TARTU STATE UNIVERSITY

An Introduction to Old English

by O. Mutt

Tartu 1972

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Kinnitatud Ajaloo-Keeleteaduskonna nõukogus
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PREFACE

The present introduction to Old English phonology, vocabulary and grammar has been compiled primarily to meet the needs of university students. Teachers of English as well as the general reader who wish to obtain some explanation of the many irregularities and inconsistencies of present-day English may also find the booklet of some interest.

The material for this course outline has been drawn chiefly from lectures on the Old English period that I have delivered to full-time and correspondence students of English philology at Tartu State University in 1951-1961. The select bibliography with its subdivisions for each chapter (see below, p. 84 ff.) is intended as a guide to more serious study of the topics discussed.

I am indebted to my teacher and colleague, Assistant Professor J. Silvet, for a number of corrections and suggestions made upon reading the work in its manuscript stage. Thanks are also due to my colleague Gustav Liiv, senior teacher of English at Tartu State University, for his helpful criticism of the first draft.

October 1961

O. M.

Preface to the Second Edition

In this new edition a number of minor additions and alterations have been made. The bibliography has been brought up to date and some additional suggestions for supplementary reading have been introduced.

November 1971 O. M.

C O N T E N T S

[1] OE = Old English

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

acc.	=	accusative
adj.	=	adjective
adv.	=	adverb
AE	=	American English
ASC	=	the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
attr.	=	attributive
Brunner	=	K. Brunner, Istoriya angliskovo yazyka, t. I-II, Moskva 1955-1956
cent.	=	century
CME	=	Central Middle English
Com.Gmc.	=	Common Germanic
dat.	=	dative
dem.prn.	=	demonstrative pronoun
E.	=	English
EME	=	Early Middle English
EMoE	=	Early Modern English
Est.	=	Estonian
fem.	=	feminine
fn.	=	footnote
fr.	=	from
G.	=	German
gen.	=	genitive
Gmc.	=	Germanic
Gt.	=	Gothic
Gr.	=	Greek
IE	=	Indo-European
Ilyish	=	B.A. Ilyish, Istoriya angliskovo yazyka, Moskva 1968
Lat.	=	Latin
lg(s).	=	language(s)
lit.	=	literally
LME	=	Late Middle English
masc.	=	masculine

ME = Middle English
MoE = Modern English
MoGer. = Modern German
MoRuss. = Modern Russian
MoSwed. = Modern Swedish
MS(S). = manuscript(s)
n. = noun
neut. = neuter
nom. = nominative
O. = Object
OE = Old English
OGmc. = Old Germanic
OScand. = Old Scandinavian
P. = Predicate
part. = participle
per. = person
pl. = plural
pp. = past participle
poet. = poetical
prep. = preposition
pres. = present
pret.-pres. = preterite-present
prn. = pronoun
pt. = preterite
S. = Subject
sb. = substantive
Scand. = Scandinavian
sing. = singular
Smirnitski = A.J. Smirnitski, Drevne-angliskiy yazyk, Moskva 1955
v. = verb
w. = weak

S I G N S

<	'changed from' or 'derived from'
>	'changed to' or 'becomes'
[ ]	enclose phonetic symbols
*	indicates a reconstructed or hypothetical form

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

The Periods in the History of English

It is usual to divide the history of English into three main periods: Old English (ab. 450–1100), Middle English (1100–1500) and Modern English (1500–). Like most divisions in history the periods of the E.lg.[1] are matters of convenience and the dividing lines between them purely arbitrary. There is no break in the process of continuous transition. Despite some inevitable overlappings it is possible, however, to recognize certain broad characteristics and certain special developments that took place within each of the periods. Some linguists (e.g. H.C. Wyld, H. Sweet, etc.) distinguish transitional stages between the three main periods.

The O l d E n g l i s h (or Anglo-Saxon) period extends from the time of the partial conquest of Britain by various Germanic tribes in the 5–6th cent. A.D. (or from the time of the earliest surviving written records in the 7th cent.) until the Norman Conquest at the end of the 11th cent.

OE is the language of the English in the early formative stage of the development of the English nationality (rahvas, народность).

OE is a typical West-Germanic lg. as regards its phonology, grammatical structure and vocabulary. H. Sweet has defined the OE period from the phonetical-morphological point of view as a period of full endings, i.e. any vowel could oc-

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[1] The following abbreviations will be used below: E. = English, lg(s). = language(s)., cent. = century, OE = Old English, ME = Middle English, MoE = Modern English. For a full list of abbreviations used the reader is referred to pp. viii-ix.

cur in an unstressed position (e.g. mōna, sunne, sunu, singan).

The M i d d l e E n g l i s h period extends from the beginning of the 12th to the end of the 15th cent., i.e. from the Norman Conquest until the disintegration of feudalism and the establishment of an absolute monarchy (the Wars of the Roses).

ME is the language of the English at the time of their emergence and consolidation as a nationality.

According to H. Sweet the ME period is a period of levelled endings, all unstressed vowels being levelled under the neutral [ə]-sound represented in spelling by e (mone, sunne, sune, singen).

The principal features of ME are: (a) the relatively rapid disintegration of the old inflections (especially in the nominal parts of speech, i.e. the noun, adjective and pronoun), (b) the establishment of a more-or-less rigid word-order, (c) the rise and spread of various analytical forms and constructions.

The vocabulary of ME adopted large numbers of Scandinavian, French and Latin loanwords.

The ME period is commonly subdivided into Early ME (EME 1100-1250), ME of the Second Period or Central ME (CME 1250-1400) and Late ME (LME 1400-1500).

The M o d e r n E n g l i s h period extends from the end of the 15th cent., i.e. from the disintegration of feudalism and the beginning of the development of capitalism, until the present day.

MoE was originally the language of the English people in Britain during their emergence and consolidation as a capitalist nation (rahvus, нация) in the 16-17th cent., and it has since spread to various other parts of the world:

The stage from 1500 to 1650 (or 1700) is known as Early MoE (EMoE). The EMoE stage witnessed a number of important changes in the vowels (the Great Vowel Shift). MoE may be described as a period of lost endings (moon, sun, son, sing).

The grammatical structure of the E.lg. has become predominantly analytical and its vocabulary highly composite.

It is usual to refer to 19-20th century English as Contemporary English and the language of our own time as Present-day English.

The form of English in use before the Norman Conquest is sometimes called 'Anglo-Saxon'. This term is rather old-fashioned and it is more usual nowadays to speak of 'OE', which has the advantage of emphasizing the essential continuity of the E.lg. before the Conquest and after (cf. below, p. 9).

When it is necessary to refer to both Old and Middle English without distinguishing between them, the less precise term 'Early English' is sometimes used.

The traditional division of the history of English into three main periods has been accepted by Soviet linguists because it takes account of essential shifts in the phonetic and grammatical system of the language as well as of major changes in the social and political history of the English-speaking people.

Historical Background to the OE Period

Relatively little is known about the earliest inhabitants of the British Isles in the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages. Real knowledge begins with two Celtic invasions, that of the Goidels (ancestors of the Irish, Scots and Manx) in the 6th cent. B.C., and that of the Brythons or the Cymric Celts (ancestors of the Welsh and the Cornish) in the 4th cent. B.C.

One of the earliest known references to the British Isles dates from the 4th cent. B.C. and is connected with the Greek navigator and geographer Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles).

Caesar's two raids to Britain in 55 and 54 B.C., were followed by the Roman conquest of the country undertaken by

Claudius in A.D. 43. Within three years the Celtic tribes of the central and southeastern regions had been subjugated. Subsequent compaigns soon brought almost all of what is now England and southern Scotland under Roman rule. The Romans never penetrated far into the mountains of Wales or Scotland. By A.D. 85 the northern frontier became fixed just south of the present-day border between England and Scotland. A fortified stone wall (70 miles long) known as Hadrian's wall was built from the Tyne to Solway Firth and the conquest may be said to have been completed. Britain south of this line was under Roman rule for more than three hundred years. The military conquest of Britain was followed by the Romanization of the province. Numerous highways, roads, a score of small cities and more than a hundred towns, with their Roman houses, baths, temples, theatres, etc. testify to the introduction of Roman habits of life.[1] The use of the Latin lg. also spread in Roman Britain, although Latin did not replace the Celtic lg. here as it did in Gaul. Its use probably began to decline rapidly after 410, the approximate date at which the last of the Roman troops were withdrawn from the island in connection with the sieges and sack of Rome by the Visigoths.

About the year 449 an event occurred which profoundly affected the course of history. In that year, it is traditionally believed, began the invasion of Britain by certain Germanic tribes. For about a hundred and fifty years bands of conquerors and settlers migrated from their continental homes in the region of present-day Denmark and the Low Countries and established themselves in the south and east of the island, gradually spreading out and occupying all but what is now Cornwall, Wales and northwestern England. The events of these years are wrapped in much obscurity. While we can form a general idea of their course, we are still in doubt about some of the tribes that took part in the movement, their exact location on the continent, and the dates of their respective migrations.

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[1] For Roman place-names and loanwords, see below, p. 34ff.

The traditional account of the Germanic invasions goes back to Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History of the English People, completed in 731, tells us that the Germanic tribes which conquered England were the Jutes, Saxons and Angles. From what he says and from other indications it seems most likely that the Jutes and the Angles had their home in the Danish Peninsula, the Jutes in the northern half (hence the name Jutland) and the Angles in the south, mainly in Schleswig-Holstein.[1] The Saxons were settled to the south and west of the Angles, roughly between the Elbe and the Ems. A fourth tribe, the Frisians, some of whom almost certainly came to England, occupied a narrow strip along the coast from the Weser to the Rhine together with the nearby islands.

Britain had been exposed to attacks by the Saxons from as early as the 4th cent,, but the raiders had not come to stay. In 449, however, according to Bede, some Jutes, who had been invited by a local Celtic leader Vortigern (Wyrtgeorn) to help him drive out the warlike Picts and Scots that had invaded southern Britain after the withdrawal of the Romans, decided to stay in the island and began making a forcible settlement in the southeast, in Kent. Other Jutes came in numbers and settled in Kent, on the Isle of Wight and along part of the Hampshire coast. The example of the Jutes was soon followed by the migration of other continental tribes. The Saxons began arriving in 477 and established themselves mainly south of the Thames in Sussex and Wessex. There were some Saxons north of the Thames as the names Essex and Middlesex (= the kingdoms of the East Saxons and Middle Saxons) indicate. Finally, in the middle of the 6th cent. the Angles settled in the area extending northward from the Thames over the greater part of what is now England and the Lowlands of Scotland.

Not much is known about the relations of the newcomers and the native Celtic and Romanized Celtic population. In

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[1] See maps on pp. 88–89.

some districts the Germanic settlers probably settled down beside the Celts in more or less peaceful contact; in others they met with stubborn resistance. The King Arthur of romance was probably a military leader of the Celts who led his people at the beginning of the 6th cent. in their resistence to the invaders. The Celts held Cornwall till the 9th cent. and Wales as late as the 13th cent.

The migration to Britain of the various Germanic tribes coincided with the beginning of the transition from kindred order to that of feudalism. The organization of society was originally by families and clans. The business of the community was transacted in local popular assemblies or moots with the king or tribal chief presiding. The moots were attended by all the freemen of the community. The numerous slaves had no rights whatsoever. The king had a military retinue, a kind of bodyguard, to whose members he gave gifts and which contained the germ of feudalism. Class differentiation in OE society led to a distinction between the gesiths (members of the gesithcund, a kind of hereditary landed aristocracy) and the ceorls (or simple freemen).

In time various tribes combined either for mutual protection or under the influence of a powerful leader to produce small kingdoms. Seven of these had a fairly stable existence and are spoken of as the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. They are Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Wessex, Sussex, Essex and Kent. For administrative purposes each kingdom was divided into a number of districts of varying size. Small districts were under the charge of a reeve.[1] Much larger districts were called shires (cf. the names of the modern counties Devonshire, Hampshire, Yorkshire etc.), and were under the charge of an earl (OE eorl, cf. OScand. jarl) or ealdormann (cf. MoE alderman, Est. 'vanem') The officials mentioned above were usually drawn from the king's personal retinue.

The relative importance of the OE kingdoms fluctuated.

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1 Cf. below, p. 32.

In the 7th cent. Northumbria enjoyed political supremacy as well as leadership in literature and learning (Christianity and culture were introduced here from Ireland in the 6-7th cent.; the writings of Bede, Caedmon, Cynewulf and others were associated with the monasteries of Jarrow, Lindisfarne, York and Whitby, all north of the Humber). During the 8th cent. the leadership passed to Mercia, and in the 9th cent. it passed to Wessex. In 830 all England acknowledged the overlordship of Egbert, king of Wessex and under Alfred (871-900) Wessex with its capital Winchester attained a relatively high degree of prosperity and considerable enlightenment. It was under Alfred that the English checked the advance of the Northmen or Scandinavian invaders (mainly Danes) who had gained possession of most of northern and eastern England since their first raids at the end of the 8th cent. The overwhelming victory of the English in the Battle of Edington was followed in the same year (878) by the Treaty of Wedmore. Under this treaty the Scandinavians withdrew from southern England and were henceforth to remain to the east of the line running roughly from Chester to London. This territory was to be subject to Scandinavian or Danish law and is hence known as the Danelaw.

At the beginning of the 10th cent. the English began a series of counter-attacks to reconquer these parts that had been settled by the Scandinavians. By the middle of the century most of eastern England was once more under English rule. Towards the end of the 10th cent., however, a new and formidable succession of invasions began. Finally in 1014, Svein, king of Denmark, crowned a series of victories in different parts of England by driving Ethelred, the English king, into exile and seizing the throne. Upon his sudden death the same year his son, Knut (Canute), succeeded him and for the next twenty years England was ruled by Danish kings.

The events that we have summarized had as important consequences the settlement of large numbers of Scandinavians

in England and an extensive Scandinavian influence on the English language. The linguistic effects of the Scandinavian invasion made themselves felt mainly in the 11-13th centuries and are usually discussed in connection with the Early ME period.

Ethelred had fled to Normandy. In 1042 his son, Edward the Confessor, returned to the English throne. While in Normandy, Edward had come under Norman influence which he tried to introduce into England. He even promised the succession to the throne to his cousin William, duke of Normandy.

After Edward's death, however, in 1066 the English nobles recognized Harold, earl of Wessex, as king. William of Normandy immediately laid claim to the English crown. In the battle of Hastings (Senlac) on Oct. 14, 1066, the English army was defeated and Harold was killed. The Norman Conquest which followed affected the whole subsequent history of England and had a most important influence on the development of the English language.

The Names "English" and "England"

The Celts called their Germanic conquerors Saxons (cf. Sassenach, a Scottish and Irish term for "Englishman"), indiscriminately, probably because they had had their first contact with the Germanic tribes through Saxon raids on the coast. Early Latin writers following Celtic usage, generally speak of the Saxons and their land Saxonia. Soon, however, the terms Angli(i) and Anglia begin to occur and refer not to the Angles, but to the Germanic tribes generally. Bede called his history the Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum (731).

As we have already seen (p. 7) the first district of Anglo-Saxon Britain to attain a relatively high degree of civilization was the North. It was from the Angles settled here and their Anglian dialect that the name English is derived (OE enȝlisc 'Anglian'). Anglian or englisc was the first widely known literary form of the lg. The name became

so well established that after the destruction of the Northumbrian civilization by the Scandinavians (8th-9th cent.), the Saxons retained it as a designation for their own lg. The West Saxon king Alfred writes not of lingua saxonica but of lingua anglica.

The ethnonym Anglo-Saxon is occasionally found in OE times (e.g. Bede usually speaks of the Anglii, but occasionally of the Anglii sive Saxones or Anglii Saxones; King Alfred seems to have frequently used the title rex Anglorum Saxonum or rex Angul-Saxonum). The term went out of use after the Norman Conquest and was revived in the 16th-17th cent. as a name for the earliest period of English. Although the term was widely used in the 19th cent., it has now been largely replaced by OE which suggests the unbroken continuity of E. throughout its existence.

The land and its people are early called Anʒelcynn (i.e. Angle-kin or race of the Angles). From about the year 1000 Enʒlaland 'land of the Angles' begins to supersede this term. The name English is thus older than the name England. It is not clear why England should have taken its name from the Angles. Possibly a desire to avoid confusion with the Saxons who remained on the continent and the early supremacy of the Anglian kingdoms were the predominant factors in determining usage.

Dialects and Literary Records of the OE Period

The Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians spoke related dialects. Transplanted to England in the 5-6th cent. these dialects lost contact with their continental sources and began to develop independently. The lack of economic and political unity encouraged the existence of a number of dialects. OE may be regarded as a dialectical unity of the latter. OE is far from homogeneous. Not only are there differences between the lg. of the earliest written records (middle and end 7th cent.) and that of later literary texts, but the lg. differs from one locality to another.

There are four chief territorial or regional dialects:

1. Northumbrian
2. Mercian
3. Saxon
4. Kentish

Of these Northumbrian and Mercian are found in the region north of the Thames settled by the Angles.[1] They possess certain features in common and are sometimes known collectively as Anglian (Northumbrian was used north of the Humber; Mercian, between the Humber and the Thames). Relatively little is known about these dialects. They are preserved chiefly in charters and some interlinear translations of the Bible. The oldest records of E. are in Northumbrian, viz. the runic inscriptions on the Franks Casket (a small whalebone box probably dating from the second half of the 7th cent.; given to the British museum by Aug. W. Franks, a 19th cent. British antiquary) and on the early 8th cent. stone cross at Ruthwell in southwestern Scotland. The poets Caedmon (7th cent.) and Cynewulf (8th cent.) also wrote originally in Northumbrian, but their work has survived mainly in later West Saxon versions.

