

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Berg

1. What is language change?

1.1. What changes in language change?

1.1.1. Language as text

1.1.2. Language as behaviour

1.1.3. Language as competence

1.1.4. Language as a biological capacity

1.1.5. Language as a social phenomenon

1.1.6. Language as an abstract phenomenon

1.2. Ongoing changes in German

1.2.1. "gerne"

1.2.2. "Ciao"

1.2.3. "unterwegs"

1.2.4. "genau"

1.3. English-German contrasts

English	German
ten	zehn
tide	Zeit
pipe	Pfeife
pound	Pfund
do	tun
day	Tag
book	Buch
cook	Koch
thing	Ding
thick	dick
love	Liebe
weave	weben

1.4. English examples of language change

1.4.1. /ʌ/ - /ʊ/

/ʌ/	/ʊ/
butterfly	cushion
shut	butcher
fuss	bullet
hurry	full
vulture	bull
subject	(sushi)
gutter	(wunderkind)

1.4.2. /u:/ - /ʊ/

cool	
room	
soot	
foot	

1.4.3. Phoneme-grapheme mismatches

mute consonants	“funny” vowels
climb	time
card (BE)	take
calf	rope
psychology	greet
gnome	root
hour	
singer	

1.4.4. Morphological alternations (or lack thereof)

to learn

to leap
 to weep
 to dream
 to burn
 to smell
 to spell
 (to broadcast)
 (to deepfreeze)

OE: lufian, lufode, (lufodon,) gelufod 'to love'
 cwellan, cwealde, cwealdon, gecweald 'to kill'
 helpan, healp, hulpon, geholpen 'to help'

1.4.5. Lexical change

good-bye <- God be with you
 lord <- hlaf weard 'guardian of the bread'

1.5. Why study language change?

1.5.1. A philosophical answer

1.5.2. The past as a key to understanding the present

1.5.3. Language as a dynamic system

1.5.4. Language as a reflex of culture

1.5.5. Language history as a way of establishing relationships among languages

1.5.6. Language history as a way of understanding the origin of language

1.6. How does language change?

1.6.1. Transmission inaccuracy

1.6.2. Within-speaker change during their life-time

1.7. The actuation and implementation of change

1.7.1. How is language change actuated?

1.7.2. How is language change implemented?

1.7.2.1. Diffusion in an individual

1.7.2.2. Diffusion in society

1.8. The time course of change

1.8.1. Phonetically abrupt or gradual?

- 1.8.2. Lexically abrupt or gradual?
- 1.8.3. The temporal overlap of old and new forms
- 1.9. Internal vs. external factors in language change
- 1.10. Why does language change?
 - 1.10.0. Is language change inevitable/explainable/predictable/functional?
 - 1.10.1. Reflex of cultural change
 - 1.10.2. Reflex of social change
 - 1.10.3. Language contact
 - 1.10.4. Synchronic variation
 - 1.10.5. Competing forces
 - 1.10.6. Change as a repair strategy
- 1.11. Change: The antagonism of conservatism and innovation
 - 1.11.1. The locality of change
 - 1.11.2. Why conservative?
 - 1.11.3. Why innovative?

2. England before the English

- 2.1. The Stone Age
 - 2.1.1. The Paleolithic Age: until 8000 BC: The Paleolithic Race
 - 2.1.2. The Neolithic Age: 8000-2000 BC: The Mediterranean Race
- 2.3. The Bronze Age: 2000-600 BC: The beginning of the Celtic settlement
 - 2.3.1. First settlement: 600-450 BC from the Lower Rhine Area
 - 2.3.2. Second settlement. 400-250 BC from Brittany
 - 2.3.3. Third Settlement: 250-100 BC from the banks of the Seine
 - 2.3.4. Fourth settlement: 75-50 BC by the Belgae, a Keltish-Germanic tribe
- 2.4. The Roman invasions
 - 2.4.1. Caesar's first attempt: 55 BC
 - 2.4.2. Caesar's second attempt: 54 BC
 - 2.4.3. The Roman conquest: 43 AD

