sighted I assure you, believe me that will.* [Ironic variation on *self-love is blind*] (Poole 1663; original italics)

(82) Fairly, i.e. scandalously done. Good, i.e. bad Boy (Stirling 1733)

Where Poole in (81a)–(81b) obviously feels the need to signal irony in the *form* of the language – by repetition and a heavy use of truth-proclaiming disjuncts, which he italicises for extra emphasis – Stirling's examples (no doubt typical of the ironies he employed in his own classroom) rely for their interpretation purely on a complicity – of shared context or values – between speaker and hearer. They are cruder examples of the process by which Swift relies on his reader to interpret a 'modest' proposal as an 'outrageous' proposal, or 'praise' of religious enthusiasm as a 'condemnation'. The power of techniques that enlist the reader as 'both a Reader and a Composer' is noted by Addison, citing Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) as a particularly successful example (*Spectator*, No. 512, 1712). The difficulty of the reader's interpretive role in such works is considered by Priestley (1777: 219). While praising irony and the mock-heroic mode, he comments that 'it might justly appear surprizing, that a person should say one thing, and mean another, and yet his real meaning be perfectly understood' and concedes that without the aid of tone of voice, gesture or an audience of intimates, the ironist always risks being 'misunderstood for a time'. This is exactly what happened to many of the eighteenth-century ironists: to Defoe, imprisoned for recommending the extermination of dissenters in *The Shortest Way with Dissenters* (1702), a pamphlet now seen as a defence of their cause; to Pope, whose *Epistle to Augustus* (the source of (77)) was widely read in 1737 as a eulogy of George II; and to Swift, whose intended meaning in Book IV of *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) is still under debate. All bear witness to the paradox that the perspicuous style can be very obscure indeed.

7.6.3.2 'General expressions'

The drive towards using words in single literal senses served the first criterion of perspicuity – that there should be fixed and transparent relations between word and thing. The second criterion – that there should be mutual intelligibility between speakers – promoted a different kind of reform: the restriction of the literary lexicon to a standard general vocabulary. Addison went so far as to claim that 'one of the great beauties of poetry' lay in using 'such easy language as may be understood by ordinary Readers' (1712; in Bond 1965: III 63) and by this line of reasoning he and other critics condemned all the 'hard words' that renaissance writers had used as a means of amplifying. Shakespeare's neologisms, Spenser's archaisms, Sidney's compounding and Milton's latinisms all at various times came under attack. Addison himself was taken as the model of a 'middle style'

that, in terms of vocabulary choice, relied for its keywords on the repertoire of well-integrated, non-monosyllabic Romance loans, as exemplified by the words in which Johnson commends it: '*familiar*, but not coarse, and *elegant*, but not ostentatious' (1779–81: II 86).

A further narrowing of vocabulary range results from what Johnson formulates as 'a general rule in poetry, that all appropriated terms of art should be sunk in general expressions, because poetry is to speak an universal language' (1779–81: I 344). By 'terms of art', Johnson means the technical vocabularies associated with different professional varieties of English. Such terms threaten a writer's intelligibility because they will be unfamiliar to most of his readers. On these grounds, Johnson reproves Dryden for including in *Annus Mirabilis* (1666) naval words like *seam*, *calking iron*, *tarpawling* and *shrouds*, just as Addison had complained about Milton's architectural vocabulary: '*Doric Pillars*, *Pilasters*, *Cornice*, *Freeze*, *Architrave*' (1712; in Bond 1965: III 64). The embargo however does not always extend to satire. Providing, as so often, the obverse of its period's stylistic ideals, eighteenth-century satire testifies to the widespread mistrust of specialised vocabularies not by excluding them but by making them its vehicle or target. For example, the very first indication that Swift's 'modest proposal' is the practice of cannibalism is given, many lines before it is explicitly stated, in the substitution of agricultural terminology for a general expression: 'a Child, *just dropt from it's Dam*, may be supported by her Milk, for a Solar year' already equates a child with a lamb or calf (*A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burthen to their Parents or the Country* (1729: 4)). And the essay as a whole works on Swift's assumption that his readers can at least recognise the different specialist varieties of butcher, cook and political economist. What aligns him with Johnson is that in this confrontation of varieties, it is always the general moral vocabulary that is vindicated. In neo-classical writing, specialist varieties are almost invariably purveyors of limited or perverted perspectives; not until the modern period are they seen as sources of fresh aesthetic or moral insights (see Adamson *CHEL* IV 7.2).

In some cases 'terms of art' threaten mutual intelligibility not because they are unfamiliar but because they exist both in general usage and in specialised varieties but have different meanings or implications in each. Both Locke and Dr Johnson draw attention to this phenomenon, Locke noting the widely different significations attached to *gold* by the child and the chemist ([1690]: 485–6), Johnson commenting on the shift in meaning that takes place when *eccentric* is borrowed from the astronomer's vocabulary or *sanguine* from the physician's (1755: C_2^r). Sterne shows the potential for

misunderstanding in *Tristram Shandy*, when Mr Shandy, using *auxiliary* in the specialised grammatical sense, bewilders Corporal Trim, for whom it carries only its specialised military meaning (*Tristram Shandy* 1762: V 145–6). But in recommending that writers should systematically prefer the most general acceptations of such words, neo-classical critics were pushing literature not simply towards perspicuity but also towards more abstract or generalised meanings, because words tend to have a more restricted scope when used in specialised varieties. Compare, for example, the vagueness of *operation* in general use with the more specific and concrete meanings it takes on in military or medical contexts. The 'general expressions' Johnson advocates are thus also inevitably *generalised* expressions.

Johnson himself bows to the inevitable with some alacrity. His fictional sage, Imlac, expresses the view that 'the business of a poet . . . is to examine, not the individual, but the species', ignoring local variations in favour of 'general and transcendental truths' (*Rasselas* 1759: I 68–70) and Johnson reflects Imlac's priorities in his own choice of vocabulary. He typically prefers the superordinate term to the hyponym, the abstract to the concrete noun, the nominalisation to the verb and the generic to the specific form of reference (Wimsatt 1941: 52–9). All are illustrated in (83), which offers a striking contrast to the itemising styles of Burton (23) or Jonson (36).

(83) he [i.e. mankind] must always discover new motives of action, new excitements of fear, and allurements of desire. (Johnson 1750)

Though there was some dissent from Johnson's view (Kames, for instance, believing that 'abstract and general terms' were not suited for poetry or 'literary performance intended for amusement' (Kames [1762]: I 215)), it was widely shared. Other aims are involved than the representation of general nature, as becomes apparent when Lawson, advising his audience of would-be orators to avoid descending into 'minute Details', warns them that 'a Desire of being particular and exact' has 'betrayed many good well-meaning Men into Notions and Expressions, gross and low, mean or unseemly' (Lawson 1758: 410). Here the species is preferred to the individual on stylistic rather than philosophical grounds, simply because concrete, particular terms are more likely to belong to the class of what Lawson, like most commentators of his time, rejects as unsuitably 'low' words.

This restriction of vocabulary calls for special comment. The motive here cannot be perspicuity, since, with the exception of slang or thieves' cant, 'low words' are not unintelligible. Indeed, on the grounds of clarity, Sprat reports that the Royal Society would prefer 'the language of Artizans

Countrymen, and Merchants, before that, of Wits, or Scholars' (1667; in Spingarn 1908: II 118). Even for literary purposes, Johnson considers that 'a stile which never becomes obsolete' is primarily 'to be sought in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without ambition of elegance', and he rebukes 'the polite' for rejecting vulgar usage 'when the vulgar is right' (Johnson 1765: xviii). Nevertheless, he had already himself found fault with Shakespeare's phrase 'peep through the blanket of the dark', not because the metaphor is unclear but because the words *peep* and *blanket* are risibly low (*Rambler* No. 168, 1751). Addison, who similarly objects to Milton's use of homely phrases such as 'for fear lest dinner cool' and 'for this we may thank Adam', confronts the inconsistency in his own position directly:

(84) If Clearness and Perspicuity were only to be consulted, the Poet would have Nothing else to do but to cloath his Thoughts in the most plain and natural Expressions. But, since it often happens, that the most obvious Phrases, and those which are used in ordinary Conversation, become too familiar to the Ear, and contract a Kind of Meanness by passing through the Mouths of the Vulgar, a Poet should take particular care to guard himself against Idiomatick Ways of Speaking. (Addison 1712)

A class bias is certainly detectable here, the reference to *the mouths of the vulgar* reminding us that the main audience for literature in this period, the 'ordinary readers' with whom writers are attempting to establish common linguistic ground, consists of those who belong, or aspire to belong, to the non-vulgar middle class. Only with the mass audience of the modern period does 'popular literature' seriously challenge the position of 'polite literature' and the language of 'the vulgar' become a viable stylistic model for establishment writers. But the self-contradictions we find in Addison's and Johnson's handling of terms such as *common*, *vulgar*, *domestic* and *ordinary* point to a more general aesthetic problem that has concerned literary critics of other schools and periods too: if it is the task of poetry to defamiliarise and heighten perception, how can that be accomplished through familiar and ordinary forms of speech?

7.7 Of perspicuous sublimity

7.7.1 Introduction: the sublime style

(85) SUBLIME. n.s. The grand or lofty stile. *The Sublime* is a Gallicism, but now naturalized.

Longinus strengthens all his laws,
And is himself the great *sublime* he draws. *Pope*

> The *sublime* rises from the nobleness of thoughts, the magnificence of the words, or the harmonious and lively turn of the phrase; the perfect *sublime* arises from all three together. *Addison.* (Johnson 1755)

The sublime is a term whose senses proliferate during the course of the eighteenth century as it becomes a key word in the aesthetic theories of first neoclassicism and then romanticism. But for our present purposes, I shall follow the definition offered by Johnson's Dictionary (85) and concentrate on the sublime as a type of style, the eighteenth-century equivalent of what Wilson two hundred years earlier had called the 'great or mightie kind' of writing (cf (45) above). More accurately, it represents a revision of Wilson's concept. For although Gilbert (1979) is right to stress the extent to which writers from Chaucer to Johnson located their styles within the framework of the Roman rhetoricians' tripartite typology of levels (see 7.4.1 above), it is important to add that the classical tradition underwent continuous redefinition during that period and the apparent continuity of terminology can be misleading. In medieval rhetoric, the three styles had become associated with social status, so that what Chaucer calls 'the heigh stile' is primarily the form of language appropriately used by or to the nobility (Burnley 1983: 183–90). During the Renaissance, with the re-classicising of rhetoric and the recovery of relevant source passages in Cicero and Quintilian, the highest of the three styles became associated with the forensic orator's power of persuasion (see 7.2.2 above) and it is in this spirit that Milton invokes the grand style to '*assert* Eternal Providence/ And *justifie* the wayes of God to men' (*Paradise Lost* I 25–6; my italics). The sublime represents a further shift in conception. Under the impact of the re-discovery of Longinus's treatise *On the Sublime*, the 'grand or lofty stile' migrated from the sphere of public speaking to the sphere of private reading: its canonical genre became the poem rather than the oration and its primary function to raise emotions rather than to change beliefs. According to Longinus, 'the *Sublime* does not persuade, but create Transport' (trans. Welsted 1724: 143), producing a state analogous to that of religious ecstasy or 'enthusiastic passion' (Dennis 1701; in Ashfield & de Bolla 1996: 35–9). Hence the terms in which Murdoch describes the power of Thomson's style: 'the reader is left enraptured in silent adoration and praise' (Murdoch 1762 I ix).

Though known in England in the early seventeenth century, as witness Langbaine's Latin edition of 1636, Longinus became popular largely through Boileau's French version of 1674 (hence Johnson's belief that *the sublime* is 'a Gallicism'). As a result, in the form in which the concept came through to the eighteenth century, the *ecstasis* central to Longinus's ideal was severely restrained by the rationalism of the French Academy. Even so,

most eighteenth-century critics were well aware that the expression of violent emotion hardly assists the achievement of perfect perspicuity, and Burke explicitly associated the sublime with the obscure and confused (Burke 1759: 90–110). Writers of the next generation were often content to pay that price. What marks the early eighteenth century is the strenuousness of its attempt to achieve a compromise. 'It is requisite' says Addison, summing up the mood of his time, 'that the Language of an Heroick Poem should be both Perspicuous and Sublime' (1712; in Bond 1965: III 10). In this section I shall look at the terms of the compromise as they affect two key areas of neo-classical poetic practice, poetic diction (7.7.2.) and versification (7.7.3.), corresponding to those aspects of the sublime that Addison in (85) labels 'the magnificence of the words' and 'the harmonious and lively turn of the phrase'.

7.7.2 Poetic diction

It is Milton who prompts Dryden to adopt the term *sublime*, when he pays tribute to *Paradise Lost* as: 'one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime POEMS, which either this Age or Nation has produc'd' (1677; in Watson 1962: I 196). And it is Milton who provides the stylistic bridge between the renaissance grand style and the sublime diction of eighteenth-century poetry. But it is Milton re-analysed to fit the neo-classical paradigm, his language trimmed and codified to provide a repertoire of techniques for deviating from 'plain and natural expressions' without undue sacrifice of perspicuity. Addison, for instance, in his seminal essay on the language of *Paradise Lost* which paved the way for Milton's wider popularity (*Spectator*, No. 285, 1712), locates its sublimity in precisely those features that were rejected by the criterion of perspicuity – violation of standard word order, insertion of redundant elements and lexical strangeness – but he exemplifies all of them by forms that minimise the problem of construal. By and large, eighteenth-century poetic practice followed the same pattern.

So 'hard words' – neologisms, archaisms and other lexical deformations – became acceptable if they were drawn from an existing Miltonic stock. For instance, of the renaissance latinisms that Addison (incorrectly) attributes to Milton, *embryon* (as adjective) was taken up by Brooke, Harte and Wesley, *miscreated* by Cobb, Croxall and Fawkes, and *Cerberean* by Blackmore, Pitt and Pope. It is not coincidental that all of them are adjectives. The eighteenth century has been called the 'century of the adjective' on the grounds that 'adjectival usage increased out of all proportion to preceding or following uses' (Miles 1974: 107–8) and one reason for the rise

of the adjective in the poetic diction of the period is that it satisfies the dual demands of perspicuous sublimity. It provides a method of 'raising' by what Addison terms 'lengthening the phrase'. But simultaneously the adjective acts as a quarantine site where figurative, archaic or neologistic elements can be kept from contaminating the literal sense. By concentrating lexical strangeness in adjectives, poetic diction can remain perspicuous because the basic plot structure of a sentence (say, *dog bites man*) remains clear when it is adjectivally heightened (into, say, *cerberean dog bites miscreated man*). Hence the widespread practice of collocating a general or common core noun, as prescribed by perspicuity (7.6.3.2), with a more magniloquent adjective, as in Dennis's '*adamantine* chains', '*formidable* king', or Pope's '*retorted* eye', '*implicit* hands', '*celestial* red', or Young's '*ambient* air', '*nitrous* grain', '*ethereal* fires' (Havens 1922: 93, 580–1, 593).

