"NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T" ONCE MORE: THE LOSS AND INSERTION OF DENTAL STOPS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses the issue of the contextual disappearance of dental consonants in medieval English. The loss of dental [d] is analogous to the loss of labial [b] in that both occurred in homorganic clusters, although the loss of the dental is less systematic. In the study, a distinction is made between a permanent and a sporadic loss of the dental. The relatively rare opposite process of *d*-insertion after [n], observed in loanwords from French, is also given some attention. An effort is made to determine the extent of the loss of the dentals in both time and space.

1. Cluster simplification

The history of English pronunciation offers numerous instances of a simplification of word-final consonant groups and, conversely, a formation of new clusters, these processes operating without much consistency. Consonantal sequences subject to simplification include both homorganic clusters, like /ld, ln/, and non-homorganic clusters, like /mn/. Especially prominent are such developments in consonant combinations involving a nasal and a homorganic voiced plosive consonant, i.e. labial /mb/, dental /nd/ and velar /ŋg/, all the three contributing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowels in Old English. Occasionally we witness the rise of a cluster because of an addition of a new consonant to the existing one, as in OE *þuma* > *thumb*, now again pronounced without the labial plosive. But while cluster simplification is a real phonological development, the formation of clusters in syllable-final position as a result of consonant insertion, has nothing to do with sound change, being merely an instance of analogy.

Since a relatively detailed account of changes affecting the labial cluster [mb] can be found in Wełna (2005), the present paper concentrates on a descrip-

tion of the fates of words containing [nd], another word-final voiced homorganic cluster, in Middle English and at the turn of Early Modern English, with focus on the 13th and 14th centuries. The corpus of words containing the word-final sequence [nd] is based on Piotrowski's reverse word list (1993), while quotations of Middle English sentences come from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) and the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*). (For a full list of words subject to analysis, see the Appendix.)

2. Hitherto accounts of the change

The authors of historical phonologies of English concentrate on the examination of vowels rather than consonants since changes in the latter class only rarely have a systemic character, i.e. they seldom affect the system of phonemes. To systemic changes belong, for instance, the acquisition of the phonemic status by English fricatives or the rise of the phoneme /ʒ/, while the majority of consonant changes are sporadic and of a purely distributional type. For this reason the only modification of consonant clusters which offers some challenge to structurally oriented linguists is the simplification of the syllable-final velar combination /ŋg/ in which the loss of the final velar plosive was the direct cause of the rise of the new velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ some time in Early Modern English. Also the labial cluster /mb/ seems to have attracted some attention because its permanent simplification took place in words like *climb*, *dumb*, etc., exhibiting a relatively high frequency of use.

The author of perhaps the most detailed account of the process, Horn (1954: 1108-1116), suggests that the change, rare in the standard speech and more frequent in dialects, began in the 15th century under weak stress conditions.[1]

The assimilation within the voiced homorganic dental sequence /nd/ is not as adequately evidenced as the loss of the labial plosive in the cluster /mb/. That inconsistency is explained as due to the articulatory energy of /nd/ being smaller than the energy of /mb/ (Horn 1954: 1115). Elsewhere Horn (1954: 1113) tries to convince the reader that the change took place rather late. He adduces occasional *d*-less spellings, like *blyne* 'blind' or *grown* 'ground' from unspecified sources which come from a very late period, around 1600 ("um 1600"). Other words whose *d*-less forms became permanently established in English subsequent to the loss of the final plosive /d/ include *lawn* (16th c.) (< *laund* < OF *launde*), *scan* (15th c.) (< *scand* < L *scandere*), *tine* (15th c.) (< OE *tind*) or *woodbine* (16th c.) (< *woodbind* < OE *wudubinde*). The loss, according to Horn, is especially found in the context of the following word with an initial conso-

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[1] "Bei schwächerem Druck am Wortende werden diese Konsonantengruppen abgeschwächt, und zwar so sehr, daß sie ihren zweiten Bestandteil verlieren" (Horn 1954: 1108).

nant. As regards cluster simplification in unaccented syllables, it is reflected in the spellings of words like *almond*, *diamond*, *England*, *island*, etc. A special case is the loss of /d/ in the conjunction *and*, a very early change observed in English from the 13th century onwards, which can without doubt be also explained as determined by the high frequency of the item. Only functional reasons, an effort to avoid its being confused with the indefinite article *an*, prevented a permanent reduction of the plosive /d/ in *and*.

