Chapter 1
The Origins of English

1.1 The Origins of Human Language

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The origins of language have to do with both when and how human language came into being. The most widely accepted assumption is that this happened only once and that all present-day languages have the same source. The prerequisites of human language were a changed anatomy with a larger space above the larynx (or voice box) and the development of conscious control over vocalization rather than “instinctive” cries of pain, fear, or warning. Time of origin: approximately 145,000 years ago (± 70,000) (Bickerton 1990: 175)


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Models of change

General principles of change state the regularities of change, and motivation for change involve a variety of motivations as elaborated under psychological approaches and processes and models of change.

Psychological approaches are concerned with the way our brains perceive and conceive of incoming language data. This includes interference, abduction, attrition, and the effect of innate universals of the bioprogram.

Attrition is the loss of language, usually due to lack of use. Example: when an immigrant from a non-English language community who does not use his or her original language forgets more and more words.

Bioprogram refers to the theory that there is an innate set of linguistic distinctions which everyone is born with and which determine the way an emerging creole will develop when not subject to the influence of already existing languages. Example: The TMA (tense-modality-aspect) system is pre-programmed to be realized by grammatical markers in precisely this order if left “alone.”

Interference is the tendency for language learners to carry over aspects of their L1 to the new language.

In the case of English as a Second Language (ESL) this shows up as substrate influence.

Example: a native speaker of Chinese may fail to distinguish /1/ from /s/ and pronounce very like selly.
Abduction is a form of logic based largely on association. It is instrumental in the development of new meaning. Example: Someone is going (progressive) somewhere (movement toward a goal) to do something (intention); therefore the thing to be done is future. The transfer of future meaning from a consequence of movement and intention to the primary meaning of “be going to do something” is a case of abduction, which is explained at greater length in the following.

Abductive logic can perhaps best be understood in contrast to two other, more familiar forms of syllogistic logic, viz. deductive and inductive logic.

Deductive logic is reasoning that starts with a general principle or law, establishes a particular case, and then concludes that the law applies to this case. The classical deductive syllogism goes in three steps (major premise, minor premise, and conclusion). The first is a general principle, the second an instantiation, and the third the logical conclusion. If the first two are true, the conclusion is also true.

How does it function?

Deductive syllogism:

| LAW:    | "all men are mortal" | (a) |
| CASE:   | "Socrates is a man" | (b) |
| RESULT: | "Socrates is mortal" | (c) |

Deductive logic is useful for dealing with inclusion, e.g., classes and their members. If a class has certain features, then each member of that class may be expected to have them as well. Consequently, if you know something about operas and you know that Aida is an opera, then you know something about Aida. This is a part of everyday lexical semantics, where we deduce from the class to one of its members.

Inductive logic is central to Western science, where it has worked chiefly with a different type of logical syllogism. It looks at cases and their features and comes to a conclusion on the basis of what is observed. Inductive logic comes much closer to modeling how we make conclusions about our world in a useful way, showing how we make generalizations from limited evidence.
(Models of change continued)

How does it function? The logical structure of induction involves a shuffling of the order of the three parts, a, b, and c, since it differs from deduction by observing the individual case in order to reach a conclusion, viz. the principle or law.

Inductive syllogism:

\begin{align*}
\text{CASE:} & \quad \text{"Socrates is a man"} & (b) \\
\text{RESULT:} & \quad \text{"Socrates is mortal"} & (c) \\
\text{LAW:} & \quad \text{"all men are mortal"} & (a) \\
\end{align*}

Inductive logic: \[ b - c - a \]

While deduction is subject to proof, i.e. can be verified, this is not the case with induction. We can never preclude the possibility that the next case will not fit the law. Thus we say that we cannot verify a hypothesis, but only falsify it by discovering contradictory evidence. We use it to make conclusions about the nature of the world around us (including how a language works).

Abductive logic uses inference and association: "...it is a weak form of reasoning, ... the only kind of reasoning by which new ideas [can] originate” (Hopper/Traugott 1993: 40).

How does it function? Abductive logic uses a change in the order of a, b, and c:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{c} a result is construed
  \item \text{b} the result somehow fits the observed results
  \item \text{a} based on universal principles
\end{itemize}

Abductive syllogism:

\begin{align*}
\text{RESULT:} & \quad \text{"Socrates is mortal"} & (c) \\
\text{LAW:} & \quad \text{"all men are mortal"} & (a) \\
\text{CASE:} & \quad \text{"Socrates is a man"} & (b) \\
\end{align*}

Abductive logic: \[ c - a - b \]

This is fallible reasoning because the observed result may be matched with the wrong law and lead to a false conclusion. This may be true, but it need not. For example, Socrates might turn out to be my pet dog (and not a man at all). Abductive logic can explain the mechanism behind language change such as grammaticalization or semantic shift. Abduction leads to reanalysis, which is confirmed by induction (many individual cases) \( b \), which confirm the principle \( a \).

Processes and models of change

System maintenance and analogical extension are processes which reinforce the functionality of languages. In this History of English several prominent instances of this have been introduced. One of these involves typological change from a highly inflectional language (OE) to an analytic language
(ModE), which depends to a great extent on word order to make many of the distinctions which OE could make with inflectional endings. The second example has to do with the grammaticalization of modal auxiliaries. Example: Even in OE WILLAN was beginning to be used to denote habitual and future actions. As the use of modal WILL to express volition attenuated to all but a few non-assessive contexts such as in questions and under negation, a new modal (semi-)auxiliary, WANNA, developed: I will go is basically future/predictive; for volition the option exists to say I wanna go. A final example of analogical extension under system maintenance is the use of -s to mark the plural. This insured the maintenance of the plural by extending a marker of the plural once restricted to the a-stem declension in the nominative and accusative cases to virtually all other count nouns.