3. English history from 449 to 1066

3.1. The Germanic conquest

3.2. Christianization

3.3. The Anglo-Saxon heptarchy

3.4. The Scandinavian incursions

3.4.1. First Stage: from 787 to 850

3.4.2. Second Stage: from 850 to 878

3.4.3. Third Stage: from 878 to 1042

4. A linguistic analysis of Old English

4.1. Orthography

4.2. Phonology

4.2.1. Vowel system

	front unrounded	front rounded	central	back
high	i:, i	y:, y		u:, u
mid	e:, e	(ø:, ø)	(ə)	o:, o
low	æ:, æ		a:, a	

4.2.2. Diphthongs

	long	short		
written:	ea	ea	possible pronunciation:	ɛa
	eo	eo		eʊ
	ie	ie		iə
	io	io		iʊ

4.2.3. Consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p, b		t, d	(ç)	k, g	

fricatives	f/v	θ/ð	s/z	ʃ, (ç)	(x/γ)	h
affricates				tʃ, dʒ		
nasals	m		n		(ŋ)	
liquids			l, r			
approximants				j	w	

4.2.4. Phonological processes (from West Germanic to Old English)

4.2.4.1. Noncontextual vowel changes

4.2.4.1.1. a -> æ OHG tag = dæg

4.2.4.1.2. o: -> u: Old Saxon ko -> cu

4.2.4.2. Contextual vowel changes

4.2.4.2.1. Vowel lengthening as a result of nasal loss OHG gans = gos

Gothic fimf -> fif

4.2.4.2.2. Breaking OHG fehtan = West Saxon feohtan (Anglian fehtan)

4.2.4.2.3. I-Mutation (Palatal Umlaut) a -> æ Gothic brannjan = bærnan

a -> e Gothic sandjan = sendan

o -> e Gothic sokjan = secan

u -> y OHG kuning = cyning

ea -> ie OE *hearian -> West Saxon hieran

4.2.4.2.4. U- mutation (Velar Umlaut) a -> ea OHG faran -> fearan

i -> io OHG sibun = siofun 'seven'

e -> eo Old Saxon spreca = spreoca

4.2.4.2.5. Monophthongization ea -> e West Saxon seah -> seh '(he) saw'

eo -> e West Saxon feohtan -> fehtan

4.2.4.2.6. Lengthening of short vowels

in open syllables: Gothic nu = nu 'now'

in closed syllables: OE mæzden -> mæden 'maiden'

4.2.4.2.7. Shortening of long vowels

OE wifman -> wimman

OE siþþan -> siþþan 'since'

4.2.4.2.8. Metathesis

Old Saxon hross = hors

OE ascian -> West Saxon axian

4.2.4.2.9. Gemination

OB blædre -> blæddre 'bladder'

4.2.4.2.10. Assimilation

wifman -> wimman 'woman'

West Saxon nehzebur -> nehhebur 'neighbour'

4.2.4.2.11. Palatalization

OHG gart = Ʒeard 'yard'

Old Saxon kinni = cin 'chin'

OHG tages = dægēs 'day's'

Old Saxon dik = dic, ditch'

OHG skinan = scinan 'shine'

4.2.4.2.12. Loss of /h/ in consonant clusters (preaspiration)

OE hnutu -> nutu 'nut'

4.2.4.2.13. Reduction of unstressed syllables (e.g. vowel loss, consonant loss)

Old Saxon mikil = micel 'much'

OE cirice -> ME chirche 'church'

4.3. Morphology

4.3.1. Word formation

4.3.1.1. Compounding

dægred (day-red) 'dawn'

gimmwyrhta (gem-worker) 'jeweler'

frumweorc (beginning-work) 'creation'

læcecræft (physician-power) 'medicine'

tidymbwlatend (time-about-gaze-r) 'astrologer'

4.3.1.2. Derivation

No morphophonology

will - wil 'will'

aworpenness - aworpeness 'rejection'

unwemness 'purity' from wemman 'to spoil' *unwemming* 'incorruption'

unstillness - unstillness 'disturbance'

