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## The Elements of Old English

Consisting of ELEMENTARY GRAMMAR (with selections for reading)

REFERENCE GRAMMAR

By SAMUEL MOORE
University of Michigan
and
THOMAS A. KNOTT
University of Chicago

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# Historical Outlines of English Phonology 

## and Middle English Grammar

FOR COURSES IN CHAUCER, MIDDLE ENGLISH, AND THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

## By

SAMUEL MOORE
Associate Professor of English in the
University of Michigan


GEORGE WAHR
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
1919

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## PREFACE

Inasmuch as this book is intended for use in three distinct courses of the English curriculum-Chaucer, Middle English, and the history of the English language-I hope I may be permitted a few words of explanation as to the purpose its various parts are intended to serve in relation to these courses.

The elementary course in Chaucer is usually the student's introduction both to the study of medieval literature and to the study of Middle English. There will always, probably, be difference of opinion as to the relative emphasis' that should be placed on these two aspects of the course, but its content must always be to some extent linguistic. All teachers desire that their students shall learn to read Chaucer aloud with a facility comparable to that with which they read a modern poet and with a fair degree of approximation to Chaucer's own pronunciation, and most teachers desire that they shall acquire some notion of the organic value of final $e$ in Chaucer's language. The purpose of Part II of this book is to enable the elementary student to acquire a sound and accurate knowledge of Chaucer's language without the expenditure of an inordinate amount of time, and to arouse the student's interest in this part of his work by emphasising the principles that are illustrated in the study of Chaucer's language. The treatment of the subject is intended to be thoroly clear to students who have not studied Old English, and yet to give such students some degree of real understanding of the relation of Chaucer's language to Old English on the one hand and to Modern English on the other.

Of all the languages taught in our universities Middle English furnishes the best material for the study of language in the making, for the direct observation of linguistic change; yet the pedagogical difficulties involved in emphasising adequately this aspect of the study of Middle English are such that our courses in Middle English have tended on the whole to become mere translation courses. In Part IV of this book, dealing with the historical development of Middle English inflections, I have tried to unify for the student the apparent confusion of Early Middle English forms by showing in detail how Old English developed
into the Middle English of Chaucer thru the action of the two great causes of change in language, sound change and analogy. The study of Part IV is prepared for by the account of the history of English sounds which is contained in Part III, and it is supplemented by the account of the Middle English dialects which is contained in Part V. Parts III, IV, and V , like Part II, are intended to be thoroly clear to students who have not studied Old English, but they are equally well adapted to the needs of the student who has studied Old English.

The course in the history of the English language is usually intended for students who have studied neither Old English nor Middle English, and for that reason it presents certain difficulties for the teacher. The greatest difficulty is that of enabling such students to acquire anything approaching a clear and definite knowledge of the changes of pronunciation that have taken place in English during the past thousand years. The best method, I believe, of meeting this difficulty is to begin the study of English phonology with the phonetic analysis of the student's own speech, this analysis being accompanied by and based upon a study of the elements of phonetics and practice in the use of a phonetic alphabet. If then the Old English, Middle English, and Modern English words that illustrate English sound changes are interpreted by means of the phonetic alphabet which the student has learned, he can gain from a study of them such a knowledge of the history of English sounds as he could not possibly gain from a study of the same words in their ordinary spellings. The Introduction to this book, dealing with the elements of phonetics, Part I, dealing with Modern English sounds, and Part III, dealing with the history of English sounds, furnish material for the study of English phonology according to this method. The study of the history of English inflections may be based on Part IV, which deals with the historical development of Middle English inflections, for, tho the inflections of Modern English are outside the scope of this book, it is not difficult to show the student that the Modern English forms are virtually those of Late Middle English minus the final $e$ which was lost in the fifteenth century.

The phonetic notation I have used in this book is a modification of that of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Practical considerations, however, have led me to depart from the International alphabet farther than I originally intended. For the purposes of this book it seemed clearly desirable to use as the sign of vowel length the macron which is
used by editors of Old and Middle English texts rather than the colon of the International alphabet. There seemed also to be a distinct advantage in using as the symbols of "open $o$ " and "open $e$ " the characters $\overline{\mathbf{q}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ which are used in Middle English texts rather than the International symbols. Some persons may possibly object to my use of $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ as symbols for the vowel sounds of Modern English they and low. My primary reason for using these symbols rather than symbols that indicate the diphthongal nature of these vowels is that the amount and kind of diphthongisation of these and other "long vowels" is by no means uniform in American English. It therefore seemed best to use $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{0}}$, etc. as somewhat conventional symbols for these sounds and to explain their diphthongal nature at appropriate places in the footnotes.

It would be impossible for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to all the sources I have used in the preparation of this book, but I know that I am under particular obligations to Sweet's History of English Sounds, New English Grammar, First Middle English Primer, Second Middle English Primer, Sounds of English, and Primer of Spoken English; Jespersen's Progress in Language with Special Reference to English and Modern English Grammar, Part I (Sounds and Spellings); Wyld's Historical Study of the Mother Tongue and Short History of English; Grandgent's English in America (Die Neueren Sprachen, II, 443 ff., 520 ff.); Morsbach's Mittelenglische Grammatik; Kaluza's Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache; Stratmann's Middle English Dictionary (revised by Bradley); Emerson's Middle English Reader; Child's Observations on the Language of Chaucer; Kittredge's Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus; Ten Brink's Language and Metre of Chaucer (translated by Smith); Liddell's grammatical introduction to his edition of Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, Knightes Tale, etc.; Skeat's Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, 6 vols.); Cromie's Ryme-Index to the Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales; and Hempl's Chaucer's Pronunciation.

I am much indebted to my colleague Prof. W. R. Humphreys for help he has given me in reading proof.

I need scarcely say that I shall be grateful to those who will call my attention to any omissions or errors which they may observe in their use of this book or who can suggest any changes by which it may be better adapted to the purposes for which it is intended.
S. M.

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## INTRODUCTION

## The Elements of Phonetics

1. Organs of Speech. Speech-sounds are produced by a stream of air expelled from the lungs, which is modified in various ways by means of the larynx, containing the vocal cords; the soft palate; the hard palate; the teeth; the lips; the tongue; and the nasal passage. The hard and soft palates form the roof of the mouth, the hard palate being in front, the soft palate behind. By the varied activity of these organs, the various consonant and vowel sounds are produced.
2. Voiced and Voiceless Sounds. With reference to the activity of the vocal cords, sounds are either voiced or voiceless. All speech sounds are produced by the expulsion of a stream of air from the lungs. In the production of a voiceless or breath sound, the stream of air passes freely thru the larynx; the vocal cords are wide open, so that they offer no impediment to the stream of air and therefore do not vibrate. But in the production of a voiced sound, the vocal cords are drawn close together so that they are caused to vibrate by the stream of air which passes between them. This vibration can be felt by placing the first two fingers upon the larynx or "Adam's apple" while one is pronouncing a vowel sound, or the consonant $\mathbf{v}$. All vowel sounds are voiced, but consonants may be either voiced or voiceless. It is voice that distinguishes $\boldsymbol{g}$ (as in get) from $\mathbf{k}, \mathbf{d}$ from $\mathbf{t}, \mathbf{b}$ from $\mathbf{p}, \mathbf{v}$ from $\mathbf{f}, \mathbf{z}$ from $\mathbf{s}$ (as in soon), and the sound of th in then from the sound of th in thin. ${ }^{1}$
3. Stops and Spirants. With reference to the manner of their articulation, consonants are distinguished as stopped consonants (or explosives)

[^0]and open consonants (or spirants). In the production of stopped consonants, the outgo of breath from the lungs is stopped at some point by the complete closing of the mouth passage. The increasing pressure of the breath then forces open the stoppage, causing an explosive sound. In the production of open consonants or spirants, the mouth passage is not completely stopped, but the air from the lungs is made to pass thru a narrow opening with so much friction as to cause a buzzing or hissing noise. Stopped consonants are Modern English g (as in get), k, d, t, b, $\mathbf{p}$; open consonants are $\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{s}$, th (as in then), th (as in thin), $\mathbf{v}, \mathbf{f} .{ }^{2}$
4. The complete or partial closure required to produce stops and open consonants is made by means of the tongue or lips, and the quality of the various sounds is determined by the manner in which the closure is made. Modern English $\mathbf{g}$ (as in get) and $\mathbf{k}$ are produced by pressure of the tongue against the soft palate; $\mathbf{y}$ (as in yield), is made by an incomplete closure between the tongue and the hard palate; $\mathbf{d}$ and $\mathbf{t}$ are made by the pressure of the front of the tongue against the ridge above the upper front teeth; $\mathbf{z}$ and $\mathbf{s}$ are made with an incomplete closure at the same point; $\mathbf{b}$ and $\mathbf{p}$ are produced by means of a closure of the two lips; $\mathbf{v}$ and $\mathbf{f}$ are produced by an incomplete closure between the lower lip and the upper front teeth; th as in then, and th as in thin are produced by causing air to pass between the tip of the tongue and the backs or edges of the upper front teeth.
5. According to the place of their formation, these consonants are therefore classified as back or velar consonants ( $\mathbf{g}, \mathbf{k}$ ); front or palatal consonants ( $\mathbf{y}$ ) ; dental consonants ( $\mathbf{d}, \mathbf{t}, \mathbf{z}, \mathbf{s}$, th in then, th in thin); and labial consonants ( $\mathbf{b}, \mathbf{p}, \mathbf{v}, \mathbf{f}$ ).
6. Nasal and Oral Consonants. With reference to the activity of the nasal passage, consonants are classified as oral or nasal. All of the consonants mentioned in the preceding paragraph are oral consonants. The nasal consonants are $\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}$, and $\mathbf{n g}$ (as in thing). In the articulation of the oral consonants, the passage from the throat to the nose is closed, so that the steam of air emitted by the lungs can escape only thru the mouth. In the articulation of the nasal consonants, however, the passage from the throat to the nose is left open, so that air can escape freely thru the nose.

[^1]At the same time the mouth passage is completely stopped, the closure being made for $\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}$, and $\mathbf{n g}$, precisely as for $\mathbf{b}$, $\mathbf{d}$, and $\mathbf{g}$, respectively. ${ }^{3}$
7. Vowels. Vowel sounds are more open than open consonanc sounds. In the formation of an open consonant, a stream of air is made to pass thru an opening so narrow that the passage of the air causes friction and therefore noise. In the formation of a vowel, however, the opening is so wide that the air in passing thru the mouth causes no friction at all.
8. Open and Close Vowels. But the vowels are not all equally open in their formation. If one pronounces in order the vowel sounds of the words hat, hate, heat, he will observe that in pronouncing each of these successive sounds the tongue is closer to the roof of the mouth. When we pronounce the series, the tongue starts from a position considerably below the roof of the mouth and ends in a position quite close to the roof of the mouth. This can be felt, and it can also be seen by pronouncing the sounds before a mirror. The same thing can be observed in regard to the vowels of the words law, low, loot. As we pronounce this series of vowels, we can feel the tongue going higher in the mouth, and we can see it indirectly by watching the upward movement of the lower jaw as we pronounce the three sounds before a mirror.
9. This difference in openness or height is the basis of one of the most important classifications of vowel sounds. We distinguish at least three degrees in the height of vowel sounds. If the tongue is quite close to the roof of the mouth, we call the vowel a high vowel. If the tongue occupies a low position in the mouth, we call the vowel a low vowel. If the tongue is in a position about midway between its extreme high position and its extreme low position, we call the vowel a mid vowel. So the vowels of law and hat are low vowels, the vowels of low and hate are mid vowels, and the vowels of loot and heat are high vowels.
10. Back and Front Vowels. When we pronounce in succession the two series of vowels heard in law, low, loot, and hat, hate, heat, we can perceive that the tongue lies differently as we utter the two series. When we pronounce the vowels of law, low, loot, it is the back of the tongue that is closest to the roof of the mouth. When we pronounce the vowels of

[^2]hat, hate, heat, it is the front of the tongue that is closest to the roof of the mouth. This can be felt, and it can also be seen by looking into the mouth as we pronounce the two series of sounds before a mirror. We therefore call the vowels of law, low, loot, back vowels, and the vowels of hat, hate, heat front vowels. This is the second basis of the classification of vowel sounds.
11. Combining the two classifications of vowel sounds, we say that the vowel of hat is a low front vowel, that the vowel of hate is a mid front vowel, that the vowel of heat is a high front vowel, that the vowel of law is a low back vowel, that the vowel of low is a mid back vowel, and that the vowel of loot is a high back vowel. ${ }^{4}$
12. Round and Unround Vowels. If one pronounces before a mirror the two series of vowel sounds heard in hat, hate, heat, and law, low, loot, he will see that the action of the lips in pronouncing the two series is not the same. In pronouncing the first series, the corners of the mouth are drawn apart so as to make a wide opening. But in pronouncing the latter series, the corners of the mouth are drawn together so as to make a more or less rounded opening; in fact, one finds that he cannot pronounce this series of vowels with the corners of the mouth drawn apart. We therefore make a further distinction between round and unround vowels, and call the vowel of law a low back round vowel, the vowel of low a mid back round vowel, and the yowel of loot a high back round vowel. The vowels of hat, hate, heat, on the other hand, are unround vowels.
13. Generally speaking, back vowels tend to be round, and front vowels to be unround. But unround back vowels and round front vowels also occur. The vowel of Modern English far is a mid back unround vowel. Front round vowels may be illustrated by Modern German kuihn and müssen, in which are heard the long and short varieties of the high front round vowel. The yowel of kuihn may be produced by pronouncing the vowel of heat with the lips rounded as if for pronouncing the vowel of loot. The vowel of müssen may be produced by pronouncing the vowel of hit with the lips rounded as if for pronouncing the vowel of pull. No front round vowels occur in Modern English, but the two sounds just described were frequent sounds in Old English.

[^3]14. Quantity of Vowels. The foregoing classification of vowel sounds has reference only to the quality of vowels. But vowels differ from each other not only in quality but also in quanitiy or length of duration. With regard to quantity, vowels are distinguished as long and short. ${ }^{5}$ In Modern English the long vowel of meet differs from the short vowel of met not only in quantity but also in quality, the former being a high front vowel and the latter a mid front vowel. Likewise, the long vowel in loot differs from the short vowel in look both in quality and in quantity; both vowels are high back round vowels, but the latter is slightly lower or more open in its formation than the former. On the other hand, the long vowel of art differs from the vowel of the first syllable of artistic in length or duration alone.
15. Diphthongs. A diphthong consists of two vowel sounds pronounced in a single syllable. In Modern English we have diphthongs in the words foil, foul, and file.

[^4]
## PART I

## Modern English Sounds

16. Phonetic Alphabet. The sounds of Modern English are expressed in phonetic notation as follows:

| $\overline{\text { a }}$ | like | a | in | father |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - a | " | a | " | artistic, o in fodder |
| æ | " | a | " | hat |
| b | " | b | " | be |
| d | " | d | " | do |
| $\overline{\text { e }}$ | " | a | " | mate |
| $\mathrm{e}^{6}$ | " | a | " | chaotic |
| $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ | " | ai | " | airy |
| - $\mathbf{e}$ | " | e | " | met |
| f | " | f | " | fee |
| g | " | g | " | go |
| h | " | h | " | heed |
| i | " | i | " | machine |
| i | " | i | " | bit |
| ${ }^{16}$ | " | ia | " | carriage |
| - j | " | y | " | yes |
| k | " | k | " | kin |
| 1 | " | 1 | " | let |
| m | " | m | " | meet |
| n | " | n | " | net |
| 1 | " | ng | " | sing |
| ${ }^{\bar{o}}$ | " | 0 | " | note |
| - $0^{6}$ | " | 0 | " | donation |
| $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}$ | " | a | " | all |
| - $\mathbf{e}^{6}$ | " | au | " | audacious |
| p | " | p | " | pit |
| r | " | r | " | rat |
| s | ', | s | " | seat |
| 1 | " | sh | " | ship |

${ }^{6}$ This sound occurs only in unstressed syllables and in syllables with secondary stress; it does not occur in strongly stressed syllables.

|  | 3 | like | 8 | in | pleasure |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | t | " | t | " | tone |
|  | b | " | th | " | thin |
|  | $\gamma$ | " | th | " | then |
|  | $<\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ | " | oo | " | boot |
|  | u | " | u | " | push |
|  | A | " | u | " | hut |
|  | - $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ | " | u | " | urge |
|  | $\partial^{6}$ | " | a | " | about |
|  | v | " | v | " | vat |
|  | w | " | w | " | win |
|  | z | " | z | " | zest |
| Dipththongs: |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ai | " | i | " | find |
|  | au | " | ou | " | ou |
|  | jū] | " | u | " | accuse, mute |
|  | iu) |  |  |  |  |
|  | ju ${ }^{6}$ | " | u | " | accusation |
|  | Qi | " | oy | " | boy |

Consonant combinations:

| hw | $"$ | wh | in | why |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tf | $"$ | ch | $"$ | chew |
| dz | $"$ | j | $"$ | jaw |

For the representation of certain sounds which occurred in Old English and Middle English, but which do not occur in Modern English, the following additional characters are needed:
$\mathbf{h}$ before consonants and after vowels like ch in German ich, nacht ${ }^{7}$
z "g "North German sagen
$\overline{\mathbf{y}}$
y
" üh " German kühn
$\begin{array}{llll}" \ddot{i} & ", & \text { " } & \text { müssen } \\ " \ddot{0} & " & " & \text { hören } \\ " \ddot{0} & " & " & \text { wörter }\end{array}$

[^5]17. Keywords. The Modern English key-words given above are written in phonetic notation as follows:

| fäðor | gō | nōt | סęn | ækjūz, ækiuz ${ }^{8}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| artistrk | hīd | donēfon | būt | mjūt, miut ${ }^{8}$ |
| fadər | məlīn | $\overline{\text { Q }}$ | puf | ækjuzēโən |
| hæt | bit | Qdēfos | hat | boi |
| bī | kærǐdz | pit | $\mathrm{yrd}_{3}$ | hwai |
| dū | jęs | ræt | abaut | t $\bar{u}^{\text {a }}$ |
| mēt | kin | sit | væt | $\mathrm{d} \bar{\square}$ |
| keatrk | lęt | fip | win |  |
| ęrǐ | mit | plezzor | zęst |  |
| męt | nęt | tōn | faind |  |
| fí | sin | bin | aut |  |

18. Modern English in Phonetic Notation. The pronunciation represented in the paragraphs printed below is the natural pronunciation of the transcriber (who is a native of southeastern Pennsylvania) when speaking at a rate about midway between slow, formal speech and rapid, colloquial speech. In the transcriber's dialect the vowel [ $\partial]^{9 a}$ is extremely frequent and occurs in many situations where speakers from other localties would use [ $\mathbf{1}]$. In studying the transcription the student should observe that many words, especially pronouns, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs, have "strong" and "weak" forms. The strong forms are used when these words are strongly stressed, the weak forms are used when they are weakly stressed. For example, the strong form of who is [hū], the weak form is [hu] or [u]. The student should also observe that $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{m}$, and $\mathbf{n}$ often form a syllable even when they are not accompanied by a vowel; they do so, for example, in [papjal'r], line 7 ; [pipl], line 7 ; and [kanvarsēfn], line 3. Syllabic $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{1}, \mathbf{m}$, and $\mathbf{n}$, when necessary for clearness, are written ['r], ['1], ['m], and ['n]. In the conventional spelling the first paragraph of the text transcribed below is as follows:

In every cultivated language there are two great classes of words which, taken together, comprise the whole vocabulary. First, there are those words with which we become acquainted in ordinary conversa-tion,-which we learn, that is to say, from the members of our own family

[^6]and from our familiar associates, and which we should know and use even if we could not read or write. They concern the common things of life and are the stock in trade of all who speak the language. Such words may be called "popular," since they belong to the people at large and are not the exclusive possession of a limited class.
inn ęvrĭ kıltəvetəd lę̨ngwǐdz סęr ər tū grēt klæsəz əv wว̄rdz hw̌̌tf, tēkn təgęðər, kmpraiz ðə hōl vəkæbjələrĭ. fว̄rst, ðęr 'r ðōz wว̄rdz wəð witf wĭ bĭkım əkwēntəd ĭn $̄$ Q̄rdən'rĭ kanvərsēfn-hw̌̌tf wĭ lə̈rn, סæt əz tə sē, frəm סัə męmbərz əv ar ōn fæmlĭ ən frəm ar fəmiljər əsō fĩวts,
 kamən binz əv laif, ənd 'r $\partial ə$ stak inn trēd əv $\bar{l} l u$ spīk $\partial ə$ lēŋgwidz. satf wว̄rdz me bĭ kọld "papjəl'r," sins ðe balṑ ta đə pīpl ət lārdz ənd 'r nat ס̌̌ ǐksklūž̆v pəzęfn əv ə limətəd klæs.
 nōn tu ęvrǐ ędzəketəd pərsn, bət Əər əz litl əkēgn tu ĭmplọi ðəm ət hōm 'r ən ðə markət-plēs. ar farst əkwēntəns wəð ðəm kımz nat frəm ar
 lęktfərz סəət wĭ hīr, ơ סə mǭr fōrm'l kanvərsēfn əv hailĭ ędzəketəd spīkərz, hu 'r dəskıš̌ク sım pərtikjələr tapǐk ən ə stail əprōprǐatlĭ ęləvetəd əbıv ò̀ abitfual lęvl əv ęvrǐdē laif. satf wว̄rdz 'r kōl "lว̄rnəd," 'n đə dəstiŋkkin batwīn ðęm ən "papjal'r" wว̄rdz ǐz əv grēt əmpōrtns tu a rait andərstęndǐn əv lingwistǐk prasęs.