Historical reconstruction and the comparative method represent a way of using existing language evidence to show the phonological, lexical, and grammatical relations between languages which evolved out of a common source language. Example: German and English both evolved out of Proto-(West) Germanic. Example: Comparing older forms of English stone, Dutch steen, German Stein, Swedish sten, and others allow reconstruction of Proto-Germanic *stainaz. In the context of historical linguistics in the 19th century the idea of a balanced, gapless, regular system grew up. Sound changes as in the case of the Germanic Sound Shift were considered to have no exceptions. Where Grimm’s Law was “violated” Verner’s Law could supply the needed explanation by discovering a process of bleeding which insured that some sounds were removed from the effects of Grimm’s Law. In this way, it was possible to maintain the principle of fully rule-governed change. For all the optimism of early historical linguistics, exceptions have continued to exist (pace Grimm and Verner).

Example of historical reconstruction. Observations of the earliest recorded forms of words are used as the starting point. Using the example of stone, we first make a comparison of older forms: Old Frisian sten, ON steinn, Gothic stain, and OE stān. This allows us to make a reconstruction of Proto-Germanic *stainaz. Further substantiation may be drawn from other non-Germanic sources such as Old Church Slavonic stina “wall”, Old Indic stūyāte “coagulating”; Greek orία / orίου “pebble”; Latin stīna “frozen drop.” The latter together with the Proto-Germanic form allows the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European *stēīd + the suffix -no.

The family model is a way of explaining linguistic similarities between languages which can be traced back to the same source. Example: In the Germanic family tree Dutch and English are sister languages with the same Proto-West Germanic mother. The idea of the inheritance of features (from mother to daughter) and of family resemblances (similarities between sisters) is a useful metaphor, but one which can be misleading since the direction and the degree of change can vary enormously from language to language regardless of how close the family ties may seem to be. Example: English and German are closely related as a look at vocabulary will reveal, but English has lost most of its inflectional endings (beside a young woman) and largely abandoned verb-second word order ([I] tomorrow [2] I [3] ‘m leaving), while German remains highly inflected (neben einer jungen Frau) and observes verb-second word order ([I]: morgen [2 = verb]; gehe [3]: ich) in main clauses strictly.
The wave theory is a model of language or dialect diffusion in analogy to the rings of waves that spread over the surface of water when someone throws a stone in a pond. This analogy is misleading since there is a significant tendency for forms of a language to jump from city to city and to fill in the space in between much later. Change also spreads socially within identity groups even faster.

The generation model describes language shift among (many) immigrant groups. The 1st generation retains the heritage language as the home language at a rate of about 90%; in the 2nd generation the rate falls to around 60%; in the 3rd, to under 10%.

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Indo-European language family: Perhaps the largest (by number of speakers) of the many language families of today’s world including Altaic (e.g. Turkish) and Dravidian (e.g. Tamil). Examples of Indo-European language families: Celtic, Italic, Slavic, Indo-Iranian.

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Speech community, aka language community: the speakers of a given language, whereby “language” is vague and may be a smaller peer group or regional or social subset of speakers. Examples: everyone who speaks English; the AusE speech community; or upper middle-class Sydney females.
1.2 Language Change

Linguistic drift: the supposed tendency of a language to change in a particular direction without any external forces driving this move. Internal typological change of major dimensions in English is often understood in this way. See chain shifts and Germanic Sound Shifts.
Articles belong together with other specifiers or determiners such as the demonstratives as one of the parts of speech or word classes of English. Articles are distinguished as definite the and indefinite a/an. (This distinction might be regarded as the realization of a secondary grammatical category, viz. specificity). The former developed out of the OE demonstrative; the latter, out of the unstressed numeral one “one” to a/an. In English pidgins and creoles the indefinite article often appears as one, cf. it a wan naif “there was a knife” (Bickerton 1981: 55). In OE both were marked for case, number, and gender.

The use of a demonstrative before a noun has the effect of emphasizing (and specifying) the following noun. In emphatic speech styles this must have been common usage. From what initially were singular cases speakers would have generalized this usage. In this way the original deictic sense would then have become less prominent and the sense of specification would have been generalized to nouns for which spatial deixis was not prominent, i.e. not just deictic as fis (lit. “that fish”), but also puru bone hunger (“by that hunger”), a much more abstract usage.

The paradigm for the articles in OE are given in the following tables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>se</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>þæs</td>
<td>þære</td>
<td>þæs</td>
<td>þæra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>þæm</td>
<td>þære</td>
<td>þæm</td>
<td>þæm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>þæne</td>
<td>þæt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>þef</td>
<td>þef</td>
<td>þef</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Demonstratives (used as definite articles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>án</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ánææ</td>
<td>ánære</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>ánææ</td>
<td>ánææ</td>
<td>ánææ</td>
<td>ánææ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Numeral one (used as the indefinite article)

The definite article is more widely used in some varieties of English than in StE. In Northern English vernaculars, reduction as in t’farmer “the farmer” may result in loss: the → θ → t → ? → zero when unstressed, and there is some loss of both the definite and the indefinite article there in comparison to StE, cf. I’m bloody champion (B. Hines. Kes. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969, 17). Bickerton, D. (1981) Roots of Language. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
Deixis. This is one of the areas of linguistics that has to do language use, i.e. with how elements of the situation of use affect meaning. There are several different dimensions of deixis, the first and most basic of which is space.