The adjective is also important as source of word-order violation. Though Milton's larger-scale use of latinate ordering was, as we have seen, widely deplored by eighteenth-century grammarians, his 'placing the adjective after the substantive' as Addison calls it, is less likely to cause misunderstandings. Brightland and Gildon even found an ingenious way of defending the practice as natural if not native, because 'in Nature we first think of the NAME, before we think of the QUALITY' (Brightland and Gildon 1711: 145). A scattering of postposed adjectives can be found in most poems of the period as in the 'nymph *reserved*', 'brede *ethereal*', 'maid *composed*', 'pleasures *sweet*', 'fallows *grey*' and 'hamlets *brown*' of Collins's *Ode to Evening* (1746), and the three examples in Gray's *The Progress of Poesy* (1757) suggest the Longinian associations of the inversion: 'arms *sublime*', 'lyre *divine*', 'numbers *wildly sweet*'. In Thomson, who seems to have internalised the Miltonic dialect and made it productive, there is a much more extensive use of inversion, most notably object-fronting, as well as the coining of new latinate and compound adjectives in addition to those directly borrowed from Milton; but these aspects of his style were found 'turgid' and 'obscure' by even the most admiring of his contemporaries (Cohen 1964: 317–35).

Of course, the most obvious method of defamiliarising and raising the language of poetry – recognised and recommended from Aristotle onwards – is by the use of metaphor, and metaphor became the key problem for the new poetics, since it is also the main source of the subversion of literal sense. The problem was intensified by a fundamental change that seems to have taken place in the way metaphor was conceived. In the renaissance paradigm, metaphor was understood as a lexical variation ('translated words') grounded in a structural analogy (so in the example

cited in (40a), *behead* can be translated into *divorce* because head : body :: husband : wife). This model of metaphor allows for the possibility that different words in a collocation may be differently varied so long as the structural relations remain consistent. Hence the kind of complex metaphor that characterises Elizabethan poetry (see Fowler 1975: 87–113 for some detailed analyses). To take a small-scale example, Shakespeare's *take arms against a sea of troubles* (*Hamlet* III.i.58) can be analysed as a double variation grounded in a set of analogies, which might crudely be expressed as (86):

(86)	(vehicle 1)	*take arms against* an invading army
	(vehicle 2)	build dykes against the *sea*
	(tenor)	contend against *troubles*

During the course of the seventeenth century, the *lexical* conception of metaphor gave way to a *pictorial* conception. This is apparent in Hobbes's view that 'an Image is always a part or rather the ground of a poetical comparison' (1675; in Spingarn 1908: II 71) and by the eighteenth century there was a growing tendency to use *image* or *imagery* as a synonym for *metaphor*. The revised model is often made explicit, as when Kames redefines metaphor as precisely *not* a figure of speech but 'an act of the imagination, figuring one thing to be another' (Kames [1762]: II 278) or Priestley proposes that 'an easy and good test . . . of the propriety of strong metaphors, is to imagine them reduced to *painting*, and consider how the images would look in that mode of expression' (Priestley 1777: 192). It is this test, consciously or unconsciously applied, that leads neo-classical critics to find the complex metaphors of renaissance writing deplorably 'mixed' because they create empirically absurd and self-contradictory pictures. Pope, for instance, evidently disconcerted by *take arms against a sea of troubles*, added a footnote to the line in his edition of Shakespeare (1723), suggesting that *sea* might be replaced with *seige*, 'which continues the metaphor of . . . *taking arms*; and represents the being encompass'd on all sides with troubles'.

Longinus, however, had specifically linked metaphor to the sublime. So in his essay on Milton, Addison sets out the terms on which it might be rehabilitated. Metaphors in the new poetic diction should avoid the faults of the previous age: they should not be 'thick sown', which 'savours too much of Wit', or mixed, which 'turns a Sentence into a kind of an Enigma or Riddle' (1712; in Bond 1965: III 12). Two forms of metaphor which pass these tests are *epic simile* and *personification*. Both Addison and Johnson applaud Milton's epic similes, taking as exemplary the following description of Satan's shield:

(87) the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose Orb
Through Optic Glass the *Tuscan* Artist views
At Ev'ning from the top of *Fesole*,
Or in *Valdarno*, to descry new Lands,
Rivers or Mountains in her spotty Globe. (Milton 1667)

In contrast with a conceit (such as (39) above) where the elaboration of the likeness involves a more and more ingenious development of the resemblance between the things compared, in (87) the strict purposes of simile are exhausted in *like the Moon*, which answers in a straightforward way to the shape and cosmic size of Satan's shield. What follows is an elaboration of the topic (or image) of the moon and it is clearly beside the point to expect any detail of that elaboration to resemble Satan's shield. As Addison says (quoting Boileau) 'a general Resemblance is sufficient and . . . too much nicety in this Particular savours of the Rhetorician and Epigrammatist' (1712; in Bond 1965: III 91). Epic similes are not really metaphors at all but 'short Episodes', new topics which by their novelty diversify the discourse and by the scale of the proposed analogue make the original topic more impressive. They subdue metaphor by minimising the element of resemblance-hunting: the simile is only the hinge which links them to the main topic and saves them from irrelevance. So when Addison heroises recent military exploits by likening the 'British legions' to an invading tide, he concentrates on building a consistent picture of a flood (unlike Shakespeare in (86)) and leaves his readers free to interpret the details of this description literally or metaphorically (unlike Donne in (39)):

(88) So *Belgian* mounds bear on their shatter'd sides
The sea's whole weight encreas'd with swelling tides:
But if the rushing wave a passage finds,
Enrage'd by wat'ry moons, and warring winds,
The trembling Peasant sees his country round
Cover'd with tempests, and in oceans drown'd (Addison, 1705)

Personification tames metaphor in a different way, by making the figurative transparent to the literal; unlike most forms of metaphor, it works not by substituting one referent for another, but by a process of simple hypostasis, – well described by Addison when exemplifying the use of 'this beautiful Figure' from Homer: 'instead of telling us that Men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the Persons of *Flight* and *Fear*, who he tells us are inseparable Companions' (1712; in Bond 1965: III 337–8). Personification rapidly became the dominant figurative device of

poetic diction. Havens, comparing the six volumes of Tonson's *Miscellanies* (1684–1709) with the six volumes of Dodsley's *Collections* (1748–58), notes a massive increase in its incidence of use (Havens 1929: 526), and its mid-century status is reflected in Kames's view that personification 'is justly intitled to the first place' in his chapter on Figures ([1762]: II 227). The practice of the time can be seen in Collins's *Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr Thomson*:

(89) REMEMBRANCE oft shall haunt the Shore
When THAMES in Summer-wreaths is drest,
And oft suspend the dashing Oar
To bid his gentle Spirit rest!

And oft as EASE and HEALTH retire
To breezy Lawn, or Forest deep,
The Friend shall view yon whit'ning Spire
And mid the varied Landschape weep.

But Thou, who own'st that Earthy Bed,
Ah! what will ev'ry Dirge avail?
Or Tears, which LOVE and PITY shed
That mourn beneath the gliding Sail! (Collins 1749)

Personification has obvious affinities with allegory and superficially there is much in common between Collins's well-populated landscape and the world of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The differences however are equally striking. Spenser's allegory is both multi-layered and 'dark'. Duessa, for example, simultaneously represents Mary, Queen of Scots, the Catholic Church and duplicity, and only the last of these would be obvious to those without the privileged key to the mystery. In Collins's poem there is a single and clear literal substrate to each personification, whether it is a personified natural object or an animated abstraction. So the figure of Thames dressed in summer wreaths translates readily into a river with the summer foliage along its banks and the figure of Remembrance clearly stands for 'I/those who remember Thomson'. In the last instance (as in the later *Ease*, *Health*, *Love* and *Pity*) the personification is not so much a type of metaphor as a technique of generalisation.

As Priestley shows, this is one of its advantages. Caught between agreeing with Johnson in valuing general expressions ('the sublime of science consists in general and comprehensive theorems' (Priestley 1777: 157)) and agreeing with Kames in valuing concrete particular terms ('in nature . . . we see nothing but particulars, and to these ideas alone are the strongest sensations and emotions annexed' (1777: 84)), he evidently saw personification

as the reconciling trope, since it combines the intellectual power of generalisation with the emotional power of 'sensible images'. The force of an expression, he argues, becomes more '*concentrated*, as it were, in the change of an attribute first from the plural to the singular number, and then from the singular number to an abstract idea personified' as in the shift from *old men are venerable* to *old age is venerable* (1777: 236). In the latter, the concept of age is still associated with a human figure but it has been dissociated from possibly irrelevant contingent attributes attached to the reader's image of specific old men.

If modern readers do not find the outcome in (89) as powerful as eighteenth-century theory might predict, it may be because, intervening between Collins and ourselves, is another revolution in poetic paradigm, which gave a central position to the self-expression of an author in his work and made the notion of a generalised emotion anomalous. As the quotation from Pope in (85) shows, the eighteenth century recognised what Keats later called the 'egotistical sublime' and saw it exemplified in the work of both Milton and Longinus himself, but the linguistic representation of the self proved difficult to reconcile with other features of the dominant stylistic paradigm. So in (89), though an *I* is implied as a dialogic participant (inferred from the address to *thou* in line 9) and as a source of emotion (inferred from the interjection *ah*! in line 10) we cannot locate this speaker in the landscape of the poem. Instead, he is represented by the generic figure of 'the Friend' and the personified abstractions of 'Love and Pity', who externalise his emotions and displace him as the agents of the verbs *weep*, *shed tears* and *mourn*. To the post-romantic reader, the effect is one of self-alienation or a failure of expressivity, as though Collins, like Dickens's Mrs Gradgrind, were saying: 'I think there's a pain somewhere in the room . . . but I couldn't positively say that I have got it.'

7.7.3. Harmonious Numbers

7.7.3.1. The heroic line

All vernaculars seeking to establish a native grand style in the Renaissance had faced the task of finding an equivalent of the classical hexameter, 'the soueraigne of verses and the high Controwler of Rimes' (Harvey 1592; in Smith 1904: II 230). Skelton had discovered the latinate long word (as (47) shows) but had not found a long line to match (as a comparison with (46) shows) and this is one reason why Puttenham discounts his claim to 'the name of a Poet Laureat': 'he vsed both short distaunces and short measures pleasing onely the popular eare: in our courtly maker we banish them

vtterly' ([1589]: 84). Skelton's successors set out to solve the problem and the variety of their experimentation can be seen in the number of different verse-forms chosen to translate Virgil's *Aeneid* between 1500 and 1650 (for representative examples, see Görlach 1991: 285–92). But by the end of the sixteenth century, general practice had already decided the question in favour of the form used in (87) and (88) above, the verse-line now usually known as the *iambic pentameter*. This is not a name commonly used during our period and its appropriateness to English practice has been questioned, in particular because of the implication it conveys that the line is constructed of five independent two-syllable feet. For these reasons, I shall use instead the term favoured by neo-classical critics, the *heroic line*, a name derived from the line's canonical *function* as the vehicle of heroic (i.e. epic) poetry.

It is generally agreed that the heroic line was installed in its canonical function during the Renaissance, extending its domain by the neo-classical phase of our period to become the unmarked choice for poetic production of all kinds. But there is no generally agreed account of its *formal* development, largely because of the controversies that both then and now have surrounded the selection of an appropriate analytic framework. Indeed one possibility, often suggested though relatively little explored, is that different poets may have worked within different metrical systems, the differences between them being partially concealed by the fact that each system produces a certain percentage of lines metrically acceptable to one or more of the others. Another possibility is that the verse-design of the heroic line remained constant through the period but that its permissible range of instantiations was subject to variation, which might be as much idiolectal as chronological. So, for instance, Donne's metrical practice offended his contemporary, Ben Jonson, as much as it offended Dryden seventy years later (see Spingarn 1908: I 211; Watson 1962: II 75, 144).

What does seem clear is that a very similar prototypical form for the heroic line was recognised by Gascoigne and Puttenham in the sixteenth century and by Kames and Priestley two hundred years later (see Smith 1904: I 50–1,54; Puttenham [1589]: 72; Kames [1762]: II 119ff; Priestley 1777: 299). They all envisage it as a ten syllable line with stressed syllables in the even-numbered positions and phrase boundaries after the fourth syllable and at the line-end. (90) below shows this prototypical line, represented in the abstract syllables that Priestley attributes to Mason (a) and in the concrete examples given by Puttenham (b) and Kames (c):

(90) a) ti TUM ti TUM \\ ti TUM ti TUM ti TUM \\
b) i SERUE at EASE, and GOUerne ALL with WOE.
c) beLINda SMIL'D, and ALL the WORLD was GAY.

Much of the heroic verse of the third quarter of the sixteenth century conforms closely to this pattern: in Gascoigne's *The Steel Glass* (1576), for instance, Thompson finds 'in all its 1,113 lines only about two dozen which present any discrepancy' (Thompson 1961: 82). The widespread use of the form for drama in the period 1576–1642, however, led to a relaxation of prosodic conventions. In late Shakespeare and the work of Jacobean dramatists, there is much variation in syllable-count (in the sense both of how many syllables are permitted in the verse-line and of what phonetic strings are permitted to count as a verse syllable), in stress-placement (allowing unstressed syllables to occupy *TUM* positions and stressed syllables to occupy *ti* positions), and in phrase-boundary (allowing variable positioning of the line-internal boundary and a weaker characterisation of the line-end boundary, even permitting the use of line-final proclitic elements such as complementisers and prepositions). Compare (90) with (91):

(91) Some food, we had, and some fresh water, that
A noble *Neapolitan Gonzalo*
Out of his Charity, (who being then appointed
Master of this designe) did giue vs, with
Rich garments, linnens, stuffs, and necessaries (Shakespeare 1623/1611)

With Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) this less restrictive form of the heroic line returned to epic. But by that date, such practices were regarded as 'licentious'. Hence Davenant in editing Shakespeare for Restoration performance removed what he perceived as extraneous syllables, to turn (92a) into (92b):

(92) a) If, once I be a widow, ever I be a wife
b) If once I Widow be, and then a Wife

and Roscommon, one of Milton's earliest admirers, even in imitating his style felt impelled to correct his metre, replacing (93a) with (93b), to align linguistic stress with metrical stress point:

(93) a) Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.
b) And sent them flameing to the vast Abysse.

(91), which evidently resisted such remedial measures, was printed as prose in Restoration editions of *The Tempest* (1670, 1674).

The indigenous heroic line of the neo-classical period observes what

Fussell (1954) calls 'strict syllabism and stress regularity', summed up in the brief section on prosody in the grammar prefixed to Johnson's Dictionary. 'VERSIFICATION is the arrangement of a certain number of syllables according to certain laws' (where *certain* in both instances means 'fixed'); the laws for the line of ten syllables, 'the common measure of heroick and tragick poetry', are that 'the accents are to be placed on even syllables; and every line considered by itself is more harmonious as this rule is more strictly observed' (in Fussell 1954: 25). What Johnson, in a sentence added to the fourth edition, grudgingly permits as the 'variations necessary to pleasure' are also strictly codified, notably by Bysshe (1702: 4–8, 11–19) and Kames ([1762]: II 123–60).