As regards Luick's historical grammar, its author assumes that *d*-loss occurred somewhat earlier, after 1400, i.e. in Late Middle English, originally in the North of England:

> Die Gruppe *nd* wurde erst nach 1400 vereinfacht, der Norden ging wieder voran: entsprechende Schreibungen finden sich in spätmittelenglischen Texten aus dem Norden. Nach Ausweis der heutigen Mundarten ist dieser Wandel einerseits in Norden und nördlichen Mittelland, andererseits im Südwesten eingetreten, aber durch analogische Ausgleichungen ist er in manchen Teilen dieses Gebietes wieder stark eingeengt worden
>
> (Luick 1940: 1034-1035).

Examples quoted in the *Grammatik* match those in Horn, although Luick adds three more items, ENE *line* (< OE *lind*, now *lime*), *tine* (< OE *tind*) and *woodbine* (< OE *wudubinde*), all the three belonging to the lexical periphery of English. But Luick says very little about the sporadic elimination of final /d/ in high frequency items like *band*, *land*, *kind*, *hound*, etc. Likewise, Jespersen (1949: 218) only adduces several instances of *d*-loss in extremely rare words, pointing out that the change took place in Scots, and is reflected in Robert Burns's poetry. However, the early instances of *d*-loss in Jordan (1974: 184) include two relevant forms: *blin* 'blind' (*Norfolk Records*, 1389) and *fon* 'found' (*Cely Papers*, 1475-1488).

Because the evidence of early *d*-loss offered in the standard historical phonologies is less than scant and the change is assumed to have occurred almost exclusively in the North, the present study will try to determine the extent of the change in the 13th-15th centuries and to verify whether the change was really confined to the northern areas of England and to Scotland.

3. Instances of *d*-loss: Sporadic

Considering the lack of detailed studies devoted to the problem, readers who consult standard grammars in search of the relevant data may come to the conclusion that the available accounts of cluster simplification suggest that the loss of /d/ in the cluster [nd] took place not earlier than Late Middle English, sporadically also in Modern English dialects and in American English. But the early occurrence of simplified forms is strongly supported by the evidence of the earlier texts.

The *OED* and *MED* materials contain spellings which may, and in all probability do, confirm the early loss of /d/ in the cluster /nd/, especially in Northern English and Scottish English, long before 1500. Among instances of words which have not suffered a permanent loss of the cluster-final consonant to the fore come those which lost /d/ in the stressed syllable. The earliest instances include the noun *land* which exhibits occasional *d*-less forms in Layamon's *Brut* (13th c., Worcestershire, SW) and in other texts from the 14th century. Also, we can find an interesting case of the co-occurrence of a *d*-full and a *d*-less form of the placename *Scotland* in Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* (South Lincolnshire, nEM):

1)

c1275 (?a1200)   Fulgenes vt of *Scot-len* muchel scaðe makede 5153) & nim al i þire hond mine castles & mi *lon*. (13355)

Howel..ich bilæfuen..to halden al þis kine-*lond* [Otho: *kinelon*] (28190).

1340   Wen*lone*   (in Sundby *Dial. wor.* 32).

1347-1348   Le Lyn*lone*   (in Sundby *Dial. Wor.* 217).

a1450 (a1338)   Albanie highte þat now ys *Scotland*... þe name of *Scotlon*, þe firste rote, Hit was gyuen a mayden Scote, Scote was ffaraones doughter þe kynge
(Mannyng *Chron.* Pt. 1 (Lamb 131), 1975, 1977).

