# FROM OLD ENGLISH (450–1150 CE) TO MIDDLE ENGLISH (mid 12th – mid 15th century CE), WITH GLIMPSES BEYOND

- **SOME TEXTS, with lexical and grammatical commentary**
- **SOME (EXTERNAL & INTERNAL) HISTORY**

The earliest inscriptions found in England, in the specific Anglo-Frisian form of the Runic script, date from the late 4th or early 5th century CE.
(This script remained in use in England until the 9th/10th/11th centuries, and was wholly discontinued only after the Norman Conquest.)

What do these earliest inscriptions tell us about the linguistic history of English, or its ancestral language, Anglo-Frisian, prior to it splitting up into a continental and an insular form (Frisian and English, respectively)?

They don't provide much evidence about a specifically West Germanic or a specifically Anglo-Frisian grammar and lexicon (as opposed to common West or indeed North-West Gmc), because (i) the inscribed objects may actually be Scandinavian or continental imports and/or (ii) the texts are short and sometimes fragmentary and, though usually legible, hard to interpret grammatically and lexically.
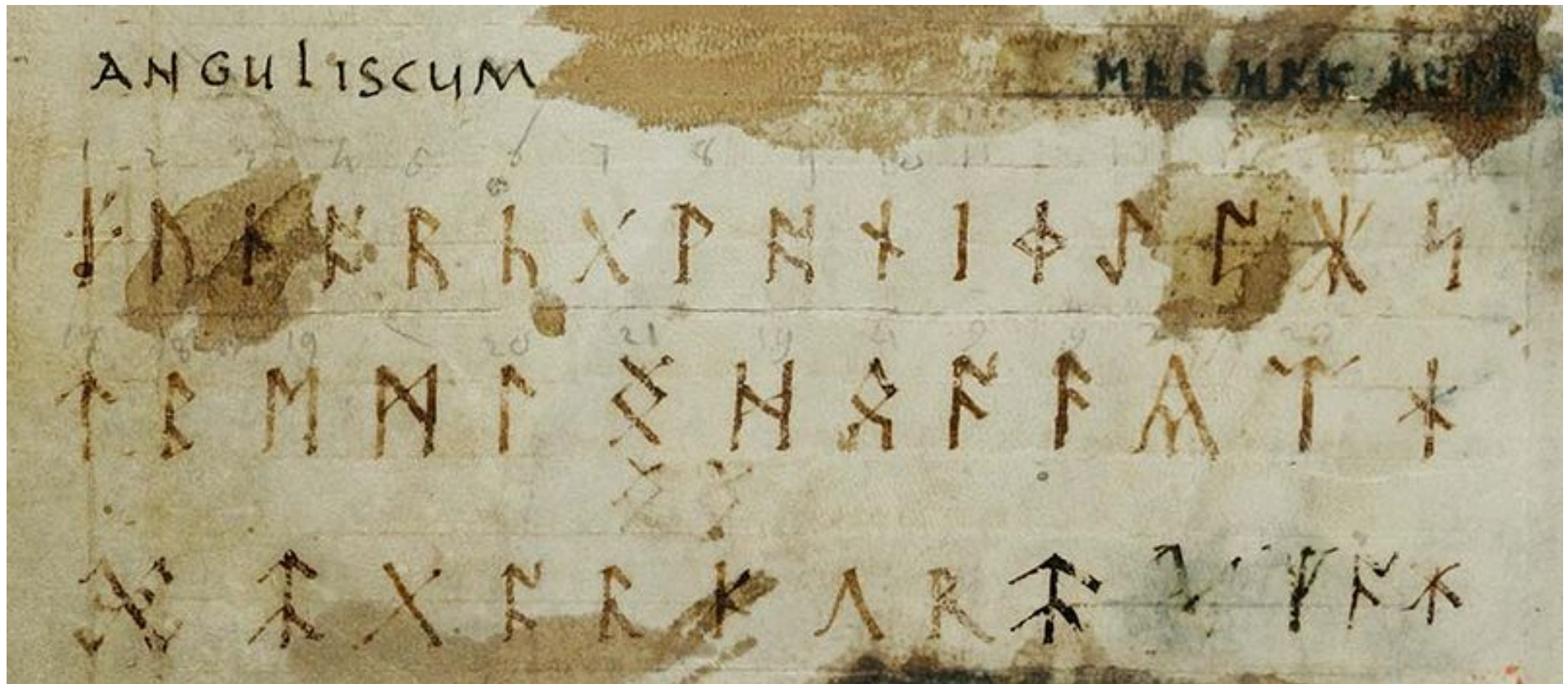
The Anglo-Saxon futhorc (*abecedarium anguliscum*) as presented in Codex Sangallensis 878 (9th century).

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abecedarium_anguliscum_scan.jpg

Rune name (runic)	Name	Meaning	Translit.	IPA
ᚠᛁᚻ	feoh	wealth	f	[f/v]
ᚢᚱ	ur	aurochs	u	[u]
ᚦᚨᚱᚾ	þorn	thorn	þ/ð/th	[θ/ð]
ᚠᚤ	ós	(a) god	ó	[o]
ᚱᚨᛗ	rad	ride	r	[r]
ᛁᛖᚾ	cen	torch	c	[k]
ᚷᚤᚠᚢ	gyfu	gift	ȝ	[g/j]
ᛈᚢᚾᚾ	wynn	joy	w/p	[w]
ᚻᚨᚷᛚ	hægl	hail	h	[h/x]
ᚾᚤᛗ	nyd	need	n	[n]
ᛁᚱ	is	ice	i	[i]
ᚷᛗᚱ	ger	year	j	[j]
ᛁᚻ	eoh	yew	eo	[eo]
ᛁᛁᚱᚦ	peorð	?	p	[p]
ᛁᛏᚻ	eolh	elk-sedge	x	[x]
ᚱᛁᚷᛗᛚ	sigel	sun	s	[s/z]
ᛏᛁᛈ	tiw	Tiw (god)	t	[t]
ᛒᛁᚱᚨ	beorc	birch	b	[b]
ᛗᚻ	eh	horse	e	[e]
ᛗᚨᚾᚾ	mann	man	m	[m]
ᛚᚨᚷᚢ	lagu	lake	l	[l]
ᛁᚷ	ing	Ing (a hero)	ŋ/ng	[ŋ]
ᚤᚦᛗᛚ	éðel	estate	œ	[œ]
ᛗᚨᚷ	dæg	day	d	[d]
ᚠᚪ	ac	oak	a	[a]
ᚠᚤᚪ	æsc	ash tree	æ	[æ]
ᚢᚱ	yr	bow	y	[y]
ᚷᚱ	ior	eel	ia/io	[ia/io]
ᚤᚱ	ear	grave	ea	[ea]
ᚷᛁᚱᚦ	cweorð		kw	[kw]
ᚪᚠᛏᚪ	calc	chalice	k	[k]
ᛗᚠᚾ	stan	stone	st	[st]
ᚷᚠᚱ	gar	spear	g	[g]

http://www.omniglot.com/writing/futhorc.htm

Gold bracteate of Undley (Suffolk): Anglo-Frisian, 450–500 CE;
possibly the oldest English text: inscription in Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Frisian
runes, as distinct from common Germanic Futhark;
but possibly imported from Schleswig-Holstein or Southern Scandinavia.

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/g/gold_bracteate-1.aspx

The inscription, as seen on the next page, but here transliterated, reads:

g͡æg͡og͡æ   *mǣgæ*   *mēdu*
[magical invocation or   kinsman*   mead/reward
battle cry or cry of a wolf] DAT.PL?   NOM.SG

                                              * cf. archaic German *(der) Mage* 'Verwandter';
                                                   OE *mǣg* became extinct earlier

Note alliteration in each half of the text: 'g- 'g- 'g- / 'm- g- 'm-
Therefore, this is poetic language.

Interlude on procedure

Before we move on to hopefully more informative texts, from a century or two later, let's reflect for a minute on what we are doing, trying to make sense of such items of language preserved by writing.

- We want to be able to read and understand what is written, and this requires that we figure out the linguistic know-how, i.e. the lexicon and grammar, of the writer. (And also the cultural know-how of representing speech in writing, something rather rare in these days.)

- As far as possible, we seek to work out lexicon and grammar through analysis of the text itself. (Or of course we rely on previous scholarship that has done just that, not always uncontroversially.)

- At the same time, we seek to connect our text-based hypotheses about lexicon and grammar to what we know (i) about other texts in the same language, including its own earlier and later stages, and (ii) about other languages.

At first such connections will be impressionistic and tentative; but still, weaving a net of such connections enhances our understanding of the lexicon and grammar of the text concerned. No language is wholly unique (not even linguistic isolates such as Basque are), and it is through comparison that one is able to recognise family resemblances as well as the distinctive profile of each family member.

Eventually, our hypotheses about such connections will become more systematic and precise (for instance, they will take the form of sound correspondences, sometimes magnificently dubbed "sound laws"), presenting us with a fuller and clearer picture of the relationships of this particular language to others and about their development.

- When we believe we recognise something about its lexicon and grammar that "our" language shares with others, we are aware that this can be for four reasons and we seek to ascertain the true reason (which can be difficult) or else we will misconnect:

  (i)   it's a chance coincidence;
  (ii)   it's necessity, a universal shared by all languages,
          (a) being genetically grounded,
          or (b) being so extremely stable that it has been continued by all speech communities since the human proto-language,
          or (c) being so useful that a language would otherwise not function;
  (iii)   it's a family heirloom, continued by two or more languages from the times when they were one language spoken by a single speech community, allowing for certain alternations over time;
  (iv)   it's a borrowing: not something acquired from one's models in L1 acquisition, but learnt later, in contact with another speech community.

End of interlude. More texts.

Franks Casket, Northumbria, ca. 650 CE (early Old English, from Northumbria)

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/t/the_franks_casket.aspx
http://www.franks-casket.de/
Düwel, *Runenkunde*, 74–80.

front panel text, **transliterated** (from Runic to Latin script) and with word-by-word **gloss**:

fisc   flōdu   āhōf   on   fergenberig

fish   flood   lifted   on   cliff-bank

warþ   gāsrīc   grorn   þǣr   hē   on   greut   giswom

became   terror-king   sad   where he onto gravel swam
            (i.e., the whale)

hronæs   bān

whale's   bone

— **meaning** of the **text**?

fisc·flōdu· | āhōfonferg | enberig | warþgāsrīcgrornþǣrhēongreutgiswom | hronæsbān

transcription (approximate):

fisc flōdu āhōf on fergenberig
ˈfɪʃ ˈfloːdu ɑːˈhoːf ɔn ˈfɛrɣənˌbɛrɪj

warþ gāsrīc grorn þǣr hē on greut giswom
warθ ˈgɑːsˌriːtʃ ˈgrɔrn ðæːr heː ɔn ˈgrɛʊt jiˈswɔm

hronæs bān
ˈhrɔnæs bɑːn

morphological analysis (preliminary):

fīsc   flōdu   ā-hōf   on fergen-berig
fish (NOM/ACC.SG)   flood (NOM/ACC.SG)   up-lift.3SG.IND.PRET on   cliff-bank (ACC.SG)

warþ   gās-rīc   grorn   þǣr   hē
become.3SG.IND.PRET terror-king (NOM.SG) sad (MASC.NOM.SG)   where   he.3SG.MASC

on   greut   gi-swom
onto   gravel (ACC.SG)   PERF-swim.3SG.IND.PRET

hron-æs   bān
whale-GEN.SG   bone (NOM.SG)

Phonology: no high vowel deletion (after heavy stems) yet: *flōdu* > later OE *flōd*;
cf. later forms of nouns otherwise inflectionally identical:

	neuter a-nouns		masc/fem u-nouns	
NOM.SG	*scip*	*word*	*sunu*	*flōd*
NOM.PL	*scipu*	*word*	*suna*	*flōda*

Morphology: compounding rampant;

verbal prefix *ge-* marking aspect (perfective) rather than participle II;

Syntax: O S V oblO   or   S O V oblO ?
('The seas lifted up the fish ...' or 'The fish beat up the seas ...'?)

V S Pred

Rel (?) S oblO V   (*þǣr* a dedicated relative pronoun?)

Gen N

Prep NP

no DEFINITENESS marking
('**a/the** flood lifted **a/the** fish onto **a/the** cliff-bank'?)

Genre: A poem again: alliteration ('f- 'f- 'f- ; 'g- 'g- 'g- ('g-)),

lines consisting of two half-lines?;

Other poetic license? Word order deviating from ordinary language?

Anglo-Saxon Runic inscription from Thornhill, Yorkshire, early 9th century

Runic: an Anglo-Saxon Futhorc (here transliteration only)

jilsu(i)þ:	arærde:	æft(er)	berhtsuiþe·	bekun	on bergi	gebiddaþ	þær:	saule
'jil.ˌswiθ	aː.'ræːr.də	'æf.t(ɛr)	'bɛrçt.ˌswi.ðə	'be.kʊn	on 'bɛr.gi ‖	jɛ.'bid.daθ	ðær	'saʊ.lə
jil-suiþ	a-rær-d-e	æft(er)	berht-suiþ-e	bekun	on berg-i .	ge-bidd-a-þ	þ-ær	saul-e
Gilswith	raised	after	Berhtswith	memorial	on mound .	Pray	this	soul

'Gilswith erected this/a (?) memorial for Berhtswith on this/a (?) mound. Pray for her soul!'

Lexicon   (what one might be reminded of – and it is languages such as Modern Frisian, Modern German, or also Modern English itself that occasion many such reminiscences; languages such as Turkish, Navajo, Welsh, Punjabi wouldn't)

Gil(-)   N   cf. ModE *Gilbert*, *Gillian*; ModE dial. *gill* 'stream, brook'

Berht(-)   N   ModE *bright* (with metathesis)

(-)swith   N   ModE, dial. Adv *swith(e)* 'immediately, quickly'

bekun   N   ModE *beacon*

berg-   N   NHG *Berg* 'mountain', ModE *barrow*

saul-   N   ModE *soul*

rær-   V   ModE *rear* (a child, a ladder, a building), *raise*

(ge-)bidd-   V   ModE *bid*

æfter   Prep   ModE *after*

on   Prep   ModE *on*

th-   Dem/Def   ModE *th-* (*the*, *this*, ...)

Phonology

phoneme inventory: /ç/;

quantity contrast for vowels (in stressed and unstressed syllables);

full vowels in unstressed syllables;

phonotactics: CV, VC, CVC, CVV, CCV, CCVC, CVCCC;

phonological rules: regulating distribution of allophones, e.g., [ð / θ];

word stress: on stem syllable (aː.ˈræːr.də; if stem has more than one σ, trochaic:
                       ˈbe.kʊn);
                       compound stress rule (ˈjil.ˌswiθ).

Morphology (Inflection)

verb:

suffixes	Tense	*-d* PAST
	Person-Number agreement	*-e* 3SG
		-a-þ 2PL.IMP (no overt subject)
prefixes	Aspect???	*ge-* PERF???
	Aspect???	*a-*

noun:

suffixes	Number.Case	*-e* governed by Prep (SG.DAT)
		-i governed by Prep (SG.DAT)
		-e governed by Verb (SG.GEN?)
		-Ø governed by Verb (SG.ACC)
		-Ø subject (SG.NOM)
	Gender? Inflection class?	

demonstrative pro:

suffixes	Gender.Number.Case	*-ær* FEM.SG.GEN?

Syntax

order: S – V – oblO – dirO – oblO

V_{imp} – dirO

Prep – NP

Dem – N

categories: word classes N, V, Prep, Dem

Articles (DEF)? Demonstrative = Possessive pronoun?

phrase classes NP, VP, PrepP

agreement: Verb agrees with Subject in Person and Number

Determiner and Noun agree in Gender, Number, Case

Again alliterative pattern: 'b – 'b – 'b – 'b

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

Basic info and links: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Saxon_Chronicle

Insular script, an Irish development, closely related to uncial and half-uncial, itself derivative of Latin cursive writing.

Text genre: Prose, historical narrative, not translated from another language.
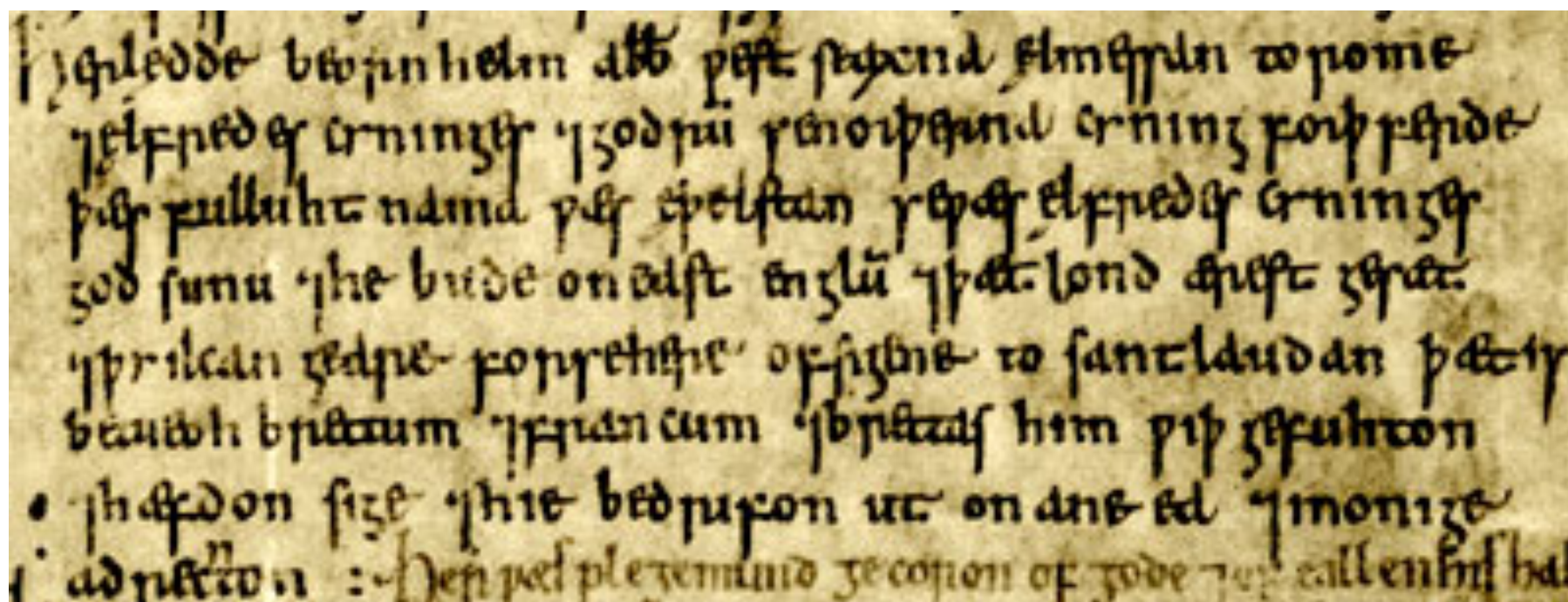
Excerpt from The Parker Chronicle (890 CE), the oldest surviving manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/lang_gallery_02.shtml
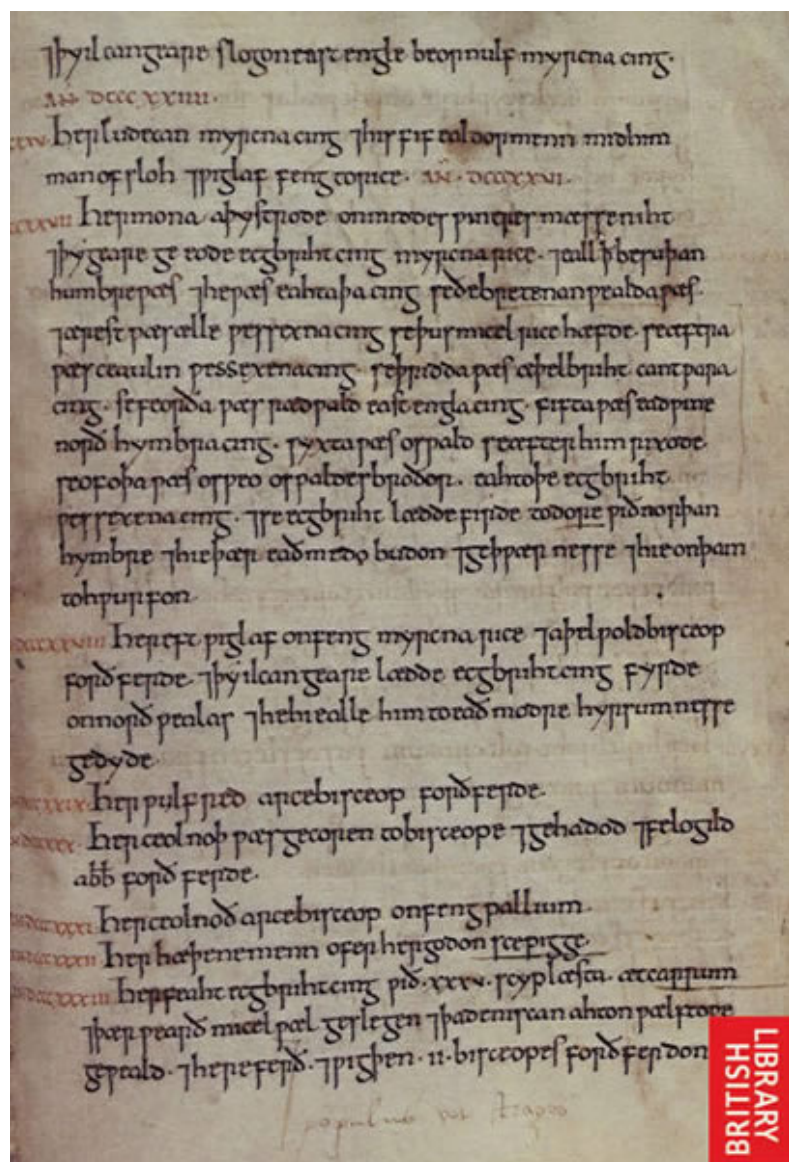
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (C-text): Entries for the years 824 to 833.
Abingdon, mid-11th century. British Library Cotton MS Tiberius B.i, f.128. Copyright © The British Library Board

from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 991 CE

An. DCCCC.XCI.   [nigon hund(red) ond ān ond (hund)nigontig]

Hēr wæs Gypeswīc gehergod;

ond after þām swīðe raðe wæs Brihtnōð ealdorman ofslægen æt Mældūne.