The return to a more restrictive set of prosodic conventions can be attributed partly to the general spirit of standardisation and prescriptivism with which all linguistic matters were treated in the eighteenth century and partly to the stylistic criterion of perspicuity, which preferred transparent relations between verse-design and verse-instance. But metrical regularity carried social implications too, as witness Kames's comment 'one would not imagine without trial, how uncouth false quantity appears in verse; not less than a provincial tone or idiom' (Kames [1762] II: 122–3). Above all it carried ethical implications. In the seventeenth century, Herbert (in *Deniall*) and Milton (in *At a Solemn Musick*) had both used metrical irregularity as an image of moral disorder. Johnson generalises this link, viewing a poet's metrical practice as both a moral diagnostic of its author and a moral influence on its reader. He sees 'the rectitude of [Dryden's] mind' revealed by his 'rejection both of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers' and argues that 'a solemn deliberation upon accents and pauses' produces 'that harmony that adds force to reason and gives grace to sublimity; that shackles attention, and governs passions' (cited and discussed in Fussell 1954: 41–4).

Like the perspicuous sublime in diction, the ideal of a graceful sublimity in metre represents a radical revision of Longinus's conception, in which prosody is a more turbulent element that 'inspires us to a wonderful degree with generous Ardor and Passion' (trans. Smith 1739: 92). And by the end of the century, the psychological and political implications of a verse-form designed to *shackle* and *govern* passion had led to a metrical rebellion by Blake and others (see Adamson *CHEL* IV 7.3). But most writers and readers of the neo-classical period agreed with Johnson and, for this reason, they not only preferred a high degree of regularity in the instantiation of the individual line, but, of the two large-scale verse-forms with which the heroic line was associated, they preferred the heroic couplet (7.7.3.2) to blank verse (7.7.3.3).

7.7.3.2 The heroic couplet

The sixteenth-century poets inherited a rhyming couplet of ten-syllable lines from Chaucer, who had made it the staple metre of the *Canterbury Tales*. This was the verse-form chosen by Gavin Douglas for the earliest of the renaissance translations of the *Aeneid* (written 1513, published 1553). But by the second half of the century, its epic potential had been discounted. Gascoigne calls it 'riding rime' which 'serueth most aptly to wryte a merie tale' (1575; in Smith 1904: I 56) and James VI dismisses it as a form of doggerel rather than true verse, fit only for chronicle poems (1584; in Smith 1904: I 221). The main problem, according to Puttenham, lay in its failure to observe line-medial or line-final pause; Chaucer and Lydgate, he complains, used 'such vnshapely words as would allow no conuenient Cesure, and therefore did let their rymes runne out at length, and neuer stayd till they came to the end' (Puttenham [1589]: 75). In other words, like curial prose (7.4.3.1.), the Chaucerian couplet appeared rambling and shapeless. And as with prose, the remedy applied was a conscious classicising of the inherited form. In the case of the couplet, the reform began in the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the model chosen was 'the Latin elegiac distich, especially as it had been employed by Ovid in his *Amores* and *Heroides* and by Martial in his *Epigrammaton*' (Piper 1969: 5). What emerged from this process was *the heroic couplet*, a form that in the neo-classical phase of our period came to dominate poetic production and to occupy a position at least equivalent to the periodic sentence as a principle of literary composition more generally.

The elegiac distich consists of a pair of lines, the first a hexameter, the second a pentameter. Ovid describes the form in a pair of lines that exemplifies his own practice of it:

(94a) – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – \\ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
Sex mihi surgat opus numeris in quinque residat
– ⏑⏑ – – – \\ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
ferrea cum vestris bella valete modis

Its English equivalent appears in Marlowe's translation:

(94b) Let my first verse be sixe, my last five feete,
Farewell sterne warre, for blunter poets meete. (Marlowe 1590)

In the Latin model, the cesura of the second line is central by rule; the cesura of the hexameter first line is more variably placed, but in Ovid's practice it occurs 90 % of the time after the long syllable of the third foot; there is commonly a sense-break after the first line and almost always a coincidence of sentence boundary and line-end in the second line (Piper

1969: 32–48). Marlowe reflects this hierarchy of pauses, with a Period boundary at the end of the couplet, a sentence boundary at the end of the first line and a clause or phrase boundary at approximately mid-line. He does not replicate the difference in line-length, but the *effect* of passing from hexameter to pentameter, which Ovid describes as one of flow and ebb or 'swelling' and 'subsiding' (*surgat – residat*) is recreated in the English version by rhyme, where the second line echoes the first and thus completes the movement of the whole. The outcome in both languages is, as both poets state (and illustrate), a verse-form less obviously suited to epic than to epigram. The narrative flow of the Chaucerian couplet is halted, not only by the end-stopping of the couplet but by its internal balancing of line against line and half-line against half-line, often enhanced by lexical patterns which turn each line in on itself (as in the first line of (94b) where Marlowe balances *first* against *last*, *six* against *five*). To make the closed couplet the instrument of heroic verse, it needed to be extended.

That task was carried out in the middle of the seventeenth century, most influentially by Waller and Denham. The 'reform of our numbers' that their neo-classical successors attributed to them is a matter more of managing the phrase-structure and rhetoric of the couplet than of regulating the stress distribution of the individual line, though that too is involved. Something of Waller's contribution can be gauged by comparing a passage from the Waller–Godolphin translation of *Aeneid* Book IV (95b) with Stapylton's translation, also in couplets, but representing the 'open couplet' form that descends more directly from Chaucer (95a).

(95) a) Massylian horse; flesht hounds. At the Court gate,
For the queene lingring in her Chamber, waite
The *Carthage* Lords, her foaming Courser (gay
In gold and purple) on the Bit doth play (Stapylton ?1634)

b) Neerer the gates the Tyrian Peers attend,
And waite the Queen now ready to descend.
Her prouder Steed as fill'd with high disdain
Stamps the dull Earth, & Chawes the frothy Reine (Waller 1658)

Both passages contain one (and only one) line that exactly realises the abstract pattern of (90)

(95a) line 3
x / x / \\ x / x / x /
the CARthage LORDS \\ her FOAM–ing COURser (GAY

(95b) line 3
her PROUder STEED \\ as FILL'd with HIGH disDAIN

The difference is that the semantic and syntactic structure of Waller's line matches its metrical phrase structure in a way that Stapylton's does not. Stapylton's two noun phrases (*the Carthage lords* and *her foaming courser*) belong to different clauses and have different referents, while the last word of the line introduces a new phrase which requires part of the next line for its completion. Waller's line has a single referent (Dido's horse) expressed in a pre-cesural noun phrase and a post-cesural descriptive adjunct. The following line is similarly balanced, the cesura separating two coordinated verb phrases of parallel construction (*Stamps* . . . \\ *&* *Chawes* . . .). And the couplet as a whole balances the elaborated subject of its first line against the elaborated predicate of its second, the whole forming a complete self-contained sentence, as does the preceding couplet (*Neerer* . . . *descend*). In (95a), by contrast, Stapylton's sentence openings (whether we take the orthographic unit beginning *at the court gate* or the syntactic unit beginning *her foaming courser*) appear almost perversely to avoid coinciding with the start of a line.

But while perfecting the internal structure of the couplet, Waller also guards against its potential atomism by utilising the devices of cohesion. *Prouder* in line 3, for instance, creates a discourse link with the preceding couplet by introducing a contrastive comparison between the attendant lords and the waiting steed (not precedented in the Latin original) and similarly the *Tyrian Peers* of line 1 are linked to the preceding discourse by the comparative *Neerer*.

Denham, to whom Dryden attributes the 'epic' potential of the couplet (1664; in Watson 1962: I 7) took this process a stage further. One reason for the fame of the lines from *Cooper's Hill* ((70) above) is that they succeed in simultaneously increasing the balances of the closed couplet and extending its forward momentum. The first line combines syntactic coordination with semantic parallelism (the noun *stream* echoing the verb *flow*):

> O could I flow like thee \\ and make thy stream

Line 2 makes the semantic parallelism explicit, in the form of direct comparison:

> My great example \\ as it is my theme

Line 3 intensifies the syntactic–semantic parallelism by using identical constructions, and adds a new element of internal antithesis:

> Though deep yet clear \\ though gentle yet not dull

Line 4 repeats the constructional parallelism and the antithesis but adds another new element in the form of a chiasmus, in which the second half line inverts the order of elements in the first half:

(A) Strong (B) without rage \\ (B) without ore-flowing (A) full

In four lines Denham encapsulates the combination of parallelism, antithesis and chiasmus that became the basic rhetorical form of the heroic couplet (Wallerstein 1935, Williamson 1935). But he also shows how these devices can be used incrementally so that successive couplets combine into a larger discourse-unit with some of the properties of continuous climax that we saw in Marlowe's verse Period (see (62) above).

In terms of the individual heroic line, Denham makes small but significant adaptations to the schema provided by (90). Where Waller in (95b) uses a fixed mid-line cesura (always in the canonical position after the fourth syllable), Denham's lines offer constant slight variation: the phrase break follows the sixth syllable in line 1, the fifth in line 2, so that when it falls after the fourth in the last two lines, it gives a sense of returning to the home key. As for the prototype stress-pattern, his main variation is to reduce the number of metrical stress-points that are linguistically actualised, most commonly to four, thus enhancing the balance of the half-lines especially where the stressed syllables fall on parallel or opposed words (e.g. *deep*, *clear*, *gentle*, *dull*). He makes no attempt to locate word-stress or phrase-stress on odd-numbered syllables, except, notably, in line 4 where the placing of *strong* on the first syllable balances *full* on the tenth, creating a particularly well-balanced and self-contained line for the finale of the movement. As (95b) shows, this stress-initial line can be used either as a topic opener (line 1) or a topic closer (line 4). It became so common in neo-classical practice that Kames recognises it as almost a sub-type of the canonical heroic line (Kames [1762]: II 121–2).

The rhyme of the couplet remained a source of unease. Golden Age Latin poetry had not rhymed and rhyming was widely associated with the medieval barbarisation of language. In the neo-classical period, it carried the additional stigma of being precisely the kind of verbal 'jingle' that fails the translation test (see 7.6.1 above). But the jingle is notably less problematic in the closed couplet than in the open couplet of (95a), where it draws attention to itself by continually interrupting the flow of syntax and sense. In the closed couplet, the rhyme typically coincides with a syntactic boundary and so functions, as it were, as a conventionalised marker of closure. Hence the neo-classical preference for stressed syllables and especially monosyllables in rhyme position and the corresponding disfavouring of disyllabic and

trisyllabic rhyme-words, which are both less emphatic in closure and more perceptually salient. It was generally agreed that rhymes such as *drinking/thinking*, *tenderness/slenderness* 'ought wholly to be excluded from serious subjects' since they are 'unworthy the gravity requir'd in Heroick Verse' and 'more properly' belong to Burlesque (Bysshe 1702: 22). Pope, who for most neo-classical commentators was the model of couplet versification (Kames [1762]: II 104), had two solutions to the problem of rhyme. One strategy was to use an extremely restricted repertoire of rhyme words, thereby increasing the conventionalisation of rhyme and reducing the element of novelty and surprise. The second strategy, discussed by Wimsatt (1954: 153–66) and Kenner (1974), was to make couplet rhyme rational by semanticising it.

The model for Pope's 'reasonable rhymes', Kenner suggests, is to be found in Wilkins's *Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668). Part of Wilkins's project was to make language reflect reality by first establishing an inventory of 'things or notions to which names are to be assigned' and then assigning them names on the 'methodical' principle that 'those of an agreeable or opposite sense [have] somewhat correspondent in the sounds of them' (Wilkins 1668; cited in Kenner 1974: 85). What is proposed, it should be emphasised, is *not* a return to the heuristic pun, where a correspondence in sound is used to 'discover' an occult correspondence between things apparently unlike (e.g. sun = son). Wilkins's system would produce precisely the obverse case, in which a likeness in the sound of words is judged correct or reasonable by an empirical appeal to common properties in their referents. Kenner suggests that, particularly in *The Rape of the Lock* (1714), Pope adopted this policy for rhyme, using semantically consonant rhyme words (like *bright/light*; *day/ray*) for 'the world of maxim and principle', as in (96):

(96) Love in these Labyrinths his Slaves detains,
And mighty Hearts are held in slender Chains.
With hairy Sprindges we the Birds betray,
Slight lines of Hair surprise the Finny Prey (Pope 1714)

Here the rhymes validate 'classic truths' that chains detain, that we betray our prey (Kenner 1974: 79). By contrast, incongruous or surprising rhymes are used primarily for the satiric observation of the morally defective world of contemporary society, as in (97):

(97) a) Nay oft in Dreams, Invention we bestow,
To change a Flounce or add a Furbelow
b) Here thou, great Anna! whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes Counsel take – and sometimes Tea. (Pope 1714)

The age of the heroic couplet, from its re-founding to its decline, is 1585–1785; and from the Restoration to the mid-eighteenth century it dominated poetic production in all genres. Couplet verse accounts for fully three-quarters of both *The New Miscellany of Original Poems* (ed. Gildon, 1701) and *Poetical Miscellanies* (ed. Steele, 1714) (Havens 1922: 434). There are, however, signs of a gradual re-thinking of the *role* of the heroic couplet as the period goes on. In the Restoration, it was a popular choice for tragedy, following the success of Katherine Philips's version of Corneille's *Pompée* (1663) and Dryden's early heroic dramas, and it was the obvious choice for epic from Dryden's *Aeneid* (1697) to Pope's *Odyssey* (1725–6), including native epics, such as Addison's celebration of Marlborough, in *The Campaign* (1705). But in the same period Dryden and Pope strikingly demonstrated the form's natural affinities with the point–counterpoint of argument (in Dryden's *Religio Laici* 1682, for example, or Pope's *Essay on Man* 1733) and with the inflation–deflation movement of mock-heroic satire, well-exemplified in (97), where the first line of each distich displays an epic aspiration and the second exposes its comic limitation. As a result, later poets became increasingly uncertain whether the couplet was after all the most appropriate vehicle for the sublime, since the sublime aims at grandeur rather than satire and ecstasy rather than argument. Dryden himself developed doubts about the use of rhyme in tragedies of passion and his choice of blank verse for *All for Love* (1678) was followed by Addison for *Cato* (1713) and Johnson for *Irene* (1749), though all three retain couplets for their non-dramatic poetry. But by the mid-eighteenth century, if we compare Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* (1748–58) with the miscellanies of Gildon and Steele, we find a progressive decline in the proportion of couplet-verse: in the three volumes Dodsley published in 1748, it accounts for one half the total number of pages, in the three volumes of 1755–8, it accounts for one quarter (Havens 1922: 434).