Spatial deixis is indicated according to relative proximity to or distance from the speaker. Examples include the adverbs here and there. English also has a two-term demonstrative system: this / these vs. that / those. (An older relict term from an earlier three-term system is yonder / you. Cf. Spanish aquí / esto — abí / eso — allí / aquello.) How great the distance may be and how large the area of proximity may be is relative. There can also be grammaticalization of deixis though this does not occur often in English. Cf. earlier:

bitber "to here"  hence "from here"

thither "to / toward there" thence "from there"

whither "to what place" whence "from what place"

Personal deixis makes distinctions between speaker (1st person), addressee (2nd person), and someone or something else (3rd person). The first is obviously near, the second more distant, and the third even more distant (cf. three-term demonstratives). Systems of person deixis vary considerably between languages. This might include the recognition of singular, dual, and plural as in Old English: ic – wít – wé “I – us two – us all.” Personal deixis may also include forms foreign to GenE such as we find in Tok Pisin with separate first person inclusive (dual jumitipela, trial jumitripela; plural: junic) and first person exclusive pronouns (dual: mitipela; trial: mitripela; plural: mipela).

Social deixis uses 2nd person pronouns to show closeness and intimacy (T-forms) or distance and formality (V-forms). German distinguishes du and Sie as with French tu and vous or Spanish tu and Usted. English once had a system somewhat similar to this with thou and ye, but it has been leveled to simple you. The distinction between you all and you is optional and has no social deixis of the T/V type.

Textual deixis is a matter of cohesion within a text which can be maintained among other things by using the demonstrative this to refer to what is currently under discussion or what we (implicitly) identify with or approve of. In contrast, that may be used for what is contextually distance or which is rejected.

Temporal deixis involves deictic reference with the some of the same elements that are used for space, e.g. the demonstratives, e.g. this / that time / year / etc. as well as prepositions which are often identical to those used for space (at a place / time, on a line / duty, in a room / week, etc.).

Tense itself is primarily connected with where a predication is located in time. It marks situations as being anterior, simultaneous, or posterior (= past, present, future). The default time of reference is the time of speaking, for which present tense is commonly used. Past or
remote tense is used to mark the deictically distal in regard to (a) time, (b) to identification
with what is reported, (c) to the unreal in conditional constructions, and even to (d) the
generic (which is not specified for time of reference). Furthermore, situations may be relative
to each of these times (secondary tense, so to speak) as with the perfect forms of English (past
perfect, present perfect, future perfect). In the case of the present perfect, the situation is not
necessarily marked in terms of relative time, but may involve relevance in some other sense.
Even a periphrastic form like be going to for the future may well be a deictic expression used for
what we may be understood as approaching or going toward something.

Verbal deixis (adjective: deictic) is a grammaticalized means of locating events and objects in time and
space. See tense.

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Typological change is a term usually reserved for fundamental change in a language. It focuses very
much of questions of word order, inflectional morphology, and grammatical categories. The use of the
definite article makes English typologically different from such Slavic languages as Russian or Polish.
Word order in English has undergone typological change from variable word order in OE: SVO
(Subject-Verb-Object), which is the default word order in ModE, predominated, but the use of adverbs
at the beginning of a sentence often led to verb-second word order in which the subject followed the
verb (AdvVSO), and dependent clauses frequently had SOV.
Word order in English has chiefly, in the context of this book, to do with the relative sequence of Subject, Verb, and Object in a sentence. In OE it was relatively free with SVO, AdvVSO, and SOV as the main variants, often however, conditioned by clause type. ModE is more rigid using chiefly SVO in most declaratives and (Wh-word)V_svoSVO in most questions. See also periphrastic verb structure. Under a number of conditions SV order inverts to VS. Most obviously, this is the case with questions (see NICE). Verb-second order, as this is sometimes called, is the case not only in SVO, but also after initial adverbials (AdvVSO); this became increasingly infrequent, yielding to AdvSVO. Note that AdvVSO is still the case in two variants. Variant (1) non-assertive adverb + auxiliary + S+V. Examples: Seldom does she agree with me; Never had I seen such a sight. Variant (2), optional after initial adverbial expression of place or direction/goal and less strongly prescribed than (1) has Adverb of place + V + S. Examples: Into the Valley of Death rode the six hundred (Tennyson: “The Charge of the Light Brigade” 1854) or The inky-pinky spider went up the water spout / Down came the rain and washed the spider out / ...; Down the road came the bus; There goes John. Optional inversion of a noun subject and lexical verb also occurs when direct speech is given. If the subject is a pronoun, inversion is restricted to the verb say. Examples: “Never,” replied the captive. Or: “Never,” said he. Inversion of auxiliary and subject is found after initial negatives and semi-negatives (see negation).

In OE the difference from ModE is esp. clear in subordinate clauses, in which there was a clear tendency for the verb to appear at the end of the sentence. Example: Gif cyning at manus bám drinnæl, literally “If king at a man’s home drinketh” (Text 2.1, Ælfric’s Laws, 602 or 603, where all the gif-clauses share this word order pattern). Without doubt, the Norman Conquest had a massive affect on vocabulary, changed patterns of word formation, and altered the phonological structure of the language. However, there is less agreement about its effects on word order and inflection even though there is considerable evidence of change between OE and ME — whatever the grounds for is may have been.

Inflection in English is centered chiefly around the grammatical endings added to verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. In comparison to other languages, ModE has very few inflections. It has undergone a long-term shift from a high degree of inflection (typical of synthetic languages) to periphrastic structures (typical of analytic languages). Example: the comparative of the adjective in -er as in clearer is inflectional and hence synthetic; the comparative with {more} is analytic as in more clear. The different word forms of the personal pronouns (e.g. I, me) are also regarded as inflections. For more on verb inflection, see verb classes of OE and of ModE, preterite-present verbs, and concord. For examples of inflectional paradigms see articles, determiners, gender, and case.