Ond on þām gēare man gerædde
þæt man geald ǣrest gafol Deniscan mannum for þām mycclan brōgan
þe hī worhtan be þām sǣriman;

þæt wæs ǣrest ·x· [tȳn] þūsend punda.

Þæne [*recte:* Þone] rǣd gerædde Siric arcebiscop.

transcription

An. DCCCC.XCI.   nigon hund(red) ond ān ond (hund)nigontig
                        'nɪjɔn 'hʊnd(rəd) ɒnd 'ɑːn ɒnd (ˌhʊnd)'nɪjɔntɪj

Hēr wæs Gypeswīc gehergod;
heːr wæs 'jʏpəsˌwiːtʃ jə'hɛrɣɔd

ond after þām swīðe raðe wæs Brihtnōð ealdorman ofslægen æt Mældūne.
ɒnd 'aftər θɑːm 'swiːðə 'raðə wæs 'brɪçtˌnoːθ 'æəldɔrˌmɒn ˌɔf'slæjən æt
'mælˌduːnə

Ond on þām gēare man gerædde
ɒnd ɔn θɑːm 'jɛːərə mɒn jə'ræːdɪə

þæt man geald ǣrest gafol Deniscan mannum for þām mycclan brōgan
θæt mɒn 'jæəld 'æːrɛst 'gavɔl 'dɛnɪʃɒn 'mɒnːʊm fɔr θɑːm 'mʏtʃːlɒn 'broːɣɒn

þe hī worhtan be þām sǣriman;
θɛ hiː 'wɔrxtɒn bɛ θɑːm 'sæːˌrɪmɒn

þæt wæs ǣrest ·x· [tȳn] þūsend punda.
θæt wæs ˈæːrɛst tyːn ˈθuːzɛnd ˈpʊndɑ

Þæne [Þone] rǣd gerǣdde Siric arcebiscop.
θænə ˈræːd jəˈræːdːə ˈsɪrɪtʃ ˈɑrtʃəˌbɪʃɔp

word-by-word gloss

An. DCCCC.XCI.

nigon hund(red) ond ān ond (hund)nigontig
[A.D.] nine hundred and one and (hundred) ninety

Hēr wæs Gypeswīc gehergod;
here was Ipswich [Ipsvillage] harried

ond after þām swīðe raðe wæs Brihtnōð ealdorman ofslægen æt Mældūne.
and after that very soon was Byrhtnoth [Brightbold] Alderman slain at Maldon [Maldown].

Ond on þām gēare man gerǣdde
And in that year one decided

þæt man geald ǣrest gafol Deniscan mannum for þām mycclan brōgan
that one should.pay first tribute Danish men for the great terror

þe hī worhtan be þām sǣriman;
that they wrought along the sea-coast [rim];

þæt wæs ǣrest ·x· [tȳn] þūsend punda.
that was first ten thousand pounds.

Þæne [Þone] rǣd gerǣdde Siric arcebiscop.
this policy decided Sirich Archbishop.

translation

An. DCCCC.XCI.

nigon hund(red) ond ān ond (hund)nigontig
[A.D.] nine hundred (and) ninety one

Hēr wæs Gypeswīc gehergod;
Here Ipswich [Ipsvillage] was harried

ond after þām swīðe raðe wæs Brihtnōð ealdorman ofslægen æt Mældūne.
and after that very soon Alderman Byrhtnoth [Brightbold] was slain at Maldon [Maldown].

Ond on þām gēare man gerædde
And in that year it was decided

þæt man geald ærest gafol Deniscan mannum for þām mycclan brōgan
that tribute should first be paid to the Danish men for the great terror

þe hī worhtan be þām særiman;
that they had wrought along the sea-coast [rim];

þæt wæs ǣrest ·x· [tȳn] þūsend punda.
that was first ten thousand pounds.

Þæne [Þone] rǣd gerǣdde Siric arcebiscop.
Archbishop Sirich decided (on) this policy.

morphological segmentation and morpheme-by-morpheme gloss

An. DCCCC.XCI.

nigon hund(-red)   ond ān-Ø   ond (hund-)nigon-tig
nine   hundred(-COUNT) and one-NOM.SG.M.STRONG and (hundred-)nine-x10

Hēr   wæs   Gyp-es-wīc-Ø   ge-herg-od;
here be.3SG.IND.PRET   Ip-GEN.SG-village$_{N/F}$-NOM.SG PERF-harry$_{weak}$-PARTCPII

ond after þ-ām   swīð-e   rað-e
and after DEM-DAT.SG.M/N   very-ADV   soon-ADV

wæs   Briht-nōð-Ø   eald-or-man-Ø   of-slæg-en
be.3SG.IND.PRET Bright-bold-NOM.SG   old-COMP-man$_{M}$-NOM.SG COMPL-slay$_{strong}$-PARTCPII

æt Mæl-dūn-e.
at Mal-down$_{F}$-DAT.SG

Ond on þ-ām   gēar-e   man   ge-ræd-d-e

and   in   DEM-DAT.SG.N   year$_N$-DAT.SG   one   PERF-decide$_{weak}$-PRET-3SG.IND.PRET

þæt   man   geald-Ø   ær-est   gafol-Ø   Den-isc-an

that   one   pay$_{strong}$-3SG.SUBJ.PRES   soon-SUPERL   tribute$_N$-ACC.SG   Dane-ADJCT-DAT.PL.WEAK

mann-um

man$_M$-DAT.PL

for þ-ām   myccl-an   brōg-an

for   DEF-DAT.SG.M   great-DAT.SG.M.WEAK   terror$_M$-DAT.SG

þe   hī   worh-t-an   be   þ-ām

COMP   PersPro.3PL.NOM   work$_{weak}$-PRET-3PL.IND.PRET   along   DEF-DAT.SG.M

sǣ-rima-n;

sea$_F$-coast$_M$-DAT.SG

þ-æt   wæs   ær-est   tȳn þūsend-Ø   pund-a.
DEM-NOM.SG.N   be.3SG.IND.PRET   soon-SUPERL   ten thousand-NOM.SG pound_N-GEN.PL

Þ-æne   ræd-Ø   ge-ræd-d-e   Siric
DEM-ACC.SG.M   policy_M-ACC.SG   PERF-decide_{weak}-PRET-3SG.IND.PRET   Sirich

arce-biscop-Ø.
arch-bishop_M-NOM.SG

points of grammar:

- syntax of **numerals**

- inflection of noun in construction with numerals **(partitive construction)**

- **passive** construction vs. active construction with "**impersonal**" subject pronoun *man*

- **position** of **finite verb** in various types of clauses

- order and inflectional marking of **subject** and (direct) **object**

- order of **noun** and **title**

- case government of **prepositions**
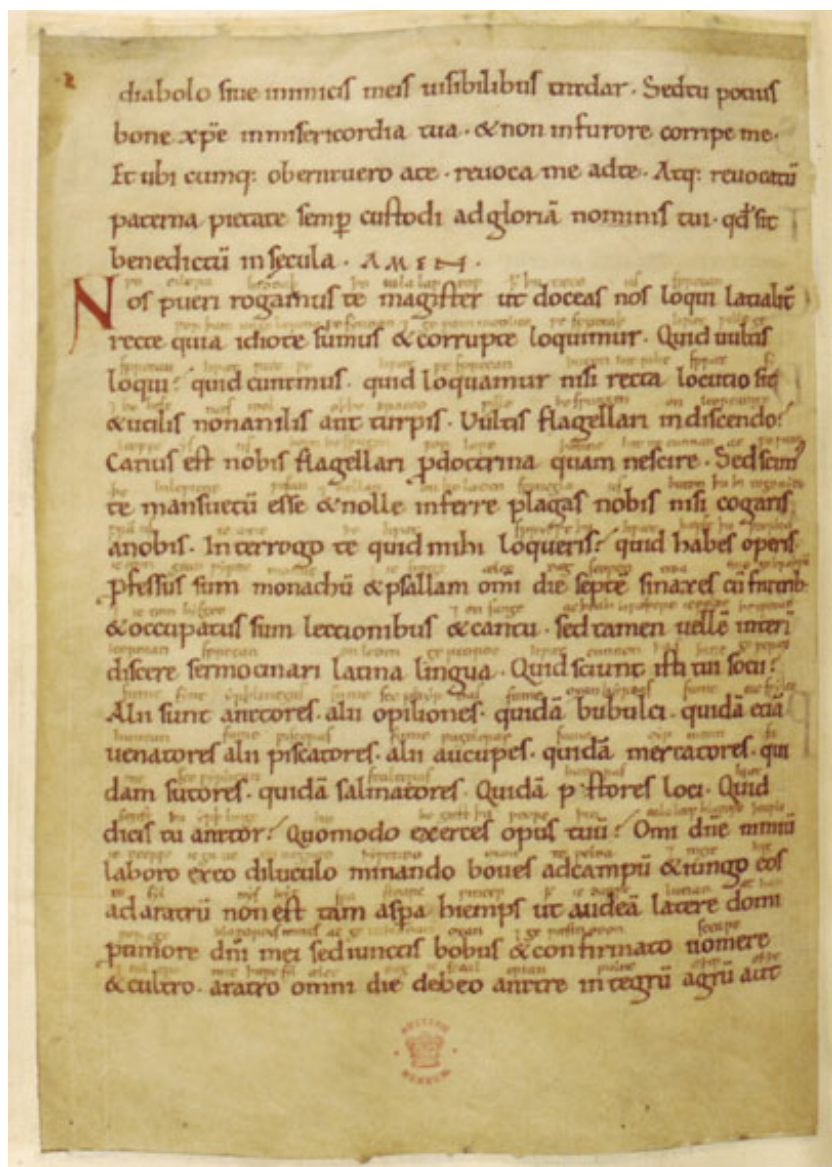
Ælfric's *Colloquy*, c.1000. British Library MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii, f.60v

Text genre: informal **dialogue** (questions and answers);
however: translated from the Latin, added in interlinear gloss to the Latin text

from Ælfric's Colloquy (11th c.)

Ic āxie þē: Hwæt sægest þū, yrþlingc?

Hū begæst þū weorc þīn?

Hwylcne cræft canst þū?

Ond hwæt drincaþ gē?

 — Ealu, gif wē habbaþ, oþþe wæter, gif wē nabbaþ ealu.

word-by-word gloss

Ic āxie þē: Hwæt sægest þū, yrþlingc?
I ask thee: What sayest thou, earthling?

Hū begæst þū weorc þīn?
How begoest thou work thine?

Hwylcne cræft canst þū?
Which craft canst thou?

Ond hwæt drincaþ gē?
And what drink ye?

Ealu, gif wē habbaþ, oþþe wæter, gif wē nabbaþ ealu.
Ale if we have (some), or water if we don't have ale.

transcription: Do it yourself.

morphological segmentation and morpheme-by-morpheme gloss

Ic   āx-ie   þ-ē:
PersPro.1SG.NOM   ask$_{weak}$-1SG.IND.PRES   PersPro.2SG-ACC

Hw-æt   sæg-est   þū,   yrþ-lingc-Ø?
InterrogPro-NOM.SG.N   say$_{weak}$-2SG.IND.PRES   PersPro.2SG.NOM   earth$_F$-ling$_M$-NOM.SG

H-ū   be-gǣ-st   þ-ū   weorc-Ø
InterrogPro-INSTR.SG.N   be-go$_{strong}$-2SG.IND.PRES   PersPro.2SG.NOM   work$_N$-ACC.SG

þ-īn?
PersPro.2SG-GEN

Hw-ylc-ne   cræft-Ø   can-st   þū?
InterrogPro-KIND-ACC.SG.M   craft$_M$-ACC.SG   can$_{PretPres}$-2SG.IND.PRES   PersPro.2SG.NOM

Ond hw-æt   drinc-aþ   gē?

and InterrogPro-ACC.SG.N   drink_{strong}-2PL.IND.PRES   PersPro.2PL.NOM

Ealu-Ø,   gif wē   habb-aþ,

ale_N-ACC.SG   if   PersPro.1PL.NOM   have_{irreg}-1PL.IND.PRES

oþþe wæter-Ø,   gif wē   n-abb-aþ   ealu-Ø.

or   water_N-ACC.SG if   PersPro.1PL.NOM   NEG- have_{irreg}-1PL.IND.PRES ale_N-ACC.SG

points of grammar:

- grammar of **questions**:
  interrogative pronouns; word order

- grammar (and phonology) of **negation**

Old English (longer) poetry: Beowulf

manuscript: Cotton Vitellius A. xv
dialect: West Saxon, with some Anglian
date (of ms.):   ca. 975–1025
genre: epic poem: 3182 alliterative long lines, typically of two half-lines
                         (hemistichs) each, each typically with two beats and several dips and
                         with the first and possibly second beat in the first half-line alliterating
                         with the first beat in the second half-line
author: oral tradition, author unknown
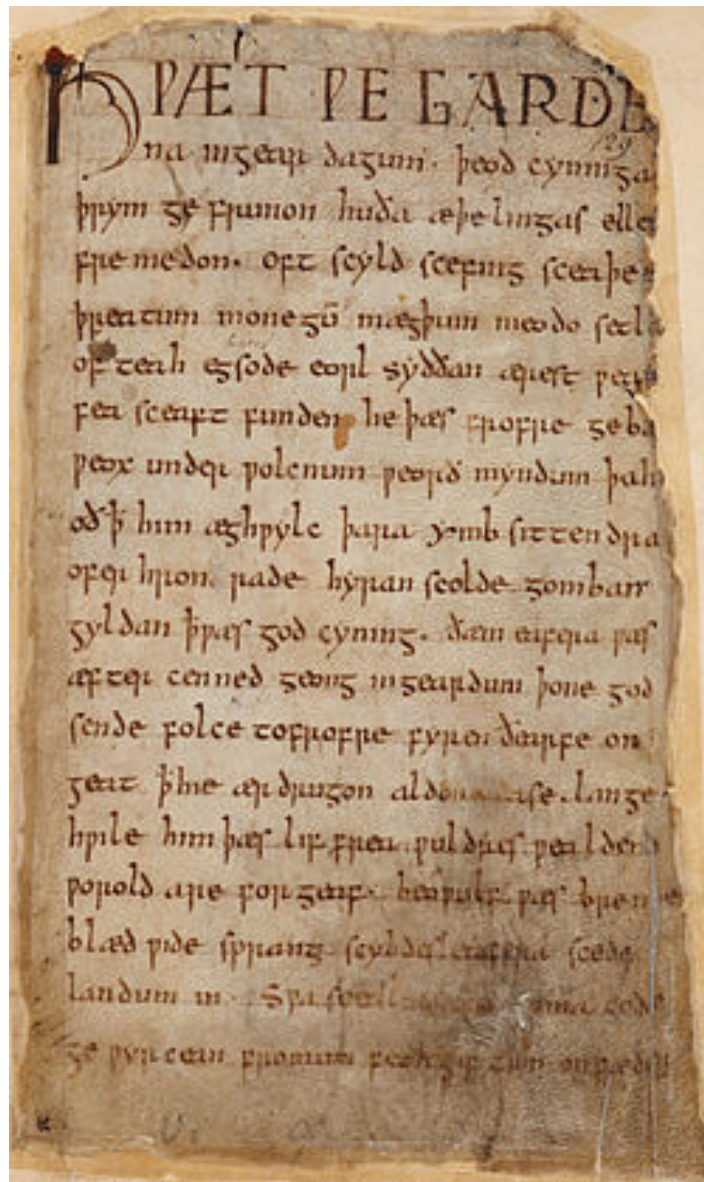
Grendel's mother?

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beowulf#mediaviewer/File:Beowulf_Cotton_MS_Vitellius_A_XV_f._132r.jpg
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/englit/beowulf/
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_vitellius_a_xv
http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item126510.html
http://ebeowulf.uky.edu/
http://beowulfresources.com/

If you want to hear Beowulf **sung**, as it used to sound (possibly):

http://www.bagbybeowulf.com/
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y13cES7MMd8
http://tindeck.com/listen/vqsh

Manuscript Letters

Hƿæt! Ƿe Ᵹardena   in ᵹeardaᵹum,
þeodcýninᵹa,   þrým ᵹefrunon,
hu ða æþelinᵹas   ellen fremedon.
Oft Scýld Scefinᵹ   sceaþena þreatum,

moneᵹum mæᵹþum,   meodosetla ofteah,
eᵹsode eorlas.   Sýððan æreſt peard
feaſceaft funden,   he þæs frofre ᵹebad,
peox under polcnum,   peorðmýndum þah,
oðþæt him æᵹhƿýlc   þara ýmbſittendra

ofer hronrade   hýran ſcolde,
ᵹomban ᵹýlðan.

Modern Letters

Hwæt! We Gardena   in geardagum,
þeodcyninga,   þrym gefrunon,
hu ða æþelingas   ellen fremedon.
Oft Scyld Scefing   sceaþena þreatum,

monegum mægþum,   meodosetla ofteah,
egsode eorlas.   Syððan ærest wearð
feasceaft funden,   he þæs frofre gebad,
weox under wolcnum,   weorðmyndum þah,
oðþæt him æghwylc   þara ymbsittendra

ofer hronrade   hyran scolde,
gomban gyldan.

http://ealdaenglisc.wordpress.com/old-english-lessons/lesson-0-alphabet-and-pronunciation/
http://www.omniglot.com/writing/oldenglish.htm

Actually, the manuscript sets out the text slightly differently: note the blanks
(with interlinear literal translation):

   Hwæt we garde-
      (Lo! We of the Spear Dan-)
   na ingear dagum · þeod cyninga
      (-es in days of yore, of those great kings,)
   þrym ge frunon huða æþe lingas elle[n]
      (of their power heard, how those princes deeds of valour)
   fre medon ·
      (accomplished.)

In present day English:

   Lo!
   We spear-Danes in days of old
   heard the glory of the tribal kings,
   how the princes did courageous deeds.

http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item126510.html

Hwæt! We Gardena   in geardagum,
þeodcyninga,   þrym gefrunon,
hu ða æþelingas   ellen fremedon.
Oft Scyld Scefing   **sceaþena** þreatum,

monegum mægþum,   meodosetla ofteah,
egsode **eorlas.**   Syððan ærest wearð
feasceaft funden,   he þæs frofre gebad,
weox under wolcnum,   weorðmyndum þah,
oðþæt him æghwylc   þara ymbsittendra

ofer hronrade   hyran scolde,
gomban gyldan.   þæt wæs god cyning!
ðæm eafera wæs   æfter cenned,
geong in geardum,   þone god sende
folce to frofre;   fyrenðearfe ongeat

þe hie ær drugon   **aldorlease**
lange hwile.   Him þæs liffrea,
wuldres wealdend,   woroldare forgeaf;
Beowulf wæs breme   (blæd wide sprang),
Scyldes eafera   Scedelandum in.

Some attempts at translation (and plenty more have been made – which suggests it isn't easy)**:**

Hwæt. We Gardena in geardagum,
        LO, praise of the prowess of people-kings
þeodcyninga, þrym gefrunon,
        of spear-armed Danes, in days long sped,
hu ða æþelingas ellen fremedon.
        we have heard, and what honor the athelings won!
Oft Scyld Scefing sceaþena/ þreatum,
        Oft Scyld the Scefing from squadroned foes,
monegum mægþum, meodosetla ofteah,
        from many a tribe, the mead-bench tore,
egsode eorlas. Syððan ærest wearð/
        awing the earls. Since erst he lay
feasceaft funden, he þæs frofre gebad,
        friendless, a foundling, fate repaid him:
weox under wolcnum, weorðmyndum þah,
        for he waxed under welkin, in wealth he throve,
oðþæt him æghwylc þara ymbsittendra
        till before him the folk, both far and near,

ofer hronrade hyran scolde,
     who house by the whale-path, heard his mandate,
gomban gyldan. þæt wæs god cyning.
     gave him gifts: a good king he!
ðæm eafera wæs æfter cenned,
     To him an heir was afterward born,
geong in geardum, þone god sende
     a son in his halls, whom heaven sent
folce to frofre; fyrenðearfe ongeat
     to favor the folk, feeling their woe
þe hie ær drugon aldorlease/
     that erst they had lacked an earl for leader
lange hwile. Him þæs liffrea,
     so long a while; the Lord endowed him,
wuldres wealdend, woroldare forgeaf;
     the Wielder of Wonder, with world's renown.
Beowulf wæs breme blæd wide sprang/,
     Famed was this Beowulf: far flew the boast of him,
Scyldes eafera Scedelandum in.
     son of Scyld, in the Scandian lands.

HWÆT, WĒ GĀR-DEna   in gēardagum
þēodcyninga   þrym gefrūnon,
hū ðā æþelingas   ellen fremedon!