The early evidence testifies to a perhaps occasional loss of /d/ in the verbs *stand* and *understand*, whose early simplified forms in the *Cursor Mundi* (sSC) and in *Scottish Legendary Saints* are ignored by the authors of the classic historical phonologies of English, as are forms from *William of Palerne* (14th c., Herefordshire, WM) and *The Paston Letters* (15th c., Norfolk, EM) cf.:

2)

c1225   Iðet tentaciun þet tu *stonst* aȝean   (*Ancrene Riwle* 236).

a1300   He..sagh an angel be him *stand* [Gött. *standd*]
(*Cursor M.* 10956),

but:

a1300   To ded [v.r. deþe] þat beist man sal *stan*
(*Cursor M.* 6711 (Vsp A. 3.)).

a1400 (a1325)   þe formast rau sal *stan* him nere
(*Cursor* (Vsp A. 3) 23043).

a1400 (a1325)   Duell a quile, and *fond* to *stan* [Gött: *stand*]; Bi-hald mi fote, bi-hald mi *hand*   (*Cursor* (Vsp A. 3) 17131).

c1375   & fand a multytud wele greit of Iowis, *stanand* at his yhat
(*Sc. Leg. Saints* ii. (Paul) 1034).

c1375   Sone I *fand* Of ȝongmen tenne in a place *stanand*
(*Sc. Leg. Saints* xviii. (*Egipciane*) 514).

a1375   Whan ... hade *underston* [?read: understond] þe tidinges to þende, To þe menskful messageres he made glad chere
(*WPal.* (KC 13) 5262).

1448   *Paston* 2.520: Y have resayvyd your letter; by the wyche y *oundyrstond* [alt. to: *oundyrston*] the dayely sute to your lordschyp as of Pastun as for the mater betwyx hym and me
(1448 *Paston* 2.520).

Different manuscripts of the *Cursor Mundi* contain both full and reduced forms of the verb, with the full forms prevailing. As regards *Scottish Legendary Saints*, its *d*-less forms of *stand* coincide with *d*-full forms of the past tense form *fand* in the same sentences. The present participle form *stanand* which exhibits the loss of the plosive before a vowel does not seem to support the hypothesis of the loss of /d/ before the directly following consonants. On the other hand, it should be noted that *d*-full spellings may in fact conceal mute <d>, which seems to be the case in the *Cursor Mundi* (Vsp.), where *d*-less *stan* rhymes with *stand* with an unreduced cluster. The very early occurrence in 1225 of the form *stonst* 'stand' (2nd prs sg PrT): Iðet tentaciun þet tu *stonst* aȝean in the *Ancrene Riwle* (236) should be treated separately as here *d*-loss was caused by the impact of the consonants in the ending.

Other 14th century manuscripts from the different areas of England contain *d*-less forms. Here belong high-frequency items such as *stron* 'strand', *blin* 'blind', *hon* 'hand', *houne* 'hound', *lane* 'land' and *roun* 'round'. Such forms appear in non-Northern texts, such as *King Horn* and *Otuel the Knight* (both Essex/Middlesex), or William Langland's *Piers the Plowman* (Essex/Middlesex and WM); cf.:

3)

1300   Þou scald to *stron* go And þine feren also [and in the same fragment:] To schip ye schulen *stonnde* An sinken to þe grunde   (*Horn* LdMisc 108) 6/107).

c1330   A skwier be þe *hon* he nam   (*Outel* (Auch) 78).

1389   Who-so falle at meschief, en pouerte, croked, *blyn..* he ssal han
seuene penes in þe woke   (*Nrf. Gild Ret.* 35).

c1400   From this cursed hethen *houne*   (*Sowdone Bab.*164).

c1340 (a1376)   Is non to nymen hym In..But hunsen hym as an *hound* [vr.
houne]   (*PPlA* (*1*) (Trin-C R.3.14) 11.48).

c1400 (a1376)   Rid forþ be ricchesse..And ek þe longe *launde* [vrr. *lande,
lane*] þat leccherie hatte, Leue hym on þi left half a large myle
or more   (*PPlA* (*1*) (Trin-C R.3.14) 11.118).