Grammatical categories: the primary division of all words into parts of speech and the secondary association of categories like tense, modality, and aspect with the verb and case, number, and gender with the noun.
Universal grammatical categories are assumed to occur in all languages. Examples would include parts of speech such as nouns and verbs and maybe such secondary grammatical categories as TMA (tense, modality, aspect). One of the greatest problems in approaching the question of universals is the difficulty which exists in deciding what is comparable in different languages. The criteria can be (1) structural or (2) semantic-functional, whereby the latter is the most likely and best approach according to Croft (1990: 11). The semantic-functional approach includes pragmatic phenomena (discourse structure; forms of greeting; discourse-defined connectives; politeness expressions) – “all essentially external” to the language itself. The suggested procedure would be: (a) pick a semantic-pragmatic feature or situation; (b) see what morphosyntactic constructions are used to express it; and (c) look for relationships of dependency between the semantic-pragmatic feature and other linguistic factors expressed by the construction (ibid.: 12). Note that difficulties arise when a given form has multiple functions.

This might be illustrated by looking at whether all languages have subjects. Structurally the notion of subject might be expressed (1) by case marking or prepositional marking; (2) by agreement (usually subject-verb concord); or (3) by word order. However, (1) and (2) are not always easy to recognize. A semantic-pragmatic approach might use a criterion such as “agent of an action” or topic of a sentence (ibid.: 13). In OE the subject was marked by case. As the case endings decayed, the subject was increasingly marked by word order and identified as the topic.


**Primary grammatical categories** are the classes into which the words of a language are divided. The fundamental, or primary, grammatical categories are the eight or nine such groupings which are generally made in traditional grammar: noun, verb, adjective, adverb, pronoun, preposition, conjunction, determiner / article, and interjection. These primary grammatical categories are known as parts of speech or word classes. The purpose which such groups (and their sub-groups) serve is to indicate the grammatical behavior of their members. For example, one of the ways in which nouns are divided is according to their countability: **count vs. mass**. This is a subdivision of nouns according to whether they may take a plural (= count) or not (= mass). Examples: count: *books, words*; mass: *printed matter*. See also **secondary grammatical categories**.
Secondary grammatical categories are relevant when speaking of nouns, pronouns, and verbs. In a more limited way adjectives and adverbs as well as determiners are also differentiated according to secondary grammatical categories. In the case of nouns the secondary grammatical features in OE were number, case, and gender, but in ModE only number continues to be relevant. For pronouns number, case, and gender continue to be marked in ModE. The verb has the secondary categories of tense, modality, and aspect (TMA) and some marking of number concord and voice. Some adjectives and adverbs undergo comparison (the comparative and superlative). Some determiners (the demonstratives) have number.

Modes of address: pronouns, names, titles, and descriptive terms used in addressing a person. Modes of address are good indications of how intimate or distant people are toward each other. Examples: polite singular you even to a family member as in late ME I prayed yow sende me some tydynes (Text 5.4).

Creolization is the process in which a pidgin becomes a native language. Usually this occurs when children are exposed to a pidgin as their primary language. In adopting it they expand its linguistic repertory and its domains of use. Example: In many families in urban Papua-New Guinea the parents do not share a native language and must rely on Tok Pisin, which is effectively the only language of the children, for whom it is now a creole.

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Pidginization is a process, in which a new language comes into existence which is no one’s native language. The resulting pidgin is a reduced, marginal, hybrid, or contact language or a trade jargon. See History of English, chapter 9.

Borrowing: the process by which words in particular, but also grammatical structures are taken over from a different language. Examples: the use of singular you on the model of French singular vous in the early ME period or the borrowing of Scandinavian words such as taka “take” into OE in the period following the Viking invasions. Borrowing includes loan words and loan translation (calques).
Word formation processes include four basic types with a number of prominent sub-types. The following table illustrates them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>process</th>
<th>combination</th>
<th>deletion</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>composition:</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>undo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affixation; compounding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>computer mouse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shift or conversion</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>(to) read → (a) read, a shift from verb to noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blending</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>infomercial &lt; information commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shortening</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>tech(ology)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Word-formation processes

Derivation is one of two processes of word formation (the other is compounding). Derivation is commonly carried out by means of affixation, adding a prefix or a suffix. This was already the case in OE. Examples: prefixing: ofshb “kill” (Text 3.1) < of “off” + shb, the past of shbl “beat”; suffixing: sof “softly” (Text 3.3) < sof(e) + -ly, the adverbial suffix. A further means of derivation is ablaut or vowel change. See also blending, conversion, shortening, and compounding.

Affixational derivations consist of one or more free morphemes (a word which can stand alone) and at least one bound morpheme (affix). Example: handyman < {hand} + {ym} + {man}, where {hand} and {man} are free and {ym} is bound. The following types of affix occur in English:

prefixes come before. Example: in-coming

suffixes follow after the free form: Example: sisterhood

infixes are rare in English (informal, vulgar or obscene). Example: three-
goddamn-thirty in the morning

combing forms are bound forms which differs from affixes in tending to be technical (usually from Latin and Greek), e.g. {bio-} in bio-degradable, they may combine with other combining forms without a free morpheme in between.

Example: Anglaphone. This is something which prefixes and suffixes cannot do.

Compounding is a means of word formation in which two independent words (free morphemes) are combined to form a new word. Example: OE magð-man “virgin, maiden” literally maid + person (History of English, Text 2.1).