During the long period of its dominance, however, the heroic couplet left its mark not only on the period's conception of what constitutes a 'harmonious and lively turn of phrase' in poetry, but also on the practice of prose. The rhetoric of parallel, antithesis and chiasmus established by Denham for the couplet reappears in the form of the periodic sentence as practised by Addison, Johnson and many others. I have reformatted two examples to illustrate the point. (98a) shows how closely Addison's epigram in (71) approximates to a couplet, and in (98b) Johnson, describing Addison's style, comes very close in form as in meaning to Denham's famous description of his own (70):

(98) a) When she is dressed \\ she is beautiful,
when she is undressed \\ she is beautiful. (Addison 1711)

b) His prose is the model of the middle stile;
on grave subjects not formal, \\ on light occasions not grovelling;
pure without scrupulosity, \\ and exact without apparent elaboration;
always equable, and always easy, \\ without glowing words or pointed sentences. (Johnson 1779–81)

7.7.3.3 Blank verse

Surrey's translation of the *Aeneid* (written around 1540) shows that he was familiar with Gavin Douglas's. But although he borrowed from his predecessor's lexis and syntax, he discarded the couplet verse-form. Instead, he invented a rhymeless version of the heroic line, the form now known as *blank verse*. It appears to have caused its first generation of readers some difficulties. The title page of Day's 1554 edition of Surrey's *Aeneid* Book IV describes it as a 'straunge metre' and in 1586 Webbe still interprets it as a failed attempt to reproduce the quantitative metre of its Latin original (in Smith 1904: I 283). Gascoigne, however, who clearly perceived that the structural basis of the English heroic line was the combination of syllable-count and stress-placement (see 7.7.3.1), also had views on the function and effect of its blank-verse variant. In the preface to his own blank-verse poem, *The Steel Glass* (1576), he calls it 'rymeless verse, which thundreth mighty threats'. He may have been thinking less of Surrey's *Aeneid* or the subsequent blank-verse poems of Grimald and Turberville than of Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc* (1561), in which blank verse was used for the first time as the medium for classically inspired tragedy (thus distancing it from the rhymed verse of medieval vernacular drama). With the generation of Marlowe and Shakespeare, blank verse extended its domain to the popular drama too, though it retained its associations with the grand style of epic and tragedy, especially when, as we have seen in Marlowe, (62), the heroic line is married to the periodic sentence.

In *Paradise Lost* (1667), Milton returned Marlowe's 'mighty line' to the service of epic. But what looks to us – with the foreshortening effect of historical perspective – like a stylistic continuity or evolution did not appear so then. Earlier blank verse epics, such as Surrey's *Aeneid* and Marlowe's *Pharsalia* (?1593), seem to have been forgotten and the closure of the theatres in 1642 meant that the tradition of dramatic blank verse had been broken too. A quarter of a century of disuse made Milton's

blank verse appear, as Johnson later put it, 'a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many' (1779–81: I 86). That *Paradise Lost* was nonetheless recognised as an instance of the sublime is (again in Johnson's words) 'an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius'. But the recognition was rather fitful. Of the three criteria of sublimity distinguished by Addison in (85), the 'nobleness of thoughts' in *Paradise Lost* was almost universally conceded, partly because of its subject-matter. Some readers also acknowledged 'the magnificence of the words', like Dryden, who 'found in him a true sublimity, lofty thoughts, which were cloath'd with admirable *Grecisms*, and ancient words' (1693; in Watson 1962: II 50). But the third criterial feature, 'harmonious' composition, was not so readily detectable by readers whose ears had become attuned to the verse-music of the heroic couplet. Dryden uncharitably surmised that Milton used blank verse because he had no talent for rhyming (1693; in Watson 1962: II 84–5), and the more general neo-classical response to the versification of *Paradise Lost* has been likened to the reception of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in the nineteenth century: in both cases, even those who felt the effects felt themselves unable to reproduce them (Havens 1922: 122). It was thirteen years before another poem in blank verse appeared and almost sixty years before the publication of Thomson's *Winter* (1726) began the process of making blank verse again a popular medium by demonstrating that it could be used for other than Miltonic subjects.

The main difficulty lay precisely in the feature that Milton cites as distinguishing his verse from the heroic couplet, the 'sense variously drawn out from one Verse [i.e. line] into another' (1668; in Spingarn 1908: I 207). For although Addison perceives the length of Milton's Periods as a manifestation of his sublimity (in Bond 1965: III 15) and although Kames perceives that blank verse is superior to the couplet and even to the classical hexameter in its ability to sustain the extensive 'music' of long Periods (Kames [1762]: II 160–3), their 'form-feeling' for the couplet (to borrow a term from Sapir) was so strong that they could not fully convert these perceptions into an aesthetic response. So Kames adds to his encomium of blank verse the self-contradictory rider that: 'the great defect of Milton's versification, in other respects admirable, is the want of coincidence between the pauses of the sense and sound' (Kames [1762]: II 167). The same form-feeling inhibits almost all neo-classical attempts to write blank verse. Roscommon, perhaps the earliest imitator of Milton, even when quoting Milton's own words, rearranges them to suit a different aesthetic of style, turning (99a) into (99b)

(99) a) in his right hand
Grasping ten thousand Thunders, which he sent
Before him (Milton 1667)

b) Grasping ten thousand Thunders in his hand (Roscommon 1684)

Apart from correcting Milton's inversion, by replacing the preposed adverbial phrase in its canonical position, Roscommon has matched syntactic unit to line unit, whereas Milton's clauses cut across the line divisions to provide differing degrees of enjambement. Milton's most influential imitator is only somewhat more succeessful:

(100) FOR see! where *Winter* comes, himself, confest,
Striding the gloomy Blast. First Rains obscure
Drive thro' the mingling Skies, with Tempest foul;
Beat on the Mountain's Brow, and shake the Woods,
That, sounding, wave below. The dreary Plain
Lies overwhelm'd, and lost. The bellying Clouds
Combine, and deepening into Night, shut up
The Day's fair Face. (Thomson 1726)

The personified figure of Winter here is a being of Miltonically cosmic stature, whose entry signals Thomson's intention to create a sublime style for the poetry of natural description. As part of that style he clearly means to disrupt the form–meaning correspondences of canonical couplet practice. As the punctuation shows, his main syntactic boundaries fall line-internally not line-finally, and the position of the line-internal boundary need not be around the mid-point. A clause-boundary after syllable two (as in line seven here) appears in many imitations of Milton and seems to have been felt as one of his sublime effects. But Thomson keeps it as a rare effect; and in general, his cesuras remain fairly centralised, occurring in this passage mostly after syllable six (lines 2–6), the position that Kames regards as most 'proper for what is grave, solemn, or lofty' (Kames [1762]: II 153). What this suggests is that Thomson is still thinking in terms of the recurrent harmony of successive lines rather than the cumulative music of the verse-paragraph. And the fact that he has four full stops in eight lines suggests that his units of thought are still roughly couplet-sized in length. So although there are frequent enjambements here (lines 2, 5, 6, 7), their function seems to be more that of strengthening the line-internal pause than of connecting lines into long Periods. And compared with (91), they are not very radical enjambements that might pose a challenge to the alignment of the prosodic phrase-units of metre and speech (it's perfectly normal for a pause to occur between subject and predicate, which is where the line-break

falls in lines 2, 5 and 6). In fact, little would be lost if these lines were rewritten as follows:

> First Rains obscure drive thro' the mingling Skies,
> With Tempest foul; beat on the Mountain's Brow,
> And shake the Woods, that, sounding, wave below.
> The dreary Plain lies overwhelm'd and lost.

It is only towards the end of our period, with the work of the elocutionists, such as Sheridan, that an appreciation develops of how much is lost if Milton's lines are rewritten in this way. In *Lectures on the Art of Reading* (1775), Sheridan suggests there is a counterpoint in Milton's blank verse between sentence prosody and metrical prosody, and that its effects are not only musical but semantic. The moment of enjambement is often a moment of illumination or surprise as the pause demanded by the verse-design allows the possibility of meanings and emphases that the normal sentence prosody would obscure or exclude. To take just one of Sheridan's many examples:

(101) and durst abide
Jehovah thundering out of Sion // Thron'd //
Between the Cherubim

Here normal sentence prosody demands a pause between *Sion* and *Thron'd*, while metrical prosody demands a pause between *Thron'd* and *Between*. The counterpoint between the two, Sheridan claims, produces Milton's sublime effects:

> what sublime ideas does not a single monosyllable excite by its position? bounded on one side by a cesural, and on the other by a final pause. And what more exalted idea could have been conceived of by the Deity, than is expressed by that single word? which, after the description of his executing just vengeance on the rebellious, and darting his thunders at their heads, shews that this required no unusual exertion in the Godhead; He performed these wonders – thron'd! (Sheridan 1775: II 249–50)

For its general implementation in poetic practice Sheridan's insight had to wait for writers of a later generation, because what it represents is not only a discovery (or re-discovery) of the expressive possibilities of blank verse but also a rejection of the form–meaning correspondences that lie at the heart of neo-classical verse-harmony.

7.8 Coda – the breakdown of the neo-classical paradigm

In the last two decades of our period, certainly by the mid-1760s, there are signs of an approaching crisis in the neo-classical stylistic paradigm. The

ideal of perspicuous sublimity was showing the strains of its own internal contradictions while dissentient voices, marginalised during the period of consensus, were coming together to articulate a new paradigm.

In prose, the Addisonian 'middle style' was challenged by forms of writing which more readily courted the extremes. Compare, for instance, the opening of Steele's essay of 1711 (74) with the openings of two works published in 1765:

(102) That praises are without reason lavished on the dead, and that the honours due only to excellence are paid to antiquity, is a complaint likely to be always continued by those, who, being able to add nothing to truth, hope for eminence from the heresies of paradox; or those, who, being forced by disappointment upon consolatory expedients, are willing to hope from posterity what the present age refuses, and flatter themelves that the regard which is yet denied by envy, will be at last bestowed by time. (Johnson 1765)

(103) No – I think, I said, I would write two volumes every year, provided the vile cough which then tormented me, and which to this hour I dread worse than the devil, would but give me leave – and in another place – (but where, I can't recollect now) speaking of my book as a *machine*, and laying my pen and ruler down cross-wise upon the table, in order to gain the greater credit to it – I swore it should be kept a going at that rate these forty years if it pleased but the fountain of life to bless me so long with health and good spirits. (Sterne 1765)

Johnson, who felt that Addison 'sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation' (1779–81: II 86), himself sponsored a mid-century re-emergence of the grand style in prose, announced here by the replacement of (74)'s conversational topic opener (*there is a . . .*) with a markedly uncolloquial form, the nominal clause (*that praises are . . .*). This became a hallmark of Johnsonian grand style, as did the latinate collocations exemplified here by the sequences *eminence–heresies–paradox* and *disappointment–consolatory–expedients*. But the most notable features of (102) result from the stylisation of the key neo-classical devices, seen in (98): parallelism, antithesis and the principle of form–meaning correspondence that prescribes 'where either a resemblance or an opposition is intended to be expressed, some resemblance, in the language and construction should be preserved' (Blair [1783]: 119). So the synonyms of the opening nominal clauses occupy syntactically identical slots (*praises – are lavished – on the dead*; *honours – are paid – to antiquity*) while the abundant antonyms of the second half of the passage are structurally counterpointed, with one member of a pair being placed in a subordinate clause and the other in the clause in

which that is embedded, as in the case of *truth* versus *heresies*, *forced* versus *willing*, *present age* versus *posterity*, *denied* versus *bestowed*.

There are certain structural similarities between (102) and (103). Apart from vying with Johnson in the length of his sentence, Sterne also favours parallel construction (*I said I would . . . provided . . .*; *I swore it should . . . if . . .*) and, like Johnson, he resorts to personification to heighten his conclusion, matching the denying envy and bestowing time of (102) with a *fountain of life* that is *pleased . . . to bless* him. But the surface effect is very different and, at least to its contemporary audience, *Tristram Shandy* appeared to 'descend to the language of conversation' with a realism that even Addison had rarely attempted. It is seen here in the use of contractions (*can't*) colloquialisms (*vile cough*; *kept a going*; *these forty years*), and pragmatic particles (*no*), the last a particularly daring choice of opening word, and more authentically conversational than Steele's presentative, since it is a context-dependent form that implies the existence of a preceding dialogue. The passage's overall organisation is conversational too, in its tolerance of disconnection and parenthesis, variously marked by dashes, brackets and non-restrictive relative clauses (such as *and which to this hour . . .*) in contrast to the heavy use of restrictive relatives in (102).

This kind of digressive construction, condemned at the start of the neoclassical period, was defended at its close by appeals to Hartley's theory of the association of ideas, as set out in his *Observations on Man* (1749). Associationism was a natural development from Locke's model of psychology in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), but whereas Locke had chosen to stress the importance of connecting ideas together in a publicly accountable way (expressed syntactically by logical connectives), Hartley allowed the possibility that, since associations are formed differently in different people, both thoughts and the transitions between thoughts are essentially individual, private and unpredictable. (Sterne points this up in (103) by having his narrator forget the place in which he swore his oath, but remember the contingent circumstances of crossing his pen and ruler.) Priestley, who makes Hartleyan psychology the basis of his theory of style, at once praises digression and tries to constrain its operation by advising the 'judicious' narrator to follow 'the strongest and most usual associations of ideas' formed by 'the human mind' in general (Priestley 1777: 35–6). But Sterne opens up the more radical route that later literature was to follow. General humanity, represented in (102) by collective, abstract or general terms (such as *the dead*; *posterity*; *envy*; *those, who*) is replaced in (103) by *I* as the topic as well as the agent of the discourse, which is correspondingly organised to display the vagaries of an individual

mind as it disrupts publicly given patterns of logical connection or chronological sequence.

In poetry, too, the neo-classical concept of the perspicuous sublime was undergoing a profound redefinition, though it is one that at first may seem only a shift in emphasis. Where Dryden had praised Virgil for maintaining 'Majesty in the midst of plainess' with some sense of the combination as paradoxical (1685; in Watson 1962: II 22), by the end of the period there was a growing tendency to declare that majesty *is* plainness. As a result, classical models began to be seriously challenged by models taken from more primitive poetry (where primitive was – increasingly – a term of approval). In 1711 Addison had displayed a certain defensiveness when declaring his taste for 'antiquated' ballads (in Bond 1965: I 297–303), but by 1765, when Percy published his collection of ballads in *Reliques of English Poetry*, it was becoming a critical truism that the earliest poetry of any nation was its purest type (Priestley 1777: 227). Lowth's *De sacra poesi hebraeorum* (1753, tr. 1787) had explained how in the Psalms 'the Hebrew poets have accomplished the sublime without losing perspicuity' (Lectures vi–vii); Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) had championed the 'Gothic' element in Spenser and earlier writers; and Gray had presented a heroic image of early Welsh poets in *The Bard* (1757), including some attempts to imitate their prosody. From the formal similiarities of these 'ancient' verse-types, criteria began to emerge against which the poetry of Augustan Rome and Augustan England increasingly seemed artificial (where artificial was – increasingly – a term of disapproval). And the change in poetic model was given warrant by Longinus himself. The only rhetorician of antiquity to mention the Hebrew tradition, he had singled out as a type of the sublime the biblical text *God said, let there be light; and there was light*, from which almost every critic of the later eighteenth century concludes that 'it is, generally speaking among the most ancient authors, that we are to look for the most striking instances of the sublime' and that 'of all writings, ancient or modern, the sacred Scriptures afford us the highest instances of the sublime' (Blair [1783]: 36).

Some sense of this change of taste in progress can be conveyed by setting Denham's famous lines, (70), alongside products of the 1760s:

(104) Glorious the sun in mid career;
Glorious th'assembled fires appear;
Glorious the comet's train:
Glorious the trumpet and alarm;
Glorious th'almighty stretched-out arm
Glorious th'enraptur'd main: (Smart 1765)

(105) O Oscar! bend the strong in arm; but spare the feeble hand. Be thou a stream of many tides against the foes of thy people; but like the gale that moves the grass to those who ask thine aid. – So Trenmor lived; such Trathal was; and such has Fingal been. My arm was the support of the injured; and the weak rested behind the lightning of my steel.