A few hymns and a psalter are the only surviving records of the Mercian dialect.

The Kentish dialect of the Jutes in the southeast is known from still scantier remains (an old charter of the late 7th cent. and some psalms).

The only OE dialect in which there is an extensive collection of texts is West Saxon, the dialect of the West Saxon kingdom or Wessex in the southwest. A rich store of OE verse, songs and later prose is preserved in manuscripts transcribed in this region. Because of the political supremacy of Wessex during the 9th and 10th centuries and partly due to the scholarly influence of King Alfred, West Saxon became the principal literary form of E. in those days and continued to be so until the end of the period.

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[1] See map, p. 89.

The West Saxon dialect is made the basis of the study of OE.

The following are some of the more important OE literary records in the West Saxon dialect:

A. Works translated from the Latin by King Alfred personally or on his initiative: (1) the Pastoral Care (Cura Pastoralis) of Pope Gregory I (6th cent.); (2) the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People; (3) the Universal History of Orosius (a Spanish monk of the 5th cent.; the translation includes Alfred's own insertions describing some parts of Europe and the narrative of Ohthere's and Wulfstan's voyages); (4) the Consolation of Philosophy by Boëthius (a popular philosophical manual of the middle ages by a Roman philosopher of the 5th-6th cent.)

B. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. The brief records that had been made in Anglo-Saxon monasteries since the 7th cent. were collected and supplemented at Winchester in the 2nd half of the 9th cent. These earliest Winchester annals were then rewritten and added to, year by year, at different places - Abingdon, Canterbury, Worcester, and Peterborough, beside Winchester itself. They all start from J. Caesar and continue their record up to different dates from the 10th to the 12th cent. (the Peterborough chronicle up to 1154). The chronicles are a source of much valuable historical and linguistic material.

C. The works of Ælfric (955-1020), an abbot and very productive writer of the Late OE period, whose lg. represents classic Late West Saxon in its culmination.

Numerous OE works in verse have survived in the West Saxon dialect. They include the folk-epic "Beowulf", poetical versions of the books of Genesis and Exodus, Cynewulf's "Elene", "Andreas", "Juliana", etc. Linguistically speaking, these poems occupy a special place as they contain a mixture of dialect forms. This is because they were first written in an Anglian dialect and then rewritten in West Saxon. "Beowulf" is a valuable source of material reflecting

the life, customs and interests of the Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons in the 5th-6th centuries. The epic was probably first put down in Mercian ab.700. The only surviving West-Saxon manuscript dates from the late 10th cent. and is now in the British Museum.

The existence of a large and varied body of literature in verse and prose is evidence of the richness and expressiveness of the OE lg.

Alphabets and Orthography of the OE Period

Except for a few early runic inscriptions (Franks Casket, Ruthwell Cross, etc.), all OE literary records are written in the Latin alphabet. The latter was introduced into Britain from Ireland (by Irish missionaries) in the 7th cent. and adapted to meet the requirements of the Anglo-Saxons.

A page of OE text looks strange to the modern reader greatly because of the employment of certain characters that are no longer used in the E. alphabet.

The spelling of OE is fairly consistent and represents, on the whole, an attempt to render the actual sound as far as the alphabet will permit. The spelling was not entirely phonetic, however, because the number of characters in the Latin alphabet was smaller than the number of phonemes in the lg. The OE runic alphabet originally had 28, later 33, characters. The Latin alphabet with its 23 letters was insufficient for rendering all OE sounds. It was made more suitable for the purpose by (1) the adoption of several old runic characters and by (2) making same Latin letters stand for different sounds.

1. (a) OE made use of the runic character þ to represent the sounds denoted by th in MoE. The same sounds were also represented by OE ð, the edh letter, which was developed from a modification of the Latin uncial d. The letters

þ and ð were used indiscriminately for the voiced spirant and the voiceless spirant: voiced in, e.g. brōþer or brōðer 'brother, ōþer or ōðer 'other'; voiceless in e.g. þinȝ[1] or ðinȝ 'thing', sūþ or sūð 'south'.

The character þ is known as the thorn letter (< OE þorn 'thorn'). The spelling th for þ and ð was introduced by Norman scribes in EME, it spread gradually throughout the ME period and became universal with the introduction of printing at the end of the 15th cent.

(b) OE used the runic wyn(n) or wen-letter ƿ (< OE wyn, wen 'joy') to denote the bilabial spirant sound [w] .

The wyn-character went out of use in EME and was replaced from about 1280 at first by uu (cf. 'double u'), later by vv and w. Modern editions of OE texts use the letter w instead of the runic wyn.

2. The OE letters ȝ, c, h, etc. each stood for a variety of sounds, a discussion of such cases may be found below, pp. 17-19.

Other orthographical features peculiar to OE are (1) the use of the ligature or digraph æ to represent the sound [æ] as in dǣd, ȝlǣd, etc.; (2) the absence of the letters k, v, i and y.

Special marks are used in some OE manuscripts to denote the length of vowels. Long vowels were marked with ´, while short vowels are unmarked, cf., e.g. dǽd, stán, ȝód and ȝlǣd, nama, ȝod. In modern editions long vowels are usually marked with an ¯ : dǣd, stān, ȝōd.

OE scribes writing in Latin used an elaborate system of special symbols and abbreviations. Such signs are less common in OE MSS, the most frequently used being ⁊ for the conjunction and.

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[1] OE ȝ is the modified Irish form of Latin g; cf. below, p. 18.

Chapter II

PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF OE

Phonology is the study of the sounds or phonemes of a language regarded as a system or structure. If the approach is synchronic, phonology is a systematic study of the speech-sounds found in a given lg. at a given time. If the approach is diachronic, phonology deals with the changes that these sounds have undergone.

The following account of phonology begins with a description of OE vowels, diphthongs and consonants. A variety of phonetic phenomena in OE such as stress, ablaut, umlaut, breaking, lengthening, palatalization, rhotacism and metathesis are also briefly dealt with.

Although OE phonology has been very thoroughly studied and described (e.g., by Ed. Sievers, K. Brunner, K. Luick, W. Horn, M. Lehnert, A. Smirnitski et al.), there is still some uncertainty and difference of opinion on a number of points.

The OE phonological system is typically West Germanic in character with certain specific peculiarities which are the result of its development according to its own inherent laws. The principal changes as compared with the older West Germani period are in the domain of the vowels.

OE Speech-Sounds

A. OE Vowels

The number of vowel-sounds in OE is 15. The vowels in OE had nearly the same values as in Latin (or Estonian). There were 8 short and 7 long vowels. The following are the OE vowels with their approximate equivalents in Estonian and examples:

OE sound		key-word	OE	MoE
a	as in	anna	nama	'name'
ā	- " -	paar	hām	'home'
æ	- " -	mänd	ʒlæd	'glad'
			bæc	'back'
ǣ	- " -	äär	dǣd	'deed'
			hǣlan	'to heal'
e	- " -	eri	ic ete	'I eat'
ē	- " -	see	hē	'he'
			cēpan	' to keep'
i	- " -	sina	niht	'night'
			cwic	'alive'
ī	- " -	siil	wīn	'wine'
			wrītan	'to write'
o	- " -	kodu	ʒod	'god'
			folc	'folk, people'
ō	- " -	soo	ʒōd	'good'
			mōna	'moon'
u	- " -	su	sunu	'son'
			cuman	'to come'
ū	- " -	suu	nū	'now'
			mūs	'mouse'
y	- " -	tüli	cyninʒ	'king'
			fyllan	'to fill'
ȳ	- " -	püül	mȳs	'mice'
			brȳd	'bride'

OE also had a vowel-sound [å] intermediate between [a] and [o] which occurred only before n or m and was usually represented in spelling by means of a or o, e.g., mann, monn 'man', land, lond 'land'; cf. the Modern Swedish sound in på, förstå, år, etc.

B. OE Diphthongs

The OE diphthongs are pronounced with the stress on the first element. Their origin is complicated and is in most cases the result of breaking, mutation or palatalization (see below, p. 23 ff.). It is usual to distinguish the following eight OE diphthongs:

ea	a	as in	eall	'all'
			eahta	'eight'
ēa	a	- " -	ēa	'stream, river'
			bēam	'beam, tree'
ie		- " -	ieldra	'older'
			iermþu	'poverty'
īe		- " -	hīeran	'to hear'
			ȝelīefan	'to believe'
eo		- " -	feor	'far'
			heorte	'heart'
ēo		- " -	cēosan	'to choose'
			lēod	'people'
io[1]		- " -	siolfor	'silver'
			siofon	'seven'
īo[1]		- " -	līof	'dear'
			dīop	'deep'

During recent years the OE diphthongs have been the subject of lively discussion among specialists, some of whom deny the existence of genuine diphthongs in the OE period (cf., e.g. В.Н.Ярцева, Историческая морфология английского языка, Москва-Ленинград 1960, p. 181, note 12).

\+ + +

[1] The diphthongs io and īo occur mainly in the Anglian and Kentish dialects. In West Saxon they were usually replaced in the course of the 9th century by eo and ēo. Thus the classical West Saxon forms of the words siolfor, siofon, līof, dīop are seolfor, seofon, lēof, dēop respectively.

The system of OE vowels and diphthongs underwent drastic changes in the ME period. None of the OE diphthongs has survived in MoE as they were replaced in ME by a new set of diphthongs not derived from OE ones. Most of the vowel-sounds have changed in quality, some have disappeared altogether ([y] , [ȳ] , [o̞]), while several new vowels came into being later in EMoE ([ə:],[ʌ]).

C. OE Consonants

There were 16 consonant-letters and over 20 consonant-sounds in OE. Consonant-sounds changed relatively little in comparison with vowel-sounds during the subsequent periods in the development of E. When reading OE texts the consonants may be pronounced more or less as they are in Estonian. Double consonants are pronounced double (i.e. long) ; thus sunu 'son' must be distinguished from sunne 'sun'.

In the following brief survey we shall deal only with those consonant-letters (and the corresponding sounds) which present special difficulties in reading (for a detailed discussion of OE consonants, see Smirnitski, pp. 70-102; Brunner, Vol. I, p. 267 ff.).

OE c had the value of

(1) the voiceless back-lingual stop [k] as in cnāwan 'to know', cnafa 'boy', caru 'care', Cædmon.

(2) the front palatal stop [kj] as in ċild 'child', benċ 'bench', ċiriċe 'church'.

Towards the end of the OE period this [kj] sound had probably become the affricate stop [tʃ] .

Modern editors usually provide the OE c for kj with a diacritic mark ˙ to distinguish it from the letter c denoting [k] .

OE f stood for the sound [v] in an initial position and between vowels: faran 'to go', ofer 'over', lufu 'love'.

Cf. the voiceless sound [f] in oft 'often', offrian 'to offer'.

OE ȝ (the modified Irish form of Latin g) stood for a variety of sounds:

(1) the voiced back stop [g] as in MoE 'get'- when ȝ occurred initially before consonants or back-vowels and in the combination nȝ: ȝlēo 'joy', ȝōd 'good', sinȝan 'to sing'.

(2) the back spirant [ɣ] as in MoRuss дълго or MoGer. sagen - when ȝ occurred medially and finally after back vowels and l, r : daȝas 'days', folȝian 'to follow', burȝ 'fortified town'.

(3) the medio-lingual spirant [j] as in MoE 'you' - when ȝ occurred initially before front vowels and also after front vowels (in modern editions this value of the leter ȝ is usually indicated by the diacritic mark˙): ȝ̇eorn 'willing', ȝ̇eard 'yard, court', ȝ̇iefan 'to give', wreȝ̇an 'to accuse', dæȝ̇ 'day'.

(It should be pointed out that opinions differ as to the precise value of OE ȝ when it occurred in an initial position before front vowels. According to H. Sweet the initial in ȝeorn, ȝeard, etc. had either the value of the palatal stop [gj] or that of the spirant [j] ; see, e.g., H. S w e e t , A Short Historical English Grammar, Oxford 1892, p. 28; cf. Smirnitski, p. 42, where the author denies that OE ȝ could ever have the value of [j]).

It is possible that ȝ in the prefix ȝe- was also pronounced [j] ; ȝeboren 'born', ȝebunden 'bound'.

In some words the combination nȝ was pronounced [-ngj-]; senȝan 'to singe'.

The OE combination cȝ stood for [gjgj] : licȝan 'to lie', ecȝ 'edge', hrycȝ 'ridge', brycȝ 'bridge'.

In Late OE and EME such words came to be pronounced with a [dȝ] -sound and thus their pronunciation began to resemble that in MoE. The substitution of dg for c in the spelling of these words took place in EME.

When OE h occurred in an initial position as in hūs, hē, it denoted the same sound [h] that it stands for in MoE.

Elsewhere it stood for either the palatal fricative spirant [ç] or the velar fricative spirant [χ] .

[ç] is the same sound as that in the MoGer. pronoun Ich and is sometimes referred to as the Ich-Laut.

[χ] is the sound that occurs at the end of MoGer. Buch or ach and is known as the ach-Laut (cf. Scottish loch).

OE h had the value [ç] after front vowels and that of [χ] after back vowels: niht 'night', sieh̄þ 'sees' (present tense of sēon 'to see'); eahta 'eight', ʒeþoht 'thought' (past participle of þēncan 'think').

OE r represented a strongly trilled or rolled sound resembling that heard in Modern Russian or Scottish: reȝen 'rain', word 'word', rǽran 'to raise, rear'.

OE s usually stood for the voiced sound [z] : sellan 'to give', sēcan 'to seek', swā 'so', ārīsan 'to arise' ; but not in combination with voiceless stops stān 'stone', fæst 'fast' or when double, as in cyssan 'to kiss'.

OE þ was usually voiced [ð] : þū 'thou', þinȝ 'thing', sōþ 'truth'; cf., however, sēcþ 'seeks', (present tense of sēcan 'to seek'); also see above, p. 13.

OE w was fully pronounced whenever written: wrītan, niwe 'new'.

Word-Stress in OE

In OE words consisting of two syllables or more the principal stress falls on the root syllable (in a compound word on the root syllable of the first part): 'sunu, 'ieldra, 'macian; 'sǣ-man 'sea-man', 'cyne-rīce 'kingdom'.

Words beginning with a prefix have the principal stress either on the prefix or on the syllable following the prefix. The prefix is more commonly stressed in nouns and adjectives, whereas in verbs the stress is generally on the syllable following the prefix: 'andswaru 'answer', 'foreȝenȝa 'predecessor', 'forem ǣre 'great, illustrious'; but bebēodan 'to bid', forȝiefan 'to forgive', on-'ȝinnan 'to begin'.

OE Sound-Changes

The number of combinative sound-changes in the OE period is great. Only the most important will be reviewed here, viz. ablaut, umlaut, breaking, lengthening, palatalization, rhotacism and metathesis.

A. Vowel Changes

1. A b l a u t (also known as vowel gradation or apophony) is the variation of the root vowel in different forms of the same word, thus indicating a corresponding modification of function or meaning (e.g., MoE sing, sang, sung; write, wrote, written, etc.).

Ablaut is a very characteristic feature of Gmc. lgs., but occurs to a greater or lesser extent in one form or another in various IE as well as non-IE lgs. where it serves as a means of the inflection and formation of words (cf. Lat. tego and toga; MoRuss, везу and воз; also cf. vowel modifications in the triliterals or triconsonantal roots characteristic of the Semitic lgs., e.g., Arabic qatala 'be killed', qutila 'he was killed', qatil 'killing'.

Although the pertinent changes are somewhat obscured in OE when compared with the older Gmc. lgs. such as Gothic, etc., it is still possible to distinguish a number of typical series of OE vowel changes or ablaut sequences.

The following changes are examples of ablaut:

ī - ā - i as in rīdan 'to ride' - rād (pret. sg.) - ridon (pret.pl.)
wrītan 'to write' - wrāt - writon

ēo - ēa - u (o) as in bēodan 'to bid' - bēad - budon
ceosan 'to choose' - ceas - curon - coren (past part.)

e (i, eo) - a (e, ea) - u (o) as in
beran 'to bear' - bær - boren
binden 'to bind' - band - bundon

ceorfan 'to carve' - cearf -
curfon - corfen

a - ō as in faran 'to go, travel' fōr - fōron

The regularities of gradation are most clearly shown in the conjugation of the strong verbs, (see below p. 64 ff.), but they run through the whole structure of OE (e.g., rīdan 'to ride' - rād 'journey'; būȝan 'to bend' - boȝa 'bow', lǣfan 'to leave' - lāf 'remnant').

Ablaut played an extremely important part in the development of the morphological system of OE. Indeed, H. Sweet said that a knowledge of the laws of gradation and mutation is the main key to OE etymology.

2. U m l a u t (also called mutation or metaphony) is the modification of a root vowel sound under the influence of another vowel (e.g., u, or especially i) in the following syllable, the modifying vowel being generally lost or altered.

