

Analysing Older English

Is historical linguistics different in principle from other linguistic research? This book addresses problems encountered in gathering and analysing data from early English, including the incomplete nature of the evidence and the dangers of misinterpretation or over-interpretation. Even so, gaps in the data can sometimes be filled. The volume brings together a team of leading English historical linguists who have encountered such issues first-hand, to discuss and suggest solutions to a range of problems in the phonology, syntax, dialectology and onomastics of older English. The topics extend widely over the history of English, chronologically and linguistically, and include Anglo-Saxon naming practices, the phonology of the alliterative line, computational measurement of dialect similarity, dialect levelling and enregisterment in late Modern English, stress-timing in English phonology and the syntax of Old and early Modern English. The book will be of particular interest to researchers and students in English historical linguistics.

DAVID DENISON is Smith Professor of English Language and Medieval Literature in the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures at the University of Manchester.

RICARDO BERMÚDEZ-OTERO is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and English Language in the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures at the University of Manchester.

CHRIS McCULLY is Managing Director of the Graduate School for the Humanities at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

EMMA MOORE is Senior Lecturer in Sociolinguistics in the School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics at the University of Sheffield.



STUDIES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

General editor

Merja Kytö (Uppsala University)

Editorial Board

Bas Aarts (University College London)

John Algeo (University of Georgia)

Susan Fitzmaurice (University of Sheffield)

Christian Mair (University of Freiburg)

Charles F. Meyer (University of Massachusetts)

The aim of this series is to provide a framework for original studies of English, both present-day and past. All books are based securely on empirical research, and represent theoretical and descriptive contributions to our knowledge of national and international varieties of English, both written and spoken. The series covers a broad range of topics and approaches, including syntax, phonology, grammar, vocabulary, discourse, pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and is aimed at an international readership.

Already published in this series:

Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.): Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English Elizabeth Gordon, Lyle Campbell, Jennifer Hay, Margaret Maclagan, Andrea Sudbury and Peter Trudgill: New Zealand English: Its Origins and Evolution

Raymond Hickey (ed.): Legacies of Colonial English: Studies in Transported Dialects

Merja Kytö, Mats Rydén and Erik Smitterberg (eds.): Nineteenth-Century English: Stability and Change

John Algeo: British or American English? A Handbook of Word and Grammar Patterns Christian Mair: Twentieth-Century English: History, Variation and Standardization

Evelien Keizer: The English Noun Phrase: The Nature of Linguistic Categorization

Raymond Hickey: Irish English: History and Present-Day Forms

Günter Rohdenburg and Julia Schlüter (eds.): One Language, Two Grammars?: Differences between British and American English

Laurel J. Brinton: The Comment Clause in English: Syntactic Origins and Pragmatic Development Lieselotte Anderwald: The Morphology of English Dialects: Verb Formation in Non-standard English Geoffrey Leech, Marianne Hundt, Christian Mair and Nicholas Smith: Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical Study

Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö: Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing Daniel Schreier, Peter Trudgill, Edgar W. Schneider and Jeffrey P. Williams (eds.): The Lesser-Known Varieties of English: An Introduction

Hilde Hasselgård: Adjunct Adverbials in English

Raymond Hickey (ed.): Eighteenth-Century English: Ideology and Change

Charles Boberg: The English Language in Canada: Status, History and Comparative Analysis

Thomas Hoffmann: Preposition Placement in English: A Usage-based Approach Claudia Claridge: Hyperbole in English: A Corpus-based Study of Exaggeration Päivi Pahta and Andreas H. Jucker (eds.): Communicating Early English Manuscripts Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.): Medical Writing in Early Modern English

Earlier titles not listed are also available



Analysing Older English

Edited by

DAVID DENISON

RICARDO BERMÚDEZ-OTERO

CHRIS McCULLY

EMMA MOORE

with the assistance of Ayumi Miura





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

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

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521112468

© Cambridge University Press 2012

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

First published 2012

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

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

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Analysing older English / edited by David Denison. . . [et al.]; with the assistance of Ayumi Miura.

p. cm. – (Studies in English language) ISBN 978-0-521-11246-8 (hardback)

1. English language – History. 2. English language – Old English, ca. 450–1100 –

Versification. 3. English language – Middle English, 1100–1500 –

Versification. 4. Linguistic change. 5. Historical linguistics. I. Denison,

David, 1950- II. Title. III. Series.

