HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

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ENGLISH AT MAINSTREAM
Where it began and how it became a great tongue

The English Language

by LINCOLN BARNETT

The great evolutionary river of the English language flows from its headwaters in the prehistoric past down through some 2,500 turbulent years of history to the modern linguistic sea. At the source stands the ancestral Indo-European man from whose lost tongue we speak—Celtic, Latin, Anglian, French—evolved. Midstream, ed the Great, calm but beset by the invaders, pens the King's English. Below, as the wide delta swollen by all the tributary streams, Shakespeare, the supreme master of the English language, is borne into the future—and toward where we are today.

... Ther is so greke diversite
In English, and in wryting of our tongue.
So pray I god that non mysterie thee...

GEOFFREY CHAUCER
(Troilus and Cressida)

These words, archaic as they seem today, represent the product of more than 4,000 years of linguistic evolution. The process began during Neolithic times when an unknown ancestral tongue which engrafted the various languages known collectively as the Indo-European family splintered into 11 main branches which spread to east and west.

The geographical cradle of the Indo-European tongue cannot be fixed with certainty, but its probable location has been determined by ingenious linguistic deduction. Since all of the Indo-European languages have a common word for winter, a common word for snow, and a common word for cold, it is reasonable to assume that the original home of the family was situated in a northern climate. This is borne out by the fact that there are no ancient Indo-European words for tiger, rice, palm and other tropical forms of life; however the Indo-European languages include many well-distributed common words for oak, beech, bear, willow, wolf, otter, salmon, turtle, sheep, eagle, hawk and bee. In this list, the two most revealing words are beech and bee, for both are indigenous to Europe, with the bee virtually confined to central Europe. Moreover, words for cows do not appear in all Indo-European languages, hence the inference that the original Indo-Europeans started as an inland people, some of whom migrated to coastal areas and invented a word for the wide waters on which they gazed with wonder and awe.

At some point between 3500 and 2000 B.C., the great dispersal began. Throughout this epoch, Britain was still inhabited by Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) man—short of stature, low-browed, under-chinned. Of his language, nothing is known. Nor is anything known of the language of the first invaders—the first of many waves of strangers who would land on England's shore. These first intruders were Neolithic people from the Mediterranean who flooded into Britain and conquered the Paleolithic population.

But the long process of creating the historic seedbed of the English language began with the arrival of the first Indo-Europeans, the Celts. They crossed the Channel in successive waves starting around 500 B.C. Some historians think the first to disembark were the Gaels, who ultimately settled under the pressure of later invasions, in Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man. Their language survives today in Irish, Scotch Gaelic and Manx. In their wake came the Common Celtic, which was the language of England for the better part of a millennium before the Anglo-Saxons drove them into Wales, Cornwall and Brittany. Here their speech survives in Welsh, Breton and vestigially in Cornish. But though the Celts dwelt long in Britain, first as rulers, then through four centuries of Roman occupation as subjects, few traces of their ancient tongue remain. They named the Thames, the Cam (crooked), the Dee (boly), Bryn Mawr (great hill), London, Dover (black) and York. Apart from place names, only a scattering of Celtic words like bin, crag and dun have entered English speech.

Behind this curious linguistic vacuum lay the fact of the Roman occupation. Almost invariably, those who conquer impart their language to the conquered. The Romans were no exception. From 43 to 410 A.D. Latin was not only the language of law, commerce and government but also a second language for upper-class Celts. And when the Christian Church took root in Britain during the Third Century A.D., it too spoke in Latin accents.

Yet in spite of their centuries of power, and the material transformation they had wrought with roads, villas, baths and central heating, the Romans left no greater immediate imprint on the speech of Britain than did the Celts. Linguistic scholars have found only a sprinkling of Latin words, other than elements of place names, that entered English as a direct outcome of the Roman occupation. Among the few are port and portal. The Latin word castrum (camp) became an element in Lancaster, Winchester, Manchester, Gloucester and Worcester.

The many thousands of Latin words that today compose half of the English vocabulary made their way into the language during the Renaissance.

For a full century before the Roman legions pulled back from Britain, there were premonitions of descending night. Since 127 A.D. Hadrian's Wall, a stone rampart 73 miles long, had successfully shielded southern England from the northern barbarians. But around 300 A.D. pressures behind the wall rose and the wild Picts of Scotland periodically broke through to plunder and slay. From the west, the Irish came out of the sea mists to raid the shores. Most ominous of all was the Saxons, one of the Teutonic tribes that ultimately would conquer Britain, crossed the North Sea and began to harry the east coast. Again and again the imperial government at Rome sent reinforcements to defend its remote province. But the empire had begun to crumble on every frontier. To stem a greater threat at home, the Romans denuded Britain of its defenses. By the year 410 the last of the Roman legionaries had been withdrawn.

During the dark fifth Century the foundations of the English nation and the English language took form. According to traditional accounts, four Teutonic tribes streamed across the North Sea from western Germany and Denmark: the Saxons, the Frisians, the Jutes and the Angles. In the first half of the century their forays were small and sporadic. But in 449 the floodgates opened wide. That year, a British chieftain named Vortigern, hard-pressed...
agreement with two Jute chieftains—Hengist and Horsa—offering land and pay in return for help against his foes. The Jutes kept their bargain. But they liked their dominion so well that they disposessed the natives and founded in southeast England the Kingdom of Kent. Their success tempted others. The Saxons came next, and then, a century later, the Angles, who descended on the east coast in 547 and took over the country north of the Humber.

During the Seventh Century seven shadowy kingdoms arose from England’s chaos: Northumbria, Mercia and East Anglia—settled by the Angles; Kent—settled by the Jutes; and Essex, Sussex and Wessex—which were Saxon. Although each of the Teutonic tribes had its own dialect, they were relatively homogeneous in culture and speech. From the first the Celts called them all Saxons. But in time, owing perhaps to the supremacy of Northumbria and Mercia, the term Angl acquired dominance. A century later, the language of the land was officially termed English. Not until about 1000, however, did the entire country come to be known as England (land of the Angles).

The early English that the Teutonic invaders brought with them erased Latin (save in the Church) and drove Celtic forever to the north and west. Contemporary scholars distinguish three main chapters in its history: 1. Old English, from 450 to 1150; 2. Middle English, from 1150 to 1500; and 3. Modern English, from 1500 on.