(Macpherson 1762)

(104) meets the early eighteenth-century criteria for sublimity in the cosmic grandeur of its subject and in the 'enraptured' emotions of the poet, but of the neo-classical sublime *style* it retains only vestiges, in the form of a few Miltonic elisions (*th'almighty*, *th'enraptured*) and the paraphrastic terms of poetic diction, which avoids 'low words' by substituting *main* for *sea*, *fires* for *stars*. Neo-classical *structures*, however, are notably rejected. The heroic couplet has been replaced by the stanza, and not a classical stanza either, but the tail-rhyme stanza of traditional English metrical romance; the heroic line has given way to the mingled 4-beat, 3-beat lines of ballad and popular hymn; and instead of complex sentences linked by logical connectives, there is a set of elliptical or incomplete clauses, linked by parataxis, sequenced by association and unified by structural and lexical repetition.

(105) by contrast retains the parallelism and antitheses of (102) but recasts them into paratactic syntax and simple, largely Germanic lexis, exoticised by the inclusion of Celtic proper nouns (one of the 'simple and sublime' touches commended by Priestley 1777: 161). The verse-form, like (104), moves radically away from heroic couplet, but here it is in the direction of blurring the distinction between prose and poetry. Purportedly Gaelic, its strongest stylistic influence, like (104)'s, comes from the Psalms.

The immediate popularity of (105) testifies to the imminent emergence of a new poetic paradigm, and it is significant that where the critics of the 1760s, such as Kames and Priestley, illustrate the sublime from contemporary poetry, it is to Macpherson they turn, setting him alongside Milton and often above Virgil. But it is equally significant that they praise the work without realising that it *is* contemporary and that Smart's work, which was known to be contemporary, was largely abused or ignored. For within the bounds of our period, the new paradigm was not institutionalised, the new poetics was rarely acknowledged or practised as such; the conditions for its success were that it should be introduced covertly, under the guise of being a translation or a discovered document. To the first class belong Gray's Norse and Welsh imitations (1768), to the second belongs the work of Macpherson and Chatterton, who both, to one degree or another, forged the poetry they presented as the output of, respectively, the Gaelic bard Ossian, son of Fingal, and the medieval priest, T. Rowleie. In these

personae, they created models which powerfully influenced the next generation of writers – the style of (105) was taken up by Blake in his 'prophetic books', while Chatterton's Rowleie poems anticipated the Spenserian archaisms of Keats and the experimental ballad metre of Coleridge's *Christabel*. But the work to which these innovators affixed their own names was neither bold nor experimental, expressing a continuing allegiance to the paradigm that their invented *alter egos* were helping to break.

KEY TO THE NUMBERED EXAMPLES

An active manuscript culture in the first part of our period means that the date and authorship of a text is sometimes only conjectural. The dates assigned in the body of this chapter are normally those of the first printed edition. Details are given below of the text used in each case and of gaps between date of composition and date of publication where this might affect our understanding of stylistic history. For the convenience of readers, there are some exceptions to this policy. Excerpts from Shakespeare's plays are all keyed to the Riverside edition, ed. G. Blakemore Evans *et al.*, Boston (1974), but since the Riverside text has been modernised, the text quoted here follows the First Folio; the dates following the quotations are those of the Folio (1623) and of the play's first performance (as conjectured by the Riverside editors). Quotations from most renaissance critics are keyed to the texts given in Smith (1904) and Spingarn (1908); Hoskins [?1599], for which no early printed version exists, is keyed to the accessible and well-annotated edition by Hudson, but corrected from the unmodernised text given in *Life, Letters and Writings of John Hoskyns*, L. B. Osborn, New Haven: Yale University Press (1937). Similarly, Dryden is keyed to Watson (1962), but with spelling corrected from seventeenth century editions. Where possible, renaissance poems are keyed to Norbrook and Woudhuysen (1992).

Unless otherwise indicated, italics in the text are mine rather than the author's.

1. From notes dictated to Isabella Fenwick 1842/3 (the note to the *Ode to Lycoris*). Text as in *Shorter Poems 1807–1820* ed. C. H. Ketcham (The Cornell Wordsworth), Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1989: 544.
2. From the Statutes of St Paul's School. Text as in *A Life of John Colet*, *D. D.*, J. H. Lupton, London: George Bell & Sons 1909: 279–80.
3. From *Palladis Tamia*. In Smith 1904: II 315.
4. Peacham 1593: sig. AB iii^{v}.
5. Puttenham [1589]: 137–8. The first version of this multi-layered text may precede the published version by some twenty years. On its authorship and date of composition, see Wilcock & Walker's introduction, pp. xviii–liii.

6. The first sentence of *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*. First published by Badius, in Paris, 1512. Text as in J. Wright's 1650 London edition. My translation. For alternatives, see King & Rix (1963) or B. I. Knott vol. xxiv of *Collected Works of Erasmus* (eds. C. R. Thompson *et al.*), Toronto University Press, 1978.
7. Puttenham [1589]: 154.
8. From *Ouids Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures*, Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632: 494–5 (and 512–4 for Sandys's comments on Pythagoras's philosophy). Facsimile edn. Garland Publishing Inc., New York & London, 1976. The translation, without commentary, was first published in 1626.
9. From *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. In Spingarn 1908: III 125. The passage is from the prologue to Plautus's *Amphitruo*; in most modern editions, the second line begins *nam justa* (not *juste*).

10a. From *The Spanish Tragedie* (III.ii.10–11 in most modern editions). Text as in the 1592 edition. 'At London printed by Edward Allde, for Edward White.' Title page undated. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1966.

10b. *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*. 1st edn, 1578; this passage was added in the corrected and augmented edition of 1579. Text as in *Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902: I 200.

11a. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I.ii. 31.

11b. From sonnet 1 of *Astrophil and Stella*. 1598 text, as in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 199 (see Woudhuysen's textual note p. 779).

12. From [Marvaill no more . . .]. Text as published by Tottel in *Songes and Sonettes*, 1557. Written before 1537. For the Egerton ms. text, see *The Canon of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poetry*, R. Harrier, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975: 144.

13a. *2 Henry VI*, II.iv. 52.

13b. *Romeo and Juliet*, II.vi. 9.

14. *Romeo and Juliet*, IV.v.59.

15a. *Aeneid*, II.399. Text as published by Tottel in *Certain bokes of Virgiles Aenaeis turned into English meter by Henry Earle of Surrey*, 1557. Written c. 1540.

15b. *Aeneid*, II.439. As (15a).

16a. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III.vi.75–6.

16b. From *The English Grammar*, in *Workes*, 1640: 77. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1972. First version written before 1623, revised version written ?1632.

17a. From sonnet 116. *Shake-speares sonnets. Neuer before imprinted*, 1609. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1968.

17b. From *Paradise Lost*, IV.188–93. London: Peter Parker *et al.*, 1667. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1968.

18. From *The Dreame*. Text as in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912: I 37. Grierson suggests the theological original of this line is Aquinas *Summa*. I.vi.5. *non solum in ipso sit veritas sed . . . ipse sit ipsa . . . veritas* (Grierson II 34). Donne's poems circulated in manuscript from the

1590s onwards, but most remained unpublished until the posthumous volume of 1633.

19a. From Epigram LXXIII (To Fine Grand), *Epigrammes*, 1616. Text as in *Works*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, Oxford, 1925–53 VIII 51.

19b. *Paradise Lost*, IV.181, as (17b).

20a. From ch.2. of *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Burial*. Text as in *Works*, ed. G. Keynes, London: Faber & Faber, 1964: II 140.

20b. From *Philomela: The lady Fitzwaters Nightingale*, 1592. Text as in *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, New York: Russell & Russell, 1964: XI 173.

21. From *At a Solemn Musick*. Text as in *Poems etc upon Several Occasions*, London: T. Dring, 1673: 26. Written ?1633, first published in *Poems*, 1645. The Trinity ms drafts read *concent*, changed to *content* in 1645, corrected to *concent* in 1673.

22. From *The Rule of Reason*. Text as in Mueller (1984: 365).

23. From section 3.2.1.2 of *Anatomy of Melancholy*, first published 1621. Text of the 1632 edn, eds. T. C. Faulkner, N. K. Kiessling, R. L. Blair, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989–94: III 55.

24. Peacham 1593: 150.

25. [Even such is time . . .]. Text as in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 643. For Woudhuysen's textual note, see 834.

26. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV.ii.4–7.

27. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V.ii.629.

28. From the first book of *Of the proficience and advancement of learning*. In Spingarn 1908: I 3.

29a. From *Of Studies*. Text as in *A Harmony of the Essays of Francis Bacon*, ed. E. Arber, Westminster: A. Constable & Co., 1895: 8.

29b. *Ibid.*, 9.

30. As (4) above.

31a. From Annunciation, sonnet 2 of *La Corona*. As (18), I 319.

31b. From sonnet 108 of *Astrophil and Stella*. Text of the first Newman quarto of 1591, as in *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. A. Feuillerat, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922: II 286.

31c. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV.iii.249.

31d. From [Methought I saw my late espoused Saint . . .]. Text as in *Poems etc upon Several Occasions*, London: T. Dring, 1673: 61. Also in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 658–9.

32a. From *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1590. Text as in (31b), I 516–17.

32b. *Ibid.*

33. From *A Palinode* by E[dmund] B[olton]. In *Englands Helicon*, London: printed by I.R. for John Flasket, 1600: sig.B4^{v}. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1973.

34. Peacham 1593: 123.

35. As (33).

36a. *Bartholomew Fair*, II.ii.30–1. Acted 1614, printed 1631. Text as in (19a), VI 42.

36b. *The Alchemist*, I.iii.102–3. Acted 1610, printed 1612. Text as in (19a), V 312.
36c. *The Alchemist*, II.ii.80–1. As (36b), 320.
37. From Elegie XVI, On his Mistris. Text as in (18), 113.
38. *Paradise Lost*, II. 950. As (17b).
39. From *A Valediction forbidding mourning*. Text as in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 337.
42. From sonnet 39 of *Astrophil and Stella*. Text as in (31b), 258.
43. From *The Church-history of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ, untill the Year 1648*. London: John Williams, 1655: IX 102.
44. From [Adieu, farewell, earths bliss . . .]. In *Summers Last Will and Testament*, acted 1592, published 1600. Text as in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, Oxford: Blackwell, 1958: III 283.
45. From *The Arte of Rhetorique*, first published 1553. Text as in the 1585 edn, ed. G. H. Mair, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909: 169. The 1553 text has been transcribed and edited by T. J. Derrick, New York & London: Garland, 1982.
46. *Paradise Lost*, I. 12–23. As (17b).
47. From *A replycacion agaynst certayne yong scolers, abjured of late*. Text as in Norbrook & Woodhuysen 1992: 701–2.
48. *Hamlet*, V.ii.347–8.
49. As (45), 163.
50a. *The Rivals*, London: John Wilkie, 1775: 48.
50b. *Much Ado*, III.v.46.
51. From *The English Dictionarie*, London: Nathaniel Butter, 1623: sig. A4^{v}. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1968.
52a. From the *Shepheardes Calender*, 1579. Text as in *Spenser's Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Smith & E. de Selincourt, London, New York & Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1912: 423. The debate over the identity of 'E.K.' has not advanced much beyond the position outlined in Smith 1904: I 380. The main candidates are Edward Kirke, Gabriel Harvey and Spenser himself.
52b. *Ibid.*, 443.
52c. *Ibid.*, 426.
52d. *Ibid.*, 433.
53. As (33).
54. *The Faerie Queene*, III.vi 43. Books I–III first published 1590. Text of the 1596 edition, as in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 224. See Woudhuysen's note, 781, on the central position and iconographic significance of this stanza.
55. *King Lear*, III.ii.4–9.
56. The opening sentence of *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Devill*, 1st edn, London: Richard Jones, 1592. Facsimile edn, Menston: Scolar Press, 1969. This text differs (trivially) in punctuation and spelling from the version discussed by Parkes 1992: 88.

57. Brightland & Gildon 1711: 147.
58. From *The 21th: and last booke of the Ocean to Scinthia*, I.493. Written ?1592. Text as in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 115. See Woudhuysen's note, p. 764, for problems of dating and punctuating this text.
59a. *Faerie Queene*, I.i.48–9. Text as in Dillon 1976: 14.
59b. *Faerie Queene*, I.i.54. Text as in Dillon 1976: 15.
60. As (2).
61. *Book of Common Prayer*, 1549: sigs. Lvi^{v}–Lvii^{r}. Text as in Mueller 1984: 238.
62. *1 Tamburlaine*, II.vii.21–29. Acted ?1587. Text as in *Tamburlaine the Great. The first part of the two Tragicall discourses*. London: Richard Jones, 1592. Facsimile edn, Menston: Scolar Press, 1973.
63. From *Timber, or Discoveries*. Written ?1605–35, published posthumously at the end of the second volume of the folio edn of *Works*, 1640–1. Text as in Spingarn 1908: I. 39.
64a. *Julius Caesar*, III.ii.27–9.
64b. *Julius Caesar*, III.ii.187–9.
65. From sonnet 61 of *Idea, in Sixtie three sonnets*, London: John Smethwicke, 1619. Text as in *Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel, Oxford: Blackwell, 1932: II 341.
67a. As (63), p. 31.
67b. From a sermon 'Upon the Penitentiall Psalmes', preached in 1623, not published in Donne's lifetime. Text as in *LXXX Sermon*, London: Richard Roston & Richard Marriot, 1640: 556. Also in *Sermons of John Donne*, eds. E. M. Simpson & G. R. Potter, University of California Press, 1953: VI 55.
67c. As (28), p. 2.
68. From *Conjectures on Original Composition in a Letter to the author of Sir Charles Grandison*, London: A Millar and R. & J. Dodsley, 1759: 22.
69. From *The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated by Mr Pope*, II.68–9. Text as in the Twickenham edn of the *Poems of Alexander Pope*, IV, ed. J. Butt. London: Methuen & Yale University Press, p. 169.
70. From *Cooper's Hill*, II.189–93. Text as in Norbrook & Woudhuysen 1992: 158. These lines, not included in the version of the poem printed in 1642, first appeared in the 1643 version.
71. From *The Spectator*, 61, 10 May 1711. Text as in Bond 1965: I 263.
72. From *The Tatler*, 163, 25 April 1710. Text as in Bond 1987: II 407–9.
73a. *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 343–5. Text as in Greenwood 1711: 219.
73b. Greenwood 1711: 219.
74. From *The Spectator*, 133, 2 August, 1711. Text as in Bond 1965: II 25.
75a. *Paradise Lost*, V.865–6. As quoted in *The Spectator*, 297, 9 February 1712. Text as in Bond 1965: III 63.
75b. *Paradise Lost*, IV.181. As 75a.
76. *The Dunciad*, IV.201–2. Text as in the Twickenham edn of the *Poems of Alexander Pope*, V, ed. J. Sutherland, London: Methuen & Yale University Press, p. 362.