The phenomenon is a variety of so-called regressive assimilation (cf. MoRuss. это - эти where the first vowel in эти anticipates the closer articulation of the second vowel; one might also note the opposite tendency of progressive assimilation in such instances of vowel harmony as the Finnish meri - meressä, talo - talossa, the Turkish plural odalar 'rooms' /from oda 'room'/, but evler 'houses' /from ev 'house'/).

If measured by the wide range of sounds affected and by the surviving effects of the change, umlaut is the most important of the OE sound-changes.

The most widespread variety of umlaut in OE is so-called i-umlaut (or front-mutation) which arises from the influence of an i or j in the following syllable (subsequently, by the time of the surviving OE texts, the i or j which caused the change had generally disappeared or been weakened to e, but the existence of such an i or j in Early OE can be deduced from the influence of the preceding vow-

el or by comparison with cognate lgs.). The effect of the change was to cause the vowel affected to approach i in its place of formation. Hence back-vowels were fronted and front open vowels became more close. Most OE vowels and diphthongs were affected by i-umlaut. Some of the changes are given below, with examples showing how the effects of the change are to be found in present-day English:

a before nasal consonants became e, as in menn, pl. of mann 'man'

u became y, as fyllan 'to fill' < *fullian[1], cf. Gothic fulljan and the OE adjective full

ū > ȳ, as in mūs 'mouse', mȳs 'mice' < *mūsiz
fūl 'foul', fȳlþ 'filth'

ā > ē, - " - hǣlan 'to heal' < *halian
cf. OE hāl 'hale, whole'

ō > ē, - " - fōt 'foot', fēt 'feet' < *fōtiz
bōc 'book', bēc 'books'
fōda 'food', fēdan 'to feed'

ea > ie, - " - earm 'poor', iermþu 'poverty'
etc.

A variety of umlaut is known as back (or velar) mutation, This was caused by the influence of the back vowels u, o, a of the following syllable, i.e., the back - lingual articulation of the following vowel was anticipated in the preceding vowel by changing it into a diphthong. Back mutation is met with only in OE and chiefly in the Anglian and Kentish dialects. In West Saxon back mutation occurred only before r, l and the lip consonants p, f, m:

i	io,	as in	silufr 'silver'	> siolufr
e	eo,	- " -	hefon 'heaven'	> heofon
a	ea	- " -	saru 'armour, harness	> searu

.....

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[1] Words marked with an asterisk are hypothetical reconstructed forms.

Umlaut was originally a purely phonetic phenomenon which has played an important part in the morphological system of E. In OE a large number of so-called consonant-stem nouns (see p. 46) formed their nom. and acc. plur. and dat. sing. by mutation, e.g., mann - menn, fōt - fēt, cū ('cow') - cȳ, bōc - bēc, etc.

3. B r e a k i n g (brechung, fracture) is a peculiarity of OE which consists in the diphthongization of short vowels before certain combinations of consonants:

e > eo before (1) r + consonant, (2) lc, lh, h + consonant, (3) final h; e.g., *herte > heorte 'heart', *melcan > meolcan 'to milk', *fehtan > feohtan 'to fight', *feh > feoh 'cattle, property' (cf. MoE fee).

e > ea before (1) l + consonant, (2) r + consonant, (3) h; e.g., *eld > eald 'old', *wærm > wearm 'warm', *ehta > eahta 'eight'.

Breaking is most distinct in the West Saxon dialect.

4. L e n g t h e n i n g and c o n t r a c t i o n of vowel-sounds.

A number of OE sound-changes affected the length of vowels.

(1) Short vowels grew longer in certain cases when following consonants disappeared.

Thus the disappearance of m or n before the spirants [f], [θ], [s] led to the lengthening of the preceding vowel e.g., fīf < *fimf ('five', cf. Gothic fimf, MoGer. fünf); gōs < *gans (cf. MoGer. Gans); tōþ < *tanþ ('tooth'; cf. Lat. dens, dentis; MoGer. Zahn).

This change occurred before the first written records of OE became available.

(2) In the 9th-10th cent. vowels began to be lengthened before nd, ld, mb: findan > fīndan, cild > cīld, climban > clīmban. This change did not occur if nd, ld or mb was

followes by a third consonant, e.g., cildru (children).

(3) Two vowels occurring side by side as the result of the disappearance of an intervening consonant were usually contracted into one long diphthong or vowel-sound: ah + vowel > ēa after h was dropped, as in slēan 'to strike, to slay' (< *slahan); eh (or ih) + vowel > ēo, as in sēon 'to see' (< *sehan); ōh + vowel > ō, as in fōn 'to catch' (< *fōhan).

5. P a l a t a l i z a t i o n of vowels. Vowels preceded by an initial palatal consonant ʒ, c or the consonant combination sċ were diphthongized in OE. As a result of palatalization e > ie, æ > ea, o > eo, etc., as in ʒiefan 'to give' (< *gefan), ʒeat 'gate' (< *gæt), sceort 'short' (< *scort), etc.

It is not quite certain whether there was genuine diphthongization in all such cases. The letters i and e in ʒiefan, sceort, etc., may have been only spelling devices to show that the preceding consonant was palatal (see p. 16).

B. Various Changes Affecting Consonants

(1) s becomes r in the preterite plurals and past participles of strong verbs, as in curon, gecoren (from cēosan), wæron (pl. of wæs, from wesan 'to be').

þ becomes d under the same conditions, as in wurdon, ʒeworden (from weorþan 'to become, happen'), cwǣdon (from cweþan 'to say, speak, call').

Such cases of the interchange of voiced and unvoiced consonants in some words are the result of earlier differences in stress and can be accounted for by Verner's Law. In 1877 Karl Verner of Copenhagen provided a rational explanation of apparent exceptions to the First or Germanic Consonant Shift (Grimm's Law). Verner showed that the voiceless fricatives f, Θ, h, which developed from original p, t, k in the first stage of the Germanic consonant shift, became voiced to v, ð, g when the stress in IE did not im-

mediately precede them, and that the unshifted sibilant s was voiced to z. In OE ð was further modified to d, and z to r. Whereas IE * 'bhrāter became OE brōðor by Grimm's Law, *páter became fæder in accordance with Verner's Law. Such differences were most apparent in the tense-forms of strong verbs (the stress was originally on the final syllable in the preterite plurals and past participles) and have been mostly levelled out again by the operation of analogy in the later history of English. Survivals may still be detected in such contrasted forms as was - were; lose - (for)lorn; seethe - sodden; rise - rear, death - dead.

The tendency to substitute r for s(z), as in the OE change z > r, is known as rhotacism,

(2) Different kinds of the assimilation of consonants occurred in OE. The following changes may be mentioned: fm > mm, as in wīfman > wimman 'woman'; fn > mn, as in stefn > stemn 'voice'. [f], [s] and [θ] were voiced to [v], [z] and [ð] respectively when they occurred between voiced sounds. It is because of this change that we find pairs of words today, one a noun and the other a verb, of which the noun has a voiceless fricative because the consonant was final in OE, whereas the verb has a voiced fricative because it occurred between vowels. E.g., bath (OE bæþ) beside bathe (OE baþian). Similarly many nouns ending in a voiceless fricative have a voiced fricative in the plural, as wolf (OE wulf) beside wolves (OE wulfas), wife (OE wīf), wives (OE wīfes).

(3) A consonant could be omitted from a group.

For the omission of m or n before the spirants [f], [θ], [s] and the resulting lengthening of a preceding vowel, see above, p. 23.

The middle consonant of a group of three often disappeared in OE, as in el(n)boȝa 'elbow', fæs(t)nian 'to fasten'. The loss of a consonant was especially common when the group of three consonants included a double consonant, as in sende (earlier *sendde) pret. of sendan 'to send';

cyste (earlier *cysste) pret. of cyssan 'to kiss'.

(4) The palatalization of the consonants c, ʒ and sc when they occurred in an initial position before a front vowel or finally after a front vowel led to the following developments in Late OE and EME (the changes in spelling were made in the 13th cent.):

[kj] > [tʃ]	as in	OE	cȳld	[kji:ld]	EME child	[tʃi:ld]
	- " -	OE	cin	[kjin]	EME chin	[tʃin]
[skj] > [ʃ]	- " -	OE	scip	[skjip]	EME ship	[ʃip]
	- " -	OE	fisc	[fiskj]	EME fish	[fiʃ]
[gj] > [dʒ]	- " -	OE	ecʒ	[egjgj]	EME edge	[edʒ]
	- " -	OE	brycʒ	[brygjgj]	EME bridge	[bridʒ]

(5) Metathesis is the transposition of two consecutive sounds, one or both of which may be consonantal. When one of the sounds undergoing a metathesis is a vowel, the consonant is usually r. OE examples are hors 'horse' < *hros, (cf. MoGer. Ross), berstan 'to burst' < *brestan. It is probable that double forms of some words remained in existence side by side, one with and the other without metathesis, e.g., OE ʒærs (cf. Gothic gras); but MoE grass has developed from a form without metathesis. There are several OE examples of the metathesis of s and a voiceless plosive, as āscian beside ācsian 'to ask', and wæsp beside wæps 'wasp'. The forms ax and wopse survive in dialects.

Conclusion

Almost all the major sound changes in OE (umlaut, breaking, palatalization, omission of consonants, contraction of vowels, etc.) are connected with the widespread tendency of assimilation (i.e. the conformation of a sound to a neighbouring sound).

The phonemic composition of OE remains the subject of considerable controversy among specialists. We have already referred to differences of opinion as regards the existence of genuine diphthongs in the OE period (see p. 16). There is

also some disagreement as to the sounds represented by the letter ȝ (see p. 18). In this and several other cases there is scope for further investigation.

Chapter III
THE OLD ENGLISH VOCABULARY

1. Introductory

The vocabulary of OE is essentially West Germanic in character. The bulk of the words in the lg. are of Common IE or Common Gmc. origin. There are a few specifically OE words which do not occur in any other known lg. The proportion of foreign elements is much more limited than it is in MoE.

A. Common IE words in OE (inherited from the IE parent lg.; occur in OE and the other Gmc. as well as non-Gmc. lgs. of the IE family),

E.g.:

(1) nouns: (a) family relations: fæder, modor, sweostor; (b) parts of the body: heorte, nosu, fōt; (c) animals: swīn, ȝāt 'goat', ȝōs; (d) plants: trēow 'tree', beorc 'birch', corn; (e) heavenly bodies: sunne, mōna; (f) various: nama 'name', niht 'night', mere 'lake, sea'.

(2) adjectives: nīwe 'new', long, rēad 'red', swēt 'sweet', full.

(3) verbs: sittan, licȝan 'lie' (Est. 'lamama'), tēran 'tear', etan 'eat'.

B. Common Gmc. words (occur in the Gmc. but not in the non-Gmc. lgs. of the IE family).

E.g.

(1) nouns: (a) parts of the body: hēafod 'head', hand, earm, finȝer; (b) animals: bera, fox; (c) plants: ȝræs, āc 'oak'; (d) dwellings and their parts, articles of

furniture: hūs, rūm, benc; (e) means of transport: bāt, scip; (f) various natural phenomena and objects: sæ 'sea', land, sand, reȝn 'rain'.

(2) adjectives: ȝrēne, bleo 'blue', lytel 'little', eald 'old'.

(3) verbs: sēon 'see', sprecan 'speak', tellan, slæpan 'sleep', drincan.

C. Specifically OE words.

The number of these is small and they include, e.g.: wimman 'woman', hlāford 'lord', clipian 'to call'. In some cases it has not been possible to account satisfactorily for the etymology of a word, e.g.: docȝa 'dog', cocc 'cock' etc.

A feature of OE which is quickly apparent to the modern reader is the absence of the numerous words borrowed from Latin and French which are in common use today. On the whole, the OE vocabulary is much more limited than that of MoE. The size of the OE vocabulary has been estimated to have been about 30,000 words (cf. the 400,000 - 500,000 words registered in the larger English dictionaries of the 20th cent.). It should be borne in mind, however, that a large part of the OE word stock may not have been recorded at all (colloquial speech!) or has since been lost (e.g., practically no OE words connected with shipbuilding have survived, although the terminology in this field must have been extensive in the case of a seafaring people).

Although OE was considerably poorer in words than ME, it possessed adequate means of expression for the affairs of simple everyday life as well as the subtler shades of thought and feeling needed in literature and learning (as is borne out by the rich literary heritage that has come down to us from OE times. See above, p. 10 ff.).

2. Development of the OE Vocabulary

The West Gmc. dialects brought to Britain in the 5th-6th cent. began to develop under new conditions. The vocabulary of OE was replenished and extended by new words from: (1) internal sources (growth from within, i.e., from existing material) which consist of the various means of word building: (a) morphological (limited to affixation in OE), (b) morphological-syntactical (limited to word composition) and (c) semantic (extension, narrowing of meaning, metaphor, metonymy, etc.), and (2) external sources (growth from without), i.e., borrowing from the lgs. with which OE came into contact.

It may be expedient to distinguish a further third and intermediate source of vocabulary growth: translation loans (the incentive for the formation of a new word comes from outside, although the material used is native. We shall discuss translation loans under loanwords in general, see below, p. 36.

The growth of the vocabulary of OE was mainly the result of growth from within; borrowing from other lgs. took place on a limited scale only.

I. Internal Sources of Word-Formation

OE formed derivatives and compound words with great ease (cf. MoGer.).

A. Morphological Means of Word Formation (Affixation)

OE had a varied system of affixes. Many of the latter have since fallen into disuse or been superseded by affixes of Romanic origin. The following is a brief survey of some of the more important OE suffixes and prefixes arranged according to the parts of speech they served to form. Special

attention has been paid to affixes which continue in productive use in present-day English.

1. S u f f i x e s

A. Noun-forming suffixes:

(1) Personal:

-ere (forms masc. agent-nouns; cf. MoE -er, Latin -arius, Riss. -apь): fiscere, wrītere, bōcere 'scholar, scribe'.

-estre (produces fem. agent nouns denoting persons engaged in some occupation): bæcestre (cf. MoE masc. baker; survives in the proper noun Baxter), spinnestre cf. MoE spinster).

-nd (serves to derive masc. agent-nouns; connected with Pres. Part. ending -ende): frēond 'friend', hǣlend 'healer, Saviour', būend 'dweller'.

-ing (patronymic): æðelinȝ 'son of a noble', cyninȝ 'king', Æðelwulfinȝ 'son of Æðelwulf'; (cf. extended variant -ling used to form nouns with a diminutive or derogatory meaning: dēorlinȝ 'darling', hȳrlinȝ 'hireling').

(2) Abstract noun-forming suffixes (arranged according to the gender of the derivatives they form):

-nes (-nis) (fem. nouns from adjectives or participles): ȝōdnes, rihtwīsnes 'righteousness', forȝiefennes,

-ung (-ing) (fem. nouns from verbs): scotung 'shooting, shot', rǣdinȝ 'reading'.

-scipe (masc. nouns from nouns): frēondscipe 'friendship'.

Some abstract noun-forming suffixes were originally independent words, e.g.:

-dōm (< OE dōm = judgment, opinion, doom): wīsdōm, frēodōm 'freedom'.

-hād (OE had = state, condition, quality; forms masc. nouns): cildhād (cf. MoGer. -heit which is a fem. suffix).

-rǽden (< OE rǣden = state, condition, manner, law; forms fem. nouns) mann-rǣden 'allegiance' frēondrǣden 'friendship'

B. Adjectival Suffixes:

The following are the more important OE adjective-forming suffixes:

-en (usually with mutation; denotes 'material', 'belonging to') ȝylden 'golden', stǣnen 'of stone, stony'.

-iȝ (MoE -y) mihtiȝ 'mighty', hāliȝ 'holy'.

-isc (with mutation) Enȝlisc, Frencisc, mennisc 'human, manlike'.

-sum sibbsum 'peaceful', hiersum 'obedient' (cf. MpGer. gehorsam).

-full (< adj. full) sorȝfull 'sorrowful', synnfull 'sinful'.

-lēas (MoE -less) ārlēas 'dishonoured, wicked', reccelēas 'reckless'.

-līc (< noun līc = body, cf. MoE -like, lichgate; MoGer. Leiche), folc-līc 'popular', dēadlic 'deadly'.

C. Verbal Suffixes:

-sian, -lǽcan, -ettan: claensian (< adj. clǣne; MoE to cleanse); ānlǽcan 'to unite', bliccettan 'to glitter, shine'.

D. Adverbial Suffixes:

-e (the regular adverb-forming suffix) lanȝe 'long', ȝelīce 'similarly'.

-līce (< līc + e; MoE -ly) frēondlīce.

(For other less productive adverbial suffixes: -lunga, -m lum and their MoE survivals, see below, p. 62).

2. P r e f i x e s

There are about a dozen prefixes that occur with great frequency. Some are verbal, others nominal (confined to nouns and adjectives):

ā-, be-, for-, ȝe-, mis-, of-, on-, tō-, un-, wiþ- : ārīsan 'to arise', besettan 'to beset, surround', fordōn 'to destroy', ȝefēra 'fellow-traveller, companion' (< fēran 'to travel'), misdǣd 'misdeed', ofslēan 'to kill', onbindan 'to unbind', tōtēran 'to tear in pieces', uncūþ 'unknown', wiþstandan 'to withstand, oppose'.