A quotation from *King Horn* (c1300), an East Midland romance, is very characteristic as its two consecutive lines contain a reduced form *stron* 'strand' contrasting with two *d*-full forms, *stonnde* 'stand' and *grunde* 'ground'. This may be an indication of the spread of the reduction in agreement with the assumption of lexical diffusion. On the other hand, final <-e> in *stonnde* and *gronde* may have contributed to a different syllable division and, consequently, to the preservation of the dental plosive.

The loss of <-d> also occurred in words of French origin. The instances of *d*-less spellings adduced in (4) come as well from the non-Northern areas:

4)

c1330   By letteres woly hem first somoune, To her e þer wyl, what þey
respoune   (R. Brunne *Chron. Wace* 4238).

c1400   By-tuixe þe lescuns þre *respuns*; and eftir þe þridde *respun* þe vers...
Foure lescuns red wid *respuns*   (*Rule St. Benet* (Prose) 16).

c1440   *Respowne* (*K.* respounde, *P.* respon), *responsorium*
     (*Promp. Parv.* 431/1).

1466   The *responnys* of the trinite   (in *Archæol.* L. (1887) 45).

In all probability the earliest instances of the elimination of /d/ are the accented segments of placenames and surnames in which the change took place as early as the 12th century. However, such simplifications were due to the influence of the consonant initial in the second segment of a compound, as is ilustrated by the metamorphoses of the compound-initial nouns *strand, sand* and *mound,* which not only suffered *d*-loss but also occasionally assimilated their nasal consonant /n/ to the consonant which followed directly, the result being the labial nasal /m/; cf.:

5)

c1130   *Stran*tunc (in Mawer *PNNhb. & Dur.* 191).
c1190   *Strain*tune (in Mawer *PNNhb. & Dur.* 191).
1294-1297   *Stran*ton (*Name* in *LuSE 35* 14).
1215   *Sin*fort (in Bowcock *PNShrop.* 205).
1240   *Saun*ford (in Bowcock *PNShrop.*205).
1242-1243   *Saum*ford (*EPNSoc.23* Oxf.) 186).
1316   *Som*bourne (*EPNSoc.13* War.) 222).
1333   William de *Saun*forde (*EPNSoc.9.* Dev.) 371).
1325   *Mun*stedesheth (*EPNSoc.11.* (Sur.) 199).
1339   *Mune*sted (*EPNSoc.11.* (Sur.) 199).

Also disyllabics or longer words in which the cluster /nd/ appears in an unstressed position supply evidence of the early and later *d*-loss. Here belong, listed in the chronological order of their first *d*-less spellings, 14th century forms of *thousand, garland, second* and 15th century forms of *almond, husband* and *greyhound.* In the list dominate non-Northern forms, chiefly representing various Midland dialects, especially Norfolk (*Genesis and Exodus, Promptorium Parvulorum, Paston Letters*); cf.:

6)

a1325 (c1250)   Al bi *ðhusenz* ðis folc was told
     (*Gen.& Ex.* (Corp-C 444) 3411).

a1350 (a1325)   Þis maide werede robe of pal..*Gerlans* [Ld: garlaundes; Bod: garlond] & tresours al of golde (*SLeg. Cec.* (Ashm 43) 72/8).

a1398   Þe *secoun* [finger] hatte index & salutaris
     (*Trev. Barth.* (Add 27944) 51b/b).

1440   *Almaunde* frute [1499 *almon*] *Amigdalum*   (*Promp. Parv.*).

c1440   Ryth reverent and worsepful *husbon*
     (arg. Paston in *P. Lett.* I. 42).