Old English—or Anglo-Saxon—more nearly resembled German than modern English. Its word order was Germanic, and it had all the grammatical complications—elaborate declensions, conjugations and inflections—that still burden European languages and which modern English has happily thrown off. Like modern German, Old English had three genders—masculine, feminine and neuter—which arbitrarily and illogically bestowed masculinity or femininity on sexless objects, and the wrong sex, or no sex, on living beings. Thus maegden (maid-en) and wif (wife) were neuter, while weifmann (woman) was masculine.

The horde of irregular verbs that cluttered Old English has shrunk today to 68 (for example, sing, sang, sung), and the number of mutated plurals to seven: fest, goos, toot, ween, women, lieve and maes. Old English also included many "weak" plurals, formed as in modern German by adding a or an: for example, naman for names and earen for ears. Today only children, kine, brethren and oxen survive.

Of the original Old English vocabulary only 15% lives on unaltered and in common use today. Yet the survivors make up the basic stuff of English, the pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions that hold a sentence together, the short but sinewy auxiliary verbs, and the quintessential nouns and verbs that bespeak life: man, wife, child, house, meat, eat, sleep, drink, live, fight.

Old English was remarkably flexible. It continually extended its resources by making new words out of old ones—by combining two words, by stretching the meaning of existing words, and by attaching affixes to native stems or foreign words. Thus, as modern English joins small words to form self-explaining compounds—bedroom, steamboat, one-story street—so Old English freely improvised earthing (earring), foxtail (foxtail, or goose) and handclaws (handclaw). It employed such affixes as be-, on-, do-, and -ig to modify or expand the meaning of a root word. Thus Old English took settan (to set) and turned it into variants like besettan (to appoint), onsettan (to oppress) and unsettan (to put down). In like fashion, the addition of suffixes produced cynigdom (kingdom), wynnam (winesome) and mihlig (mighty).

The capacity of Old English to embrace new concepts and voices was put to a crucial test in the Seventh Century with the reconversion of England to Christianity by the Roman monk St. Augustine and his missionaries. Latin words emerged from the cloisters and entered everyday speech. Only a few were assimilated without change. Most underwent adaptations to suit them to the Anglo-Saxon ear and tongue. Aabo became abbot (abol); nonna, nunne (nun); and diabel, diven (devil). The Anglo-Saxon borrowed when they wished. They worshiped not the deus of Latin, but god (Old Saxon and Old Frisian). When they spoke of man’s end, heofon (heaven) and hell were on their minds. And if the spirit moved them, it was not spiritus sanctus but helligest (Holy Ghost). The early English also responded to the Christian stimulus by exercising their irrepressible talent for making little words into big ones. Thus they wrought such syntheses as præsthæad (priesthood), godfer (god-fearing), godsunu (godson) and crisæendum (Christendom).

Adapting, adapting or speaking in its own terms, Old English was capable of expressing virtually every concept of the human mind. Philologists sometimes wonder how Old English might have evolved in isolation, without later imports from across the Channel. One clue lies in the richness and color of Old English poetry, which began to flower with the stabilization of the Anglo-Saxon community in the Eighth Century, and continued through the Tenth. The existing volume of Anglo-Saxon poetry is small—perhaps 30,000 lines. Of this total about a tenth is represented by the greatest masterpiece of the period, the folk epic Beowulf. With rough splendor, it recounts the heroic exploits of the young warrior Beowulf who slew an amphibious monster named Grendel, descended deep into a fen to dispose of Grendel’s mother, and finally lost his life to a fire-breathing dragon.

A cardinal characteristic of Old English poetry is its profusion of metaphors. In Beowulf, for example, there are 36 different ways of saying “hero” or “prince,” 12 terms for “battle,” and 17 for “sea.” The king is “leader of boats,” “giver of rings,” “victory-lord,” and “protector of earls.” A warrior wields his “battle-brand” or “war-ahft,” and sails over the “sea-surge” or “whale-road” aboard his “broad-bosomed curved-stem.”

The Anglo-Saxon bards did not concern themselves with rhyme. Instead they obtained their poetic effects through alliteration—the repetition of the same initial letter or sound in the principal words of each line. Again Beowulf is typical with its “Stræt wæs stánfæt” (The street was stonelaid) and “in hyr grygereæsum, gangan swænum” (in their grim war-geard, swung along).

Along with the development of poetry in Old English, prose also flowered. English was, in fact, the first European language, after the fall of Rome, to engender a polished literary prose. Indeed with the spread of order and Christian-
founded the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a running history of England which continued for two centuries after his death. Most intellectual of all English kings, Alfred was the founder of English prose, father of English education and the se of its rulers whom England has honored as The Great.

During these years of turmoil many Viking ways and words entered English usage. The Danes transmitted, among other things, their duo-decimal system of counting in twelves instead of tens; whence came the dozen, the 12-inch foot, the 12-pence shilling and the jury of 12 good men and true. Equally deep-rooted in English life are the many words, especially place names, that stem from Scandinavian origins. More than 1,400 villages and towns in England bear Scandinavian names. The Scandinavian shorpe or sorp, meaning "village," endures in several 300 communities—Woodthorpe, Althorpe, Linstead and the like. Other Scandinavian terms that live on are beck (brook), as in Birkbeck and Troutbeck; fell (hill), as in Seafell and Whinfell; and girth (yard), as in Applegarth and Arkengarthdale. But perhaps the most ubiquitous Viking influence is the suffix from the Scandinavian byr, meaning "village," "farm" or "town." In all, more than 600 places in England—including Derby, Rugby and Whitby—incorporate the suffix in their names.

The Vikings also gave English a number of legal terms. The word law itself is Scandinavian—derived from the Old Norse lófr—meaning "that which is laid down." The syllable by crops up in by-law, meaning "town-law" or "local ordinance." Among the many other variants of law are outlaw, in-law and lawyer. In local government hosting (from husping, or "house assembly") and riding (originally thridding or "third part"—one of the three divisions of Yorkshire) survive. Husband was originally a legal term, stemming from the Scandinavian husbondi or "householder." Similarly the word fellow derives from félag, one who lays dofe ("fees"), hence a part-shareholder.