77. *The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace*, I.397. The subtitle 'To Augustus' was added in 1751. As in (69), p. 229.
78. All from *The Rape of the Lock. An Heroi-comical Poem*, London: B. Lintott, 1714. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press, 1969. Canto and line references are keyed to the Twickenham edition.
    a) II.107. b) II.109. c) III.8.
79. *The Country-Wife, A Comedy*, London: Thomas Dring, 1675: 68,70. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press 1970.
80. From John Stirling, *A System of Rhetoric For the Use of Schools*, London: Thomas Astley, 1733: 1. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press.
81a. From Joshua Poole, *A Practical Rhetorick*, London: J. Johnson, 1663: 21. Facsimile edn. Menston: Scolar Press.
81b. *Ibid.*, 51.
82. As (80).
83. From *The Rambler*, 2, 24 March 1750. Text as in Wimsatt 1941: 56.
84. From *The Spectator*, 285, 26 January 1712. Text as in Bond 1965: III 10.
85. From *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols., 1755.
87. *Paradise Lost*, I.286–91.
88. Lines 185–90 of *The Campaign, A Poem*, London: J. Tonson, 1705.
89. Lines 13–24 of *Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson*, London: Manby & Cox, 1749.
90a. Priestley 1777: 299.
90b. Puttenham [1589]: 72.
90c. Kames [1762]: II 146.
91. *The Tempest*, I.ii.160–4.
92. *Hamlet*, III.ii.223. Davenant's revision as cited in H. Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved: The Restoration Versions in Quarto and on the Stage*, Cambridge, MA, 1927: 179.
93a. *Paradise Lost*, VI. 866.
93b. From *An Essay on Translated Verse*, 1684. In Spingarn 1908: II 309.
94a. Piper 1969: 33.
94b. *Ibid.*
95a. From *Dido and Aeneas: The fourth booke of Virgils Aeneas*. Text as in Görlach 1991: 286.
95b. From *The Passion of Dido for Aeneas. As it is Incomparably exprest in the Fourth Book of Virgil*. Text as in Görlach 1991: 287.
96. *The Rape of the Lock*, II.23–6. As (78).
97a. *Ibid.*, II.99–100.
97b. *Ibid.*, III.7–8.
98a. As (71).
98b. Johnson 1779–81: II 86.
99a. *Paradise Lost*, VI.836.
99b. As (93b).

100. Lines 112–19 of *Winter. A Poem*, London: J. Millan (1st edn, March 1726).
101. *Paradise Lost*, I.386.
102. *Mr Johnson's Preface to his Edition of Shakespear's Plays*. London: J & R Tonson *et al.*, 1765: v.
103. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, London: T. Becket and P. A. Dehont, 1765: VII 1.
104. From *A Song to David.* In *A translation of the Psalms of David*, London: Smart, 1765: 194.
105. From *Fingal an Ancient Epic Poem, in six books: Together with other Poems*. London: T. Becket & P. A. De Hondt, 1762: 44–5.

KEY TO THE CITED AUTHORS

Addison, Joseph, 1672–1719
Ascham, Roger, 1515–1568
Bacon, Francis, 1561–1626
Blackmore, Sir Richard, 1654–1729
Bolton, Edmund, 1575?–1633?
Boswell, James, 1740–1795
Brooke, Henry, 1703?–1783
Browne, Sir Thomas, 1605–1682
Burton, Robert, 1577–1640
Carew, Thomas, 1567–1620
Carlyle, Thomas, 1795–1881
Caxton, William, 1422?–1491
Chapman, George, 1559?–1634
Cleveland, John, 1613–1658
Cobb, Samuel, 1675–1713
Colet, John, 1467?–1519
Collins, William, 1721–1759
Cranmer, Thomas, 1489–1556
Croxall, Samuel, 1690?–1752
Daniel, Samuel, 1563–1619
Davenant, Sir William, 1606–1668
Davies, Sir John, 1569–1626
Denham, Sir John, 1615–1669
Dennis, John, 1657–1734
Donne, John, 1573?–1631
Drayton, Michael, 1563–1631
Drummond, William, 1585–1647
Dryden, John, 1631–1700
Erasmus, Desiderius, d.1536
Fawkes, Francis, 1720–1777
Fuller, Thomas, 1608–1661
Gascoigne, George, 1542–1577
Godolphin, Sidney, 1610–1643
Goldsmith, Oliver, 1730?–1774
Gray, Thomas, 1716–1771
Greene, Robert, 1560?–1592
Grimald, Nicholas, 1519?–1562?
Harington, Sir John, 1560–1612
Harte, Walter, 1708–1774
Herbert, George, 1593–1633
Hobbes, Thomas, 1588–1679
Johnson, Samuel, 1709–1784
Jonson, Benjamin, 1573?–1637
Kyd, Thomas, 1557?–1595?
Locke, John, 1632–1704
Lydgate, John, 1370?–1451?
Lyly, John, 1554?–1606
Macpherson, James, 1736–1796
Marlowe, Christopher, 1564–1593
Milton, John, 1608–1674
More, Sir Thomas, 1477?–1535
Nashe, Thomas, 1567–1601?
Peele, George, 1556?–1596?
Philips, Katherine, 1632–1664
Pitt, Christopher, 1699–1748
Pope, Alexander, 1688–1744
Ralegh, Sir Walter, 1552?–1618
Roscommon, Wentworth Dillon, Earl of, 1637–1685
Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 1751–1816
Sidney, Sir Philip, 1554–1586
Skelton, John, 1460?–1529
Smart, Christopher, 1722–1771
Spenser, Edmund, 1552?–1599
Stanyhurst, Richard, 1547–1618
Steele, Sir Richard, 1672–1729
Sterne, Laurence, 1713–1768
Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of, 1517?–1547
Swift, Jonathan, 1667–1745
Thomson, James, 1700–1748
Waller, Edmund, 1606–1687
Wesley, Charles, 1707–1788
Wesley, John, 1703–1791
Wordsworth, William, 1770–1850
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 1503?–1542
Wycherley, William, 1640?–1716
Young, Edward, 1683–1765

FURTHER READING

Fowler (1982) complements this chapter by providing an introduction to the history of genres while Sanders (1994: 83–332) provides a sketch-map of the wider context of literary history in which these formal developments took place. Brief general introductions to the literature of the renaissance and neo-classical periods and to many of the individual authors cited in this chapter are included in the *Norton Anthology of English Literature* (I), which also offers a good selection of representative texts and useful bibliographies of the relevant literary criticism. For any detailed study of literary language, the usefulness of the Norton anthology is limited by its policy of modernising its texts; but there is no one-volume anthology of equivalent scope that reproduces texts in versions current at their time of production. Norbrook and Woudhuysen (1992) perform this service for poetry from 1509–1659 and many of the period's major works are available in facsimile reprints (e.g. the Scolar Press editions). Guidance to appropriate versions of all the texts cited in this chapter is given in the Key to the Numbered Examples.

An excellent introduction to the synchronic study of literary language can be obtained by reading Traugott & Pratt (1980) alongside Leech (1969) (for poetry) and Leech & Short (1981) (for prose fiction). There are no comparably broad-based introductions to historical stylistics, though the subject has been broached by Stephens & Waterhouse (1990), and Bradford (1993) has supplied a companion volume focussing on change in poetic genres; Gordon (1966) remains the best introductory overview of the development of prose. Though methodologically outdated, the pioneering statistically based histories of style by Miles (1964, 1967, 1974) are still suggestive in their results and impressive in their scope. Detailed studies of the language of individual authors can be found in Deutsch's *Language Library* series and Macmillan's *The Language of Literature* series and there are often substantial sections on language in major editions of an author's works, e.g. the Herford & Simpson edition of Jonson (Oxford 1925–52) or the Bond edition of Lyly (Oxford 1902, reprinted 1967).

The additional reading suggested in relation to the separate sections of this chapter is necessarily very selective and anyone wishing to pursue particular topics

further should consult the extensive bibliographies provided by Bailey and Burton (1968), Bennett (1986) and the annual updates in the journal *Style*.

7.1 For discussions of the role of literary quotations in grammars and dictionaries, see Tieken (1990, 1997) and (for Johnson specifically) Reddick (1990). On the larger processes of codifying language and canonising literature see Jones (1953) and Helgerson (1992) (for the Renaissance) and Crowley (1996: 54–98), Barrell (1988) and Weinbrot (1993) (for the eighteenth century). Some of the more notable early exclusions from the canon are anthologised by Greer *et al.* (1988) and Smith (1983) and discussed by Capp (1985), Beilin (1987) and Hill (1985).

7.2.1 The standard accounts of the classical inheritance and its diffusion through the English education system are, respectively, Bolgar (1954) and Baldwin (1944); a briefer account, usefully focussed on St Paul's and Milton, is Clark (1948). For those unfamiliar with the forms of Golden Age Latin literature, Wilkinson (1963) provides a humane introduction. Panofsky (1960) examines the renaissance notion of renascence in art, Spearing (1985) describes the transition from medieval to renaissance in literary paradigms, and Fox (1986) puts the case for the 1520s as the crucial period for the impact of humanism on English writing.

7.2.2 Vickers (1988) provides an excellent introduction to the history of rhetoric, with particularly useful chapters on the change from medieval to renaissance theory and practice. For a more detailed account of the study of rhetoric in England from 1500–1700, see Howell (1956) and the relevant case studies in Murphy (1983) and Mack (1994). The role of Erasmus and *De copia* is considered in Jardine (1993: 129–45) and copia is rehabilitated from a post-structuralist perspective by Cave (1979).

7.2.3 Ronberg (1992) includes an introductory list of figures with practical demonstrations of the figural analysis of renaissance texts. More comprehensive lists can be found in Sonnino (1968) and Lanham (1991) while more detailed entries for selected terms are given in Donker and Muldrow (1982). Vickers (1970) and Joseph (1947) represent approaches to figural analysis which differ from, but complement, the one adopted in this chapter and they can profitably be read alongside it. Leech (1966) discusses the relation between linguistics and rhetorical analysis.

7.3 Ovid's influence on English literature is the subject of Wilkinson (1955) and the essays in Martindale (1988); and Ovid's mastery of the figures of varying is the subject of Ahl (1985). For those wishing to pursue particular figures in more detail, useful starting-points are provided by Colie (1966) and Shen (1987) (for paradox and oxymoron), Heller (1974) and Redfern (1984) (for the pun), Hawkes (1972) and Steen (1994) (for metaphor), Tuve (1966) (for allegory) and Ruthven (1969) and Fowler (1975) (for the conceit). The sense relations of synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy can be pursued by reading Lyons (1968:

443–81) followed by Cruse (1986). Barton (1990) includes a brief but helpful introduction to renaissance attitudes towards the *nomen–omen* tradition and explores its application in the domain of literary naming; Mazzeo (1964) describes renaissance correspondence theory; and the pervasive importance of Pythagorean ideas in renaissance poetics is argued in Heninger (1974).

7.4.1 Vickers (1988: 80–2) gives a brief introduction to the three styles in classical rhetorical theory. The fate of the three styles in the Middle Ages and the rediscovery of the grand style is the subject of Auerbach (1965 esp. 183–233).

7.4.2 Burnley (1992: 181–95) provides passages illustrating Caxton's heightening of Malory and Skelton's translation of Diodorus Siculus. The stylistic role of latinate vocabulary in the Renaissance is discussed in Adamson (1989) while the loss of balance between latinate and saxon in the later seventeenth century is discussed in Davies (1970). Schlauch (1987) explores the social basis of Shakespeare's malapropisms. Purism and archaism are reviewed briefly in Barber (1976: 90–100) and extensively in Jones (1953). For the practice of compounding in Spenser and Shakespeare, see, respectively, Padelford & Maxwell (1926) and Salmon (1987), and for adjectives and the general development of poetic diction in the sixteenth century, see Rubel (1941).

7.4.3 Curial prose and *heigh stile* are discussed by Burnley (1983: 182–200; 1986) and the early impact of classical prose models by Workman (1940). The importance of periodicity as a compositional principle is explained by Wilkinson (1963), Baxandall (1971), Scaglione (1972) and (with specific reference to Milton) by Ricks (1963) and its impact on humanist punctuation is demonstrated by Parkes (1992: 80–7). Matthews (1981: 220–41) defines and illustrates juxtaposition as a construction type. The emergence of the modern concepts of sentence and subordinate clause is charted in Michael (1970) but, as far as I know, a history of the form and function of the paragraph has not been seriously attempted since Lewis (1894). The cursus has also been neglected in recent scholarship; the best representative of earlier studies is Croll (1966: 303–59). In concentrating on the unifying principles of periodicity, I have avoided the more familiar divisions of renaissance prose style into Attic/Asiatic or Ciceronian/Senecan/Tacitan/Baroque. For discussion of these terms and the controversies (renaissance and early twentieth century) with which they are associated, see Gordon (1966: 73–132), Croll (1966: 7–233), Williamson (1951). For a study which also attempts to side-step such controversies by grounding itself in a discussion of 'the syntax and semantics of conjunction', see Mueller (1984).

7.5 The transition from renaissance to neo-classical paradigms is described by Johnson (1967) and set in its European context by Hazard (1964). Changes in the school curriculum leading to the rise of English literature at the expense of the classics are charted in outline by Palmer (1965: 1–14) and in detail by Michael (1987). The myth and reality of Grub Street are explored in Rogers (1972) and the relation between literature and popular culture and between style and social class in, respectively, Rogers (1985) and McIntosh (1986). For the polarisation

of prose and poetry, see Hamilton (1963) and for the general fate of rhetoric in the eighteenth century, see Howell (1971), Vickers (1981) and Potkay (1994). The fortunes of the word (and concept) *literature* since the Renaissance are summarised in Williams (1976: 150–4).

7.6.1 The traditional view of the roles of science and the pulpit in the rise of anti-rhetorical rhetoric is expounded in Jones (1951) (recent reassessments include Vickers (1985) and Gotti (1996)). For the influence of French neo-classicism, see Pocock (1980) and for the conversational ideal, see Burke (1993) and Klein (1994). The change from lexical to syntactic orientation in linguistic theory is described in Land (1974).

7.6.2 For helpful introductions to cohesion, information structure and the given–new relation, see Brown and Yule (1983: 153–222) and (for discourse deixis more specifically) Levinson (1983: 85–9). The standard full-length study is Halliday & Hasan (1976), but Gutwinski (1976) may be slightly easier reading and is explicitly literary in its application. Very little research has been focussed on the stylistic history of these strategies, but for presentative *there*, see Breivik (1983) and Johansson (1997), for discourse markers Schiffrin (1987) and Brinton (1996), and for anaphora Lyons (1977) and Fox (1993). Among studies of specific authors, see Bately (1964) for preposition-stranding in Dryden, Milic (1967: 122–36) for connectives in Swift, and Wright (1997) for relative markers in Addison. The general sea-change in prose style is the subject of Adolph (1968) and of many of the essays in Watson (1970) and Fish (1971).

7.6.3 Various aspects of pure and philosophical diction in the eighteenth century are covered by Davie (1952, 1963), Wimsatt (1948) and Arthos (1949). Among more narrowly focussed studies, Alderson (1996a, b) offers a revaluation of Augustan attitudes towards the pun, Wimsatt (1954: 169–85) looks at zeugma and related figures in Pope, Downie (1986) documents the problem of irony in Defoe while Pratt (1981) brings a Gricean framework to bear on the understanding of irony and literary cooperation more generally. The problems of conversational implicature can be pursued in Levinson (1983: 97–166) and Wilson & Sperber (1992) while the difficulties of identifying a general/core vocabulary are touched on in several of the chapters of Carter (1987).

7.7.1 Among the many studies of the sublime, Monk (1935) remains the best introduction to the changing role of the term in eighteenth-century critical theory, now usefully complemented by Ashfield and de Bolla's annotated reader of 1996. For an account of seventeenth-century 'enthusiasm' and its extension from the religious to the literary sphere, see Tucker (1972).