Oft Scyld Scēfing   sceaþena þrēatum,
monegum mǣgþum   meodosetla oftēah,
egsode eorlas,   syððan ǣrest wearð
fēasceaft funden;   hē þæs frōfre gebād,
wēox under wolcnum   weorðmyndum þāh,
oð þæt him ǣghwylc   ymbsittendra
ofer hronrāde   hȳran scolde,
gomban gyldan;   þæt wæs gōd cyning!

Ðǣm eafera wæs   æfter cenned
geong in geardum,   þone God sende
folce tō frōfre;   fyrenðearfe ongeat,
þē hīe ǣr drugon   aldorlēase
lange hwīle;   him þæs Līffrēa,
wuldres Wealdend   woroldāre forgeaf,
Bēowulf wæs brēme   — blǣd wīde sprang —

Scyldes eafera   Scedelandum in.
Swā sceal geong guma   gōde gewyrcean,
fromum feohgiftum   on fæder bearme,
þæt hine on ylde   eft gewunigen
wilgesīþas,   þonne wīg cume,
lēode gelǣsten;   lofdǣdum sceal
in mǣgþa gehwǣre   man geþêon.

Lo, we have heard of Spear-Danes in days of yore, of folk-kings' prowness, how the princes wrought deeds of valor.

Often Scyld Scefing wrested mead-benches from bands of enemies from many tribes -- terrified earls -- since first he was found abandoned. (He received consolation for that.) He grew under the heavens, thrived with honors until all peoples across the sea had to obey: pay him tribute. That was a good king!

Then a child was born to him, a young man in the court; God sent him to the people for solace. He perceived the dire distress which they suffered before, lordless for a long time. For that the Lord of Light, the Wielder of Glory, gave him worldly honor. Beowulf was renowned; the fame of Scyld's son spread far in Danish lands. Thus should a young man accomplish good with splendid money-gifts while in his father's bosom, so that afterwards men stand by him, dear companions to serve the people when war comes. In all nations, a man is sure to prosper by praiseworthy deeds.

Lo! the Spear-Danes' glory through splendid achievements
The folk-kings' former fame we have heard of,
How princes displayed then their prowess-in-battle.
Oft Scyld the Scefing from scathers in numbers
From many a people their mead-benches tore.
Since first he found him friendless and wretched,
The earl had had terror: comfort he got for it,
Waxed 'neath the welkin, world-honor gained,
Till all his neighbors o'er sea were compelled to
Bow to his bidding and bring him their tribute:
An excellent atheling! After was borne him
A son and heir, young in his dwelling,
Whom God-Father sent to solace the people.
He had marked the misery malice had caused them,
That reaved of their rulers they wretched had erstwhile
Long been afflicted. The Lord, in requital,
Wielder of Glory, with world-honor blessed him.
Famed was Beowulf, far spread the glory
Of Scyld's great son in the lands of the Danemen.

Lo! the glory of the kings of the people of the Spear-Danes in days of old we have heard tell, how those princes did deeds of valour. Oft Scyld Scefing robbed the hosts of foemen, many peoples, of the seats where they drank their mead, laid fear upon men, he who first was found forlorn; comfort for that he lived to know, mighty grew under heaven, throve in honour, until all that dwelt nigh about, over the sea where the whale rides, must hearken to him and yield him tribute – a good kind was he!

       To him was an heir afterwards born, a young child in his courts whom God sent for the comfort of the people: perceiving the dire need which they long while endured aforetime being without a prince. To him therefore the Lord of Life who rules in glory granted honour among men: Beow was renowned – far and wide his glory sprang – the heir of Scyld in Scedeland. [...]

So. The Spear-Danes in days gone by
and the kings who ruled them had courage and greatness.
We have heard of those princes' heroic campaigns.

There was Shield Sheafson, scourge of many tribes,
a wrecker of mead-benches, rampaging among foes.
This terror of the hall-troops had come far.
A foundling to start with, he would flourish later on
as his powers waxed and his worth was proved.
In the end each clan on the outlying coasts
io beyond the whale-road had to yield to him
and begin to pay tribute. That was one good king.

Afterwards a boy-child was born to Shield,
a cub in the yard, a comfort sent
by God to that nation. He knew what they had tholed,
the long times and troubles they'd come through
without a leader; so the Lord of Life,
the glorious Almighty, made this man renowned.
Shield had fathered a famous son:
Beow's name was known through the north.

Translation **Seamus Heaney**, https://is.muni.cz/el/1441/podzim2013/AJ2RC_STAL/2._Beowulf.pdf

Morphological commentary (by Jonathan Slocum & Winfred P. Lehmann)

http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/eieol/engol-1-X.html

HWÆT, WĒ GĀR-DEna   in gēardagum
þēodcyninga   þrym gefrūnon,
hū ðā æþelingas   ellen fremedon!

- hwæt -- interrogative pronoun; accusative singular neuter of <hwā, hwā, hwæt> who, what -- **Lo**
- wē -- 1st person pronoun; nominative plural of <ic> I -- **we**
- Gār-Dena -- proper noun, masculine plural; genitive of <gār-Dene> spear-Danes -- **of Spear-Danes**
- in -- preposition <in> in, into -- **in**
- gēardagum -- noun, masculine; dative plural of <gēar-dæg> lit. year-day -- **days of yore**
- þēodcyninga -- noun, masculine; genitive plural of <ðēod-cyning> lit. people-king -- **of folk-kings'**
- þrym -- noun, masculine; nominative singular of <þrymm> glory, renown -- **prowess**
- gefrūnon -- strong verb, class III; 1st person plural preterite of <gefrīnan, gefrān, gefrūnon, gefrūnen> learn, hear of -- **have heard**
- hū -- adverbial conjunction <hū> how -- **how**
- ðā -- definite article; nominative plural of <se, sēo, ðæt> the -- **the**
- æþelingas -- strong noun, masculine; nominative plural of <æðeling> nobleman, prince -- **princes**
- ellen -- noun, neuter; accusative singular of <ellen> valor, courage -- **deed(s) of valor**
- fremedon -- weak verb, class I; 3rd person plural preterite of <fremman, fremede, fremed> do, perform -- **wrought**

Oft Scyld Scēfing   sceaþena þrēatum,
monegum mǣgþum   meodosetla oftēah,
egsode eorlas,   syððan ǣrest wearð
fēasceaft funden;

- oft -- adverb <oft> often, frequently -- **often**
- Scyld Scēfing -- proper noun, masculine; nominative singular of <Scyld Scēfing> Scyld Scefing -- **Scyld Scefing**
- sceaþena -- weak noun, masculine; genitive plural of <sceaða> enemy, warrior -- **of enemies**
- þrēatum -- noun, masculine; dative plural of <ðrēat> band, troop -- **(from) bands**
- monegum -- adjective; dative plural feminine of <monig> many -- **(from) many**
- mǣgþum -- noun, feminine; dative plural of <mǣgþ> tribe, nation -- **tribes**
- meodosetla -- noun, neuter; genitive plural of <medu-setl> lit. mead-seat -- **mead-benches**
- oftēah -- strong verb, class II; 3rd person singular preterite of <oftēon, oftēah, oftugon, oftogen> deny, deprive -- **wrested**
- egsode -- weak verb, class II; 3rd person singular preterite of <egsian, egsode, egsod> terrify -- **terrified**
- eorlas -- noun, masculine; accusative plural of <eorl> earl, nobleman, warrior -- **earls**
- syððan -- adverb <syððan> afterwards -- **since**
- ǣrest -- adverb; superlative of <ǣr> ere, before, formerly -- **first**
- wearð -- strong verb, class III; 3rd person singular preterite of <weorðan, wearð, wurdon, worden> become, happen -- **(he) was**
- fēasceaft -- adjective; nominative singular masculine of <fēasceaft> poor, destitute -- **abandoned** # as a baby
- funden -- strong verb, class III; past participle of <findan, fond, fundon, funden> find -- **found**

hē þæs frōfre gebād,
wēox under wolcnum   weorðmyndum þāh,
oð þæt him ǣghwylc   ymbsittendra
ofer hronrāde   hȳran scolde,
gomban gyldan;

- hē -- 3rd person pronoun; nominative singular masculine of <hē, hēo, hit> he, she, it -- **he**
- þæs -- demonstrative pronoun; genitive singular neuter of <sē, sēo, ðæt> that -- **for that**
- frōfre -- noun, feminine; accusative singular of <frōfor> relief, solace, consolation -- **consolation**
- gebād -- strong verb, class I; 3rd person singular preterite of <gebīdan, gebād, gebidon, gebiden> remain; await; experience; attain -- **received**

- wēox -- strong verb, class VII; 3rd person singular preterite of <weaxan, wēox, wēoxon, wēaxen> wax, grow -- **(he) grew**
- under -- preposition <under> under -- **under**
- wolcnum -- noun, masculine; dative plural of <wolcen> sky, heaven -- **the heavens**
- weorðmyndum -- noun, feminine; dative plural of <weorðmynd> glory, honor, reverence -- **honors**
- þāh -- strong verb, class I; 3rd person singular preterite of <ðēon, ðāh, ðigon, ðigen> thrive, prosper -- **won**
- oð þæt -- adverbial conjunction <oð þæt> until -- **until**
- him -- 3rd person pronoun; dative singular masculine of <hē, hēo, hit> he, she, it -- **him**
- æghwylc -- adjective; nominative singular masculine of <æghwilc> all, every -- **all**
- ymbsittendra -- strong verb, class V; present participle; genitive plural of <ymbsittan, ymbsæt, ymbsǣton, ymbseten> besiege, lit. sit round -- **(of the) peoples**
- ofer -- preposition <ofer> over, across -- **across**
- hronrāde -- noun, feminine; accusative singular of <hron-rād> sea, lit. whale-road -- **the sea**
- hȳran -- weak verb, class I; infinitive of <hīeran, hīerde, hīered> hear, obey; belong -- **obey**
- scolde -- modal (preterit-present) verb, class IV; 3rd person singular preterite indicative of <sculan, sceal, sculon, scolde> shall, ought to -- **had to**
- gomban -- weak noun, feminine; accusative singular of <gombe> tribute -- **tribute** # "weak feminine" is speculative
- gyldan -- strong verb, class III; infinitive of <gieldan, geald, guldon, golden> yield, pay -- **pay**

þæt wæs gōd cyning!

- þæt -- demonstrative pronoun; nominative singular neuter of <sē, sēo, ðæt> that -- **that**
- wæs -- anomalous verb; 3rd person singular preterite indicative of <wesan> be, happen -- **was**
- gōd -- adjective; nominative singular masculine of <gōd> good, excellent -- **(a) good**
- cyning -- strong noun, masculine; nominative singular of <cyning> king -- **king**

Ðǣm eafera wæs   æfter cenned
geong in geardum,   þone God sende
folce tō frōfre;

- ðǣm -- demonstrative used as 3rd person pronoun; dative singular masculine of <sē, sēo, ðæt> he, she, it -- **(to) him**
- eafera -- weak noun, masculine; nominative singular of <eafora> son, heir -- **a child**
- wæs -- anomalous verb; 3rd person singular preterite indicative of <wesan> be, happen -- **was**
- æfter -- adverb <æfter> after(wards), then -- **then**
- cenned -- weak verb, class I; past participle of <cennan, cennede, cenned> beget, conceive, bring forth -- **born**
- geong -- adjective; nominative singular masculine of <geong> young -- **a young (man)**
- in -- preposition <in> in, into -- **in**
- geardum -- noun, masculine; dative plural of <geard> yard, enclosure; dwelling -- **the court** # singular in meaning
- þone -- demonstrative used as 3rd person pronoun; accusative singular masculine of <sē, sēo, ðæt> he, she, it -- **him**
- God -- proper noun, masculine; nominative singular of <God> God, Deity -- **God**
- sende -- weak verb, class I; 3rd person singular preterite of <sendan, sende, sened> send -- **sent**
- folce -- noun, neuter; dative singular of <folc> folk, people -- **the people**
- tō -- preposition <tō> (in)to -- **to**
- frōfre -- noun, feminine; dative singular of <frōfor> relief, solace, consolation -- **for solace**

fyrenðearfe ongeat,
þē hīe ǣr drugon   aldorlēase
lange hwīle;

- fyrenðearfe -- noun, feminine; accusative singular of <fyren-ðearf> dire distress -- **the dire distress**
- ongeat -- strong verb, class V; 3rd person singular preterite of <ongietan, ongeat, ongēaton, ongieten> grasp, understand -- **(he) perceived**
- þē -- relative particle <þe> that, which, who -- **which** # Klaeber reconstructs "þē" where MS has only "þ"
- hīe -- 3rd person pronoun; nominative plural of <hē, hēo, hit> he, she, it -- **they**
- ǣr -- adverb <ǣr> ere, before, formerly -- **before**
- drugon -- strong verb, class II; 3rd person plural preterite of <drēogan, drēag, drugon, drogen> endure, suffer -- **suffered**
- aldorlēase -- noun, masculine <ealdor> elder, parent, prince + adjective; nominative plural masculine <lēas> without, bereft of -- **lordless**

- lange -- adjective; accusative singular feminine of <lang> long -- **(for a) long**
- hwīle -- noun, feminine; accusative singular of <hwīl> while, time -- **time**

him þæs Līffrea͡,
wuldres Wealdend   woroldāre forgeaf,

- him -- 3rd person pronoun; dative singular masculine of <hē, hēo, hit> he, she, it -- **him**
- þæs -- demonstrative pronoun; genitive singular neuter of <sē, sēo, ðæt> that -- **for that**
- Līffrea͡ -- proper noun, weak masculine; nominative singular of <Līf-frea͡> lit. Life-lord -- **the Lord of Light**
- wuldres -- noun, neuter; genitive singular of <wuldor> glory, praise -- **of Glory**
- wealdend -- noun, masculine; nominative singular of <wealdend> wielder, ruler, lord -- **the Wielder**
- woroldāre -- noun, feminine; accusative singular of <worold-ār> worldly honor -- **world honor**
- forgeaf -- strong verb, class V; 3rd person singular preterite of <forgifan, forgeaf, forgēafon, forgiefen> give, grant -- **gave**

Bēowulf wæs brēme   — blǣd wīde sprang —
Scyldes eafera   Scedelandum in.

- Bēowulf -- proper noun, masculine; nominative singular of <Bēo-wulf> bear, lit. bee wolf -- **Beowulf** # Danish king, son of Scyld Scefing: not the hero of this poem
- wæs -- anomalous verb; 1st person singular preterite indicative of <wesan> be, happen -- **was**
- brēme -- adjective; nominative singular of <brēme> famous, renowned -- **renowned**
- blǣd -- noun, neuter; nominative singular of <blǣd> blade, leaf -- **the fame**
- wīde -- adverb <wīde> widely, far -- **far**
- sprang -- strong verb, class III; 3rd person singular preterite of <springan, sprang, sprungon, sprungen> spring, burst forth, spread -- **spread**
- Scyldes -- proper noun, masculine; genitive singular of <Scyld> Scyld -- **(of) Scyld's**
- eafera -- weak noun, masculine; nominative singular of <eafora> son, heir -- **son** # nominative (?) according to Klaeber
- Scedelandum -- proper noun, neuter; dative plural of <Scedeland> Danish land -- **Danish lands**

- in -- preposition <in> in, into -- **in**

Swā sceal geong guma   gōde gewyrcean,
fromum feohgiftum   on fæder bearme,
þæt hine on ylde   eft gewunigen
wilgesīþas,   þonne wīg cume,
lēode gelǣsten;

- swā -- adverbial conjunction <swā> so, thus -- **thus**
- sceal -- modal (preterit-present) verb, class IV; 3rd person singular present indicative of <sculan, sceal, sculon, scolde> shall, ought to -- **should**
- geong -- adjective; nominative singular masculine of <geong> young -- **(a) young**
- guma -- noun, masculine; nominative singular of <guma> man, hero -- **man**
- gōde -- adjective; dative singular neuter of <gōd> good, excellent -- **good** # (i.e., a good outcome)
- gewyrcean -- weak verb, class I; infinitive of <gewyrcan, geworhte, geworht> perform, achieve, accomplish -- **accomplish**
- fromum -- adjective; dative plural feminine of <from> bold, brave, splendid -- **(with) splendid**
- feohgiftum -- noun, feminine; dative plural of <feoh-gift> money-, lit. cattle-gift -- **money-gifts**
- on -- preposition <on> on(to), upon -- **(while) in**
- fæder -- noun, masculine; genitive singular of <fæder> father -- **(his) father's**
- bearme -- noun, masculine; dative singular of <bearm> bosom, lap -- **bosom**
- þæt -- conjunction <þæt> so/in order that -- **so that**
- hine -- 3rd person pronoun; accusative singular masculine of <hē, hēo, hit> he, she, it -- **him**
- on -- preposition <on> on(to), upon -- **...**
- ylde -- indeclinable noun, masculine plural; nominative of <ylde> men -- **men**
- eft -- adverb <eft> afterwards, thereupon -- **afterwards**
- gewunigen -- weak verb, class II; 3rd person plural present optative of <gewunian, gewunode, gewunod> remain with, stand by -- **stand by**
- wilgesīþas -- noun, masculine; nominative plural of <wilgesīð> dear companion -- **dear companions**

- þonne -- adverb <þonne> then, when -- **when**
- wīg -- noun, neuter; nominative singular of <wīg> war, strife -- **war**
- cume -- strong verb, class IV; 3rd person singular present optative of <cuman, cwōm, cwōmon, cumen> come -- **comes**
- lēode -- noun, masculine; accusative plural of <lēod> person, member of tribe -- **the people** # Klaeber, in error, reads 'np.' (nom.pl.)
- gelǣsten -- weak verb, class I; 3rd person plural present optative of <gelǣstan, gelǣste, gelǣset> serve, stand by -- **to serve**

lofdǣdum sceal
in mǣgþa gehwǣre   man geþēon.

- lofdǣdum -- strong noun, feminine; dative plural of <lof-dǣd> praiseworthy deed -- **(by) praiseworthy deeds**
- sceal -- modal (preterit-present) verb, class IV; 3rd person singular present indicative of <sculan, sceal, sculon, scolde> shall, ought to -- **is sure to**
- in -- preposition <in> in, into -- **in**
- mǣgþa -- noun, feminine; genitive plural of <mǣgþ> tribe, nation -- **(of the) nations**
- gehwǣre -- pronoun; dative singular feminine of <gehwā> each, everyone -- **all**
- man -- strong noun, masculine; nominative singular of <monn> man, person -- **(a) man**
- geþēon -- strong verb, class I; infinitive <geþēon, geþāh, geþigon, geþigen> thrive, prosper -- **prosper**

Some external history ...

Map 9. The Celtic tribes in Britain — The whole of England, and Ireland, was Celtic at the time of the Roman conquest. The most recent view is that the Picts too were Celts and that their case was not different from the other peoples. — The Old Welsh epic the *Gododdin* continues the name of the *Votadini*.

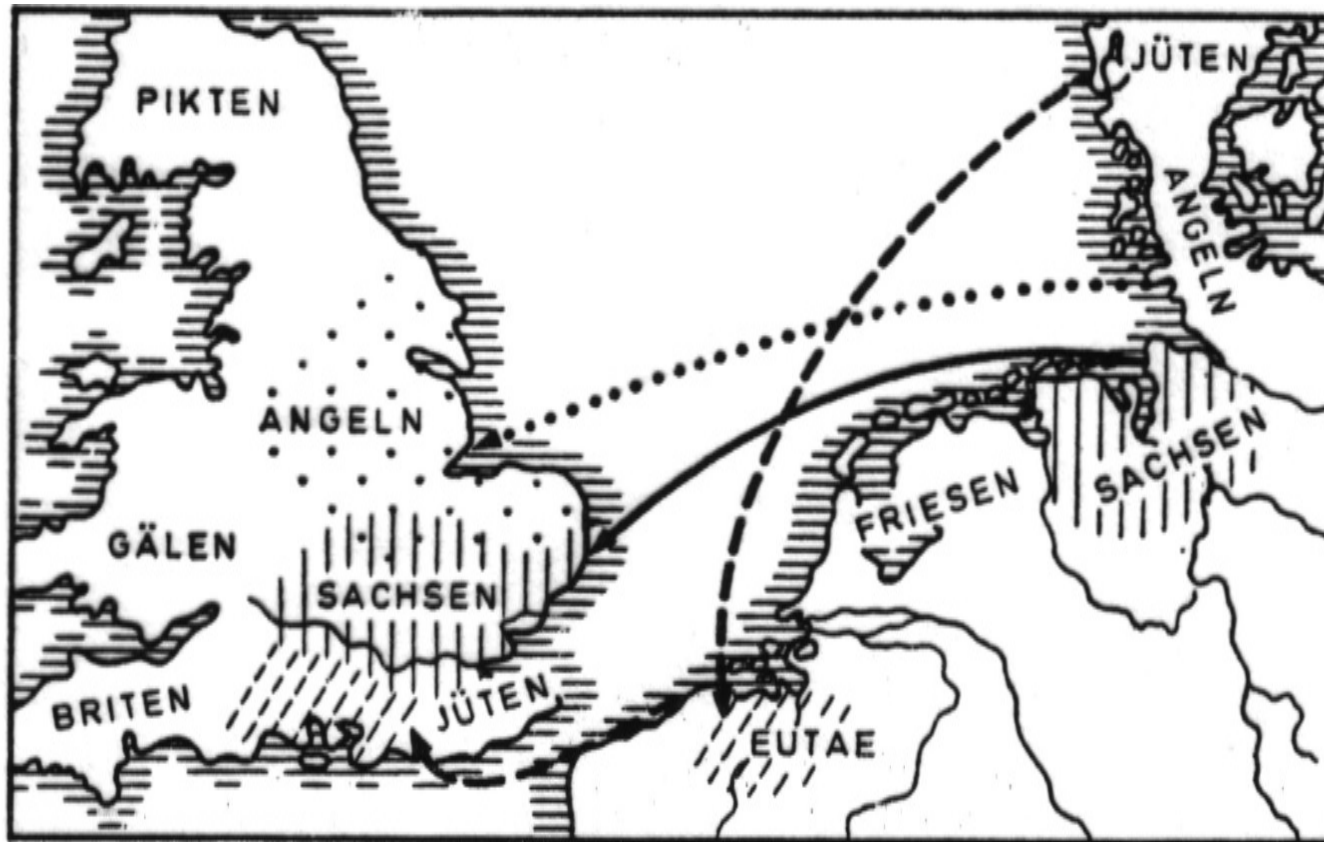from Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European linguistics*

Abb. 45. Die Landnahme der Angelsachsen (nach ERNST SCHWARZ)

Map 5. Anglo-Saxon political divisions around A.D. 600. (After Fisher [1973: 111], by permission)

from Robinson, *Old English and its closest relatives*

Bede, Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum (8th century)

Book I, Chap. XV. How the Angles, being invited into Britain, at first drove off the enemy; but not long after, making a league with them, turned their weapons against their allies.