PE1075.A56 2011 427–dc22 2011015138

ISBN 978-0-521-11246-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of figures and maps		page viii	
L_{i}	ist of tables	X	
L_{i}	ist of contributors	xii	
G	eneral introduction THE EDITORS, WITH DONKA MINKOVA	I	
_ :	art I letrics and onomastics in older English	5	
Ι	Introduction to Part I CHRISMCCULLYAND DAVID DENISON	7	
2	What explanatory metrics has to say about the history of English function words GEOFFREY RUSSOM	15	
3	to bære fulan flóde . óf bære fulan flode: on becoming a name in Easton and Winchester, Hampshire RICHARD COATES	28	
4	Notes on some interfaces between place-name material and linguistic theory PETER KITSON	35	
_ :	art II Triting practices in older English	57	
5	Introduction to Part II CHRISMCCULLY	59	
6	Anglian features in late West Saxon prose	63	

V



vi Contents

7	'ea' in early Middle English: from diphthong to digraph ROGERLASSAND MARGARET LAING	75
	art III ialects in older English	119
8	Introduction to Part III: on the impossibility of historical sociolinguistics E M M A M O O R E	121
9	Levelling and enregisterment in northern dialects of late Modern English JOAN BEAL	126
10	Quantitative historical dialectology APRIL MCMAHONAND WARREN MAGUIRE	140
II	Reconstructing syntactic continuity and change in early Modern English regional dialects: the case of <i>who</i> TERTTUNEVALAINEN	159
	art IV ound change in older English	185
12	Introduction to Part IV: when a knowledge of history is a dangerous thing RICARDOBERMÚDEZ-OTERO	187
13	Syllable weight and the weak-verb paradigms in Old English DONKAMINKOVA	194
14	How to weaken one's consonants, strengthen one's vowels and remain English at the same time NIKOLAUS RITT	213
15	Degemination in English, with special reference to the Middle English period DEREK BRITTON	232
	art V yntax in older English	245
16	Introduction to Part V DAVID DENISON	247



		Contents	vii
17	The status of the postposed 'and-adjective' construction in Old English: attributive or		
	predicative? OLGAFISCHER		251
18	DO with weak verbs in early Modern English ANTHONY WARNER		285
R	eferences		306
In	ndex		33I



Figures and maps

Figures

IO.I	Common ancestral form as node, allowing	
	slot-matching	<i>page</i> 148
10.2	Modern 'Typical' varieties of British English; major	
	split showing rhoticity	150
10.3	Scottish and Northumbrian varieties	151
10.4	NeighborNet, historical and 'Traditional' modern	
	varieties	154
10.5	Comparison of Northern Middle English with	
	Edinburgh Traditional versus Devon Traditional	156
II.Ia	Subject relative markers with human and deity	
	reference, 1460–99 (based on Nevalainen and	
	Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 115)	166
11.1b	Subject relative markers with human reference,	
	1460–99 (based on Nevalainen and	
	Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 115)	167
II.2a	Subject relative markers with human and deity	
	reference, 1560–99 (based on Nevalainen and	
	Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 118)	167
11.2b	Subject relative markers with human reference,	
	1560-99 (based on Nevalainen and Raumolin-	
	Brunberg 2002: 118)	168
11.3	Relative frequencies (%) of the relative adverbs there	
	and where in Middle English (based on Osterman	
	2001: 252)	170
II.4	Subject relative strategies with human reference in	
	the CEEC in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries	
	(WH = who and which)	172
11.5	Subject relatives with human reference in restrictive	
	relative clauses in correspondence (CEEC 1998 and	
	the CEEC Extension)	173

viii



	List of figures and ma	ps ix
11.6	Subject relatives with human reference in restrictive	
	relative clauses in three genres (combined figures,	
	based on Ball 1996: 246, 249)	174
11.7a	Subject relativisation strategies with human reference	
	in Norfolk (based on Poussa 2006: 329, 331)	175
11.7b	Subject relativisers with human reference in Norfolk	, ,
,	(based on Poussa 2006: 329, 331)	176
11.8	Subject relativisation strategies with human reference	,
	in correspondence (CEEC 1998 and CEEC	
	Extension)	178
13.I	Weak preterite formation in OE and PDE	,
-	(Traditional)	195
13.2	Syncopation patterns in OE weak dental preterites	197
13.3	Weak preterite formation in OE and PDE (Revised)	202
	Maps	
IO.I	Localities surveyed in the British Isles, surveyed for	
	the Sound Comparisons project	147
II.I	Regional distribution of the data in the Corpus of	-,
	Early English Correspondence (© Terttu Nevalainen	
	and the CEEC Team)	163