B. Morphological-Syntactical Means of Word-Formation

(Word Composition)

Compound words are produced very freely in OE (as in all the old Gmc. lgs.). Compound nouns and adjectives are especially numerous and they are generally self-explaining as regards their meaning. There are many possible structural types of such compounds, such as, e.g.:

1. Compound nouns: sǣmann (n. + n.), mann-cynn (n. + n.; 'mankind'); cwic-seolfor (adj. + n.; 'quick-silver, mercury').

2. Compound adjectives: wīn-sæd (n. + adj.; 'sated with wine'), wīdcūð (adj. + adj.; 'far known, public'), ȝlæd-mōd (adj. + n.; 'glad-minded, cheerful'), mild-heort (adj. + n.; 'mild-hearted, merciful').

The first elements in OE compound words are usually uninflected (i.e. they are word-stems that coincide formally with the nom. sing. form). It is possible, however, for the first element to be inflected for case or number or both, e.g.: the gen. case form occurs in the names of the days of the weak: Mōnandæȝ (lit. the day of the moon= mōna), Tīwesdæȝ, Wodnesdæȝ, Þūresdæȝ, Frīȝedæȝ, etc.; Enȝlalond (lit. the land of the Angles), Oxenaford (gen. pl. of oxa 'ox'; i.e. a ford that may be passed by oxen, MoE Oxford).

Of special lexicological interest are the so-called disguised compound words in MoE, i.e. words which are now sensed to be simple words, but which may be traced back to OE compounds, e.g., daisy (OE dæȝes + ēaȝe), sheriff (< OE scire + ȝerēfa, i.e. 'shire + reeve'), lord (< OE

hlāf + weard, lit. 'bread (cf, loaf) + guardian'; cf. Est. 'leivaisa'), world (OE woruld, weorold, worold; < OE wer 'man' + a word akin to OE eld, yld < *aldi 'age, period of time', hence lit. meaning 'the age of man, lifetime, humanity', etc.)

C. Semantic Means of Word-Formation

The semantic means of word building include extension and narrowing of meaning, metaphor, metonymy, etc. There is much scope for further research in this field of OE studies. For some examples of new meanings acquired by existing words as the result of external influences, see below, pp. 36.

II. External Sources of Vocabulary Growth in the OE Period

The MoE vocabulary contains a high proportion of words borrowed from different lgs. It has been estimated that up to 65 % of the words in the English lg. today are of foreign origin. The vocabulary of OE was much poorer in foreign elements, but it would be a misconception to regard it as unmixed and pure. The adoption of foreign words had begun long before the first Germanic people came to Britain. A certain number of Latin words had already been incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon dialects during the Continental period (i.e. before the invasion of Britain).

In the course of the OE period the English lg. came into contact with Latin (Romanized Celts, Christianization), Celtic and Old Scandinavian. (Scandinavian invasion - 9th-11th cent.). As most Scandinavian loan words entered the English lg. in the 12th cent. and later, this contribution to the English vocabulary is usually dealt with in connection with the Early ME period.

1. Latin Loan-words

The Germanic peoples including the Anglo-Saxons had been in contact with Roman civilization long before the actual invasion of Britain and they had adopted a number of Latin words denoting objects belonging to that civilization. The words borrowed are mainly connected with commerce, domestic life, household articles, clothing, etc. It should be pointed out that it is often difficult or even impossible to determine whether a given Latin loan-word first entered the vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon dialects while the Anglo-Saxons were still on the continent or later as a result of contacts with the Romanized Celts in Britain. It is common to refer to the Latin words adopted before and immediately following the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain as constituting the first stratum of Latin words in English.

Several hundred Latin words are found in the various Gmc. dialects at an early date and testify to intensive intercourse between Romans and ancient Germans. About 50 words from the Latin probably existed in the dialects of the ancestors of the English when they came to Britain.

Such early Latin loan-words include, e.g.: strǣt (road, street, < Lat. strata (via) 'paved road'), weall (wall, < Lat. vallum), mīl (mile, < Lat. mīlia passuum), wīn (wine, < Lat. vinum), cēapian, cēapan (to buy, < Lat. caupones 'wine-dealers, keepers of wine-shops or taverns'; cf. MoE cheap, Cheapside, chapman, chap, which all go back to this word; cf. MoGer. kaufen, Est. kaupmees, etc.); manȝere (trader, retailer, < Lat. mango 'a dealer in slaves'; cf. MoE ironmonger, costermonger, often pejorative, e.g.: scandalmonger, recent: warmonger).

Other early Latin loan-words include: cycene (kitchen, Lat. coquina), cuppe (cup, Lat. cuppa), disc (dish, Lat. discus), myln (mill, Lat. molinum, cf. MoE prop. n. Milne),

mynet (coin, money, Lat. moneta; cf. MoG. Münze), pipe (pipe, Lat, pipa), cese, cīese (cheese, Lat. caseus; cf. MoGer. Käse), pere (pear, Lat. pirum), copor (copper, Lat. cuprum), cytel (kettle, Lat. catillus), etc.

The Latin noun castra 'camp' (applied to a fortified Roman town in Britain, then to a town or city in general) may be found in numerous place-names, e.g.: Lancaster, Leicester, Worcester, Chester, Manchester, etc. Lat. colonia 'settlement, colony' survives in the word 'colony' and in Lincoln, Colchester; Lat. portus 'seaport' in Portsmouth, etc.

A second great stratum of Latin words entered the English lg. in the 6th and 7th centuries when the people of England were converted to Christianity. The number of the new ideas and things introduced with Christianity was very considerable. As Latin was the lg. of the Church and learning in general, it was natural that the English adopted a large number of Latin words chiefly denoting persons and things connected with religion (total number borrowed before the close of the OE period being about 450).

In view of the fact that there were contacts between the Anglo-Saxons and the Christian Church before the former were Christianized, it is difficult to distinguish the oldest (Continental) borrowings from those adopted after Christianization. Thus OE cirice (church, < Gr. kyriakon, cf. MoScottish kirk, Est. kirik) was probably well-known to the pagan Anglo-Saxons as an object of plunder. Other OE words from Latin (many of them ultimately of Greek origin) connected with Christianity are: mynster (minster, < Lat. monasterium; cf. Westminster), munuc (monk, < Lat. monachus), dēofol (devil, < Lat. diabolus), biscop (bishop, < Lat. episcopus), cleric (clerk, < Lat. clericus), prēost (priest, < Lat. presbyter), scrīn (shrine, casket, < Lat. scrinium). The list may be extended to include the OE forms of MoE abbot, alms, angel, candle, hymn, nun, offer, palm, relic, rule, school, verse and many others.

OE affixes were used to form derivatives from Latin

loan-words: cristendōm (Christendom), biscoprīce (bishopric, cf. Est. piiskopkond = piiskopi riik).

The OE vocabulary also grew as the result of the application and adaptation of old native words to express new ideas. Thus, e.g.: ēastre, ēastron originally referred to a pagan festival held in the spring, later to the church festival, Easter (< Eastre = a goddess of light or spring to whom the month corresponding to our April was dedicated).

Many such extended or adapted OE terms were subsequently replaced by (Norman) French or Latin borrowings, e.g., wītega by prophet, hālga by saint, etc.

Numerous OE words were translation loans from Latin. Most such translation loans were later lost in the competition with the Latin or Greek pattern words (models), e.g. tunȝolcraeft (astronomy, cf. Gr. astron 'star' + nomos 'law'), ticipium, fr. particeps 'sharing, participant'), þrīnes (trinity, cf. Lat. trinitas), ȝewritu "scriptures", but some survive in MoE, e.g., ȝōdspell (gospel, lit. "good tidings", cf. Gr. eu + angelion).

2. Celtic Loan-words

The Celtic element in OE is unexpectedly small. (There are numerous later contributions to LME and MoE, ab. 160 in all, from Gaelic, Erse and Welsh). The words adopted from the conquered Celts in the OE period do not probably exceed a dozen. Among the words which may be regarded with some certainty as of early Celtic origin are dūn (MoE down = a hill, cf. the Downs; the adverb down is believed to be derived from of dūne, lit. from the hill), dun 'dull, dark brown', (bin(n) 'basket, crib, bin', broc 'badger', etc. The words cross and cursian 'to curse' are early Celtic loans introduced by the Irish missionaries in the North.

On the other hand there are very numerous Celtic elements in the names of rivers, mountains and towns, etc. all over Britain. E.g., Gaelic amhuin 'river' survives in the

form Avon (Stratford-on-Avon), uisge 'water' in Exe, Esk, Usk, Ux, Ouse (cf. the later Celtic loan whisky < uisge), dun, dum 'hill, protected place' in Dumbarton, Dundee (probably in London, cf. Verdun), inbher 'mountain' in Inverness, bein 'mountain, peak' in Ben Nevis, the Pennine Chain, etc. Also cf. Kent < Celtic Canti or Cantion, Cornwall 'Cornubian Welsh', Cumberland 'land of the Cymry (or Britons)', etc.

Poetic Diction

A characteristic feature of OE verse is its peculiar and rich poetic vocabulary. There is an astonishing wealth of near-synonyms for certain ideas which stood in the centre of interest in the poetry of the period, e.g. 37 words denoting a warrior, 30 words for the sea, 27 for 'ship', 12 for 'battle', etc., have been recorded in OE verse (a considerable proportion of them occur in "Beowulf"). Such words are generally compounds. Their meaning is frequently farfetched and makes the text rather difficult to understand, e.g.: flǽsc-hama (flesh + shirt = body), beadu-swāt (war + sweat= blood); the sea is referred to as the home of the whale, the realm of the monsters, the sea-fowl's bath, the monster house, etc., etc.

The tendency to use periphrastic or metaphorical terms as a convention of poetic diction is well-known in all the Germanic lgs. Such words are called kennings. A kenning is a two-member circumlocution for an ordinary noun. Kennings may take the form of a coumpound word like hrōn-rād 'sea' (lit. 'riding-place of the whale') or of a phrase, like fuȝles wynn 'feather' (lit. 'bird's joy').

Conclusion

OE was more resourceful in utilizing its native material than MoE. It showed a great flexibility for putting old words to new uses. By means of prefixes and suffixes a single root was made to yield a variety of derivations and the range of these was greatly extended by the ease with which compound words were formed. In its later periods the lg. relied more on borrowing and assimilating elements from other lgs.

Chapter IV

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF OLD ENGLISH

A. Morphology

As regards their general type lgs. may be either synthetical or analytical. A synthetical lg. is one which indicates the relation of words in a sentence largely by means of inflexions (in the case of the IE lgs. these most commonly take the form of endings of the noun, the pronoun, the adjective and the verb). Lgs. which make extensive use of prepositions and auxiliary words and depend upon word order to show relationship between words in a sentence are known as analytical lgs. The history of E. has seen the gradual substitution of a predominantly analytical structure for an original synthetical one.

The OE sentence Sunne wierm̀ð eorðan means 'The sun warms the earth'. It would mean the same if the words were arranged in any other order, such as Eorðan wierm̀ð sunne, because sunne is the form of the nominative case and the

ending -an of eorðan marks the noun as accusative no matter where it stands. In MoE, however, the subject and the object do not have distinctive forms, nor are there, except in the possessive case, inflectional endings to indicate the other relations marked by case endings in OE. Instead, MoE makes use of a fixed order of words (cf. below, p. 76 ff.).

The history of English morphology has been in the main one of progressive simplification. Although the OE inflexional system is complicated in comparison with that of today, there is evidence that it represents a simplification of a much more complex system of inflexions in the parent lg., and it is simpler than the inflexional systems of Greek or Latin.

In general it may be said that the changes toward simplification have proceeded at different speed in the various parts of speech. The nominal parts of speech (the noun, the pronoun and especially the adjective) have undergone relatively greater changes than the verb. It should also be pointed out that although the verb has lost most of its inflexions, the tense system of the MoE verb has actually become much more complex than that in OE.

We shall review the nature of OE inflections in the following sections.

The Noun

The OE noun has the grammatical categories of gender, number and case.

1. Gender. There are three genders in OE: masculine, neuter and feminine. The gender is either natural or grammatical. By the natural gender names designating male beings (sē mann, sunu, cyninȝ) are generally masculine; those denoting female beings (sēo mōdor, dohtor, cwēn 'queen') are feminine; and those indicating young creatures (þæt cild, cealf 'calf') are usually neuter. Grammatical gender is not dependent upon considerations of sex: stān 'stone' is masculine, mōna 'moon' is masculine, but sunne 'sun' is femi-

nine, as in MoGer. (cf. MoFr., however, where pierre and lune are feminine while soleil is masculine). Grammatical gender often appears quite arbitrary and even illogical. Words like mæʒden 'girl' and wīf 'wife' which we should expect to be feminine are in fact neuter, while wīfmann 'woman' is masculine because compounds follow the gender of their last element.

The gender of most OE words can be learnt only by practice. In some cases suffixes are a clue to the gender. For instance words ending in -a, -dōm, -hād, -scipe are masculine (mōna, wīsdom, cildhād 'childhood', frēondscipe 'friendship', whereas those ending in -nes, -o, -ung are feminine (riht-wīsnes 'righteousness', bieldo 'arrogance', scotung 'shooting') (see above, p. 30).

There is no grammatical gender in MoE, where gender is determined by meaning (i.e. it is natural). Attributive gender as of a ship as feminine, of the sun and the moon as masculine and feminine respectively, is personification and a matter of rhetoric, not grammar. The simplicity of gender in MoE is generally regarded as one of the chief assets of the lg.

2. Number. In OE the noun has two numbers: singular and plural as in MoE. There are numerous types of plural forms some of which have not survived in MoE (see p. 48).

3. Case. The OE noun has four cases: nominative, accusative, dative and genitive (an older instrumental case having been merged with the dative).

The acc. is the same as the nom. in all plurals and in the sing. of all neuter nouns. The dative plural of nearly all nouns ends in -um.

The endings of the OE cases vary with different nouns, but they fall into certain broad categories or declensions. Originally there seem to have been more declensions than can be distinguished in the earliest OE texts. Already in OE there was a tendency for nouns to pass by analogy from the smaller declensions into the larger. A general trend is

noticeable to reduce the number of declensions.

It is usual to distinguish the following two main groups of declensions according to the nature of the stems of the nouns concerned in Common Germanic:

1. the Vowel Declension
2. the Consonant Declension

Within each of these principal types there are certain subdivisions.

It is impossible here to deal with the inflections of the OE noun in detail. Their nature may be gathered from the few paradigms presented below (For a fuller account of the OE declensions, see Ilyish, pp. 82-96, Smirnitski, pp. 220-234).

1. V o w e l D e c l e n s i o n

The stems of nouns belonging to the vowel (or strong declension) originally ended in a, ō, i, or u, and the corresponding nouns are referred to as -a-stems, -ō-stems, etc. These terms are purely traditional and historical as very often there is no trace of any original -a-, -ō-, etc. in the stems of the nouns concerned. Thus, e.g., the masculine noun dæʒ and the neuter scip are both so-called -a--stems together with stān. It is only through comparison with cognate lgs. and laborious reconstruction that one can prove that the original stems of these words were formed by means of the suffix -a- (cf. Ilyish, p. 85).

It should be noted that OE nouns of the vowel declension are sometimes classified according to the stem-forming vowels of their IE prototypes. Thus, in A.I. Smirnitski's Хрестоматия (M. 1953) and Древнеанглийский язык the -a--stems (stān, bān, etc.) are referred to as -o-stems on the grounds that IE o > Gmc. a (cf. Lat. noctem, Goth. nahts; Lat. octo, Goth. ahtau). It appears expedient, however, to classify OE nouns on the basis of the vowels that actually formed the corresponding Gmc. stems.

(1) -a-stems.

The class of -a-stems includes masculine and neuter

nouns. The difference between masculine and neuter nouns of this class lies in the forms of the nom. and the acc. pl. Masculine words take -as in the plural, while neuter nouns take either the ending -u (monosyllabic words with a short root vowel and disyllabic words with a long root vowel) or have no ending in the plural:

Singular

	Masc.			Neuter	
N.	stān	scip	nīeten	bān	reced
	'stone'	'ship'	'cattle'	'bone'	'building'
G.	stānes	scipes	nīetenes	bānes	recedes
D.	stāne	scipe	nīetene	bāne	recede
A.	stān	scip	nīeten	bān	reced

Plural

N.	stānas	scipu	nīetenu	bān	reced
G.	stāna	scipa	nīetena	bāna	receda
D.	stānum	scipum	nīetenum	bānum	recedum
A.	stānas	scipu	nīetenu	bān	reced

The so-called -ja-stems (hryc$_3$ 'back', here 'army', cynn 'race, kind', rīce 'region, country, kingdom', etc.) and the -wa-stems (bearu 'grove', snāw 'snow', trēow 'tree', etc.) are subdivisions of the -a-stems.

The nouns of the -a-stem class include bearn 'child', ȝēar 'year', earm 'arm', dēor 'animal', word, hrinȝ 'ring', ȝeat 'gate', dæȝ, næȝl 'nail', etc.

The inflection of the masculine -a-stems (with their plural in -as) was later extended by analogy to other nouns and was the basis for the development of the inflection of the MoE noun (see p. 48).

(2) -ō-stems.