In the year of our Lord 449, Marcian, the forty-sixth from Augustus, being made emperor with Valentinian, ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three ships of war and had a place in which to settle assigned to them by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, on the pretext of fighting in defence of their country, whilst their real intentions were to conquer it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and the Saxons obtained the victory. When the news of their success and of the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, reached their own home, a [pg 030] more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a greater number of men, and these, being added to the former army, made up an invincible force. The newcomers received of the Britons a place to inhabit among them, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, including those in the province of the West-Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Angulus, and which is said, from that time, to have remained desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, the Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the Angles. The first commanders are said to have been the two brothers Hengist and Horsa. Of these Horsa was afterwards slain in

battle by the Britons, and a monument, bearing his name, is still in existence in the eastern parts of Kent. They were the sons of Victgilsus, whose father was Vitta, son of Vecta, son of Woden; from whose stock the royal race of many provinces trace their descent. In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and the foreigners began to increase so much, that they became a source of terror to the natives themselves [pg 031] who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by force of arms, they began to turn their weapons against their allies. At first, they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions; and, seeking an occasion of quarrel, protested, that unless more plentiful supplies were brought them, they would break the league, and ravage all the island; nor were they backward in putting their threats into execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of the pagans, proved God's just vengeance for the crimes of the people; not unlike that which, being of old lighted by the Chaldeans, consumed the walls and all the buildings of Jerusalem. For here, too, through the agency of the pitiless conqueror, yet by the disposal of the just Judge, it ravaged all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and overran the whole face of the doomed island. Public as well as private buildings were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; no respect was shown for office, the prelates with the people were destroyed with fire and sword; nor were there any left to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remnant, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy, to undergo for the sake of food perpetual servitude, if they were not killed upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, remaining in their own country, led a miserable life of terror and anxiety of mind among the mountains, woods and crags.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ms. A: Parker Chronicle (9th century)

449. [...] 7 On hiera dagum Hengest 7 Horsa from Wyrtgeorne geleaþade Bretta kyninge gesohton Bretene on þam staþe þe is genemned Ypwinesfleot, ærest Brettum to fultume, ac hie eft on hie fuhton. Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas, [...]

<div align="right">http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/a/a-L.html</div>

Frank's Casket, right panel accidentally separated (Bargello Museum, Firenze), allegedly depicting Hengist mourning the slain Horsa.

<div align="right">http://www.econ.ohio-state.edu/jhm/arch/FranksCasket/barg6.jpg</div>

The whole WGmc family, including the modern languages:

(1.5)
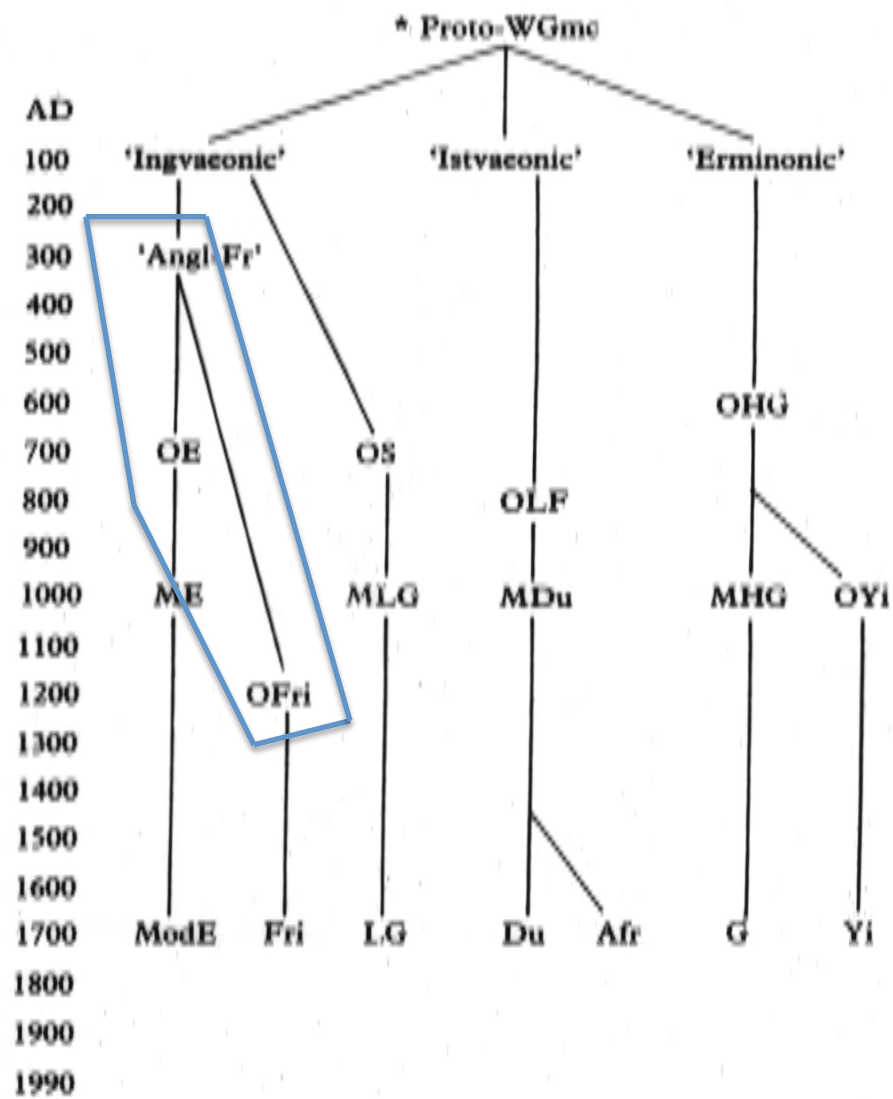
from R. Lass, used in various places

Old English innovations, relative to Anglo-Frisian or also common West Germanic

Phonology

- various changes of vowels and diphthongs in stressed syllables, including:

  - breaking (diphthongisation) of front vowels before /h/ and /lC, rC, hC/, and
    partly retraction of first component of diphthong (backing):
    /ĭ, ĕ, æ/ > /ĭo, ĕo, ĕa/
    e.g., WGmc *feht-a-, OE *feohtan*, OFris *fiuchta*;
    Gmc *berga-, OE *beorg*, OFris *berch/birg*;
    Gmc *kalda-, OE *ceald*, OFris *kald*;
    Gmc *hald-a, OE *hældan* > *healdan*, OFris *halda*

  - Gmc *au* > OE /ǣa/, OFris /ā/:
    e.g., *dauþu-, *strauma-, OE *dēaþ, stream*, OFris *dāth, strām*
    (cf. OHG *tōd, stroum*)

  - alternations of /æ/ – /a/, with /æ/ restored to /a/ in open syllables before a back
    vowel: *dæg, dæges, dagas, dagum* 'day' NOM.SG, GEN.SG, NOM.PL, DAT.PL

- weakening and loss of unstressed vowels in open syllables word-internally: e.g., *ōþer – ōþr-es* (< *ō.þe.res*) GEN.SG, *dælic* (cf. OHG *tagalīh)*

- shortening of all unstressed long vowels

- owing to voicing and devoicing changes, voiced and voiceless fricatives came to be essentially in complementary distribution, occurring in voiced and voiceless environment respectively.

    But (another non-event): no systematic final devoicing of stops.

- longer retention (= re-acquisition) of final /n/ in unstressed syllables in OE than in OFris

Morphology

- a non-change: retention, at least initially, of DUAL forms of 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns. (North Frisian retains DUALs until today.)

Syntax

- incipient progressive aspect, built on a local preposition in construction with a nominalised verb ('be on V-ing', Celtic-inspired?)

- no strict V_{finite}-2: strictly practised only with *þā* '(when ...) then';
variation otherwise depending on whether initial constituent is nominal or pronominal

- strict rule to split complex genitives into a pre-head and a post-head part:

  *Ælfred-es cyning-es godsune →
  Ælfred-es godsune cyning-es
  Ælfred-GEN.SG godson king-GEN.SG   'King Ælfred's godson'
  *Inwær-es ond Healfden-es broþur →
  Inwær-es broþur ond Healfden-es
  Inwær-GEN.SG brother and Healfden-GEN.SG   'Inwær and Healfden's brother'

- ... ?

Lexicon

- plenty of geographical names borrowed from Insular Celtic,
  esp. rivers and places on rivers: *Thames*, *Avon*, *Severn*, ... *London*;

- Latin (and via Latin, Greek) borrowings in the course of Christianisation (*prēost*,
  munuc, loan translations such as *gōd-spell* – as largely also borrowed by other
  contemporary languages of missionised Gmc peoples).

Generally, the OE lexicon and grammar remained remarkably **stable** for several centuries,
until, radiating from the north-east, **things lexical and grammatical began to change
conspicuously around the 8th century**:

- now many lexical borrowings from North Germanic, in Scandinavian form
  when relevant phonological rules were no longer active among the borrowers
  (e.g., *skirt* vs. *shirt*), as brought to the British Isles by the Viking raiders and invaders;

- also, phonological and morphological changes conspicuously altering the Anglo-
  Frisian, West Germanic (cum Celtic and Latin) flavour of the language.

Some further external history ...

A map of Anglo-Saxon Britain after the departure of the Roman Legion during a period known as the **Heptarchy**, or Seven Kingdoms (AD 500–850).   http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/1700/1784/1784.htm

The Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons (c. 900)

Legend:
- The Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons (c. 880)
- Area of Danish settlement and influence
- Area of Norse settlement and influence
- The Alfred-Guthrum boundary (c. 880)
- English frontiers

http://www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/?do=get&type=map&id=submap900

Anglo-Saxon England
(c) Matthew White 1996
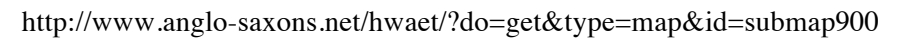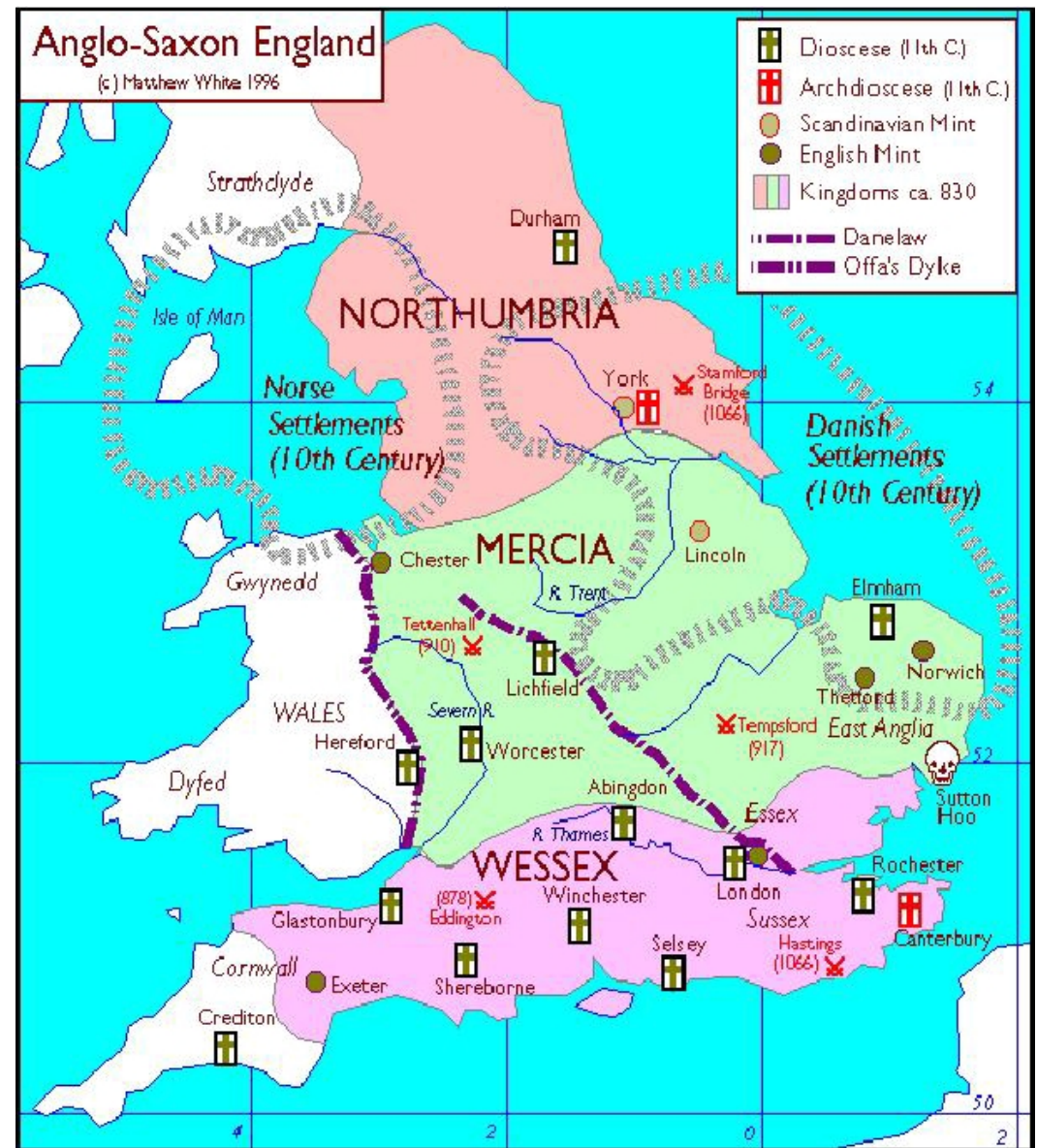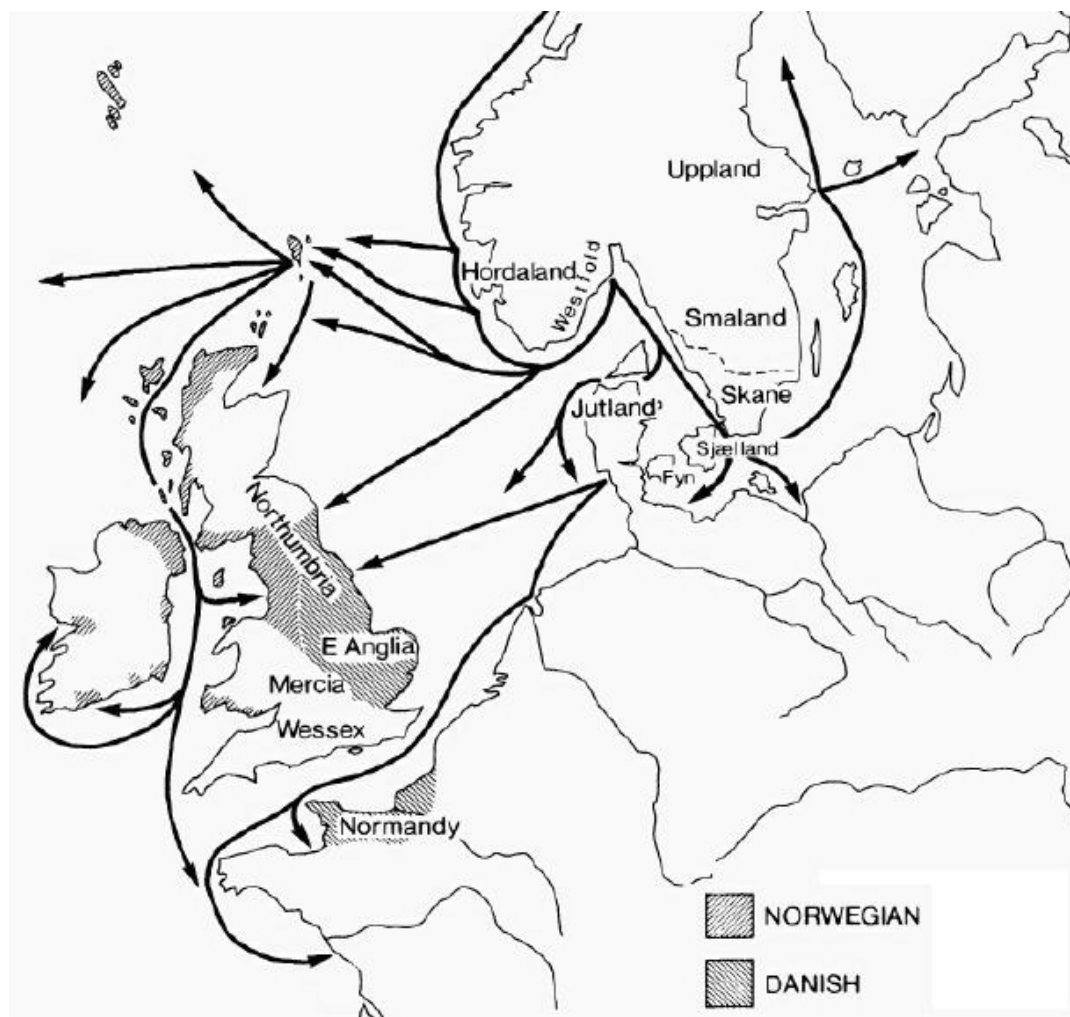
**Viking expansion in Northwest Europe
ca. 800-1050**

http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/scand/scand-frames.html
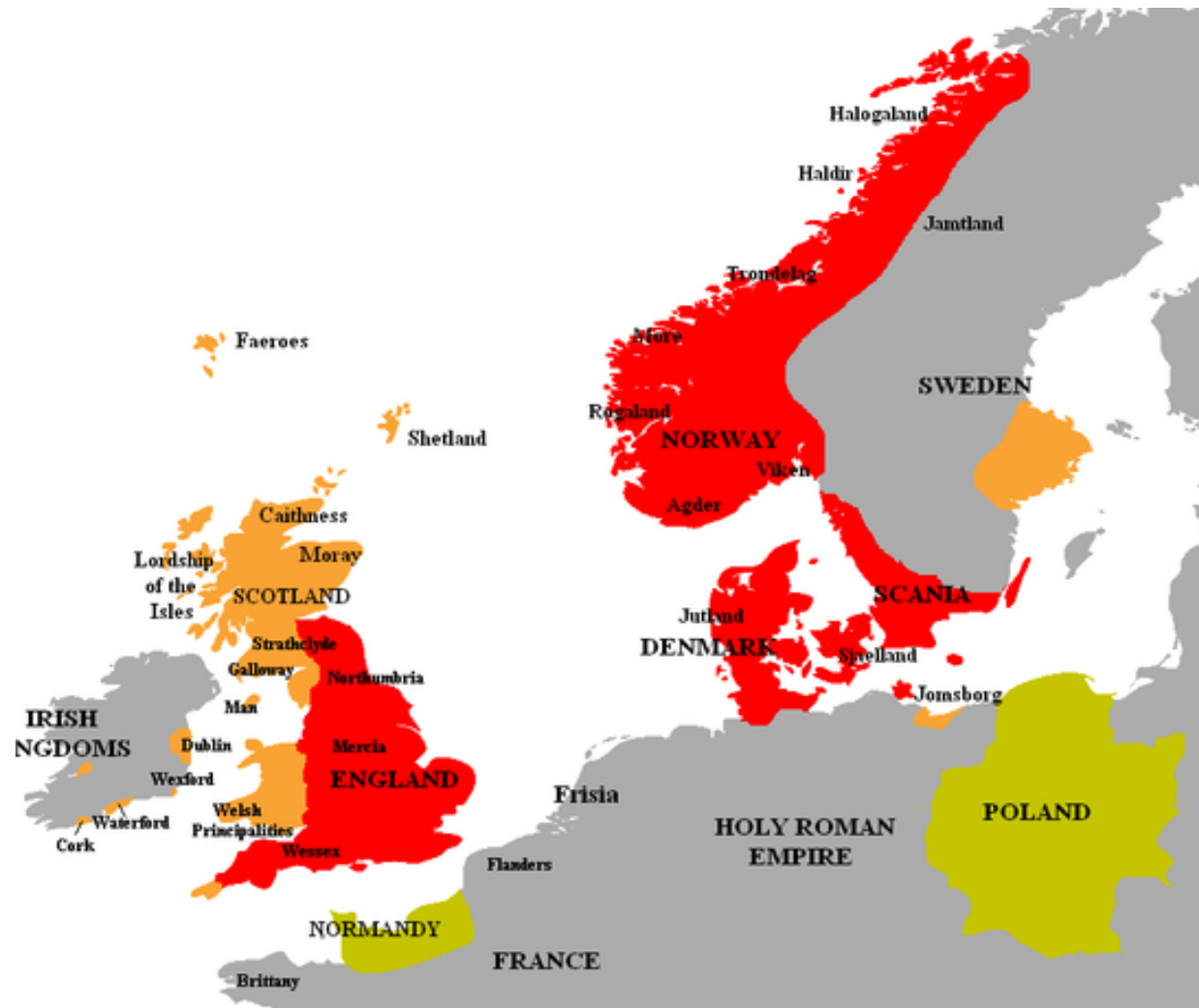
Cnut, a Danish Viking, becomes the king of England (including Wessex), Denmark, and Norway.
During Cnut's reign (1016–1035), Danes and Anglo-Saxons live in peace throughout England.