The *grehoun* stode hym be-fore mony for to tell
     (*Rwl.Prov.* (Rwl D.328) p.124) p.124).

(also: Emma Atte*greyhon*   (*Feet Fines Oxf.* in *ORS 12* 108).

In the North and North Midlands, forms with *d*-loss become more frequent in texts from the 15th century. The *d*-loss especially left its imprint on the past and past participle forms of the verb *bind*; cf.:

7)

c1400 (?c1380)   In vchonez breste watz bounden *boun* þe blysful perle
                                                    (*Pearl* (Nero A. 10) 1103).

1409   The said craftes..hafe assented and frely *boun* thaim
                                                    (*Mem.Bk.York* in *Sur.Soc.*125 179).

1421   And þat es þe forsaide William *boun* be trouth of his body
                                                    (*Doc.* in Morsbach *Origurk.* 9).

a1425   Hir body was *bun* to a stake
                                                    (*NHom.*(3) *Leg.Suppl.Hrl* (Hrl 4196) 28/219).

1432   To sewe yaim yat be reconysannce er *bon* for to uphold yaim
                                                    (*Will York* in *Sur. Soc.* 30 20).

?c1450   Sho þan teld.. In what disees þai had bene *boun* [rime:sonn]
                                                    (?*St.Cuth.*(Eg 3309) 910).

c1450   xx soldi *bon* in a clothe   (*Alph.Tales* (Add 25719) 201/14).

c1450   We sall pray.. for all þaes þat er *bun* in dette or in dedely
                syn. [Past Part.]
                                                    (*York Bid. Prayer* in *Layfolks Mass Bk.* 70).

and the past participle forms of *find* in the 15th century manuscripts, especially those from the North:

8)

a1425 (?a1350)   If we be *fun* gilty in þis thing   (*Nicod.*(*1*) (Glb E.9) 273).

a1425 (?c1375)   A mans face was neuer ȝit *fun* Like to a-nother in al mak-
                 ing   (*NHom.*(3) *Leg.*(Hrl 4196) 9/444).

1435   He has *fun* þam worþi to haue hym-self
                                                    (Misyn *Fire of Love* 20).

1441   He supposez att that suld be *fun* brekyng of treuez
                                                    (Let. Coldingham in Sur. Soc. 12 118).

a1500 (a1460)   Full fell folk ther Was *fun* In kyng Pharao youre fader dayes
                                                    (*Towneley Pl.* (Hnt HM 1) 65/43).

Another list of forms includes 15th century spellings with *d*-loss which come from different dialectal areas, those in the North, cf. Scotland (*sen*, *wan*), York-shire (*houn*, *groune*, *won*) but also the East Midlands, e.g, Norfolk (*hon*, *sown*), etc; cf.:

9)

c1410   A faire *houn* for þe hauke shuld haue a greet heede and greet
                 body   (York *MGame* (Vsp B.12) 66).

c1450   For oft knelyng his knees boun, A grete swarth was on þaim
                 groune   (*St. Cuthbert* (Surtees) 2280).

1447-1448   Vor ij *puwns* of talowe to the carpenterys, ij d.
                                                    (*Acc. Yatton* in *Som.RS* 4 86).

a1450   Iche ymage holdyth his othyr *hon* euermore toward the est.
                                                    (*Mandev.* (*3*) (BodeMus 116) 7/11).

a1450   *My trewest tresowre* (Cmb Dd.5.64) 27: *Wynd* vp my wylle to
                 won wyth þe ay.

c1450   And onone after he dyed, & was *won* in þe same clothe
                                                    (Alph. Tales (Add 25719) 346/27).

c1475   Hyt ys better a byrd yn *hon* than iiij with-owyt
                                                    (*Rwl .Prov.* (Rwl D.328) p.119).

c1470   On the **wan* bayn with gret ire can him ta, Cleyffyt the cost
                 rycht cruelly in twa   (Henry *Wallace* xi. 123).

c1472   A *won* of the bullard of the place
                                                    (*B.N.C.* (Oxf.) *Munim.*, *Coldenorton* Bdl.G. 18).

c1475   *Sown*   (*Promp. Parv.* 466 (MS. K.).

a1500 (a1460)   Abowte his heade cast ... and when it is well *won* knyt a knot
                 fast   (Towneley Pl. (Hnt HM 1) 240/391).