Frequency of tripartite morphological complexes in Old and Modern English

Type	Old E.	Mod.E.
Prefix-Stem-Suffix (e.g. un-wem-ness NOT-spoil-ness ‘purity’)	1168	1056
Stem-Suffix-Suffix (e.g. <i>flāsc-līc-nes</i> flesh-ly-ness ‘incarnation’)	153	1473
Prefix-Prefix-Stem (e.g. <i>un-ofēr-cumen</i> un-over-come ‘unsubdued’)	306	0
Stem-Prefix-Stem (e.g. <i>gold-ge-weorc</i> gold-COLLECTIVE-work ‘gold work’)	384	0
Stem-Suffix-Stem (e.g. <i>hrēow-ig-mōd</i> sorrow-ful-mood ‘sad at heart’)	183	364
Prefix-Stem-Stem (e.g. <i>un-friþ-here</i> NOT-peace-army ‘hostile army’)	267	0
Stem-Stem-Suffix (e.g. <i>cyric-sang-ere</i> church-sing-er ‘church singer’)	1261	978
	total	3722 3871

Prefixes

of-settan ‘afflict’
 on-settan ‘oppress’
 to-settan ‘dispose’
 un-settan ‘put down’
 wiþ-settan ‘resist’

Suffixes

cild-had ‘childhood’
 freond-shipe ‘friendship’
 cyning-dom ‘kingdom’
 wiþer-feoht-end ‘adversary’
 un-sæl-þ ‘unhappiness’

4.3.2. Inflection

4.3.2.1. Nouns

4.3.2.2. Articles

4.3.2.3. Adjectives

4.3.2.4. Pronouns

4.3.2.5. Verbs

Strong verb conjugation e.g. *drif-an* ‘to drive’ Weak verb conjugation e.g. *lufi-an* ‘to love’

Strong verbs: Ablaut types

I. *drifan* – *draf* – *drifon* – (ge)*drifen* ‘to drive’

II. *ceosan* – *ceas* – *curon* – (ge)*coren* ‘to choose’

III. helpan – healp – hulpon – (ge)holpen ‘to help’

IV. beran - bær - bæron – (ge)boren ‘to bear’

V. spreca - spræc - spræcon – (ge)spreca ‘to speak’

VI. faran – for – foron – (ge)faren ‘to fare, go’

VII. feallan – feoll – feollon – (ge)feallen ‘to fall’

Indicative Present	Subjunctive Present	Indicative Present	Subjunctive Present
Ic drif-e	drif-e	luf-ie	luf-ie
ðu drif-(e)st	drif-e	luf-ast	luf-ie
he drif-(e)ð	drif-e	luf-aþ	luf-ie
we drif-að	drif-en	luf-iaþ	luf-ien
ge drif-að	drif-en	luf-iaþ	luf-ien
hie drif-að	drif-en	luf-iaþ	luf-ein
Past	Past	Past	Past
Ic draf	drif-e	luf-od-e	as in Present
ðu drif-e	drif-e	luf-od-est	
he draf	drif-e	luf-od-e	
we drif-on	drif-en	luf-od-on	
ye drif-on	drif-en	luf-od-on	
hie drif-on	drif-en	luf-od-on	

4.4. Syntax

4.4.1. Basic word order in Beowulf (c. 900)

SVO	11%
VSO	3%
OVS	5%
OSV	15%
SOV	12%
VOS	0%

4.4.2 Word order within phrases

- PP’s: Oswald him com to.

‘Oswald came to him.’

- NP's: þa he þone cniht agef ond þæt wif
when he the boy returned and the woman

4.4.3. Subjectless sentences

and þa on hærfeste zefor se here on Miercna lond and hit zedældon sum and sum
Ceolwulfe saldon. (Anglo Saxon Chronicle, Anno 877, Parker)

and then in autumn retreated the army in Mercian country and it (Acc.) divided
(Pl.) some and some Ceolwulf gave (Pl.)

'And then in autumn the army left for Mercia and they divided it (i.e. Mercia)
and gave a part of it to Ceolwulf.'

4.4.4. Impersonal constructions

þæt hine nane þinges ne lyste on þisse worulde
that him_{ACC} no things not pleased in this world

4.4.5. Question formation

Gehyrst þū, sælida?
'Do you hear, sailor?'

4.4.6. Parataxis

4.4.7. Modal auxiliaries

þa hi to scipan woldon
when they to ships wanted

4.4.8. Fuzzy word boundaries, fuzzy boundary between main and subordinate clauses

þa – 'then, when'
þær – 'there, where'

5. English History from 1066 to the end of the Middle Ages

5.1. What led to the Norman Conquest?

5.2. The Norman Conquest

5.3. The aftermath of the Norman Conquest

5.4. The use of French by the upper classes

5.5. The loss of Normandy

5.6. New French immigration waves

5.7. Counterreaction

- 5.8. English and French in the 13th and 14th centuries
- 5.9. The Hundred Years' War
- 5.10. The rise of the middle class
- 5.11. The triumph of English in the 14th century
- 5.12. The virtual disappearance of French in the 15th century

6. A linguistic analysis of Middle English

- 6.1. Middle English dialects
- 6.2. The rise of Standard English
- 6.3. Orthography
 - 6.3.1. Letter changes

O.E. æ -> ea, a, e

O.E. þ , ð -> th (late M.E.)