Time passed. Scandinavian and Old English intermingled. Neither gained a total victory. Thus the Scandinavian eorl (sior) displaced the Old English eageor and flourishes phonetically intact today. Today too we say week instead of the Old English wicewe, and window (from the Old Norse vinduæg) or "wind-eye") instead of eye-hole (from the Old English eogpyred or eye-thief). In many instances Scandinavian words, while not eliminating their Old English counterparts, have relegated them to the role of secondary synonyms. For example, the Scandinavian angr (anger) now dominates the Old English ire (ire), and sky has thrust the Old English soken into the obscurity of such archaic phrases as "Make the welkin ring." Conversely the Old English church has mastered the Scandinavian kirk, which is heard only in Scottish dialect (and at Hollywood funerals in the Wee Kirk o' the Heather).

By far the most important influence the Vikings exerted upon Old English was in the realm of grammar. Old English fostered a good deal of confusion about the third-person pronoun. It was difficult, phonetically, to distinguish between hē (he) and hie (they), hierē (her) and hiera (their), and him (him) and heam (them). Since men prefer to be understood, the Scandinavians clung to their own plural pronouns, they, their, them, and the English eventually adopted them in their own speech.

Philologists estimate that more than 900 words in modern English usage can claim a pure Scandinavian pedigree. But when they add words of probable Viking origin, plus others still used in regional dialects, the total soars into the thousands. English would not be English without the Scandinavian leaven of such words as boat, birth, crook, freckle, guess, happy, hit, kid, lug, meek, rotten, skull, take and thrust.

The era of Danish influence reached its zenith during the reign of King Canute from 1014 to 1035. But with the accession of Edward the Confessor seven years after Canute's death, the linguistic climate began to undergo a change. For Edward spoke French. His mother was a Norman, and he had been reared in Normandy. When Edward surrounded himself, to the resentment of the Anglo-Danish nobility, with Norman admirers and favorites, he introduced a new element into English life. French became the dominant speech of the court during his reign. In this and other ways Edward paved the way for that Conquest which would alter England and its language forever.

On Oct. 14, 1066, William of Normandy destroyed the English armies at the battle of Hastings and on Christmas Day he was crowned king in Westminster Abbey. Unlike their Viking predecessors, the Normans did not assimilate. They entered England as an alien ruling class and kept their eyes focused on France. For two centuries after the Conquest the language of the governing classes was French. It was not until Henry IV came to the throne in 1399 that England again had a king whose mother tongue was English.

During the first 150 years of the Norman era, the infiltration of French words into English went slowly. Up to 1250 barely 1,000 French loan words had entered English. Of these the largest number were ecclesiastical. They included preach, friar, clergy, baptism, grace, paradise and savior. Other major categories subsequently gave English such essentials as court, country, parliament, baron, viscount, marquis, duke, prince (but not king and queen), English words that conquered the conquerors), judge, jury, sue attorney, crime, marriage, interest, cash, rent, art, pillar, vault, aisle, pleas.
Years' War broke out and French became an enemy tongue. In 1349-50 the ravages of the Black Death caused a critical shortage of labor and a leap in wages and prices; artisans, craftsmen, yeomen and bourgeoisie all profited. Since they spoke only English, their rise further abetted the use of the native tongue. Moreover, hundreds of teachers and scholars had perished during the plague. Faced with a dearth of academics versed in French and Latin, many schools resorted to instruction in English. By 1385 the practice had become general in universities and monastic institutions.

Of all the forces making for the supremacy of English, none had greater effect than the rising use of the vernacular as an instrument of artistic expression. All great literature of England from the middle of the 14th Century was composed in English. The five decades from 1350 to 1400 produced an extraordinary series of works: Piers Plowman, a long allegorical poem by William Langland; John Wykeham's English Bible; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, finest of chivalric romances; and, above all, The Canterbury Tales. Geoffrey Chaucer, first great poet to write in English, stood on the threshold of the modern language. Behind him lay early Middle English with its vestiges of Anglo-Saxon inflections and spelling and its first leanings toward French. Before him spread the glories of Modern English which reached full flower with Shakespeare two centuries later.

In the period between 1250 and 1400, the year of Chaucer's death, an estimated 10,000 French words slipped quietly into English speech; of these, 75 per cent survive. The trend is revealed in Chaucer's own works. His poetic vocabulary consisted of approximately 8,000 words, slightly over half of them French. Chaucer was thus the first to exploit the richest resource of the English language: the treasure trove of native and borrowed words, synonyms and near-synonyms upon which the artist can draw to achieve nuances of meaning and rhythm.

Beyond question Chaucer was a powerful agent in the process of crystallizing the English language. He could have written with equal facility in French or Latin. He chose to write in English. The body of his work therefore endures as a milestone in the evolution of English, for it signaled the acceptance by a master of a hybrid vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and French derivation, fused at last into a fluid, flexible instrument for precise or poetic expression.

Among the interior changes that occurred in English at this time was the final expunging of grammatical complexities, the completion of the process of simplification that had begun with the Vikings and accelerated after the Norman conquest. Scores of irregular verbs (akin to sing, sang, sung) gave way to regular verbs like love, loved, loved. Nearly a third of the irregular verbs current in Old English died out during the Middle English period. English dropped forever the idio- cacy of grammatical gender. Hence today English has the single def-
In the Elizabethan Age, when Queen Elizabeth bestowed her patronage on the great playwrights, English soared to grandeur. The queen (above, right) is shown at a command performance.

The extraordinary passion for the classics opened the gates of English to new verbal invasion as drastic as any that had ever occurred. And a new zeal for reading old masterpieces in the original and putting dead languages to work precipitated a wholesale infusion of Latin and Greek into the English lexicon. To this day the terminology of such scientific disciplines as biology, botany, chemistry, physics and medicine is overwhelmingly (and often, to the layman, incomprehensibly) Latin and Greek. Language scholars have been able to fix the precise years in which certain words were exhausted and welcomed into the living vocabulary of English.

Among these linguistic debuts were: arbiter, 1502; genius, 1513; pollen, 1523; acumen, 1531; area, 1538; circus, 1546; axis, 1549; species, 1551; decorum, 1568; omne, 1582; radius, 1597; and cirrus, 1599.

Shakespeare, like others, thrust his pen boldly and resourcefully into the classical fountainhead. Many of the words he appropriated were new, having appeared in English only a year or two before he found use for them. But he also produced some of his own, introducing them into English for the first time in his plays. These include: accommodation, assassination, diocletian, frugal, indistinguishable, misanthrope, obscene, penant and many more.