This class of nouns consists exclusively of feminine words. The nom. sing. of these nouns ends in either -u (monosyllabic words containing a short root vowel) or it has no ending (monosyllabic words with a long root vowel and di-

syllabic words). The nom. and acc. pl. have the ending -a.

Singular

N.	caru 'care'	lār 'teaching, lore'	tiȝol 'tile'
G. D. A.	dare	lāre	tiȝole

Plural

N.	cara	lāra	tiȝola
G.	cara (or carena)	lāra	tiȝola
D.	carum	lārum	tiȝolum
A.	cara	lāra	tiȝola

This class includes lufu 'love', scamu 'shame', ȝiefu 'gift', strǣt 'street', sorȝ 'sorrow'; the nouns known as -jō-stems, e.g., bryc3 'bridge', ec3 'edge', æx 'axe' etc., and the -wō-stems, e.g. sceadu 'shade', mǣd 'meadow' (gen., dat., acc. sing. sceadwe, mǣdwe; nom., gen., acc. plur. sceadwa, mǣdwa), stōw 'place'.

(3) -i-stems.

The -i-stems comprise words of all three genders. Their inflection resembles that of the -a-stems (in the case of masc. and neuter nouns) and that of the -o-stems (in the case of fem. words). The root vowel is usually the result of mutation.

Singular

	Masc.	Neuter	Fem.
N.	siȝe 'victory'	sife 'sieve'	hȳd 'hide'
G.	siȝes	sifes	hȳde
D.	siȝe	sife	hȳde
A.	siȝe	sife	hȳde

Plural

N.	siȝe, siȝeas	sifu	hȳde, hȳda
G.	siȝea	sifa	hȳda
D.	siȝum	sifum	hȳdum
A.	siȝe, siȝeas	sifu	hȳde, hȳda

Other words belonging to this declension include: dǣd 'deed', sǣ 'sea', dǣl 'deal', mete 'food, meat', spere 'spear', flǽsc 'flesh', cwēn 'queen, woman'.

The names of some tribes and nationalities are also inflected as -i-stems, e.g. Ęnȝle 'Angles', Seaxe 'Saxons', Dene 'Danes'.

(4) -u-stems

This class of nouns is made up of masc. and fem. words. The nom. and acc. sing. of the -u-stems ends in -u if the root vowel is short; words with long root vowels (including words in which an originally short vowel was lengthened in Late OE; see above, p. 23) have no endings in these cases.

Singular

	Masc.			Fem.
N.	sunu 'son'	feld 'field'	duru 'door'	flōr 'floor'
G.	suna	felda	dura	flōra
D.	suna	felda	dura	flōra
A.	sunu	feld	duru	flōr

Plural

N.	suna	felda	dura	flōra
G.	suna	felda	dura	flōra
D.	sunum	feldum	durum	flōrum
A.	suna	felda	dura	flōra

Other words belonging to this group are the masculine wudu 'wood (the material)', sumor 'summer', weald 'forest', and the feminine hand 'hand', nosu 'nose'.

There is considerable hesitation and inconsistency, especially in Late OE texts, as regards the inflection of some nouns belonging to this group. Thus, for instance, the word feld was sometimes given the endings of the -a-stems: gen. sing. feldes, nom. and acc. plur. feldas, etc.

2. The Consonant Declension

In the nouns of this group the original stem ended in a consonant instead of a stem-forming vowel. It is possible to distinguish several types within the consonant declension depending on whether the consonant belonged to a derivational syllable or was an integral part of the original root.

A. The n-stems or Weak Declension

In this subgroup the case-endings were originally added to a derivative syllable -on-, -en-. In OE the earlier case-inflections have been lost or considerably modified (cf., e.g., IE gen. sing. *nom-on-es, Common Gmc. *nam-an-iz, OE naman; IE acc. sing. *nom-on-m, Com. Gmc. *nam-an-us; OE naman; IE gen. pl. *nom-on-ōm, Com. Gmc. *nam-an-ām, OE namena, etc.).

The masculine nouns belonging to this declension have -a in the nom. sing., while the fem. and neuter nouns have -e. The acc. sing. is identical with the nom. sing. in the neuter nouns (according to the general rule). The endings of all other case forms coincide in all three genders.

Singular

	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter
N.	nama	heorte	ēaʒe
G.	naman	heortan	ēaʒan
D.	naman	heortan	ēaʒan
A.	naman	heortan	ēaʒe

Plural

N.	naman	heortan	ēaʒan
G.	namena	heortena	ēaʒena
D.	namum	heortum	ēaʒum
A.	naman	heortan	ēaʒan

The weak declension comprised a large number of nouns including the following words: (1) masc. guma 'man', ʒelēafa

'belief', steorra 'star'; (2) fem. cwene 'woman', sunne 'sun', eorþe 'earth'; (3) neuter ēare 'ear'.

B. Minor Classes of the Consonant Declension

1. The Root-stems (Monosyllabic Stems). The nouns belonging to this class had no stem-forming suffix and the case endings were added directly to the root. In OE a number of nouns are declined either entirely or partly according to the pattern of the root-stems. Many of the root-stems have a mutated vowel in the dat. sing., nom. and acc. pl.

Masculine gender

	Singular			Plural	
N.A.	man(n)	fōt	N.A.	men(n)	fēt
G.	mannes	fōtes	G.	manna	fōta
D.	men(n)	fēt	D.	mannum	fōtum

So also tōþ 'tooth, wīfman (wimman) 'woman'

Feminine gender

Feminine root-stems with a short vowel take -u in the nom. sing.; nouns with a long root vowel have no ending in this case. Occasionally the gen. sing. coincides in form with the dat. sing.

	Singular				Plural			
N.A.	hnutu 'nut'	bōc	mūs	N.A.	hnyte	bēc	mȳs	
G.	hnute	bēce, bēc	mūse, mȳs	G.	hnuta	bōca	mūsa	
D.	hnute	bēc	mȳs	D.	hnutum	bōcum	mūsum	

So also ȝōs 'goose', āc 'oak', lūs 'louse', cū 'cow', ēa 'river'.

The fem. niht 'night' is indeclinable in the sing. and in the nom. pl.

The neuter noun scrūd 'garment' has mutation only in the dat. sing.: scrȳd.

2. The r-stems. This class of masc. and fem. nouns consists of words denoting family relations. Almost all the words belonging to this class have individual peculiarities of declension. Their dat. sing. usually contains a mutated vowel.

Singular

N.A.	fæder	brōþor	sweostor
G.	fæder, -es	brōþor	sweostor
D.	fæder	brōþor	sweostor

Plural

N.A.	fæderas	brōþer, -ru	sweostor
G.	fædera	brōþra	sweostra
D.	fæderum	brōþrum	sweostrum

Mōdor and dohtor are declined like brōþor, but in the nom. and acc. pl. they may also end in -a, thus: mōdra, dohtra.

Some neuter nouns retain the element -r- in all cases of the plural. This -r- is derived by rhotacism from an earlier suffix -es and such nouns are occasionally referred to as -es-stems.

Singular

N.	lamb	cealf 'calf'	cild	ǣȝ 'egg'
G.	lambes	cealfes	cildes	ǣȝes
D.	lambe	cealfe	cilde	ǣȝe
A.	lamb	cealf	cild	ǣȝ

Plural

N.	lambru	cealfru	cild,cildru	ǣȝru
G.	lambra	cealfra	cilda,cildra	ǣȝra
D.	lambrum	cealfrum	cildrum	ǣȝrum
A.	lambru	cealfru	cild,cildru	ǣȝru

.....

It can be concluded from what has been said above that

in OE the plural of nouns could be expressed in a variety of ways:

Singular	Plural	
stān	stānas	(-a-stem)
nama	naman	(weak decl.)
strǽt	strǽta	(-ō-stem)
scip	scipu	(-a-stem)
dǽd	dǽde	(-i-stem)
bōc	bēc	(consonant stem with umlaut)
hūs	hūs	(-a-stem with invariable pl.)

As early as the 11-12th cent. it is possible to notice a marked tendency for the nom. plurals in -as and in -an to be extended to nouns which originally belonged to other declensions. The other plural inflections gradually disappeared. This development began in the northern dialects. In EME the -as and -an endings were levelled to -es and -en. A competition took place between these two means of indicating the plural and victory finally went to the -(e)s ending. The reasons for the spread of the -s plural are not entirely clear. They include the influence of analogy, the specific quality of the sibilant [s] (the sound was more distinctive than the consonant [n] or any of the vowels which ultimately underwent reduction). The possible indirect influence of Old French in encouraging the spread of the -s plural has been exaggerated.

Survivals of OE Noun Inflections in MoE

MoE has a few isolated instances of surviving OE noun inflections which need explanation.

1. Old genitive forms without -s survive in the first components of ladybird (AE ladybug; OE hlǽfdiʒe 'lady' was a weak fem. noun, its gen. sing. ending became -e in ME and this lightly stressed -e subsequently disappeared), Lady Day 'Feast of the Annunciation' (cf. the Lord's Day 'Sunday') ,

bridegroom (OE brȳd-ʒuma; cf. earlier bridemaid and more recent bridesmaid), Friday (< OE frīʒe dæg, fr. Frīʒ, name of a goddess, the wife of Odin).

2. MoE shade and mead go back to the nom. sing. case forms of the corresponding OE words sceadu and mǣd. The OE dat. sing. forms of these words sceadwe and mǣdwe have given rise to MoE shadow and meadow. MoE borough has developed from the OE nom. sing. burʒ 'fort', whereas the second element in Canterbury, Atterbury, etc. has come from the mutated OE dat. sing. of the same word byriʒ.

3. Some uninflected plural forms have survived until the present day in sheep, deer, swine. We have survivals of the old uninflected plurals of night and month in fortnight (i.e. fourteen nights), the archaic sennight (i.e. seven nights) and twelvemonth 'year'.

4. In MoE the only noun which keeps the weak plural is ox, pl. oxen. In dialects it is still possible to come across shoon 'shoes', etc.

5. Mutation plurals survive in seven MoE words: men, women, feet, teeth, geese, mice, lice. The number of nouns that formed their plurals by means of vowel mutation in OE was about 25 and included such words as the prototypes of MoE oak, book, goat, etc.

6. Three nouns in MoE have double plurals: children, brethren and kine, Child belonged in OE to a declension of nouns which had a nom. pl. in -ru, and children has its r from this declension. The ending -ru became -re in ME and the plural ending of the weak declension was added to it: childre-n (the pl. forms childre or childer survive in dialects).

The word brethren also represents a double plural (mutation pl. + weak pl.), that came into being in EME. The original OE nom. pl. was broþer (without mutation), but umlaut was extended to the nom. pl. on analogy as most words with a mutated dat. sing. had umlaut in the nom. pl. as well. In MoE the old plural brethren is used only in some specialized senses.

The nom. pl. of OE cū was cȳ. In EME this mutation plural took on the weak plural ending as well and the resulting double plural kyen later assumed the form 'kine' which is now archaic or poetic except in dialects.

Pronouns

Personal Pronouns

The inflections of personal pronouns have been remarkably well preserved in MoE. This is due in part to the frequency of their use and the necessity for specific reference when used. There were many variant forms in OE, but the following were the most common:

		1st per.	2nd per.	3rd per. M.	F.	N.
Sing.	N.	ic	þū	hē	hēo	hit
	G.	mīn	þīn	his	hiere	his
	D.	mē	þē	him	hiere	him
	A.	mē, mec	þē, þec	hine	hīe	hit
Dual.	N.	wit (we two)	ʒit (ye two)			
	G.	uncer	incer			
	D.	unc	inc			
	A.	unc	inc			
Plur.	N.	wē	ʒē		hīe	
	G.	ūre	ēower		hiera	
	D.	ūs	ēow		him	
	A.	ūs	ēow		hīe	

The underlined forms have survived (with phonetic changes) in the E. lg. of today.

The separate forms for the first and second person dual, used when two persons were referred to, did not survive beyond the EME period, and they have no importance for the development of MoE.

OE ic > EME ich (where the ch was simply a spelling for [tʃ]). Side by side with ich, all dialects of ME had i,

later written I (for calligraphic reasons), which was in origin an unstressed form of ich, and as such had a short vowel. The form I came to be used in stressed as well as in unstressed positions and by the end of the ME period it had almost replaced ich. When I was used in stressed positions, the vowel was lengthened, and it is from this long vowel that MoE I [ai] developed. The MoE objective case of the 1st per. sing. is the result of the merging of the old accusative and dative.

The 1st per. pl. and the 2nd per. sing. forms have developed regularly. The MoE us is derived from a form in which the long vowel has been shortened because of lack of stress. The 2nd per. sing. forms are now used only in poetry, when addressing the Deity, and in some dialects (e.g. Lancashire). The Quakers use thee instead of the nom. form, probably because of the analogy with we, she, he.

In the 2nd per. pl., ȝē has regularly become ye, and ēow (old dat. and acc.) has become the objective you. The initial consonant of you may be due to the analogy of the nominative ye. The distinction between the nominative ye and the objective you is preserved by careful writers until the 17th cent. Ye survives in liturgical use and some rural dialects. It was still heard in the 19th cent. in I tell ye [ji], How do you do? ['hau d i 'du]. Such forms as ['luk i] 'look ye', [[illegible]] 'thank ye' survive as vulgarisms.

The distinction between sing, and pl. forms of the 2nd per. is generally maintained in ME. In respectful and ceremonious address the plural was used instead of the sing. At the time of Shakespeare thou and thee were used as expressions of intimacy and also to address inferiors.

The dative form of the 3rd per. sing. masc. pronoun replaced the accusative form in ME. A descendant of the old acc. hine pronounced [ən] is still common in Southern BE dialects today and is applied to inanimate objects as well as to men.

In the neuter of the 3rd per. sing. hit has lost its

initial h because the pronoun usually occurs in an unstressed position. Forms without h begin to appear in EME. In Chaucer hit is still more common than it and hit is found occasionally in the 16th cent.

The origin of the pronoun she, which replaced OE hēo, is one of the unsolved problems of historical E. grammar. Since the middle of the 14th cent. 'she' has been the only form of the feminine pronoun in literary E. Various explanations of the origin of the form have been suggested. One is that 'she' arose from sentences in which OE hēo was preceded by a word ending in s, such as wæs 'was'. Another is that 'she' is the result of a blend between the fem. demonstrative sēo (see below, p. 53) and the personal pronoun hēo. It is probable that several sources contributed to the development of she. The rapid spread of the new form she (sche, sho) with its initial sibilant sound is easy to understand in view of the fact that OE hēo became he in some ME dialects and was thus indistinguishable from the masculine pronoun.

The forms of the OE 3rd per. pl. pronoun were gradually replaced in ME by the forms they, them and their borrowed from Old Scandinavian. The nom. pl. pronoun was borrowed earlier than the others, and many ME authors, including Chaucer, have the Scand. form in the nominative but native forms in other cases. The dative pl. him, hem, with the loss of initial h which is common in unstressed words, survived in frequent use until the 18th cent. generally written hem, and is still occasionally heard in colloquial expressions like That's the stuff to give 'em. Take 'em. Seek 'em, etc.

In OE there are no distinctive forms of reflexive pronouns; ordinary personal pronouns are used instead with reflexive force, e.g., he bepōhte hine 'he bethought himself' (cf. MoE he looked about him), hie ȝesamnodon hīe 'they collected themselves, assembled'. The emphatic self (seolf, sylf) is added to nouns and personal pronouns, being generally inflected like a strong adjective: swā pū self talast 'as you say yourself'. Swā-swā hīe cwǣdon him selfum 'as they said to themselves'. This construction, with self in

agreement with its head-word, passed out of use in EME. The MoE reflexive pronouns originated in the ME period.

Possessive Pronouns

Mīn 'my', þīn 'thy', ūre 'our', ēower 'your' and the dual uncer and incer are declined like other adjectives. The genitives of the 3rd per. his 'his, its', hiere 'her', hiera 'their' are not declined. In OE these forms could be used pronominally or adjectivally, e.g., eall his 'all of it'; God ūre helpe 'God help us' (helpan governs the genitive in OE); mid mīnum frēondum 'with my friends', mid his frēondum.

His was the genitive not only of the masculine pronoun, but also of the neuter hit, and was so used until the middle of the 17th cent. when it was gradually replaced by its, a new formation.

Demonstrative Pronouns

The OE demonstrative pronouns meaning 'that', which was also used as the definite article, had the following declension:

	Singular			Plural
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	All genders
N.	sē, se	þæt	sēo	þā
G.	þæs	þæs	þǣre	þāra, þǣra
D.	þǣm, pām	þæm, þām	þǣre	þǣm, þām
A.	þone	þæt	þā	þā
Instr.	þȳ, þon	þȳ, þon	-	-

The MoE dem. prn. 'that' is derived from the OE neuter þæt.

The MoE definite article the is derived from EME þe, which goes back to the OE nominatives sē and sēo with substitution of initial þ from the plural and the other forms of the singular.

The OE demonstrative pronouns meaning 'this' had the declension:

	Singular			Plural
	Masc.	Neut.	Fem	All genders
N.	þes	þis	þēos	þās
G.	þisses	þisses	þisse	þissa
D.	þissum	þissum	þisse	þissum
A.	þisne	þis	þās	þās
Instr.	þȳs	þȳs	-	-

This OE demonstrative pronoun has given MoE the forms 'this' (< nom. sing. neuter þis), 'these' and 'those'. The old plural þā (meaning 'those') gradually disappeared and was replaced in ME by þās (originally meaning 'these'). The form þās subsequently became þōs, thōs(e).