Tables

4.I	Linguistic variation in Old English herepað 'main road'	page 48
4.2	Herepað features by type or absence of qualifier	
7.I	'ea' variation for historical short nuclei in the Corpus	51
/.1	Ancrene Wisse	83
7.2	'ea' variation for historical long nuclei in the Corpus	03
7.2	Ancrene Wisse	85
7.3	'ea' variation for historical short nuclei in the	0)
7.5	Lambeth Homilies, language 1	87
7.4	'ea' variation for historical long nuclei in the Lambeth	0/
7.4	Homilies, language 1	88
7.	'ea' variation for historical short nuclei in the Trinity	00
7.5	Homilies, hand B	89
7.6	'ea' variation for historical long nuclei in the Trinity	09
7.0	Homilies, hand B	89
7.7	'ea' variation for historical short nuclei in <i>Vices and</i>	09
7.7	Virtues, hand A	90
7.8	'ea' variation for historical long nuclei in Vices and	90
/.0	Virtues, hand A	90
IO.I	English versus Scots in the Swadesh 100-word list	143
10.1	The 'Sound Comparisons' 110-word list	143 146
II.I	Social distribution of the writers represented in the	140
11.1	Corpus of Early English Correspondence (c. 1400–	
	1681; CEEC 1998)	162
13.I	Class I typical endings (from Lass 1994: 176)	196
13.2	A new taxonomy of the Old English weak verbs:	190
13.2	preterite formation stem $+ d$ -	201
12.2	Type -C (-C ₁): $gr\bar{e}t$ -an- $gr\bar{e}tte$ 'greeted' (1sg. and 3sg.)	201
13.3	Type $-C(-C_1)$: gret-an-grette greeted (1sg. and 3sg.) Type $-C(-C_1C_1)$: hreddan-hredde 'saved' (1sg. and 3sg.)	•
13.4	Other consonantal stems $-C_iC_i$: bytlan-bytlede 'built'	205
13.5	(isg. and 3sg.)	207
13.6	Type -V stems: <i>herian-herede</i> 'praised' (1sg. and 3sg.)	207 208
-	Type -V stems: <i>nertan-nerede</i> praised (isg. and 3sg.) Type -V stems: <i>endian-endode</i> 'ended' (isg. and 3sg.)	
13.7	1 ype - v stems. enatum-enature enaeu (18g. and 38g.)	208

 \mathbf{X}



	List of tables	xi
13.8	Present tense paradigm	210
17.1	Parameters in the expression of rheme/theme in NPs	
,	linked to APs in Old English	254
17.2	Different types of and-constructions in the Old	
	English Corpus	265
17.3	Factors at work in and-constructions (number of	
	times each factor occurs in a construction)	267
17.4	(Combination of) factors at work in and-constructions	
	counted per construction	270
18.1	Percentages of DO in the past and present of the third	
	person singular of regular weak verbs in negative	
	declaratives 1465–1710	287
18.2	Percentages of DO in the past and present of the third	
	person singular of regular weak verbs in negative	
	declaratives 1465–1710 divided at 1570	287
18.3	Percentages of DO in the past and present of the third	
	person singular of irregular verbs in negative	
	declaratives 1501–1710	288
18.4	Percentages of DO in the past and present of third	
	person singular regular weak verbs in inverted	00
0	questions 1465–1710	288
18.5	Percentages of DO in the past and present of third	
	person singular regular weak verbs in inverted	. 00
-0.6	questions 1465–1710 divided at 1600	288
18.6	Percentages of DO in the past and present of third	
	person singular irregular verbs in inverted questions 1465–1710	•0•
-0 -	Regular weak verbs in questions 1600–1710: incidence	289
18.7	of particular items in the third person singular	202
18.8	Irregular verbs in questions 1600–1710: incidence of	292
10.0	particular items in the third person singular	294
18.9	Incidence of DO across text types in regular verbs	2 94
10.9	1570–1710, third person singular in negative	
	declaratives	297
18.10	Incidence of DO across text types in irregular verbs	-9/
10110	1570–1710, third person singular in negative	
	declaratives	297
18.11	Tokens produced by a hypothetical early Modern	71
	English speaker with 50% DO	299
18.12	Tokens perceived by a hypothetical early Modern	//
	English hearer who misperceives 10% of inflected	
	pasts as presents	299



Contributors

JOAN BEAL (School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics, University of Sheffield)

RICARDO BERMÚDEZ-OTERO (Linguistics and English Language, University of Manchester)

DEREK BRITTON (Linguistics and English Language, University of Edinburgh)

RICHARD COATES (Bristol Centre for Linguistics, University of the West of England, Bristol)

DAVID DENISON (Linguistics and English Language, University of Manchester)

OLGA FISCHER (Department of English Language and Literature, University of Amsterdam)

R. D. FULK (Department of English, Indiana University)

PETER KITSON (formerly Department of English, University of Birmingham)

MARGARET LAING (Linguistics and English Language, University of Edinburgh)

ROGER LASS (English Language & Literature, University of Cape Town; Linguistics and English Language, University of Edinburgh)

WARREN MAGUIRE (Linguistics and English Language, University of Edinburgh)

CHRIS MCCULLY (Graduate School for the Humanities at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

APRIL MCMAHON (Vice-Chancellor, Aberystwyth University)

xii



List of contributors xiii

DONKA MINKOVA (Department of English, University of California, Los Angeles)

EMMA MOORE (School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics, University of Sheffield)

TERTTU NEVALAINEN (Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki)

NIKOLAUS RITT (Department of English, University of Vienna)

GEOFFREY RUSSOM (Department of English, Brown University)

ANTHONY WARNER (Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York)