In addition to simple borrowing, English writers occasionally employed more complex forms of linguistic larceny. Sometimes they would appropriate a word and edit or extend its meaning to suit their own purposes. Thus the statesman-scholar Sir Thomas Elyot, groping for a single word to express "all manner of learning, which of some is called... the circle of doctrine," reached into ancient Greek and came up with encyclopaedia. Again, seeking a word for "the rule of the communal," Sir Thomas hit upon the Greek word democracia.

The passage of time also produced mutations in the meanings of many words that came into the language on the crest of the classical wave. Some became so English that their original connotations have been forever lost. Today, for example, only Greek scholars are aware that athlete means "a contestant for an athlon or prize"; that atom means something "uneut" or "indivisible."

Inventive writers and scholars also resorted to the old Anglo-Saxon trick of creating hybrid compounds as their forbears had done with French. Now they disported themselves with Greek and Latin suffixes, combining them with root words from every strain in England's linguistic past and thus creating new compounds in enormous profusion. The process has never ceased. Among the thousands of quasi-classical compounds that swell English today are:demoralize, finalize, frastrinate, mechanize, slenderize and winterize.

A glance at the dictionary reveals the host of words that can begin with any one of the prefix
The English language attained its fullest flowering at the turn of the 17th Century—in the decade when Shakespeare produced his greatest plays, and the translators and authors of the King James version of the Bible completed their collaborative masterpiece. Now at last, English speech, which started as a trickle of dialects in the earliest times of modern man, had become a swelling mainstream that would spread its influence throughout the world. The language would continue to develop. But in its lifetime up to now it has never surpassed and rarely equaled this age of glory.

The great Tudor educator Richard Mulcaster sensed its splendor. He said: "I take this present period of our English tongue to be the very height thereof, because I find it so excellently well fined, both for the body of the tongue itself, and for the customary writing thereof. When the age of our people, which now use the tongue so well, is dead and departed there will another succeed, and with the people the tongue will alter and change. Which change in the full harvest thereof may prove comparable to this, but sure for this which we now use, it seemeth even now to be at the best for substance, and the bravest for circumstance, and whatsoever shall become of the English state, the English tongue cannot prove fairer than it is at this day."

In that same century, the English language began its circumnavigation of the world. Its first syllables reached the Western Hemisphere in 1497 when John Cabot, an Italian-born explorer in British employ, sailed from Bristol across the cold, uncharted ocean and claimed Newfoundland in the name of King Henry VII. Farther south, Captain John Smith founded the first permanent English settlement in North America at Jamestown in 1607. In 1620 the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock.

On the other side of the globe the process of linguistic expansion was also gaining headway. It had begun in 1600 with the founding of the East India Company in response to the Dutch maritime challenge. Within the next few decades the first English-speaking settlements in Asia were established at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Midway in the 18th Century the English language reached the antipodes, when Captain Cook raised the British flag over New Zealand and Australia. In 1795 English came to Africa with the occupation of Cape Town, and thence spread gradually northward to the Nile. Radiating to all points of the compass London town across thousands of miles of perilous seas, the winds of trade and business enterprise conveyed the language of England in its literary
heyday to the far places of both hemispheres.

The first colonists arrived in America at a time when the plays of Shakespeare, Marlowe and Ben Jonson were magnificently under the splendors of their native tongue—the time of Hamlet, Macbeth, Doctor Faustus and Volpone. The language that disembarked at Jamestown and Plymouth was Elizabethan English, rich and resourceful, fluid and flexible, ready to borrow and invent words, or to interchange parts of speech. And so, since the colonial period when the Old World and the New were separated by vast spans of open sea and months of travel time, the American language has sailed down its own roads on a course of its own devising.

Many features of standard American speech were inventions devised to meet the necessities of a new existence and made possible by the virtuosity of the English pioneers to describe the features of a strange new land, mantled with strange birds and peopled by strange aborigines speaking a strange language and pursuing strange ways of life. Many "Americanisms" are borrowings from this strange language. Yet curiously, many others are in fact archaisms, relics of the pure Elizabethan speech imported by the original colonists and preserved in use in the U.S., while the mother tongue of the homeland grad-

Contact with the Indians influenced the map as well as language. Here some of Captain Smith's adventures and a quite accurate map are taken from his very popular Generall Historie of 1624.

the 17th Century forms and accents once shared in common.

The survival of these Elizabethan elements in American speech is, however, no unique linguistic phenomenon. For all transplanted languages tend to preserve their conservative features. Thus today
in Canadian French, in Icelandic Norse and in the Spanish of Latin America, though they have long since evaporated from the ancient fountains of speech whence once they sprang. The fact that many Americanisms are actually survivors from the golden age of English literature has been known to scholars for more than a century. It inspired James Russell Lowell’s dry observation that the American colonists “unhappily could bring over no English better than Shakespeare’s.”

The areas of divergence between American and British English lie mostly in vocabulary and pronunciation—the spoken word. Literary English remains more or less standard on all continents. Differences in grammar and syntax are inconsequential, and where they do appear it is often American English that has preserved the earlier form. A notable example is found in the past participle of the verb to get. Americans employ two forms—got and gotten. Thus in the U.S. one may say “I’ve got five dollars”—connoting present possession. One may also say “I’ve just gotten a new car”—indicating recent acquisition. An Englishman never uses gotten; he considers it incorrect, discordant and an Americanism. But gotten was once the proper participial form. In Middle English the infinitive of the verb to get was gotten; the past tense was got (still very much with us in the Old Testament’s list of “begat”); and the past participle was gotten. In time got became got, and gotten became gotten. Toward the middle of the 17th Century the final syllable of gotten withered and faded away in England, though it flourishes lustily as ever in both written and spoken American usage today.

Another small grammatical distinction between British and American English lies in the treatment of collective nouns—like government, crowd, company, team and the like. In England the tendency is to regard such words as plural and to follow them with plural verbs and pronouns—as in such a sentence as “The government have committed themselves to . . .” An analogous sentence in the U.S. would read: “The administration has committed itself to . . .” Similarly, in another domain, a British newspaper reporting a regatta won by the crew of Jesus College, Oxford, might headline its story: JESUS ROW TO CLOSE VICTORY. But on the other side of the Atlantic every baseball fan can quote the immortal remark of the Brooklyn Dodgers’ former manager, Charlie Dressen: “The Giants is dead.”