http://www.ksc.kwansei.ac.jp/~jed/EGG/index.html

Old Norse place names in England
http://www.ksc.kwansei.ac.jp/~jed/EGG/index.html

THE SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT

- PARISH NAMES OF SCANDINAVIAN ORIGIN
— SOUTHERN LIMIT OF THE DANELAW
┅ MODERN COUNTY BOUNDARIES
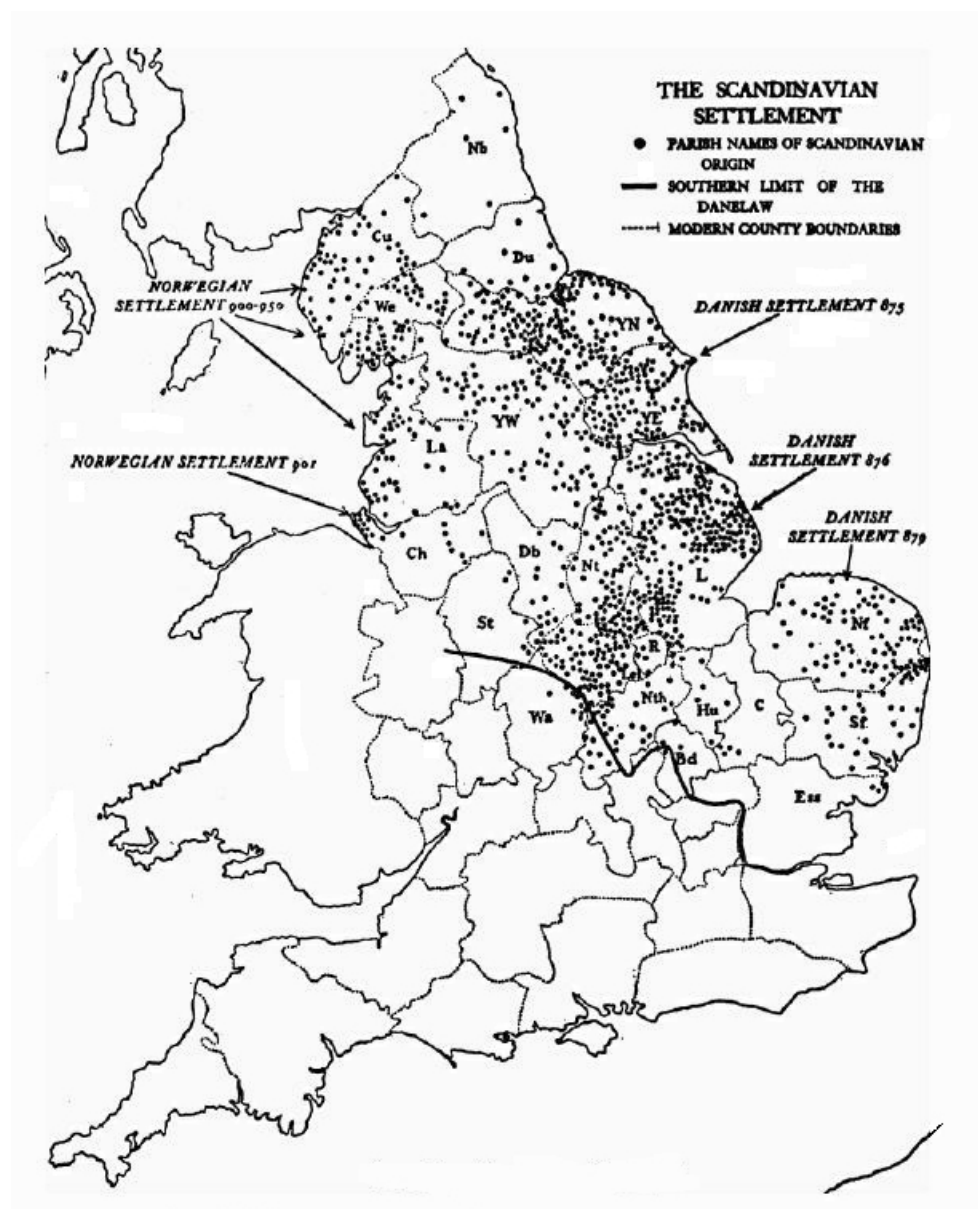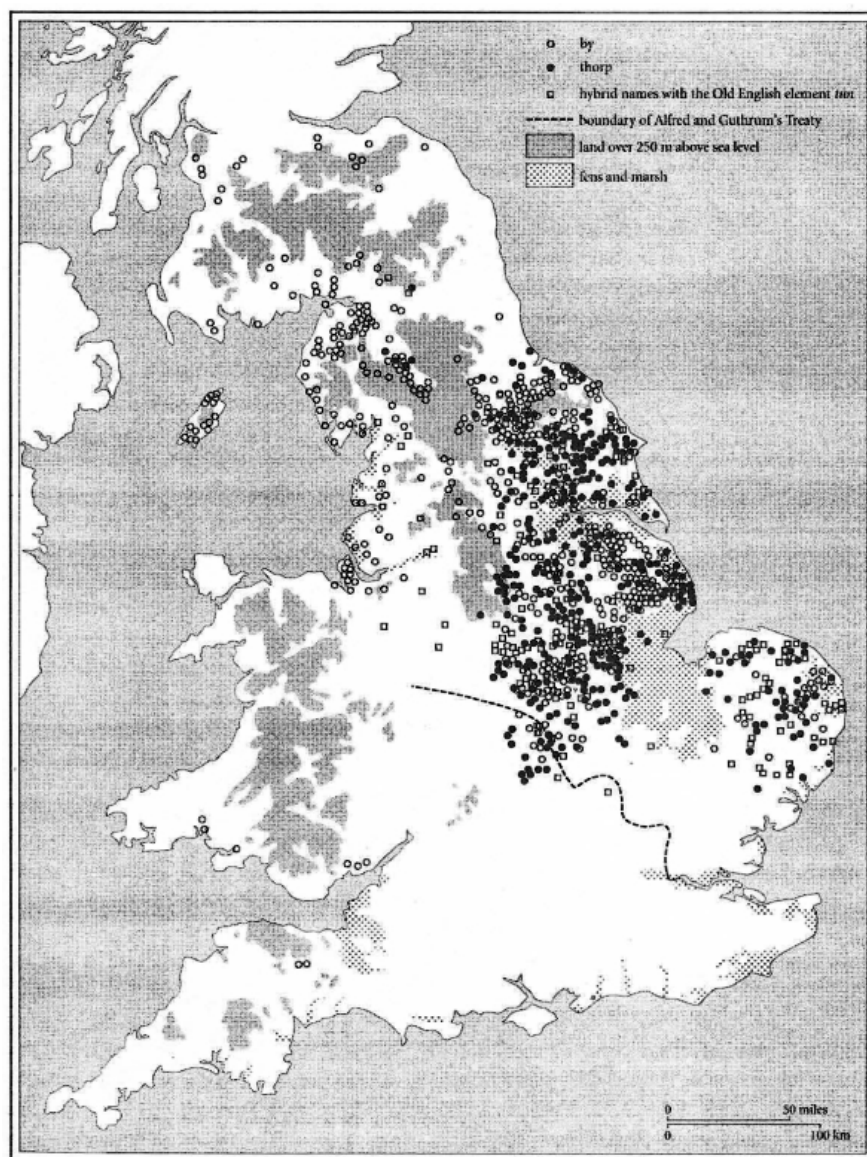
THE MAIN SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT-NAMES IN SOUTHERN BRITAIN

htt//www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/scand/scand-frames.html
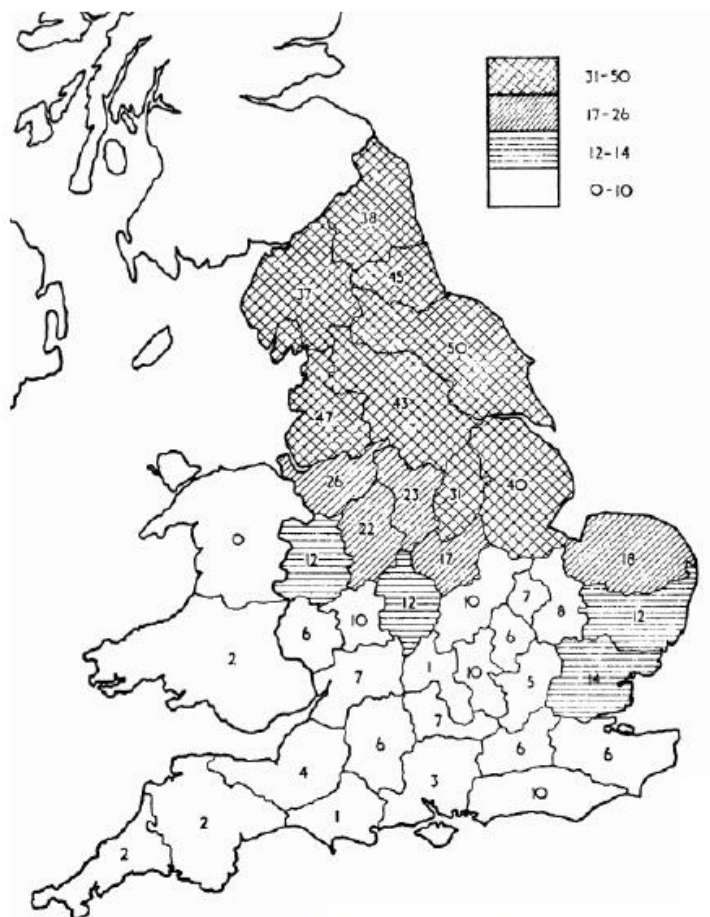
The distribution of English family names ending in -son. Numbers indicate how many such names originated in each county. These names are thought to reflect the Scandinavian system of patronymics.

Bernard stirt (leaped) up, that was ful big,
And cast a brinie (mail coat) on his rig (back).
Slo mine sistres with his hend (hands).
Hwen he felede (put to flight) hise foos,
He made hem lurken and crepen in wroos (corners).
Dreng (free tenant in the Danelaw) and thayn,
kniht and bondeman (peasant farmer) and swain.

Havelok the Dane
late 13th century Lincolnshire
Scandinavian origin words in red

Some common English words of
Scandinavian origin (from 400 or more):

big, bag, to blink, bread, clumsy, to die,
to drip, to drown, egg, to flit, fog, to give,
ill, lump, muck, nasty, odd, prod, scab,
scum, sister, to sniff, to snort, to take,
they, thrive, toss
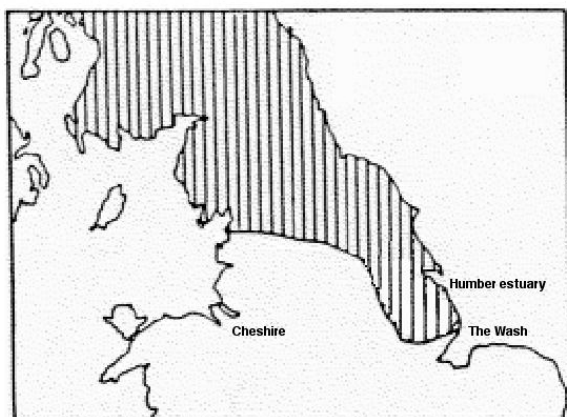
The shaded area is the area of the greatest
number of Scandinavian loan words in the
local dialect.

http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/scand/scand-frames.html

Scandinavian grammatical elements
found in northern English:

they – pronoun
at   – infinitive marker
till – preposition
fro   – preposition
aye   – adverb
nay   – negative
both – quantifier

The Aldborough (E. Yorkshire) sundial inscription:

Ulf het araeran cyrice for **hanum** and
for Gunware saula

"Ulf had this church built for him and
   for the soul of Gunwar."

'Hanum' is the Norse masculine dative singular
pronoun (= Old English 'him'.)

http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/scand/scand-frames.html

The text is quite well preserved and reads: +VLF LET (?HET) AROERAN CYRICE FOR HANVM 7 FOR GVWARA SAVLA, usually translated as, "+Ulf had this church built for his own sake and for Gunnvor's soul." There is some trace of late Anglo-Saxon work in Aldbrough church, and certainly the inscription contains corresponding late linguistic forms, seen in the collapse of the classsical Old English inflexional system. So, 'cyrice' for accusative singular 'cirican' shows loss of final '-n' and has confusion of the unstressed vowel as does 'savla' for 'saule'. 'Gvnwara' is presumably genitive. The Old Norse form should be 'Gunnwarar' but the Aldbrough name may be Anglicized, its second element a borrowing of OE '-waru' which should have the genitive '-ware'. Loss of definition in the vowel ending is common in late Anglian texts and shows a breakdown of the Old English inflexional system which is not necessarily a result of Old Norse admixture [but not necessarily not the result of such admixture - A.K.]. Aldbrough has also the difficult form 'hanvm', which is usually taken as the dative singular of the 3rd person pronoun, since attempts to derive it from OE 'hean', "poor, desolate", seem semantically misguided. 'hanum' is certainly the Old Norse dative singular of such a pronoun, but of course Old Norse would use the reflexive 'ser' in this context. The Old English equivalent is 'him', and Old English has no reflexive. It looks as though the Aldbrough dialect has a pronominal system influenced but not superseded by the Old Norse one. Both 'Vlf' and 'Gvnwara' represent Scandinavian names, one with loss of inflexional '-r' (which suggests English affection), the other with a second element probably Anglicized.

R. I. Page. 1971. How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The epigraphical evidence. In Peter Clemoes & Kathleen Hughes (eds.), *England before the Conquest: Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, 165-181. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.   http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/scand/scand-frames.html

Had English, which was originally West Germanic (Ingvaeonic), become a Scandinavian (= North-Germanic) language?

Or, to put it differently, and more accurately:

Is English another dead language, and was Old Norse the language that survived the Anglo-Saxon/Viking encounter, continuing in post-Anglo-Saxon England as Anglo-Norse, a dialect of Danish or Norwegian with some old English admixtures stemming from the Anglo-Saxons?

There are linguists who believe the answer is yes:

    http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2012/12/language-history
    http://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=4351

but ...

Instead of counting Old Norse and Old English words in the lexicon and Old Norse and Old English rules and constructions in the grammar of the language spoken in Britain in the 11th century and after and finding the winner on the overall majority, ask yourselves these questions:

(i)   a. What sort of a linguistic know-how did it need to produce speech events like that recorded by the Aldborough sundial inscription?
        b. How had the writer (Ulf – of Viking descent, to judge by his name) been able to acquire his lexicon and grammar? Who had been his models in L1 acquisition? Had he been exposed to a second language later in life? Was he bilingual?   (Ulf had evidently had access, at first hand or indirectly, to both Old Norse and Old English, although his know-how wasn't what might be expected from a successful L1 acquirer in either case. But the second question is the harder and more important one.)

(ii)   Was the sort of language recorded in the Aldborough sundial inscription the input for lexicon-and-grammar acquirers whose linguistic descendants would eventually come to include Geoffrey Chaucer and William Shakespeare?
                                                                (I think the answer here is no.)

External history continues swiftly ...   *(It's a battlefield!)*

HIC RESIDET HAROLD REX ANGLORUM   ...

HIC WILLELM[US] DUX IN MAGNO NAVIGIO MARE TRANSIVIT ET VENIT AD PEVENESAE ...

HIC MILITES EXIERUNT DE HESTENGA ET VENERUNT AD PR[O]ELIUM CONTRA HAROLDUM REGE[M] ...

HIC CECIDERUNT SIMUL ANGLI ET FRANCI IN PR[O]ELIO ...

HIC HAROLD REX INTERFECTUS EST ...

... ET FUGA VERTERUNT ANGLI

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayeux_Tapestry_tituli

Battle of Fulford
Harald Hardrada and Tostig Godwinson
defeat Edwin and Morcar
20 September

Battle of Stamford Bridge
Harold defeats Harald Hardrada
and Tostig Godwinson
25 September

Wallingford
Stigand submits
late October

Berkhamsted
English leaders submit
end of October

London
William crowned
25 December

Southwark
William repulsed
mid-October

Pevensey
William lands
28 September

Battle of Hastings
William defeats Harold
14 October

Location of major events during the Norman conquest of England in 1066
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_conquest_of_England

Ða com Wyllelm eorl of Normandige into Pefnesea on Sancte Michæles mæsseæfen, sona þæs hi fere wæron, worhton castel æt Hæstingaport. Þis wearð þa Harolde cynge gecydd, he gaderade þa mycelne here, com him togenes æt þære haran apuldran, Wyllelm him com ongean on unwær, ær þis folc gefylced wære. Ac se kyng þeah him swiðe heardlice wið feaht mid þam mannum þe him gelæstan woldon, þær wearð micel wæl geslægen on ægðre healfe. Ðær wearð ofslægen Harold kyng, Leofwine eorl his broðor, Gyrð eorl his broðor, fela godra manna, þa Frencyscan ahton wælstowe geweald.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

Then came William, the Earl of Normandy, into Pevensey on the evening of St.Michael's mass, and as soon as his men were ready, they built a fortress at Hasting's port. This was told to King Harold, and he gathered then a great army and came towards them at the Hoary Apple Tree, and William came upon him unawares before his folk were ready. But the king nevertheless withstood him very strongly with fighting with those men who would follow him, and there was a great slaughter on either side. Then King Harold was slain, and Eorl Leofwine, his brother, and Eorl Gyrth, his brother, and many good men, and the French held the place of slaughter.

Norman Conquests by 1100
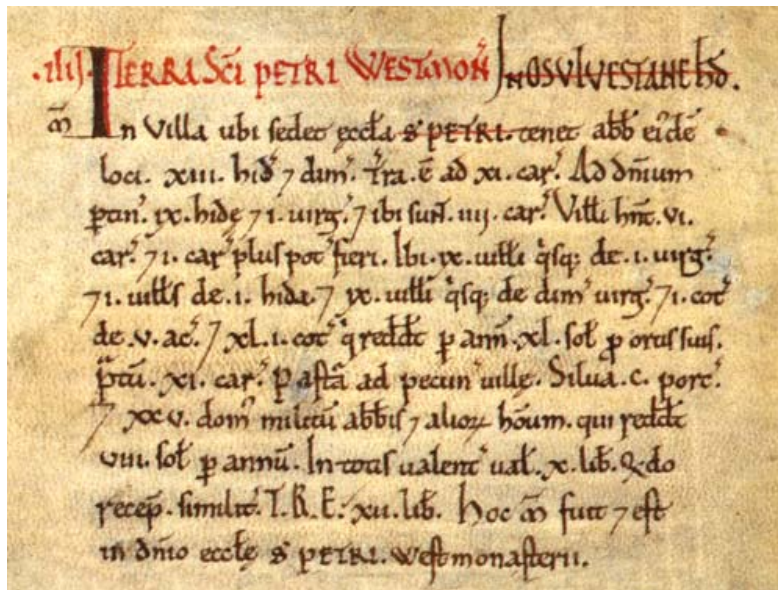
Domesday Book, land survey from 1086

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday/; http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/

IIII. The Land of St. Peter of Westminster
In 'Ossulstone' Hundred
In the vill in which St. Peter's Church is situated [Westminster] the abbot of the same
place holds 13½ hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. To the demesne
belongs 9 hides and 1 virgate, and there are 4 ploughs. The villeins have 6
ploughs, and there could be 1 plough more. There are 9 villeins each on 1 virgate
and 1 villein on 1 hide, and 9 villeins on each half a virgate and 1 cottar
on 5 acres, and 41 cottars who pay 40 shillings a year for their gardens. [There is]
Meadow for 11 ploughs, pasture for the livestock of the vill, woodland for 100 pigs,
and 25 houses of the abbot's knights and other men who pay
8 shillings a year. In all it is worth £10; when
received, the same; TRE £12. This manor belonged and belongs   [Translation from the original **Latin**,
to the demesne of St. Peter's Church, Westminster.   the words in square brackets have been left out of the Latin]
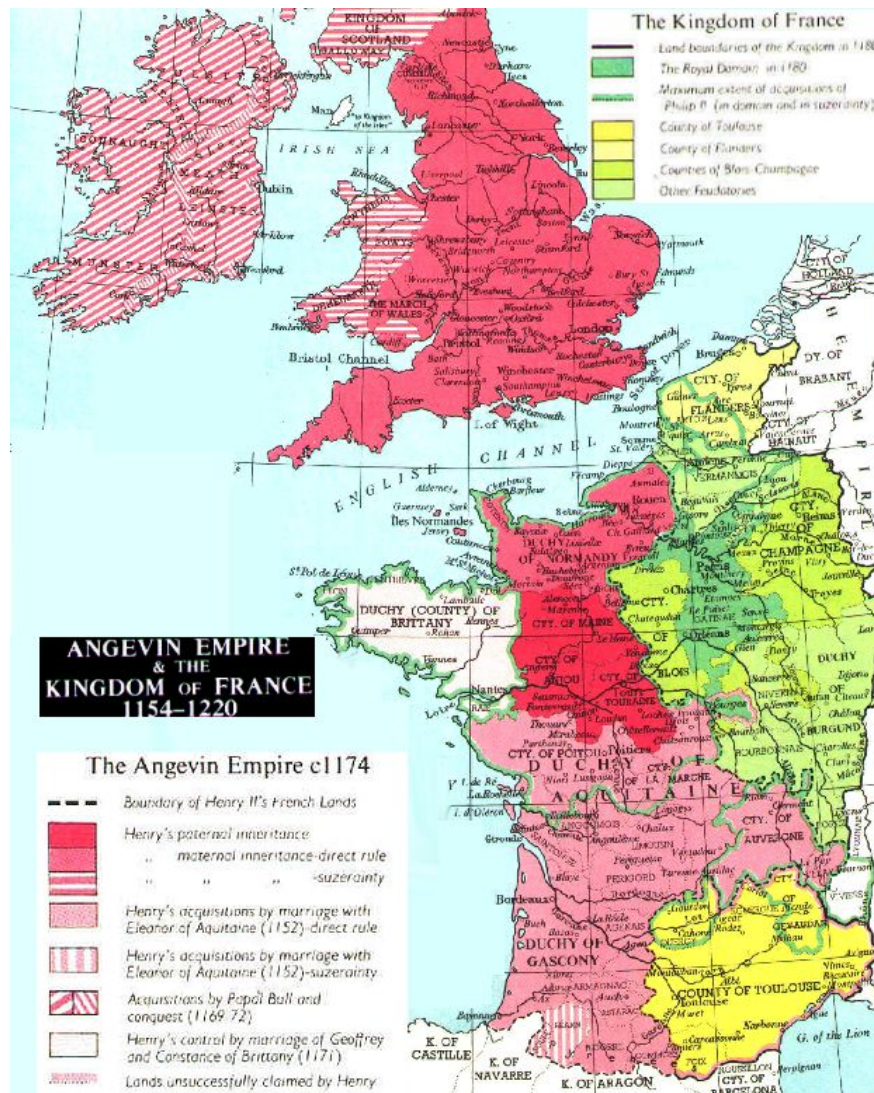
Norman rule superseded by the **Angevin Empire** (collection of states ruled by the Angevins of the House of Plantagenet), around 1200

http://www.ksc.kwansei.ac.jp/~jed/EGG/index.html

Who were the **Normans**?