The MoE these is derived from a new plural form þēos(e), þēs(e), which arose in ME and which is partly the result of the influence of the nom. sing. feminine þēos.

Thus only five forms remain in MoE of the once complicated declensions of the demonstrative pronouns: the article the and the pronouns this - these; that - those.

A few fossilized traces of the old inflections of the dem. pronouns survive, chiefly in proper names. The surname Atterbury preserves a trace of the dative sing. fem. (< OE æt þǣre byriȝ). The initial consonant of the names Nash and Noakes is derived from the dative form of a preceding definite article with metanalysis (misdivision): Nash < ME at þen asche < OE æt þæm æsce. Similarly the phrase for the nonce is derived from ME for then ones, where then is from the OE masc. or neut. dative sing. þǣm. The first 'the' in an expression like 'the sooner the better' may be traced back to the OE instrumental þȳ.

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

The MoE relatives who, which were originally only interrogatives. In OE hwā 'who' (of persons), and the neuter hwæt 'what', were used as substantives: hwelc, hwilc 'which' was used both as a substantive and as an adjective. The definite article or demonstrative sē, seō, þæt was used relatively, either alone or with the relative particle þe ('that' is still so used in MoE): sē mann sē(-pe) ... 'the man who ...', þā menn þǣm-þe.. 'the men to whom..'.

The particle þe is also used as a relative pronoun: þā beorȝas, þe man hǣt Alpīs 'the mountains that are called the Alps'.

The Adjective

OE adjectives have three genders and the same four cases as nouns. In the masc. and neut. sing. an instrumental case may be distinguished (in the fem. and pl., and in the weak declension the dative is used instead). There are two separate declensions of adjectives: the weak, used mainly after the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun, and the strong, used without the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun: sē ȝōda mann (weak nom, sing. masc.), þā ȝōdan menn (weak nom. pl. masc.); (sum) ȝōd mann (strong nom. sing. masc.), ȝōde menn (strong nom. pl. masc.). Both declensions were highly inflected (cf. the strong and weak adjectival declensions in MoGer.). This elaboration of inflection in the OE adjective contrasts in the most striking way with the complete absence of inflection in the MoE adjective.

Weak Declension

The weak inflections of the adjective agree exactly with those of the noun (in the gen. pl., however, the usual ending is -ra).

Singular

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
N.	3ōda	3ōde	3ōde
G.	3ōdan	3ōdan	3ōdan
D.	3ōdan	3ōdan	3ōdan
A.	3ōdan	3ōde	3ōdan

Plural

N.	3ōdan
G.	3ōdra (3ōdena)
D.	3ōdum
A.	3ōdan

Strong Declension

There are minor variations within the strong declension depending on whether an adjective consists of one or more syllables and on the nature of its root vowel (for details see Ilyish, pp.100-102). The following is the paradigm for a monosyllabic -o-stem adjective with a long root vowel:

Singular

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
N.	3ōd	3ōd	3ōd
G.	3ōdes	3ōdes	3ōdre
D.	3ōdum	3ōdum	3ōdre
A.	3ōdne	3ōd	3ōde
Instr.	3ōde	3ōde	-

Plural

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
N.	ȝōde	ȝōd	ȝōda
G.	ȝōdra	ȝōdra	ȝōdra
D.	ȝōdum	ȝōdum	ȝōdum
A.	ȝōde	ȝōd	ȝōda

Adjectives agree with their nouns in gender, number and case not only when used attributively, but also when the adjective follows the noun predicatively:

ȝōde menn; þās earman landlēode (these poor people, nom. pl.); sē æþela cyninȝ (the noble king), þæs æþelan cyninȝes (of the noble king); þā menn sind ȝōde (the men are good); hīe cōmon mid lanȝum scipum, nā maniȝum (they came with long ships, not many).

C o m p a r i s o n

The comparative is formed by adding -ra, and is declined like a weak adjective. The superlative is formed by the addition of the suffix -ost, or, less often, -est (-ist) and may be either weak or strong.

Posit.	Comp.	Superl.
heard 'hard'	heardra	heardost
fæȝer 'fair'	fæȝerra	fæȝerost
lēof 'dear'	lēofra	lēofost

A number of adjectives form their degrees of comparison with mutation and generally take -est in the superlative, e.g.:

eald 'old'	ieldra	ieldest
stronȝ 'strong'	strenȝra	strenȝest
lonȝ 'long'	lenȝra	lenȝest
hēah 'high'	hierra	hiehst

The old mutation in such comparisons was gradually got rid of by the introduction of the vowel of the positive. Mutation is still preserved in MoE old, elder, eldest (although in AE it is quite common to refer to one's older sister, etc.).

Irregular Comparison

In OE the following adjectives formed their comparative and superlative from a root different from that of the positive (an instance of suppletivity; such forms are called suppletive as fill gaps in a defective paradigm, e.g., go-went, am-was-been). These are words of frequent occurrence, and they have, in consequence, been able to preserve their irregularity until the present day.

Posit.	Comp.	Superl.
ȝōd	betera	betst
yfel	wiersa (wyrsa)	wierrest (wyrst)
micel (mycel)	māra	mǣst
lytel	lǣssa	lǣst

Some OE adjectives derived from adverbs have had a fairly complex history.

OE feorr (adv. and occasionally adj.) 'far', fierra (adv. fierr), fierrest. OE feorr became by regular change ME fer, MoE far. The OE adverb fore 'before, in front' had the comparative furþra (adv. furþor), superl. fyrest, fyrst, forma, fyrmest. The comparative adverb fierr was soon confused with the positive feorr in ME and the more distinct furþor took its place. When ME first (< OE fyrst) became the ordinal numeral (instead of OE forma 'first') - a new superlative furþest was formed from furþer (< OE furþor). Lastly, the vowel of the positive was extended to the other degrees, giving farther, farthest. The old superlative form being no longer recognizable as such, was regarded as a positive, whence a new comparative 'former' was made in imitation of 'latter'.

The positive, comparative and superlative of MoE near were in OE nēah (adverb, rarely adjective), nēarra (adv. from nēar), nīehest or nȳhst. The old comparative is now used as the positive 'near', and a new comparative and superlative have been formed from it by the addition of -er and -est. The old positive is represented in MoE by the adjective and adverb nigh (arch., poet. or dial.). The old superlative survives as 'next'.

The MoE prepositions and conjunctions ere and erst (chiefly poetical) have developed from the comparative (ǣrra) and the superlative (ǣrest) of the OE adv. ǣr 'formerly, early' (cf. Mo Ger. eher). The forms ǣrra 'former' (in time) and ǣrest 'first' (cf. MoGer. erst) were often used attributively.

A number of superlatives ending in -most occur in MoE, such as foremost, inmost and utmost. In origin this suffix is distinct from the superlative most, although the two have been confused. Besides the usual superlative ending -ost (-est, -ist), OE had traces of an old superlative suffix -ma, as in forma 'first' from the positive fore. In most cases the meaning of this superlative ending was forgotten and the ending -st was added (generally accompanied by mutation) giving the double superlative -mest, e.g., fyrmest (cf. forma), innemest, norpmest from inne 'inside', norp 'north'. The suffix - mest was later identified with mest from OE mǣst 'most', and when this was replaced in ME by the variant most, the o was extended to the suffix, giving forms like inmost, utmost, topmost. A further piling up of suffixes occurred when the suffix -most was added to a comparative ending in -er to produce forms like uppermost and innermost.

Analytical comparison by means of the word swiþor 'stronger' (swiþost 'strongest') or the adverb bet 'better' (betst 'best') may also be met with occasionally in OE. The use of more or most to form the degrees of comparison originated in EME.

Numerals

Cardinal Numerals

The cardinal numerals 1 - 3 are declined.

1 - ān is declined like a strong adjective

2 - twā is declined in the following manner:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
N.A.	twezen	tū, twā	twā
G.		twēzra	
D.		twæm	

OE twezen survives in MoE twain.

3 - þrēo is declined thus:

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
N.A.	þrīe	þrēo	þrēo
G.		þrēora	
D.		þrīm	

4 - fēower

5 - fīf

6 - siex, six

7 - seofon, siofen

8 - eahta

9 - nizon

10 - tīen, tȳn, tēn

11 - endlefan

12 - twelf

13 - þrēotīene

14 - fēowertīene

15 - fīftīene

16 - siextīene

17 - seofontīene

18 - eahtatīene

19 - nizontīene

20 - twentiz

30 - þrītiz

40 - fēowertiz

50 - fīftiz

60 - siextiz

70 - hundseofontiz

80 - hundeahtatiz

90 - hundnizontiz

100 - hund, hundtēontiz

110 - hundendlufontiz

120 - hundtwelftiz

200 - tū hund

300 - þrēo hund

11000 - þūsend

2000 - tū þusendu

Units are usually put before tens: - ān and twentiȝ (21), fīf and twentiȝ manna (25 men).

Ordinal Numerals

Most of the ordinal numerals are derivatives of the cardinal ones, but the first two ordinals are expressed by distinct words. The OE teen-ordinals end in -teoþa, the ty-ordinals in -tiȝoþa (-tioȝoþa).

1 - forma, fyresta	11 - endlefta
2 - ōðer	12 - twelfta
3 - þridda	13 - þrēotēoþa
4 - fēorþa	14 - fēowertēoþa
5 - fīfta	20 - twentiȝoþa
6 - siexta	30 - trittiȝoþa
7 - seofoþa	40 - fēowertiȝoþa
8 - eahtoþa	70 - hundseofontiȝoþa
9 - niȝoþa	100 - hundteontiȝoþa
10 - tēoþa	

The OE ordinals were inflected as weak adjectives: on þām twā-and-twentiȝoþan dæȝe 'on the twenty-second day'.

Adverbs

There are different ways of forming adverbs in OE. The most common is by the addition of the ending -e to an adjective, as in wide 'widely' (< wīd 'wide'), dēope 'deeply' (< dēop 'deep'), nearwe 'narrowly' (< nearu 'narrow'). When final -e was dropped in the 15th cent. many such adjectives and adverbs came to be alike in form. This is the origin of the apparent use in MoE of an adjective in place of an adverb as in to drive slow, to speak loud, to run fast.

The usual adverb-forming suffix in MoE is -ly. OE had a common adjectival suffix -līc and an adverbial suffix formed from it in the usual way by the addition of -e, as in sōþlīce 'truly' beside sōþlīc 'true'. Both of these suffixes have given -ly in MoE, as in the adjective kindly and the adverb truly.

Several other suffixes were used to form adverbs in OE. Some of these have survived in isolated adverbs. OE -(l)unga, -(l)ings may be seen in headlong, sidelong and the obsolete darkling. OE -mǣlum survives in piecemeal.

A number of OE adverbs had their origin in the oblique cases of nouns. The gen. sing. ending is found in OE ānes 'once' (> ME ōnes), ealles 'completely', dæȝes 'by day'. The genitive ending has been added to some words in which it did not occur in OE, such as always (OE ealne weȝ), and nowadays (OE nū on dæȝe). The fossilized dative plur. ending survives in seldom and in the archaic whilom.

The regular suffixes of adverbial comparison were -e, -or, -ost: wīde 'widely', wīdor, wīdost. There was also a smaller class with mutation in the higher degrees, the endings being -e, -, -est, as in lanȝe 'for a long time', lenȝ, lenȝest; softe 'softly', soft, softest. Some adverbs derived from corresponding adjectives are compared irregularly with the occasional substitution of other words. Such suppletive comparisons include: wel 'well', betre, best, yfele 'badly', wiers (wyrs), wierst (wyrst); micele 'much', māre, mǣst.

Prepositions

The OE prepositions are closely allied to the adverbs. Most of them were originally adverbs and are homonymous with the latter. Prepositions play a very important part in OE. Of the OE prepositions, some are simple (of, æt, fram 'from', be 'by', þurh 'through', under, etc.), some compound (beforan 'before', underneoþan 'underneath', wiþinnan 'within', ymbūtan 'around', etc.).

The OE prepositions governed one or more of the four cases (see below, pp. 75-76).

In some instances it is possible to distinguish the beginning of the use of adverbial or prepositional elements in the function of postverbal particles. In a few cases prepositions or adverbs occur in constructions that

resemble the combinations of verbs with postverbal particles that are so characteristic of ME and MoE, e.g.: ond þǽs ymb III niht ridon twēȝen eorlas ūp 'and three nights after, two jarls rode up (ASC, 871).

Conjunctions

Conjunctions have a fairly important role to play in OE. There are coordinative as well as subordinative conjunctions. The latter are more numerous. As regards their form OE conjunctions may be divided into simple, compound or composite: ac 'but' (simple coordinative), ȝif 'if' (simple subordinative), forþǽmpe 'because' (compound subordinative), swā þæt 'so that' (composite subordinative).

(See section on types of sentences below, pp. 78-79).

Verbs

The inflection of the verb in the OGmc. lgs. (including OE) is much simpler than it was in Proto-IE. A comparison of the OE verb with that of Greek or Latin will show how much has been lost. Moreover the conjugation of the OE verb is simpler than it is in Gothic.

OE has only two simple tenses - a present and a past (or preterite). There are no compound tenses and no special future tense. There are no inflectional forms for the passive (traces of an older passive voice are preserved in the form hātte from hātan 'call, name', which is both present 'is called' and preterite 'was called': se munuc hātte Abbo 'the monk's name was Abbo). OE has three moods: the indicative, subjunctive (widely used) and imperative. There are the usual two numbers singular and plural (an earlier dual survives in Early OE) and three persons. In the plural one form is used for all three persons. Of the non-finite forms OE has an infinitive, a present participle and a past participle.

Being a typical OGmc. lg., OE has two great classes of verbs: the strong and the weak. There also are several minor groups of verbs. The strong verbs, which represent the basic IE type, form the past tense by a modification of their root vowel (wrītan 'to write', wrāt 'wrote'; cēosan 'to choose', cēas 'chose'). In the weak verbs such a change of tense is effected by the addition of an extra syllable containing d (-ode, -ede, -de) to the root-syllable (lufian 'to love', lufode 'loved'; werian 'to defend', werede 'defended').

S t r o n g V e r b s

Strong verbs are much less numerous than weak verbs (just over 300 in OE, if we exclude compounds; cf. about 190 in MoE, some being archaic, obsolescent or rare).

The strong verbs in OE are usually divided into seven classes. Within each class a regular sequence can be observed in the vowel changes of the root (gradation). The vowel of the past tense often differs in the sing. and the plural (or, to be more accurate, the 1st and 3rd persons sing. have one vowel, while the 2nd pers. sing. and all persons of the plural have another). Consequently, OE strong verbs have four principal parts: (1) the infinitive, (2) the preterite sing. (1st and 3rd pers.), (3) the pret. pl., (4) the past participle.

There is difference of opinion on how to group strong verbs (see Ilyish, p.109, fn.). There also are some variations within each class. The classes of OE strong verbs may be illustrated by the following seven verbs:

I	wrītan	'write'	wrāt writon	(ʒe)writen	(ī-ā-i-i)
II	cēosan	'choose'	cēas curon	(ʒe)coren	(ēo-ēa-u-o)
III	drincan	'drink'	dranc druncon	(ʒe)druncen	(i-a-u-u)
IV	stelan	'steal'	stæl stǣlon	(ʒe)stolen	(e-æ-ǣ-o)
V	tredan	'tread'	træd trǣdon	(ʒe)treden	(e-æ-ǣ-e)
VI	faran	'to go'	fōr fōron	(ʒe)faren	(a-ō-ō-a)
VII	hātan	'to comman'	hēt hēton	(ʒe)haten	(originally reduplicating verbs)

The conjugation of the first verb in the above list, wrītan, will serve to show the personal endings which are common to all strong verbs:

		Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative
Pres.	sing. 1.	wrīte	wrīte	sing. wrīt
	2.	wrītest	wrīte	
	3.	wrīteþ	wrīte	plur. wrītaþ
	plur.	wrītaþ	wrīten	
Pret.	sing. 1.	wrāt	write	
	2.	write	write	
	3.	wrāt	write	
	plur.	writon	writen	

Infinitive wrītan (dativa1 form: tō wrītenne)
Pres. part. wrītende
Past part. (ʒe)writen

The full ending of the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. is -eþ which is often contracted, with certain consonant changes: wrītt from wrītan, lǣtt from lǣtan 'to let', cwiþþ from cweþan 'to say', cīest from ceosan 'to chose', bint from bindan 'to bind', etc.

The dativa1 infinitive (H. Sweet calls it the OE gerund) is used as a verbal noun (see p. 82).

The participles may be declined like an adjective.

The past participle generally takes the prefix ʒe-, as in ʒebunden from bindan 'to bind', ʒenumen from niman 'to take', unless the other parts of the verb have it already, as in ʒehīeran 'to hear' whose past part. is ʒehīered. No ʒe- is added if the verb has another prefix: thus the past. of forʒiefan 'to forgive' is forʒiefen.

Weak Verbs

There are three classes of weak verbs in OE. The first class forms its preterite in -(e)de (or, after a voiceless consonant, in -te), and its past part. in -ed. The second class forms its preterite in -ode and its past part. in -od. The third class forms its preterite in -de and its past part. in -d. All verbs of the second class and a few verbs of the first class have the ending -ian in the infinitive ; the other weak verbs have -an.