?a1500   Trabecula: a *wyn*beme   (?a1500 *Landsb.Nominale* 778/4).

The above evidence testifies to a sporadic *d*-loss which, although relatively frequent, left no permanent traces in the standard vocabulary. In fact, instances of sporadic *d*-loss in high frequency items are registered after 1500 in the non-standard varieties of English as well as in American English. Curiously, several low frequency words with truncated /d/ survive in Standard English.

4. Permanent *d*-loss

In several items the loss of /d/ acquired a permanent status. That group contains words referred to in the standard grammars (Horn 1954; Luick 1940; Jordan 1974) and includes items which appear without /d/ in Middle English, such as *line* (< *lynde* = lime), *rine* (< *rind* = bark of tree), *scan* (< *scande*), *tine* (< *tynde* = spike) (10a), and those which suffered *d*-loss as late as Early Modern English,

cf. *groin* (< *grynde* = part of the body), *lawn* (< *launde*), and *woodbine* (< *woodbind* = a plant). With the exception of *lawn* and perhaps *scan*, all other words belong to the lexical periphery of English, which seems to contradict the general belief that only high frequency items are expected to undergo reduction of their substance. The examples under (10) below feature the first recorded form of the noun and the first form with a *d*-less spelling in Middle English; cf.:

10)

a)

a700	Tilia, *lind*	(*Epinal Gloss.* 1004).
c1475	A *Lyn* tre, tilia	(*Cath. Angl.* 217/2 Addit. MS.).
888	þæt treow bið utan..bewæfed mid þære *rinde*	(K. Aelfred *Boeth.* xxxiv. §10).
c1430	To berye hym was hys purpos, And scraped on hym bothe *ryne* and mosse	(*Lanfranc's Cirurg* 392).
1398	& who kanne *scanne* [in 1495 *printed scand*] a verse may knowe þt þe myddel silable stondeþ for a schorte silable in þe secunde verse	(Trevisa *Barth. De P.R.* xvii. lxxxv. Bodl. MS.).
a700	Rostris, foraeuuallum, uel *tindum*	(*Epinal Gloss.* (O.E.T.) 873).
(?c1350)	Buckes *tynes* cordez	(*Rec.Norwich* 2 200).

b)

c1400	If þe prickynge be in þe foot, anoynte þe *grynde* wiþ hoot comoun oile	(*Lanfranc's Cirurg.* 41).
c1532	The *grynes*, les aines	(G. Du Wes *Introd. Fr.* in *Palsgr.* 903).
1340	þe fole wyfmen þet guoþ mid stondind..nhicke as hert ine *launde*	(*Ayenb.* 216).
1548	Sallus, a place voyde of trees, as a *laune* in a parke or forrest	(Elyot *Dict.*).
c875	*uuidubindae*	(*Erfurt Gloss.* 1059 *Volvola*).
a1500	[Caprifolium:] *wodebyn*	(MS Sln.405 in Hunt Plant Names (Sln.405) 66).

The survival of *d*-less forms in this class of words can hardly be considered a dialectal development since texts in which such forms can be found are late and,

in addition, some of them are non-literary works. It seems that the change is attested well in East Anglia, notably in Norfolk.