Descendants of Viking bands from Denmark and Norway, settling in Normandy in the early 10th century and subsequently conquering Britain, Southern Italy and Sicily, and territories in the Near East and Northern Africa, thus becoming a major force in medieval Europe.

Language:
• In Normandy, the Normans switched from **Old Norse** to **Gallo-Romance** (and in Sicily to Arabic!) within a few generations, developing the **Norman dialect** of *langue d'oil*, which did not differ hugely from Central Old French.
• Most conspicuously, they would retain numerous **Norse words**, and showed a few **phonological** characteristics such as the non-palatalisation of velars (hence English *castle*, *plank*, *garden* etc. from Norman *castel*, *planque*, *gardin*, whereas other *langue d'oil* varieties have *château*, *planche*, *jardin*) and the change of velars into labial glides (hence English *war*, *wicket* etc. from Norman *werre*, *viquet*, with Central French *guerre*, *guichet*; sometimes both a Norman and a Central French variant would be borrowed into English: *warden – guardian*, *warranty – guarantee*).

- **Anglo-Norman** as well as **Modern Norman** varieties of Normandy and the Channel Islands (now mostly extinct or endangered) were to develop from it.

- **Anglo-Norman French** continued to be spoken and written in England until the 15th century, as a first or also a second language, but was in constant and, in the Angevin period, increasing competition with Central French – and also with English, which was increasingly used in circles and for purposes where for more than two centuries Anglo-Norman used to be the language of choice.
(Henry IV, 1367–1413, a Plantagenet, was the first King of England whose native language again was English rather than Anglo-Norman or Central French.
[But what kind of a language **was** "English" by then?])

Basic info on the Normans, especially the Anglo-Normans:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/normans/
https://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/KingsandQueensofEngland/TheNormans/TheNormans.aspx

Account of the Anglo-Norman language:

M. K. Pope. 1934. *From Latin to Modern French with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman: Phonology and morphology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

How many Norman and other continental settlers lived in England?
– around **8000** (estimated).

Most conspicuous change in political (incl. ecclesiastical) history:
Elite replacement (but also influx of continental merchants and craftsmen).

English **emigration**: to Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia, mercenaries in Byzantine empire.

But by mid-12th century **intermarriage** among Normans and Anglo-Saxon descendants common at all social levels.

Trilingual society:
    Anglo-Norman French (and other French),
    Latin,
    (Old > Middle) English [or was it (Old > Middle) English Norse?].

But **who** spoke **which** language and had learnt it **when** and **how** (L1 or L2)?

Same question now as before:

Was English, originally Germanic (West, or North?), becoming a Romance language?

Was Middle English (mid 12th – mid 15th century) a Germanic-Romance CREOLE, developing as a mixed Germanic-Romance contact language that was nobody's L1 (a means of basic communication among people not sharing a language, a PIDGIN) began to be acquired as an L1?

Middle English poetry: Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*

written end of **14th century**, surviving in many **manuscripts**, **printed** by William Caxton in 1478/1483

http://www.bl.uk/learning/images/changing/new/large4959.html
http://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=15573
http://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/
http://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/teachslf/tr-index.htm

http://mx.nthu.edu.tw/~katchen/History%20of%20English%20Language/Prologue%20to%20Canterbury%20Tales/Prologue%20to%20Canterbury%20Tales.htm

http://metro.fas.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k15189&pageid=icb.page72282

Geoffrey Chaucer, born and mostly resident in **London**; a contemporary portrait
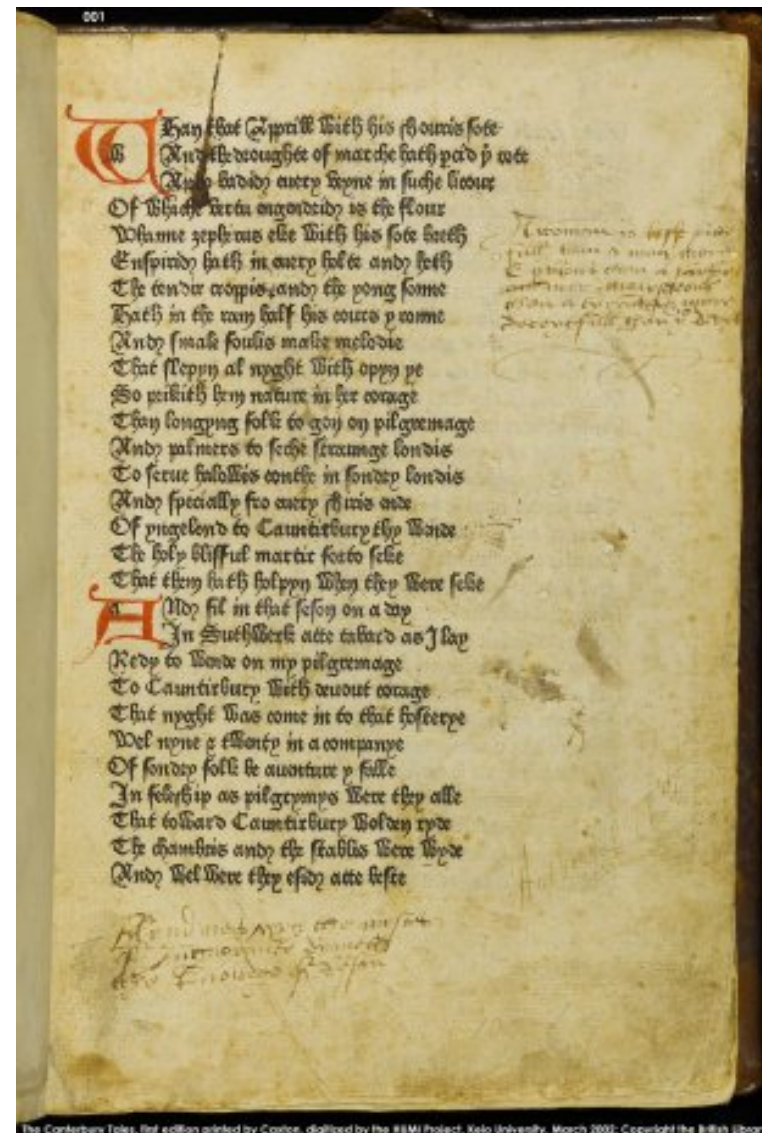
SENSE

1   **Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote**
               When April with its sweet-smelling showers

2   **The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,**
               Has pierced the drought of March to the root,

3   **And bathed every veyne in swich licour**
               And bathed every vein (of the plants) in such liquid

4   **Of which vertu engendred is the flour;**
               By which power the flower is created;

5   **Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth**
               When the West Wind also with its sweet breath,

6   **Inspired hath in every holt and heeth**
               In every wood and field has breathed life into

7   **The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne**
               The tender new leaves, and the young sun

8   **Hath in the Ram his half cours yronne,**
               Has run half its course in Aries,

9   **And smale foweles maken melodye,**
               And small fowls make melody,

10   **That slepen al the nyght with open ye**
          Those that sleep all the night with open eyes

11   **(So priketh hem Nature in hir corages),**
          (So Nature incites them in their hearts),

12   **Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,**
          Then folk long to go on pilgrimages,

13   **And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,**
          And professional pilgrims to seek foreign shores,

14   **To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes;**
          To distant shrines, known in various lands;

15   **And specially from every shires ende**
          And specially from every shire's end

16   **Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende,**
          Of England to Canterbury they travel,

17   **The hooly blisful martir for to seke,**
          To seek the holy blessed martyr,

18   **That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.**
          Who helped them when they were sick.

SOUND

Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote	hwan θat a:prɪl wɪθ hɪs šu:rəs so:tə
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,	θə dru:xt ɔf marč haθ pɛ:rsəd to:θə ro:tə
And bathed every veyne in swich licour	and ba:ðəd ɛvrɪ vɛɪn ɪn swɪč lɪku:r
Of which vertu engendred is the flour;	ɔf hwɪč vertɪʊ ɛnǰendrəd ɪs θə flu:r
Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth	hwan zɛfɪrʊs e:k wɪθ hɪs swe:tə brɛ:θ
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth	ɪnspi:rəd haθ ɪn ɛvrɪ hɔlt and hɛ:θ
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne	θə tɛndrə krɔppəs and θə jʊŋgə sʊnnə
Hath in the Ram his halve cours yronne,	haθ ɪn θə ram hɪs halvə ku:rs ɪrʊnnə
And smale foweles maken melodye,	and sma:lə fu:ləs ma:kən mɛlɔdi:ə
That slepen al the nyght with open yë	θat sle:pən al θə nɪxt wɪθ ɔ:pən i:ə
(So priketh hem nature in hir corages),—	sɔ:prɪkɛθ hɛm na:tɪʊr ɪn hɪr kʊra:ǰəs
Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,	θan lɔŋgən fɔlk to: go:n ɔn pɪlgrɪma:ǰəs
And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,	and palmɛrs fɔr to: se:kən straʊnǰə strɔndəs
To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes;	to: fɛrnə halwəs ku:θ ɪn sʊndrɪ lɔndəs
And specially from every shires ende	and spɛsɪalɪ frɔm ɛvrɪ ši:rəs ɛndə
Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende,	ɔf ɛŋgəlɔnd to: kaʊntərbri: θɛɪ wɛndə
The hooly blisful martir for to seke,	θə hɔ:lɪ blɪsfʊl martɪr fɔr to: se:kə
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.	θat hɛm haθ hɔlpən hwan θat θɛɪ wɛ:r se:kə
Bifil that in that seson on a day,	bɪfɪl θat ɪn θat sɛ:zu:n ɔn ə dɛɪ
In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay	ɪn sʊθwɛrk at θə tabard as i:lɛɪ
Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage	rɛdɪ to: wɛndən ɔn mi: pɪlgrɪma:ǰə
To Caunterbury with ful devout corage,	to: kaʊntərbri: wɪθ fʊl de:vu:t kʊra:ǰə
At nyght was come into that hostelrye	at nɪxt was kʊm ɪnto: θat hɔstɛlri:ə
Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye,	wɛl ni:n and twɛntɪ ɪn ə kʊmpɛɪni:ə
Of sondry folk, by aventure yfalle	ɔf sʊndrɪ fɔlk bi: a:vɛntɪʊr ɪfallə
In felaweshipe, and pilgrimes were they alle,	ɪn fɛlaʊšɪp and pɪlgrɪms wɛ:r θɛɪ allə
That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde,	θat to:ward kaʊntərbʊrɪ wo:ldən ri:də
The chambres and the stables weren wyde,	θə ča:mbrəs and θə sta:bləs wɛ:rən wi:də

The Canterbury Tales: General Prologue 1-42
Phonetic transcription based on Helge Kökeritz, *Guide to Chaucer's pronunciation* **(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), but with my adjustments (Aditi Lahiri).**
Harvard translation   http://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer by L.D. Benson (also with some adjustments)

Here bygynneth the Book of the Tales of Caunterbury.

hwan ðat ˈaːpril wiθ iz ˈʃuːrəz ˈsoːtə	1	**Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote**
		When April with its sweet-smelling showers
ðə ˈdruːxt əv ˈmartʃ (h)aθ ˈpeːrsəd ˈto ðə ˈroːtə	2	**The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,**
		Has pierced the drought of March to the root,
an(d) ˈbaːðəd ˈevri væin in switʃ liˈkuːr	3	**And bathed every veyne in swich licour**
		And bathed every vein (of the plants) in such liquid
əv hwitʃ verˈtuː inˈdʒendrəd iz ðə fluːr;	4	**Of which vertu engendred is the flour;**
		By which power the flower is created;
hwan ˈzefirus eːk wiθ iz ˈsweːtə brɛːθ	5	**Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth**
		When the West Wind also with its sweet breath,
inˈspiːrəd haθ in ˈevri hɔlt an(d) hɛːθ	6	**Inspired hath in every holt and heeth**
		In every wood and field (heath) has breathed life
ðə ˈtendrə ˈkrɔpez, an(d) ðə ˈjuŋgə ˈsunə	7	**The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne**
		The tender new leaves, and the young sun
haθ in ðə ram iz ˈhalvə kuːrs iˈrunə,	8	**Hath in the Ram his halve cours yronne,**
		Has run half its course in Aries,
an(d) ˈsmaːlə ˈfuləz ˈmaːkən ˌmeloˈdiːə	9	**And smale foweles maken melodye,**
		And small fowls make melody,
ðat ˈsleːpən ɑl ðə niːçt wiθ ˈɔːpən ˈiːə (Kː ɔpən)	10	**That slepen al the nyght with open ye**
		Those that sleep all the night with open eyes

sɔ ˈprikəθ əm na(:)ˈtür in ir kuˈra:dʒəz	11	**(So priketh hem Nature in hir corages),**
		(So Nature incites them in their hearts), [courage]
ðan ˈlɔŋɡən fɔlk to ɡɔ:n ɔn ˌpilgriˈma:dʒəz	12	**Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,**
		Then folk long to go on pilgrimages,
an(d) ˈpɑlmərz fɔr to ˈse:kən ˈstraundʒə ˈstrɔ(:)ndəz	13	**And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes,**
		And professional pilgrims to seek foreign shores,
to ˈfernə ˈhalwəz ku:ð in ˈsundri ˈlɔ(:)ndəz,	14	**To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes;**
		To distant shrines, known in various lands;
an(d) ˈspesj(ə)li frɔm ˈevri ˈʃirəz ˈendə	15	**And specially from every shires ende**
		And specially from every shire's end
əv ˈeŋɡəlɔ(:)nd to ˈkauntərˌberi ðæi ˈwendə	16	**Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende,**
		Of England to Canterbury they travel,
ðə ˈhɔ:li ˈblisful ˈmartir fɔr to se:kə	17	**The hooly blisful martir for to seke,**
		To seek the holy blessed martyr,
ðat hem (h)aθ ˈhɔlpən hwan ðat ðæi wɛ:r ˈse:kə.	18	**That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.**
		Who helped them when they were sick.
biˈfel ðat in ðat ˈsɛ(:)zun ɔn a dæi	19	**Bifil that in that seson on a day,**
		It happened that in that season on one day,
in ˈsuðɛrk at ðə ˈtabard az i læi	20	**In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay**
		In Southwark at the Tabard Inn as I lay
ˈrɛ:di to ˈwendən ɔn mi ˌpilgriˈma:dʒə	21	**Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage**
		Ready to go on my pilgrimage
toˈkauntərˌberi wiθ ful dəˈvu:t kuˈra:dʒə	22	**To Caunterbury with ful devout corage,**
		To Canterbury with a very devout spirit,
at ni.çt waz kum into ðat ˌɔstəlˈri:ə	23	**At nyght was come into that hostelrye**
		At night had come into that hostelry
wel ni:n an(d) ˈtwenti in a ˌkumpæiˈni:ə	24	**Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye**

		Well nine and twenty in a company
əf ˈsundri fɔlk, bi ˌavəntüːr iˈfalə	25	**Of sondry folk, by aventure yfalle**
		Of various sorts of people, by chance fallen
in ˈfelauʃip an(d) ˈpilgrimz wɛːr dæi ˈalə	26	**In felaweshipe, and pilgrimes were they alle,**
		In fellowship, and they were all pilgrims,
ðat ˈto(ː)ward ˈkauntərˌberi ˈwɔldən riːdə	27	**That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde.**
		Who intended to ride toward Canterbury.
ðə ˈtʃaːmbrəz an(d) ðə ˈstaːbləz ˈwɛːrən ˈwiːdə	28	**The chambres and the stables weren wyde,**
		The bedrooms and the stables were spacious,
an(d) wel we ˈwɛːrən ˈɛːzəd atə ˈbestə.	29	**And wel we weren esed atte beste.**
		And we were well accommodated in the best way.
an(d) ˈʃɔrtli hwan ðə ˈsunə was to ˈrestə	30	**And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste,**
		And in brief, when the sun was (gone) to rest,
sɔː had i ˈspɔːkən wiθ əm ˈevriˈtʃɔːn	31	**So hadde I spoken with hem everichon**
		I had so spoken with everyone of them
ðat iː was əv ir ˈfelauʃip aˈnɔːn	32	**That I was of hir felaweshipe anon,**
		That I was of their fellowship straightway,
an(d) ˈmaːdə ˈfɔrward ˈerli fɔr to ˈriːzə	33	**And made forward erly for to ryse,**
		And made agreement to rise early,
to taːk uːr wæi ðɛːr az i ju dəˈviːzə.	34	**To take oure wey ther as I yow devyse.**
		To take our way where I (will) tell you.
but ˈnaðəˈlɛːs, hwiːl i(h)av tiːm an(d) ˈspaːsə,	35	**But nathelees, whil I have tyme and space,**
		But nonetheless, while I have time and opportunity,
ɛːr ðat i ˈfɛrðar in ðis ˈtaːlə paːsə	36	**Er that I ferther in this tale pace,**
		Before I proceed further in this tale,
me ˈθɪŋkəθ it aˈkɔrdaʊnt to rɛ(ː)ˈzuːn	37	**Me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun**
		It seems to me in accord with reason

to 'telə juː al ðə kɔndisi'uːn	38	**To telle yow al the condicioun**
		To tell you all the circumstances
əv ɛːtʃ əf hem sɔ(ː) az it 'seːməð meː	39	**Of ech of hem, so as it semed me,**
		Of each of them, as it seemed to me,
an(d) hwitʃ ðæt 'wɛrːən and əv hwat də'greː	40	**And whiche they weren, and of what degree,**
		And who they were, and of what social rank,
and eːk in hwat a'ræi ðæt ðæi wɛːr 'inə	41	**And eek in what array that they were inne;**
		And also what clothing that they were in;
and at a kniçt ðan wul i first bi'ginə.	42	**And at a knyght than wol I first bigynne.**
		And at a knight then will I first begin.

:whan·ðata prɪlle :wɪðɪz ʃuurez swoote
-ðe druxtov martʃ ‚-ha ð persedtooðe roote,
-and baaðed·ɛvri veinɪn·swɪtʃli kuur,
-ov·whɪtʃver teeu -en dʒendredɪzðe fluur;
-whan zefɪrʊsɛk :wɪðɪz sweete brɛþ   5
-ɪn spiiredhaðɪn ɛvri holtand hɛþ
-ðe tendre kroppes, -andðe juŋge sʊnne
-haðɪnðe ·ramɪz halve kuursi rʊnne,
-and smaale fuulez maaken·melo diie,
-ðat sleepen alðe niçtwɪð ɔpen iie—   10
:sɔ prikeðem·naa tyyrɪnherku raadʒez—
:ðan lɔŋgen·folktoo gɔnon·pɪlgri maadʒez,
-and palmerz :fortoo seeken straundʒe strɔndez,
-too ferne halwez, kuuðɪn sʊndri lɔndez;
-and spesjalii, -from ɛvri ʃiires ende   15
-ov eŋgelɔnd -too kaunterbriðei wende,
-ðe hɔli, blɪsfʊl martɪrfortoo seeke,
-ðat·hemað holpen :whanðatðeiwɛr seeke.