Wynn -> <u, uu> -> <w>

ȝ (representing a stop)-> g

ȝ ([ç, x, j]) -> <y> in onset position (e.g. yong, yeer)

-> <gh> in other positions (e.g. right, broghte)

c -> k (e.g. O.E. cniht -> knight)

6.3.2. French influences on spelling

<y> ([y]) -> <u> (e.g. O.E. synn -> sunne)

<u> ([u]) -> <o> (e.g. O.E. lufian -> loven)

<u> ([u:]) -> <ou, ow> (e.g. O.E. hus -> hous)

<o> ([o:]) -> <oo> (e.g. O.E. fot -> foot)

<e> ([e:]) -> <ee> (e.g. O.E. fet -> feet)

<c> ([tʃ]) -> <ch> (e.g. O.E. ceorle -> cherle)

<sc> ([ʃ]) -> <sch, s> -> <sh> (e.g. O.E. scip -> ship)

<cw> ([kw]) -> <qu> (e.g. O.E. cwene -> queen)

<f> ([v]) -> (<v>) (e.g. O.E. lufian -> loven)

6.4. Phonology

6.4.1. Vowel system

front unrounded

front rounded

central

back

high	i:, i	(y:, y)	u:, u
mid	e:, e		(ə)
	ɛ:, ɛ		ɔ:, ɒ
low			a:, a

6.4.2. Diphthongs:

- [ai] – day, pleye
- [ɔi] – oille, boille
- [au] – lawe, taughte
- [ɔu] – though, thoughte
- [iu] – trewe, vertu, stywardes

6.4.3. Consonant system

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p, b		t, d		k, g	
fricatives	f, v	θ/ð	s, z	ʃ, (ç)	(χ)	h
affricates				tʃ, dʒ		
nasals	m		n		(ŋ)	
liquids			l, r			
approximants				j	w	

6.4.4. Phonological processes

6.4.4.1. Early M.E. lengthening of short vowels before homorganic clusters

- Anglian ald -> ald -> old ‘old’
- O.E. child -> child ‘child’
- O.E. climban -> climb ‘climb’
- O.E. blind -> blind ‘blind’

6.4.4.2. Late M.E. lengthening of short vowels in open stressed syllables of disyllabic words

- O.E. bacan -> baken ‘to bake’
- O.E. mete -> mete ‘meat’

O.E. wicu -> weke 'week'

6.4.4.3. Shortening of long vowels in closed syllables

O.E. kepan (Inf.) -> kepte 'kept'

O.E. softe -> softe 'soft'

O.E. wisdom -> wisdom 'wisdom'

6.4.4.4. Vowel quality changes

6.4.4.4.1. Monophthong substitution

[æ] -> [a] (e.g. æppel -> appel)

[æ:] -> [ɛ:] (e.g. dæl -> [dɛ:l] G. 'Teil')

[æ:] -> [e:] (e.g. stræt -> street)

[a:] -> [ɔ:] (e.g. stan -> ston 'stone')

[y(:)] -> [i(:)] (e.g. synn -> synn 'sin')

6.4.4.4.2. Monophthong deletion

O.E. fæderes -> fadres

O.E. heofone -> heffne

6.4.4.4.3. Monophthong addition

O.E. folgian -> M.E. folwen / followen 'to follow'

O.E. morgen -> M.E. morwe / morowe 'tomorrow'

6.4.4.4.4. Diphthongs

a) Vocalization of [j] (e.g. O.E. dæȝ -> dai)