Reduplication lies between affixation and compounding. In reduplication a word or a part of a word is repeated. Examples: talk-talk (or pidgin tik-tik) or StE better-better. The effect of reduplication may be an intensification of meaning as with talk-talk including plural, repetition, indivisibility, or intensification as with better-better.
Shifts aka zero derivation or conversion (also: functional shift; multiple class membership) involve a change in word class (or part of speech) without any formal alteration in the word involved. This became more frequent as English lost its distinctive part-of-speech inflections. Examples: an update (noun < verb); a fun thing (adjective < noun); to smart-bomb (verb < noun). There are also secondary shifts, which are shifts within one word class. Example: the intransitive verb walk in She was walking shifts to transitive in She was walking the dog.

Blends aka telescope or portmanteau words are – like compounds – combinations of two other words, at least one of which has been shortened. They often have a shared element. Examples: motel < motor and hotel with shared <t>; or squatter + aristocracy = squattocracy (see History of English, Table 11.6) without a shared element.

Shortenings consist of initialisms (abbreviations and acronyms), back-formation, clipping, and ellipsis.

Abbreviations (a.k.a. letter words) are the first letters of each of the words in a longer expression which pronounced as a series of letters. Example: BO (< body odor). Abbreviations and acronyms together make up initialisms.

Acronyms (a.k.a. syllable words) are a means of word formation in which the initial letter or letters of a longer expression are used as an independent word. Example: South West Township (of Johannesburg) goes under the acronym. Soweto. Acronyms and abbreviations together make up initialisms.

Back formation is a means of word formation in which a “simpler” word which did not previously exist is derived from a more complex one on the basis of a well-established pattern. Example: edit is a formation backward from editor on the pattern of bake forward to baker.

Clipping is a process in which a part of an original word is removed. Example: mob is a 17th century clipping of Latin mobile multus “vacillating crowd.” This includes the following subtypes:

front-clipping leaves out an initial element. Example: neighborhood > hood.

back-clipping leaves out a final element. Example: detox < detoxification.

medial-clipping removes something from the middle. Example: vegan < vegetarian.

Ellipsis refers to a compound part of which is deleted; the remaining part takes on the meaning of the whole. Example: mobile/cell phone > mobile (in BrE) or cell (in AmE).

Multi-word expressions, including fixed expressions consist of more than one word which together form a unit with a meaning which cannot be concluded from the combination of the meanings of each. The major types include, binomials (including doubles) and trinomials, idioms, and phrasal and prepositional verbs. Collocations and proverbs (including cliches
and commonplaces) are often regarded as fixed expressions, but have no real place in word-formation because they are much more the product of syntax than of morphology.

**Binomials (including doublets) and trinomials** are instances in which two or three words are coordinated. The words are usually from the same *part of speech* and may have overlapping or shared meaning. Example: *he consuetude and he custom* (History of English: Text 5.5). Or they may be alliterative. Example: *stiff & stark & strong* (Text 4.7). Or they may rhyme. Example: *barring and garring* (Text 5.1). ModE bi- or trinomials are often irreversible. Example: the meronyms *book, line, and sinker*. Or they may be a fixed expression. Example from the field of eating: *bacon and eggs*.

**Idioms** are multi-word expressions which are less than a full sentence and are not semantically transparent. Example: *to pull someone’s leg* “to kid someone.” The words do not contribute individually to the meaning, i.e. replacement of *pull* by the synonym *drag* is not possible. Rather, the meaning of the idiom is derived from the whole. Both *pragmatic idioms* and *phrasal verbs* belong to the idioms but are often treated separately.

**Pragmatic idioms** are idioms which are bound to a communication situation such as greeting or leaving-taking, complimenting, or apologizing. Examples (of personal address plus an apology): *My dear, I ask ten thousand pardons* (Witwoud in Congreve’s *Way of the World*: Ivi).

**Phrasal verbs** occur as far back as Old English and are very frequent in ModE. Examples: OE phrasal verb: 7 *pas ymbe III nibt ridon twegen eorlas up* “& about three nights afterwards two earls rode up” (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 871). ModE: *There’s a blake here behind taking down every blessed word you’re saying* (Shaw, *Pygmalion*: Act I).
1.3 Changes in Germanic before the invasions of Britain

**Tense** is a deictic instrument which locates a situation above all in time. From a morphological point of view, tense in English is a category with only two terms: present/unmarked/non-remote and past/marked/remote. Many people think, however, in a three-term way: past-present-future. Nevertheless, future is not morphologically or systematically marked in English; rather, the future is indicated in a variety of ways, such as by using a modal auxiliary, a periphrastic structure, or by using the simple or progressive forms in the appropriate context.

In OE we can find the modal future alongside the morphological present and past tenses. Examples:

**Present tense**: Britene island *is etha bunt mila lang*; past: *Eroet weron bygoned fies landes Britter*; modal future: *per ge magon eardian giff ge willod* (Text 2.5, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 9th century).

In ME the situation was not decisively different. The use of auxiliary verbs was still emerging, but the preterite-present verbs (mostly modals) were already quite prominent and the perfect was developing as an alternative way of designating past time. Examples: **present tense**: *Am sounde fowes maken melode* (l. 9); past: *In Southwark at the Tabard as I say / Redy to wendan on my pilgrimage ...* (20f); but also the perfect: *Whan that Aprille with his shoures sate / The droghte of Marche hath perced to the rote* (1f; much as in ModE) or: *The holy belial morre for to seke, / That bent hath holpen, whan that they were seke* (17f; for past time and no longer possible in ModE); modal future: *Wel aye and twenty in a companye / / That toward Canterbury wolden ryde* (24, 27) (Chaucer. *Canterbury Tales*, “Prologue,” late 14th century). By the end of EModE period the use of tense was essentially as it is today. See also **periphrastic be going to**.