ठə dif'rns batwīn papjəl'r ən lə̆rnəd wårdz me bĭ īzal̆̆ sīn 'n ə 20 fjū əgzæmplz. wǐ me dəskraib ə gə̄rl əz "laivlǐ" ơr əz "vəvēfəs."
 "laif." ĭn סe lætər, wĭ 'r jūzĭy ə lætn dərivətǐv hwĭtf həz prəsaislĭ

 ęvrǐbadĭz vakæbjolərı̆. W̌̆ kænət rəmęmbər ə taim węn wǐ did nat nō ǐt, ən wǐ fīl fūr ठัət wǐ lว̄rnd ət lǭŋ bĭfǫr wǐ wər ēbəl to rīd. ọn
 wว̆rd "vəvēfəs." wĭ me īvn rəmęmbər ðə fə̋rst taim wǐ sQ̄ Ĭt 'n print or hə̋rd ət frəm sım grōnıp fręnd hu wəz tōkĭy ovr ar tfaildǐf hędz. bōp "laivlĭ" on "vəvēfəs" ər gud inglĭf wārdz, bat "laivlil" ǐz "papjol'r" ən "vəvēfəs" əz "lə̄rnəd."
ęvrĭ ędzəketəd pə̊rsən hæz ət līst tū wēz əv spīkĭy ĭz mıð̈ər tıŋ.

 męr kamplĭketəd sabdzǐkts，＇nd ən ədręsǔy pコ̄rsnz wəð hūm ǐ əz lęs intəmətlĭ əkwēntəd．it əz，＇n 〔ōrrt，סə lę̄ngwǐdz̧ wǐt؟ ĭ ĭmplọiz wən ĭ $\partial z$＂ọn ǐz dignətǐ，＂æz ǐ puts $\bar{Q} n ~ i ̄ v n i ̆ \eta ~ d r e ̨ s ~ w ə n ~ i ̌ ~ i ̆ z ~ g o ̄ i ̌ n ~ a u t ~ t o ~ d a i n . ~$. סə dif＇rns bətwīn ðīz tū fǫrmz əv lę̄ŋgwĭdz kənsists，＇n grēt męzər， ĭn ə dif＇rns əv vəkæbjələrĭ．Əə bēsəs əv fəmiljər wว̄rdz məst bĭ ðəə

 Øəər əz ōlso kənsid＇rəbl dif＇rns bətwīn fəmiljər ən dignəfaid lę̄ygwǐdz


 əbitfualĭ ĭmplọi sıtf kəntræk $n \mathrm{nz}$ əz＂ail，＂＂dōnt，＂＂wōnt，＂＂its，＂ ＂wīd，＂＂hīd，＂＇n $\delta \partial ~ l a i k, ~ h w ̌ ̌ t ؟ ~ w i ̌ ~ โ ə d ~ n e ̨ v ə r ~ j u ̄ z ~ ' n ~ p ı b l y ̆ k ~ s p i ̄ k ̌ ̌ y, ~$ ィnlęs ev sęt pə̄rpəs，tə giv ə mārkədlĭ kəlōkwĭəl tindz ta wat wǐ hæv to sē．
（Transcribed from Greenough and Kittredge＇s Words and their Ways in English Speech，pp．19，20，27，28．）

19．Phonetic Classification of Modern English Sounds．The vowels of Modern English are classified phonetically，according to the principles explained above in 7－14，as follows：

| BACK VOWELS |  | MIXED VOWELS |  | FRONT VOWELS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Round | Unround | Unround |  | Unround |
| High $\overline{\mathbf{u}}, \mathbf{u}$ |  |  |  | $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{i}, \mathbf{i}$ |
| Mid $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ ， $\mathbf{0}$ | $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \mathbf{a}, \boldsymbol{\wedge}$ | $ə$ | $\bar{x}$ | $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \mathbf{e}, \mathbf{e}$ |
| Low $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}, \underline{0}$ |  | $\bar{\square}$ |  | $\overline{\text { ex，}}$ æ |

The classification of the consonant sounds，according to the principles explained above in 1－6，is as follows：

Velar Palatal Dental Labial
Stops
Voiced
Voiceless k
Spirants
Voiced j
Voiceless
j

| $\mathbf{3}, \mathbf{z}, \boldsymbol{\gamma}$ | $\mathbf{v}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{f}, \mathbf{s}, \mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{f}$ |

Nasals
Voiced n
n
m
[I] is a "divided" consonant; it is produced by pressing the point of the tongue against the hard palate and allowing the air from the lungs to escape at the sides of the mouth; it is usually voiced, but sometimes voiceless, as in play.
$[\mathbf{r}]$ is produced by turning the point of the tongue up towards the hard palate; it is usually voiced, but sometimes voiceless, as in try.
[ $\mathbf{w}$ ] is a voiced, open, velar sound made with a decided rounding of the lips.
[hw] is a voiceless [w].
[h] is a breath sound made with the tongue and lips in the position, or approaching the position, which they will occupy in producing the vowel that follows.

## PART II

## THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER

## Pronunciation of Chaucer's Language

20. Pronunciation of Chaucer: Phonetic Notation. The following table shows the vowels and diphthongs of Chaucer's dialect of Middle English, expressed in the phonetic notation given above in section 16, and indicates also the spellings of those sounds which are usually found in the best manuscripts of Chaucer's works.

| Sound | Pronunciation | Spelling | Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ ] | like a in father | a, aa | bathed [ $\mathrm{bä}^{\text {® }}$ - $]^{9}{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| [a] | o " fodder | a | that [bat] |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ] | a " mate ${ }^{10}$ | ee, e | swete [swēto] |
| [ $\overline{\text { e }}$ ] | " ai " airy | ee, e | heeth [hęp] |
| [e] | e " met | e | wende [węndo] |
| [i] | $"$ machine ${ }^{10}$ | i, y | ryde [rida] |
| [i] | " bit | i, y | swich [swit]] |
| [ $\mathbf{0}$ ] | "o " note ${ }^{10}$ | oo, o | roote [rōtə] |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}$ ] | aw "' law | 00, o | hooly [hēli] |
| [0] | " au " audacious | 0 | folk [folk] |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ] | " oo " boot ${ }^{10}$ | ou, ow | foweles [füləs] |
| [u] | " u " full | $\mathbf{u}, \mathbf{0}$ | ful [ful] |

${ }^{\mathrm{s} b}$ The brackets indicate that the spellings they enclose are phonetic spellings.
${ }^{10}$ The Modern English sounds given as the equivalents of Chaucer's [ē], [ $\left.\mathbf{i}\right]$, [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{0}}\right]$, and [ū] are only approximate equivalents, for the Modern English sounds which we have represented by the symbols [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$, [ $\mathbf{i}]$. [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ], and [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ are in reality diphthongs, not simple vowels. The Modern English sounds which we have represented by $[\overline{\mathrm{e}}]$ and $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$ are more accurately represented phonetically by the symbols [ee] or [ei] and [ $\mathbf{\ell} \mathbf{0}]$ or [ou]. The Modern English sounds that we have represented by [i] and [ū] may be more accurately represented by the symbols [ii] and [uw]. Chaucer's [ē], [ $\mathbf{i}]$, $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$, and [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ were simple vowels, pronounced like the corresponding vowels of Modern German.

| [ə] | Jike a in about | e | sonne [sunna] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [au] | ou " out | au, aw | faught [fauht] |
| [ę] | [e] plus [i] ${ }^{11}$ | ai,ay, ei, ey | day [dęi], wey [węi] |
| [ęu] | " [e] plus [u] | eu, ew | fewe [fequa] |
| [iu] | [i] plus [u] ${ }^{12}$. | u, eu, ew | aventure [āvęntiura] reule [riula] |
| [¢i] | " oy in boy | oi, oy | coy [kqi] |
| [ $\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{u}$ ] | [ $\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$ plus [u] ${ }^{13}$ | ou, ow | bowe [bōuə] |
| [qu] | [2] plus u] ${ }^{14}$ | ou, ow, o | foughten [fquhton] |

21. Pronunciation of Vowels, Diphthongs, and Consonants. The pronunciation of the first 117 lines of Chaucer's Prologue is indicated in the texts printed below on pages 14 ff . The text on the right hand pages is transcribed in the phonetic notation which has been explained above in sections 16 and 20. The text on the left hand pages is printed in the spelling of the manuscripts, but with the addition of diacritics which indicate the pronunciation of the vowels and diphthongs. The symbols. which are used in the diacritical text are for the most part the same as those employed in the phonetic notation, but for greater convenience they are all given below in alphabetical order.
Symbols
$\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \mathbf{a a}$
$\mathbf{a}$
$\mathbf{a i}$, ay
$\mathbf{a u}, \mathbf{a w}$
$\overline{\mathbf{c}}$, ee
$\overline{\mathbf{e}}$, ee
$\mathbf{e}$
$\mathbf{e i}$, ey

| Pronunciation | Examples |
| :---: | :---: |
| like a in father | bāthed, baar |
| - " fodder | that |
| e plus i, approximately ey in they ${ }^{15}$ | saide, day |
| ou in house | faught, saw |
| a "mate | swëte, seeke |
| ai " airy | męte, hęeth |
| e " met | węnde |
| eqplus i, approximately ey in they ${ }^{15}$ | curteis, wey |

${ }^{11}$ A fair approximation to this sound is the a of Modern English mate, for this sound, as explained above in note 10 , is in reality a diphthong, not a simple vowel.
${ }^{12}$ A fairly close approximation to this sound is the $\mathbf{u}$ of Modern English mute.
${ }^{13}$ If one cannot acquire this diphthong, he may substitute for it the simple vowel [घ].
${ }^{14}$ If one cannot acquire this diphthong, he may substitute for it the simple vowel [e].
${ }^{15}$ See note 11 above.

| Symbols | Pronunciation | Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| eu, ew | like $\mathbf{i}$ in $\mathbf{u}$, approximately $\mathbf{u}$ in mute | reule, knew |
| equ, ęw | $\mathrm{e}^{\text {" }}$ u | feque |
| i, $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ | " i in machine | whill, rỳde |
| i, y | " i " bit | swich, lystes |
| $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$, oo | o " note | dōn, roote |
| $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}, 2 \mathrm{e}$ | aw " law | ¢ pen, heqly |
| e | " au " audacious | folk |
| 2 plus gh or h | $"$ a plus $\mathbf{u}^{16}$ | beghte |
| $\checkmark$ ¢ | " u in full | sŏnne |
| oi, oy | " oy " boy | coy |
| ou, ow | " oo " boot | hous, fowles |
| $\overline{\text { Qu }}$ u, $\overline{\mathrm{Q}} \mathrm{w}$ |  | sêule, bḕwe |
| qu | " ${ }^{\text {e }}$ " $\mathbf{u}^{18}$ | fqughten |
| ii | i " u, approximately $\mathbf{u}$ in mute | vertii |
|  | in f |  |

Unaccented e, as in sornne, saide, swēte, etc., is pronounced like a in Cuba. When this final $\mathbf{e}$ is written but is not pronounced in reading,

## 22.

Whan that Aprillee with his shoures soote The drŏghte of March hath pērced tō the roote, And bāthed ęuẹry veyne in swich licour Of which vęrtü ęngęndred is the flour;
5 Whan Zęphirus ęęk with his swēte bręęth Inspired hath in ęuẹry họlt and hęęth The tęndre crọppes, and the yŏnge sornne Hath in the Ram his halue cours yrŏnne, And smāle fowles māken męlōdȳe, 10 That slēpen al the nyght with $\bar{q} p e n ~ y \bar{e}$, SQ̄ priketh hęm nātüre in hir corrāges; Thannẹ lǫngen fọlk tō gọọn ọn pilgrimāges, And palmęrẹs fọr tō sēken straunge strōndes, Tō fęrne halwes kowthe in sǒndry lęndes.
${ }^{16}$ If one cannot acquire this diphthong, he may substitute for it the simple vowel [ $\mathbf{Q}$ ].
${ }^{17}$ If one cannot acquire this diphthong, he may substitute for it the simple vowel [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}$ ].
${ }^{18}$ This diphthong occurs only before gh or $\mathbf{h}$; if one cannot acquire it, he may sub-
stitute for it the simple vowel [0].
it is printed as $e$ if it is elided before a word beginning with a vowel or "weak $\mathbf{h}$ "; and as ẹ if it is apocopated before a word beginning with a consonant. Unaccented e occurring between two consonants of the same word is also printed as ee when it is not pronounced in reading, that is when it is syncopated. For an explanation of elision, apocopation. and syncopation see section 40 below.

Chaucer's consonant sounds are in general the same as those of Modern English. It should be observed, however, that gh is pronounced like ch in German ich, nacht; e.g., nyght [niht]; initial th is always pronounced like th in thin; e.g., that [bat]; final $\mathbf{s}$ is always pronounced [s], not [z]; e.g., was [was], shoures [ $\mathbf{i u} r \boldsymbol{\imath}$ ]; $\mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}$, and $\mathbf{w}$ are never silent; e.g., knyght [kniht], palmers [palmęrs], write [writo]; ng is pronounced like $\mathbf{n g}$ in finger; e.g., yonge [jungo]; $\mathbf{r}$ is strongly trilled with the tip of the tongue; consonants that are doubled in writing are usually pronounced double, as in Modern English pen-knife; e.g., sonne [sunna], alle [allə].

The letters $\mathbf{u}$ and $\mathbf{v}$ were interchangeable in Chaucer's time. For example in the text printed below the letter $\mathbf{u}$ represents the sound of [v] in euery (line 3), and the letter $\mathbf{v}$ represents the vowel [ $\mathbf{u}$ ] in Vnder (line 105).

PHONETIC NOTATION ${ }^{19}$
hwan pat āpril wip is fūrəs sōtə pa druht of martf hap pērsad tō pə rōta, and bāðəd ęvri vęin in swit! likūr of hwitl vęrtiu ęndzęndrəd is pa flūr;
5 hwan zęfirus ềk wib is swēta brę̉b inspïrad hap in ęvri họlt and hę̄p bə tęndər krọppəs, and pə juygə sunnə hap in pa ram is halvə kūrs irunnə, and smālə fūlos mākən męlōdīa, 10 pat slēpən al bə niht wib $\bar{q} p \not{ }^{2}$ īə, sर̄ prikəb hęm nātiur in hir kurādzəs; pan ląŋgən fọlk tō gǫn ọn pilgrimādzəs, and palmęrs fọr tō sēkən straundzə strōndəs, tō fęrna halwas, kūð in sundri lō̄ndəs.

[^7]And spęcially frọm ęuerry shīres ęnde Qf Eengelọnd tō Caunturbury they węnde, The họolly blisful martir fọr tō sēke That hęm hath họlpen whan that they węreẹ seeke.

Bifil that in that sęeson ọn a day,
In Southwęrk at the Tabard as I lay Rędy tō węnden ơn mȳ pilgrymāge Tō Cauntęrbury with ful dēuout corrāge, At nyght was come in tō that họstęlrye Wēl nȳne and twęnty in a cŏmpaignȳe Of sŏndry fọlk, by āuęntüre y-falle In felawẹshipe, and pilgrimẹs węrẹ they alle, That tōward Cauntęrbury wōlden rȳde. The chāmbres and the stābles węren wȳde, And wēl wē wępren ę̧sed atte bęste. And shọrtly, whan the sornne was tō ręste, Sō hadde I spōken with hęm ęuẹrychōn That I was ọ hir fellawẹshipe anōn, And māde fơrward ęrly fọr tō rȳse Tō tāke ourę wey thę̣r as I yow dēuȳse.

But nāthelęęs, whīl I hauę tȳme and spāce, Eęr that I fęrther in this tāle pāce, Mē thynketh it acơrdaunt tō rę̨soun Tō tęlle yow al the condicioun Of ęch of hęm sō as it sēmed mē, And whichẹ they węre, and ơf what dēgree, And ęek in what array that they wę̣re inne; And at a Knyght than worl I first bigynne.

A Knyght thęrr was and that a wŏrthy man, That frō the tȳme that hē first bigan Tō rīden out hē lǒued chiualrīe, Trōuthe and họnour, frēdōm and curteisie. Ful wŏrthy was hē in his lōrdes węrre, And thęrrtō hadde hē riden, nō man fęrre, As wèl in cristendōm as in hę̨thenęsse,

15 and spesiali frọm ęvri fīrəs ęndə ơf ęygəlọnd tō kaunturbri bęi węndə, pə hōli blisful martir fọr tō sēkə pat hęm hap họlpən hwan pat pęi wę̂r sēkə. bifil pat in pat sęzzūn ọn a dęi,
in sūð̌węrk at po tabard as ì lęi rędi tō węndən ọn mī pilgrimādzə tō kauntęrbri wip ful dēvūt kurādzə, at niht was kum in tō pat ọstęlrīə wēl nīn and twęnti in a kumpęinīə
of sundri fọlk, bī āvęntiur ifallə in felaufip, and pilgrims wę̃ bęi alla, pat tōward kauntęrburi wōldən rīdə. pə ttāmbərs and pa stābəls węrrən widə, and wēl wē węrran ęzad atto bęstə. and fortli, hwan pa sunnə was tō ręstə, sQ̨ had ī spōkzon wib ęm ęvritfọn pat ī was ọf hir felaufip anọn, and mādə fọrward ęrli fọr tō rīzə tō tāk ūr węi bę̣r as ī jū dēvizz.
but nāð̄əlę̄s, hwil ī av tīm and spāsə, ęr pat ī fęrðər in pis tāle pāsə, mē pinkəp it akordaunt tō ręzzūn tō tęllə jū al pə kọndisiūn ơf ętf ơf hęm sō as it sēməd mē,
and ęk in hwat arręi pat pęi wę̨r innə; and at a kniht pan wul i first biginnə.
a kniht pę̨r was and pat a wurði man, pat frō po tīmə pat ē first bigan tō rīdən ūt hē luvad tfivalrīa, trọ̄ư and ọnūr, frēdōm and kurtęizīə. ful wurðì was ē in is lǭrdəs węrro, and bę̄rtō had ē ridən, nē man fęrro, as wēl in kristəndōm as in hę̄ðənęssə,

50 And ęvẹre họnoured fọr his worrthynęsse.
At Alisaundre hē was whan it was wŏnne;
Ful ơfte tymẹ hē haddẹ the bōrd bigŏnne Abŏuen alle nacions in Prüce.
In Lęttōw hadde hē reysed and in Rüce, $\mathrm{N} \overline{\mathrm{Q}}$ cristen man sē ộte ọf his dēgree.
In Gernade at the seege ęęk hadde hē bē Of Algezzir and riden in Bęlmarȳe.
At Lyeys was hē and at Satalye Whan they węrẹ wornne, and in the Gręte Sęę.
At many a nōble armee hadde hē bē.
At mọrtal bataillęs hadde hē been fiftēne, And fọughten fọr ourẹ feith at Tramyssēne In lystes thries, and ay slayn his foo.
This ilke worrthy knyght haddẹ been alsō
Sormtȳme with the lōrd of Palatȳe
Agayn anōther hę̨then in Turkȳe;
And ęueręmọorę̣ hē hadde a sŏuẹreyn prȳs.
And thọugh that hē węrẹ worrthy, hē was wȳs, And of his port as meeke as is a mayde.
Hē nęuuerę yęt nō vileynȳẹ ne sayde
In al his lȳf vntō nō manęr wight.
Hē was a vęrray parfit, gęntil knyght.
But fọr tō tęllen yow of his array,
His hơrs węeę goode, but hē was nat gay;
Of fustian hē węred a gypon
Al bismŏterẹd with his habẹrgeon,
Fọr hē was lāte y-comẹ frọm his viāge
And węnte fọr tō doon his pilgrymāge.
With hym thę̃r was his sorne, a yǒng Squiēr,
A lŏuyęre and a lusty bachęlēr,
With lọkkes crulle, as they węrę leyd in pręsse.
Of twęnty yęęr ơf āge hē was, I gęsse;
Of his statürẹ hē was ơf equẹne lęngthe
And wǒnderly dēlyuẹre and of gręęt stręngthe;
and ęvr ọnūrəd fọr is wurðinęssə. at alisaundr ē was hwan it was wunnə; ful ơftə tīm hē had pə bǫrd bigunnə abuvən allə nāsiūns in priusə. in lętōu had ē ręizəd and in riusə, nō kriston man sō ơft ơf his dēgrē. in gęrnād at pə sēdz ęk had ē bē ơ aldzęzīr and ridən in bęlmarīə; at lięis was ē and at satalīə hwan pęi wę̨r wun, and in pa grę̄tə sę̃. at mani a nōbol armē had ē bē. at morrtal batęils had ē bēn fiftēnə, and fọuhton fọr ūr fęib at tramisēnə in listas prïas, and ęi slęin is fọ. pis ilkə wurði knịht had bēn alsō sumtīmə wib pə lōrrd of palatīə agęin anō゙ðər hę̧ðən in turkīə; and ęvərmǫr hē had a suvręin prīs. and pouh pat hē wę̀r wurði, hē was wīs, and of is port as mēk as is a męidə.
hē nęvvər jęt nē vilęinī nə sęidə in al is lif untō nō manęr wiht. hē was a vęrręi parfit, dzęntil kniht. but fọr tō tęllən jū ơf his arręi, his họrs wę̨r gōdə, but ē was nat gęi; ơf fustian hē wę̃rəd a dzipūn al bismutərd wib is habẹrdzūn, for hē was lāt ikum from his vīādzə and węntə forr tō dōn is pilgrimādzə.
wib im bę̨r was is sun, a jung skwiēr, a luvjęr and a lusti batfęlēr, wib lọkkəs krul, as bęi węrr lęid in prę̨ssə. of twęnti ję̨r of ādz ē was, ī gęssə; of his statiur hē was ơf ęvnə lęŋgpə and wundərli dēlivr and ơf grę̃t stręŋgbə;

85 And hē haddẹ been sǒmtyme in chyuachīe In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie, And bōrn hym weel, as ọf sō lītel spāce, In hōpẹ tō stōnden in his lādy grāce. Ęmbrouded was hē, as it węre a męęde
$90 \quad$ Al ful of fręsshe floures whȳte and ręęde; Syngynge hē was or floytynge al the day; Hē was as fręssh as is the mōnthẹ of May. Shơrt was his gownẹ, with slēues lọnge and wȳde; Wēl koude hē sitte ọn họrs and faire rỳde;
Hē koude sǫnges māk $e$ and wēl ęndīte, Iuste and ęek daunce, and weel purtreye and write. SQ̄ họọtẹ hē lŏued that bȳ nyghtertāle Hē sleep namọorę than dooth a nyghtyngāle. Curteis hē was, lęwẹly and sęruysāble, And carf bifōrn his fader at the tāble.