In spelling as in grammar the differences between Old and New World English are few and relatively unimportant. Many derive from Noah Webster, compiler of America’s first great dictionary and an advocate of spelling reform, who as early as 1789 urged the amputation of the k from critical, tick, kidd, quick and quicken. Webster also proposed dropping one l from traveller and travelled. Hence in a great class of words like canceled, chiseled, equalized, jeweled, labeled, rivaled, totaled, etc., American form now elects the single l where British requires two.

It is amid the rocky ranges of pronunciation, however, that the deepest chasms of the English-speaking world lie gaping. “We and the Americans have much in common,” Oscar Wilde once observed, “but there is always the language barrier.” Yet pronunciation varies with time, as well as in space, and many of the accents and intonations of U.S. speech today derive from those which the 17th Century settlers transplant ed to American soil. A good number of those initial immigrants were educated citizens of the middle class, schooled at a time when standards of English were becoming stabilized around the idiom of the Tudor court and literary London, whence they radiated out-
served, while the mutation of a once-vulgar form occurred in the linguistic homeland.

An equally notable divergence between English and American developed with changing usages of the letter r—especially in such words as bird, word, heard, infer, learn, and turn. Before Shakespeare's time the individual vowels in these words had quite separate and distinct values—e.g., the i in bird was pronounced like the i in bed; the o in word was like the o in worn; the ea in heard was like the ea in health; the e in infer was like the e in infect; and the a in turn was equivalent to the oo in took (hence worn). During the 16th Century these separate combinations, having in common only the letter r, began to converge into a uniform pronunciation approximating the sound err. The merging process apparently originated in the lower or lower-middle class dialect of London as early as 1560, and then crept gradually upward through various shadings into educated and court circles. Today poets on both shores of the Atlantic can rhyme learn and turn, firm and worm, and bir, inferred, heard, word and the U.S. In such words as dictionary, necessary, oratory and secretary, the trailing syllables receive full value from Americans, while the British swallow them, so that the words emerge as diction're, ne'cess're, or'a'try and se'eret'y. Here again it is the American pronunciation which has descended from Elizabethan times and the British which represents a modern elision. For the existence of the secondary stress in Shakespeare's day is clearly revealed by the scansion of Hamlet's famous line, Nor customary sits of solemn block. Summing up differences between U.S. and British pronunciation, the famous English actor George Arlia remarked, "The chief fault in speech in America is sloppiness and the outstanding defect in England is snippiness."

It is in the field of vocabulary, however, that American English can boast lay claim to being, if not a separate language (as some linguistic chauvinists like to insist), at least the most important tributary in the great mainstream of our common tongue. In colonial America, as elsewhere in the expanding British empire, new words were invented, improvised, borrowed and translated from native languages to describe new things, experiences, flora and fauna, occupations and activities for which no counterparts existed in England. New and special vocabularies came into being and, as they circulated, many words worked back into the central treasury of the English tongue. The first borrowings to enter the language from America were Indian words. At the time of the colonial landings an estimated one million aboriginal tribesmen ranged the enormous wilderness, sparsely distributed and fragmentated by some 350 languages. Since most of the main linguistic families with which the settlers came in contact—Algonquian and Iroquoian in the east, Muskogian in the south, Siouan in the Great Plains region, and Uto-Aztecan in the southwest—contained sounds which do not occur in English, the pioneers could only approximate them in speech and spelling. Hence the word raccoon—one of the very first Indian words to enter the English language—made its debut in Captain John Smith's True Relation, published in 1608, with a thick Algonquian accent as raukaucon, roughacon, and raukraucons. Some spelling to raukaucon. But it was not until 1672 that the raccoon finally emerged in its present neat phonetic attire. Another animal described by Smith as having "an head like a swine, a taile like a rat, and is of the bignes of a cat."

The Land

Bush. Wooded, scrubby country—any rural area.
To be bushed. To be lost or confounded.
To go bush. To disappear.
Gibber plains. Stony wastelands.

The Neer Neer. The remotest of inland areas, "back of beyond."
The Outback. The hinterland in general.
Willy Willy. A cyclonic storm of local intensity.

Indigenous Wild Life

Animals: bandicoot, cuscus kangaroo, koala, platypus, wallaby, wombat.
Birds: bowerbird, budgerigar, emu, lyrebird.
Fish: barramundi, beardie, goanna fish, jumping joey, little wolf, mulloway, nannyygai, snail-eyed marvel, tibbagaroo, wobegong.

Bush and Outback Terms

To bullack. To work hard.
Cherubim. Unbranded cattle, also politician with clean record.
Digger. Originally a miner, now Aussie soldier.
Dingo. Australian wild dog.
To fossick. To hunt gold, now to rummage (for anything).

From the Aborigines

Billabong. A silted pool in a river bend.
Boomerang. Boomerang.
Dillybag. A bag made of grass or fur, from shillas (bag).

Gibber. A stone.
Gin. A female Aborigine.
Humpy. A small hut, building.
Jumbuck. A sheep.

Plink. Cheaper wine.
Pony. A small horse.
Send her down, Hughie! "Please, Lord, let it rain!"
Shade. A makeshift bed.
To whinge. To complain.
Wog. A germ, virus, or the disease it causes.
Woofer. A strait-laced, puritanical fanatic.

Other Aussie Terms

To barrack. To jeer or tease.
Dinkum. Authentic, "the real McCoy."
Groser. A hard worker.
Greasie. Good, excellent.
To jack up. To abandon, reject.
Larrakia. A young tough.
Picnic. A real mess.
Plank. Cheaper wine.

However, another evolutionary process had also come into play. Little by little the consonantal strength of the r slowly waned in southern England and by the end of the 18th Century it had faded away entirely. In Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary, published in 1791, it is noted that "in England, and particularly in London, the r in bar, bard, card, regard, etc. is pronounced so much in the throat as to be little more than the middle or Italian a, lengthened into bee, bodd, caad, regard."

Transplanted to America by the settlers of New England, this mannerism has flourished and still flourishes in the vicinity of Boston. It provides the distinctive color of the so-called "Haaavoid accent," and it, of course, suffused the accent of the Haaavoid-educated John F. Kennedy. Elsewhere in America, notably in the Western Midwest, the strong consonantal r resounds vigorously, perpetuated by the descendants of later waves of immigrants from the northern English counties and Scotland.