**Aspect** (cf. mode of action, lexical aspect) is a feature of the verb (or predicate) which marks “situation-internal time,” which stands in contrast to tense (Comrie 1976: 5). Aspect in English may be **habitual, hot-news, perfective, progressive, punctual, or stative**. In OE aspect was more likely to be marked lexically. What this means is that different facets or aspects of meaning could be expressed by using prefixes. One of the most prominent of these is *{ge}-*, which emphasized the completed or perfective nature of the action designated by a verb. In *History of English Text 2.5* we find *wunian* in l. 5 in the simple meaning of “dwell, live,” but *gewunian* in l. 6, where it is the suitable way of emphasizing the idea of togetherness or completeness. In l. 8 we find first *ferden* “go,” but immediately afterwards *geferden* “enter.” Other examples are *brecan* “break” — *abrecan* “smash”; *cena* “hit” — *ofcnen* “kill”; or *bwran* “burn” — *fowbwen* “burn up” (cf. Samuels 1973: 163ff). These prefixes were, however, generally in decline and were gradually replaced by new developments in the language in the ME and EModE periods. **Grammatical aspect** slowly emerged. Examples: OE lexical aspect: *beretan* “own, keep, occupy” vs. *settan* “set, cause to sit”; but ModE grammatical aspect: **simple they set it down vs. progressive** they were setting it down and **perfect** they have set it down.


Introduction to Old English – See separate document

**Word stress:** the syllable in lexical words which is more strongly accented in English. It is relatively fixed and tends to fall on the first syllable. However, borrowed words, esp. ones from Latin may have variable stress, and there may be some differences between varieties of English. Examples: Latinate: *professor,* but *professional,* varieties: AmE *advertisement,* but BrE *advertisement.*

**Sound change:** the Germanic Sound Shifts

Page 8 and 9

**Germanic Sound Shifts:** the First Germanic Sound Shift describes, for example, the change of voiceless stops /p, t, k/ to voiceless fricatives /f, θ, h/. Examples using Latin and English: Latin *pro* but English *for,* *to* and *their,* *or* and *hearth.* The Second (High German) Sound Shift describes further changes in the consonants in German including the shift from (new) Germanic /p, t, k/ to High German fricatives /f, s, x/ and affricates /pf, ts, kʃ/ (/kʃ/ only in Swiss German). Examples: *pipe* and German *Pfeife,* *water* and *Wasser,* OE *æ* and German *auch.* See also *Grimm’s Law,* *Verner’s Law.*

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**IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet):** comprises the set of symbols used to designate sounds unambiguously. If used broadly each phoneme in a language is assigned one symbol. Example: the <p> in *put,* the <dʒ> in *judge,* and the <ŋ> in *bridge* are all /ŋ/. A narrow transcription is more strictly phonemic and distinguishes allophonic variants such as monophthongal [e] and diphthongal [əɪ] for /aɪ/. See the following chart.
THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (2005)

### CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Retruded</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Epiglottal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal: m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives: p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives: f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant: u</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill: r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap, flap: ɾ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral fricative: tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approximant: l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a modally voiced consonant, except for front nasal: $\hat{m}$. Shaded areas denote articulations judged to be impossible. Light gray letters are unofficial extensions of the IPA.

### CONSONANTS (CO-Articulated)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial fricative</th>
<th>Dental fricative</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar fricative</th>
<th>Retruded fricative</th>
<th>Palatal fricative</th>
<th>Velar fricative</th>
<th>Uvular fricative</th>
<th>Pharyngeal fricative</th>
<th>Epiglottal fricative</th>
<th>Glottal fricative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiced approximants</td>
<td>Ejectives</td>
<td>Voiced approximants</td>
<td>Ejectives</td>
<td>Voiced approximants</td>
<td>Ejectives</td>
<td>Voiced approximants</td>
<td>Ejectives</td>
<td>Voiced approximants</td>
<td>Ejectives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Near Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Near Back</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close: i</td>
<td>ι</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near close: ɪ</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>ɹ</td>
<td>ɐ</td>
<td>ɚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid: ɛ</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>Ο</td>
<td>ɤ</td>
<td>ɑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid: ʌ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open mid: ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open: ʌ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voiced vs. voiceless symbols may appear as diacritics to represent phonetic detail (e.g., voiceless release), e.g. (voiceless labial), [ŋ] (glottal onset), [s] (epenthetic schwa), or [ɬ] (lip-rounding).

### VOWEL SYLLABIC & RELATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabic</th>
<th>Non-syllabic</th>
<th>Vocalic or nasal</th>
<th>ɪ</th>
<th>ʌ</th>
<th>ʊ</th>
<th>ə</th>
<th>ɔ</th>
<th>ɒ</th>
<th>ɒ</th>
<th>Α</th>
<th>Ω</th>
<th>Β</th>
<th>Κ</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Ψ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
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<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PRONUNCIATION & PRIMARY ARTICULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabic</th>
<th>Voiced or voiceless</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Retruded</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Epiglottal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SECONDARY ARTICULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllabic</th>
<th>Voiced or voiceless</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Retruded</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Epiglottal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### DIAGRAM

Vowels at right & left of bullet are rounded & surrounded.

### DIACRITICS

Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, as ɹ. Other symbols may appear as diacritics to represent phonetic detail (e.g., voiceless release), ɪ (voiceless labial), [ŋ] (glottal onset), [s] (epenthetic schwa), or [ɬ] (lip-rounding)
Personal pronouns (systems of) are a sub-grouping of the pronouns which have a deictic function and indicate the person(s) speaking (1st person); the person(s) spoken to (2nd person); and the person(s) spoken about (3rd person). In English they are marked for case, number, and gender (3rd person singular only). The possessive pronouns and the reflexive pronouns are also differentiated by person.