A Yēman hadde hē and sęruantz namō
At that tȳmẹ, fọr hym liste rīde s $\varrho \varrho$,
And hē was clad in cǫte and hood of grēne. A shęęf ơf pę̨cọk arwes, bright and kēne,
Vnder his bęlt hē bār ful thriftilȳWēl koude hē dręsse his takel yēmanly, His arwes drouped nọght with fęthẹres lēweAnd in his hand hē baar a myghty bōwe. A nọt hęęd hadde hē, with a broun visāge;
Of woodecraft wēl koude hē al the v̈sāge. Vpọn his arm hē baar a gay brācēr
And bȳ his sȳde a swērd and a bǒkẹlēr,
And on that oother sydde a gay daggēre
Harneised wēl and sharp as point of spęre;
A Cristopphre on his brēst of siluer sheene, An hōrrn hē bār, the bawdryk was ọf grēne;
A forster was hē soothly, as I gęsse.

85 and hē had bēn sumtīm in tfivatlī̀ in flaundərs, in artois, and pikardīə, and bōrn im wēl, as of sē lītəl spāsə, in hęp tō stōndən in is lādi grāsə. ęmbrūdəd was ē, as it wę̀r a mę̃də al ful of frę̧ə flūrəs hwīt and rę̨də; singing ē was ọ flọiting al pa dęi; hē was as fręf as is pə mōnb ơf męi. fort was is gūn, wip slēvas lōŋg and wīdə; wēl kūd ē sit ọn họrs and fęire rīdə; hē kūdə sǭngas māk and wēl ęndītə, dzust and ęek dauns, and wēl purtręi and writa. sē hēt hē luvad pat bī nihtərtāla hē slēp namēr pan dōp a nihtingālo. kurtęis ē was, lǫuli and sęrvizābal, and karf bifōrn is fader at pə tābəl.
a jēman had ē and sęrvants nam̄̄ at pat tīm, fọr im listə rīdə sō, and hē was klad in kọ̄t and hōd of grēnə. a fę̨f of pękook arwos, briht and kēnə, undər is bęlt ē bār ful briftiliwēl kūd ē dręs is takəl jēmanlī, his arwas drūpəd nọuht wib fęðrəs lǫuวand in is hand ē bār a mihti bq̄uә. a nọt hę̃d had ē wib a brūn vizādzə; of wōdəkraft wēl kūd ē al pə iuzādzə. upọn is arm hē bār a gęi brāsēr and bī is sīd a swērd and a buklēr, and ọn pat ōðəər sīd a gęi dagērə harnęizad wēl and farp as point ơf spērə; a kristơfr ọn is brēst ơf silvər fēnə, an họrn ē bār, pə baudrik was ơ grēnə; a fọrstər was ē sōpli, as ī gęsso.
23. Relation of Sounds to Spelling. The spelling of the vowels and diphthongs in the manuscripts of Chaucer's works is far from phonetic. In a phonetic system of spelling each character represents one sound, and only one. In the manuscripts of Chaucer, however,

| a | represents | [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ ] or [a] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| e | " | [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$, $[\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$, or [ e$]$ |
| ee | " | [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ or [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ |
| i | " | [i] or [i] |
| 0 | " | [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}],[\overline{\mathbf{q}}],[\mathbf{Q}],[\mathbf{u}]$, or [ $\mathbf{Q u} \mathbf{]}$ |
| 00 | " | [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$ or [ $\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$ |
| ou | " | [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$, [ $\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{u}]$, or [ $\mathbf{q u}$ ] |
| u | " | [u] or [iu] |
| y | " | [i] or [i] |

But in spite of these ambiguities of spelling, the pronunciation of a word in Chaucer's dialect can usually be inferred from the pronunciation of the word in Modern English.


[^8]24. The basis of the statements just made is that tho the pronunciation of the English vowel sounds has changed greatly since Chaucer's time, it has changed in a systematic and consistent way. Middle English $[\overline{\mathbf{Q}}]$ has regularly developed into Modern English [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ]; [ $\mathbf{h} \mathbf{Q} \mathbf{i l}]$ has become
 [ $\mathbf{s o} \mathbf{0}]$. That is, under the same conditions, a given Middle English sound has always developed into a certain corresponding Modern English sound.

But the conditions are not always the same. The development of a sound is often affected by the influence of other sounds which precede or follow it. Thus, Middle English [u] regularly developed into Modern English [A]; [sunnə] has become [sın], [undər] has become [andər], [luva] has become [live]. But when Middle English [u] was preceded by a lip consonant ( $\mathbf{b}, \mathbf{p}, \mathbf{f}$, or $\mathbf{w}$ ) and was followed by $\mathbf{l}$, it has been preserved in Modern English; e.g., Middle English [bula], [pulla], [ful], and [wulf] are Modern English [bul], [pul], [ful], and [wulf]. Moreover, vowels change not only in quality, but also in quantity. Long vowels may become short, and short vowels may become long. For example, in a number of words Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ], which has regularly become [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ] in Modern English, is represented by Modern English [u]. This is not because Middle English $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$ has in these words changed to [ $\mathbf{u}$ ] instead of $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$, but because, after $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$ had become $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$, the $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ was shortened to $[\mathbf{u}]$. Thus we have Modern English [gud], [hud], and [stud] from Middle English gōd, hōd, and stōd. So also with Modern English [bręb] from Middle English brętth; Middle English [ḕ] regularly changed to Modern English [ $\mathbf{i}]$, but in this case [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ was shortened to [ $\mathbf{e}]$ before the change to $[\mathbf{i}]$ occurred.
25. The statements, therefore, that have been made with regard to the relation between Middle English sounds and Modern English sounds are not sufficient to enable us to determine the pronunciation of all Middle English words. But where the evidence of the Modern English pronunciation is not clear, it is almost always possible to determine the Middle English pronunciation of a native English word from a knowledge of its pronunciation in Old English. ${ }^{21}$

[^9]

By the application of the rules that have been given in this section of the grammar the student will be able to ascertain the pronunciation of the great majority of the words that occur in Chaucer's works. A more systematic and detailed account of the history of English sounds will be found in sections $42-45$ below.

[^10]
## INFLECTIONS OF CHAUCER'S LANGUAGE

26. Declension of Nouns. The regular inflection of nouns in Chaucer, as exemplified by dom, judgment, and ende, end, is as follows:

| Sing. Nom., Dat., Acc. | dom <br> domes | ende <br> endes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Plur. Nom., Gen., Dat., Acc. | domes <br> dondes |  |

The following exceptions occur:

1. The genitive singular of proper nouns ending in $\mathbf{s}$ is frequently without ending; e.g., Epicurus owme sone, A 336.
2. The genitive singular of nouns of relationship ending in $\mathbf{r}$ is sometimes without ending; e.g., my fader soule, A 781; brother sone, A $3084 .{ }^{23 b}$
3. The genitive singular of nouns which belonged to the Old English "weak" declension is sometimes without ending; e.g., his lady grace, A 88; the sonne up-riste, A 1051. ${ }^{24}$
4. The plural sometimes ends in $\mathbf{s}$ instead of es; e.g., naciouns, A 53; hunters, A 178; fees, A 317; this is particularly common in words of one syllable ending in a vowel and in words of two or more syllables ending in a consonant. The ending es is often written when only s is sounded; e.g., yeddinges, A 237.
5. The plural of some nouns ends in en instead of es; e.g., eyen, A 152; children, A $1193 .{ }^{25}$
6. The plural of monosyllabic nouns ending in $\mathbf{s}$ is usually without ending; e.g., caas, A 323.
${ }^{23}$ 畐 These nouns had no ending in the genitive singular in Old English.
${ }^{24}$ The Old English genitive singulars of Chaucer's lady and sonne were hl̄̄fdigan and sunnan, which in early Middle English became ladie(n) and sunne(n), the $\mathbf{n}$ in parenthesis being a sound which was very often lost. The genitive singulars lady and sonne in Chaucer are the early Middle English forms without n, the three syllables of early Middle English ladie having been contracted to two.
${ }^{25}$ Some of these nouns, such as eyen, from Old English eeage, belonged in Old English to the weak declension, which had the ending -an in the nominative and accusative plural. Others, such as children, from Old English cild, plural cildru, did not belong in Old English to the weak declension but assumed the weak ending -en in Middle English from the analogy of nouns which had been weak in Old English.
7. Some nouns which had no ending in the nominative and accusative plural in Old English have no plural ending in Chaucer; e.g., hors, A $74 ;$ swyn, A $598 ;$ yeer, A $82 .{ }^{26}$
8. The dative singular has the same form as the nominative-accusative singular, but in certain phrases consisting of a preposition immediately followed by a noun the noun has the old dative ending -e; e.g., of towne, A 566. ${ }^{27}$
9. Declension of Adjeditves. In Middle English, as in Modern German, there are two declensions of the adjective, the strong and the weak. The weak declension of the adjective is used when it is preceded by the definite article the, by a demonstrative (this or that), by a possessive pronoun, or by a noun in the genitive case; e.g., the yonge sonne, A 7; this ilke monk, A 175; his halfe cours, A 8; Epicurus ownes one, A 336; the weak declension is also used when the adjective precedes a noun used in direct address; e.g., faire fresshe May, A 1511; it may also be used when the adjective precedes a proper name not used in direct address; e.g., faire Venus, A 2663.

The forms of the strong and weak declensions of the adjectives good and swete are as follows:

| Strong Declension |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| Singular | good | swete |
| Plural | goode | swete |
| Weak Declension |  |  |
| Singular | goode | swete |
| Plural | goode | swete |

It will be observed that (1) adjectives like swete are invariable in form; (2) adjectives like good have in the strong declension the ending -e in the plural; (3) adjectives like good have in the weak declension the ending -e in both singular and plural.

The following exceptions occur:

1. Plural adjectives used predicatively are often not inflected, tho such adjectives are frequently written with a final e even when the e is not sounded; e.g., whiche they weren, A 40; And of another thing they were as fayn, A 2707.

[^11]2. Adjectives of two or more syllables ending in a consonant are usually not inflected, either in the plural or in the circumstances which call for the use of the weak inflection; e.g., mortal batailles, A 61; He which that hath the shortest shal biginne, A 836.
3. A trace of the old genitive plural of the adjective all appears occasionally in the form aller, alder- (from Old English ealra, genitive plural of eal); e.g., hir aller cappe, "the cap of them all," A 586; alderbest, "best of all," A 710.
28. Personal Pronouns The personal pronouns are inflected as follows in Chaucer; forms that are rare are placed in parentheses.

1. First and second persons:

| Sing. | Nom. | I, (ich) |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | my, myn | thou |
| Dat., Acc. | me | thy, thyn |
| Plur. | Nom. | we |
| Gen. | our, oure, (oure) | ye your $[j u \bar{r}]$, yourẹ, (youre) |
| Dat., Acc. | us | you $[j \bar{u}]$ |

2. Third person:

| Sing. Nom. <br> Gen. | he <br> his | she <br> hir, hire, (hire); | hit, it <br> her, here, (here) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dat., Acc. hym | hir, hire, (hire); |  |  |
| Plur.Nom. <br> Gen. | her, here, (here) |  |  |
| thit, it |  |  |  |

29. Demonstratives. The demonstratives this and that are inflected as follows in Chaucer; forms that are rare are placed in parentheses.
Sing. this
Plur. this, thise, (thise); thes, these, (these) tho $[b \overline{0}]$

A trace of the old dative singular of that appears in the phrase for the nones, A 379, from Old English for p $\bar{e} m$ ānes (literally "for that once"); the early Middle English form of this phrase was for then ones, which by incorrect word division, came to be written in Chaucer's time for
the nones. A survival of the old instrumental case of that appears in the adverbial the (Old English pēe); e.g., the more merry, A 802, literally "more merry by that."
30. Strong and Weak Verbs. In Middle English, as in Old English and all other Germanic languages, there are two conjugations of verbs, the strong and the weak. Weak verbs form their preterit by means of a suffix containing $\mathbf{d}$ or $\mathbf{t}$. Strong verbs form their preterit by means of a change in the vowel of the stem of the verb. For example, the preterits of the weak verb loven and the strong verb riden are as follows:

| Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 | lovede, loved | rood |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | lovedest | ride |
| 3 | lovede, loved <br> lovede $(\mathbf{n})^{28}$, loved | rood <br> ride $(\mathbf{n})$ |

Weak verbs may be recognized from the fact that their preterit indicative first and third persons singular ends in -ede, -ed, -de, or -te and from the fact that their past participle ends in -ed, d, or t. Strong verbs may be recognized from the fact that their preterit indicative first and third persons singular is without ending, and from the fact that their past participle ends in -en or e.
31. Endings of Weak Verbs. There are two types of weak verbs in Middle English. Weak verbs of Type I have preterits ending in -ede or -ed and past participles ending in -ed. Weak verbs of Type II have preterits ending in -de or -te and past participles ending in -ed, $\mathbf{d}$, or $\mathbf{t}$. The principal parts of representative verbs are as follows:

| Type I | love(n) <br> were(n) | lovede, lovede, loved <br> werede, weredẹ, wered | loved <br> wered |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Type II | here(n) | herde | hered |
|  | fele(n) | felte | feled |
|  | fede(n) | fedde | fed |
|  | $\operatorname{seke}(\mathbf{n})$ | soughte | sought |

The endings of the weak verbs, exemplified by love(n) of Type I and here(n) of Type II, are as follows:

| Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 lov-e | her-e |
| ---: | :--- |
| 2 lov-est | her-est |

${ }^{28} \mathbf{e}(\mathbf{n})$ indicates that the ending -en interchanges with the ending -e.

32. Endings of Strong Verbs. Strong verbs form their preterit by means of a change in the vowel of the stem of the verb. The vowel of the preterit plural is often different from that of the preterit singular, so that there are four principal parts, the infinitive, the preterit indicative first person singular, the preterit indicative plural, and the past participle. ${ }^{29}$ The principal parts of representative strong verbs are as follows:

| ride( $\mathbf{n}$ ) [ridon] | rood [ $\mathrm{rōd}$ ] | ride(n) [ridon] | ride(n) [ridən] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| crepe(n) [krēpən] | creep [kręp] | crope(n) [krōpən] | crope( n ) [krōpən] |
| binde(n) [bindən] | bond [bōnd] | bounde(n) [būndən] | bounde(n) [bündon] |
| helpe(n) [hellpan] | halp [halp] | holpe(n) [holpon] | holpe(n) [holpan] |
| sterve(n) [stęrvan] | starf [starf] | storve(n) [storvon] | storve(n) [storvan] |
| bere( $\mathbf{n}$ ) [bę̧rən] | bar [bar] | $\operatorname{bere(n)~[bêron]~}$ | bore( $\mathbf{n}$ ) [b̄̄ron] |
|  | baar [bār] | bare( n ) [bărən] |  |
|  | beer [bēr] |  |  |
| speke(n) [spę̄kən] | spak [spak] | speke(n) [spēkən] | spoke(n) $\cdot$ [ $\mathbf{s p o ̄ k}$ \%n $]$ |
|  |  | spake(n) [spākon] |  |

[^12]| shake(n) [fākən] | shook [ fok ] |  | shake(n) [fäkən] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| slepe(n) [slēpən] | sleep [slēp] | slepe(n) [slēpon] | slēpe(n) [slēpən] |
| holde(n) [hōldən] | heeld [hēld] | heelde(n) [hēldən] | holde(n) [hōldən] |

The endings of the strong verbs, exemplified by ride( $\mathbf{n}$ ) and bere $(\mathbf{n})$, are as follows:

33. Preteritive-Present Verbs. The preteritive-present (or strongweak) verbs have present indicatives which are like the preterit indicatives of strong verbs in that they have no ending in the first and third persons singular. The preterits of these verbs are weak. The principal forms of the more important preteritive-present verbs that occur in Chaucer are as follows:

| Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 can, be able, know how | dar, dare |
| ---: | :--- | ---: |
| 2 canst | darst |
| 3 can | dar |
| Plur. conne(n) $[$ kunnən], can | dorre(n) [durron], dar |

${ }^{50}$ Contracted forms like rit are frequent in verbs whose stems end in $\mathbf{d}$ or $\mathbf{t}$; the contraction originated in Old English.

34. Anomalous Verbs. The forms of bee(n), $b e$, are as follows:

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 am
2 art
3 is
Plur. bee( $n$ ), be
Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 was
2 were
3 was
Plur. were(n)
Pres. Subj. Sing. be
Plur. bee(n), be
Pret. Subj. Sing. were
Plur. were(n)
Imperative Sing. be
Plur. beeth
Infinitive bee(n), be
Gerund
Pres. Participle being
Past Participle bee( $\mathbf{n}$ ), be
The forms of wille $(\mathbf{n})$, will, are as follows:

> Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 wil, wol [wul]
> 2 wilt, wolt

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Plur. } 3 \text { wil, wol } \\
& \text { wille }(\mathbf{n}) \text {, wolle(n), wil, wol } \\
& \text { Pret. Ind. Sing. } 1 \\
& 2 \text { wolde [wōldə], [wuldə] } \\
& 2 \text { woldest } \\
& 3 \text { wolde } \\
& \text { Plur. }
\end{aligned} \text { wolde(n) } \begin{aligned}
& \text { wolde } \\
& \text { Pret. Subj. Sing. } \text { wolde(n) } \\
& \text { Plur. } \text { wolde(n) } \\
& \text { Infinitive } \text { wille(n) } \\
& \text { Past Participle } \text { wold }
\end{aligned}
$$

## FINAL e IN CHAUCER'S LANGUAGE

35. Inflectional and Etymological Final e. Final e in Chaucer's language is either inflectional or etymological. Inflectional final e's are those which occur in some forms of a word but not in others; their occurrence or non-occurrence depending on grammatical considerations. For example, the adjective good has no final $\mathbf{e}$ in such an expression as A good man was ther of religioun (A 477), but it has a final $\mathbf{e}$ in the exexpressions His hors were gode (A 74) and his gode name (A 3049). In A 74 gode has a final e because it is a plural adjective, in A 3049 it has a final e because it is a weak adjective (see 27 above); but in A 477 good is without final e because it is neither plural nor weak. On the other hand, the adjective lene has a final $\mathbf{e}$ in the expression As lene was his hors as is a rake (A 287) tho it is neither plural nor weak. The explanation of the final $\mathbf{e}$ in lene is not grammatical but etymological; the word has a final e because it ended in e in Old English, being derived from Old English hläne. Final $\mathbf{e}$ in goode is inflectional, final $\mathbf{e}$ in lene is etymological.
36. Inflectional Final e. Inflectional final e occurs in adjectives and verbs.
37. Adjectives (see 27 above)

Final e occurs:
a. In the weak form of the adjective
b. In the plural form of the adjective ${ }^{31}$

[^13]2. Verbs (see 31-33 above)

Final e occurs:
a. In the present indicative first person singular of strong and weak verbs
b. In the preterit indicative first and third persons singular of weak verbs
c. In the preterit indicative second person singular of strong verbs
d. In the present subjunctive singular of strong and weak verbs
e. In the preterit subjunctive singular of strong and weak verbs
f. In the imperative singular of many weak verbs
g. In the gerund of monosyllabic verbs, e.g., to done, F 334
$h$. In the present participle of strong and weak verbs
Final e interchanging with en occurs:
i. In the present indicative plural of strong and weak verbs
j. In the preterit indicative plural of strong and weak verbs
k . In the present subjunctive plural of strong and weak verbs
l. In the preterit subjunctive plural of strong and weak verbs
m . In the infinitive and gerund of strong and weak verbs
n. In the past participle of strong verbs ${ }^{32}$
37. Etymological Final e. Etymological final e occurs in nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions.