Transcription in Sweet's Broad Romic.
Note the spacing!

A few points of grammar

- simple and complex **complementisers** in with *that* in (free?) variation:

whan that/**whan:**   *Whan that Aprill … the droghte of March hath perced to the roote … whan that they were seeke*

Whan Zephirus eek … inspired hath … the tendre croppes … whan the sonne was to reste

er that / *er*:   *… er that I ferther in this tale pace*

WH phrase *that*:   *And eek in what array that they were inne*

- **non-finite complementisers**

for to: *And palmeres [longen] for to seken straunge strondes … they wende the hooly blisful martir for to seke And made forward erly for to ryse*

to: *Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage Me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun to telle yow al the condicioun*

Ø: *… that toward Caunterbury wolden ryde And at a knyght than wol I first bigynne*

- **definite** and **indefinite articles** as obligatory parts of def/indef noun phrases

- **position** of **adjectives**: mostly before, rarely after N (rhyme? French?)

- **position** of **verb** and of **subject** and **object**:   SOV, SVO alternating (so as to rhyme?)

- **verbal complex:** AUX V, V AUX

- "**impersonal**" (subjectless?) constructions: *me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun ...*
  Bifil that in that seson on a day ...
  but: *so as **it** semed me*

- preposition stranding in relative clauses: *And eek in what array that they were inne*

- grammar of **numerals**: units before tens: *nyne and twenty*

- relationship of ***goon*** and ***wenden***: two separate verbs, of the same or similar meaning

Poetic technique

segmental identity requirement:
OE: on **onsets** of stressed syllables (beats) in **certain metrical positions** across the two
         half-lines (hemistichs) of a line (= alliteration), namely the two feet in first half-line
         and the first foot in second half-line (foot = rhythmic grouping of stressed and
         unstressed syllables);
ME: on **rhymes** (nucleus+coda) of **final stressed and following unstressed syllalbles**
         across lines (= rhyme).

metrical identity requirement:
OE: half-lines typically two feet each, long lines therefore typically four feet each;
         preferred foot type the **trochee** (X x, or dactyl: X x x)
ME: lines of typically **five feet** (in other work also four);
         preferred foot type the **iamb** (x X, or anapaest: x x X) (**iambic pentameter**)
         – but often **trochaic** scansion possible or indeed preferable (with anacrusis):
         see the division into feet/"tone groups" that Henry Sweet suggests, which begin
         rather than end with a beat

☞ Metrical innovations as in Chaucer not specifically English, but Romance-influenced
(Italian, French), spreading across European languages.

Inflection: nouns and definite article   (Were there **articles** in early OE?)

OE

		strong a-stem M	str. u-st. M	str. u-st. F	weak N	root M
SG	NOM	(se) stān	sun-u	sēo tal-u	þæt ēag-e	fōt
	ACC	(þone) stān	sun-u	þā tal-e	þæt ēag-an	fōt
	GEN	(þæs) stān-es	sun-a	þǣre tal-e	þæs ēag-an	fōt-es
	DAT	(þām) stān-e	sun-a	þǣre tal-e	þām ēag-an	fēt
PL	NOM	(þā) stān-as	sun-a	þā tal-a	þā ēag-an	fēt
	ACC	(þā) stān-as	sun-a	þā tal-a	þā ēag-an	fēt
	GEN	(þāra) stān-a	sun-a	þāra tal-a	þāra ēag-ena	fōt-a
	DAT	(þām) stān-um	sun-um	þām tal-um	þām ēag-um	fōt-um

ME

		strong a-stem M	str. u-st. M	str. u-st. F	weak N	root M
SG	NOM	þē stōn	son-e	þē tāl-e	þē/(þat) ei-e	fōt
	ACC	þē stōn	son-e	þē tāl-e	þē/(þat) ei-en	fōt
	GEN	þē stōn-es	son-es	þē tāl-e(s)	þē/(þat) ei-en	fōt-es
	DAT	þē stōn(-e)	son-e	þē tāl-e	þē/(þat) ei-en	fōt-e
PL	NOM	þē stōn-es	son-es	þē tāl-es	þē ei-en	fēt
	ACC	þē stōn-es	son-es	þē tāl-es	þē ei-en	fēt
	GEN	þē stōn-es	son-es	þē tāl-es	þē ei-ene	fēt-es
	DAT	þē stōn-es	son-es	þē tāl-es	þē ei-en	fēt

The forms in red are not what you expect as the result of mere **sound change**!
They have come about through **analogical extensions** from the same or other paradigms.

Relevant **sound changes** here:

- /ā/ > /ō/

- /æ/ > /e/, /a/

- /u/ unchanged: <o> is written for /u/ before/after nasals and other environments

- /ēa/ > /ǣ/ > /ē, e/, /ej/ > /ei/;

  /ēo/ > /ø̄/ > /ē/

- Open Syllable Lengthening: tă.le > tā.lə (but often subsequent paradigmatic levelling)

- V > /ə/ in unstressed syllables (endings always unstressed since Proto-Gmc.!)

- /m/ > /n/ in coda of unstressed syllables (endings always unstressed since Proto-Gmc.!)

Umlaut (as in root nouns) had long been morphologised from an erstwhile phonological rule, after the loss of the segment (*i, j*) conditioning stem-vowel fronting in Common Germanic (DAT.SG *fōt-i*, NOM.PL *fōt-iz*).

In early ME the **inflected** OE forms of the demonstrative/definite article – which were formally undifferentiated in OE, and the definite article was not obligatory in definite noun phrases – are continued (as changed by these sound changes);
but during ME the **definite article** essentially ceases to inflect, while certain inflected forms were continuing in the function of a **distal demonstrative pronoun**, eventually producing ModE *that – those*.

For a while, there was **competition** between *-(e)s* (**strong** decl.) and *-(e)n* (**weak** decl.) as markers of PLURAL, with either the one or the other preferred in different dialects and with *-(e)s* the eventual winner. (Compare noun plurals in other Germanic languages.)

Cf. William Caxton, Prologue to *The Boke of Eneydos* (1490):
"That comyn Englisshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another. Insomuche that in my dayes happened that certayn marchauntes were in a shippe in Tamyse, forto have sayled over the see into Zelande, and for lacke of wynde, thei taryed atte forlond, and wente to lande forto refreshe them. And one of theym named Sheffelde, a mercer, cam into an hows and axed for mete, and specyally he axyd after **eggys**. And the goode wyf answerde, that she coude speke no Frenshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no Frenshe, but wolde have hadde **egges**, and she understode hym not. And thenne at laste another sayd that he wolde have **eyren**. Then the good wyfe sayd that she understod hym wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte – **egges** or **eyren**? Certaynly it is harde to playse every man, bycause of dyversite & chaunge of langage."
(Quoted from Philip Durkin, *Borrowed words: A History of loanwords in English*. Oxford: OUP, 2014, p. 288)

egg (n.)
  mid-14c., from northern England dialect, from Old Norse *egg*, which vied with Middle English *eye*, *eai* (from Old English *æg*) until finally displacing it after 1500; both are from Proto-Germanic **ajja(m)* (cognates: Old Saxon, Middle Dutch, Dutch, Old High German, German *ei*, Gothic *ada*), probably from PIE **owyo-/*oyyo-* 'egg' (cognates: Old Church Slavonic *aja*, Russian *jajco*, Breton *ui*, Welsh *wy*, Greek *oon*, Latin *ovum*); possibly derived from root **awi-* 'bird'.
  http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=egg

Inflection: adjectives

OE

		strong			weak (distinction a PGmc innovation, to do with definiteness)		
		M	N	F	M	N	F
SG	NOM	gōd	gōd	gōd[-u]	gōd-a	gōd-e	gōd-e
	ACC	gōd-ne	gōd	gōd-e	gōd-an	gōd-e	gōd-an
	GEN	gōd-es	gōd-es	gōd-re	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an
	DAT	gōd-um	gōd-um	gōd-re	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an
	INS	gōd-e	gōd-e	—	—	—	—
PL	NOM	gōd-e	gōd[-u]	gōd-a	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an
	ACC	gōd-e	gōd[-u]	gōd-a	gōd-an	gōd-an	gōd-an
	GEN	gōd-ra	gōd-ra	gōd-ra	gōd-ena/-ra	gōd-ena/-ra	gōd-ena/-ra
	DAT	gōd-um	gōd-um	gōd-rum	gōd-um	gōd-um	gōd-um

ME

		strong			weak		
		M	N	F	M	N	F
SG	NOM	gōd	gōd	gōd	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
	ACC	gōd	gōd	gōd	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
	GEN	gōd	gōd	gōd	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
	DAT	gōd	gōd	gōd	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
PL	NOM	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
	ACC	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
	GEN	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e
	DAT	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e	gōd-e

disyllabic

SG	litel	litel
PL	litel	litel

It was as if adjectives couldn't wait for another **sound change**:
/n/ in the coda of unstressed syllables (whether original or changed from /m/) was about to cease to be pronounced.

Further, final /ə/ in unstressed syllables, though continuing to be written, also became extremely vulnerable, being pronounced or not depending on rhythmic considerations, and eventually ceased to be pronounced, too.

Which, together with the sound changes mentioned earlier – conflation of all vowels in unstressed syllables as /ə/; merger of /m/ and /n/ in coda of unstressed syllables – effectively wiped out just about all of the Old English inflectional endings of nouns and adjectives.

Essentially only /s/ managed to survive, now generalised to the great majority of nouns as a PLURAL marker (and genitive?), plus a few /n/'s.

(Through no fault of the phonology, adjectival GEN.PL *-ra* didn't make it, either.)

With so much (phonology-effectuated) conflation of **forms**, which **categorial** distinctions were still valid in ME?

declension: strong – weak?	– very marginal
declension: stem-classes?	– very marginal
gender: M – N – F?	– no
case: NOM – ACC – DAT – GEN – INS?	– GEN vs. basic form
number: SG – PL?	– yes

With no formal contrasts remaining, how can there be categorial contrasts of CASE and GENDER and how can there be DECLENSIONS (= inflection classes of nominal words)?

NUMBER was to be sole survivor.

The GENITIVE had a complicated future, perhaps tied up with that of the possessive pronoun (*the king's castle* – *the king 'is castle*) and leading to what has been called "group genitives" in Modern English (*the king and queen's castle*, *the King of England's castle*, *the man over there's funny hat*, *a man I've never seen's wife*), with the genitival marker **at the end of entire possessive phrases**, **regardless of what kinds of words they end in** (noun or other) – not the normal kind of behaviour of a case suffix. (Compare genitive *-s* in German.)

Inflection: personal pronoun

OE   **ME**

1st Person

	SG	DUAL	PL	SG	PL
NOM	iċ	wīt	wē	ich/i	wē
ACC	mē(c)	unc	ūs(ic)		
DAT	mē	unc	ūs	mē	ūs
GEN	mīn	uncer	ūre	mī(n)	ūre

2nd Person

	SG	DUAL	PL	SG	PL
NOM	þū	git	gē	þū	yē
ACC	þē(c)	inc	ēow(ic)		
DAT	þē	inc	ēow	þē	you
GEN	þīn	incer	ēower	þi(n)	your

3rd Person

	SG (M)	SG (F)	SG (N)	PL	SG (M)	SG (F)	SG (N)	PL
NOM	hē	hēo	hit	hī	hē	hē/shē(o)	(h)it	þei/hī
ACC	hine	hī	hit	hī				
DAT	him	hire	him	him	(h)im	hir(e)	(h)im	hem/þeim
GEN	his	hire	his	hira	his	hir	his	þair

Purple indicates losses/non-continuation of forms and indeed categories:

- a three-way NUMBER distinction for 1st and 2nd PERSON shrank to a two-way one through the loss of the DUAL, with the old PLURAL forms surviving and also taking on DUAL function (reference to pairs, 'we two, you two');
- a two-way object distinction (direct – indirect) was abandoned and the sole surviving object case forms were the original datives.

Red/orange are innovated forms:

- the 3rd PERSON SINGULAR FEMININE pronoun was refashioned, with the origin of its initial /ʃ/ somewhat unclear (as a result, at any rate, the MASC/FEM contrast became clearer);
- the 3rd PERSON PLURAL forms with initial /θ/ are loans from Old Norse. (The old pronouns with initial /h/ survive in the form of enclitic *I saw 'em*, with initial /h/ dropped.)

The rest was regular sound change:

- like other coda consonants of unstressed/atonic syllables, especially word-finally:

[tʃ] > Ø	<ic>	>	<I>
	[ɪtʃ]	[iː, i] eventually > [aɪ]	
	<ānlic>	>	<only>
	[ˈɑːnlɪtʃ]	[ˈɔʊnlɪ]	

- dropping of initial /h/ in unstressed/atonic syllables: *hit > it*, *him > 'im*, *her > 'er*.

What was the most conspicuous further change leading to the ModE personal pronouns?

2nd PERSON

	SG	PL
NOM	*you*	*you*
ACC	*you*	*you*

that is: (i)   replacement of old **NOM**.SG form by **DAT**.SG form;
           (ii) replacement of old **SG** forms by **PL** forms (also in associated verb agreement)

To make sense of the latter replacement, study the use of **pronouns of (singular!) address** (and the associated forms of verb agreement) by the protagonists in Act 3, Scene 4 of Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (written ca. 1600). Who uses which pronoun to whom under which circumstances?

How can this usage have led to the ModE situation?

Actually, informal varieties of contemporary English have been taking things further, understandably, re-creating a useful SG-PL contrast:

2nd PERSON

	SG	PL
NOM	*you*	*you-guys, you-all, yous*
ACC	*you*	*you-guys, you-all, yous*

SCENE IV. The Queen's closet.
Enter QUEEN GERTRUDE and POLONIUS

LORD POLONIUS
He will come straight. Look you lay home to him:
Tell him his pranks have been too broad to bear with,
And that your grace hath screen'd and stood between
Much heat and him. I'll sconce me even here.
Pray you, be round with him.
HAMLET
[Within] Mother, mother, mother!
QUEEN GERTRUDE
I'll warrant you,
Fear me not: withdraw, I hear him coming.

POLONIUS hides behind the arras
Enter HAMLET

HAMLET
Now, mother, what's the matter?
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.
HAMLET
Mother, you have my father much offended.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Come, come, you answer with an idle tongue.
HAMLET
Go, go, you question with a wicked tongue.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Why, how now, Hamlet!
HAMLET
What's the matter now?
QUEEN GERTRUDE

Have you forgot me?
HAMLET
No, by the rood, not so:
You are the queen, your husband's brother's wife;
And--would it were not so!--you are my mother.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Nay, then, I'll set those to you that can speak.
HAMLET
Come, come, and sit you down; you shall not budge;
You go not till I set you up a glass
Where you may see the inmost part of you.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
What wilt thou do? thou wilt not murder me?
Help, help, ho!
LORD POLONIUS
[Behind] What, ho! help, help, help!
HAMLET
[Drawing] How now! a rat? Dead, for a ducat, dead!

Makes a pass through the arras

LORD POLONIUS
[Behind] O, I am slain!

Falls and dies

QUEEN GERTRUDE
O me, what hast thou done?
HAMLET
Nay, I know not:
Is it the king?
QUEEN GERTRUDE

O, what a rash and bloody deed is this!
HAMLET
A bloody deed! almost as bad, good mother,
As kill a king, and marry with his brother.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
As kill a king!
HAMLET
Ay, lady, 'twas my word.

Lifts up the array and discovers POLONIUS

Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
I took thee for thy better: take thy fortune;
Thou find'st to be too busy is some danger.
Leave wringing of your hands: peace! sit you down,
And let me wring your heart; for so I shall,
If it be made of penetrable stuff,
If damned custom have not brass'd it so
That it is proof and bulwark against sense.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
What have I done, that thou darest wag thy tongue
In noise so rude against me?
HAMLET
Such an act
That blurs the grace and blush of modesty,
Calls virtue hypocrite, takes off the rose
From the fair forehead of an innocent love
And sets a blister there, makes marriage-vows
As false as dicers' oaths: O, such a deed
As from the body of contraction plucks
The very soul, and sweet religion makes
A rhapsody of words: heaven's face doth glow:

Yea, this solidity and compound mass,
With tristful visage, as against the doom,
Is thought-sick at the act.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Ay me, what act,
That roars so loud, and thunders in the index?
HAMLET
Look here, upon this picture, and on this,
The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.
See, what a grace was seated on this brow;
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man:
This was your husband. Look you now, what follows:
Here is your husband; like a mildew'd ear,
Blasting his wholesome brother. Have you eyes?
Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moor? Ha! have you eyes?
You cannot call it love; for at your age
The hey-day in the blood is tame, it's humble,
And waits upon the judgment: and what judgment
Would step from this to this? Sense, sure, you have,
Else could you not have motion; but sure, that sense
Is apoplex'd; for madness would not err,
Nor sense to ecstasy was ne'er so thrall'd
But it reserved some quantity of choice,
To serve in such a difference. What devil was't
That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman-blind?

Eyes without feeling, feeling without sight,
Ears without hands or eyes, smelling sans all,
Or but a sickly part of one true sense
Could not so mope.
O shame! where is thy blush? Rebellious hell,
If thou canst mutine in a matron's bones,
To flaming youth let virtue be as wax,
And melt in her own fire: proclaim no shame
When the compulsive ardour gives the charge,
Since frost itself as actively doth burn
And reason panders will.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
O Hamlet, speak no more:
Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul;
And there I see such black and grained spots
As will not leave their tinct.
HAMLET
Nay, but to live
In the rank sweat of an enseamed bed,
Stew'd in corruption, honeying and making love
Over the nasty sty,--
QUEEN GERTRUDE
O, speak to me no more;
These words, like daggers, enter in mine ears;
No more, sweet Hamlet!
HAMLET
A murderer and a villain;
A slave that is not twentieth part the tithe
Of your precedent lord; a vice of kings;
A cutpurse of the empire and the rule,
That from a shelf the precious diadem stole,
And put it in his pocket!

QUEEN GERTRUDE
No more!
HAMLET
A king of shreds and patches,--

Enter Ghost

Save me, and hover o'er me with your wings,
You heavenly guards! What would your gracious figure?
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Alas, he's mad!
HAMLET
Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
That, lapsed in time and passion, lets go by
The important acting of your dread command? O, say!
Ghost
Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.
But, look, amazement on thy mother sits:
O, step between her and her fighting soul:
Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works:
Speak to her, Hamlet.
HAMLET
How is it with you, lady?
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Alas, how is't with you,
That you do bend your eye on vacancy
And with the incorporal air do hold discourse?
Forth at your eyes your spirits wildly peep;
And, as the sleeping soldiers in the alarm,
Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
Starts up, and stands on end. O gentle son,

Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper
Sprinkle cool patience. Whereon do you look?
HAMLET
On him, on him! Look you, how pale he glares!
His form and cause conjoin'd, preaching to stones,
Would make them capable. Do not look upon me;
Lest with this piteous action you convert
My stern effects: then what I have to do
Will want true colour; tears perchance for blood.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
To whom do you speak this?
HAMLET
Do you see nothing there?
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Nothing at all; yet all that is I see.
HAMLET
Nor did you nothing hear?
QUEEN GERTRUDE
No, nothing but ourselves.
HAMLET
Why, look you there! look, how it steals away!
My father, in his habit as he lived!
Look, where he goes, even now, out at the portal!

Exit Ghost

QUEEN GERTRUDE
This the very coinage of your brain:
This bodiless creation ecstasy
Is very cunning in.
HAMLET

Ecstasy!
My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time,
And makes as healthful music: it is not madness
That I have utter'd: bring me to the test,
And I the matter will re-word; which madness
Would gambol from. Mother, for love of grace,
Lay not that mattering unction to your soul,
That not your trespass, but my madness speaks:
It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,
Whilst rank corruption, mining all within,
Infects unseen. Confess yourself to heaven;
Repent what's past; avoid what is to come;
And do not spread the compost on the weeds,
To make them ranker. Forgive me this my virtue;
For in the fatness of these pursy times
Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg,
Yea, curb and woo for leave to do him good.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
O Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain.
HAMLET
O, throw away the worser part of it,
And live the purer with the other half.
Good night: but go not to mine uncle's bed;
Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
That monster, custom, who all sense doth eat,
Of habits devil, is angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and good
He likewise gives a frock or livery,
That aptly is put on. Refrain to-night,
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence: the next more easy;
For use almost can change the stamp of nature,

And either [ ] the devil, or throw him out
With wondrous potency. Once more, good night:
And when you are desirous to be bless'd,
I'll blessing beg of you. For this same lord,

Pointing to POLONIUS

I do repent: but heaven hath pleased it so,
To punish me with this and this with me,
That I must be their scourge and minister.
I will bestow him, and will answer well
The death I gave him. So, again, good night.
I must be cruel, only to be kind:
Thus bad begins and worse remains behind.
One word more, good lady.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
What shall I do?
HAMLET
Not this, by no means, that I bid you do:
Let the bloat king tempt you again to bed;
Pinch wanton on your cheek; call you his mouse;
And let him, for a pair of reechy kisses,
Or paddling in your neck with his damn'd fingers,
Make you to ravel all this matter out,
That I essentially am not in madness,
But mad in craft. 'Twere good you let him know;
For who, that's but a queen, fair, sober, wise,
Would from a paddock, from a bat, a gib,
Such dear concernings hide? who would do so?
No, in despite of sense and secrecy,
Unpeg the basket on the house's top.
Let the birds fly, and, like the famous ape,

To try conclusions, in the basket creep,
And break your own neck down.
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Be thou assured, if words be made of breath,
And breath of life, I have no life to breathe
What thou hast said to me.
HAMLET
I must to England; you know that?
QUEEN GERTRUDE
Alack,
I had forgot: 'tis so concluded on.
HAMLET
There's letters seal'd: and my two schoolfellows,
Whom I will trust as I will adders fang'd,
They bear the mandate; they must sweep my way,
And marshal me to knavery. Let it work;
For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petard: and 't shall go hard
But I will delve one yard below their mines,
And blow them at the moon: O, 'tis most sweet,
When in one line two crafts directly meet.
This man shall set me packing:
I'll lug the guts into the neighbour room.
Mother, good night. Indeed this counsellor
Is now most still, most secret and most grave,
Who was in life a foolish prating knave.
Come, sir, to draw toward an end with you.
Good night, mother.