O.E. weȝ -> wei

b) Glide insertion before velar fricatives (e.g. O.E. tæhte -> tahte -> taughte 'taught')

dah -> dough 'dough'

c) Vocalization of [χ, ɣ] before velar vowels (e.g. O.E. dragan -> drawe 'to draw')

agan -> owen 'to owe')

d) Merging of vowel with tautosyllabic [w] (e.g. O.E. strawes -> straw)

sawol -> soule 'soul'

glowan -> glowe 'to glow'

tiwesdæȝ -> tiwesdai / Tuesday

6.4.4.5. Consonant changes

6.4.4.5.1. Devoicing of voiced word-final fricatives (e.g. O.E. eorþe -> eorth [θ])

6.4.4.5.2. Nasal assimilation (e.g. O.F. confort -> comfort)

O.F. nonper -> noumpere 'umpire'

6.4.4.5.3. Reduction of consonant clusters: e.g. O.E. swa -> so 'so'

swyle -> suche 'such'

hwylc -> which

hnutu -> nute 'nut'

hringan -> ryngge 'to struggle'

andswerian -> answerie 'to answer'

godspelle -> gospel

6.4.4.5.4. Loss of alveolar nasal: e.g. O.E. min -> mi 'my'

an -> a 'a'

6.4.4.5.5. Loss of unstressed final voiceless affricate: e.g. O.E. ic -> ich -> I 'I'

- lice -> lich -> li/ly '-ly'

6.5. Inflectional morphology

6.5.1. Nouns: Plural allomorphy

6.5.2. Adjectives

6.5.3. Pronouns

6.5.4. Verbs

6.5.4.1. Strong verbs

a. write – wrot – writen – (y)writen 'to write'

b. chese – ches – curen/chosen – (y)coren/chosen 'to choose'

c. drinke – drank – drunken – (y)drunken 'to drink'

d. stele – stal – stelen – (y)stolen 'to steal'

e. mete – mat – meten – (y)meten 'to meet'

f. fare – for – foren – (y)faren 'to fare/to go'

g. falle – fel – (y)fallen 'to fall'

6.5.4.1. Weak verbs: example: here(n) 'to hear'

	North	Midlands	South
Present 1 Sg	here	here	here
2 Sg	heres	heres(t)	herest
3 Sg	heres	heres, hereth	hereth
Pl	heres	heres, heren	hereth
Subjunctive Sg	her(e)	here	here
Pl	her(en)	here(n)	here(n)
Participle	herand	herand, heringe	herinde, heringe

6.6. Derivational morphology

6.6.1. Prefixes e.g. for- e.g. M.E. forshake ‘to shake off’

to- e.g. O.E. to-lucan ‘to destroy’

wiþ- e.g. O.E. wiþstondan ‘to withstand’; withspeak -> ø

6.6.2. Suffixes e.g. -ship -red -end

-dom -lock -an

-hood -en -ing

6.6.3. Compounding

6.7. Lexicon

6.7.1. Two stages of importation

6.7.1.1. before 1250

6.7.1.2. after 1250

6.7.2. Speed of assimilation

e.g. gentle (1225) -> gentleman (1230)

-> gentlewoman (1275)

-> gentleness (1300)

-> gently (1330)

6.7.3. Semantic range

- government/administration: e.g. govern, administer

- ecclesiastical: e.g. religion, sermon

- law: e.g. justice, sentence

- military: e.g. peace, enemy

- meals: e.g. dinner, supper

- entertainment: e.g. leisure, conversation

- art: e.g. music, beauty, painting

- architecture: e.g. ceiling, palace

- literature: e.g. poet, romance

- language: e.g. grammar, clause, gender

- medicine: e.g. surgeon, pain, remedy

6.7.4. “Word clash”

6.7.5. Latin influence

6.7.6. Doublets and triplets

Anglo-Saxon	French	Latin
rise	mount	ascend
ask	question	interrogate
fear	terror	trepidation
time	age	epoch
fast	firm	secure

6.7.7. Dutch influence

6.8. Syntax

6.8.1. Basic word order: from OV to VO

word order	1000	1200	1300	1400	1500
OV	53%	53%	40%	14%	2%
VO	47%	47%	60%	86%	98%

6.8.2. Grammatical categories: Case and gender loss

6.8.3. Rise of prepositions e.g. O.E. mildheortnysse Drihtes full is eorþe.

‘(The earth is full of) the mercy of God.’

6.8.4. Articles e.g. þu scalt bere crune

‘You will bear a crown.’

6.8.5. Verbs

6.8.5.1. Tense e.g. Eteth he nevre more bred.

‘He will never eat bread again.’