1. Nouns

Final e occurs:
a. In nouns derived from Old English nouns which ended in a vowel (a, e, or u); e.g., tyme, from OE tima (A 44); sonne, from OE sunne (A 7); tale, from OE talu (A 36)
b. In nouns derived from Old English feminine nouns which ended in a consonant; e.g., reste, from OE rest, fem. (A 30)
c. In some nouns derived from Old English nouns ending in -en; e.g., mayde, from OE mæg̀den (A 69)
d. In nouns derived from Old French nouns ending in e; e.g., corage, from OFr corage (A 22)

[^14]e. In the "petrified" dative which occurs in certain phrases consisting of a preposition immediately followed by a noun; e.g., out of towne (A 566) ${ }^{33}$

## 2. Adjectives

Final e occurs:
a. In adjectives derived from Old English adjectives ending in e; e.g., lene, from OE hlæne (A 287)
b. In the comparative form of a few adjectives; e.g., more, from OE māra, māre ${ }^{34}$
c. In the "petrified" dative which occurs in certain phrases consisting of a preposition immediately followed by an adjective used as a noun; e.g., with-alle (A 127)
d. In adjectives derived from Old French adjectives ending in $\mathbf{e}$; e.g., straunge, from OFr estrange (A 13)
3. Pronouns

Final e is usually written and occasionally pronounced in oure, from OE ūre; in hire, here (her), from OE hire; and in hire, here (their) from OE hira, heora
4. Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions Final e occurs:
a. In adverbs derived from adjectives; e.g., faire (A 94), from the adjective fair (A 154)
b. In adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions whose originals had a final vowel in Old English; e.g., sone, from OE sōna (B 1702); thanne, from OE ponne (D 2004); inne, from OE inne (A 41); whanne, from OE hwonne (F 1406)
c. In adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions whose originals in Old English ended in -an; e.g., bifore, from OE beforan (A 377); with-oute, from OE wibūtan (A 343); sithe, from OE sibban

[^15]38. Inorganic Final e. A few nouns and adjectives in Middle English had final e's (not inflectional) which cannot be explained upon any of the grounds stated in 37; e.g., gate (C 729), from OE geat, neut.; dale (B 4013), from OE dæl, neut.; weye (B 385), from OE weg, masc.; pere (F 678), from OFr per; bare (A 683), from OE bær; harde (D 2228), from OE heard. Such final e's we call inorganic final e's. These words acquired final e in early Middle English as the result of some analogy or association which in most cases we are not able to trace with certainty.
39. Scribal e's. Occasionally even in the best and earliest manuscripts of Chaucer, and frequently in the poorer and later manuscripts, final e's are written which were never pronounced in Middle English. Such e's we call scribal e's. An example is month (A 92), from OE mōnap, masc.; the word is written with final $\mathbf{e}$ in the Ellesmere manuscript, but is never pronounced with final $\mathbf{e}$ in Chaucer or in the language of any other Middle English writer.
40. Elision, Apocope, and Syncope. If one pronounces in reading Chaucer's verse all the final e's that are grammatically or etymologically justifiable, the metrical structure of the verse is often seriously impaired or entirely destroyed. It is clear that Chaucer did not intend that every possible final e should be sounded. Final e is usually elided when the following word begins with a vowel or "weak $\mathbf{h} " ; 35$ e.g., in couthe (A 14) and dresse (A 106). Moreover, final $\mathbf{e}$ is often lost before words beginning with a consonant; e.g., wistẹ (A 224), tymẹ (A 102), metẹ (A 136). The loss of final e before consonants is called apocope or apocopation. This is to be distinguished from syncope or syncopation, which is the loss of a vowel between two consonants of the same word; e.g., "Cometh neer," quod he, "my lady prioresse" (A 839). In using apocopated forms in his verse, however, Chaucer was not doing violence to the language of his time, as a modern writer would be doing if he omitted the final vowel of navy or china. In Chaucer's time the final e was beginning to be lost, and by the end of the fifteenth century it had entirely disappeared from the language. In Chaucer's time the final $\mathbf{e}$ was still pronounced, but not universally, so that forms both with and without final $\mathbf{e}$ were in use. Chaucer, therefore, tho he generally preferred the forms with final $\mathbf{e}$, used the forms without final $\mathbf{e}$ when it suited him to do so. He always used the forms with final $\mathbf{e}$ in rime.

[^16]
## PART III

## THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

40. Pronunciation of Old English. The pronunciation of the Old English vowels and diphthongs is shown in the following table:

| OE Spelling | Pronunciation | Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ | [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ ] | stān, stone [stān] |
| a | [a] | man, man [man] |
| $\overline{\text { ® }}$ | [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ] | h̄̄̄b, heath [hę̧b] |
| $\mathfrak{x}$ | [æ] | bæt, that [bæt] |
| $\overline{\text { e }}$ | [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ] | swēte, sweet [swētę] |
| e | [e] | helpan, help [hellpan] |
| i | [i] | ridan, ride [ridan] |
| i | [i] | drincan, drink [driŋkan] |
| $\overline{0}$ | [ ${ }_{\text {o }}$ ] | dōn, do [dōn] |
| 0 | [Q] | crop, crop [krgp] |
| ū | [ $\mathbf{u}$ ] | hūs, house [hūs] |
| u | [u] | sunu, son [sunu] |
| $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ | [ $\mathbf{y}$ ] | $\mathbf{f y} \mathbf{r}$, fire [ $\mathbf{f} \overline{\mathbf{y}} \mathrm{r}$ ] |
| y | [y] | bynne, thin [bynne] |
| $\overline{\text { èa }}$ | [ęə] | strēam, stream [strę̄əm] |
| ea | [æə] | hearpe, harp [hæorpe] |
| ēo | [ēo] | bēon, be [bēon] |
| eo | [ęo] | weorc, work [węork] |
| ie | [io] | hieran, hear [hiəran] |
| ie | [io] | ieldra, elder [ioldra] |

The pronunciation of the Old English consonants is shown in the following table:

| OE Spelling | Pronunciation | Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{c}$ | $[\mathbf{k}]$ | cēpan, keep [kēpan] |
| $\dot{\mathbf{c}}$ | $[\mathbf{t}]$ | cidan, chide [tfidan] |


| OE Spelling | Pronunciation | Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| cg | [dz] | brycg, bridge [brydz] |
| $g$ | [z] | boga, bow [beza] |
| g | [j] | giefan, give [jizvan] |
| ng | [ g ] | singan, sing [siggan] |
| sc | [ $]$ | scip, ship [fip] |

$\mathbf{h}$ before consonants and after vowels is pronounced like ch in German ich, nacht; e.g., niht, night, hēah, high.
$\mathbf{f}$ and $\mathbf{s}$ are pronounced like $[\mathbf{v}]$ and $[\mathbf{z}]$ when they occur between vowels, as in giefan, give, and risan, rise; like [f] and [s] when they are initial or final, as in fæder, father, stæf, staff, sunu, son, wæs, was.
$\mathbf{b}$ and $\boldsymbol{\delta}$ are used without distinction for the sounds $[b]$ and $[\boldsymbol{\gamma}]$. They are pronounced like [ $\delta$ ] when they occur between vowels, as in cūठe, knew; like [b] when they are initial or final, as in bæt, that, cūb, known.
$\mathbf{r}$ is strongly trilled with the tip of the tongue.
The other Old English consonants are pronounced as in Modern English. But double consonants were pronounced double, as in Modern English pen-knife, book-case.
41. Old English in Phonetic Notation. The Old English version of the parable of the Good Samaritan, Luke 10:30-35, in the Old English spelling and accompanied by a literal translation, is as follows:

Sum man fērde fram Hierusalem tō Hiericho and becōm on A-certain man went from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among $p \bar{a}$ scaঠan, $p \bar{a}$ hine berēafodon and tintregodon hine and forlēton the thieves, who him robbed and tortured him and left hine samcwicne. $\mathrm{p} \overline{\mathrm{a}}$ gebyrede hit pæt sum sācerd fērde on him half-alive. Then happened it that a-certain priest went on
bām ilcan wege; and $p \bar{a}$ hē pæt geseah, hē hine forbēah. the same way; and when he that saw, he from-him turned-away.
And eall swā sē dīacon, bā hē wæs wið bā stōwe and pæt geseah, And all so the deacon, when he was by the place and that saw, hē hine ēac forbēah. pā fērde sum Samaritanisc he from-him also turned-away. Then went a-certain Samaritan man wi'ð hine; pā hē hine geseah, $\delta \overline{\mathrm{a}}$ wear' $\quad$ hē mid man opposite him; when he him saw, then became he with
mildheortnesse ofer hine āstyred. ba genēal̄̄hte hē and wrā $\delta$ pity over him moved. Then approached he and bound his wunda and on āgēat ele and wīn and hine on his nīeten sette his wounds and in poured oil and wine and him on his beast set and gelǣæde on his l̄̄cंehūs and hine lācnode; and brōhte ōprum and took into his hospital and him treated; and brought the-next dæg்e twēgen peningas and sealde pām l्̄æंce and pus cwæ久, day two pennies and gave to-the physician and thus said, "Begỉem his; and swā hwæt swā pū māre tō gंedēst, "Take-care-of him; and whatever thou more in-addition doest, ponne ic cume, ic hit forgielde pē."
when I come, I it shall-repay thee."
Transcribed in phonetic notation the Old English passage just given is as follows:
sum man fērdę fram hiəruzalęm tō hiərikọ and bękōm ọn pā 〔aðan, pā hinę bęrę̨əvọdọn and tintrę̧ọdọn hinę and forlētọn hinę samkwiknę. pā jębyrędę hit pæt sum sākęrd fērdę on pām ilkan węję; and pā hē pæt jęsæəh, hē hinę fơrbę̄əh. and æวll swā sē dīakọn, pā hē wæs wib pā stōwę and pæt jęsæวh, hē hinę ę̉ək fọrbę̄əh. pā fērdę sum samaritanif man wib hinę; pā hē hinę jęsæəh, pā wæərp hē mid mildhęortnęssę oqvę hinę āstyręd. bā jęn̨̄̄əlę̨htę hē and wrāp his wunda and ọn āję̨t ęlę and wīn and hinę ọn his nīətęn sęttę and jęlę̃ddę ọn his lęttfęhūs and hinę lāknọdę; and brōhtę ōðrrum dæję twējęn pęnịgas and sæวldę pām lętfę and pus kwæb, "bęjīəm his; and swā hwæt swā pū mārę tō jędēst, pọnnę itf kumę, itf hit forjialdę pē."
42. Normal Development of Old English Vowels. The normal development ${ }^{36}$ of the Old English vowel sounds in the Midland dialect of Middle English and of the Middle English sounds in Modern English is shown in the following table:

[^17]
${ }^{37}$ The Old English sounds which are taken as the basis of this table are those of the Mercian dialect, which was that from which the Midland dialect of Middle English was derived. The sounds of the Mercian dialect differed in certain respects from those of West-Saxon, which is the dialect in which most of the Old English literature is preserved and upon which the Old English dictionaries are based. For example, the Mercian dialect did not contain the West-Saxon diphthongs ie and ie, and it had the vowel $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ in many words which in West-Saxon have the vowel $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$; e.g., West-Saxon dēd was Mercian dēd. In the Mercian dialect the vowel $\overline{\bar{x}}$ was always the result of umlaut.
${ }^{38}$ The Modern English sounds given as the equivalents of Old and Middle English $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \mathbf{i}, \overline{\mathbf{0}}$, and $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ are only approximate equivalents, for (as explained above in note 10 ) the Modern English sounds which we have represented by the symbols [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}],[\mathbf{i}],[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$, and $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ are in reality diphthongs, not simple vowels. Old and Middle English $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \mathbf{i}, \overline{\mathbf{o}}$, and $\mathbf{u}$ were simple vowels, pronounced like the corresponding vowels of Modern German.
${ }^{39^{\mathrm{a}}} \mathrm{It}$ is probable that $\mathrm{OE} \overline{\mathbf{e}} \mathbf{o}$ and eo first changed (at least in some localities) to early ME $[\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}]$ and $[œ]$, and that $[\overline{\boldsymbol{\omega}}]$ and $[\rightsquigarrow]$ developed later into $[\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ and $[\mathbf{e}]$. The symbols $[\bar{\varrho}]$ and $[œ]$ represent respectively the vowels of German hören and wörter.
${ }_{39^{\mathrm{b}}}$ The Modern English development of the vowel in this word is due to the $\Lambda$ that follows it; see 44, 1 below.
${ }^{39^{\mathrm{C}}}$ The Modern English sounds which we represent by the symbols [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{e}}\right][\mathbf{i}],[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$ and [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ] are in reality, as explained above in notes 33 and 10 , diphthongs, not simple vowels.
${ }^{39 d}$ ME [0], or a vowel much like it, has been preserved in the speech of England and New England, but it has become [a] in most parts of the United States.

The following table shows the normal development in Modern English of certain sounds which developed in Middle English as the result of certain special conditions which will be explained below in section 43.

## Middle English

| [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ ] | name | [nāmə] | [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]^{10}$ | [nēm] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [au] | faught | [fauht] | [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}$ ] | [ $\mathbf{f o ̄ t}$ ] |
| [ęi] | they | [bęi] | $[\overline{\mathbf{e}}]^{40}$ | [ $\mathrm{\delta} \overline{\mathrm{e}}$ ] |
| [ęu] | fewe | [fęus] | [ju] | [fjū] |
| [iu] | humour | [hiumūr], rude [riudə] | [jū] | [hjūmər], [rūd] |
| [Qi] | boy | [boi] | [0i] | [bQi] |
| [ $\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{u}$ ] | bowe | [bąuә] | $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]^{40}$ | [b̄̄] |
| [Qu] | thoght | [bQuht] | [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}}$ ] | [bōt] |

43. Special Developments in Middle English. The most important special developments of the Old English vowel sounds in Middle English are as follows:
44. Changes in the quantity of vowels.
a. Shortening of long vowels. Old English long vowels were shortened in early Middle English (before the end of the twelfth century) when they were followed by a double consonant or by a group of two or more consonants; ${ }^{41}$ e.g., OE l̄̄dde, ME ledde [lęddə]; OE lǣssa, ME lesse [lęssı]; OE cēpte, ME kepte [kęptə]; OE wisdōm, ME wisdom [wisdōm].

Old English long vowels were also frequently shortened in Middle English when the second syllable of the word was [i]; e.g., OE $\bar{æ} n i g$, ME eny [ęnī]; OE sārig̀, ME sory [sqrī].

[^18]b. Lengthening of short vowels. ${ }^{42}$ In the thirteenth century the short vowels a, e, and $\mathbf{o}$ were lengthened in open syllables, ${ }^{43^{a}}$ so that a became [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}]{ }^{43 \mathrm{~b}}$ e became [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{e}}\right]$, and $\mathbf{Q}$ became [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{Q}}\right]$; e.g., OE nama, ME name [nāmə]; OE fæder, ME fader [fādər]; OE mete, ME mete [mętə]; OE stolen, ME stolen [stōlon]. This lengthening did not take place, however, when the second syllable of the word was [i]; e.g., OE hefig, ME hevy [hęvi]; OE bodig, ME body [bodi]. And we often find short a, $\mathbf{e}$, and $\mathbf{o}$ in open syllables when the second syllable of the word ended in l, r, m, or n; e.g., OE sadol, ME sadel [sadal]; OE wæter, ME water [watər]; OE heofon, ME heven [hęvən].

## 2. Development of new diphthongs.

As may be seen from the table of sound changes given above in section 42, the Old English diphthongs ēa, ea, ēo, and eo became simple vowels in Middle English. In Middle English, however, there developed a new series of diphthongs: [aī], [êi], [au], [ęu], [iu], [ $\mathbf{q} \mathbf{i}],[\mathbf{q} \mathbf{u}]$, and $[\mathbf{q u}]$. The principal sources of these diphthongs in the Midland dialect were as follows:
[ai] developed out of Old English $\mathfrak{x}$ followed by [j], spelled $\mathbf{g}$; e.g., OE dæǵg [dæj], ME dai; OE sæg̀de [sæjdę], ME saide. In early Middle English this diphthong had the sound of [ai], but in late Middle English it became identical in sound with the diphthong [éi].

[^19][éi] developed out of Old English $\mathbf{e}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}$ or $\overline{\mathbf{x}}$, followed by [j], spelled g; e.g., OE weg̀ [węj], ME wey [węi]; OE twēg̀en [twējęn], ME tweie(n); OE $\overline{\boldsymbol{x}} \dot{g}[\overline{\mathrm{e}} \mathbf{j}]$, ME ei [ęi].
[au] developed:
(1) out of Old English a followed by w; e.g., OE clawu [klawu], ME clawe [klauə];
(2) out of Old English a followed by [ $\bar{z}$, spelled $\mathbf{g}{ }^{44}$ e.g., OE dragan [drazan], ME drawe(n) [drauən];
(3) out of Old English ea followed by h; e.g., OE feaht, ME faught [fauht].
[ęu] developed out of Old English ēa followed by w; e.g., OE fēawe [fę̄วwə], ME fewe [fęuə].
[iu] developed out of Old English i followed by w; e.g., OE stiweard [stiwæərd], ME stiward [stiuard]. But the commonest source of [iu] in Middle English was the French vowel [ $\mathbf{y}]$, which was written u. The sound [ $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ ] did not occur in the Midland dialect of Middle English, and therefore French loan-words which contained this sound were pronounced with the diphthong [iu], which was the nearest English equivalent; e.g. ME nature [nātiuro], from Old French nature [natȳro]. ${ }^{45}$
[凤i] occurs almost exclusively in French loan words; e.g., ME joie from Old French joie.
[ $\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{u}]$ developed:
(1) out of Old English ā or $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ followed by w; e.g., OE cnāwan [knāwan], Middle English knowe(n) [knōuən]; OE grōwan [grōwan], ME growe(n) [grāuən].
${ }^{4}$ This sound, the $g$ of North German sagen, is not a stop consonant (like $g$ in $g o$ ) but an open consonant or spirant which somewhat resembles English w but is made without any rounding of the lips.
${ }^{45}$ A diphthong spelled ew also developed out of OE ēo followed by w, e.g., in ME knew from OE cnēow. Some scholars are of opinion that this diphthong had the sound of [eu] or [ $\overline{\mathbf{e} u] \text { ]. It no doubt had this sound in very early ME, but it seems }}$ probable that in Chaucer's time it had become [iu]. This may be inferred from the fact that French loan words which had $[\overline{\mathbf{y}}]$ in Old French are very frequently spelled in Middle English with ew instead of u, e.g., vertew, crewel, instead of vertu, cruel, and also from the fact that the [iu] which developed in ME out of OE iw was also spelled ew or u instead of iw or iu, e.g., steward and Tuesday (from OE Tiwes dæg).
(2) out of Old English ā followed by [z], spelled g; e.g., OE āgen [äzęn], ME owe(n) [ōuon].
(3) out of Old English $\boldsymbol{o}$ when it was in an open syllable followed by [z]; e.g., OE boga [bqza], ME bowe [bāuə].
[ $\mathbf{Q u}$ ] developed out of Old English $\mathbf{o}$, $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$, or $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ followed by ht; e.g., OE bohte, ME boughte [bquhtə]; OE sōhte, ME soghte [squhtə]; OE āhte, ME oughte [quhto]. ${ }^{46}$
44. Special Developments in Modern English. The normal development of the Middle English vowel sounds in Modern English has been shown above in section 42. The most important special developments that took place as the result of the influence of neighboring sounds or changes of quantity are these:

1. Special developments before $\mathbf{r}$

Middle English [e] followed by r often changed to [a] in late Middle English or very early Modern English and later developed into [ā]; e.g., ME sterve(n) [stęrvən], early MnE [starv], MnE [stārv].