Modulations of cadence and stress also differentiate the qual-
Besides the new animals and plants, the settlers were confronted also with new objects, artifacts and concepts unique to Indian culture. Here too they simply appropriated the native terms: e.g., hominy, mackinaw, mocassin, papoose, pemmican, ponc, pouwana, sachem, squaw, tepee, terrapin and wigwam. In the naming process some words were taken over into English virtually intact, others were abbreviated or revised. Thus the Narragansett askutasquash was shortened to squash, misiskutasquash was simplified to succotash, and wepaunam was reduced to swampum. Sometimes the settlers, instead of borrowing an Indian expression outright, translated it into English. The term firewater is a literal translation of the Algonquian scowlouabou; paleface is English for the Ojibwa urbinélixin. Other Anglo-Saxon renderings of Indian terms, real or imagined, produced such well-known compounds as warpath, war paint, war club, peace pipe, and Great White Father. Language scholars estimate that, all told, the American Indian enriched the English language by some 1,700 words—counting both straight loan words and derivatives—of which about half were in common use by the end of the 17th Century.

Perhaps the greatest heritage bequeathed by the red man to the U.S., however, may be seen on the map—in the profusion of Indian place names. At the dawn of the colonial period the homesick pioneers nostalgically transplanted English names to American soil—hence there are in the U.S. today 28 Newporta, 22 Londona and New Londona, 19 Bristoll, 19 Boston and New Bostona, 15 Princetona and 12 Richards. But as they pushed deeper into the wilderness they increasingly retained local Indian names for rivers, mountains, lakes and other features of the landscape. Today more than half of the states in the Union bear names of Indian origin; so do four out of five of the Great Lakes, several mountain ranges, the nation’s longest river, second city and greatest waterfall, and more than 1,000 assorted waterways, lakes and ponds. The state of Maine is liberally splattered with such names as Allagash, Casco, Penobscot, Penagwessabamawocook, Oquossoc, Passadumkeag, and Unumabuntu.

The Indians, however, provided only the initial freshness in the torrent of new words that soon would swell the reservoir of the American language. For increasingly as the years passed the colonists coined, rather than borrowed, terms of their own to describe indigenous features of their adopted homeland. Among their earliest creations were ground hog (1656) and bullfrog (1698). Later they invented black Adler, canfish, canvas back, kurybidd, mocking bird, mud hen, potato bug, sweet potato and whippoorwill. The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803 gave names to no fewer than 412 previously unrecorded plants and animals which were observed on their historic trip to the Far West—among them bull snake, caddo, copperhead, cottonwood, ground squirrel and tumblebug.

As their initial holdings enlarged, the English colonists increasingly came in contact with their competitors who were the French, the Spanish and the Dutch. They were also endeavoring to carve chunks of empire from the expansive unbounded wilderness. At many points of encounter along the broken and disputed frontier, the rival languages met and mingled, and words—of various kinds—were exchanged.

From the French couveur and coureurs des bois, the Anne American settlers picked up such useful words as bateau, butte, coulee, charivari (now often shivaree), choiseul (from chaudière), gopher (from saigny meaning honeycomb), levee, portage, prairie, rapids, and (via French from Indian) bayou, caribou and tobaggon. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 they acquired prairie, picayune (originally the French name for a Spanish coin) and buccaneer (applied first to early French settlers in the West Indies).

Like the French, the Dutch had previously exported a wealth of words—particularly involving painting, weaving and navigation—to their English neighbors across the Channel prior to the 17th Century. Now in America they handed over a few more to their English neighbors in New Amsterdam—boss, coleslaw, pix (as in fruit), Santa Claus, scoop (a small porch) and Yankee (a corruption of Jan Kees, meaning “John Cheese,” a derivative of a native name applied to Dutchmen their rivals in the New World as early as 1683). The so-called Pennsylvania Dutch, as opposed to the New York Dutch, were actually Germans from the Rhenish Palatinate who migrated to America in the 17th Century. To 18th Century American menus they gave the noodle, the pretzel and sauerkraut. Other German specialties came later.

Of all European languages which have augmented the American vocabulary, none has contributed more liberally than Spanish. With the opening of the West, following the Mexican War and the California gold rush of 1848, Spanish words of many categories became part of everyday speech in the western and southwestern portions of the U.S. Among these early loan words were: topographical terms like canyon, mesa and sierra; mining terms like bonanza, Eldorado, placer; building terms like adobe, plaza; articles of clothes chaps (from charperejos), poncho, sombrero; legal terms like caballo (from cabala, dungeon or jail), desperado, incomunicado, hoosegow (from juzgado, court of justice).
felt that it was the duty of Americans to develop a national and independent speech of their own, free from regional dialects and attuned to standards of literary excellence. To this end Webster devoted his whole life. He compiled the first American speller, reader and grammar. His American Dictionary of the English Language, published in 1828, became the supreme arbiter of American speech.

Webster's services to the language were abetted by the schoolteacher who employed his texts in class and the Yankee peddler who brought them to the smallest villages of the far frontier. Two other factors accelerated the growth of the national idiom: the mobility of the population and the flexibility of a social order in which the ancient class distinctions of England had been consciously erased. These developments did not go unnoticed in English literary circles. The first rumblings of disapproval were voiced even before the Revolution. As early as 1756 Dr. Samuel Johnson in reviewing a book by an American author, denounced its "mixture of American dialect" as "a tract of corruption to which every language widely diffused must always be exposed." Webster's Dictionary contained some 12,000 words that had not appeared in Johnson's or any other dictionary. And more new words came in a deluge, from cities and farms, from industry and science, from ranching and railroad, and from the swelling streams of immigrants who converged on the new open country from all parts of Europe. The protests of purists went unheeded.

Many of the current idioms fell harshly on polite British ears, for they were products of a free and easy time of expanding horizons and boundless promise. The national hero was Andrew Jackson, epitomized by H. L. Mencken as "the archetype of the new American—ignorant, pushful, impatient of restraint and precedent, an iconoclast, a Philistine, an Angliophile in every fiber." The legendary heroes of the western frontier were noisy adventurers who liked to claim, each one, that he could out-drink, out-eat, out-run, out-fight, and out-talk anyone else in the wooly West. Their admiration for the big and bombastic found its verbal outlet in wild hyperbole and the invention of boodle, cantankerous, casuampus, conboberation, helliferocious, highfalutin, horsenoggin, obfusci-cate, rambunctious, sockdologer, splendiferous and spondericks. That this taste still persists is evidenced by such recent coinages as bongodgling, gobbledygook, supercolossal, snoddygaster (used by President Truman in 1952) and (in sports signifying determination and drive on the part of an athletic team) the old hucklety-buck and spizterinkum.