þe wolf haveþ hounger swiþe gret.

‘The wolf was very hungry.’

6.8.5.2. Mood e.g. þou were wurþe me stende þe wid ston.

‘You deserve being stoned.’

Hyde ye youre beautes.

‘Hide your beauty.’

6.8.5.3. Aspect e.g. þere was dwellinge somtyme a riche man.

‘Once upon a time there was a rich man.’

6.8.5.4. Voice e.g. þegg wurdenn swiþe offdredde.

‘They were very afraid.’

6.8.6. Negation e.g. My wyfe rose nott.

‘My wife did not stand up.’

6.8.6.1. Double negation: e.g. Ne wæren nævre nan martyrs swa pined.

not were never no martyrs so tortured

‘Never have martyrs been tortured so cruelly.’

6.8.6.2. Cliticization of “ne” (as in O.E.): e.g. ne wil -> nil; ne were -> nere; ne ys -> nis.

6.8.7. Question formation e.g. Weder wolt þou?

‘Where do you want to go?’

6.8.8. Relative clauses e.g. Is nane can tell.

is nobody can tell

‘Nobody knows.’

6.8.9. Impersonal constructions e.g. hem nedde me mette

them needed me dreamt

‘They needed’ ‘I dreamt’

6.9. Pragmatics: Addressing e.g. Al Denemark I wile you yeve, To þat forward þu late me live
all Denmark I will you (polite) give if you (familiar) let me live