Exeunt severally; HAMLET dragging in POLONIUS

A newly created subcategory of personal pronoun: **Reflexive**
Source: PersPro/PossPro + *self* (noun, emphatic intensive)

OE: *ic ... ne   me   swor   fela*   (Beowulf)
    I   not me.DAT swore wrong
    'I never perjured myself' (ModE *I never perjured me*)

ME: *þat þou wylt   þyn awen nye   nyme to þyseluen* (Gawain)
    that thou wantst thy own harm take   to thyself
    'that you want to take your own trouble upon yourself'

In Gmc, the contrast non-reflexive – reflexive otherwise limited to 3rd person, cf. German:
    Hans rasiert ihn/sich.
    Ich/Er rasiert mich; Du/Er rasier(s)t dich.

Inflection: verbs (example a strong verb, class III)

PRESENT

INDICATIVE

		OE	**ME** N.	E.Midl	W.Midl	S., Kent
SG	1	bind-e	bind-e	bīnd-e	bīnd-e	bīnd-e
	2	bind-es(t)	bind-es	bīnd-est	bīnd-es(t)	bint-st
	3	bind-eþ	bind-es	bīnd-eþ, -es	bīnd-eþ, -es	bint-t
PL	123	bind-aþ	bind-es	bīnd-en	bīnd-en, -es	bīnd-eþ

SUBJUNCTIVE

SG	123	bind-e	bind-e	[same everywhere]
PL	123	bind-en	bind-en	[same everywhere]

IMPERATIVE

SG	2	bind	bind	[same everywhere]		
PL	2	bind-aþ	bind-es	bīnd-eþ	bīnd-eþ	bīnd-eþ

INFINITIVE

	bind-an	bind-e	bīnd-en	bīnd-en	bīnd-en

PARTICIPLE 1

	bind-ende	bind-and	bīnd-ende	bīnd-ende	bīnd-inde

PRETERITE

INDICATIVE

		OE	**ME** N.	E.Midl	W.Midl	S., Kent
SG	1	band, bond	band		band	bond
	2	bund-e	band		bound-e	bound-e
	3	band, bond	band		band	bond
PL	123	bund-on	band(-en)		bound-en	bound-en

SUBJUNCTIVE

SG	123	bund-e	band		bound-e	bound-e
PL	123	bund-en	band(-en)		bound-en	bound-en

PARTICIPLE II

(ge-)bund-en	bund-en		ge-bound-e(n)	ge-bound-e(n)

PRETERITE of weak verbs, one where the stem was originally light but its stem vowel then underwent Open Syllable Lengthening (*wēr-en* 'to defend', German *wehren*), the other where the stem vowel was originally long, but could be shortened before certain consonant clusters (*hēr-en* 'to hear'):

INDICATIVE

		OE		**ME**	
SG	1	wer-ed-e	hīer-d-e	wēr-ed(-e)	her-d-e
	2	wer-ed-est	hīer-d-est	wēr-ed-est	her-d-est
	3	were-ed-e	hīer-d-e	wēr-ed(-e)	her-d-e
PL	123	wer-ed-on	hīer-d-on	wēr-ed(-en)	her-d-en

SUBJUNCTIVE

SG	123	wer-ed-e	hīer-d-e	wēr-ed(-e)	her-d-e
PL	123	wer-ed-en	hīer-d-en	wēr-ed(-en)	her-d-en

PARTICIPLE II

wer-ed	hīer-(e)d	wēr-ed	her-d

There were dialectal differences in ME to do with the retention or loss of /ə/ and of coda /n/ in unstressed syllables, with the entire relevant endings lost earliest in the North.

As with nouns and adjectives, a few sound changes in ME times (and just before and just after), targeting /ə/ and coda /n/ in unstressed syllables, sufficed to wipe out verbal endings, especially after final /n/ ceased to be pronounced a little later.

What survived was essentially only this:

- the formal contrast between PRESENT and PRETERITE tenses, with PRET expressed differently in strong (ablaut) and weak verbs (dental suffix; now all morphologically uniform where OE had had three different weak conjugations);
- 2nd PERSON SINGULAR -st in the INDICATIVE PRESENT of all verbs and in the INDICATIVE PRETERITE of weak verbs (What happened after ME? see above, *thou > you* replacement);
- 3rd PERSON SINGULAR -s in the INDICATIVE PRESENT of all verbs;
- the PARTICIPLE I ending -end of all verbs (What happened after ME?);
- the PARTICIPLE II ending -t of weak verbs.

In ME, 2nd PERSON PLURAL SUBJUNCTIVE was formally distinct from 2SG (*bīnd-eþ* vs. *bind*), and should have continued to remain so because /ð, θ/ would resist loss through sound change. (What happened after ME?)

On the other hand, in the INDICATIVE PRESENT the PLURAL ending, identical for all three PERSONS, was doomed after OE -aþ had been replaced by -en in ME, analogically extended from the PRETERITE and the SUBJUNCTIVE.

"Loss" of inflection in English

- **consequence of, or speeded up by, language contact?**
  Compare Modern Icelandic with Modern English and Afrikaans.
  All three are Germanic languages, but their external histories have been
  rather different: there has been relatively little contact between the
  Icelandic and other speech communities, whereas both English and
  Afrikaans have been in intense contacts with other languages (North
  Germanic, Romance; Southern Africa: Khoisan, Bantu, respectively).
  How does this show in their (lexicons and) grammars?
    - More vs. less inflection.
  How is inflection "lost" in language contact?
    - **Imperfect learning** of complex morphological systems in untutored
      L2 acquisition.

- **home-made?**
  Much of the loss of inflection in English is due to reductive **phonological**
  change, affecting word endings that had become unstressed as a result of a
  Germanic innovation (stress invariably on stems).

- **generalisation of *-s* as PLURAL marker:**
  influenced by (Norman) French, where the generalised noun plural was equally *-s*?

- **use of 2PL as "polite/formal" 2SG and subsequent generalisation of 2PL (*-en > Ø*) as the only 2SG form:**
  originally influenced by (Norman) French, which also had a politeness/ formality contrast for pronouns of address (with 2PL as the polite/formal 2SG), but which kept this contrast, unlike English.

More sound change: Cluster simplification (and the spelling evidence for it)

Etymological /kn-/ spelled <n->:

knobbe(s) 'knob(s)'	ME <neppe, nappe> (c. 1250), <nobbes> (1398)
knew(e) 'knew'	ME <neyȝ> (c. 1300)
horse-knave 'horseman'	ME <(horse)nave> (1314)

Etymological /n-/ spelled <kn-> ("inverse spelling"):

noying 'annoyance'	ME <knoynge> (1425)
nou 'now'	ME <know> (1475)

Comparable evidence for /gn-/ much later.

(Donka Minkova, *Alliteration and sound change in early English*. Cambridge: CUP, 2003, Chapter 7.5.)

OE	ME	ModE
hlēapan	*lēpen*	*leap*
hnutu	*nute*	*nut*
hraðor	*rather*	*rather*

Thus: /knV, gnV, hN/L/RV/ > /nV, nV, N/L/RV/
                  onset cluster simplification through dropping of initial (less sonorant)
                  velar consonant; continuingly permissible: /klV, glV/

Compare
     English   German

     knee   [n]   *Knie*   [kn]
     knight   *Knecht*
     knave   *Knabe*
     gnome   [n]   *Gnom*   [gn]
     gnu   *Gnu*
     pneumonia   [n]   *Pneumonie*   [pn]
     xenophobia   [z]   *Xenophobie*   [ks]
     tsunami   [s]   *Tsunami*   [ts]
     zebra   [z]   *Zebra*   [ts]
     zoo   *Zoo*
     psalm   [s]   *Psalm*   [ps]
     pseudo-   *Pseudo-*

innovated phonotactic constraint, also applied to later loan words:
     *CNV, *CsV

Coda clusters:

/Vmb/ > /Vm/   e.g., *lamb*
                      unetymological spellings: *limb*, originally *lim*,
                      never pronounced with /b/

/Vnd/ > /Vn/   less regular: e.g. ME *laund > lawn*
                      unetymological spellings: ME *soun > sound, lene > lend*

Towards Early Modern English: Letter Writers, especially women
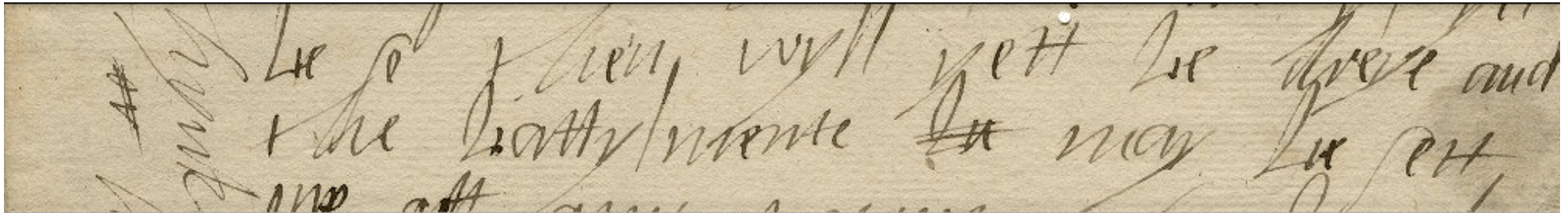
Letter ID: **187** (URL: **http://www.bessofhardwick.org/letter.jsp?letter=187**)
From: **Bess of Hardwick** ▸ (**Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire** ▸)
To: **Gilbert Talbot** ▸
To: **Mary Talbot** ▸
Date: 28 February [1597/8?]

Summary: Bess (dowager countess of Shrewsbury) writes to the earl and countess of Shrewsbury (her stepson and son-in-law, Gilbert, and her daughter, Mary), enquiring after their and the children's health and telling them of her own; advising them to come into the country where the air is better than in London. Also, she is assured that Master Winter has no right to 'the ground [he] pretendeth title to'.
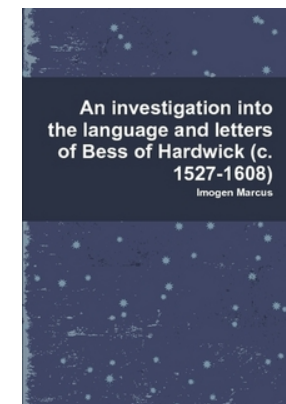
To my Righte honorable
good sonne the Earle
of Shrouesbury//

My La of Sh: lettre
Cowntess E Shrewsbury
to the L G her sonne

my honorable good sonne and daughter; I thanke
you for your kynde sending to me;/ I am   gerund/nominalisation
excedingly trobuled to vnderstande of my
daughter of shrouesburys sycknes wherof   genitive
I never harde worde tyll m^r abrahale his   genitive
now coming./ I haue ben toulde by   gerund/nominalisation
sondrye that come from London that you
both and our thre Iuyls weare all in good
healthe, and my cosine choworthe toulde
me that he harde at his being at your house   gerund/nominalisation
that you all weare well but that you

daughter weal weare a Lettell trobuled wth
a coulde./ yf your fytes be paste I truste
you wyll sovne recouer strenthe wth that
good order you wyll vse; in cressonmas I
was trobuled wth a coulde I then touke
and synce much greued for my daughter
cavendyshe wch was the cause I wrote   negation
not. I thanke god I am now metly well
and take the eayre often abrode, wch I
fynde doth me moste good./ I haue
sente into gloster shire, for some towards
me to repare hether who I am desirus to
taulke wth before I make any further   preposition stranding
answere touching m^r wintars Letter,
sovne after eastar they wylbe heare thus
I am assured of that for the grounde m^r
winter pretendeth tytell tow, he hath no   preposition stranding
manar of righte to yt during my intriste
[page break]

this pece of grounde ys of smalle vallew
but yet so necessary for tormortone, that yt
cannot be spared; I woulde be glade to
Inioye my owne wth quiatnes yf I
mighte, when m^r winter hath Louked
thorowly into his estate; I truste he
wyll reste satysfyed./ I desyre that I
may some tymes heare from you, both how
you doe haue your healthes; and when
yov meane to come into the contrye,
this eayre is better for you both then
London; and espetyally for you sweete
harte after your ague./ god blesse you
both and our thre Iuyls wth healthe
honor and all happynes, at hardwecke
this Laste of february//

your Loueing mother

EShrouesbury

Spelling Reformers, Orthoepists, Grammarians, Foreign Language Teachers

e.g. John Hart, *An orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write and painte thimage of mans voice, most like to the life of nature*, 1569

Hart's symbol	Traditional spelling	Phonetic value
đ	th	/ð/
ƀ	th	/θ/
Ꞡ	ch	/tʃ/
Ᵹ	soft g	/dʒ/
ʃ	sh	/ʃ/
ⱡ	syllabic l	/l̩/
ạ	a	/aː/ (modern /eɪ/)
ẹ	e	/eː/ (modern /iː/)
ë	e	/ə/
ị	i	/iː/ (modern /aɪ/)
ọ	oa, o	/oː/ (modern /oʊ/)
ụ	oo, u	/uː/

An exersiz ov ðat huiʧ iz sed:
huer-in iz declared, hou ðe rest ov ðe consonants ar mad bei ðinstruments ov ðe mouθ:
huiʧ uaz omited in ðe premisez, for ðat ui did not muʧ abiuz ðem.
Cap. vii.

In ðis titl abuv-uritn, ei konsider ov ðe i, in exersiz, & ov ðe u, in instruments: ðe leik
ov ðe i, in titl, huiʧ ðe kómon man, and mani lernd, du sound in ðe diphθongs ei, and
iu: iet ei uld not θink it mit to ureit ðem, in ðoz and leik urds, huer ðe sound ov ðe
voël onli, me bi as uel álouëd in our spiʧ, as ðat ov ðe diphθong iuzd ov ðe riud: and
so fár ei álou observasion for derivasions. ~ /hierbei iu me persev, ðat our singl
sounding and ius of letters, me in proses ov teim, bring our hol nasion tu on serten,
perfet and ʒeneral speking. ~ /huer-in ʃi must bi riuled bei ðe lernd from teim tu teim.~

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Hart_%28spelling_reformer%29

green: no GVS yet; red: undergone GVS

See further: Otto Jespersen, *John Hart's pronunciation of English (1569 and 1570)*.
Heidelberg: Winter, 1907.
https://archive.org/details/johnhartspronunc00jespuoft

The Great Vowel Shift   – and what's great about it:
                                                                                   like Grimm's Law, it's both **general** and **systemic**

OLD ENGLISH   TODAY   (Standard British English)

<mēdu>   <mead>
[meːdu]   [miːd]

<wē>   <we>
[weː]   [wiː]

<hēr>   <here>
[heːr]   [hɪə(r)]

<gēare>   <year>
[ˈjɛːərə]   [jɪə(r)]

<sǣriman>   <sea-rim>
[ˈsæːˌrɪmɒn]   [ˈsiːˌrɪm]

<þūsend>   <thousand>
[ˈθuːzɛnd]   [ˈθaʊz(ə)nd]

<þū>   <thou>
[θuː]   [ðaʊ]

<hū>   <how>
[huː]   [haʊ]

ENGLISH GREAT VOWEL SHIFT

iː ────────┐   ┌──────────→ uː
   ↖ ↘   ↓   ↑   ↗
      eː   oː
         aj   aw   ↑
   ɛː   ɔː
         ↖
           aː
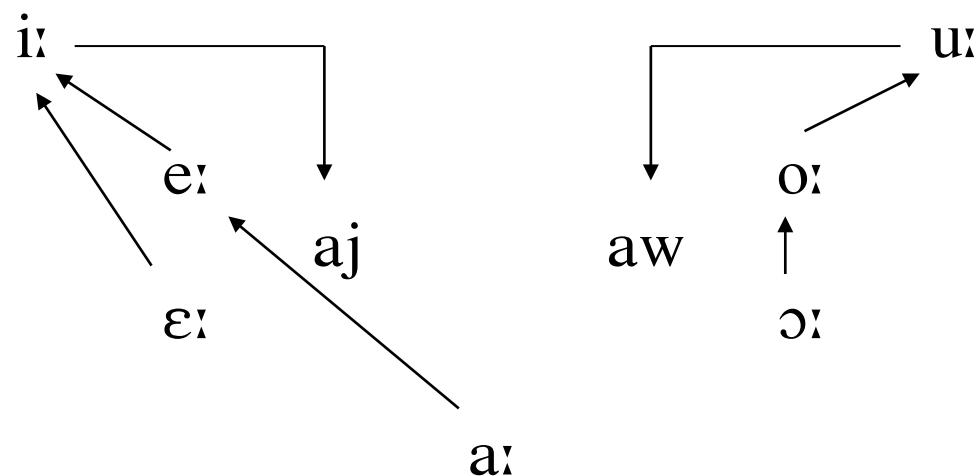
ME	eModE, ModE	spelling
tiːd	tajd	\<tide\>
luːd	lawd	\<loud\>
geːs	giːs, gijs	\<geese\>
sɛː	siː, sij	\<sea\>
goːs	guːs, guws	\<goose\>
brɔːkən	broːkən, browkən	\<broken\>
naːmə	neːm, nejm	\<name\>

general:

alle Wörter, in denen der der Lautbewegung unterworfene Laut unter gleichen Verhältnissen erscheint, werden ohne Ausnahme von der Veränderung ergriffen (Neogrammarians: "Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze");
no lexical diffusion; no social diffusion.

systemic:

change affects whole phonological subsystems, rather than individual sounds/phonemes, with the individual steps of such changes interconnected (chain shifts).

Pull/drag chains (German: Sog):
one step of a chain change results in a **gap** in a (symmetrical) phonological subsystem, which is subsequently filled through the next step of the chain change.

Push chains (German: Schub):
one step of a chain change results (or would result) in a **neutralisation** of previously distinct sounds/phonemes, and therefore in a **conflation** of previously distinct morphemes, which is subsequently remedied (or in anticipation avoided: therapy or prophylaxis?) through the next step of the chain change.

Great, at least once: **Umlaut**

• now:

 SG *foot*, *tooth*, *goose*, *man*, *mouse*

 PL *feet*, *teeth*, *geese*, *men*, *mice*

→ Umlaut now **morphologised** for NUMBER distinction for a handful of nouns,
no longer a phonological rule or phonologically conditioned alternation

• once (OE):

	SG	PL
NOM	mann	menn
ACC	mann	menn
GEN	mannes	manna
DAT	menn	mannum

→ conditioner of umlaut (i, j in syllable after stem) lost

• even earlier (Common Germanic):

NOM	mann-s	mann-iz > [menn-iz]
ACC	mann-um	mann-uns
GEN	mann-iz (> -as)	mann-ōm
DAT	mann-i > [menn-i]	mann-umiz

→ umlaut (conditioned by i, j) a "great" phonological rule

Umlaut (pre-West > West Germanic)

V

[+back] → [–back] / __ (C).Ci/j

	[–back]		[+back]
	[–round]	[+round]	[+round]
[+high]	i	y ←	u
		↑	
[–high,–low]	e	ø ←	o
		↑	
		æ	
[+low]		←	ɒ

Not so great sound change: **Metathesis**

- only **sporadic** (rather than general): doesn't affect a sound segment (or sequence of segments) <u>at all its occurrences</u>
- **not systemic**: doesn't affect <u>an entire natural class</u> of segments (as definable by a phonological feature)

(i)   <axie>   <ask>
      [ɑ(ː)ksɪjə]   [ɑːsk]

(ii) r-metathesis, e.g., *Brihtnōð – Birhtnōð*
           work, G *wirken*, OE *worhtan* — ModE *wrought*,
           byrnan 'burn' — G *brennen*
           yrnan — run
           hors — G *Ross*
           Lat. *pe<u>r</u>icu<u>l</u>osus* — Span. *pe<u>l</u>ig<u>r</u>oso* (r-metathesis at a distance!)

But see, for regularities of metathesis: http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~ehume/metathesis/

Voiced/Unvoiced Fricatives
- **in Old English: <u>allophones</u>, in complementary distribution**

UNVOICED in voiceless   VOICED in voiced environment (on both sides!)

<after>   <gafol>
['aftər]   ['gɑvɔl]

<wæs>   <þūsend>
[wæs]   ['θuːzɛnd]

<þām>   <swīðe>
[θɑːm]   ['swiːðə]

<Brihtnōð>   <raðe>
['brɪçt͵noːθ]   ['rɑðə]

                                           <gehergod>
                                           [jə'hɛrɣɔd]

                                           <brōgan>
                                           ['broːɣɒn]

- **Is [+/–voice] still only allophonic for Modern English fricatives?**

fast – vast, laugh – love, reference – reverence;
thigh – thy, mouth – (to) mouth, method – leather;
sip – zip, lose – loose, fussy – fuzzy;
ship – genre, fish – rouge, mission – vision

Minimal pairs: fricative **allophones** have become **phonemes**
(How come, diachronically? ← French loans)

How were the allophones spelled in Old English?
How are the corresponding phonemes spelled now?