Oscar Wilde and G. B. Shaw saw these casual Americanisms as a fact and immaterialized it with epithets. England's insistence on a plural verb after the collection is exemplified above by another sports headline.

grams. England's insistence on a plural verb after the collection is exemplified above by another sports headline.
Many of these were roughnecks, who liked to sit down to a square meal and get drunk at a saloon party, but did their best to avoid a shotgun wedding. When things turned out, they struck it rich, whereupon they splurged and painted the town red. But sometimes things petered out; then they either jumped a claim or pulled up stakes and let out in quest of a boom town where some day they might hope to do a land-office business. The rich vocabulary of the forty-niners, in addition to producing new words like hooligan and deadbeat, also preserved a number of archaisms from rural English dialects, such as gally, gush, gumpion and deck (as opposed to a pack of cards).

Following the first wave of pioneers and prospectors came the farmers, pushing westward with their families via covered wagon, prairie schooner, buckboard, surrey and stage. Some negotiated the first leg of their journey down the Ohio River by flatboat or keelboat. Some became homesteaders; others were mere squatters for whom some was no more than a log cabin and a small lot enclosed by a wimp fence to confine the cow. The lucky ones who prospered in the corn belt or the wheat belt or who found good stamping grounds farther west could afford hired hands. A profusion of colorful farming terms soon entered the U.S. vernacular—talk turkey, kick like a steer, fly off the handle, have an ox to grind, hold your horses, and not worth a hill of beans.

It was not only on the frontier, however, that Americans invented words. Back east the genius of U.S. technology produced the cotton gin, the telegraph and telephone, the sewing machine, the elevator, the escalator, the electric chair, the refrigerator and the skyscraper (originally an 18th Century nautical term applied to the topmost skysail). Individual inventors gave their names to the Bowie knife, the Colt revolver, the Pullman car, and the Maxim machine gun. Benjamin Franklin invented bifocals and the Franklin stove. Thomas Jefferson invented the swivel chair.

American business also enriched American English. From Wall Street came boom and bust, bulls and bears, bucket shop, gilt-edged stock and watered stock; from industry, the assembly line, pay-rolled, trade-mark and trouble shooter; and from the turbulent annals of labor, strike, sidetrack strike, sweatshop, freeze-out, lockout, cooling-off period, take-home pay, fink, goof, scab and white-collar worker.

The most fertile seedbed of American word-coineage has been the field of politics. Since every nation's history lies embedded in its native lexicon, it is not surprising that many of America's political terms speak with unmistakably rustic accents—logrolling, pump-priming, pork barrel, alimony. Doubtful candidates are dark horses, popular candidates are favorites, defeated incumbents are lame ducks, bold campaigners stand foursquare on the party platform, cagery ones sit on the fence. In the big cities a politician may be backed by a machine or he may be a rabble rouser. But all of them hope for a landslide.

America's political past is populated by many strange creatures—copperheads, carpetbaggers, mavericks, magumps, rookbacks and scalawags—all of complex ancestry. But of all America's native political terms, none entered the American lexicon by such a deviant route as the word filibuster. During the 16th Century when the Dutch merchant marine dominated the seas, their word for private was wrijissent (from vrij meaning free, plus buit meaning booty). Their English rivals Anglicized and transliterated the word to freebooter. The Spanish then reshaped freebooter into filibustero. During the 19th Century the term filibustero, or in the U.S. filibuster, was applied to an adventurer who engaged in running arms to revolutionists in Cuba and the Central American republics. In 1853 an angry congressman in a House debate declared that his opponents were "filibustering" against the American government. The term caught on and since 1853 the word filibuster has denoted a delaying action in legislative procedure.

In the process of linguistic evolution words rise and fall in social standing. The 19th Century was addicted to gentilities—i.e., euphemisms for supposedly vulgar expressions. Even before Victoria became queen in 1838 the trend toward prudery was well advanced in American polite society, owing perhaps to the dominant status and influence of women. During the 1830s words like bitch, boar, buck, ram, sow and stallion virtually disappeared. The Biblical ass became a jackass or donkey; the bull became one creature or seed ox; and manure became dressing. In the domain of human anatomy, belly and bosom were not to be mentioned and a leg became a limb. The word seat was for a while more delicate than chair, but when it came into use as backside, the French derriere supplanted the anatomical seat and the chair returned to the parlor. A lady was enceinte, never pregnant. And one never went to bed, one retired.

The euphemism remains today one of the liveliest elements in American speech. The tendency to upgrade the prosaic and dignify the ignoble pervades every area of U.S. life, and the technique by which it is accomplished is the alchemy of the public relations expert. Today most businesses hold positions rather than jobs. When they buy a house they consult a realtor who shows them split-level or ranch-style dwellings on an estate. Their garbage is removed by sanitary engineers and their bugs combated by exterminating engineers. When a death occurs a mortician is consulted. He

**Linguistic wealth**

Next to the U.S., the vast subcontinent of India is the oldest outpost of the English language on earth. The paradox of India today is that although English is the language of the government, education and business, the Constitution specifically states that Hindi shall be the official language of the land. The Constitution, however, is written in English.

Some individual English words have worked their way into the various Indian languages. Among those which have been borrowed are: apil (appeal), giles (glass), gharial (tail), rasid (receipt), simkin (champagne) and tulang (tumbler). But the reverse process has been of quite a different order. The Oxford English Dictionary lists 900 basic words derived from India, thousands of derivations.

Many Indian words entered the English lexicon indirectly, long before the advent of British rule. For India's relations with the West go back to antiquity, when Greek and Roman traders ventured overland through Asia Minor and Persia in quest of ivory, spices and precious stones. From this ancient trade, European craftsmen and merchants came to know beryl, camphor, emerald, ginger, musk, opal, pepper, rice, sandal and sugar.

In 1510 the Portuguese occupied Goa and became the dominant traders in the East throughout the following century. A Portuguese-Indian lingua franca evolved along the seacoast. From it a number of native words passed through various mutations into the English lexicon, among them: betel (from Malayalam betel, meaning simple leaf), copra (from Malayalam kokapura, coconut kernel), enantron (from Tamil kattu, binding, plus maras, wood; hence a raft), curry (from Tamil kari, sauce), monsoon (adopted in India from Arabic maasun, season), palanquin (from Sanskrit paryanka, a bed), seals, from Malayalam teksa) and servinda (from Hindi barandha, a porcine). In addition, a number of Portuguese words entered the Indian vernacular whence they were later appropriated by the English: caste (from Portuguese casta, meaning unmixed race), cobra (from Portuguese cobre de capelo, hooded serpent) and tank (from Portuguese tânque, a pool or reservoir).