7. Early Modern English

7.1. Periodization

7.2. Spelling reform

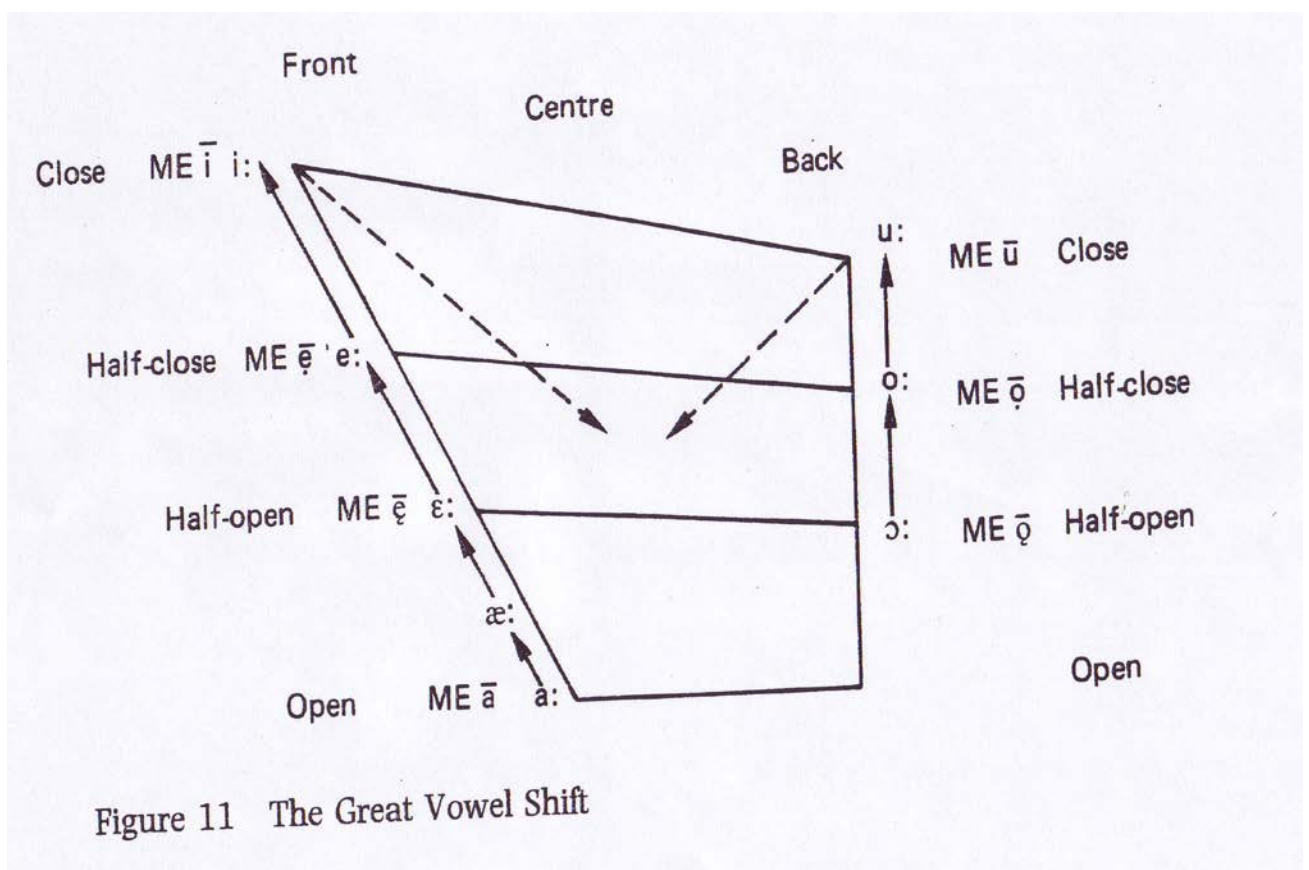
7.3. Phonology

- 7.3.1. Consonants
- [χ] and [ç] were lost
 - [ʒ] was introduced through palatalization
 - Reduction of consonant clusters: /kn/ -> /n/ ‘knee’
/wr/ -> /r/ ‘wring’
/mb/ -> /m/ ‘climb’
 - [ŋ] was phonemicized
 - /tj, sj/ -> /ʃ/ e.g. sugar, sure, mission, ocean, patience, secretion
 - /ti/ -> /tʃ/ e.g. question, righteous
 - Loss of lateral, e.g. talk, walk, calm, balm, would.

7.3.2. Vowels

7.3.2.1. The Great English Vowel Shift

Late ME	Early Mod. E.	Examples
i:	ɛɪ -> eɪ -> aɪ	time, write
u:	əʊ -> oʊ -> aʊ	house, thou
e:	i:	meet, piece
o:	u:	moon, do
ɛ:	e:	meat, sea
ɔ:	o:	boat, stone
a:	æ:/ɛ: -> e:	name, make



7.3.3. Diphthongs

7.3.3.1. Monophthongization

Late M.E.	Early Modern English	Examples
ai	e:	day, way, tail
au	ɔ:	all, cause, law
ɔu	o:	bowl, know, soul

iu ju: chew, due, hue

7.3.3.2. Emergence of new diphthongs due to Great Vowel Shift (see above)

i: -> əɪ or eɪ -> Late Mod. E. /aɪ/ 'time'

u: -> əʊ or ʌʊ or oʊ -> aʊ 'house'

7.4. Morphology

7.4.1. Zero derivation e.g. The good are happy and the impious are miserable.

7.5. Lexicology

7.6. Syntax

7.6.1. Pronouns e.g. this my taulke -> this talk of mine

7.6.2. PRO-N "one" e.g. For as an excellenter than my self sayde.

There must also be a solid and perfect one.

7.6.3. Adjective comparison: double comparison. e.g. a more excellenter person

7.6.4. Auxiliary "do"

7.6.5. Passive voice

7.6.6. Negation O.E. ne

M.E. ne ... not

E.M.E. not

7.6.7. Inversion e.g. then is the body made colde

Nether wyll I beleave yt. 'Never will I believe it.'