7.7.2 Sherbo (1975) charts the codification and transmission of poetic vocabulary from early renaissance translations through the eighteenth century. The particular influence of Milton is the subject of Havens (1922). For a general defence of eighteenth-century poetic diction, see Tillotson (1964) and for the special link between personification and the sublime, see Knapp (1985). An account of the grammatical basis of personification is offered by Bloomfield (1963).

7.7.3 The nature of the heroic line in the fifteenth century is debated by Lewis (1969b) and Cable (1991) puts the case for the persistence of the alliterative tradition. Elizabethan experiments in quantitative metre are described by Attridge (1974) and the triumph of the iambic pentameter over other forms is discussed by Thompson (1961), Woods (1985) and Hardison (1989). Piper (1969) gives the history of the heroic couplet and Allison (1962) and Amis (1976) relate the couplet to other aspects of the 'Augustan poetic' in their case-studies of, respectively, Waller and Pope. The pursuit of stress regularity and strict syllabism in the eighteenth century is documented by Fussell (1954) and the gradual return of enjambement by Bradford (1992) (for blank verse) and Wasserman (1940) (for the couplet). Many of the questions raised by these developments have been addressed by generative phonologists; their contributions could not be reviewed within the space constraints of this chapter but should be pursued by anyone with a serious interest in the subject. Halle and Keyser (1971) link changes in metrical practice with changes in the stress pattern of English and formalise rules of metricality for the iambic pentameter. Starting from this model (most clearly and succinctly expounded in Halle & Keyser (1981)), Freeman (1968) characterises the loosening of metrical constraints between Gascoigne and Marlowe; Kiparsky (1977) (or 1981 for an earlier and simpler version) characterises the tightening of metrical constraints between Wyatt and Pope; Koelb (1987) puts the case for a 'two-system' theory of Shakespeare's metre; and Youmans (1983) demonstrates the link between metrical constraints and word-order inversion. Dillon (1977) compares Kiparsky and Kames on the metrical role of syntactic boundaries. For a recent and helpful introduction to generative metrics, see Fabb (1997).

7.8 The revolt against the Addisonian middle style in prose is described by Gordon (1966), while the sources, form and influence of the Johnsonian grand style are discussed in detail in Wimsatt (1941, 1948). For the rise of the religious sublime in poetry, see Morris (1972) and for an account of the style of Ossian, see Fitzgerald (1966). The new stylistic paradigm emerging at the end of the period is characterised by McGann (1996).

GLOSSARY OF LINGUISTIC TERMS

This glossary provides short working definitions of those linguistic terms used in the text most likely to be unfamiliar to some readers. Standard linguistic and phonetic terms are generally not listed; for these a useful source is David Crystal's *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 2nd edn (Blackwell, 1985). A word in boldface (other than the headword) in a glossary entry is glossed elsewhere; one in italics is synonymous, antonymous or otherwise related.

accommodation Adjustment of one's speech to conform with that of one's interlocutors, or to a perceived standard or prestige norm.

acronym A word formed from the initial letters of a name or other word, e.g. *RADAR* < *Ra*dio *D*irection *a*nd *R*anging.

adversative A construction indicating opposition or antithesis, e.g. introduced by *even though*, etc.

affix A bound **inflectional** or **derivational** element (i.e. one that occurs only attached to a free form or **base**). Affixes preceding their bases are *prefixes*, those following are *suffixes*.

agreement See **concord**.

Aktionsart See **aspect**.

anacoluthon A mixture of two constructions.

analogy (1) In pre-modern grammatical terminology, regularity or reasonableness in structure. (2) A process that regularises irregular alternations.

analytic Of a construction or language type primarily utilising strings of individual words rather than affixation for grammatical expression. The opposite of **synthetic**.

anaphoric Of an item (especially a pronoun) referring to a preceding one, its **antecedent**.

anomaly In pre-modern grammatical terminology that which is opposed to **analogy** (1), i.e. irregularity in grammatical structure, features not accountable for by 'reason'.

antecedent The element in a clause or sentence or larger grouping to which an **anaphoric** item refers.

antepenult The third-from-last syllable of a word.

anti-standard A variety cultivated in intentional opposition to the standard (e.g. Scots as the language of shepherds).

antonymy Sense relation of semantic oppositeness between lexical items. Includes *complementaries* (two-pole, non-gradable pairs like *single/married*) and *contraries* (gradable pairs like *happy/sad*).

apodosis The main clause in a conditional sentence; the subordinate (*if*) clause is called the *protasis*.

apposition Adjective *appositive*. 'Loose' modification, as in *Mary*, *my wife*.

argument A noun phrase defined by its role in a predication or construction with a verb, e.g. 'subject'.

ascertaining Bringing up to a standard, deciding on the 'true' grammar of a language (seventeenth to eighteenth century).

aspect A grammatical category distinct from tense, marking such properties of actions or states as completeness, duration, habitualness, etc. The lexical equivalent is generally referred to as **Aktionsart** (e.g. *I am reading* shows progressive or continuous aspect, the verb *continue* has inherent progressive Aktionsart).

back-formation **Word-formation** process where a shorter word is formed by deleting a real or imagined affix from a long form already present in the language (*beg* < *beggar*, where *-ar* is misinterpreted as *-er*, *edit* < *editor*, where the *-or* is a 'real' suffix).

backspelling See **inverse spelling**.

bahuvrihi A compound of the type *barefoot*, where the **head** of the compound is 'outside' the compound itself (*barefoot* does not refer to a foot, but to a person whose feet are bare, etc.)

base An independent lexical item to which **affix**es can be added, or which can be compounded with other independent words.

blending **Word-formation** process where a word is formed from two words by deleting material usually from both of them, e.g. *tritical* < *trite* + *critical*.

c(a)esura A point in a verse-line typically involving a pause. In an **iambic pentameter** line, characteristically occurring between the third and fourth **foot**.

calque Also *loan-translation*. A partial borrowing where a complex item is translated morpheme by morphemme, e.g. *onwriting* < F (< Lat.) *super-scription*(*em*).

cant Secret **lexis** of the 'underworld' (criminals, vagabonds, etc.).

chain-shift An interlocked set of changes in which alteration of one element in the system triggers (compensating) change in some other(s): e.g. raising of low vowels 'pushing' mid vowels into raising, diphthongisation of high vowels 'dragging' mid vowels up.

Chancery Standard The language used in official documents issued by the Westminster Chancery in the fifteenth century; English used for such purposes from 1430 on.

change from above Linguistic change percolating down from formal, literary or upper-class usage, as opposed to *change from below*, which moves in the opposite direction, e.g. from colloquial or lower-class upwards.

change from below See **change from above**.

clipping A **word-formation** process in which either the beginning or the end of a word is discarded, e.g. *gent* < *gentleman*.

clitic A grammatical item, not an **affix**, attached to and forming a phonological unit with another form, its *host*: e.g. preposed *-'t* in *'tis* (a *proclitic*), or postposed *-n't* in *isn't* (an *enclitic*).

closed class A set of items, e.g. pronouns, prepositions, articles, which new members can only exceptionally be added to. As opposed to an *open class*, e.g. nouns or verbs.

coda The constituent of the **rhyme** of a syllable following the **nucleus**: e.g. /t/ in *cat* /kæt/.

code-mixing The use of more than one language in an utterance.

cognate Historically, of items having common origin; synchronically, of words deriving from the same root.

cohesion The linguistic features which bind sentences together and cause them to be construed as a connected text or discourse, e.g. conjunctions, anaphoric pronouns, lexical repetition.

collocation Habitual cooccurrence of independent lexical items.

colloquial Of informal, everyday **register** (spoken or written), having its own norms (thus not equivalent to non-standard).

colonial levelling Avoidance of local dialect features in a mixed colonial society resulting in (quasi-)homogeneous ('levelled') varieties.

complex nucleus A syllable **nucleus** containing more than one constituent, e.g. a long vowel (/eː/ = /ee/) or diphthong.

compounding The formation of new **lexeme**s from two or more independent words, e.g. *black* + *bird* > *blackbird* ≠ *black bird*.

conceptual See **denotative**.

concord Also *agreement*, *congruence*. Marking of a word for a grammatical category inherent in some other: e.g. the {-s} on {walk-s} concords with 'third person', 'present', 'singular' on its subject.

congruence See **concord**.

conjugation The set of inflectional forms or **paradigm** of a particular verb; a class of verbs having major features in common, e.g. the 'weak conjugation'.

connotative Referring to an aspect of meaning, either part of the **denotative** meaning of a **lexeme** or suggested by it, expressing speaker attitude or evoking **register** associations. E.g. *cat* and *kitty* have the same denotation, but different connotations.

context The verbal and non-verbal (e.g. situational) elements relevant to the use of a linguistic item, or co-present with it in discourse.

conversational style Informal style as found in (friendly) conversations, private letters, personal diaries, etc.

conversion A **word-formation** process in which a word belonging to one word class is used as a member of another with no formal change (e.g. *but me no buts*, conjunction used as verb and noun). Also *zero-derivation*.

coordination The process or product of linking linguistic units of equal status or identity (or close similarity) of category.

copiousness Of speech or writing, involving the extensive use of synonyms and lexical richness (from the Latin rhetorical term *copia uerborum*).

coronal Of segments produced by raising the tongue tip or blade: dentals, alveolars, retroflexes, palato-alveolars.

correctness Agreement with a (prescriptive) linguistic norm.

coreferential See **reference**.

'Cotswold' dialect A renaissance stage dialect marked mainly by stereotypical phonological features like voiced initial fricatives for voiceless ('Zummerzet': cf. Edgar in *King Lear*).

creole A **pidgin** that has become a native language, and developed non-pidgin complexities.

declension The set of inflectional forms or **paradigm**s of a noun, pronoun or adjective; a class of such items having major features in common, e.g. '*s*-plural' declension.

decorum In pre-modern terminology, the proper selection of linguistic features considered appropriate for situation and genre.

degemination See **geminate**.

deixis Adjective *deictic*. Of an item reflecting the orientation of discourse participants in time and space, normally with reference to the speaker, along a *proximal* (toward-speaker) versus *distal* (away-from-speaker) axis. So proximal *I*, *here*, *this*, present tense versus distal *you*, *there*, *that*, past tense. In a wider sense, deictic categories like tense are often used to structure texts; these are called *discourse deictics*.

denotative Of that aspect of meaning linking a lexical unit and the nonlinguistic element it refers to, its *denotatum* (also conceptual, descriptive meaning).

denotatum See **denotative**.

derivational Of **affix**es or other elements or processes involved in **word-formation**.

descriptive (meaning) See **denotative**.

determinant the modifying element in a complex **lexeme** (e.g. *gold* in *goldfish*); the modified element is the *determinatum*.

determinatum See **determinant**.

determiner A **closed class** item occurring before a (pro)noun **head**, and specifying, definitivising, quantifying or otherwise modifying it. Typical examples are articles, demonstratives, possessives, and numerals.

dialect Technically, a synonym of 'variety' (regional, social, etc.). In looser usage also = non-standard, particularly regional.

dialect literature Literature (mostly poems or short prose pieces) written in dialect (however literary or conventional) throughout, rather than literature using dialect features only for some characters, only in dialogue, or sporadically to create local colour.

disjunctive question One giving two alternatives, normally introduced by *whether . . . or*.

distal See **deixis**.

domain Type of social/communicative field determining the choice of a particular language, variety or style/register (e.g. religion, family).

doublet One of a pair of forms of the same origin (and usually meaning), but with some phonological difference: e.g. *roofs*, *rooves*.

drag chain See **chain-shift**

dvandva **Compound** of the type *queen-mother*, *twenty-four*, with the sense 'object consisting of A + B'.

enclitic See **clitic**.

endocentric Of a construction where one constituent is functionally equivalent to or has the same potential distribution as the whole, i.e. which has a **head** (e.g. *fish* in *goldfish*). As opposed to *exocentric* constructions, where none of the constituents displays this equivalence, i.e. which have no internal heads: e.g. *barefoot* (see **bahuvrihi**).

excrescent Of a letter without etymological or phonological justification, normally the result of **inverse spelling**: e.g. <h> in *hand* 'and' in an /h/-dropping dialect.

exocentric See **endocentric**.

extraterritorial Of 'transported' **dialects**, e.g. those spoken in colonial situations, historically the result of colonists bringing with them the *mainland* or *metropolitan* language. So applicable to all Englishes except those of mainland Britain.

euphony In pre-modern terminology, attractive or pleasant sound.

falling diphthong One whose syllabic **mora** is the first, versus a *rising* diphthong, whose syllabic is the second.

finite Of those forms of a verb marked for tense and/or person and number (e.g. *walk-s*, *walk-ed* v. infinitive, gerund and participle).

focus In general, a linguistic item that is the 'centre of attention' in a construction. In adverbial syntax, the focussed item is the part of the sentence that the *focussing subjuncts* (e.g. *only*, *also*, *especially*, etc.) call attention to.

foot A fundamental rhythmic unit. (1) Linguistic or prosodic foot: in English and other Germanic languages a stressed syllable plus any material to its right before the next stress. (2) Poetic or metrical foot: a unit of verse, normally occurring in a specific number per line, which may or may not coincide with the linguistic foot. E.g. the Latin *iambic* foot, which consists of a **light syllable** followed by a **heavy** one, or the English iamb, which is a **weak syllable** followed by a **strong** one.

functional word order Word order carrying syntactic meaning, e.g. subject versus object.

geminate A long or double segment (most often a consonant); simplification of such a sequence is *degemination*.

given/new 'Given' information is that part of the message which the addresser treats as already known to the addressee (typically because it is recoverable from the linguistic or extralinguistic context); 'new' information is assumed to be unknown and is given syntactic or intonational prominence.

grade A vowel quality and/or degree of length associated with a tense or tense/number or participial form of a **strong verb**: e.g. present grade /ɪ/, past /æ/, participial /ʌ/ in *sing*, *sang*, *sung*.

grapheme A unit of the written code, conceptually parallel to a phoneme or morpheme: e.g. <a>, <c>.

Great Vowel Shift (GVS) A major transformation of the ME long-vowel system, beginning in the fifteenth century, involving diphthongisation of high vowels and raising of mid ones, among other things. Thus ME /iː/ > PDE /ai/ in *bite*, /eː/ > /iː/ in *beet*, etc.