Middle English [a] followed by r has become [̄̄] in Modern English; e.g., ME hard [hard], MnE [hārd].

Middle English [0] followed by r has become [ $\mathbf{\overline { \mathbf { q } } \text { ] in Modern English; }}$ e.g., ME for [ $\mathbf{f} \mathbf{q r}$ ], MnE [ $\mathbf{f} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{r}$ ].

Middle English [ir] and [ur] have regularly, and Middle English [ęr] has frequently, become [ $\overline{\mathrm{r}}$ ] in Modern English; e.g., ME first [first], MnE [fārst]; ME curse(n) [kursən], MnE [kə̄rs]; ME lerned [lęrnəd], MnE [l̄̈rnəd].

Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ ] and [ęi] followed by $\mathbf{r}$ have become Modern English [ $\bar{\ell}$ ]; ME spare(n) [spārən], MnE [spę̨r]; ME fair [fęir], MnE [fę̣r].

Middle English [ē] has frequencly been preserved before r in Modern English; e.g., ME bere(n) [bęrron], MnE [bę̨r].

Modern English [ $\mathbf{i}$ ] and [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ] before $\mathbf{r}$, for example in [hir] and [ $[\overline{\mathbf{u}} \mathbf{r}]$ are not the [ $\mathbf{i}]$ and $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ of [ $\mathbf{i t}]$ and [būt], but a little more open; in quality they approximate to lengthened [i] and [u].

[^20]Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ] and [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ] followed by $\mathbf{r}$ have become [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ] in Modern English; e.g., ME swoor [swōr], MnE [swōr], ME more [m@̄rə], MnE [mēr]. ${ }^{47}$

## 2. Special developments before $\mathbf{I}$.

Middle English [a] followed by 1 plus another consonant or final 1 was diphthongised to [au] in early Modern English; this diphthong then developed, like Middle English [au], into [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ]; e.g., ME smal [smal], early MnE [smaul], MnE [smōl]; ME bald [bald], early MnE [bauld], MnE [bōld]. ${ }^{48}$

Middle English [ $\mathbf{Q}$ ] followed by $\mathbf{1}$ was diphthongised to [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}} \mathbf{u}$ ] in early Modern English; this diphthong then developed, like Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}} \mathbf{u}$ ], into Modern English [̄̄]; e.g., ME folk [folk], early MnE [fōulk], MnE [ $\mathbf{f o} k$ ].
3. Special developments after [w].

When preceded by w Middle English [a] (including the [a] which developed from [e] before $\mathbf{r}$ ) became [ $\mathbf{0}$ ] in the seventeenth century and has since developed into Modern English [ $\overline{\mathbf{\imath}}$ ] or [a]; e.g., ME water [watər], MnE [wētr]; ME warm [warm], MnE [wōrm]; ME washen [walon], MnE [wal]. ${ }^{43}$

## 4. Development of Modern English [ā].

In standard British English and in the dialect of southern New England, Middle English [a] has developed with more or less regularity into [ā] when followed by

| $\mathbf{l m}$, | e.g., | MnE | $[$ kām $]$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{l f ,}$ | $"$, | $"$ | $[\mathbf{k a ̄}]$ |
| $\mathbf{l v}$, | $"$ | $"$ | $[\mathbf{s a ̄}]$ |
| $[\mathbf{f}]$, final | $"$ | $"$ | $[\mathbf{t f a ̄ f ]}$ |

[^21]| [ $\boldsymbol{\delta}$ ], | e.g., | MnE | [fä\%ər] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [b], | " | " | [ $\bar{p}$ ¢ ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| [ft], | " | " | [āftər] |
| [s], final | " | " | [glās] |
| st, | " | " | [pāst] |
| sk, | " | " | [āsk] |
| sp, | " | " | [klāsp] |
| [sf], | " | " | [blāsfïm] |
| mp, | " | " | [egzāmpl] |
| nt, | " | " | [tfānt] |
| nd, | " | " | [kəmānd] |
| [ns] | " | " | [dāns] |
| [ ntI ], | " | " | [stānt1] |

In American English the great majority of these words have the vowel [æ] or [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$, e.g., [pæb], [pḕp]; [æsk], [ęsk], etc.
5. Preservation of Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ and [u].

Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ has been preserved in Modern English before lip consonants (b, p, m, f, v); e.g., ME stoupe(n) [stūpən], MnE [stūp]; ME toumbe [tūmbə], MnE [tūm]. In some words this [ū] before lip consonants was shortened to $[\mathbf{u}]$ and afterwards changed to [A]; e.g., ME shouve(n) [fūvən], MnE [fiv]; ME double [dūbal], MnE [dıbl]; ME roum [rūm], MnE [rum], also [rūm].

Middle English [u] has been preserved in Modern English under the following circumstances: regulárly between lip consonants and l; e.g., ME bole [bulə], MnE [bul]; ME ful [ful], MnE [ful]; ME wolf [wulf], MnE [wulf]; and frequently between lip consonants and consonants other than 1; e.g., ME wode [wudə], MnE [wud]; ME putte(n) [putton], MnE [put].
6. [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ for Middle English [iu].

Middle English [iu] has become [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ] under the following circumstances: regularly after $\mathbf{r}$, and after l' preceded by another consonant; e.g., ME rude [riudə], MnE [rüd]; ME blew [bliu], MnE [blū]; and frequently after l, s, t, d, and n; e.g., ME lute [liutə], MnE [lūt]; ME Susanne [siuzannə], MnE [sūzən]; ME Tuesday [tiuəsdęi], MnE (especially American) [tūzdĭ]; ME due [diuə], MnE (especially American) [dū]; ME newe [niuə] MnE (especially American) [nū].
7. [i] for Middle English [e].

Middle English [e] has become [i] when followed by $n$ plus another consonant or combination of consonants (not [b] or [tf], e.g., MnE strength, bench); e.g., ME Engelond [engolōnd], MnE [inglond].
8. Shortening of Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ].

Before Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ] had become [ $\mathbf{i}$ ] it was often shortened in Modern English when it was followed by d, $\mathbf{t}$, or [b]; e.g., ME deed [dę̃d], MnE [dęd]; ME swete(n) [swę̀ton], MnE [swęt]; ME deeth [dęp], MnE [dęb].
9. Shortening of $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ from Middle English $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$.

After Middle English $[\overline{\mathbf{0}}]$ had become [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$, the $[\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ was in a great many words shortened when it was followed by $\mathbf{d}, \mathbf{t}$, or $\mathbf{k}$; in some words the result of this shortening is [ $\mathbf{u}$ ], but in others the $[\mathbf{u}]$ has undergone the further change of $[\mathbf{u}]$ to $[\mathbf{A}]$; e.g., ME good [gōd], MnE [gud]; ME blood [blōd], MnE [blıd]; ME foot [fōt], MnE [fut]; ME book [bōk], MnE [buk].

## 10. Lengthening of [i] before [h].

When $[\mathbf{h}]$ in the combination $\mathbf{h t}$ was lost, a preceding $[\mathbf{i}]$ was lengthened to [i] and was afterwards changed to [ai]; e.g., ME right [riht], MnE [rait].
11. Lengthening of Middle English [0] and [a].

Middle English [0] has frequently been lengthened in Modern English to [ $\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$ when followed by [ $\mathbf{f}]$, $[\mathbf{s}]$, or [b]; e.g., ME of [ $\mathbf{q} \mathbf{f}], \mathrm{MnE}[\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{f}] ; \mathrm{ME}$ $\operatorname{los}[\mathrm{l} \mathbf{q} s], \mathrm{MnE}[\mathrm{l} \mathbf{q} s] ; \mathrm{ME}$ mothe [mqbbə], MnE [mēp].

In American English, Middle English [0] has commonly been lengthened to [ $\overline{\mathbf{q}}$ ] when followed by [0g]; e.g., ME long [long], MnE [ $\mathbf{l} \overline{\mathrm{Q}} \mathbf{\eta}]$; it is also often lengthened when followed by [g]; e.g., ME frogge [froggo], MnE [frēg], also [frag] and (in New England) [frog].

In American English, Modern English [æ] from Middle English [a] has commonly been lengthened to $[\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ when followed by $\mathbf{d},[\mathbf{g}], \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{n g}$; e.g., ME glad [glad], MnE [glę̄d], ME land [land], MnE [lę̄nd]; ME sang [sang], MnE [sễ].
45. Vowels in Unaccented Syllables. The sound changes which have been explained in the preceding sections are those which were undergone by vowels in accented syllables. The changes which were undergone in Middle English by the Old English vowels of unaccented syllables are very much simpler in their character, and will be considered later in connection with the inflections of Middle English. ${ }^{50}$
46. Consonant Sounds. The most important changes that have taken place in the consonant sounds of English are these:

1. Middle English changes.

Old English final m in unstressed syllables became Middle English $n$; e.g., OE endum, ME enden.

Final $\mathbf{n}$ was very frequently lost in unstressed syllables, so that the common inflectional ending -en was very often reduced to -e; e.g., OE singan, ME singen or singe.

Old English initial hn, wl, hl, and hr became Middle English n, 1, l, ąnd $\mathbf{r}$; e.g., OE hnecca, ME necke; OE wlispian, ME lispen; OE hläf ME lof; OE hring, ME ring.

Old English initial [ $\mathfrak{\xi}$ ], which was an open consonant or spirant, became in Middle English the stop consonant [g] ${ }^{51}$ e.g., OE gōd [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{0}} \mathbf{d} \mathbf{d}\right]$, ME good [gōd]. But when it was preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel, Old English [z] became [w]; e.g., OE hālgian, ME halwie(n).

## 2. Modern English changes.

Initial [b] changed to $[\boldsymbol{\gamma}]$ in a number of pronouns and particles which were commonly pronounced without stress, e.g., the, they, them, thou, thee, thy, that, those, this, these, then, than, there.

Final $[\mathbf{f}],[\mathbf{s}]$, and $[\mathrm{b}]$ became $[\mathbf{v}],[\mathbf{z}]$, and $[\boldsymbol{\gamma}]$ if they were preceded by a vowel that was without stress or if they occurred in words that were commonly pronounced without stress in the sentence; e.g., ME actif, MnE active; ME of [qf], MnE [əv];52 ME faces [fāsəs], MnE [fēsəz]; ME his [his], MnE [hiz]; ME with [wib], MnE [wið].

[^22]Initial gn and kn have become $\mathbf{n}$ and initial wr has become $\mathbf{r}$; e.g., ME gnawe(n) [gnauon], MnE [n̄̄]; ME knight [kniht], MnE [nait]; ME write(n) [writon], MnE [rait].

Final $\mathbf{m b}$ has been reduced to $\mathbf{m}$; e.g., ME domb [dumb], MnE [dлm].
Final [ gg ] has been reduced to [ $\mathbf{\eta}]$; e.g., ME thing [ping], MnE [biv].
$\mathbf{1}$ has been lost before $\mathbf{k}$ and the lip consonants $\mathbf{m}$ and $\mathbf{f}$ when the vowel that preceded it was Middle English [a] or [q]; e.g., ME talke(n) [talkən], MnE [tōk]; ME folk [folk], MnE [fōk]; ME palm [palm], MnE [pām]; ME half [half], MnE [hāf].
[h] has been lost before consonants and after vowels; e.g., ME night [niht], MnE [nait]; ME saugh [sauh], MnE [s̄̄]. ${ }^{53}$

Middle English double consonants have become single in Modern English; e.g., ME sonne [sunnə], MnE [san]; ME sitte(n) [sittən], MnE [sit].
[sj] and zi] have become [ $\mathbf{l}]$ and [z]; e.g., early MnE special [spęsjal], MnE [spęil]; early MnE mission [misjon], MnE [mifən]; early MnE portion [pqrsjon], MnE [pqriən], ${ }^{54}$ early MnE vision [vizjon], MnE [vizən].
[ $\mathbf{t j}]$ and $[\mathbf{d j}]$ have become $[\mathbf{t f}]$ and [dz]; e.g., early MnE fortune [fortjun],

r in Modern English has lost its trilled sound and has become a vowel-like sound which tends to disappear before consonants.
${ }^{53}$ In some words Middle English [h] has become [f] in Modern English; e.g., ME laughe(n) [lauhon], MnE [lāf]; ME tough [tūh], MnE [taf]; in these words the vowel has also been modified in a special way; in the examples just given ME [au] has become [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ instead of $[\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$, and ME [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}]$ has been shortened to [ $\mathbf{A}]$.
${ }^{54}$ The suffix -tion is merely a Latinised spelling of the suffix which was spelled -cioun or -cion in Middle English.

## PART IV

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE ENGLISH INFLECTIONS

47. Declension of Nouns. The declension of nouns in Old English was rather complex; there were four cases, nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative; two numbers, singular and plural; and three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, which, like those of modern German, were largely independent of sex. In the late Middle English of Chaucer, on the other hand, the declension of nouns is extremely simple. The simplification which took place in the inflection of nouns in Middle English was the result of two causes, sound change and analogy.
48. Sound Change in Unaccented Syllables. The Middle English sound changes that were undergone by vowels in accented syllables have been explained in sections 42 and 43 . The changes undergone by vowels in unaccented syllables were very much simpler in character and may be briefly stated as follows:

Old English a, e, o, and $\mathbf{u}$ became in unaccented syllables the vowel which was commonly written e and which probably was pronounced [ə];55 e.g.

| OE belle [belle] | ME belle [bello] |
| :--- | :--- |
| OE oxa [qksa] | ME oxe [oksə] |
| OE nacod [naked] | ME naked [nākəd] |
| OE sunu [sunu] | ME sune [sunə] |

This change in the pronunciation of vowels of unaccented syllables is the most important difference between Old English and Middle English.

[^23]49. Analogy. Analogy is the regularising, simplifying tendency of the human mind manifesting itself in language. The child who says mans for men, foots for feet, and fighted for fought is making use of analogy. In Modern English the preterits dreamed and lighted have been substituted for the older forms dreamt and lit because of the analogy of the great number of weak verbs which have the same vowel in the preterit as in the present. So in the Middle English noun declensions, many forms which were merely the Old English forms pronounced in a new way were displaced by different forms that were suggested by analogy. For example, in Old English and early Middle English the dative singular and the accusative singular were identical in the great majority of nouns. But in some nouns the dative singular ended in $\mathbf{e}$ and the accusative singular ended in a consonant. In these nouns, therefore, the analogy of the other nouns caused the old dative singular to be superseded by a form which was identical with the accusative. The Middle English forms that were developed from the Old English forms by sound change alone are called historical forms. Forms that were substituted for these historical forms by the process of analogy are called analogical forms.

## NOUNS

50. Development of the Middle English Noun Declensions. The development of the Middle English noun declensions is shown in the tables printed below. In the first column are given the Old English forms. In the second column are given the historical Middle English forms that developed from the Old English forms by the process of sound change alone. In the third column are given analogical forms that displaced some of the historical forms. In the fourth column are given the late Middle English forms which we find (for example) in Chaucer; in this column the historical forms are printed in Roman type and the analogical forms in italics. The words in the first column exemplify the eleven principal types of noun declension in Old English: the strong masculine nouns dōm (judgment) and ende (end); the u-declension noun sunu (son); the strong feminine nouns lufu (love) and hwil (time); the strong neuter nouns $\lim$ (limb), hors (horse), and wite (punishment); the weak masculine noun hunta (hunter); the weak feminine noun sunne (sun); and the weak neuter noun ēare (ear).

OLD ENGLISH
MIDDLE ENGLISH
Historical Analogical Late
51. dōm, masculine:

| Sing. Nom. | dōm | doom |  | doom |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | dōmes | doomes | doomes |  |
| Dat. | dōme | doome | doom | doom |
| Acc. | dōm | doom |  | doom |
| Plur.Nom., Acc. | dōmas | doomes |  | doomes |
| Gen. | dōma | doome | doomes | doomes |
| Dat. | dōmum ${ }^{56}$ | doome $(\mathbf{n})^{57}$ | doomes | doomes |

52. ende, masculine:

| Sing.Nom. <br> Gen. | ende | endes | ende <br> endes | ende <br> endes |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dat. | ende | ende |  | ende |
| Acc. | ende | ende |  | ende |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | endas | endes |  | endes |
| Gen. | enda | ende | endes | endes |
| Dat. | endum | ende(n) | endes | endes |

53. sunu, masculine: - wa

| Sing.Nom. | sunu | sune |  | sone $^{58}$ |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | suna | sune | sunes | sones |
| Dat. | suna | sune |  | sone |
| Acc. | sunu | sune |  | sone |
| Plur. |  |  | Nom., Acc. | suna |
| Gen. | suna | sune | sunes | sones |
| Dat. | sunum | sune $(\mathbf{n})$ | sunes | sunes |

[^24]OLD ENGLISH
MIDDLE ENGLISH

| Historical Analogical | Late |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| forms | forms | ME |

54. lufu, feminine:

| Sing. | Nom. | lufu | luve |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | lufe | luve | luves | love <br> loves |
| Dat. | lufe | luve |  | love |
| Acc. | lufe | luve |  | love |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | lufa | luve | luves | loves |
| Gen. | lufa | luve | luves | loves |
| Dat. | lufum | luve(n) | luves | loves |

55. hwil, feminine:

| Sing. Nom. | hwil |
| :---: | :--- |
| Gen. | hwile |
| Dat. | hwile |
| Acc. | hwile |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | hwila |
| Gen. | hwila |
| Dat. | hwilum |


| hwil | hwile | while <br> while |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hwile | hwiles | while <br> hwile |
| hwile |  | while |
| hwile | hwiles | whiles |
| hwile | hwiles | whiles |
| hwile(n) | hwiles | whiles |

56. lim, neuter:

| Sing. Nom. | $\lim$ | $\lim$ |  | $\lim$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gen. | limes | limes |  | limes |
| Dat. | lime | lime | $l i m$ | lim |
| Acc. | $\lim$ | $\lim$ |  | $\lim$ |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | limu | lime | limes | limes |
| Gen. | lima | lime | limes | limes |
| Dat. | limum | lime(n) | limes | limes |

57. hors, neuter:

| Sing. Nom. | hors | hors |  | hors |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | horses | horses |  | horses |
| Dat. | horse | horse | hors | hors |
| Acc. | hors | hors |  | hors |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | hors | hors | horses | horses |
| Gen. | horsa | horse | horses | horses |
| Dat. | horsum | horse(n) | horses | horses |

## OLD ENGLISH

MIDDLE ENGLISH

| Historical Analogical |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| forms | Late |
| forms | ME |

58. wite, neuter:

| Sing.Nom. | wite | wite |  | wite |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | wites | wites |  | wites |
| Dat. | wite | wite |  | wite |
| Acc. | wite | wite |  | wite |
| Plur. | Nom., Acc. | witu | wite | wites | wites

59. hunta, weak masculine:

| Sing. Nom. | hunta | hunte |  | hunte |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | huntan | hunte(n) | huntes | huntes |
| Dat. | huntan | hunte(n) | hunte ${ }^{59}$ | hunte |
| Acc. | huntan | hunte(n) | hunte $5^{59}$ | hunte |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | huntan | hunte(n) | huntes | huntes |
| Gen. | huntena | huntene. | huntes | huntes |
| Dat. | huntum | hunte(n) | huntes | huntes |

60. sunne, weak feminine:

| Sing. Nom. | sunne | sunne |  | sonne |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | sunnan | sunne(n) | sunnes | sonnes |
| Dat. | sunnan | sunne(n) | sunne ${ }^{59}$ | sonne |
| Acc. | sunnan | sunne(n) | sunne $e^{59}$ | sonne |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | sunnan | sunne(n) | sunnes | sonnes |
| Gen. | sunnena | sunnene | sunnes | sonnes |
| Dat. | sunnum | sunne(n) | sunnes | sonnes |

[^25]
## OLD ENGLISH

## MIDDLE ENGLISH

| Historical | Analogical | Late |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| forms | forms | ME |

61. ēare, weak neuter:

| Sing. Nom. | ēare | ere |  | ere |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | earan | ere $(\mathbf{n})$ | eres | eres |
| Dat. | ēaran | ere $(\mathbf{n})$ | ere $^{59}$ | ere |
| Acc. | éare | ere |  | ere |
| Plur. | Nom., Acc. | earan | ere $(\mathbf{n})$ | eres |
| Gen. | èarena | erene | eres | eres |
| Dat. | éarum | ere $(\mathbf{n})$ | eres | eres |

62. An analysis of the tables given above shows that the analogical changes that took place in the inflection of nouns were these:
63. The nominative singular became identical with the accusative singular in the strong feminine nouns ending in a consonant, which in Old English had different forms for the two cases.
64. The ending -es became the ending of the genitive singular of nouns which in Old English had other endings.
65. The dative singular became identical with the accusative singular in those nouns which had different forms for the two cases.
66. The accusative singular became identical with the nominative singular in the weak masculine and feminine nouns, which in Old English had different forms for the two cases.
67. The ending -es became the ending of the nominative-accusative plural of those nouns which in Old English had other endings.
68. The genitive and dative plural became identical with the nomina-tive-accusative plural.
69. Retention and Extension of the Weak Noun Inflection. One other statement is needed, however, to complete this account of the Middle English noun inflections. A few nouns that belonged to the Old English weak declension retained their weak inflection, at least in part, even in Late Middle English. The development of this type of inflec-