In the past tense of weak verbs there is no difference in the root-vowel of the sing. and plural forms and consequently weak verbs have three principal forms instead of the four of strong verbs.

The following are examples of the three classes:

	Infinitive		Preterite	Past Participle
I	hīeran	'to hear'	hīerde	ȝehīered
	settan	'to set'	sette	ȝeseted
II	lufian	'to love'	lufode	ȝelufod
III	habban	'to have'	hæfde	ȝehæfd

Weak verbs are conjugated as follows:

		Indicative			Subjunctive		
Pres.	sing. 1.	hīere	lufige	hæbbe	hīere	lufige	hæbbe
	2.	hīerst	lufast	hæfst			
	3.	hīerað	lufað	hæfð			
	plur.	hīerað	lufiað	habbað	hīeren	lufien	hæbben
Pret.	sing. 1.	hīerde	lufode	hæfde	hīerde	lufode	hæbbe
	2.	hīerdest	lufodest	hæfdest			
	3.	hīerde	lufode	hæfde			
	plur.	hīerdon	lufodon	hæfdon	hīerden	lufoden	hæbben

Imperative

Sing. hīer lufa hafa
Plur. hīerap lufiaþ habbaþ

Infinitive hīeran, lufian, habban
(dativa1 form: tō hīerenne, tō lufienne, tō habbenne
Pres. part. hīerende, lufiende, habbende
Past part. hīered, lufod, hæfd

The origin of the dental suffixes by which weak verbs form their past tense and past part. is not exactly known, According to one explanation they were originally part of the verb do. Consequently, 'I worked' may have developed from a early construction corresponding to MoE 'I work-did'. More recently an attempt has been made to trace the weak preterites to a type of verb which formed its stem by adding -to- to the root.

Whatever its origin, the weak conjugation has come to be the dominant one in the E. lg. Many strong verbs have passed over to this conjugation and practically all new verbs added to E. are inflected in accordance with it.

M i n o r G r o u p s

There is a small class of irregular verbs in OE which comprises (1) preterite-present and (2) anomalous verbs.

(1) The preterite-present verbs are thus called because their present tenses are derived from old preterites. In origin they are strong verbs of which the original preterite forms acquired a present meaning and from which new weak preterites were made in Common Gmc. The verbs belonging to this small but important group share some of the characteristics of both strong and weak verbs and they are sometimes also called strong-weak verbs.

A typical pret,-pres. verb is witan 'to know'

	Indicative		Subjunctive	Imperative	
Pres. sing.	1.	wāt	wite	sing.	wite
	2.	wāst		plur.	witaþ
	3.	wāt			
plur.		witon	witen		

		Indicative	Subjunctive
Pret. sing.	1.	wiste	wiste
	2.	wistest	
	3.	wiste	
plur.		wiston	wisten
Infin.		witan	
Pres. part.		witende	
Past. part.		witen	

Forms of OE witan have survived in MoE to wit 'namely' and in the participial adj. unwitting, etc.

Pret.-pres. verbs are often defective, i.e., some of their forms do not exist. A small number of OE pret.-pres. verbs have survived in MoE as modal or auxiliary verbs. They are the verbs can, dare, shall and may, with their preterites could, durst, and the old preterites must and ought, which are now used as presents.

Can is regularly developed from the OE pres. indic. sing. cann of cunnan 'to know'. Could is not regularly developed from the OE preterite cūþe. The usual ME forms of the preterite were coude (or koude) and couthe (or kouthe). The forms with d are due to the analogy of other weak preterites ending in -de. The l in the MoE could is due to the analogy of should and would where the l is etymologically justified. The adj. cunning is derived from the infinitive, and uncouth from the OE participial adj. cūþ 'known'.

Dare has almost ceased to be a pret.-pres. verb. The two traces of its origin that it still keeps are the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. dare (OE dearr), besides analogical dares, and the old-fashioned preterite durst (OE dorste), which is giving way to the analogical form dared.

Shall is from OE sceal and should from the OE preterite sceolde.

May is regularly developed from the OE 1st and 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. mæʒ. In the preterite OE had meahte or mihte, the latter giving MoE might.

OE mōt 'I may' had the preterite mōste. The present forms of this verb became obsolete during the 16th cent. and were replaced by the preterite must. There is a survival of the old preterite use of must in indirect speech, as may be seen by comparing He said that he must go (where must is a preterite) with I must go (present tense).

OE āʒan 'to possess' had the preterite āhte. The infinitive has given MoE owe, which now has the analogical preterite owed. The OE āhte has given ought, which is used with both present and preterite meaning.

(2) A number of OE verbs do not fit into any of the groups already considered. They are known as anomalous verbs and include willan 'to will', nyllan (< ne willan) 'to will not', ʒān 'to go', dōn 'to do', wesan (bēon) 'to be'.

The following are the inflections of willan, ʒān and wesan:

		Indicative			Subjunctive		
Pres. sing.	1.	wile	ʒā	eom, bēo			
	2.	wilt	ʒǣst	eart, bist	wile	ʒā	sīe, bēo
	3.	wile	ʒǽþ	is, biþ			
plur.		willaþ	ʒāþ	sint, bēoþ (sindon)	willen	ʒān	sīen, bēon
Pret. sing.	1.	wolde	ēode	wǽs			
	2.	woldest	ēodest	wǽre	wolde	ēode	wǽre
	3.	wolde	ēode	wǽs			
plur.		woldon	ēodon	wǽron	wolden	ēoden	wǽren
Imperative	1.	-	ʒā	wes,	bēo		
	2.	-	ʒāþ	wesaþ,	bēoþ		
Infin.		willan	ʒān	wesan,	bēon		
Pres.part.		willen	ʒānʒende	wesende,	bēonde		
Past part.			(ʒe)ʒān				

As can be seen from the foregoing, willan shows a mixture of subjunctive forms in the pres. indic. sing. while ʒān and wesan, (bēon) derive forms from different verbs,

e.g. their paradigms are based on suffletivity (cf. go - went, Latin fero - tuli, French je vais - nous allons).

The most important of the anomalous verbs is wesan (bēon) which suvives in MoE as 'to be', The usual West Saxon form of the 1st pers. sing. pres. indic. was eom, but the Anglian dialects had eam or am, and it is from these that MoE am is derived. The plural of the pres. indic. are has also come from Anglian variant forms: aron and earon.

The OE verb which has given go was ȝān, whose preterite ēode came from a different verb. In ME ēode became gede, gode, later yede, yode, and these forms were felt to be archaisms already in the 16th cent. The MoE preterite 'went' comes from 'wente' originally the preterite of OE wendan 'to turn, proceed, go' (cf. MoE to wend one's way).

MoE will is regularly developed from OE wile, MoE would from OE wolde. In the present tense, besides forms with i, Me had wol(l)e, with o from the preterite and wul(l)e. The variant with o survives in MoE in the contracted form won't.

T e n s e s

OE has only two synthetic tenses, a present and a preterite tense (see above, p. 63). The meanings of many of the later compound tenses are rendered by various lexical means or by the general context.

The present tense form is used with or without adverbials in a future sense and there is a tendency to use bēon in such cases: ne ābȳhþ nǣfre Ēadmund Hinȝuare 'Edmund will never submit to Hinguar'; ȝā ȝē on mīne wīnȝeard, and ic selle eōw þaet riht biþ 'go ye into my vineyard, and I give you what is right'. The future is sometimes expressed by willan and sculan followed by an infinitive (cf. MoE), though generally with a sense of volition in the case of the first and of necessity in the latter: Ic wille wyrcean mīn setl on norðdǣle 'I will establish my throne in the North part'; swā sceal man dōn 'so shall a man do'. The idea of simple futurity comes out most clearly in the preterites

wolde and scolde: Hē ȝelǣhte āne lēon pe hine ābītan wolde 'he seized a lion that was going to devour him'; hīe wēndon þaet hīe scoldon māre onfōn 'they expected to receive more'.

The OE preterite tense has the meaning of the MoE

(1) past indefinite and past continuous: se sāwere ūt ēode his sǣd tō sāwenne, and þā þā he sēow... 'the sower went out to sow his seed, and while he was sowing...';

(2) present perfect: ūre cyninȝ cōm nū hēr tō lande 'our king has just landed here';

(3) past perfect: þā þā ȝecōmon þe ymb pā endlyfton tīd cōmon 'when those came who had come at the eleventh hour'. The past perfect sense is often indicated by the addition of the adverb ǣr 'before': his swēora, þe ǣr wæs forslæȝen 'his neck which had been cut through'.

In Late OE it is possible to distinguish certain constructions which contain the germ of later analytical forms and constructions, such as the perfect tenses, the continuous tense forms and the passive.

We have already referred to the use of willan and sculan before an infinitive to express a shade of futurity.

The verbs habban, wesan (bēon) are sometimes used with past participles in constructions that eventually lead to the development of the perfect tenses. Habban is used with transitive verbs and occasionally with verbs of motion when action is stressed, and not state or condition: hīe hæfdon hiera cyninȝ āworpenne 'they had deposed their king'; hīe hæfdon ȝeȝān 'they had gone'. Intransitive verbs take wesan (bēon) in this construction: hē is acumen 'he is come'; siþþan hīe āfarene wǣron 'after they had gone away'. (Cf. MoE where 'have' has been extended to all verbs in the perfect tenses, except in isolated survivals, in poetic language, etc., such as The sun is risen. Spring is come. He is gone.).

In sentences such as hīe hæfdon hiera cyninȝ āworpenne 'they had their king deposed'; hē hæfde þone man ȝebundenne 'he had that man bound', etc., the past participles are re-

garded as attributes of the respective direct objects and not as parts of compound tense forms.

In OE one can occasionally find wesan or bēon used with present participles in constructions which formally resemble later continuous or progressive forms: hīe feohtende wǣron 'they were fighting'; þā þā hē sprecende w s 'while he was speaking'. In such OE constructions, however, there is only a vague sense of the duration of action. It should also be noted that these constructions are usually construed as compound nominal predicates and not as simple predicates expressing a single sense unit.

V o i c e

OE constructions formed with wesan (bēon) or weorþan 'to become' and the past participle of transitive verbs have a vague passive meaning. The distinction between the auxiliaries is not clearly marked, but wesan (bēon) appears generally to indicate the state of possessing a characteristic feature, weorþan the action of acquiring a characteristic: þǣr wæs se ȝūþfana ȝenumen 'there the battle-standard was seized'; hē wearp ofslǽȝen 'he was killed'; hē sǣde his hlāforde hū him ȝeandwyrd wæs 'he told his lord how he had been answered'.

In EME the verb weorþan fell into disuse and survives today only in the archaic expression woe worth the day 'cursed be the day'.

Although the constructions listed above under "Tenses" and "Voice" resemble MoE analytical forms and constructions of the verb, they do not yet express single sense units and their components must be regarded as not only formally but also semantically discrete.

M o o d

Of the three moods in OE the indicative states something as a fact, the imperative expresses an order or a request, whereas the subjunctive states something not as a fact, but as imaginary or desired. The subjunctive mood is employed in OE to express wish, conditions, doubt, etc., as in MoE. In OE, however, the subjunctive is used more extensively in principal and subordinate clauses alike. The preterite subjunctive is often expressed by scolde 'should' and wolde 'would' with an infinitive, as in MoE, but the synthetic subjunctive (i.e. the subjunctive expressed by distinctive inflexional endings) is much more common.

In principal clauses the subjunctive expresses wish and command (often nearly equivalent to the imperative): sē pe mē þēniȝe, fyliȝe hē mē 'who wishes to serve me, let him follow me'; ȝif þū wǣre hēr, nǣre mīn brōþor dēad 'had you been here, my brother would not be dead'; ne hē ealu ne drince nǣfre oþþe wīn 'nor shall he ever drink ale or wine'.

The subjunctive is even more widely used in subordinate clauses. Some of the chief cases are the following:

(1) In conditional clauses (generally with ȝif 'if' or būtan 'except'): Onsend Hiȝelāce, ȝif mec hild nime, beaduscruda betst 'send Hygelac, if the battle takes me (i.e. if I fall in battle O.M.), this best of war-corslets'; þās flotmenn cumaþ, and þē cwicne ȝebindaþ, būtan þū mid flēame þīnum fēore ȝebeorȝe 'these pirates will come and bind thee alive, unless thou savest thy life with flight'.

(2) After verbs of desiring and commanding (also in Indirect Speech): Ic ðē bebīode ðæt ðu dō, swǣ ic ȝelīefe, ðæt ðū wille 'I bid you do as I think you will do'; ic ȝewilniȝe... þæt ic āna ne belīfe æfter mīnum lēofum þeȝnum 'I desire... that I may not remain alone after my dear thanes'; þā ȝebudon him Perse þæt hīe hæfden þrīe winter sibbe wiþ hīe 'then the Persians ordered them to observe three years of peace with them'.

(3) In indirect narrative and questions: hē sǣde ðæt Norðmanna land wǣre swȳþe lanȝ and swȳþe smǣl 'he said the land of the Northmen was very long and very narrow'; ic āsciȝe hwǣr sēo offrung sīe 'I ask where the offering is'; hīe woldon witan hū hēah wǣre tō þām hefone 'they wanted to know how high up was the heaven'; frǽȝn, ȝif him wǣre niht ȝetǣse '(he) asked if he had had a pleasant night'.

When the statement in indirect speech is perfectly certain in itself, and not merely accepted on the authority of the speaker it is put in the indicative: hē hīere sæȝde on hwǣm his miht wæs 'he told her what his strength consisted in'.

B. Syntax

OE syntax has not been so thoroughly studied as OE morphology. A number of syntactic problems remain controversial and require additional study. The following is a brief account of the essentials of OE syntax.

Syntactic relations are expressed in OE chiefly by means of concord (agreement) and government (regimen). Adjoinment (külgnemine, примыкание) and word order also serve to indicate relationships between words.

Concord

Adjectives agree with their nouns in number, gender and case not only when used attributively, but also when the adjective follows the noun, either predicatively or in apposition. Se æþela cyninȝ 'the noble king'; þara ȝōdena wiotona 'of the good wise men'; hē ȝeseah oþre īdle standan 'he saw others standing idle'; hīe cōmon mid lanȝum scipum, nā manigum 'they came with long ships, not many'.

Demonstrative pronouns also agree with their headwords in number, gender and case; þā cyningas, þe þone onwald hæfdon þæs folces 'the kings, who had power over the

people', þās earman landlēode 'these poor people'.

Predicates agree with their subjects in number and person.

Government

Syntactic government (i.e. the syntactic process by which one word controls the case or mood of another to which it refers or which is dependent upon it) is of great importance in highly inflected languages such as OE. Government in OE concerns nouns or pronouns and is verbal, nominal or prepositional in character depending on whether the governing word is a verb, noun, adjective or preposition.

OE verbs may take any of the oblique cases of nouns or pronouns. Certain verbs require certain cases: bīdan windes (gen.) 'to wait for the wind'; ic wundrade þāra ȝōdena wiotona (gen.) 'I wondered at the good wise men'; wē habbað nū æȝðer forlæten ȝē ðone welan ȝē ðone wīsdom (acc.) 'we have now neglected both prosperity as well as wisdom'; hīe hine ne dorston æniȝ þinȝ āscian (acc.) 'they durst not ask him anything'; hē sealde ælcum anne peniȝ (dat.) 'he gave each a penny'.

OE nouns usually require the genitive case: þæs landes scēawunȝ 'contemplation (beholding) of the land'; sīo lār lædden ȝeþīodes 'study of the Latin language'.

OE adjectives take either the genitive or the dative: morþres scyldiȝ 'guilty of murder'; þēah hē him lēof wære 'although he was dear to him'.

Prepositional government is a phenomenon of relatively recent origin in language history.

Some OE prepositions govern the accusative, such as þurh 'through', ymb 'about, concerning'; others take the dative, such as æfter 'after', ær 'before', æt 'at', be 'by', binnan 'within', būtan 'without', for 'for', fram 'from', tō 'to'.

Some prepositions require either the accusative or the

dative, e.g., ofer 'over', on 'on, in', under 'under'. The general rule is that when motion is implied they take the acc., when rest is implied, the dative: hē ēode on þæt hūs 'he went into that house'; hē wunode on þǽm hūse 'he dwelt (remained) in the house'. There are exceptions to this rule, however: hē his hūs ȝetimbrode ofer stān 'he built his home on a rock' (the acc. although a verb of rest is used); hīe fēollon on stǽnihte 'they fell on stony ground' (the dat. despite the verb of motion).

A number of prepositions could be used with three cases, e.g., wiþ 'towards, against, opposite, near' (with the acc., dat., or gen. depending on meaning).

Prepositions may follow, instead of preceding the words they modify, sometimes with other words intervening: hīe scuton mid ȝafelocum him tō 'they shot at him with missiles'; hīe cwǽdon him betwēonan 'they said among themselves'; þæt hūs hē inne wunode 'the house he dwelt in'.

