Contents

List of figures xi
List of tables xii
List of abbreviations xiv

1 Introduction 1
  1.1 Chain-shifts 1
  1.2 Topics and aims 3
    1.2.1 Middle English long-vowel change 3
    1.2.2 Previous research on the ‘Great Vowel Shift’ 7
    1.2.3 What is wrong with the traditional account of the ‘GVS’? 10
    1.2.4 The purpose and scope of this study 12
  1.3 Description of sources and method 14
    1.3.1 Introduction and description of LALME 14
    1.3.2 Introduction and description of SMED 15
    1.3.3 Introduction and description of LAEME 18
    1.3.4 Introduction and description of additional ME sources 20
    1.3.5 The corpus approach 21
  1.4 Presentation of material, notation, and organisation 22
    1.4.1 Material from LAEME 23
    1.4.2 Material from SMED 23
    1.4.3 Material from LALME 23
    1.4.4 Material from additional ME sources 24
    1.4.5 Notation 24
    1.4.6 Organisation 25
  1.5 On using spelling as evidence for sound change 25

2 The development of OE ā 37
  2.1 Introduction 37
  2.2 On the nature of OE ā 37
  2.3 Handbooks on the development of OE ā 40
  2.4 Discussion 42
    2.4.1 On <o(o)> as evidence of change 42
    2.4.2 On French loans and MEOSL 44
viii

Contents

2.5 Discussion of material for OE ā
  2.5.1 Discussion of LAEME material 45
  2.5.2 Discussion of SMED material 48
  2.5.3 Discussion of LALME material 52
  2.5.4 OE w+ā 53
  2.5.5 OE –ealād, –aldā 53
  2.6 Summary and conclusions 58
  2.7 Tables of ME material
    2.7.1 Material from LAEME 65
    2.7.2 Material from SMED 73

3 The development of OE āê
  3.1 Introduction 78
  3.2 Discussion
    3.2.1 Discussion of LAEME material 80
    3.2.2 Discussion of SMED material 94
    3.2.3 Discussion of LALME material 95
    3.2.4 Discussion of material from additional sources 96
  3.3 Summary and conclusions 97

4 The development of OE ǣ and ǣo
  4.1 Introduction 103
  4.2 Discussion
    4.2.1 Discussion of LAEME material 106
    4.2.2 Discussion of SMED material 111
    4.2.3 Discussion of LALME material 117
    4.2.4 Discussion of material from additional sources 119
  4.3 Summary and conclusions 125
    4.3.1 Old English ē 125
    4.3.2 Old English ēo 127

5 The development of ME ĭ
  5.1 Introduction 138
  5.2 The developments of various OE sources to eME ĭ
    5.2.1 OE ǣ/y 139
    5.2.2 OE ī/i before g and voiced consonant clusters 139
    5.2.3 The diphthongs ēo, ēa, ēa 139
    5.2.4 Palatal mutation 141
    5.2.5 Other considerations 143
  5.3 On <ei>/<ey> as evidence of diphthongisation of ME ĭ
    5.3.1 Arguments against interpreting <ei>/<ey> as evidence of diphthongisation 143
    5.3.2 Arguments for using <ei>/<ey> as evidence of diphthongisation 147
    5.3.3 The chronology of changes in the front vowel area 149
Contents ix

5.4 Discussion of ME potential vowel-shift spellings for ı 164
  5.4.1 Discussion of LAEME material 164
  5.4.2 Discussion of SMED material 173
  5.4.3 Discussion of LALME material 176
  5.4.4 Discussion of material from additional sources 182
5.5 Summary and conclusions 186

6 The development of OE ȯ 197
  6.1 Introduction 197
  6.2 Discussion of ME spellings 199
    6.2.1 Discussion of LAEME material 199
    6.2.2 Discussion of SMED material 204
    6.2.3 Discussion of LALME material 214
    6.2.4 Discussion of material from additional sources 218
    6.2.5 Discussion of northern fronting and southern raising 221
  6.3 Summary and conclusions 230
    6.3.1 The southern shift ȯ > [uː] 230
    6.3.2 The northern shift ȯ > [ǔː] 232

7 The development of ME ū 239
  7.1 Introduction 239
  7.2 Discussion of ME spellings 242
    7.2.1 Discussion of LAEME material 242
    7.2.2 Discussion of SMED material 245
    7.2.3 Discussion of LALME material 246
    7.2.4 Discussion of material from additional sources 249
    7.2.5 Discussion of inverted <ug>/<uw> spellings for OE ū 251
  7.3 Summary and conclusions 252

8 The development of OE ȳ 262
  8.1 Introduction 262
  8.2 Discussion of ME spellings 265
    8.2.1 Discussion of LAEME material 265
    8.2.2 Discussion of SMED material 278
    8.2.3 Discussion of LALME material 282
    8.2.4 Discussion of material from additional sources 285
  8.3 Summary and conclusions 288
    8.3.1 The general development of OE ȳ and lengthened OE ỹ 288
    8.3.2 Diphthongisation and raising of eME  yı 292

9 Summary and conclusions 298
  9.1 Summaries of long-vowel shifts 298
    9.1.1 The development of OE ỹ 298
    9.1.2 The development of OE ȧ 300
    9.1.3 The development of OE ǡ 302
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1.4 The development of OE ē and ēō</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1.5 The development of eME ē</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1.6 The development of ME ē</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1.7 The development of eME ēō</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1.8 Conclusion</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2 Isolative vs. combinative change, and lexical diffusion</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3 The dating of the ‘GVS’</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4 The ‘GVS’ in a wider perspective</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.1 The inception of sound-change</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.2 The adoption and spread of sound-change</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References: 323
Index: 338