Grimm's Law A set of Germanic changes affecting the Indo-European **obstruents**, accounting for consonantal relations in **cognates** like Lat. *pater*/E *father*, Lat. *tenuis*/E *thin*, Lat. *cord-*/E *heart*, etc.

hard words Non-common-core lexis often derived from the classical languages and requiring explanation for the less educated; this kind of material came to be collected after 1604 in *hard-word lists*, an early type of monolingual dictionary.

head That constituent of a phrasal or other complex category which is a characteristic, defining and obligatory member: e.g. the verb in a verb phrase, the **nucleus** in a syllable, the stressed syllable in a **foot**.

heavy syllable See **syllable weight**.

heterogeneity Of a system characterised by a large number of alternatives whose selection may have social and communicative relevance; as opposed to a *homogeneous* system, characterised by few alternatives (e.g. a prescriptive standard).

hexameter A verse-line consisting of six metrical feet (see **foot** (2)). The standard Greek and Latin 'serious' metre.

hiatus The abutting of two vowels in adjacent syllables, with no intervening consonant: word-internally as in *royal*, *neon*, between words as in *the only*.

homograph A form with the same spelling as another of different meaning (see **homonymy**).

homonymy A lexical relation where words have the same form but differ in meaning, e.g. *light* 'bright' v. *light* 'of little weight'.

homophones Words (usually but not always spelled differently) with the same phonemic makeup but different meanings (e.g. *right*, *write*, *rite*, *wright*).

hortative Also *hortatory*. Indicating a command or exhortation, mostly used of the subjunctive.

host See **clitic**.

hypercorrection Production of anomalous forms through faulty imitation of imperfectly controlled prestige norms, extending them to inappropriate contexts: e.g. avoidance of /h/-dropping in *here* leading to /h/-insertion in *ear*. See also **inverse spelling**, **excrescent**.

hyponymy A sense relation between *superordinate* and *subordinate* terms: e.g. *rose* and *tulip* are hyponyms of *flower*.

iambic pentameter In English prosody, a line based on the pattern of five feet (see **foot** (2)), each of which consists of a **weak syllable** followed by a **strong** one.

idiolect The linguistic system of an individual.

inflectional Pertaining to the marking of grammatical categories like case, number, tense, etc. on linguistic forms, whether by **affix** or in any other way.

information structure The way a message is structured (by intonation or syntax) to signal the status of the information it contains, e.g. whether given/new, topicalised, focalised, contrastive.

inkhorn terms Ostentatious Latinisms and Hellenisms where English words would have been available (sixteenth century).

internal loan words Words borrowed from one dialect or sociolect into another, including borrowings into the standard.

inverse spelling Also *backspelling*. Transfer of a spelling whose phonetic value has changed into environments where it is representationally 'correct' but historically unjustified, e.g. *Bavaria* spelled *Bavarior* after loss of final /r/. Conceptually similar to **hypercorrection**, if with different motives.

isogloss A line based on the distribution of some linguistic feature separating two dialect areas.

isolative Of an etymological category occurring in environments which have no particular effect. E.g. isolative EModE /æ/ in *cat* as opposed to the /æ/ in *cast*, *cart* which was later lengthened and lowered to /a:/.

jargon (occupational) The special language (especially **lexis**) of a trade.

label A marking in a dictionary of the status of a word (e.g. 'colloquial', 'non-standard', etc.).

lect A speech variety; a general term subsuming (dia)lect, (socio)lect, (idio)lect, (chrono)lect, etc.

lexeme An abstract category, distinct from but underlying a set of *word-forms*. E.g. the lexeme SING has the forms *sing*, *sings*, *singing*, *sang*, *sung*.

lexical field A set of **lexemes** of the same class, defined on the basis of their common content and other semantic relations: e.g. *cow*, *calf*, *heifer*, *bull*, etc.

lexical gap The absence of a word for a particular concept (e.g. English has *cow* and *bull*, but no general word for 'bovine of either sex').

lexicalisation (1) The development of a syntactic construction into a lexical item, e.g. *some body* (= 'some person') > *somebody*; (2) the encoding of a concept in a single word; more narrowly the loss of compositional motivation of (historically) complex **lexemes**, e.g. *hussy* < *house-wife*.

lexis Vocabulary. In linguistic description, a level or module distinct from phonology, syntax, etc.

light syllable See **syllable weight**.

liquid A non-nasal **sonorant** consonant, i.e. a lateral or /r/ type; for some writers the 'glides' or 'semi-vowels' /j, w/ count as liquids also.

literate With reference to the characteristics of a text, e.g. *the literate mode of expression* (or *literacy*), i.e. a style using features characteristic of educated writing. As opposed to the *oral mode of expression* (or *orality*) using features characteristic of colloquial speech.

low A pre-modern **label** equivalent to 'vulgar', 'uneducated'.

mainland See **extraterritorial**.

marker A salient feature of a variety, easily perceived and cultivated (or imitated).

matrix clause The main clause in a sentence consisting of a main and at least one subordinate clause.

merger Falling together of two or more originally distinct categories.

meronym A sense relation between lexical items deriving from a part–whole relationship between their denotata, e.g. *finger* is a meronym of the holonym *hand*, *leaf* and *root* are co-meronyms of the holonym *tree*.

metaphor A lexical transference in which one field of reference (sometimes known as the tenor) is described (and hence interpreted) in terms of another (sometimes known as the vehicle), on the basis of some resemblance between the two. In rhetoric, metaphor is treated as a type of semantic deviance (e.g. evening = 'old age'), in linguistics as a process of semantic change (e.g. villain = (1) 'peasant' > (2) 'rogue').

metathesis Reversal of the order of two segments (e.g. *bird* < OE *bridd*).

metonymy Semantic strategy of denoting a category in terms of another which is inseparably associated with it: e.g. *the crown* = 'the sovereign'.

modal Relating to modality, e.g. the speaker's state of knowledge or belief, permission, obligation, etc.; of a verb expressing such notions, as in the modal auxiliaries or modals *can*, *may*, *must*, etc.

mora A structural unit (pl. *morae*) in terms of which the **weight** or quantity of a syllable is measured. A short vowel /V/ counts as one mora, a long vowel or diphthong /VV/ as two, etc.

mutative verb One expressing a change of place of state.

neutralisation Suspension of contrast. E.g. the English oppositions of voiceless and voiced stops, /p, t, k/ v. /b, d, g/ are neutralised after /s/, where only voiceless stops appear.

nominal relative clause One with no expressed **antecedent** and taking the position of a noun-phrase **argument** in a clause, e.g. the bracketed clause in '[who steals my purse] steals trash'.

nominative Also sometimes *subjective*. The case typically marking the subject relation.

non-referring See **reference**.

non-restrictive See **restrictive**.

non-rhotic Of a dialect of English that has lost /r/ except before vowels, e.g. pre-consonantally and finally. As opposed to *rhotic* dialects, where historical /r/ remains in all positions.

Norn The North Germanic language spoken in Orkney and Shetland until the eighteenth century.

nucleus The **head** of a syllable **rhyme**; that constituent containing the syllabic element (normally a vowel), e.g. /æ/ in *cat* /kæt/. Also a general term for all vocalic elements of a language, long, short or diphthongal.

objective See **oblique**.

oblique Of case-forms other than the **nominative**; in some usages, other than nominative and accusative. In systems like English with only subject, genitive and object cases marked on the pronoun, sometimes called *objective*.

obstruent The class of consonants consisting of stops, fricatives and affricates.

onomatopoeia 'Direct' (if conventionalised) sound/meaning association based on natural sounds: e.g. *moo*, *mew*.

onset The constituent of a syllable preceding the **rhyme**, e.g. /k/ in *cat* /kæt/. Also the first element of a diphthong.

opaque Not analysable; e.g. *hussy* is opaque whereas its historical predecessor (which still remains), *housewife*, is **transparent**.

open class See **closed class**.

optative Of a verb (especially subjunctive) or other expression indicating a wish.

oral See **literate**.

orthoepist Collective term for early (sixteenth to mid-nineteenth century) writers on phonetics and phonology.

paradigm The set of forms belonging to a **lexeme** or grammatical category (part of speech, **declension, conjugation**).

parataxis Clause-linkage without subordination and typically without overt marking of the connection.

penult The next-to-last syllable of a word.

Petrarchan sonnet See **sonnet**.

phonaesthesia Sound-symbolism; supposedly direct sound–meaning association attributed to certain phonemes or clusters (phonaesthemes), e.g. /-ʌmp/ in *dump*, *lump*, *grump*(*y*), *hump*, *slump* is supposed to carry some common meaning.

phonotactic Concerning the arrangements (sequences, distributional constraints) of phonemes. E.g. it is a phonotactic constraint of English that any word-initial three-consonant cluster has /s/ as its first member.

pidgin A 'contact language' used mainly for practical purposes by groups that have no language in common; pidgins are normally largely based on one of the contacting languages (the *lexifier* language), and display very simplified grammatical and phonological structure.

polysemy The possession by a lexical item of several different meanings.

pragmatic Referring to discourse- or situation-bound aspects of meaning, e.g. the constraints on the use of 'polite' and 'intimate' pronouns and the like.

premodal A class of Old English and early Middle English verbs with peculiar morphological and distributional properties, the predecessors of the modern **modal** auxiliaries like *can*, *may*, etc.

pre-modifying Of modifiers preceding their **heads**, as in *divine grace*; as opposed to *post-modifying*, as in *grace divine*.

preposition stranding Leaving a preposition 'standardly' coming before its object in a relative clause outside the clause. So non-stranded *to* in *the man* [to *whom I gave it*] v. stranded *to* in *the man* [*I gave it*] to.

prescriptivism The attitude defining linguistic 'correctness' according to general concepts of 'reason' and good usage and codified in the form of obligatory rules.

protasis See **apodosis**.

proximal See **deixis**.

purism (1) The deliberate attempt to reduce the number of foreign words in a language, or to avoid them altogether; (2) the (advocacy of) strict adherence to prescriptive grammatical norms.

push chain See **chain-shift**.

quantifier A modifying word expressing relations of quantity: e.g. *some*, *any*, *all*, and numerals used adjectivally.

quantitative verse Verse based on alternations of heavy and light syllables (see **syllable weight**), as in Latin or Greek, rather than on the alternation of **strong** and **weak syllables** as in English.

quantity See **syllable weight**.

reduplication (1) Copying (exact or partial) of a syllable for **inflectional** purposes (Gk *leípo* 'I leave', perfect *lé-loipa*); (2) **word-formation** process in which a **lexeme** is formed from two (nearly) identical items (e.g. *knick-knack*).

reference The singling-out in discourse of some definable thing, group, class, etc. The most typical referring expressions are noun-phrase **arguments**, but there are are also non-referring 'dummy elements' like the *it* in *it's raining*, or under some interpretations subject complements or predicate nominals like *carpenter* in *he's a carpenter*, where only *he* is a referring expression. Two or more items (one at least usually a pronoun), referring to the same item, e.g. *Mary* and *her* in *Mary came in and I kissed her* are said to be *coreferential*. One special type of coreference is *reflexivity* or self-reference, where the subject and object of a verb are coreferential, e.g. *I admire myself*. Pronominal forms in *-self* are called *reflexives*.

reflexive, reflexivity See **reference**.

register A language-variety defined according to its use in particular social situations (e.g. language of science, religion; formal v. colloquial language, etc.).

regularisation See **analogy** (2).

rejected condition Used of conditional clauses which contain an unfulfilled condition.

restrictive Also *defining*. The modification of the head of a noun phrase (e.g. by an appositive or relative clause) is restrictive when the referent of the **head** can be identified only through the modifying element. E.g. the bracketed (restrictive)

clause in *students [who do their homework] will pass* identifies a subset of students; the *non-restrictive* relative in *students, [who do their homework], will pass* simply adds information about students without specifying a 'restricted' subset.

resumptive Of pronouns repeating the **head** of a noun phrase, usually within a relative clause, e.g. *her* in the Scots type *the woman [that her leg was broken]*. Also called *shadow pronouns*.

resyllabification Reassignment of a segment from one syllable-constituent to another, e.g. from **onset** to **nucleus**.

rhetoric The traditional discipline of 'good' speaking and writing as cultivated and systematised by ancient rhetors.

rhotic See **non-rhotic**.

rhyme That portion of a syllable consisting of the **nucleus** and **coda**.

sandhi Modifications occurring at the margins of words or morphemes when they combine in complex forms or syntactic constructions; e.g. voice assimilation in *have to* > *hafta*.

Saxonism The attitude held by early scholars who believed in the great age and noble history of the Germanic languages, in particular English.

scripted-to-be-spoken Of a mixed medium containing elements of both written and spoken language.

segmentalisation The extraction of a feature from some complex and its embodiment as a segment; e.g. the vocalic properties of /l/ may be segmentalised out as [ə] after certain vowels, so that words like *sail*, *owl*, *child* are disyllabic.

sense **Denotative** or conceptual meaning of a lexical item, as opposed to **reference,** *connotation*.

sentential relative clause One that has a sentence as its **antecedent**, e.g. *John got run over [which was tragic]*.

Shakespearean sonnet See **sonnet**.

'Somerset dialect' See '**Cotswold dialect'**.

sonnet A fourteen-line poem, typically in an **iambic pentameter** and normally using one of the two basic rhyme schemes. The Petrarchan sonnet, following the practice of Petrarch, consists of an octave (eight lines rhyming ABBAABBA) and a sestet (six lines rhyming CDECDE or CDCDCD). The Shakespearean sonnet (named after Shakespeare but first used by Surrey) consists of three quatrains (ABAB, CDCD, EFEF and a concluding couplet (GG).

sonorant The class of segments consisting of **liquids**, nasals and vowels.

spelling pronunciation Pronunciation derived from the spelling of a word rather than its phonological history, e.g. medial /t/ in *often*.

spirantisation A process whereby a stop becomes a fricative.

split The development of a single category into two or more new ones.

standard A prestigious variety of a language, normally used for public communication, in universities, etc., often thought of as 'the language' by the normatively minded.

strong syllable One relatively more prominent than some other(s); a stressed syllable, as opposed to an unstressed one, which is *weak*.

strong verb One forming its past tense and participle by internal vowel change rather than suffixation: *sing/sang/sung* as opposed to *walk/walk-ed*, *keep/kep-t*, *buy/bough-t* (the vowel alternations in the last two do not make them strong). Verbs forming their pasts by suffixation are called *weak*.

Sudron The Scottish term (mainly sixteenth-century) for 'Southern' English.

suppletion Irregular alternation; in particular the introduction of phonologically unrelated forms within an inflectional **paradigm**, as in *go/went*.

syllable weight Also *quantity* (mainly in older usage). A property of the **rhyme** that divides syllables into two main classes, *light* (rhyme = short vowel alone or a short vowel plus one consonant) v. *heavy* (rhyme = short vowel plus two or more consonants, or long vowel or diphthong (with or without anything following)).

synaesthesia Metaphoric transfer of a **lexeme** from one sensory sphere to another.

syncope Vowel deletion within a word, as in *fantasy* > *fancy*.

synonymy Sense relation where words share a common meaning.

synthetic See **analytic**.

tatpuruṣa A compound where one element stands in a relation of modification to another, the **head**: e.g. *goldfish*, *fish-knife*, which are kinds respectively of fish and knives.

tenor See **metaphor**.

tense A **deictic** category normally coded on the verb, relating the content of an utterance to the moment of speaking.

text type A category defined by the purpose a text is put to, showing more or less fixed conventional features (e.g. recipe, medical treatise).

transparent Analysable or intelligible on the basis of its components, as opposed to **opaque**.

vehicle See **metaphor**.

vernacular Loosely, any non-standard variety of a language; in discourse concerning the Middle Ages or Renaissance, the local spoken language as opposed to Latin or Greek.

village words The **lexis** of non-respectable concepts of country life (not necessarily dialect).

vocalism A general term for vowel-quality in a given morphological class or etymological category.

weak syllable See **strong syllable**.

weak verb See **strong verb**.

word-form See **lexeme**.

word-formation Any process producing new words, e.g. by adding **derivational affix**es, **compounding**, or **conversion**.

words and things tradition A dialectological discipline combining areal linguistics with the geography of material culture, and relating individual expressions not only to meaning, but also to the objects (< G *Wörter und Sachen*).

zero-derivation See **conversion**.