[^26]tion, as exemplified by Old English oxa (ox), is shown in the following table:

| OLD ENGLISH |  | MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Historical | Analogical | Late |
|  |  | forms | forms | ME |
| Sing. Nom. | oxa | oxe |  | oxe |
| Gen. | oxan | oxe(n) | oxes | oxes |
| Dat. | oxan | oxe(n) | cxe ${ }^{59}$ | oxe |
| Acc. | oxan | oxe(n) | oxe ${ }^{59}$ | oxe |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | oxan | oxe(n) |  | oxen |
| Gen. | oxena | oxene | oxen | oxen |
| Dat. | oxum | oxe(n) |  | oxen |

Sometimes this type of inflection was extended to nouns that were not weak nouns in Old English; as the plural of sune we sometimes find, for example, sunen instead of sune or sunes. Likewise the weak genitive plural ending -ene was sometimes extended to nouns that were not weak in Old English; e.g., kingene king king of kings.
64. Summary. The endings, both historical and analogical, which appear (in various combinations) in the strong noun declensions are as follows:

|  | Historical | Analogical |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. Nom. | -, -e | -e |
| Gen. | -es, -e | -es |
| Dat. | -e | - |
| Acc. | ,$--e$ |  |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | -es, -e, - | -es |
| Gen. | -e | -es |
| Dat. | -e(n) | -es |

## ADJECTIVES

65. Declension of Adjectives. In Old English, as in Modern German, every adjective was inflected according to either one of two declensions, the strong or the weak. The weak declension was used if the adjective was preceded by a definite article, a demonstrative, or a posses-

[^27]sive, or if the adjective modified a noun used in direct address; the strong declension was used except under conditions that required the use of the weak. In Middle English the two declensions of the adjective were retained, but with much simplification of forms. As in the declension of nouns, the simplification that took place in the inflection of adjectives was the result of two causes, sound change and analogy. The historical development is shown in the tables printed below:

## 66. Strong Declension.

 OLD ENGLISH| MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Historical | Analogical | Late |
| forms | forms | ME |
| (Early ME) |  | 1 |

Masculine:

| Sing. Nom. | gōd | good |  | good |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | gōdes | goodes | good | good |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode $(\mathbf{n})$ | good | good |
| Acc. | gōdne | goodne | good | good |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | gōde | goode |  | goode |
| Gen. | gōdra | goodre, gooder | goode | goode |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode $(\mathbf{n})$ | goode ${ }^{\text {so }}$ | goode |

Femine:

| Sing. Nom. | gōd | good |  | good |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | gōdre | goodre, gooder | good | good |
| Dat. | gōdre | goodre, gooder | good | good |
| Acc. | gōde | goode | good | good |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | gōda | goode |  | goode |
| Gen. | gōdra | goodre, gooder | goode | goode |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode(n) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |
| Neuter: |  |  |  |  |
| Sing. Nom. | gōd | good |  | good |
| Gen. | gōdes | goodes | good | good |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode(n) | gcod | good |
| Acc. | gōd | good |  | good |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | gōde | goode |  | goode |
| Gen. | gōdra | goodre, gooder | goode | goode |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode(n) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |

[^28]67. Weak Declension.

OLD ENGLISH

| MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Historical | Anological | Late |
| forms | forms | ME |
| (Early ME) |  |  |

Masculine:

| Sing. Nom. | gōda | goode |  | goode |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gen. | gōdan | goode(n) | goode ${ }^{50}$ | goode |
| Dat. | gōdan | goode( n ) | goode ${ }^{50}$ | goode |
| Acc. | gōdan | goode( $\mathbf{n}$ ) | goode ${ }^{50}$ | goode |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | gōdan | goode( $\mathbf{n}$ ) | goode ${ }^{50}$ | goode |
| Gen. | gōdena | goodene | goode | goode |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode( $\mathbf{n}$ ) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |
| Feminine: |  |  |  |  |
| Sing. Nom. | gōde | goode |  | goode |
| Gen. | gōdan | goode( $\mathbf{n}$ ) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |
| Dat. | gōdan | goode(n) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |
| Acc. | gōdan | goode( $\mathbf{n}$ ) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | gōdan | goode( n ) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | goode |
| Gen. | gōdena | goodene | goode | goode |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode(n) | goode ${ }^{60}$ | oode |

Neuter:

| Sing. | Nom. | gōde | goode |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Gen. | gōdan | goode $(\mathbf{n})$ | goode $6^{60}$ | goode |
| goode |  |  |  |  |
| Dat. | gōdan | goode $(\mathbf{n})$ | goode $e^{50}$ | goode |
| Acc. | gōde | goode |  | goode |
| Plur. Nom., Acc. | gōdan | goode $(\mathbf{n})$ | goode $e^{60}$ | goode |
| Gen. | gōdena | goodene | goode | goode |
| Dat. | gōdum | goode $(\mathbf{n})$ | goode $e^{60}$ | goode |

## PRONOUNS

68. Declension of Pronouns. The development of the Middle English pronouns is more complex than that of the noun and adjective inflections. One reason is that the Old English pronouns had a good many variant forms, any one of which might become the basis of a corresponding Middle English form. Another reason is that pronouns are

[^29]often weakly stressed, and the sound changes that take place in weakly stressed syllables are not always the same as those that take place in strongly stressed syllables. In the following tables, as in those given above, the historical forms that developed by sound change are printed in Roman type, analogical forms in italics. ${ }^{61}$

| OLD ENGLISH |  | MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | ich | [it[], | I [i] |
| Gen. | min | $\mathbf{m i}(\mathbf{n})$ |  |  |
| Dat. | mē | me |  |  |
| Acc. | mē | me |  |  |
| Plur. Nom. | wē | we |  |  |
| Gen. | üre | ure |  |  |
| Dat., Acc. | ūs | us | [ u s], |  |

70. Second Personal Pronoun.

Sing. Nom.
bū
Gen. bin
Dat. bē
Acc. bē
Plur. Nom. giē
Gen. ēower Dat., Acc. ēow
bu
bi(n)
be
be
зe [jē]
eower [ēouər], ower [̄uər], зur [jūr] eow [ēou], ow [ $\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{u}], 3 \mathbf{u}[\mathbf{j u}]$
71. Third Personal Pronoun.

OLD ENGLISH
MIDDLE ENGLISH
Analogical forms
Masculine Singular:
Nom. hē he

Gen. his his
Dat. him him
Acc. hine hine
him
Feminine Singular:
Nom. hēo, hi heo, he [hē], ho [hō], hi [hī]
Gen. hire hire here
Dat. hire hire here
Acc. hì, hēo hi [hi]; heo, he [hē], ho [hō] hire, here

[^30]Neuter Singular:
Nom. hit hit
Gen. his his
Dat. him him
hit
Acc. hit
hit
Plural (all genders):
Nom. hī, hēo hi [hī]; heo, he [hē], ho [hō]
Gen. hira, heora hire, here
Dat. him, heom him, hem
Acc. hī, hēo hi [hi]; heo, he, [hē], ho [hō] him, hem

## 72. Demonstrative Pronoun and Definite Article.

OLD ENGLISH MIDDLE ENGLISH
Analogical forms
Masculine Singular:
Nom. sē
Gen. bæs
Dat. bēm, bām
Acc. bone, bæne
Inst. bȳ, bon, bē
Feminine Singular:
Nom. sēo
Gen. bæ̈re
Dat. pāre
Acc. bā
Neuter Singular:
Nom. bæt
Gen. bæs
Dat. bēm, bām
Acc. bæt
Inst. bȳ, bon, bē
Plural (all genders):
Nom. bā
Gen. bāra, pāra
Dat. bēm, bām
Acc. bā
se be, pat
bes, bas be, bat
ben, ban be, bat
bone, bene, bane be, bat
bi, bon, be
seo, se pe, bat
bere, bare be, bat
bere, bare be, pat
bo [b̄̄], ba [ba] be, bat
bet, bat be
bes, bas be, pat
ben, ban be, pat.
bet, bat pe
bi, bon, be
po [b̄̄̀], ba [ba] be
bare, bere $\quad p e, b o$.
ben, ban $p e, p o$
bo, pa
pe

## VERBS

73. Weak Verbs. In Middle English, as in Old English and all other Germanic languages, there are two conjugations of verbs, the strong and the weak. Weak verbs form their preterit by means of a suffix containing $\mathbf{d}$ or $\mathbf{t}$ followed by endings indicative of person and number. From the point of view of their development in Middle English, we may say that there were two types of weak verbs in Old English, Verbs of the first type had preterits ending in -ede or -ode and past participles ending in -ed or -od; for example,

| fremman (make) | fremede | fremed |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| erian (plow) | erede | ered |
| lufian (love) | lufode | lufod |

In Middle English the distinction between lufian, with preterit in -ode, and fremman and erian, with preterits in -ede, was done away with by the process of sound change, so that the earliest Middle English forms of these verbs were

| fremme $(\mathbf{n})$ | fremede | fremed |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| erie $(\mathbf{n})$ | erede | ered |
| luvie $(\mathbf{n})$ | luvede | luved |

These verbs, which we shall call weak verbs of Type I, therefore had in Middle English preterits ending in -ede and past participles ending in -ed. In early Middle English the infinitive of these verbs ended in -e(n) or -ie(n), but in late Middle English, by the process of analogy, the ending -ie(n) was displaced by the commoner ending $\mathbf{- e}(\mathbf{n})$.

Old English verbs of the second type had preterits ending in -de or -te and past participles ending in -ed, -d, or -t ; for example:

| dēman $($ judge $)$ | dēmde | dēmed |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fēlan $($ feel $)$ | fēlde | fēled |
| fēdan $($ feed $)$ | fēdde | fēded, fēdd |
| wendan $($ turn $)$ | wende | wended, wend |
| cēpan $($ keep $)$ | cēpte | cēped |
| mētan $($ meet $)$ | mētte | mēted, mētt |
| settan $($ set $)$ | sette | seted, sett |
| sēc̄an $($ seek $)$ | sōhte | sōht |
| benċan $($ think $)$ | bōhte | bōht |

In Middle English these verbs developed, according to the regular laws of sound change, as follows:

| (n) [dēmən] | de [dēmdə] | demed |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (n) [fèlən] | felte [fęlta] | feled [fèlod] |
| de(n) [fēdon] | fedde [feddo] | fed [fed] |
| ende(n) [węndon] | wente [węntr] | went [węnt] |
| epe(n) [kēpən] | kepte [kępta] | keped [kēpad] |
| ete(n) [mēton] | mette [mętto] | met [mett] |
| ette(n) [sętton] | sette [setto] | set [sęt] |
| che(n) [sētfon] | soughte [squhto] | sought [squht] |
| enche(n) [bętion] | poughte [bquhte] | bought [beuht] |

These verbs, which we shall call weak verbs of Type II, therefore had in Middle English preterits ending in -de or -te and past participles ending in -ed, $\mathbf{d}$, or $\mathbf{t}$. It will be observed that (in accordance with the sound law stated above in section 43, 1a) the long vowels of felen, feden, kepen, and meten are shortened in the preterit, where they were followed by a double consonant or a combination of consonants.
74. Strong Verbs. Strong verbs form their preterit, not by the addition of a suffix, but by means of a change in the vowel of the stem of the verb. This change is called "ablaut," and the strong verbs are frequently called "ablaut verbs." The preterit plural of these verbs usually has a different vowel from the preterit singular; the principal parts therefore are the infinitive, the preterit indicative first person singular, the preterit indicative plural, and the past participle.

In Old English there were seven classes of strong verbs; the principal parts of verbs representative of these seven classes are as follows:

| I. ridan (ride) | rād | ridon | riden |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. crēopan (creep) | crēap | crupon | cropen |
| III. bindan (bind) | band, bond | bundon | bunden |
| helpan (help) | healp | hulpon | holpen |
| sterfan (die) | stearf | sturfon | storfen |
| IV. beran (bear) | bær | begron | boren |
| V. specan (speak) | spac | spēcon | specen |
| VI. scacan (shake) | scōc | scōcon | scacen |
| VII. slēpan (sleep) | slēp | slēpon | slǣpen |
| healdan (hold) | hēold | hēoldon | healden |

By the operation of the sound changes which have been explained in sections 42 and 43, these Old English forms developed into the following Middle English forms: ${ }^{62}$
I. $\operatorname{ride}(\mathbf{n})[\operatorname{rid} \partial \mathrm{n}] \quad \operatorname{rod}[\mathbf{r} \mathbf{Q} \mathrm{d}] \quad \operatorname{ride}(\mathbf{n})$ [ridən] $\quad \operatorname{ride}(\mathbf{n})$ [ridən]
II. crepe(n) [krēpən] creep [kręp] crupe(n) [krupən] crope(n) [krōpən]
III. binde(n) [bindən] band [band] bunde(n) [būndən] bunde(n) [būndən]
helpe(n) [hęlpən] halp [halp] hulpe(n) [hulpən] holpe(n) [hęlpən] sterve(n) [stęrvan] starf [starf]
IV. bere (n) [bęrran]
V. speke(n) [spęk bar [bar] spak [spak] sturve(n) [sturvan]
storve(n) [storvon] bere (n) [bērən] speke(n) [spēkən]
bore(n) [bērrn]
speke(n) [spę̀kən]
VI. shake(n) [fākən]
VII. slepe(n) [slēpən] holde(n) [hōldən]
shooke(n) [ [ōkən] shake(n) [fākən] sleep [slēp] heeld [hēld]
sleepe(n) [slēpən]
$\operatorname{slepe}(n)$ [slē pon]
holde(n) [hōldon]
75. Analogical Forms. The forms that developed from the Old English forms by sound change are those that occur in early Middle English, but in later Middle English we meet with a good many analogical forms. The most important results of analogy were these:

1. Strong verbs often acquired weak preterits; e.g., crepte [kręptə], slepte [slęptə], in place of creep, sleep.
2. The vowel of the preterit plural was often substituted for the vowel of the preterit singular; e.g., beer [bēr], with the vowel of the preterit plural, displaced bar.
3. The vowel of the preterit singular was often substituted for the vowel of the preterit plural; e.g., bare(n) [bāron], with the vowel of the preterit singular (lengthened when it came to stand in an open syllable), ${ }^{63}$ displaced bere(n) [bēron].
4. The vowel of the past participle was often substituted for the vowel of the preterit plural; e.g., crope(n) [krēpon], with the vowel of the past participle, displaced crupe(n).

[^31]5. In the past participles of verbs of Class $V$ the vowel $o$ [ $\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$ was substituted for the original vowel $\mathbf{e}$, from the analogy of the past participle of verbs of Class IV; e.g., $\boldsymbol{\operatorname { s p o k }}(\mathbf{n})$ [spōkən], with the vowel of bore(n) [bōrron], displaced speke(n) [spę̀kən].
76. Endings of Weak Verbs. The historical development of the Middle English forms of the weak verb is shown in the tables printed below. Weak verbs of Type I are exemplified by Old English erian (plow) and lufian (love); weak verbs of Type II are exemplified by Old English dèman (judge).

OLD ENGLISH

| Pres. Ind. Sing. | 1 erie |
| ---: | :--- |
| 2 eres |  |
| 3 | ereb |

Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 erede
2 eredest
3 erede
Plur. eredon
Pres. Subj. Sing. erie
Plur. erien
Pret. Subj. Sing. erede
Plur. ereden
Pres. Imp. Sing. 2 ere
Plur. 2 eriab
Infinitive
Gerund
Pres. Participle
erian tō erienne eriende

Past Participle ered

## MIDDLE ENGLISH

| Historical Analogical |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| forms | forms |
| erie | ere |
| erest |  |
| ereb |  |
| erieb | erep, ere $(n)^{64}$ |
| erede |  |
| eredest |  |
| erede |  |
| erede(n) |  |
| erie | ere |
| erie(n) | ere( $n$ ) |
| erede |  |
| erede( $\mathbf{n}$ ) |  |
| ere |  |
| eriep | erep |
| erie( $\mathbf{n}$ ) | $\operatorname{ere}(n)$ |
| to eriene | to erene, to $\operatorname{ere}(\underline{n})$ |
| eriende, eriinde ${ }^{65}$ | ${ }^{65}$ erende, erinde, ${ }^{65}$ eringe |
| ered |  |

${ }^{\text {a }}$ The ending -e( $\mathbf{n}$ ) in the present indicative plural is a characteristic of the Midland dialect; the ending -eb is a characteristic of the Southern dialect.
${ }^{\text {ss }}$ The ending -inde is a characteristic of the Southern dialect, the ending -ende of the Midland dialect.

| OLD ENGLISH | MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |  |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | Historical <br> forms | Analogical <br> forms |
|  |  | luvie, luvi <br> luvest | luve |

[^32]| OLD ENGLISH | MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Historical forms | Analogical forms |
| Pret. Subj. Sing. dēmde Plur. dēmden | demde <br> demde(n) |  |
| Pres. Imp. Sing. 2 dēm | dem | deme |
| Plur. 2 dēmab | demeb |  |
| Infinitive deeman | deme(n) |  |
| Gerund tō dēmenne | to demene | to deme( $n$ ) |
| Pres. Participle dēmende | demende, |  |
|  | deminde ${ }^{65}$ | deminge |
| Past Participle deemed | demed |  |

77. Endings of Strong Verbs. The historical development of the Middle English forms of the strong verb, exemplified by Old English ridan (ride) and bindan (bind), is shown in the tables printed below.

## OLD ENGLISH

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 ride
2 ridest, ritst 3 rideb, ritt
Plur. ridab
Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 rād
2 ride $^{67}$
3 rād
Plur. ridon
Pres. Subj. Sing. ride
Plur. riden
Pret. Subj. Sing. ride
Plur. riden
Pres. Imp. Sing. 2 rid
Plur. 2 ridab

## MIDDLE ENGLISH

| Historical | Analogical |
| :---: | :---: |
| forms | forms |

ride
ridest, ritst
rideb, rit
rideb
rood
ride
rood
ride(n)
ride
ride (n)
ride
ride(n)
rid
rideb
es The ending -inde is a characteristic of the Southern dialect, the ending -ende of the Midland dialect.
${ }^{66}$ The ending -e( $\mathbf{n}$ ) in the present indicative plural is a characteristic of the Midland dialect; the ending -eb is a characteristic of the Southern dialect.
${ }^{67}$ It should be observed that the preterit indicative 2 singular of the strong verbs has the vowel of the preterit plural.

| OLD ENGLIS |  | MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | istorical A forms | Analogical forms |
| Infinitive | ridan | ride( n ) |  |
| Gerund | tō ridenne | to ridene | to ride( $n$ ) |
| Pres. Participle | ridende | ridende, ridinde ${ }^{65}$ | ${ }^{65}$ ridinge |
| Past Participle | riden | ride( n ) |  |
| Pres. Ind. Sing. | 1 binde | binde |  |
|  | 2 bindest, bintst | bindest, bintst |  |
|  | 3 bindep, bint | bindeb, bint |  |
| Plur. | bindab | bindeb | binde $(n)^{66}$ |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 | 1 band, bond | band, bond |  |
|  | 2 bunde ${ }^{67}$ | bunde | band, bond |
|  | 3 band, bond | band, bond |  |
| Plur. | bundon | bunde(n) |  |
| Pres. Subj. Sing. Plur. | binde | binde |  |
|  | binden | binde(n) |  |
| Pret. Subj. Sing.Plur. | bunde | bunde |  |
|  | bunden | bunde(n) |  |
| Pres. Imp. Sing. 2 | 2 bind | bind |  |
| Plur. 2 | 2 bindab | bindeb |  |
| Infinitive | bindan | binde(n) |  |
| Gerund | tō bindenne | to bindene | to binde ( $\boldsymbol{n}$ ) |
| Pres. Participle | bindende | bindende, | bindinge |
|  |  | bindinde ${ }^{65}$ |  |
| Past Participle | bunden | bunde(n) |  |

78. Preteritive-Present Verbs. The preteritive-present (or strongweak) verbs have present indicatives which are like the preterit indicatives of strong verbs in that they have no ending in the first and third persons singular and have the ending -e(n) (from Old English -on) in

[^33]the plural. The preterits of these verbs are weak. The indicative forms of Middle English shal, for example, are as follows:

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 shal<br>2 shalt<br>3 shal<br>Plur. shule(n)<br>Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 sholde<br>2 sholdest<br>3 sholde<br>Plur. sholde(n)

The most important of the preteritive-present verbs are:
owen, own, be under obligation
cunnen, know, be able
muwen, be able
moten, be permitted, be under obligation
shulen, be under obligation, be about to
witen, know
79. The historical development of the preteritive-present verbs is shown in the following tables:

## OLD ENGLISH

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 āh, āg
2 āhst
3 āh, āg
Plur. āgon
Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 āhte
Infinitive
Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 cann, conn
2 canst, const
3 cann, conn
Plur. cunnon

## MIDDLE ENGLISH

| Historical Analogical |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| forms | forms |


ouhst [0uhst] owest [ $\mathbf{Q}$ uəst]

owe(n) $[$ èuən $] \quad$ oweb $[\text { ̄uəb }]^{68}$
ouhte [quhtə]
owe(n) [ēuon]
can, con
canst, const
can, con
cunne(n)
${ }^{68}$ This form occurs only in the Southern dialect.