As the comparison of the pronoun systems of English shows, there have been alterations within the system over time and geographical spread. There is a basic stability in the system in the maintenance of the person-distinction (but see second person pronoun usage), but there has also been some loss of number distinctions as well as significant case leveling (see also nominative you and pronoun exchange) and a certain amount of discussion about the use of gender and inclusive / exclusive pronouns.

Demonstratives together with other specifiers such as the articles belong to the part of speech or word class of determiners. They function as pronouns and as determiners and are the only determiners which mark singular and plural. Example: this-those. Demonstratives are fundamentally deictic, and basically emphatic. Since emphasis may tend to fade over time as seen in the change from demonstrative to definite article (see articles), emphatic this here and that there are a ModE way of re-introducing emphasis.

There was a split in the OE demonstrative paradigm resulting in a definite article (see articles), initially with singular the < OE ce by analogy with the other te- forms and plural the. A deictic system emerged from the other half of the split, where that (plural the, later these) took on the meaning of deictic distance in the 12th century. The second of the two deictic determiners was generalized from þis, the nominative and accusative singular of the emphatic OE demonstrative to which the plural adjectival ending -e was added giving us the pair this/these (Lass 1992: 2.9.1.2). The full paradigm of forms appears in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>þis</td>
<td>þís</td>
<td>þis</td>
<td>þís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>þínes</td>
<td>þínes</td>
<td>þína</td>
<td>þína</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>þínum</td>
<td>þíne</td>
<td>þínam</td>
<td>þínum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>þíne</td>
<td>þís</td>
<td>þís</td>
<td>þís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>þís</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>þís/píns</td>
<td>þínum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Demonstrative this in OE
In some varieties, we find a three-stage system: *this*/*these* (near the speaker), *that*/*those* (near the listener), and *yon(der)* (distant from both) which still reflects an earlier contrast. The distinction was not always carefully maintained, and the third member began to fade except in regional and traditional dialects. It is known, of course, to readers of Shakespeare, who are familiar with such lines as *But soft! what light through yonder window breaks* (*Romeo and Juliet* II.2) or *Yon(d) Cassius has a lean and hungry look* (*Julius Caesar* I.2) (§6.3.3.2).

Demonstrative *this* ("those") occurs in Northern English, but non-standard *them* is more frequent, as it is in non-standard GenE. Example: *them boste* (*History of English: Text* 11.1). In StE the demonstrative *them* is used not only attributively as in *them houses* but also by itself pronominally, e.g. *Them was cornstalks* (Filppula 2004: 93).

Demonstrative pronouns in the English Southwest are differently distinguished. Like StE the system marks close and distant, singular and plural, but also has a further distinction between count and mass nouns. Here pronoun case leveling can still be seen in the now rare use of non-standard *they* for equally non-standard, but general *them*, e.g. *Well, like think, one what's in there now; her, for killing all they women* (Wagner 2004: 164).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deixis</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>count</th>
<th>mass</th>
<th>StE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td><em>these</em>/<em>these</em></td>
<td><em>this</em>/<em>these</em></td>
<td><em>this</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td><em>those</em>/<em>those</em></td>
<td><em>there</em></td>
<td><em>there</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distant</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td><em>think, thick</em>/<em>there</em></td>
<td><em>that</em>/<em>there</em></td>
<td><em>that</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td><em>they, them</em>/<em>there</em></td>
<td><em>those</em></td>
<td><em>those</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Demonstratives in Southwest English (from Wagner 2004: 163) (§8.2.7.2)


1.4 The World of the Germanic Peoples

La Tène culture (450-1st century BCE) dominated over a wide area in northern Europe in the period when the Germanic tribes were beginning their southward migrations. This culture, which is usually associated with Celtic-speaking peoples, represents the height of material development in the non-Mediterranean North. The basis of its subsistence was farming and animal husbandry, and it engaged in trade with the Mediterranean area, exporting minerals (salt, tin, copper) and animal products (wool, leather, fur) as well as amber and gold. The La Tène culture came under pressure from the south, as Rome expanded, and the north, as the Germanic tribes, themselves influenced by La Tène culture, intruded.

Germanic peoples moved southward from Scandinavia and northern Germany in the 1st millennium BCE. They came under the influence of more or less autochthonous Hallstatt and La Tène cultures as well as the Roman Empire, as it gained control over Gaul (France) and the Low Countries. Germanic peoples farmed and kept domestic animals and had, in parts, strong relations with the Roman Empire. Germania Inferior (essentially the Netherlands) and Germania Superior (Middle and Upper Rhine) were two provinces of the Empire that included Germanic peoples. Germanic peoples living outside the Empire also carried on trade with the Roman Empire and were influenced by Roman ways. This influence may be seen in many of the words borrowed from Latin (see 1.4.2 and Table 1.6).