5. Insertion of /d/

As said earlier, the insertion of the grapheme <d> after the nasal /n/, which results in the rise of the unetymological cluster <nd> with <d> present in pronunciation, is not a phonological process but the case of analogical development and therefore the change will be discussed here very briefly. The list (11) contains pairs of sentences which reflect the first occurrence of an item in English (*d*-less form) and the first occurrence of a *d*-full form. Particular entries are arranged chronologically according to the date of the first forms with *d*-insertion:

11)

c1205	þa comen heo to þan *bunnen* þa Hercules makede	(Lay. 1313) (= limit).
c1300	Ymages of moundes, That men clepeth Ercules *boundes*	(*K. Alis.* 5593).
1393	How that the Latin shall be *compouned* And in what wise it shall be souned	(Gower *Conf.* II. 90).
c1400	Ech of hem bi him-silf or ellis *compound*	(*Lanfranc's Cirurg.* 43).
c1000	*Læne* me ða boc to rdenne	(Aelfric *Gram.* xxiv. (Z.) 135).
c1440	*Leendyn*, presto, fenero	(*Promp. Parv.* 296/1).
a1300 1400	When þat our lord vp-rose þe erthe quoke & made *sown*	(*Cursor M.* 17288).
c1440	*Sownde*, or dyne, sonitus, sonus	(*Promp. Parv.* 466/1).
a1325	*Prose Psalter* xlv[i]. 3 þe waters *souned*, and ben trubled.	
1483	*Cath. Angl.* 350/1 To *sownde*, strepere.	
c1205	Seil heo droʒen to *hune*	(Layamon 28978).
1495	Shevers of Brasse in the *hownde* of the foremaste	(*Naval Acc. Hen. VII* 190).
1495	No chief *Hyne* or a Carter or chief Shepeherd above xxs. by the yere	(Act 11 Hen. VII, c. 22).
1520	To every servaunte, *hynde* and made viijd	(*Test. Ebor.* (Surtees) V. 110).

c1386	There sat a faukoun..That with a pitous vois bigan to crye, That al the woode *resowned* of hire cry
	(Chaucer *Sqr.'s T.* 413).
a1547	The secrete groues which oft we made *resounde*
	(Surrey *Prisoner Windsor Castle*).
c1200	Loe her icc amm ammbohht all *bun* To follZhenn Godess wille
	(Ormin 2329).
a1300	Son was ioseph redi *bun* (*Cursor M.* 11595) (= ready).
1602	Like a man to double businesse *bound*, I stand in pause where I shall first begin (Shakes. *Ham.* iii. iii. 41).

The earliest form with /d/ attached to /n/ comes from the early 14th century (c1300; *King Alisaunder*; Shropshire, WM), but such forms become more frequent only in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially from around 1500 onwards. A brief account and a list of words showing attached /d/ can be found in Luick (1940: 1039).

6. Conclusions

The data adduced allow one to formulate several general conclusions concerning the rise and spread of *d*-loss in the word-final cluster /nd/:

1) The *d*-loss in the word-final cluster /nd/ began earlier than is assumed, occurring first in the compounds, usually place names and proper names, in the 13th century.

2) The evidence of the early *d*-less forms (13th-14th centuries) does not support the standard historical grammars claims of the Northern origin of the change. On the contrary, the early forms are most numerous in the non-Northern areas.

3) In the North and in Scotland the *d*-less forms are mainly found in the *Cursor Mundi* and in 16th century Scottish texts. In the North of the British Isles they became very frequent only in Early Modern English. It is to be reminded, however, that early Northern and Scottish texts are in short supply.

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APPENDIX

List of words with the final cluster -nd (based on Piotrowski 1993)

(a) in stressed syllables

abound, amend, and; band, behind, bend, beyond, bind, bland, blend, blind, bond, bound, brand; command, commend; defend, demand; end; fend, fiend, find, fond, found, friend, frond, fund; gland, grand, grind; hand, hind, hound; kind; land; mend, mind, mound; offend; pond, pound; rend, respond, rind, round; sand, send, spend, stand, strand; tend; understand; wand, wend, wind, withstand, wound; yond

(b) in unstressed syllables

almond; diamond; England, errand; garland; headland, husband; island; legend; second, stipend; thousand; vagabond

(c) words with unetymological <d>

lend; resound