## OLD ENGLISH

MIDDLE ENGLISH
Historical Analogical

Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 cūbe
Infinitive $\quad$ cunnan
Pres. Ind. Sing. $1 \mathbf{m æ g}$
2 meaht, miht
forms
cube [kūðəə]
cunne(n)
mai, mei
maht, maiht, meiht, maist
mauht, mouht, miht
mai, mei
mawe (n), muwe(n)
mahte, maihte, muhte
meihte, mauhte, mouhte, mihte
Infinitive magan, mugan ${ }^{70}$ mawe( $\mathbf{n}$ ), muwe(n)
Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 mōt
2 mōst
3 mōt
Plur. mōton
Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 mōste
mōtan
Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 sceal
2 scealt
3 sceal
Plur. sculon
Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 scolde
Infinitive . sculan
Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 wāt
2 wāst
3 wāt
Plur. witon
Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 wiste
Infinitive witan
mot
most
mot
$\operatorname{mote}(\mathrm{n})$
moste
mote(n)
shal, shel
shalt, shelt
shal, shel
shule ( n )
sholde
shulde
shule (n)
wot
wost
wot
wite( $n$ )
wiste, wuste
wite( $\mathbf{n}$ )

[^34]80. Anomalous Verbs. The historical development of the Middle English verb bee(n), be, was as follows:


The historical development of the Middle English verbs don, $d_{0}$, and willen, will, in the indicative was as follows:

## OLD ENGLISH

Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 dō
2 dēs:
3 dēp
Plur. dōp

MIDDLE ENGLISH
Historical
forms
do
dest dost
deb dop
dob $\quad d o(n)^{75}$

[^35]| OLD ENGLISH | MIDDLE ENGLISH |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Historical forms | Analogical forms |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 dyde | dide, dude [dyda] |  |
| 2 dydest | didest, dudest |  |
| 3 dyde | dide, dude |  |
| Plur. dydon | dide(n), dude(n) |  |
| Past Participle dōn | don |  |
| Pres. Ind. Sing. 1 wille | wille, wulle | wile, wule |
| 2 wilt | wilt, wult |  |
| 3 wile | wile, wule | wille, wulle |
| Plur. willab | willep, wulleb | wille( $n$ ), <br> wulle $(n)^{76}$ |
| Pret. Ind. Sing. 1 wolde | wolde | wulde |
| 2 woldest | woldest | wuldest |
| 3 wolde | wolde | wulde |
| Plur. woldon | wolde(n) | wulde( $n$ ) |

## PART V

## MIDDLE ENGLISH DIALECTS

81. Distribution of the Middle English Dialects. There were four chief dialects of Middle English, the Southern, the Kentish, the Midland, and the Northern. The Southern dialect was spoken south of the Thames, except in Kent. The Midland dialect was spoken in the district which lay (roughly) between the Thames on the south and the mouth of the Humber on the north. The Northern dialect was spoken in the district which lay (roughly) north of the mouth of the Humber; this district included Yorkshire and its adjacent counties and the lowlands of Scotland. The territory of the Midland dialect is further divided into the North and the South Midland and the East and the West Midland.
82. The Southern Dialect. The most important characteristics of the Southern dialect are the following:
I. Vowel Sounds. The development of the Old English vowels and diphthongs in the Midland dialect of Middle English has been given above in 42. The development of the Old English vowel sounds in the Southern dialect was the same as in the Midland dialect except that Old English $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ and $\mathbf{y}$, which had the sound of $[\overline{\mathbf{y}}]$ and $[\mathbf{y}]$, preserved their original quality in the Southern dialect, tho the sounds were spelled in Middle English with $\mathbf{u}$ or ui instead of $\mathbf{y}$; e.g., OE fȳr, Southern ME vur, vuir; OE fyllan, Southern ME vullen. ${ }^{77}$

[^36]II. Consonant Sounds. The Old English initial voiceless spirants [f], [s], and [b] changed to the corresponding voiced spirants [ $\mathbf{v}],[\mathbf{z}]$, and [ $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ ]; e.g., OE for, Southern ME vor; OE song, Southern ME zong; OE bæt [bæt], Southern ME bat [ $\mathrm{\delta at}^{2}$ ]. ${ }^{78}$
III. Final e. Final e was retained in pronunciation thruout the fourteenth century.
IV. Inflections.

1. Nouns.
(a) The historical forms of the noun declensions (see 49 ff . above) were displaced only slowly by analogical forms. Genitive and dative singulars in e, nominative, genitive, and accusative plurals in $\mathbf{e}$, and dative plurals in $\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{n})$ are common in texts of the thirteenth century and occur occasionally in texts of the fourteenth century.
(b) The distinctions of grammatical gender were maintained with a considerable degree of correctness thruout the first half of the thirteenth century, and relics of grammatical gender are found even in texts of the first half of the fourteenth century.
2. Adjectives.

The historical forms of the genitive, dative, and accusative in the strong adjective declension (see 65 ff . above) were displaced only slowly by analogical forms; the historical forms occur frequently in texts of the first half of the thirteenth century.
3. Pronouns.
(a) The historical forms of the genitive, dative, and accusative of the definite article and demonstrative be (se), bat ${ }^{79}$ (see 72 above) were displaced only slowly by analogical
${ }^{78}$ The initial [v] is indicated pretty consistently in the spelling of Southern Middle English texts; the initial $[\mathbf{z}]$ is indicated by the spelling of one text only, for the letter $\mathbf{z}$ was little used by the Middle English scribes. The initial [ $\delta$ ] is not indicated by spelling at all, for the scribes had no way of distinguishing the sounds of [ $\delta$ ] and [b] in writing.
${ }^{79}$ In the Southern dialect pat is used as the definite article as well as the demonstrative; in the Midland and Northern dialects bat is used only as the demonstrative.
forms; the historical forms are common in the first half of the thirteenth century and occasional until the middle of the fourteenth century.
(b) The pronouns ha (he, she, they, them), hare (her, their), and ham (them) were in frequent use.
4. Verbs.
(a) The ending of the present indicative plural of strong verbs was -eb; the ending of the present indicative plural of weak verbs was -eb or -iep. ${ }^{80}$
(b) The ending of the present participle of strong verbs was -inde, later-inge; the ending of the present participle of weak verbs was -inde, later -inge, or -iinde, later-inge.
(c) Weak verbs like erien and luvien (see 76 above) preserved their historical endings, -ie, -ie(n), etc., thruout the fourteenth century with little substitution of analogical forms.
83. The Kentish Dialect. The characteristics of the Kentish dialect are the same as those of the Southern dialect except with regard to vowel sounds. The development of the Old English vowels and diphthongs in the Kentish dialect differs in the following respects from the development which these sounds underwent in the Southern and Midland dialects:

1. Old English ${ }^{81} \overline{\mathbf{y}}$ and $\mathbf{y}$ became Kentish [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{e}}\right]$ and [e]; e.g., OE fy $\mathbf{r}$, Kentish ME ver [vēr]; OE fyllan, Kentish ME vellen [vęllən].
2. Old English ēa became in Kentish a sound which is spelled ea, ia, ya, yea; the pronunciation of this sound is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have been a diphthong, not a simple vowel; e.g., OE strēam, Kentish ME stream, striam, etc.
3. Old English ēo became in Kentish a sound which is spelled ie, ye $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{y}$; the pronunciation of this sound is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have been a diphthong; e.g., OE bēon, Kentish ME bien, byen, etc.
${ }^{80}$ Likewise, beeb is the Southern form of the present indicative plural of bee( $\mathbf{n}$ ), be.
${ }^{31}$ By Old English is meant here the West-Saxon dialect of Old English (see note 37 above). The Kentish dialect of Old English already had $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ and $\mathbf{e}$ where the WestSaxon and Anglian dialects had $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ and $\mathbf{y}$.
4. Old English $\mathbf{i e}^{82}$ (which in the other Middle English dialects generally became [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ ) became in Kentish a sound which is spelled ie, ye; the pronunciation of this sound is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have been a diphthong; e.g., OE nied, Kentish ME nied, nyed; OE diere, Kentish ME diere, dyere. ${ }^{83}$
5. The Midland Dialect. The most important characteristics of the Midland dialect are the following:
I. Final e. Final e was to a great extent retained in pronunciation thruout the fourteenth century, but apocope of final $\mathbf{e}$ began before the end of the thirteenth century.

## II. Inflections.

1. Nouns and Adjectives.
(a) The analogical changes that took place in the inflection of nouns (see 49 ff . above) and adjectives (see 65 ff .) were carried out before the end of the twelfth century.
(b) The distinctions of grammatical gender were lost before the end of the twelfth century.

## 2. Pronouns.

(a) The historical forms of the genitive, dative, and accusative of the definite article and demonstrative be (se), bat (see 72 above) were displaced by analogical forms before the end of the twelfth century.
(b) The historical forms of the accusative of the third personal pronoun (see 71 above) were displaced by dative forms before the end of the twelfth century.
3. Verbs.
(a) The ending of the present indicative plural of strong and weak verbs was -e(n).
${ }^{82}$ The diphthong ie occurs only in the West-Saxon dialect of Old English; in place of ie the other dialects had $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{i}}$, or $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \mathbf{0}$.
${ }^{83}$ The Kentish dialect of Old English had $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ where the West-Saxon dialect had $\bar{æ}$; in many words, therefore, Kentish Middle English has $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ where Southern Middle English has ē.
(b) The ending of the present participle of strong and weak verbs was -ende, later -inge or -ing.
(c) The historical endings (ie, ie( $\mathbf{n}$ ), etc.) of weak verbs like erien and luvien (see 76 above) were for the most part displaced by analogical forms before the end of the twelfth century.
85. Non-Northern Dialect Characteristics. The Southern and the Midland dialects have in common certain characteristics which are not shared by the Northern dialect:
I. Sounds. Old English $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ became $[\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$ in Southern and Midland Middle English; e.g., OE stān, Southern and Midland ME stoon. ${ }^{84}$

## II. Inflections.

## 1. Pronouns.

(a) Both the Southern and the Midland dialects employed the pronouns he, hi, ho (she, they); hem (them); and hire, here (their). ${ }^{85}$
(b) Both the early Southern and the early Midland dialects employed the pronoun his, is (her, it, them).
2. Verbs.
(a) The past participle of strong and weak verbs often had the prefix i, y, from Old English ge; e.g., icume(n), past participle of cume $(\mathbf{n})$; the prefix is commoner in the Southern dialect, however, than in the Midland.
(b) The difference of ablaut in the preterit singular and preterit plural which existed in most of the strong verbs was on the whole retained without much disturbance from analogy (see 74 above).

[^37]86. Non-Southern Dialect Characteristics. The Midland and the Northern dialects have in common certain characteristics which are not shared by the Southern dialect:
I. Sounds. Old English $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ and $\mathbf{i}$ became [ $\mathbf{i}$ ] and [i] in Midland and Northern Middle English; e.g., OE fȳr, Midland and Northern ME fir; OE fyllan, Midland and Northern ME fillen. ${ }^{86}$
II. Inflections.

1. Pronouns.
(a) Both the Midland and the Northern dialects employed the pronoun she, sho (she). ${ }^{87}$
(b) Both the Midland and the Northern dialects employed the pronouns bei (they); beir (their); beim, bem (them). ${ }^{88}$
2. Verbs.
(a) Both the Midland and the Northern dialects employed $\operatorname{are}(\mathbf{n})$ as the present indicative plural of the verb bee(n). ${ }^{89}$ (b) Both the Midland and the Northern dialects employ -es as the ending of the present indicative second and third persons singular of verbs. ${ }^{90}$

[^38]87. The Northern Dialect. The most important characteristics of the Northern dialect are the following:
I. Sounds.

1. Old English $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ did not change to [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ ] but remained [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$; e.g., OE stān, Northern ME stan, Midland and Southern ME stoon. By the end of the fourteenth century, however, the [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ seems to have become [ $\overline{\mathrm{e}}]$ or [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}] .{ }^{91}$
2. [g] and [ $\mathbf{k}$ ] appear in many words which have [j] and [ $\mathbf{t}]$ ] in the Southern and Midland dialects; e.g., Northern gif, Southern and Midland yif; Northern kirk(e), Southern and Midland chirche. ${ }^{92}$
3. Old English sc [f] became [s] in unaccented syllables and in words that were generally pronounced with little stress; e.g OE englisc, Northern ME inglis, Southern and Midland ME english; OE sceal, Northern ME sal, Southern and Midland ME shal; OE scolde, Northern ME solde, sulde, Southern and Midland ME sholde, shulde.
4. Old English hw was spelled in the North qu; e.g., OE hwæt, Northern ME quat, Southern and Midland ME what, wat. The sound represented by the qu was probably that of a spirant [h] followed by or combined with [w].
II. Final e and $\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{n})$. Final $\mathbf{e}$ was entirely lost by about the middle of the fourteenth century. Final $\mathbf{n}$ of the ending $\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{n})$ was lost before the beginning of the fourteenth century, except in the past participles of strong verbs.

## III. Inflections. ${ }^{93}$

1. Adjectives. With the loss of final e about the middle of the fourteenth century, all inflection of the adjective was lost.

[^39]2. Pronouns. The plural of bis (this) is bir or ber.
3. Verbs.
(a) The ending of the present indicative first person singular and of the present indicative plural was -es unless the subject of the verb was a personal pronoun which immediately preceded or followed the verb, in which case the verb was without ending or had the ending -e. The present indicative forms of the verb find (e), for example, were
(1) Sing. 1 I find(e)

2 thou findes Plur. we, ye, they find(e)
3 he findes
(2) Sing. 1 I that finde\$

2 thou that findes
Plur. we, ye, they that findes
(b) The ending of the present participle was -and(e).
(c) The ending of the imperative plural was -es.
(d) The preterit singular and preterit plural of strong verbs had the same vowel, the difference of ablaut which had existed in most of the strong verbs (see 74 above) being done away with by analogy; in most verbs the preterit plural took the vowel of the preterit singular. Thus, with the loss of the ending -e(n), the preterit singular and the preterit plural became identical in form; e.g., Northern he sang, we sang, Southern and Midland he sang, we sunge(n).
(e) The ending of the past participle of strong verbs was -en (never -e).

## APPENDIX

## Middle English Spelling

88. Influence of Old English Spelling. In the beginning of the Middle English period (roughly between 1050 and 1150) there occurred a large number of changes of pronunciation, particularly in the vowel sounds. Old English æ became [a]; Old English ā became [ $\overline{\mathbf{\imath}}$ ]; the Old English diphthongs ēa, ea, $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \mathbf{0}$, and eo became the simple vowels [ $\overline{\mathbf{\varepsilon}}]$, [a], [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$ and [e]; and a number of new diphthongs-[ai], [eic], [au], etc.-developed out of Old English simple vowels followed by $\dot{\mathbf{g}}, \mathbf{w}, \mathbf{h}$, etc. ${ }^{94}$ While these changes were going on and for some time after they had been carried out, people continued to spell words in the way they had been spelled in Old English. For example, Old English bæt was spelled with $\mathfrak{æ}$, Old English bēon ${ }^{95}$ was spelled with eo, Old English strēam was spelled with ea, and Old English stān was spelled with a after the pronunciation of these words had become [bat], [bēn], [strę̀m], and [stōn]. But the changes that had taken place in pronunciation were so numerous that it proved to be impossible to maintain the old system of spelling. Confusion in spelling soon arose. Since words that were spelled with eo .and with e came to have the same sound in Middle English, people regarded the two signs as interchangeable; they would therefore spell Old English bēon and weorc with e, and Old English swēte and helpan with eo. Moreover, ea and eo were enough alike in appearance to be confused in use, so that [bēn], from Old English bēon was sometimes spelled with ea and [strę̀m], from Old English strēam was sometimes spelled with e0. As a result, the spelling of the vowel sounds in the earliest Middle
[^40]English texts exhibits great confusion, which gradually diminished, however, as the digraphs ea and eo fell more and more into disuse and as the character æ gave place to a as a means of representing the vowel [a].
89. Influence of Old French Spelling. There is no doubt that in the course of time the confusion of early Middle English spelling would have been done away with and that a good system of spelling Middle English would have been evolved on the basis of the Old English system if the English people had been left to themselves. But they were not left to themselves. French was the language of the superior class from 1066 to the middle of the fourteenth century. Educated people read French books and were expected to be able to write as well as speak the French language; French words were adopted into the language and kept their French spellings when used in writing. As a result, people began to spell certain English sounds according to the French system of spelling. The most important changes that came about were these:

1. [ $\overline{\mathbf{c}}]$, spelled in OE with $æ$ and in early ME with $\mathfrak{æ}$ or ea, came to be spelled with e, as in French; e.g., early ME hæb, later ME hep or heeth.
2. [u], spelled in OE and early ME with $\mathbf{u}$, was often spelled with $\mathbf{o}$ in later ME, particularly in proximity with letters like $\mathbf{n}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{v}$, and w; e.g., early ME sune, later ME sone.
3. [ $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ], spelled in OE and early ME with $\mathbf{u}$, was usually spelled in late ME with ou; e.g., early ME hus, late ME hous.
4. $[\mathbf{y}]$ and $[\overline{\mathbf{y}}]$, which were spelled in OE with $\mathbf{y}$ and had the sound of French u, were spelled in Southern ME with u, as in French; [ $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ ] was sometimes spelled ui; e.g., OE fyllan, Southern ME vulle(n); OE fỳr, Southern ME vur, vuir.
5. [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$, spelled in early ME with $\mathbf{e}$ or $\mathbf{e o}$ is often spelled in late ME with ie; e.g., OE spēdan, early ME spede(n), late ME spede(n) or spiede( $\mathbf{n}$ ).
6. [v], spelled in OE and in the earliest ME with $\mathbf{f}$, came to be spelled with $\mathbf{v}$, as in French; e.g., OE life, ME live.
7. [tf], spelled in OE with c, came to be spelled in ME with ch, as in French; e.g., OE ciidan, ${ }^{96}$ ME chide(n).
8. [kw], spelled in OE with cw, came to be spelled in ME with qu, as in French; e.g., OE cwēn, ME quen or queen.
${ }^{\circledR}$ As to $\dot{\mathbf{c}}$, see the preceding note.