Adjoinment

Adjoinment is a way of connecting words that are invariable and cannot consequently agree with the words they depend on. In the OE sentence it is the adverbial that is usually adjoined to the predicate. The adjoined words may actually be separated by another part of the sentence, as in Ælfrēd cyninȝ hāteþ ȝrētan Wǽrferð biscop his wordum luflīce ond frēondlīce 'King Alfred sends loving and friendly greetings to Bishop Wærferth', where the two adverbs in the OE original are separated from the predicate they qualify by the direct and indirect objects.

Word Order

OE has its own rules governing the order of words in a sentence, but as the lg. is highly inflected, word order is not so essential for the expression of meaning as in MoE. The subject and object stand in the nominative and accusa-

tive or dative respectively and word order may be varied without the slightest risk of ambiguity. Thus the words in the sentence sē mann ofslōʒ þone beran 'the man killed the bear' can be rearranged (þone beran ofslōʒ sē mann; ofslōʒ þone beran sē mann; ofslōʒ sē mann þone beran; sē mann pone beran ofslōʒ) without changing the meaning, though such alterations in word order and variations in intonation can achieve different degrees of emphasis. One of the most marked changes in E. syntax since OE times has been the growing importance of word order. A rigid analytical word order has been made to compensate for the loss of inflexional endings.

OE word order resembles that of MoGer. in many respects, though it is relatively more free. The usual word order is S-P-O-Adv.

The predicate precedes the subject, i.e., there is inversion, when the sentence is headed by an adverb or adverbial group, or when the object or predicate is put at the head of the sentence: þā cwæþ se cyninʒ 'then said the king'; ærest wǣron būend þisses landes Brettas 'at first the Britons were the inhabitants of this country'; on his dagum cōmon ærest þrēo scipu 'in his days three ships first came'.

The infinitive often comes at the end of the sentence: wē maʒon ēow rǣd ʒelǣran 'we can teach you a plan'.

The finite verb frequently stands at the end in subordinate clauses, an auxiliary verb often coming after an infinitive or participle: þæt wǣron þā ærestan scipu Deniscra manna þe Angel-cynnes land ʒesōhton 'those were the first ships of Danish men which came to the land of the English race'.

There is a tendency to put the verb at the end in principal clauses also, or, at least, to bring it near the end: hiene man ofslōʒ 'they killed him'; hīe þǣr siʒe namon 'they got the victory there'.

The position of the attribute resembles that in MoE.

The adjective usually precedes its head-word (and agrees with it in gender, number and case); englisc ȝewrit 'English text'; hū ȝesæliȝlīca tīda 'what happy times'. Quantitative attributes frequently stand after their headwords: his suna twēȝen 'his two sons'; ðā bēc ealle 'all the books'. The attributive also frequently comes after its headword in exclamations and appositions: brōþor mīn 'brother mine' (archaic or poetical in MoE), Hrōþȝār lēofa 'Hrothgar dear'; Sidroc eorl sē alda 'Earl Sidroc the elder', Alfred cyninȝ.

It is common, especially in verse, for the object (and occasionally the adverbial) to be placed between the subject and the predicate, the latter coming at the end of the sentence. The following are examples of this so-called synthetical word order: Eadmund cyninȝ him wiþfeaht, and pā Deniscan siȝe namon, and þone cyninȝ ofslōȝon, and þæt land all ȝeēodon 'King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes gained the victory, and killed the king and conquered all the land'; Ic hine hræðlīce heardan clammum on wæl-bedde wriþan þōhte 'Quickly I thought to bind him to his bed of death by lusty grips' (Beowulf, l.963-964). A synthetical word order occurs in approximately 76% of the sentences in 'Beowulf'. In OE prose such a word order is gradually replaced by an analytical word order where the object and the adverbial stand after the predicate.

Types of Sentences

Compound and complex sentences occur besides simple sentences already in Early OE texts.

Compound sentences represent an earlier syntactic development, historically speaking, than complex sentences.

The clauses of a compound sentence are linked together either by means of coordinative conjunctions (and, oþþe 'or', ac 'but') or asyndetically (i.e. without any conjunction): On þǣre tīde mīn andȝiet ȝewende tō mē, and mīn mennisce hīw mē becōm 'At that time my understanding returned to me, and I regained my human form'. Hīe fuhton on þā burȝ ealne

dæȝ, ac hīe ne mihton hīe ābrecan 'They attacked the fort the whole day, but they could not take it'. Fyrst forð ȝewāt; flota wæs on ȳðum, bāt under beorȝe. 'The time wore away; on the waves was the bark, the boat under the cliff (Beowulf, l. 210-211).

Complex sentences consisting of a principal clause and one or more subordinate clauses also occur in the written records of the OE period. The subordinate clauses are subject, object, attributive or adverbial clauses. There are numerous varieties of adverbial clauses, e.g., adverbial clauses of place, time, cause, result, condition, concession, etc. (see Ilyish, pp. 161-164). Subordinate clauses expressing indirect speech are usually introduced by means of the conjunction þæt. Indirect questions begin with an interrogative word or the conjunctions ȝif 'if', hwæþer 'whether'. Indirect orders are expressed by means of the subjunctive mood (see above, p. 73) or combinations of the verb sculan followed by an infinitive: bēad þæt ǣlc man swā dōn sceolde '(he) ordered that every man should do the same'; hine bæd þæt hē him sendan sceolde ealle 'he asked him to send him everything'.

Parts of the Sentence

The Subject

The subject in OE sentences is usually a noun in the nominative case. Personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are also used in the function of the subject. Sē cyninȝ hēt lang scipu timbran 'The king ordered long ships to be built'; On fēawum stōwum wīciað Finnas 'In some places there live Finns'; þā ārās hē from þæm slǣpe 'then rose he from sleep'; þæt wæs ȝōd cyninȝ 'that was a good king'; hwā ȝestilleþ þæt? 'who will restrain that?'

There are some OE sentences which have no subject. This is the case with impersonal sentences and such sentences where the subject can be easily understood from the con-

text: þā Finnas, him þūhte, and þā Beormas sprǣcon nēah ān ȝeþēode 'The Finns, (it) seemed to him, and the Permians spoke almost the same language'; āledon þā lēofne þēoden on bearm scipes '(they) placed the beloved king on board the ship'.

The Predicate

The OE predicate can be either nominal or verbal in character.

The nominal predicate is always a compound predicate and consists of a link-verb and a predicative. The usual link-verbs are wesan (bēon) 'to be' and weorþan 'to become'. The predicative is generally a noun, adjective or adverb (or a combination of such words).

He wæs swȳðe spēdiȝ man 'he was a very rich man'; hals is mīn hwīt 'my neck is white'; sē man is hēr 'the man is here'.

The verbal predicate can be either simple or compound.

The simple verbal predicate consists of a finite verb form: Ōhthere sǣde his hlāforde 'Ohthere said to his lord'; þā clypode hē Ēsau his yldran sunu 'then he called Esau, his elder son'.

The compound verbal predicate is made up of a finite form of a strong-weak or auxiliary verb such as maȝan, cunnan, motan, habban, wesan and the infinitive or participle of a notional verb: Hī hine ne mehton ferian 'they could not carry him'; ne con ic noht sinȝan 'I cannot sing anything'; Hē hæfde þone man ȝebundene 'he had that man bound'; hiora cyninȝ wæs ȝewundod 'their king was wounded'; hē wæs feohtende 'he was fighting'. For a discussion of the nature of such constructions, see above, p. 72.

The Object

The object can be a direct or an indirect object.

The direct object stands in the accusative: Hē forlēt þæt hus 'he left the house'; hine man ofslōȝ 'they killed him'.

The indirect object stands in the dative, accusative or genitive case: ic ēow secȝe 'I say to you'; þām wīfe þā word wel līcodon 'these words greatly pleased the woman'; hīe hine ne dorston ǣniȝ þinȝ āscian 'they durst not ask him anything'; hē þǣr bād westanwindes 'there he waited for the west wind'.

A variety of indirect object consists of a preposition and a noun in the case governed by that preposition: Nū hæbbe wē scortlīce ȝesǣd ymb Asia londȝemǣre 'Now we have briefly described the geography of Asia'; hē sende tō þǣm cyninȝe lēotlic ǣrende 'he sent to the kind an arrogant message'; Hēr Ceorl ealdor-mann ȝefeaht wiþ hǣþne menn mid Defena-scīre and siȝe namon. 'Here (i.e., in this year) the aldorman Ceorl, with the men of Devonshire, fought against the heathen men and gained the victory'.

The Attribute

Attributive relations can be expressed in OE in a variety of ways. The attribute occurs most frequently in the form of an adjective (see p. 55 ff.) or in that of a noun in the genitive case (þæt hūs þæs ȝebeorscipes 'the house of feasting'). Pronouns and more rarely combinations of prepositions with nouns also occur in an attributive function (hēr is mīn cnapa 'here is my servant'; mann mid ānum ēaȝe 'a man with one eye').

OE prose and verse abound in examples of the appositional use of nouns. Appositions occur both prepositively (with the article), e.g., se cyninȝ Oswold, þām eorle Gōdwīne, on ōpre healfe þǣre Īe Dōnua 'on the other bank of the river Danube', and postpositively, e.g., Ælfred cyninȝ, Osbearn eorl, Humbran ēa 'the river (i.e. estuary) Humber'.

The Adverbial

Adverbs or prepositional phrases are used as adverbials: on fēawum stōwum styccemælum wīciaþ Finnas 'in a few places here and there live Finns'; Hē būde on þǣm lande norþweardum wiþ þā Westsǣ 'He lived on the land to the north near the West Sea'; Abrahām þā ārās on þǣre ilcan nihte 'Abraham arose that same night'.

Infinitival and Participial Constructions

The Accusative with the Infinitive construction occurs in OE although it is much rarer than its counterpart, the Objective with the Infinitive construction, in MoE. The construction is used chiefly after verbs of physical perception or verbs expressing permission or order: se martyr hine ȝeseah standan 'the martyr saw him stand(ing)'; Hū Romane hēton eft ȝetimbran Cartaina 'How the Romans gave orders to build Carthage again'.

The dativel infinitive (which ended in -enne and was always preceded by the preposition tō) is used in certain constructions to express purpose or direction: hīe cōmon þæt land tō scēawienne 'they came to view the land'; ūt ēode se sāwere his sæd tō sāwenne 'the sower went forth to sow his seed'.

With the decay of inflexional endings in ME, the two forms of the infinitive (e.g. drincan and tō drincenne) became identical. The need for some distinctive mark of the infinitive to replace the lost endings -en, -enne, led to the widespread use of the preposition 'to' with the infinitive. This 'to', when used with the infinitive, still sometimes has its old function of indicating purpose, as in I went to the library to read, but usually it is felt to be merely the sign of the infinitive.

Participial constructions resembling the modern Objective and Nominative Absolute Participial Constructions also

occur occasionally in OE texts: ȝedēþ him swā ȝewealdene worolde dǣlas 'make the parts of the world thus subjected to him'; forlǣtenre þǣre ceastre, hē cōm 'after the camp was abandoned, he came' (= having abandoned the camp, he came).

Negation

Plural negations are a normal feature of OE syntax. The negative particle ne drops its e before some common verbs and pronouns, as in nis = ne is, nān = ne ān, and is used before every finite verb form in the sentence and can be added before other words as well: ne mæȝ nān þinȝ his willan wiðstandan 'nothing can withstand his will'; nān man ne būde benorðan 'nobody lived to the north'.

If the sentence does not contain a negative word such as nān, the negative particle ne before a verb may be rendered more emphatic by using naht, noht (< nā + wiht 'nothing'; cf. MoGer. nicht) after the latter: ne con ic noht sinȝan 'I cannot sing anything'.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The books recommended here represent only a selection from a much larger number of useful books and articles. Only such books are mentioned as are available at the various libraries of Tartu State University. The references are arranged according to the chapter-headings as given above.

Note: In the bibliography below the most frequently mentioned sources are referred to by their abbreviated titles as follows:

Arakin = V.D.Arakin, Otcherki po istorii angliskovo yazyka, Moskva 1955.

Baugh = A.C.Baugh, A History of the English Language, New York 1935 (1957^2).

Brunner = K.Brunner, Istoriya angliskovo yazyka, t. I-II, Moskva 1955-1956 (Russian translation of K.Brunner, Die englische Sprache, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung, Halle 1950-1952 (Tübingen 1960^2).

Ilyish = B.A.Ilyish, Istoriya angliskovo yazyka, Moskva 1968^5

Smirnitski = A.I.Smirnitski, Drevne-angliskiy yazyk, Moskva 1955.

Sweet = H.Sweet, An Anglo-Saxon Primer, Oxford 1905^8.

Chapter I. Introduction to the Old English Period

General surveys of the subject-matter discussed in this introductory chapter are given in Ilyish, pp. 45-57 Smirnitski, pp. 18-32, 38-60; Arakin, pp. 12-25. A good account of early English history is given in A.L.Morton, A People's History of England, London 1938, pp. 29-57 (Russian translation 1950). Also see Baugh, pp. 49-62.

A fuller treatment of the historical background, dialects and written records of the OE period is contained in

the opening chapter of Brunner, Vol. I. Brunner also makes numerous suggestions for additional reading. For a criticism of some of Brunner's views, see Prof. B.Ilyish's foreword to the Russian translation of the work (Vol. I, pp. 3-5).

Chapter II. Phonological System of Old English

A concise survey of OE phonology is given in Ilyish, pp. 58-73. Arakin discusses some aspects of the OE sound system on pp. 54-67. A much more comprehensive and thorough treatment of the various problems involved may be found in Smirnitski, pp. 61-154. The relevant sections of Chapters V and VI in Brunner, Vol. I, with their wealth of data and supplementary bibliography are suitable for the advanced student.

Probably the most thorough survey of English phonology from the OE period to the present day is K. Luick's monumental, but incomplete Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache (Leipzig 1914-40). A comprehensive treatment of OE sounds and sound-changes is also provided by H.C. Wyld, A Short History of English, London 1939.

Chapter III. The Old English Vocabulary

Ilyish, pp. 73-80, deals briefly with the composition and development of the OE vocabulary. Word-formation and borrowing from Latin and Celtic are also reviewed in Arakin, pp. 256-276 and in Smirnitski, pp. 177-206.

H.C. Wyld, A Short History of English and Brunner contain but brief references to the OE vocabulary. Elementary but useful surveys are given in H. Bradley, The Making of English, London 1937, pp. 80-84; O. Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, Chapters I-IV; A C.Baugh, pp. 65, 86-110.

Brief accounts of the composition of the OE vocabulary can be found in most books on English lexicology, e.g., A. Koonin, English Lexicology, Moscow 1940, pp. 16-22, 25, 42-43; I.V. Arnold, Leksikologiya sovremennovo angliskovo

yazyka, Moskva 1966, pp. 108, 305-307; E.F. Vorno et al., Leksikologiya angl. yazyka, Leningrad 1955, pp. 95-98, 104-105. Many features of the OE vocabulary are dealt with in N.N. Amosova, Etimologicheskiye osnovy slovarnovo sostava sovr. angl. yazyka, Moskva 1956, which also gives a useful bibliography of pertinent books and articles (pp. 217-218).

Chapter IV. The Grammatical Structure of Old English

A well-balanced comprehensive survey of OE morphology and syntax is given in Ilyish, pp. 81-164. OE morphology is also dealt with fairly thoroughly in Smirnitski, pp. 207-286. Various problems of OE morphology are discussed in Arakin, pp. 138-246. Sweet, pp. 7-39; the last chapter in H.C. Wyld, A Short History of English and Chapter VIII in O. Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, also merit special attention.

The classical account of OE morphology is Altenglische Grammatik nach der angelsächischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers neubearbeitet von Karl Brunner, Halle 1942 (1951^2). A well-known concise outline of the same subject is K. Brunner's revised edition of Ed. Sievers, Abriss der altenglischen (angelsächsischen) Grammatik, Halle 1950^{12}.

The advanced student of OE morphology will also find much valuable information and discussion of special problems in V.N. Yartseva, Istoricheskaya morfologia angliskovo yazyka, Moskva 1960. The more advanced student is likewise referred to Brunner, Vol. II, and the supplementary bibliography listed there.

Leon Kellner, Historical Outlines of English Syntax (London 1913) covers the whole history of English syntax, but can be used as an introductory manual by the student of the OE period. A number of problems of OE syntax are discussed in Sweet, pp. 40-53, and in G.L. Brook, A History of the English Language, London 1958, pp. 145-165. V.N. Yartseva's Istoricheski sintaksis angliskovo yazyka (Moscow

1961) contains a wealth of material for the advanced student interested in OE syntax.

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For representative selections of OE verse and prose texts the reader is referred to A. Smirnitski's Specimens of English, Moscow 1939[2] (or its more recent and revised edition Khrestomatiya po istorii angliskovo yazyka, Moskva 1953) and to various well-known readers and anthologies, such as those compiled by M. Förster, M. Lehnert, J. Zupitza; also see the texts in H. Sweet's An Anglo-Saxon Primer and in our Selections from Old, Middle and Early Modern English (Second Edition) Tartu 1970. A good selection of OE texts provided with notes, a short grammatical survey and glossary is contained in L.S. Alekseyeva's Drevneangliskij yazyk (Moskva 1971[2]). The latter may be regarded as a kind of practical supplement to B.A. Ilyish's well-known history of the English language.

The Continental Home of the Ancestors of the English

The Dialects of Old English

О.Мутт

ВВЕДЕНИЕ В ДРЕВНЕ-АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК
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