On New Year's Eve, 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the East India Company, an institution that would dominate India in ever greater degree until 1773 when Parliament passed the Regulating Act asserting its control over the company and thereby indirectly over India itself. During the 17th Century, principal concern of the British in India—despite the romantic evocations of rajahs' rubies and rare aromatic spices—was textiles. From Calicut came coconuts, a white cloth so important in the trade that for a while its name became a generic term connoting all cotton fabrics from the east. A stained or painted
In the field of economics the forbidden word is depression. The last depression was in the 1930s. Since then there have been recurrences, but even that term is somewhat indelicate today. At a congressional hearing not long ago a government economist, questioned as to whether America was experiencing a recession, replied in the negative, explaining that the situation was characterized by the temporary absence of those affirmative forces necessary to provide the upward thrust required for the resumption of economic growth.

Apart from euphemisms and metaphors, the process of wordmaking is an unending one and it continues in America today as prodigally as ever in the past. Thus today the contemporary American vocabulary is spangled with such new but ubiquitous compounds as aqualung, astronaut, hobby-wacker, carhop, cinema-mart, doubletalk, hot rod, juke-box, paratrooper, radiogram, sociable, teen-ager, telexen, whirlybird and imog. By adding suffices of varied linguistic ancestry, inventive Americans have spawned such modern hybrids as beatnik, bloodmobile, bouncerama, drum majorette, golfsia, motorcade, natteratorium, poyola, squarosville and talkathon.

As Shakespeare so often did, Americans casually convert nouns into verbs (to audition, to park, to service, to orbit); verbs into nouns (a dump, a strike, a scoop, a probe, a drive); nouns into adjectives (air tragedy, cover girl, disk jockey, rat race, skin ducer, space age, summit meeting); adjectives into nouns, (basics, briefs, compacts, sets and drys) and verbs into adjectives (proof car, squawk box, speakeasy and it's all go). A favorite trick is to combine a verb and an adverb to obtain such combinations as check-up, count-down, cutback, drive-in, feedback, pushover, pin-up girl, sit-in, slowdown and walk-up apartment. On occasion Americans shorten words by cropping syllables either from the beginning or the end. Thus, among examples of front-clipping, Americans have derived phone from telephone, coon from raccoon, plane from airplane, passum from opossum and pop from soda pop. By the process of back clipping there are ad from advertisement, gas from gasoline, hood from hoodlum, memo from memorandum, movie from moving picture, and sis from sister.

guage in America today differs from that of the past primarily with respect to its vocabulary. Its underlying architecture remains the same, and its mechanisms of invention and expansion have not changed. Only the youngest and newest of the words are different. Yet throughout the long history of the English tongue the challenge of new concepts and experiences has repeatedly forced new words into being. And doubtless the unimaginable events of the future will continue to do so. For the life of a great language is rather like that of some giant tree in the evergreen rain forests of the tropics. It knows no seasons. Around the year, random leaves detach themselves and flutter to the forest floor, and as they fall new ones appear. So in English, words which were useful in the past lie forgotten now, while new words unfold and flutter in human speech.

The contrasts between English and American idioms that so distressed the critics of the 18th and 19th centuries are slowly being erased by all the manifold modern agencies of communication. One of the most notable characteristics of the American language since the days of Adams and Webster has been its constant striving for national uniformity. Of larger importance is the fact that as the distances of the planet shrink, and as transatlantic channels of radio and television clear their throats, the intonations of English and American voices will increasingly converge. Already numerous American idioms and inflections have entered British speech. At the same time cultivat

calico called chintz in Hindi was exported and marketed as chintz as early as 1614, and by 1619 the trade name gunny (from Sanskrit, gani, a sack), had become attached to a type of sack manufactured from jute (Sanskrit, juta, fibrous root). During the 18th and 19th centuries New England provided a good market, trading apples and ice for these fabrics as well as for seersucker and bandanna handkerchiefs. In the 19th Century a coarse and heavy type of cotton known as dungaree (from Hindi, dungri) became popular as a material for trousers.

As the East India Company expanded along the coast, establishing new factories and trading posts, the resident English adapted to the customs of the land. They lived in bungalows (from Bengali bangle, house), drank panigh (from Sanskrit panich, five ingredients) and toddy (from Hindi tari, juice of the palmyra tree), smoked cheroots, encased their midriffs in cambric-bunds, and brought their India girl friends sarts and bangles.

Midway in the 18th Century, Britain's purely commercial interest in India was superseded by full military and administrative control. The exigencies of police activity, local wars and the training of an Indian army brought new terms into common use in the press and in Parliament: e.g., sepoy, a native soldier in English uniform, loot (from Hindi loot, a body of native irregulars whose chief object was plunder) and, later, khaki (from Persian khakh, dust), muski, pautes and tattoo. Many of the new rulers of India amassed huge fortunes and returned home bearing such exotic gifts as shawls from Cashmere, pyjamas (from Hindi pathama, a leg garment) and platters and bowls aglitter with lac (now lacquer). They told tales of tiger hunts in the jungle. When they had their hair washed they called the performance a shampoo (from Hindi, chimpo, a massage). When they dismissed a subject brusquely, they said, "I don't care a dam"—a dam being an Indian coin of very small value.

One of the most precious exports transmitted by the British to the West was a knowledge of Indian philosophy and metaphysics. An employee in the Bengal division of the East India Company translated the great Hindu epic, the Bhagavad-Gita, in 1785. The Upanishads and the Ramayana were translated in the first decade of the 19th Century. These towering works exerted a profound influence on Kant, Schopenhauer and Schiller in Germany and later upon Emerson, Whittier and Thoreau in America.

The Western world awakened to the deep complexities of Buddhism and Hinduism, specialized terms like Brahma, guru, karma, mahatma, nirvana, svami, vedanta and yoga came into widespread use; and their diffusion continues at an accelerating tempo today with the growing appeal of Oriental mysticism to the people of a troubled time.

from the Indies
Further Readings


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