The influence of French spelling on English spelling began soon after the Norman conquest, but the changes which it brought about were not completed until after the middle of the thirteenth century.
90. Spelling of Middle English Vowels and Diphthongs. The table given below shows the spellings which are most commonly used in Middle English manuscripts to represent the various vowels and diphthongs The first column contains the sounds as represented in phonetic notation; the second column contains the spellings by which these sounds are represented in the earlier Middle English manuscripts (roughly, before 1250); the third column contains the spellings by which these same sounds are represented in the later Middle English manuscripts (roughly, after 1250). Spellings which are decidedly less frequent than the others are placed in parentheses.

| ME Sound $[\bar{a}]^{97}$ | Early ME Spelling | Late ME Spelling <br> a, aa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [a] | a, æ, ea | a |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ ] | e, eo | e, ee, (ie) |
| [ $\overline{\text { è }}$ ] | æ, ea, e, (eo) | e, ee |
| [e] | e, eo, (æ) | e |
| [i] | i, (y) | i, ii, y |
| [i] | i, (y) | i, y |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ ] | 0 | o, 00 |
| [ $\overline{\text { ® }}$ ] | a, o, (oa) | 0, 00 |
| [Q] | 0 | 0 |
| [ ${ }^{\text {u }}$ ] | $\mathbf{u}, \mathrm{v}^{98}$ | ou, (0) |
| [u] | $\mathbf{u}, \mathbf{v}$ | $\mathbf{u}, \mathrm{v}, \mathbf{0}$ |
| [ $\overline{\mathbf{y}}$ ] | $\mathbf{u}, \mathbf{v}$, ui | u, v, ui |
| [y] | $\mathrm{u}, \mathrm{v}$ | u, v |
| [ai] | ai, æi, ei, a3, æ3 ${ }^{99}$ |  |
| [au] | au, aw, a3, ag, agh | au, aw |
| [eqi] | ¢і, æi, ез, æз | ei, ai, ey, ay |

[^41]| ME Sound | Early ME Spelling | Lat |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [ęu] | eu, ew | eu, ew |
| [iu] | iu, iw, eu, ew, eou, eow | iu, iw, eu, ew, u, ui |
| [ $\mathbf{Q} \mathbf{u}$ ] | au, aw, a3, ag, agh, ou, ow, 03, og, ogh ${ }^{100}$ | ou, ow |
| [Qu] | ou, ow, o | ou, ow, o |
| [0i] ${ }^{101}$ |  | $\mathbf{o i}, \mathbf{o y},(\mathbf{u i})^{102}$ |

The student should remember that all diacritical marks which he finds in Middle English texts are supplied by modern editors.
91. Spelling of Middle English Consonants. The table given below shows the spellings which are most commonly used in Middle English manuscripts to represent consonant sounds, so far as the spelling of these sounds differs from that of Modern English.

| ME Sound | EME Spelling | LME Spelling |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| $[\mathbf{h}]^{103}$ | $\mathbf{h}, \mathbf{3},{ }^{104} \mathbf{g}$ | $\mathbf{g h}, \mathbf{h}, \mathbf{3}, \mathbf{c h}$ |
| $[\mathbf{h w}]$ | $\mathbf{h w}, \mathbf{w h}$ | $\mathbf{w h}$ |
| $[\mathbf{j}]$ | $\mathbf{3 , 1 0 4} \mathbf{g}$ | $\mathbf{y}, \mathbf{3}$ |

${ }^{100}$ The Middle English diphthongs are variously spelled in early Middle English for two reasons. First, the sounds of which they were composed were variously spelled, [̄̄], e.g., being spelled either a or o. Second, the diphthongs themselves were of various origin (see 43, 2 above), [au], e.g., developing out of OE followed by w or g, or out of OE ea followed by h. Many of the early Middle English spellings of these diphthongs are etymological spellings which do not represent adequately the true nature of the sounds. See also note 104 below.
${ }^{101}$ The diphthong [@i] occurs only rarely in early Middle English; it is therefore given only in the third column.
${ }^{102}$ The tables given in 90 and 91 are not intended to include all of the spellings that occur in Middle English manuscripts, but only those that are fairly common. No account is taken of spellings that are rare or eccentric. And no account is taken of spellings that may represent differences of pronunciation; such spellings are dealt with in the account of Middle English dialects which is given in 81 ff .
${ }^{108}$ That is, [h] before consonants and after vowels.
${ }^{104}$ The character 3 was called 303 [j9h], and was a slight modification of the Old English form of the letter g. The Old English g represented two sounds, that of [j], e.g., in dæg., and that of [ $£$ ], e.g., in ägen; this sound is a spirant like the $g$ of North German sagen. In Middle English the sound of [j] was preserved if it occurred at the beginning of a word, as in $3 e$, from OE gè. But when it was preceded by a vowel it united with the vowel to form a diphthong, as in ME dai from OE dæg. The Old English sound [ 5 ] became [ $\mathbf{w}$ ] in early ME when it was preceded by a vowel, and then it united with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong, as in ME owen [Ø̄uən] from

| ME Sound | EME Spelling | LME Spelling |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [1] | sc, ss, s | sch, ssch, sh, ssh |
| [b] | b, ${ }^{105} \mathbf{\delta}^{106}$ | b, th |
| [ $\%$ ] | b, $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ | b, th |
| [v] | $\mathbf{f}, \mathbf{v}, \mathbf{u}$ | $\mathrm{v}, \mathrm{u}$ |
| [w] | w (initially) | w |
| [w] | w, 3, g, gh (medially) ${ }^{107}$ | w |

OE ägen. In the few words in which it was followed by a vowel and preceded by a consonant, $\mathrm{OE}[₹]$ became [w] in ME, e.g., in halwien, from OE hālgian. OE initial [ $ร$ ] however, became in ME a stop consonant like the g in Modern English good. This stop g was then spelled with a new variety of the letter g which was very much like the modern g. The Old English form of the letter g, slightly modified, was then used to spell the sounds other than stop g which had developed out of the two Old English sounds of g. That is, it was used to represent:

1. The sound of [j], e.g., in $\mathbf{3}$ e, from OE gè
2. The sound of [ $\mathbf{w}$ ], e.g., in hal,ien, from OE hälgian;
3. The second element of the diphthongs [ai] and [ei], e.g., in da; from OE dæg and we ${ }_{3}$ from OE weg;
4. The second element of the diphthongs [au] and [ēu], e.g., in drazen from OE dragan and ajen or ozen from OE āgen.
It was also used to represent:
5. The sound of $[\mathbf{h}]$ before consonants and after vowels, e.g., in ni 3 t from OE niht.
${ }^{106}$ The name of the letter $\mathbf{b}$ is "thorn."
${ }^{106}$ The name of the letter $\delta$ is "crossed d" or "eth" [eठ $\delta$ ].
 from OE hālgian. See note 104 above.

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| MT | lish phonology and Middle Eng- |
| cop. 2 | lish grammar |

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ By practice one may soon learn to distinguish voiced sounds from voiceless ones. A good exercise for practice is to pronounce alternately $\mathbf{s}$ and $\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{f}$ and $\mathbf{v}$, and the two sounds of th, taking care to pronounce the consonant sound alone without the aid of a vowel. The sounds of $\mathbf{t}$ and $\mathbf{d}, \mathbf{p}$ and $\mathbf{b}$, etc., when pronounced without a vowel, will also be felt and heard to be very different in character. It will also be observed that voiced sounds, whether vowels or consonants, are capable of being uttered with variations of musical pitch, whereas voiceless sounds are not. Of the following sounds, distinguish those that are voiced from those that are not: $\mathbf{l}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{r}, \mathbf{s h}$.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Are r, sh, and $\mathbf{y}$ open consonants or stopped consonants?

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Vowels are normally oral sounds, but they become nasalized when they are pronounced with the passage from the throat to the nose open. The most familiar examples of nasalized vowels are those of Modern French.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Some vowels, for example a in English Cuba, e in German gabe, e in French je, are neither front vowels nor back vowels. They occur chiefly in unstressed syllables and are generally termed mixed vowels.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ The student must guard against the phonetically incorrect use of the terms long and short as they are applied in modern English dictionaries. The vowel in mate is called "long a," the vowel in mat is called "short a"; but the two vowels are not the long and short varieties of one sound; they differ in quality as well as in length.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ This sound occurs only in unstressed syllables and in syllables with secondary stress; it does not occur in strongly stressed syllables.
    ${ }^{7}$ The sounds of ch which occur in German ich and nacht are of course altogether different from the sound of $\mathbf{h}$ in heed, and are usually represented in phonetic notation by the characters $\mathbf{\varepsilon}$ and $\mathbf{x}$ respectively. The character $\mathbf{h}$ is used in our alphabet merely for the sake of simplicity.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ Both pronunciations occur in American English.
    $0^{2}$ Here and elsewhere the brackets are used to indicate that the spellings they enclose are phonetic spellings.

[^7]:    ${ }^{19}$ The text used is that of Liddell, The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, etc., with some changes of punctuation. All other passages quoted from Chaucer's works follow the text of Skeat's Student's Chaucer.

[^8]:    ${ }^{20}$ In the dialect of most parts of the United States, ME [0] has become [a], but the ME vowel (or a vowel much like it) has been retained in the speech of England and New England.

[^9]:    ${ }^{21}$ Likewise, the pronunciation of ME words that were borrowed from French can be determined from a knowledge of their pronunciation in Old French; the Modern French pronunciation of such words is often different.

[^10]:    ${ }^{22}$ An open syllable is one that ends in a vowel; in words of two or more syllables a single consonant following a vowel belongs to the following syllable; so in OE nama, fæeder, mete, and stolen, a, æ, e, and o were in open syllables.
    ${ }^{23^{3}}$ A closed syllable is one that ends in a consonant; examples of vowels in closed syllables are $\mathbf{a}, \boldsymbol{æ}, \mathbf{e}$, and $\mathbf{o}$ in OE banc, bæt, helpan, and oxa. Every vowel which is followed by two or more consonants is in a closed syllable.

[^11]:    ${ }^{20}$ These were neuter nouns in Old English.
    ${ }^{27}$ See note 33 below.

[^12]:    ${ }^{20}$ The vowel of the infinitive occurs also in the present indicative, present subjunctive, imperative, gerund, and present participle; the vowel of the preterit indicative first person singular occurs also in the preterit indicative third person singular; the vowel of the preterit indicative plural occurs also in the preterit indicative second person singular and in the preterit subjunctive; the vowel of the past participle occurs in that form only.

[^13]:    ${ }^{31}$ When it modifies a plural noun the pronoun his is very commonly written hise in good manuscripts, and the final $\mathbf{e}$ is sometimes pronounced. This final $\mathbf{e}$ is from the analogy of the final $\mathbf{e}$ of plural adjectives. So also is the final $\mathbf{e}$ of these, thise, plural of thes, this (see 29 above).

[^14]:    ${ }^{32}$ For simplicity the preteritive-present verbs, are ignored in this paragraph. Their preterits are like those of weak verbs, and their present indicative plural either has the ending $\mathbf{- e}(\mathbf{n})$ or is without ending. (See 33 above.)

[^15]:    ${ }^{2}$ The final $\mathbf{e}$ in of towne is not a genuine inflection in the English of Chaucer's time. In early Middle English the dative singular always ended in $\mathbf{e}$, but in the course of time the accusative was substituted for the dative wherever the two cases differed in form. A few phrases, however, like of towne, on live, to bedde, etc., were in such constant use that they resisted change and were preserved unaltered long after the dative form had become obsolete in the language as a whole. We find therefore that Chaucer says of towne in A 566, but of the toun in A 217.
    ${ }^{3}$ The usual comparative ending is -er.

[^16]:    ${ }^{25}$ "Weak h" is the $\mathbf{h}$ in words like he, him, hem, her, hath, hadde, etc., in which the $\mathbf{h}$ was pronounced only when the word was strongly stressed, and the silent $\mathbf{h}$ in French words like honour, etc.

[^17]:    ${ }^{36}$ The normal development of a vowel is that which took place when its development was not affected by the influence of neighboring sounds or by changes of quantity. An account of the changes that took place in the English vowel sounds as a result of these special conditions will be found below in sections 43 and 44.

[^18]:    ${ }^{40}$ The Modern English sounds which we represent by the symbols $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ are in reality, as explained above in notes 38 and 10, diphthongs, not simple vowels.
    ${ }^{41}$ Shortening of long vowels did not take place, however, before the consonant groups (see note 42 below) which caused lengthening in late Old English. Nor did it take place before the combination st unless a third consonant followed; it is for this reason that we have MnE [kraist] from Old English Crist, but MnE [krismas] from Old English cristmæsse.

[^19]:    ${ }^{42}$ In late Old English all short vowels were lengthened when they were followed by one of the consonant combinations ld, mb, nd, ng, rd, rn, and rð. Many long vowels which originated in this way remained long thruout the Middle English period and have developed in Modern English like the other Middle English long vowels; e.g., OE feld, ME feeld [fēld], MnE [fild]; OE findan, ME finde(n) [fïnden], MnE [faind]; OE grund, ME ground [grūnd], MnE [graund]. Modern English [ōld] is from Middle English [ $\overline{\mathbf{Q}} \mathrm{l} \mathbf{d}$ ], which developed regularly from late Old English āld, earlier ald (WestSaxon eald). But in a great many words these lengthened vowels were shortened in Middle English. Shortening always occurred when the consonant group was followed by a third consonant; e.g., OE cild, MnE [tfaild] from ME [tiild], but MnE [tfildron] from ME [tfildron].
    ${ }^{43}$ For a definition of open syllable see note 22 above.
    ${ }^{43}$ Previous to the period when short vowels were lengthened in open syllables, Old English ā had become [ $\overline{\mathbf{\imath}}]$ in Middle English, and for a certain period, therefore, the sound [ $\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ did not exist in the language. But when a was lengthened in open syllables the sound $[\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ was reintroduced. The $[\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ which originated in this way never became $[\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$.

[^20]:    ${ }^{46}$ The $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ of OE sōhte was shortened before ht (see 43, la above); the ā of OE āhte first became $[\overline{\mathbf{Q}}]$ and was then shortened to $[\mathbf{0}]$ before the $\mathbf{h t}$.

[^21]:    ${ }^{47}$ Long vowels before $\mathbf{r}$ in Modern English are really diphthongs to a greater or less degree; e.g., starve, for, fair, hear, and sure are rather [staarv], [feər], [feər], [hiar],
    
    ${ }^{48}$ But before Im, If, and Iv Middle English [a] has developed into [̄̄] or [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{c}}\right]$; see 44, 4 below.
    ${ }^{69}$ British standard English has [0] for American [a] in these words, but both in England and America there is a good deal of fluctuation between [ $\overline{\mathbf{\ell}}]$ and $[\mathbf{\ell}]$ or $[\mathbf{a}]$.

[^22]:    ${ }^{50}$ See section 48 below.
    ${ }^{51}$ When it was not initial but was preceded by a vowel, [ $[$ ] lost its consonantal quality and united with the vowel to form a diphthong; see section 43, 2 above.
    ${ }^{52}$ Modern English off $[\overline{\mathbf{Q}} \mathbf{f}]$ is the stressed form of of; in of the [ $\mathbf{f}$ ] changed to [ $\mathbf{v}$ ] because of lack of stress, but in off the [ $f$ ] remained unchanged.

[^23]:    ${ }^{\text {ss }}$ This unstressed vowel was also frequently written $\mathbf{i}$, particularly in the North of England; it is probable that this variation of spelling represents a variation of pronunciation between [ə] and [1].

[^24]:    ${ }^{56}$ See 46, 1 above for change of $O E$ final $m$ to ME final $\mathbf{n}$ in unstressed syllables.
    ${ }^{57}$ As stated above in section 46, 1 the ending een was very frequently reduced to -e thru the loss of the final $\mathbf{n}$; in these tables, therefore, the ending is printed -e(n).
    ${ }^{58}$ In this column the forms are given in their late Middle English spalling; in the two former columns the forms are given in their early Middle English spelling.

[^25]:    ${ }^{59}$ Inasmuch as the early Middle English ending -en was always liable to undergo reduction to -e thru loss of final $\mathbf{n}$ (see note 57 above), sound change was no doubt an important factor in the establishment of this form.

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[^29]:    ${ }^{60}$ Inasmuch as the early Middle English ending -en was always liable to reduction to -e thru loss of final $\mathbf{n}$ (see note 57 above), sound change was no doubt an important factor in the establishment of this form.

[^30]:    ${ }^{01}$ These tables do not attempt to give all the Middle English pronominal forms, but only the commoner and more characteristic ones. No account is taken of mere variations of spelling.

[^31]:    ${ }^{62}$ The Middle English forms here given are those of the Midland dialect; the Old English forms given above are those of the West-Saxon dialect (see note 37 above) The Mercian dialect of Old English, which was that from which the Midland dialect of Middle English was derived, had some forms which differed from those of the West-Saxon dialect. In place of bēron, spēcon, and slēpan it had bēron, spēcon and slēpan, and in place of healdan and healden it had häldan and hālden.
    ${ }^{63}$ See section 43, 1b, above.

[^32]:    ${ }^{64}$ The ending $\mathbf{- e}(\mathbf{n})$ in the present indicative plural is a characteristic of the Midland dialect; the ending -eb is a characteristic of the Southern dialect.
    ${ }^{65}$ The ending -inde is a characteristic of the Southern dialect, the ending -ende of the Midland dialect.

[^33]:    ${ }^{65}$ The ending -inde is a characteristic of the Southern dialect, the ending -ende of the Midland dialect.
    ${ }^{66}$ The ending -e(n) in the present indicative plural is a characteristic of the Midland dialect, the -ep ending is that of the Southern dialect.
    ${ }^{67}$ It should be observed that the preterit indicative 2 singular of the strong verbs has the vowel of the preterit plural.

[^34]:    ${ }^{69}$ The form mugon is not recorded in Old English, but is inferred from the Middle English forms.
    ${ }^{70}$ The form mugan is not recorded in Old English, but is inferred from the Middle English forms.

[^35]:    ${ }^{71}$ eam is the Mercian form, eom the West-Saxon.
    ${ }^{72}$ earon is the Mercian form, sindon was used in all the Old English dialects.
    ${ }^{73} \operatorname{are}(\mathbf{n})$ was not used in the Southern dialect, but only in the Midland and North.
    ${ }^{7}$ bee $(\mathbf{n})$ is a Midland form; it was not used in the South.
    ${ }^{75} \mathbf{d o ( n )}$ is the Midland form; it was not used in the South.

[^36]:    ${ }^{77}$ In many words the Southern dialect has [ $\left.\bar{\iota}\right]$ where the Midland and Northern dialects have [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}]$. This dialect difference originated in Old English, for West-Saxon $\overline{\bar{x}}$ appears in the Anglian dialect as $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ unless the $\overline{\boldsymbol{x}}$ is the result of umlaut. In Southern Middle English we therefore have [dę̀d] from West-Saxon dēd, but in the Midland and Northern dialects we have [dèd] from Anglian dèd. In all three dialects, however, we have Middle English [hḕb] from West-Saxon and Anglian h्̄厄̄p. See note 37 above. The Anglian dialect of Old English included the Mercian dialect, from which the Midland dialect of Middle English was derived, and the Northumbrian dialect, from which the Northern dialect of Middle English was derived.

[^37]:    ${ }^{84}$ Old English $\mathfrak{x}$ is often spelled in early Southern and Midland ME with the letter e; e.g., OE æfter, early ME efter; in later Middle English the sound is almost uniformly spelled with a.
    ${ }^{85}$ The Southern dialect employed these pronouns exclusively, but the Midland dialect also employed she, sho; pei; beir; beim, pem. See 86, II, 1 below.

[^38]:    ${ }^{80}$ For the relation between the vowels [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{e}}\right]$ and $[\overline{\mathrm{e}}]$ in Southern on the one hand and Midland and Northern on the other see note 77 above.
    ${ }^{87}$ The Northern dialect employed she, sho, exclusively as the feminine nominative pronoun, but the Midland dialect employed both she and he, hi, ho (see 85, II, 1 above). The pronoun she was on the whole commonest in the northern part of the Midland territory, the pronoun he, hi, ho was commonest in the southern part of the Midland territory.
    ${ }^{88}$ The Northern dialect employed bei; beir; beim, bem exclusively as the plural pronouns of the third person, but the Midland dialect also employed he, hi, ho; hire, here; hem (see 85, II, 1 above). The pronoun bei, etc. was most commonly used in the northern part of the Midland territory, the pronoun he, etc. was commonest in the southern part of the Midland territory.
    ${ }^{89}$ The Midland dialect also employed the form bee( $\mathbf{n}$ ) or be as the present indicative plural of bee(n); are(n) was commonest in the northern part of the Midland territory.
    ${ }^{90}$ The ending -es was the regular ending of the present indicative second and third persons singular in the Northern dialect (see 87 below); the Midland dialect used regularly the endings -est and -eb, and the ending -es (especially for the third person) occurs chiefly in the northern part of the Midland territory.

[^39]:    ${ }^{21}$ In the North the long vowels [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{a}}\right]$, [ $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$, and [ $\left.\overline{\mathbf{0}}\right]$ were often spelled ai, ay; ei, ey; and $\mathbf{0 i}, \mathbf{o y}$, particularly in the fifteenth century.
    ${ }^{92}$ This might better perhaps be considered a non-Southern than a Northern characteristic, for $\mathbf{g}$ and $\mathbf{k}$ forms occur also in the Midland territory; they are more numerous, however, in the North.
    ${ }^{93}$ With regard to the displacement of historical forms by analogical forms in the inflection of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, and with regard to the loss of grammatical gender, the Northern dialect was even less conservative than the Midland dialect.

[^40]:    ${ }^{94}$ For an account of these sound changes see $42,43,46$ above.
    ${ }^{25}$ The Old English manuscripts as a rule make no distinction between long and short vowels and diphthongs; bēon, for example, with a long diphthong, and weore, with a short diphthong, are both spelled with eo. The marks of length are added by modern editors. Nor do the manuscripts distinguish $\dot{\mathbf{c}}$ (i.e., $[\mathbf{t f}]$ ) from $\mathbf{c}$ (i.e., $[\mathbf{k}]$ ) or $\dot{\mathbf{g}}$ (i.e., [j]) from $\mathbf{g}$ (i.e., [ $\mathbf{\xi}]$ ). The dot is added by modern editors.

[^41]:    ${ }^{97}[\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ does not occur in the earliest ME, for the $\mathrm{OE}[\overline{\mathbf{a}}]$ became $[\overline{\mathbf{q}}]$ in ME. The ME [ā] was the result of the lengthening of [a] in open syllables; see $\mathbf{4 3}, \mathbf{1 b}$ above and note 43b.
    ${ }^{98}$ The letters $\mathbf{u}$ and $\mathbf{v}$ were used interchangeably by the Middle English scribes.
    ${ }^{99}$ The diphthong [ai] occurs only in early ME; in late ME it became identical in sound with [ei].