Germanic migrations were large-scale movements of whole tribes as they looked for “greener pastures” or tried to escape a situation of overpopulation and/or resource scarcity. Movements continued for an extended period of time starting as early as the middle of the 1st millennium BCE and continuing up to around 1000 CE. The early movements were probably due to climate change and the final movements, those of the Vikings, were due to population pressure and opportunities for settlement which the British Isles and the Continent, but westward as far as North America offered. The goals of migration were the sub-Scandinavian Continent, initially in the north, but later the Crimean region, the Roman Empire including Asia Minor, the Balkans, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, and North Africa. At a much later time the Vikings invaded and/or traded in Russia and the Middle East, in France, Italy, and the British Isles, and of course to the west in Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland (Newfoundland).
**Roman Empire** covers an extended period from the Roman Republic (ca. 500 to the second half of the 1st century BCE) to the Empire itself (up to the fall of Rome to the Germanic invaders under Odoacer in 476. (The Eastern Empire, or Byzantium, continued until the fall of Constantinople in 1453.) The Roman Empire had a considerable amount of military, economic, and cultural influence on the Germanic tribes both in and outside of the Empire. Germanic soldiers served in the Roman army and many of them returned to Germany with new ideas about military organization (more hierarchical), new concepts of lifestyle (appreciation of luxury goods), and the subsequent need to engage in trade. For our purposes the expansion of the Empire to include Gallia (Gaul, present-day France), Germania Inferior and Superior, and Britannia is of central interest. Roman occupation of much of what is now England led to the introduction of Roman ways of urban life, esp. in the southeast of England. After the Roman legions left around 410 CE, the country was open to Celtic and Germanic attack from the outside. Eventually the Germanic troops initially invited to protect Celtic Britain ended up taking over and settling the country in a process that began about 449 CE.

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**Celtic Britain** was only one part of a once extensive Celtic civilization over wide stretches of Europe. Population shifts due to migrations gradually impinged on this world subduing or driving away the once-dominant Celtic peoples. This took place on the Continent, and it was repeated in Britain. In Roman Britain the Celts and the Roman occupiers seem to have coexisted very well. Perhaps because the Celts had relied too much on the Roman legions to protect them, they were exposed and threatened after the Romans withdrew in about 410. The major threat came from the north, from the **Picts and the Scots**, themselves both Celtic groupings. For protection the British Celts turned to Germanic warriors, inviting help from the Saxon leaders **Horsa and Hengist** who arrived in 449 and probably remained after dutifully warding off the Picts and the Scots.

The Saxons – and Angles, Jutes, and Frisians – subjugated the Celtic population, enslaving it or driving it away. With few exceptions the Celtic-speaking Britons were soon to be found only in the far west: Cornwall and Wales and Scotland. While Celtic culture and customs have often remained or been syncretized with Germanic elements, the use of Celtic languages has long been in decline. Today there has been a certain stabilization in Wales and Cornish and Manx – widely considered to have ceased to have any native speakers – are making a small come-back.

**Germanic and Classic pantheons** have a number of “parallel” gods, though much can only be discerned in a historical view. The Germanic gods have some underlying similarities to other gods within Indo-European traditions. Most prominent are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Germanic</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiw / Ty</td>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>Ares</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woden/Odin</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Hermes</td>
<td>war, travel, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thor</td>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>Zeus</td>
<td>the chief god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frige / Frigg</td>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Aphrodite</td>
<td>love, fertility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, the sun and moon, which give us **Sunday** and **Monday**, were also honored. This leaves only **Saturday** with a non-Germanic background, namely **Saturn** (Greek: Kronos), for whom there is no clear Nordic counterpart. Renaming could go in both directions, from Latin to Germanic as with the names of the week-days or from Germanic to Latin as with the syncretistic association (cf. **syncretism**) of Germanic gods with Christian saints as when **Thor** is exchanged for (St.) **Peter** in place names.
1.5 The Germanic Migrations

Germanic migrations were large-scale movements of whole tribes as they looked for “greener pastures” or tried to escape a situation of overpopulation and/or resource scarcity. Movements continued for an extended period of time starting as early as the middle of the 1st millennium BCE and continuing up to around 1000 CE. The early movements were probably due to climate change and the final movements, those of the Vikings, were due to population pressure and opportunities for settlement which the British Isles and the Continent, but westward as far as North America offered. The goals of migration were the sub-Scandinavian Continent, initially in the north, but later the Crimean region, the Roman Empire including Asia Minor, the Balkans, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, and North Africa. At a much later time the Vikings invaded and/or traded in Russia and the Middle East, in France, Italy, and the British Isles, and of course to the west in Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland (Newfoundland).

The Franks were a Germanic people who became very dominant in Gallia and eventually gave their name to France. Although there is some evidence of Frankish presence in Britannia, tradition has it that it was the Angles, Saxon, Jutes, and Frisians who invaded and conquered Britain and gave their language, English, to the country.
Picts and Scots, just introduced, were Celtic peoples, the Picts natives of the north (Scotland) and the Scots immigrants from Ireland. Little is known about the Picts, but the Scots were a Celtic-speaking people who migrated from Ireland to the north of Britain; they spoke a variety of Gaelic which even today is much like that spoken in Ireland.

Bede (672 or 673-735), widely known as the Venerable Bede, was the author of Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum in Latin (An Ecclesiastical History of the English People), which was completed in about 731. In his history he focused on the English church (organization, heresies) thus generally ignoring the dynastic histories of the English kings and kingdoms unless of interest for church history. Bede's Ecclesiastical History served as the basis for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as well as later works. It began with Caesar's campaign in 55 BCE and continued up to his own times. He relied on various authors, for the Germanic conquest, esp. Gildas' De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae. His account of the arrival of the Germanic invaders in Kent may be more myth than an account of the actual events. The survival of some 160 manuscripts of it attest to its popularity. Bede also composed De Arte Metrica and De Schematibus et Tractis as well as works on grammar and biblical studies. The non-historical works contributed greatly to the Carolingian reforms. Bede was not an innovative religious thinker. He made no original writings or thoughts on the beliefs of the church, instead working to synthesize and transmit the learning from his predecessors. See 2.2; 2.2.2; and 2.5.3-4.