8. Ongoing changes in Present-day English

8.1. Gradual disappearance of "whom"

8.2. Substitution of "fewer" by "less" with countable nouns, e.g. "less people"

8.3. Regularization of ablaut verbs, e.g. "to dream – dreamed – dreamed"

8.4. Periphrastic comparison on the increase, e.g. , "prouder -> more proud", "politer -> more polite"

8.5. Spread of Saxon Genitive to non-human possessors, e.g. "the book's cover"

8.6. Revival of the mandative subjunctive, e.g. "I demand that she leave the house."

8.7. Elimination of "shall" as a future marker in the first person

8.8. Auxiliarization of lexical verbs, e.g. "to want to -> wanna; to have got to -> gotta"

8.9. Extension of progressive aspect, e.g. The road has not been being built."

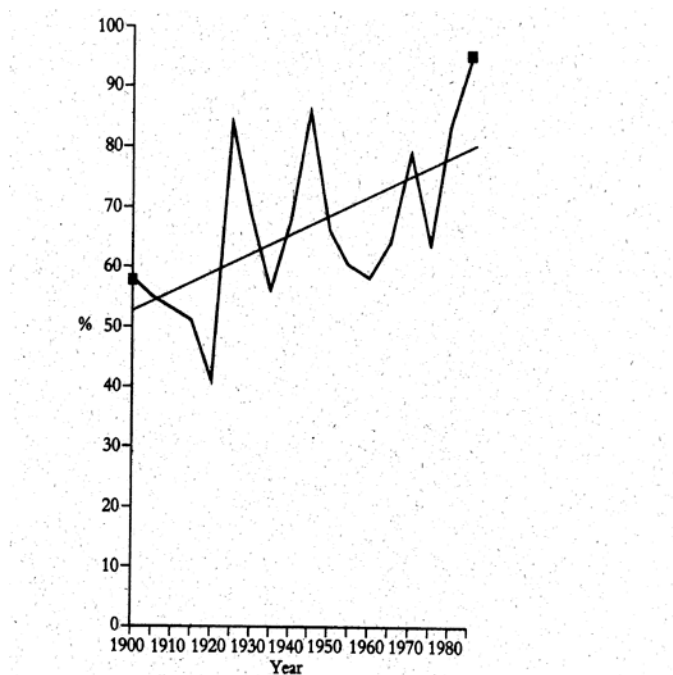
8.10. Use of "like" , "same" and "immediate" as conjunctions, e.g. "It seems like he is angry."

8.11. Omission of definite article in combination with premodifying descriptive NP and proper name, e.g. "renowned Nobel laureate Derek Walcott"

- 8.12. Increase of multi-word verbs (including phrasal verbs), e.g. “to have a swim”
- 8.13. Placement of frequency adverbs before auxiliary, e.g. “I never have said so.”
- 8.14. Extension of “do”-support to “to have” as a full verb, e.g. “Do you have any money?”
- 8.15. Spread of singular “they”, e.g. “Everybody came in their car.”

9. Predicting the future of the English language

“Predicting the future depends on understanding the present and the past.” (J. Aitchison)



Singular concord with collective nouns as a function of time in editorials of „The Times“

- 9.1. Personal pronouns: Emergence of singular/plural contrast in the second person
- 9.2. Expansion of progressive aspect
- 9.3. Present Perfect: weakening of contrast between Present Perfect and Past Tense
- 9.4. Future: complete loss of “shall”, “gonna” as a general future marker
- 9.5. Modal auxiliaries: loss of old modals: “dare, need, ought to”
 - emergence of new modals: lets: “Lets you and him fight.” (adhortative)
 - wanna: “You wanna see the doctor” (“should”)
 - gotta: “You gotta get up.” (obligation)
- 9.6. Passive: Further spread of “get”-passive, e.g. “My proposal got rejected.”
- 9.7. Active: increase of medio-passives: e.g. “The match will screen at 6 p.m.”
- 9.8. Irregular verbs: further decrease of ablaut verbs
- 9.9. Agreement: Singular agreement with plural subject complements: e.g. “There’s many

cars for sale.”

Singular agreement with collective nouns, e.g. “The government has decided.”

- 9.10. Interrogative pronouns: loss of “whom”, e.g. For who have you cooked dinner?”
- 9.11. Genitive: Further spread of Saxon Genitive to inanimate possessors: e.g. “human nature’s diversity”
- 9.12. Comparison: Periphrastic comparison on the increase, e.g. “I am more proud than her.”
- 9.13. Conditionals: increased use of “would” in “if”-clauses
- 9.14. Sequence-of-tense rule: relaxation of past perfect in “after” adverbial clauses
- 9.15. “For-to” complementation: on the increase, e.g. “I want for Mary to come with us”.
- 9.16. Conjunctions: new subordinating conjunctions like “moment” and “minute”
“the moment that” -> “the moment” -> moment
- 9.17. Multi-word verbs: increasing, e.g. “to have a swim”

10. Overall trends

- 10.1. Syntax: From relatively free to fixed word order
- 10.2. Syntax: From less to more nonfinite constructions
- 10.3. Morphology: From synthetic to analytic structure
- 10.4. Morphology: From stem-based to word-based morphology
- 10.5. Phonology: Restless vowels – immobile consonants

11. Conclusion: Language change: Accident or invisible hand? Purposeless causes?

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